

Final Report

The Historical Impacts of Transportation Projects on the Overtown Community

Prepared by

Institute of Government

Florida International University

March, 1998

for the Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO)

of Miami-Dade County

Principal Investigator:

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The Black Archives, History & Research Foundation of South Florida, Inc., under leadership of Dr. Dorothy Jenkins Fields, archivist and historian, conducted the oral history component. A summary of these interviews is contained in Chapter 4. A typed transcript of each interview is available for further study at the Black Archives Foundation, 5400 N.W. 22nd Ave., Joseph Caleb Center Bldg. C., Suite 101, Miami, Florida. The transcripts are also included as a separate Appendix to this Report.

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Available on request from the Black Archives, History & Research Foundation of South Florida, Inc.,
or from the Institute of Government at Florida International University.

Executive Summary and Major Recommendations

Prepared by Milan Dluhy

1. Background

The objective of this study was to assess the extent to which the Overtown area has been historically affected by major transportation projects and to suggest possible mitigation measures that would help preserve its integrity as a viable neighborhood and community in the future.

An interdisciplinary team of public administration/public policy analysts, economists, historians and planners from FIU in conjunction with a sub-contractor, the Black Archives, completed a comprehensive analysis. The team reviewed and evaluated all previous studies of Overtown and government documents and newspaper stories related to transportation projects affecting Overtown dating back to 1950. In addition, we collected and analyzed historical census and business information on Overtown. The project team also interviewed key decision-makers involved in the policy process connected to these projects. The Black Archives interviewed 56 former and current residents of Overtown to document the public's perception of the impacts. Finally, the project team completed a less comprehensive review of the impacts of transportation projects dating back to 1950 in Atlanta, Jacksonville, Nashville, New Orleans and Tampa in order to compare the experiences of these areas with Overtown.

2. Conclusions

The major conclusions of the study are indicated below but the reader is encouraged to read the individual Chapters in the Report for a more detailed discussion of the key points.

2.1 Transportation and Urban Renewal Projects had a Major Impact on the Decline of the Overtown Community. The historical review presented in this study of I-95, SR 836/I-395, Metrorail, Metromover, and Urban Renewal demonstrates that these projects taken together have had a devastating impact on the Overtown area and largely destroyed a once viable and stable African American Community. At the time most of these projects were being implemented (the period of 1965-70), the larger community thought that these projects were positive and progressive. For example, many outside of Overtown believed that these projects would revive the downtown area, eliminate some of the worst housing in Miami-Dade County, speed workers and tourists to and from the downtown central business district, and allow the downtown business area to expand (see Chapter 4). While many of these changes did take place, the larger South Florida community has never acknowledged to any great extent the damage done to Overtown because of these projects. Until recently, there has been little interest in taking corrective action even though numerous studies completed back to

1971 have urged direct government intervention in Overtown to either slow its fall or later to revitalize it.

This study carefully documents (especially in Chapters 1, 2, and 3) and presents a scenario about the impacts that these projects have had on Overtown. The most important aspects of this scenario are as follows.

In 1950, Overtown contained 45% of the African American population in Dade County with a thriving central commercial area (see Chapter 2). Most historians and researchers described the community as self-contained and autonomous. For many in the African American community, it was a source of pride and this overall positive perception continues until today. In 1960, Overtown reached its peak in population with close to 33,000 and its business community, although already in modest decline, had 318 business establishments representing a diverse mix (see Chapter 1). After the projects analyzed in this study were completed about 1970, the Overtown area reached a bottom from which it has never recovered.

For example, the expressways and urban renewal directly displaced close to 12,000 people and another 4830 moved out during the decade of the 1960s for other reasons. In sum, from 1960 to 1970, Overtown lost 51.2% of its population and 33% of its businesses. In 1970, 15,935 or only 8.4% of the African American population in Dade County remained in Overtown and the area's significance and commercial importance had been seriously changed (see Chapter 2).

2.2 Overtown's Internal Circulation System was Disconnected and the Community's Decline Accelerated After the Projects were Completed. In addition to these major population and business displacements, the community's internal circulation system was left in shambles, the dead and useless space under the expressway structures became a wasteland and haven for undesirable people and uses, and the few home owners in the area were largely gone with home ownership dropping from 12% to 5% between 1950 and 1970. The community continued to lose population and businesses well into the 1990s.

Today, Overtown has one of the highest poverty rates and worst (and cheapest) housing in Miami-Dade County. The population is now just under 8000 and there are only 41 businesses left (in 1950, there were 389). Only 2% of the African American population in Miami-Dade County resides there and 32.3% of the population live in either public housing or government-subsidized housing (see Chapter 2).

2.3 Overtown's Decline Actually Began About a Decade Before the Transportation and Urban Renewal Projects were Completed. The exodus of more prosperous and mobile African Americans out of Overtown began right after the Second World War. Census information shows out migration of residents into areas like Liberty City, Brownsville, and Edison and other areas north and west of Overtown was already well underway as housing opportunities for African Americans became available largely because of the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration mortgage programs. This outward movement into what historians called the second ghetto was never reversed and Overtown

reached its lowest point sometime in the early 1970s, a bottom from which it has still not recovered. While Overtown might have declined very slowly anyway without the transportation and urban renewal projects, it is clear that the magnitude of the impact over such a short period of time did not allow the community the chance to mollify the adverse impacts of these projects. Simply stated, too many people and businesses moved out so quickly that the re-development cycle never had a chance. All those who could move left and others who would not move were forced to.

2.4 Little or No Corrective Action was taken in Overtown or in other Cities with Neighborhoods Similarly Impacted. Chapter 5 demonstrates that the pattern described in Overtown also took place in other large urban areas in the Southeastern U.S. To repeat, the established pattern in Overtown was documented by using the census and then confirming the details of the moves with interviews completed by the Black Archives of current and former residents. As early as the late 1940s, the most mobile professionals, business people, and other working and middle class African Americans were already moving out of Overtown and into the new and expanding areas north and west. In the 1950s, their place was taken by in-migrants from outside of South Florida who were of lower income and needed less expensive rental housing.

Although there was a small percentage of home ownership in Overtown, the housing data show that apartments (commonly called “concrete monsters”) largely replaced “shot gun” homes and other single-family homes during the 1950s. The out-migration of the most mobile had already begun and their places were taken by African Americans lower on the economic scale who moved into the newly built apartments. When the expressway and urban renewal projects of the mid 1960s came along, most of the remaining “shot gun” homes and other older, sub-standard dwellings were destroyed. Most of the housing units remaining in 1970 were apartments (concrete monsters) which were not attractive to the more prosperous and family oriented African Americans who census data show had been already gradually moving out of Overtown. The area became so unattractive for the more prosperous members of the African American Community that they only returned to attend church. The area could no longer attract the mixed-income population of the old Overtown, circa late 1940s.

When Overtown was compared to other low income, minority neighborhoods in other cities impacted by transportation projects, the pattern was quite similar. The impacted neighborhoods lost a high percentage of their population and businesses and the disinvestment cycle set in. These areas have never recovered either. The pattern was present in Atlanta, Jacksonville, Nashville, New Orleans and Tampa.

The study also looked at adjacent minority neighborhoods in Miami and the comparison cities that were not affected directly by transportation projects. These areas can be thought of non-equivalent control groups since we matched these neighborhoods as best as we could on their demographics. However, the neighborhoods not affected by projects in all of the cities showed the same trends. Their populations were more stable or growing, they have had better employment to population ratios, they have had larger percentages of home ownership, and they have had faster growing incomes. In short, the unaffected areas do

considerably better over the 1950-1990 period in terms of stability and positive social/economic growth than the areas impacted by transportation projects.

The comparative analysis also revealed that the projects in the 1960s involved little public participation, expressway impact mitigation actions were superficial, and attention to the impacted areas has been only very recent. Thirty-five years ago, the environmental justice requirement of extensive public participation was not required, though planners were compelled to seek some community input. Often, the standard public participation policy was not effective and disempowered groups were largely unheard. Thus, the impacts of these projects were almost always negative on the minority neighborhoods and none of these areas have appreciably revitalized over the last 30 years.

In sum, policy makers in these cities made mistakes in launching expressway construction and urban renewal and they took no immediate action to correct these mistakes. Reinvestment and direct intervention in the impacted areas decades after the projects were completed now seems to be of some interest in all comparison cities, although major re-development of these neighborhoods is now only in the beginning phases.

2.5 Former Residents of Overtown Uniformly Condemn Public Officials for Past Project Actions and do not Trust them Regarding Future Actions. Interviews completed by the Black Archives and reported upon in Chapter 4 document the views of a segment of the African American community toward the decline of Overtown. A majority of those interviewed had moved out of Overtown many years ago. There is a clear consensus among this “community in exile” that they would like to see Overtown flourish again and at least have a portion of it serve as an historic area for African Americans in South Florida. Many of those interviewed still attend church in the area and are supportive of economic revitalization.

Also, this group uniformly condemns past public actions in this area and even questions the motivations of the past decision makers responsible for these projects. There is considerable distrust of past and present decision-makers in the transportation area and a strong desire among most to have their hometown—a place founded by their parents and grandparents—revived. They describe the Overtown of the past as a “city within a city” where the bonds of community were strong. No other area in Miami-Dade County seems to have the same meaning for African Americans.

2.6 Overtown Can Never Regain Its Past Glories; It is a Different Place with a Different Population Today. Yet Positive Change Needs to Occur and the Reinvestment Cycle Started Again. It is difficult to foresee the future of Overtown although studies and plans cited in Chapter 6 have already made many concrete suggestions. Although the old Overtown, circa 1940s, will be difficult to re-create, a transformed and stable African/Caribbean community may be possible. Michael Porter, writing in the February 1997 Economic Development Quarterly makes a strong case for how to view the inner city neighborhoods of the future:

The best and only way to develop the economies of inner cities is to make them attractive and welcoming places in which to invest and do business, both for residents and non-residents.... There is a continuing, vital role for government in inner city economic development, a role focused not on direct intervention and heavy reliance

on operating subsidies to attract companies, but on creating a favorable environment for business and housing especially through upgrading the infra-structure.

The implication of this view is that all levels of government should focus on infrastructure improvements and make the area attractive for re-development purposes. At the heart of the revived Overtown could be the Folklife Village (between N.W. 8th and 10th Streets and 2nd and 3rd Avenues), but the rest of the area will very likely follow the broader economic development patterns already occurring in Miami, especially the revitalization of the downtown had Brickell Avenue areas.

3. Recommendations

3.1 General

Any additional state transportation projects like state project number 87200-1532 (SR-836/I-395 from N.W. 17th Avenue to the MacArthur Causeway Bridge) will have to abide by the Environmental Justice guidelines. Executive Order 12898 signed by President Clinton in 1994 requires each federal agency to develop strategies to avoid disproportionately high and adverse impacts on minority and low income populations. Although this pending project will have only some small and very marginal impacts on Overtown, it would be helpful to Overtown if transportation authorities in South Florida recognized that previous projects have had some negative consequences and agreed to take some creative action within the limits of their respective resource capabilities. Below are a short list of transportation related projects that, if implemented, would demonstrate to the Overtown Community that the transportation authorities are willing to make up for some of their most serious mistakes of the past.

Since expressway projects are almost always going to affect low income, minority communities negatively, reinvestment or positive intervention should be taken at the time or shortly after these projects are completed. Allowing negatively impacted communities to go decades without corrective action or direct assistance is simply bad public policy.

3.2 Transportation Related

These recommendations emphasize what the Florida Department of Transportation (FDOT), the Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO), the Miami-Dade County Commission, the City of Miami, and other transportation related authorities and agencies have some jurisdiction over. The overall goal of these recommendations is to improve the circulation system in Overtown and improve its physical appearance so that it becomes more attractive for current and future residents and businesses. The recommendations below are premised on reviving the hub of the commercial and historical community around the Folklife Village and the commercial areas on N.W. 2nd and 3rd Avenues and N.W. 14th Street. This area in the future will serve not only the current residents of the area but could also become a destination point for tourists and other people in South Florida.

- Improving Signage on the Perimeter of the Area.

The perimeter of Overtown needs to be highlighted using historical symbols and markers to enhance the gateway character and identity of the area. In addition, the signage should direct people to the heart of Overtown—the Folklife Village. In particular, there needs to be key points of entry and directions on the western boundary of N.W. 7th Avenue at 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 20th Streets. These streets are currently all through streets, although three of them, 7th, 8th, and 9th are one-way. If possible, all these cross streets should be made two-way to simplify the circulation system and make it easier to access Overtown from the west.

On the east side of Overtown, signage from 20th to 5th Street should be considered as well. The FEC railroad tracks form a natural boundary on the east and the signage should appear on these streets at this point as people cross the tracks into Overtown.

Finally, N.W. 2nd and 3rd Avenues on the northern boundary (at 20th Street) and along N.W. 5th Street on the southern boundary should be highlighted as well. A combination of historical markers and directional signs should be considered.

- Improving Signage on Exit Ramps.

Drivers exiting north and south from I-95, east from SR 836 and I-395, and west from I-395 should be directed to the Historical Folklife Village or tourist center and the main commercial districts on N.W. 2nd and 3rd Avenues and N.W. 14th Street. The current signage for the Miami Arena should be used as a model.

- Redesigning an Important Entrance Ramp.

The north entrance ramp to I-95 from N.W. 3rd Avenue needs to be re-designed and N.W. 3rd Avenue made a two-way street. The entrance ramp should be redesigned so that southbound NW 3rd Avenue traffic can access the northbound on-ramp. This would further improve the circulation system and make the commercial area more accessible. Someone leaving the commercial area and going south now runs into a dead end street.

- Opening Up Dead End Streets.

There are a number of dead end streets under the expressway structures and the streets bordering the FEC railroad tracks. The feasibility of opening these streets should be examined to further improve circulation. Currently, 12th and 13th Streets dead end into I-95 and make it difficult for pedestrians and others on the east side of I-95 to have direct access to the Booker T. Washington School. The feasibility of putting a bike or pedestrian path from Douglas Elementary School under I-95 at about 12th or 13th Street should be examined. This would connect the two schools and the adjacent parks more directly.

In addition, on the east side of Overtown, 13th, 15th, 16th, and 17th Streets dead end at the FEC railroad tracks. These streets should be re-opened to two-way traffic to further improve the circulation within the area.

- Connecting the Residential Area in Northeast Overtown More Directly with Booker T. Washington School.

There needs to be a walkway or bikeway and/or a pedestrian bridge that will allow residents and particularly children living in northeast Overtown to have more direct access to Booker T. Washington School. Currently, the midtown interchange does not allow this type of north-south access for residents. This recommendation would help to overcome some of the unnatural partitioning of the community since the interchange was built.

- Completing the Metromover Loop.

The feasibility of completing the Loop from the School Board Offices either south to the Government Center Station along the FEC tracks or southwest to the Overtown Shopping Center or westward to the Culmer Station should be examined. The purpose would be to fully connect the Metromover system which now excludes the northeastern portion of Overtown. The connection would facilitate the movement of Overtown workers to downtown jobs as well as to jobs north and west of Overtown.

- Improving the Physical Appearance and Safety Underneath the I-395 Structures.

Currently, the area underneath the I-395 structures from the midtown interchange to Biscayne Blvd. is an ugly and dangerous wasteland. Every effort should be made to develop a plan for either landscaping, filling (berm), or converting the space into commercial or recreational use. For example, a recent proposal for an African Stone Park is a possibility. Since this land is owned by the state, every attempt to make this space safe and productive should be a high priority. Additional landscaping and beautification at the midtown interchange is necessary especially at the major north/south and east/west arterial routes.

- Building More Exit and Entrance Ramps into Overtown.

The Florida Department of Transportation is currently considering changes to the SR 836/I-395 corridor under state project 87200-1532. To improve circulation in Overtown, every attempt should be made to make the Folklife Village and commercial area more accessible from the expressway. Accordingly, an exit ramp from I-95 going north at about N.W. 14th Street and an exit ramp from I-395 going west at about North Miami Avenue (or further west if feasible) which would connect through signage the 14th Street commercial area should be evaluated. An entrance ramp to I-95 going north at about N.W. 22nd Street and an entrance ramp from N.W. 12th Street to I-395 going east should also be considered. Along with the signage mentioned earlier, these changes would improve the circulation system. Changes in ramps would be more problematic according to F-DOT engineers for design and safety reasons.

- Increasing Retail Opportunities at the Culmer and the Arena Metro-Rail Stations.

Current usage of the Culmer Station is low and the amount of space devoted to empty parking lots is excessive. This space needs to be looked at again and other uses explored

particularly those with some commercial/retail potential. With the Miami Heat moving out of the present Arena in the near future, the NBA requirements for parking lots can be re-assessed. The Arena is surrounded by dead space, some of which could be converted into either residential and/or commercial use. Safe walkways from the Arena station to the Folklife Village are necessary, especially if retail or residential uses replace some of the parking lots. Joint use development could occur around the Metrorail stations.

- Developing a Circulator Bus System for Overtown.

Although there are bus routes and private jitney services in the area, another very important way of improving the circulation patterns within Overtown would be to develop a special Circulator Bus System. The city of Miami Beach is now piloting an electric bus that travels a fixed route in the heavily congested South Beach area. In Overtown, the subsidized buses could serve a fixed route in the area and connect residents with jobs and retail areas in the adjacent downtown area like the Omni, the Port, the Jackson medical complex, Bayside and Flagler Street. The bus would operate in prime time hours and allow Overtown residents better access to the downtown area.

3.3 Economic Development Related

In addition, there are a number of recommendations about economic development below. There are many other groups as indicated in Chapters 6-8 who have already done a lot of work on economic development strategies. Since this study has emphasized transportation-related recommendations, we suggest only a few critical economic development approaches that need to be a part of any more comprehensive look at the Overtown area.

- Finding a New Use for the Miami Arena.

The city of Miami and its Sports Authority need to complete an adaptive re-use study of the Miami Arena. Once the Miami Heat and Florida Panthers move to new locations, the Arena could easily fail economically and the surrounding area would suffer as well. The few positive economic gains made in the area around the Arena could be jeopardized without a viable Arena.

- Including Overtown in other Planning Authorities.

The boundaries of the Downtown Development Authority should be extended to include all of Overtown. This would allow Overtown to take advantage of funding opportunities and projects endorsed by the D.D.A.

- Encouraging Home Ownership in Overtown.

The Miami-Dade Housing Authority is now in the process of selling 145 public housing units to the private sector. When these units are rehabilitated and sold, residents will have more of a stake in the area. Research has consistently demonstrated that home ownership leads to better-maintained property and a desire to make the community a safer

and cleaner place to live. Since about a third of the housing in Overtown is owned by the government or subsidized, the Authority should be encouraged to develop more low cost, owner occupied units.

- Supporting the St. John's Plan for Overtown.

The St. John Community Development Corporation's economic re-development plan for Overtown is the most comprehensive strategy currently available for the area. All interested parties should continue to support the implementation of this plan.

- Facilitating Private Sector Housing Development in Overtown.

The City of Miami should continue to be encouraged to develop more affordable housing and office complexes for the 240 acres east of I-95, west of the Miami Arena, north of the U.S. Post Office, and south of the Folklife Village. The area around Poinciana Village represents one of the few private market developments in Overtown and when this area fills in residentially, new businesses will come as well. These are the kind of projects that can re-start the revitalization cycle.

The irony of the negative impacts of transportation projects on Overtown is that the original route for I-95 in Miami in the early 1950s called for the expressway to follow the FEC railroad tracks and largely by-pass the heart of the Overtown community. As resistance to this original route was mobilized, the Overtown community did not respond with an organized voice and the ultimate route chosen a few years later bisected the community and cut it into parts.

This Report should be used as a model for the planning and implementation of future transportation projects. Adverse impacts that transportation projects may have on stable communities need to be taken very seriously.

Table 0.1: Selected Characteristics of Overtown, 1950-1990

Characteristic	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Population	29,253	32,665	15,935	10,109	7,961
Percent of housing units owned	11.6%	5.9%	2.2%	4.9%	3.8%
Percent of black residents of Miami-Dade County living in Overtown	45.0%	23.8%	8.4%	3.6%	2.0%
Percent of residential land use	n.a.	40%	33%	28%	n.a.
Number of business establishments	389	318	148	49	41

OVERTOWN TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENTS

Source: MPO Overtown Study Draft Report, January 12, 1998.



LEGEND

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Entry sign, NW 7th Ave. At 5th St. | 15. Landscaping, east side of I-95 interchange. |
| 2. Entry sign, NW 7th Ave. At 11th St. | 16. Landscaping, west side of I-95 interchange. |
| 3. Entry sign, NW 7th Ave. At 14th St. | 17. Bicycle-Pedestrian paths, from northeast quadrant of I-95/I-395 to southwest quadrant/Booker T. Washington School. |
| 4. Entry sign, NW 7th Ave. At 17th St. | 18. Bicycle-Pedestrian paths, from northeast quadrant of I-95/I-395 to southeast quadrant/commercial area. |
| 5. Entry sign, NW 7th Ave. At 20th St. | 19. Additional leg of Metromover from School Board station to Overtown shopping center. |
| 6. Entry sign, NW 2nd Ave. At 17th St. | 20. Add fill or make productive use of space under I-395. |
| 7. Entry sign, NW 2nd Ave. At 20th St. | 21. Trailblazer signs directing motorists from I-95, I-395, 836 to Overtown. |
| 8. Entry sign, NW 3rd Ave. At 20th St. | 22. Bicycle-Pedestrian paths from Southeast quadrant/park to southwest quadrant/Booker T. Washington School. |
| 9. Entry sign, NW 5th St. at 3rd Ave. | |
| 10. Entry sign, NW 6th St. at 3rd Ave. | |
| 11. Entry sign, NW 5th St. at 2nd Ave. | |
| 12. Entry sign, NW 6th St. at 2nd Ave. | |
| 13. Entry sign, NW 8th St. at I-95 exit. | |
| 14. Redesigned entrance ramp to allow I-95 access from Southbound NW 3rd Ave. | |

Chapter 1: Historical Overview of Overtown

Prepared by Sidney Wong

1. Historical Overview of the Area

The Overtown study area is comprised of approximately 0.73 square miles (468 acres). It is bordered on the north by NW 21st Terrace (west of NW 4th Court) and NW 20th Street (east of NW 4th Court) and on the south by NW 5th Street. Its border to the east is the Florida East Coast Railroad and to the west is NW 7th Avenue (north of NW 11th Street) and NW 5th Avenue (south of NW 11th Street). These boundaries correspond to 1990 census tract numbers 31 and 34.

While there is a common perception that I-95 destroyed Overtown, our analysis demonstrates that Overtown's decline stretched out for several decades. A combination of factors led to its decline including:

- Increased housing opportunities for African Americans in Miami's suburbs;
- Building code enforcement and speculative apartment construction;
- Weakening of the economic base and employment centers within and around Overtown;
- Rumors and threats of freeway and downtown expansion;
- Integration;
- School desegregation;
- Out-migration and in-migration; and particularly
- Urban renewal.

Among these, the expressway and the mid-town interchange did have an important impact. Although the impact of urban renewal was also critical, these transportation projects dispersed a substantial number of residents.

The post World War II decline of Overtown can be divided into three periods. Before 1966, Overtown had experienced gradual community destabilization and slow business decline. The period between 1966 and 1970 was marked by commercial and residential displacement by public projects. Since 1970, Overtown suffered from a long period of disinvestment and lack of revitalization that finally made it a fragmented, impoverished, and distressed neighborhood.

2. Community Destabilization and Business Stagnation (1950 to 1965)

Overtown, the largest and oldest black neighborhood in Miami, also served the commercial needs as the downtown area for African Americans in South Florida. Miami was a segregated city at this time, and Overtown played several important roles. It was the place where a black community was nurtured and developed and where African Americans found a sense of pride and felt safe from discrimination so prevalent outside. It was the cradle of black entrepreneurship and the base for a small but important group of self-employed black professionals. It was an entertainment Mecca with its Little Broadway. In the decades before its demise, in short, Overtown was the center of gravity and could be considered even a semi self-autonomous city of African Americans in South Florida.

In the immediate post-war time, Overtown was also a viable working-class community. Its residents were economically active and almost fully employed. They were poor, but they made Overtown a community through a sense of togetherness and caring that transcended income and wealth. Key institutions such as Booker T. Washington High School and churches helped form strong bonds among residents. The thriving retail business, entertainment, hotels and public events such as the Orange Bowl Classic created unity and solidarity.

In 1950, Overtown had a permanent population of 29,250 and its compact, mixed-use pattern provided accessibility in meeting the daily needs of its residents. Groceries, cleaners, beauty saloons, drug stores and other service establishments were scattered throughout Overtown along NW 14th Street, NW 20th Street and the two major commercial corridors: Northwest 2nd Avenue and NW 3rd Avenue. Northwest 2nd Avenue was also well known for its nightlife. Around the Ritz Theater, entertainers performed in hotel lounges and nearby nightclubs. This street was also home for jewelers, tailors and doctors' offices. With a more commercial mix, NW 3rd Avenue was nonetheless the most important street for newcomers. People arriving at the Greyhound bus station could find several real estate and rental agencies, a taxi station, the Miami Times and the International Longshoreman's Association in the immediate vicinity.

However, there were signs that Overtown was under rapid transformation in the 1950s. Overtown was a confined and overcrowded place where there were as many as thirty small wooden shacks (called shotgun homes) to an acre. In addition to overcrowding and lack of physical amenities, residents had been historically denied access to better housing in Dade County. When outlying areas of Miami such as Brownsville, Liberty City and Richmond Heights were opened for black housing in the post-war era, they began to draw residents from Overtown. It is estimated from census data that between 1950 and 1960 nearly ten thousand residents, almost a third of Overtown's 1950 population, migrated out of this area. Anecdotal descriptions indicate that the more prosperous residents started leaving Overtown in the late 1950s. By the early 1960s, half of the congregations of some churches came from neighborhoods outside Overtown.

The second transformation was the apartment boom. Housing in Overtown had been substandard for many years, but aggressive code enforcement in the mid-1950s forced owners to sell their properties to slumlords who quickly constructed "concrete monsters." In

our analysis of 24 blocks along three streets in Overtown, the number of apartment units increased from 22 to 552 between 1949 and 1960, a phenomenal increase; each year nearly one third more apartment units were added to the total. The boom slowed down after 1960 and completely came to a halt in 1962. Census data show that between 1950 and 1960 the total number of units that were classified four units or more increased from 1,905 to 8,053. By 1960, almost half of Overtown's residents were living in apartment buildings with ten or more units. This apartment boom forever changed the nature of Overtown. Physically, concrete monsters replaced single-family structures (it should be noted that the original shotgun structures were often rentals though they appeared to be owner-occupied units). Overtown became overwhelmingly a renter's community. Between 1950 and 1960, Overtown lost half of its small group of homeowners as the homeownership rate (almost 12 percent in 1950) dropped to less than six percent.

The third trend was the changing composition of the residents and the increasingly transient nature of Overtown. Overtown had always been the entry point for blacks from other regions, but the 1950s were particularly dramatic. Over ten thousand in-migrants arrived to Overtown's rapidly expanding apartment buildings; the majority of them came from outside the county. At the same time, almost ten thousand people, disproportionately from the prime working age group, left the community. In other words, Overtown's population became less economically active as the wage earners were migrating out. By 1960, Overtown's population increased slightly to 33,000 with almost two-thirds of the residents living in apartments. The sense of transience intensified with the massive arrival of "newcomers." This migration pattern also impacted the income level of Overtown relative to other black neighborhoods as it dropped from parity to 90 percent of parity between 1950 and 1960.

As Overtown was losing its more affluent and economically active population, its economic vulnerability increased. During this period, business followed their wage-earning customers to the newly-opened black neighborhoods. Between 1949 and 1966, about 28 percent of the 1949 business establishments had disappeared in the three street sections analyzed. The decline was quite gradual since only about two percent of the businesses were lost each year. However an attrition over fifteen years had its cumulative impact and by the early sixties some important and long-standing establishments such as the Lyric Theater, Freidmark's Department Store, Philips Jewelers and Gem Jewelers were gone.

Before the construction of the first expressway, Overtown's decline was already underway. However, this decline had not dissolved the basic and nourishing bonds of community. By the early sixties, Overtown was more congested and overcrowded than ever. One observer noted that the place was a "seething mass of humanity." Some of its businesses looked healthy, while its key institutions remained intact. Former residents still came back to churches and schools and continued to do business in Overtown. The social cohesion had been destabilized by the influx of new renters. Massive clearance started in the mid-1960s, and the community began to spiral downward.

3. Commercial and Residential Displacement (1966 to 1970)

Situated north of the downtown, having the worst housing and cheapest land values, and being a minority community with little representation, Overtown presented the least resistance to land acquisition for expressways. In addition, absentee landlords controlled most of the land and many community leaders were now residing elsewhere. Therefore, Overtown was in a vulnerable position to fight the expressway. At the same time, its old and substandard housing, extreme overcrowding, and lack of amenities had called for renewal efforts to improve the community, not only by decision-makers outside, but by leaders within (though strongly fought by slumlords). The broad and somewhat naïve belief that physical changes could bring social well being in the early 1960s paved the way for major changes in Overtown. More importantly, this belief was rapidly shattered by what actually happened later.

When the construction of expressway began in 1966, urban renewal was unveiled almost at the same time. Between 1966 and 1970 expressway and urban renewal projects caused tremendous disruption and, in a short period, together these efforts completely transformed the commercial and physical landscape of Overtown. Expressway condemnation took about 70 acres of residential, commercial and mixed-use area. About 1,400 families or about 4,400 residents (or 15 percent of the 1960 population) were displaced. Contrary to common thought, the expressway did not take land from the most prosperous parts of NW 2nd Avenue and NW 3rd Avenue. The north-south expressway (I-95) condemned some of the worst housing along NW 6th Avenue north of NW 14th Street and mixed commercial area along NW 3rd Avenue south of NW 9th Street. The mid-town interchange and I-395 wiped out a vast area along NW 14th Street. The impact of these expressways on business was instant. In 1966, about a quarter of Overtown's businesses were gone.

In the following three years, urban renewal displaced even more business and residents. Eighty acres of the worst housing in the R-10 renewal area between NW 3rd Avenue and I-95 north of the midtown interchange were bulldozed for the first urban renewal project in Miami. It displaced about 2,400 families or 7,500 residents. This time urban renewal wiped out all businesses along the west side of the prosperous NW 3rd Avenue. During this period, about 30 percent of the remaining businesses in 1967 closed. Established businesses that had been providing service for decades such as Rahming's Café, Harlem Drug, Mac's Market, Nicks Sundries, Modern Theater, Florida Hotel, and Swannee Hotel were demolished or displaced.

The disruption caused by urban renewal and the expressway was permanent and irreversible. Altogether almost 12,000 residents were "pushed out." With the out-migration that occurred for other reasons, Overtown lost about 16,730 residents or about 50 percent of its 1960 population between 1960 and 1970. The impact on business was similar and by the end of 1970, Overtown had lost almost 45 percent of the businesses located there in 1966. Important landmarks, parks and churches were cleared. For several years these cleared sites remained barren and became part of the unshaken collective memory of former Overtown residents. I-395 went through the middle of Overtown while I-95 took most of the land to the west. The mid-town interchange was the most intrusive, as it sat right in the western half of

the middle of Overtown. Now about 200 acres (42 percent of the land) were devoted to transportation.

The physical character of Overtown was completely changed after these projects; the neighborhood was divided into four sections. The first section, predominantly residential, was to the north and the east of NW 3rd Avenue. It retained the congested and substandard single-family housing and concrete monsters but without the commercial and institutional supports. The second section was the urban renewal area north of I-395 and west of NW 3rd Avenue. This represented a new form of residential development that was characterized by standardized and monotonous housing in large single-use plots. The third section was south of I-395 and east of I-95, later labeled "Southeast Overtown." Being cut off from the population center, business in this section rapidly declined. The fourth section was to the southwest and was completely isolated from the rest of Overtown. Previously, this section had the greatest variety of uses accommodating warehouses, industrial plants and mixed commercial and residential uses.

After the expressway construction, a new traffic circulation pattern emerged. I-95 diverted most of the traffic from NW 7th Avenue or State Road 441, the former arterial road serving Overtown. With only one exit ramp from I-95 into Overtown and a reduced number of east-west connectors to NW 7th Avenue, Overtown became less accessible. Internally, the three sections were isolated from one another by the gigantic expressway structures that imposed both a physical and a psychological barrier to cross. Within each section, dead-end roads were created.

The period between 1966 and 1970 witnessed an exodus of Overtown's population. The expressway and urban renewal displaced so many residents and businesses that the remaining community institutions and businesses could not survive. The division of the community into four sections destroyed the unity and sense of togetherness. Now less accessible to the outside, lacking the previous social support, and inconvenient to daily necessities, Overtown became a difficult place to live. By 1970, Overtown's community was marginal, no longer attractive to African American working class families or retail establishments.

4. Disinvestment and lack of revitalization (1970 to now)

Had mitigation and reinvestment been done immediately after the expressway and urban renewal impacts were felt in Overtown, the damage might have been minimized. Or had concerted development strategies been created to stabilize the community, the downfall of Overtown might have been reversed. However, no such public actions took place. After 1970, Overtown never recovered from the initial decline and instead suffered from an extended period of disinvestment. The private market actually abandoned Overtown altogether and only limited and sporadic revitalization efforts have occurred since 1970.

As Overtown was no longer a viable and stable community, its population continued to drop from about 16,000 to 8,000 between 1970 and 1990. By 1990, it had degenerated into one of the most impoverished African American communities in South Florida. Though its unemployment rate is not dramatically different from the average of other black

neighborhoods, current Overtown residents are disproportionately undereducated and have few skills. As such, this area has the highest poverty, almost twice the average poverty rate for the county's black residents. Apart from a few mixed income housing developments, Overtown is a marginal neighborhood, retaining the most economically distressed population. Anecdotal descriptions indicate that there has been recent influx of black immigrants from the Caribbean into the inexpensive but substandard housing in the northeastern part of Overtown.

Business in Overtown continued to decline with the population in this period. Once the clientele and the accessibility had gone the remaining major business streets along NW 2nd Avenue and the eastern side of NW 3rd Avenue could not recover. Between 1970 and 1989, the number of business establishments in the three street sections analyzed dropped about 80 percent. Today the remaining businesses are confined to small groceries, take-out eating establishments and some lower-rung services that tend to be operated by foreign immigrants. The business environment in Overtown deteriorated as vandalism, drug activities, and high insurance costs have replaced the previous favorable factors.

As part of the urban renewal efforts, a site was designated for commercial and community development at NW 3rd Avenue that finally became the Overtown Shopping Center/Culmer Center. Since the mid-seventies, Overtown was designated as a federal Community Development Block Grant Target Area and received funding for community development, infrastructure improvement and human resource programs. In the early eighties, the southeastern part of Overtown was incorporated with the Park West area as a tax-increment-financing district for redevelopment. The Metrorail, constructed through the middle of Overtown, once again reinforced the north-south division. With the construction of the Metrorail Overtown/Arena station at the southeastern border of Overtown, some mixed-income housing projects have been under construction. Also, there was some limited public investment which has been used to rehabilitate individual historical buildings.

However, these public efforts did not generate any significant impact and failed to induce non-subsidized private investment. Over this extended period, the only private activity was possibly speculative investment into apartment buildings in the northeastern part of Overtown. Public investment was either limited or sporadic and too late to repair the major damage that had occurred in the late 1960s. Nor was this public investment coordinated under a consistent and committed redevelopment strategy. In fact, during the 1980s the public effort in the tax increment financing district benefited the Arena development and related projects in Park West more than Overtown. In this period, more and more vacant land was under community and church ownership while the government increased its land-ownership rapidly through housing development efforts, condemnation on code enforcement grounds, and taking of property where there were tax liens.

Today Overtown is a marginal neighborhood that is divided into separate sections. Limited public reinvestment was inadequate to jumpstart any productive activities. In the absence of a viable local market, Overtown is still in a process of decline with land remaining vacant. The viable and unified community is gone and residents who are economically vulnerable and disenfranchised have been left behind. Many vocal "community leaders" are currently residing outside of Overtown with an agenda of serving as an exile community to

rebuild the community as it once was. There is still little trust between the community leaders and the public decision-makers. The feeling of betrayal and bitterness toward the outside establishment is preventing the sort of constructive dialogue necessary for successful economic development efforts.

5. Supporting Evidence

Table 1.1: Land use Patterns in Overtown – 1961 and 1962

Land Use Classification	Acres	Percent Distribution
Residential	186	40
Commercial	33	7
Industrial	32	7
Public and Semi-Public	22	5
Transportation	128	27
Mixed Use	52	11
Vacant	17	4
Total	469	100

Sources: After the 1963 General Neighborhood Renewal Plan

Note: The study area covered Overtown and Wynwood, data presented here is based on extraction and estimation.

Table 1.2: Land use Patterns in Overtown – 1970

Land Use Classification	Percent Distribution
Residential	33
Commercial	5
Industrial	6
Public and Semi-Public	7
Expressway	22
Transportation	20
Other Uses, including Vacant & Mixed Uses*	4
Total	100

Sources: After the 1970 Development Plan for NDP Area No. 3 Central Miami

Note: Study area covered Overtown, Wynwood area to the west of I-95, south Parkwest and areas south of Overtown. Data presented here are based on extraction and estimation.

* Not separate categories in this source.

Table 1.3: Land use Patterns in Overtown – 1980

Land Use Classification	Percent Distribution
Residential	28
Commercial	3
Industrial	2
Public and Semi-Public	7
Expressway	22
Transportation & Utilities	20
Mixed Uses	2
Vacant Land	17
Total	100

Sources: After the 1980 Land Use Atlas.

Note: Study area covered Overtown Community Development Target Area, which included some land to the west of I-95 but not the expressway. Data presented here are based on adjustment and pro-rating from original data that contained minor computation errors.

Table 1.4: Number of Apartment Blocks in the Three Street Sections

Year	1949	1954	1960	1962	1966	1970
NW 2 nd Ave.	1	5	17	17	17	17
NW 3 rd Ave.	2	8	19	24	24	11
NW 14 th St.	1	2	6	8	8	2
Total	4	15	42	49	49	30

Source: Polk's Miami City Directory, various years between 1949 and 1970

Table 1.5: Business Profile

OVERTOWN BUSINESS PROFILE

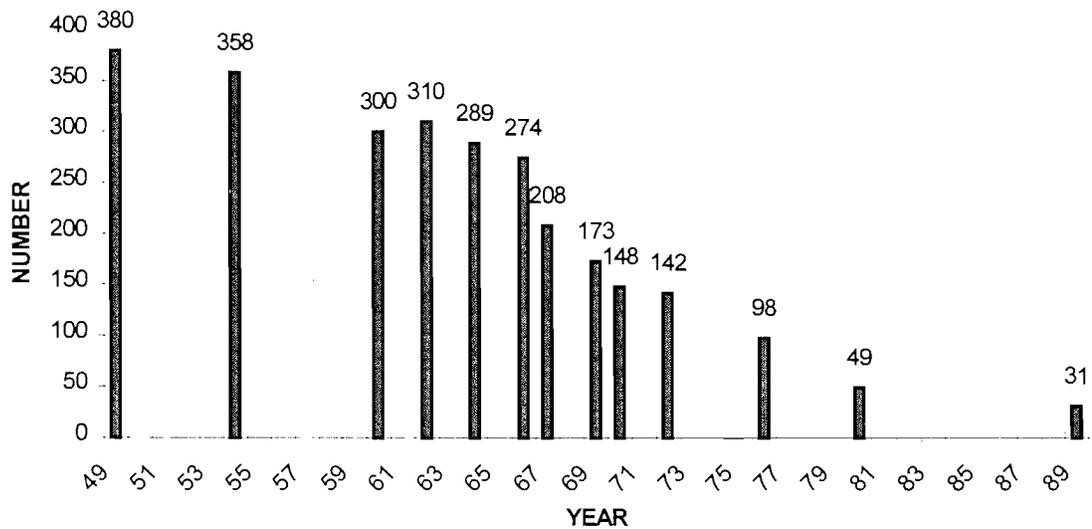


Table 1.6: Roster of Business Establishments

This list is arranged by types of businesses and then by names. It covers three main streets in Overtown – NW 2nd Ave. (5th to 11th block), NW 3rd Ave. (11th to 19th block) and NW 14th St. (1st to 6th block). These streets were the main business and commercial area of Overtown though residential uses can be found and common in some blocks. From the Polk directory, we identified 308 establishments in Overtown in 1964. Below is a summary of them.

Types of Business	Number of Establishments
A. Specialized & Professional Services	
1. Accounting	1
2. Legal Services	3
3. Medical Services & Doctors	21
4. Employment and Job Referral	1
5. Real Estate	10
6. Funeral Services	1
7. Newspaper	1
8. Insurance	1
9. Travel Agency	1
10. Union	3
B. Hotel, Lodging & Rooming Houses	20
C. Entertainment	
1. Theater	3
2. Night Clubs and Pool Rooms	11
3. Café, Eating Places and Restaurants	27
4. Bar, Tavern and Liquor Stores	18
D. Personal Services	
1. Barber Shops & Beauty Salons	44
2. Cleaners and Laundries	26
3. Shoe Shining and Repair	14
E. Churches	14
F. Retail	
1. Tailors and Clothes	16
2. Drug Stores	7
3. Groceries and Markets	34
4. Jewelry	3
5. Furniture	3
6. General Stores	6
7. Others	4
G. Other Services	11

The data show that these streets were full of businesses and there were few vacancies in the commercial blocks. Some blocks were predominated by residential uses, such as the 11th block of NW 2nd Ave, the 5th and 6th blocks of NW 14th Street. Vacancy rates in the apartments and highly subdivided houses were higher.

Table 1.7: Business Profile in Overtown – 1964 (Arranged by Types and then by Names)

NW 2nd Ave. (5th to 11th block), NW 3rd Ave. (11th to 19th block), NW 14th St. (1st to 6th block)

A. Specialized & Professional Services

1 Accounting

Quinones Income Tax Service 1304 NW 3rd Ave.

2 Legal Services

Gratten E Graves, Jr. lawyer 802 NW 2nd Ave.

Lamar Sweeting & Assoc pub counsel 1128 NW 3rd Ave.

Lawson E Thomas, lawyer 1021 NW 2nd Ave.

3 Medical Services

Aubrey W Henry, phys 1026 NW 2nd Ave.

BA Kirschenbaum optometrist 1653 NW 3rd Ave.

Bernard M Chariff, chiropractor 1405-09 NW 3rd Ave.

Edw J Braynon Jr, dentist 603 NW 2nd Ave.

Edwin S Shirley Jr., phys 1410 NW 3rd Ave.

Eug P. Holloman, dentist 528 NW 2nd Ave.

Family clinic – Emanuel Orfas, 905 NW 2nd Ave.

naturopaths

Geo K Sands, dentist 1602 NW 3rd Ave.

Gordon Einhorn, optometrist 1157 NW 3rd Ave.

Harry F Harris, phys 706 NW 2nd Ave.

Hawkins Godfrey W – dentist 1013 NW 2nd Ave.

Howard A Hadley, dentist 1108 NW 3rd Ave.

Ira P Davis, dentist 1036 NW 2nd Ave.

Jas Johnson, phys 1108 NW 3rd Ave.

John Brown opthemiologist 1121 NW 3rd Ave.

Murray Radin, phys 1159 NW 3rd Ave.

Norman Gibson, naturopath 506 NW 14th St

Second Ave. Med Clinic – Dr. Ferdie 946 NW 2nd Ave.

Pacheco

William A Chapman Jr, dentist 313 NW 14th St

William A Patterson, Jr; phys 528 NW 14th St

Wm H Murrell, dentist 1028 NW 2nd Ave.

4 Employment and Job Referral

B & B Employment Agcy 1336-38 NW 3rd Ave.

5 Real Estate

Bonded Rental Agcy Inc 1163 NW 3rd Ave.

C Franklin Cagle real est 1220 NW 3rd Ave.

Dor-Cha Inc real est 1009 NW 2nd Ave.

Hampton Collier Acres Inc real est 195 NW 14th St

I B Housing Corp real est 1454 NW 3rd Ave.

J R Taulor real est 1454 NW 3rd Ave.

Luther L Brooks real est 1163 NW 3rd Ave.

Parry Inc real est 1220 NW 3rd Ave.

Robt Green real est 636 NW 2nd Ave.

Wilson Rental Agcy Inc 1301 NW 3rd Ave.

6 Funeral Services

Rahmings M H Evergreen Mortuary 1742 NW 3rd Ave.

7 Radio and Newspaper

Miami Times 1112 NW 3rd Ave.

8 Insurance

Central Lifer Insurance 176-78 NW 14th St

9 Travel Agency

North's Travel Bur 1104 NW 3rd Ave.

10 Union

Common Labors Union of Am Local 1117 NW 3rd Ave.

No 478(ALF-CIO)

Intl Longshoremen's Local No 1416 816 NW 2nd Ave.

Plaster Tenders Local Union No 635 1011 NW 2nd Ave.

B. Hotel & Lodging

Al Symonette Rooming Hse 728 NW 2nd Ave.

Atlantis Lodge 1242-1/2 NW 3rd Ave.

Dorsey Hotel and Bird CageLounge 941 NW 2nd Ave.

Elijah McKinney furn rms 1447 NW 3rd Ave.

B. Hotel & Lodging (cont.)

Florida Hotel -Mamie Dixon, mgr	610	NW 2nd Ave.
Fourteen St Pool Room	155	NW 14th St
Gardner Rooming Hse	1716	NW 3rd Ave.
Gaston Burnie furn rms	1133-1/2	NW 3rd Ave.
Joseph Thos Rooming Hse	1526-1/2	NW 3rd Ave.
King's Hotel - Isaiah King	717	NW 2nd Ave.
LaMont Guest & Lodging Hse	1203-1/2	NW 3rd Ave.
Lane's Guest Hse	919 - 1/2	NW 2nd Ave.
Lillie M Board furn rms	1040	NW 2nd Ave.
Marsha Ann Hotel	702	NW 2nd Ave.
Mary Elizabeth Hotel, Lounge & Fiesta Rm	642	NW 2nd Ave.
Modern House furn rooms - Mrs Minnie L Thomas	1124	NW 3rd Ave.
Mrs Isabelle Hill furn rms	1009- 1/2	NW 2nd Ave.
Mrs Isabelle Hill furn rms	1020	NW 2nd Ave.
Mrs M Louise George furn rms	349	NW 14th St
Smith Hotel - Ollye Smith	718	NW 2nd Ave.
Swanee Hotel	1421-1/2	NW 3rd Ave.

C. Entertainment**1 Theater**

Captiol Theatre	322-24	NW 14th St
Modern Theater	1130	NW 3rd Ave.
Ritz Theatre	927	NW 2nd Ave.

2 Night Club and Pool Rooms

Charlie's Pool Room	1439	NW 3rd Ave.
Clyde's Pool Room	920-22	NW 2nd Ave.
Fourteenth Street Pool Room	358	NW 14th St
Harlem Square Club Inc night club	1006-08	NW 2nd Ave.
Henry S Robeson billiards	1208	NW 3rd Ave.
Jet Pool Rm	1657	NW 3rd Ave.
Mackey's pool Room	1428	NW 3rd Ave.
Moon's Recreation Hall	1037	NW 2nd Ave.
Ralph's Pool Room	220-22	NW 14th St
Twentieth St Pool Room	1998	NW 3rd Ave.

3 Café, Eating Places & Restaurants

Al's Sandwich Shop	1970	NW 3rd Ave.
Brooks Golden Chicken Restr	1421	NW 3rd Av
BS & W Sandwich Shop	1432	NW 3rd Av
Cafe Society	1994-96	NW 3rd Av
Chicken Shack restr	704	NW 2nd Av
Combs Luncheonette	943-47	NW 2nd Av
Cuban Restr	1184	NW 3rd Av
Doyle's luncheonette	1034	NW 2nd Av
Eddie's Restr	936	NW 2nd Av
Famous Chef Restr	812	NW 2nd Av
Georgia Cafe	711-13	NW 2nd Av
Helens restr	1638	NW 3rd Av
King's Restr	417	NW 14th St
Little Joe's Chicken skillet restr	1005	NW 2nd Av
Mama's Cafe	1333	NW 3rd Av
Mary's BBQ	161	NW 14th St
Murray's BBQ	232	NW 14th St
Open Door Restaurant	806	NW 2nd Av
P & C Café	815	NW 2nd Av
Polite's Restr	1038	NW 2nd Av
Prince's Cafe	334-38	NW 14th St
Rahming's Cafe	1120	NW 3rd Av
Raleigh's Cafe	224-26	NW 14th St
Storr Wonso Restr	1462-64	NW 3rd Av
Sugar Hill Restr	732	NW 2nd Av
Sunrise BBQ	147	NW 14th St
Third Av Cafe	1637	NW 3rd Av

4 Bar, Tavern and Liquor Store

Apollo Bar	402-04	NW 14th St
Barkett Gro & Liquor Store	600	NW 2nd Av
Dixieland Liquors	137	NW 14th St
Fourteenth St Liquors	156	NW 14th St
Good's Liquors	1327	NW 3rd Av
Hall Bros Bar beer	348	NW 14th St
Henry's Liquor Store	379	NW 14th St
Miami Beer Garden	1242	NW 3rd Av
Mo's Liquors tavern	645	NW 2nd Av

4 Bar, Tavern and Liquor Store (cont.)

Plantation Bar & Package Store	1360	NW 3rd Av
Reno Bar & Package Store	823	NW 2nd Av
Ritz Package Store & Bar	1424-26	NW 3rd Av
Rockland Palace Bar - tavern	827-29	NW 2nd Av
Shady Grove Beer Garden	1131	NW 3rd Av
Small's Liquors	701	NW 2nd Av
Star Liquor Store	1501	NW 3rd Av
Top's Bar & Package Storage	1633	NW 3rd Av
Victory Bar Tavern -Cecil Sweeting	641	NW 2nd Av

D. Personal Services**1 Barber, Beauty Salons**

Albury's Barber Shop	1477	NW 3rd Av
Artistic Barber Shop	910	NW 2nd Av
Atlanta Barber Shop	1030	NW 2nd Av
Band Box Barber Shop	536	NW 2nd Av
Boyd Beauty Salon	1230	NW 3rd Av
Broadway Barber	1133	NW 3rd Av
Brooks Barber Shop	1702	NW 3rd Av
Bryants Beauty Salon	1651	NW 3rd Av
Celina's Beauty Salon	1205	NW 3rd Av
Charm Beauty Box	1029	NW 2nd Av
Cohens Barber Shop	1749	NW 3rd Av
Community Barber Shop	1436	NW 3rd Av
Diamond Barber Shop	1228	NW 3rd Av
Down Town Barber Shop	707	NW 2nd Av
Everybody's Barber Shop	1422	NW 3rd Av
Fe Fe Barber Shop	163	NW 14th St
Foretta's beauty shop	1506	NW 3rd Av
Fran's Beauty Salon	938	NW 2nd Av
Friendly Barber Shop	1350	NW 3rd Av
Fuller Products Co cosmetics	534	NW 2nd Av
Helen's Beauty Salon	712	NW 2nd Av
High Hat Barber Shop	926	NW 2nd Av
Iva's Beauty Salon	1126	NW 3rd Av
Jacksonville Barber	344	NW 14th St
Johnson's ideal Beauty Parlor	551	NW 14th St

1 Barber, Beauty Salons (cont.)

Kelley's Barber Shop	1500	NW 3rd Av
Lloyd's Beauty Salon	436	NW 14th St
Maes House of Beauty	1403	NW 3rd Av
Maggie Beauty Saloon	641-1/2	NW 2nd Av
Maggies Beauty Salon	1420	NW 3rd Av
Mary's House of Beauty beauty shop	532	NW 2nd Av
Modern Barber Shop & Pool Room	814	NW 2nd Av
Modernistic Beauty Salon	1966	NW 3rd Av
Mrs Gladys Stewart beauty shop	1614	NW 3rd Av
New Deal Barber Shop	1216	NW 3rd Av
Paradise Barber shop	1460	NW 3rd Av
Pearl's Beauty Salon	201	NW 14th St
Remelda's Beauty Salon	1751	NW 3rd Av
Royal Palm Beauty Salon	1604	NW 3rd Av
Rudolph F Thompson barber	1527	NW 3rd Av
Style Beauty Salon	356	NW 14th St
Sue's Health & Reducing Center	601	NW 2nd Av
Sunlight Sch of Beauty Culture	1113	NW 3rd Av
Wood's Beauty Salon	1624	NW 3rd Av

2 Cleaners and Laundries

Big Bundle Automatic Lndry	836	NW 2nd Av
Bryant's Clns	1001	NW 2nd Av
Cadillac Quality Cleaners	1539	NW 3rd Av
Coin Meter Lndry	175	NW 14th St
Fair Deal Lndry	700	NW 2nd Av
Fourteenth Street Cleaner	233	NW 14th St
Fourteenth Street Laundry	434	NW 14th St
Glass Clns & Lndry	1431	NW 3rd Av
Huges Cleaners & Laundry	1626	NW 3rd Av
Jet Coin Lndry	1659	NW 3rd Av
Keep-U-Neat Clns	1111	NW 3rd Av
Loretta's Clns	921	NW 2nd Av
Mobley's Dry Clns	709	NW 2nd Av
Neighborhood Cleaner	544	NW 14th St
Pembroke Launderette	1629	NW 3rd Av
Perry's Clns	1024	NW 2nd Av
Pop's Clns	1412	NW 3rd Av

2 Cleaners and Laundries (cont.)

Sanitary Clns clo	1438	NW 3rd Av
Southland Cln Clo	627	NW 2nd Av
Spotless Clns	1211	NW 3rd Av
Super Speed Launderette	538	NW 2nd Av
T & D Cln & Lndry	364	NW 14th St
Third Av Lndry	1119	NW 3rd Av
Walter's Cleaners & Laundry	157	NW 14th St
Wash House - Indry	1139	NW 2nd Av
Williams Clns & Lndry	1649	NW 3rd Av

3 Shoe Shining and Repair

Anderson Thos L shoe repr	1031	NW 2nd Av
Bim's Shoe Repair	818	NW 2nd Av
Bowlegs Shoe Parlor	365	NW 14th St
Eric's Shoe Shine Parlor	1434	NW 3rd Av
Evans Shoe Repair	1452	NW 3rd Av
Freddies Shoe Shine Parlor	1640	NW 3rd Av
Friendly Shoe Shine Parlor	1502	NW 3rd Av
Hill Top Shine Parlor	504	NW 14th St
Louis Bryant shoe shiner	643	NW 2nd Av
Master Hat Shop & Shoe Shine Parlor	638	NW 2nd Av
- Theo G Johnson		
Old Fellow Shoe Shine Parlor	716	NW 2nd Av
Papa Red Shoe Shine Parlor	715	NW 2nd Av
Pieze Shoe Repair	311	NW 14th St
Wolfson Morris shoe repair	520	NW 2nd Av

E. Other Services**1 Gas Station and Car Repair**

Anderson's Serv Sta	801	NW 2nd Av
Reuben Coleman Gas Sta	1628	NW 3rd Av
Spellman's Serv Sta	1662	NW 3rd Av

2 Repairs and Appliance

Bailey's Appliances Sls	1401	NW 3rd Av
Earnest Radio & TV Repair	1219	NW 3rd Av
Ervin Curry appliance repr	450	NW 14th St
Jet TV Clinic - Magic City Pool Rm	909-11	NW 2nd Av
Marvins Radio Shop	1427	NW 3rd Av

2 Repairs and Appliance (cont.)

Town Hdw Store	1135	NW 3rd Av
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3 Cash & Credit

Lennys Cash & Credit Inc	901	NW 2nd Av
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4 Others

Miami Barber College	195	NW 14th St
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F. Religious Establishments

Ch of the Lord Jesus Christ	819	NW 2nd Av
Church of God in Christ	1747	NW 3rd Av
Greater St John's Bapt Ch	1328	NW 3rd Av
Holy Spirit Light Church	366	NW 14th St
House of God	340-42	NW 14th St
Masonic Temple	1742	NW 3rd Av
Order of the Eastern Star	1113	NW 3rd Av
Pentecostal Church of the Lord	1455	NW 3rd Av
Shining Light Holy Spiritual Church	1234	NW 3rd Av
Spiritual Guidance Temple of Truth	1740	NW 3rd Av
St Agnes Episcopal Church	1750	NW 3rd Av
St Bartholomew Tabernacle	1113	NW 3rd Av
St James Baptist Church	323	NW 14th St
St Mark's Holy Ghost Church of God	1212	NW 3rd Av
Temple Baptist Church	1723	NW 3rd Av

G. Retail**1 Taylor and Cloth**

Ben's men's Wear	148	NW 14th St
Bob's Ladies Apparel	1207	NW 3rd Av
Carter Credit Inc clo	844	NW 2nd Av
Harlem Clo Center	1337-39	NW 3rd Av
Jack's Men & Boy's Wear	944	NW 2nd Av
King the Tailor	919	NW 2nd Av
Lil's Dress & Fabric	1305	NW 3rd Av
Love Gus R tailor	842	NW 2nd Av
Miami Wiping Cloth	1649b	NW 3rd Av
Parisian Tailors	1454	NW 3rd Av
People's Trading Co clo	933	NW 2nd Av
Perry's Fashion Inc	1143	NW 3rd Av

1 Taylor and Cloth (cont.)

Reliable Trading Co Inc men's clo	1352-56	NW 3rd Av
Robinson Exclusive Tailoring	912	NW 2nd Av
Second Hand Store used clo	500	NW 2nd Av
Uncle Ben's Clo	1186	NW 3rd Av

2 Drug Stores

Barkley's Cut-Rate Sundries & Drugs	1201	NW 3rd Av
Economy Drug Co	1101	NW 3rd Av
Harlem Drug	1400	NW 3rd Av
Lenny's Drug	1700	NW 3rd Av

2 Drug Stores (cont.)

Service Drug Store	1240	NW 3rd Av
Stone Drugs	900	NW 2nd Av
Waldman's Cut Rate Store drugs	618-20	NW 2nd Av

3 Groceries and Markets

A & S Grocery	1833	NW 3rd Av
Alex's Sundries confr	715 - 1/2	NW 2nd Av
Allens Combinagtion gro	800	NW 2nd Av
B & B Fish Mkt	1649c	NW 3rd Av
Barkett grocery, Mrs. Azelda B Barkett	708	NW 2nd Av
Bros Mkt gro	1481	NW 3rd Av
C & L Fish & poultry	240	NW 14th St
Corner Grocery	400	NW 14th St
Danny's Market gro	122	NW 14th St
Economy Poultry & Fish Mkt	1115	NW 3rd Av
George's Mkt	1344	NW 3rd Av
Gonzalez Cuban Market gro	1116	NW 3rd Av
Green's Market	1141	NW 2nd Av
H & H Meat Mkt	1435	NW 3rd Av
Hy Grade Meat Mkt	1123	NW 3rd Av
Jack's Fish & Poultry Mkt	372	NW 14th St
Jack's Market	192	NW 14th St
Joe's Food Center	478	NW 14th St
Joe's Groceramma gro	1300	NW 3rd Av
Joe's Mket gro	130	NW 14th St
Joe's Mkt	1523	NW 3rd Av

3 Groceries and Markets (cont.)

Joes Mkt gro	1900	NW 3rd Av
John Glass grocery	524	NW 14th St
Mack's Market	401	NW 14th St
Maida Ros Gro	914	NW 2nd Av
McKay's Sundries	100	NW 14th St
Midway Supermarket	236-38	NW 14th St
P & A Gro	1430	NW 3rd Av
Person Pink gro	548	NW 14th St
Prince Gro	1048	NW 2nd Av
Ramos Grocery	362	NW 14th St
Rayoon Fruit & Produce	1701	NW 3rd Av
Reich's Market	500	NW 14th St
Rite Way Food Market	1600	NW 3rd Av
Perry's Florist	1100	NW 3rd Av

4 Jewelers

David Jwlrss	1188	NW 3rd Av
Joseph Syman jwlr	720	NW 2nd Av
Reliable Watch & Jwly	604	NW 2nd Av

5 Furniture Stores

Atlantic Furn Co Inc	1233-45	NW 3rd Av
Helmly O'Neal Furn Dept Store Inc	841	NW 2nd Av
Sokol Furn Co	1433	NW 3rd Av

6 Shoe Retails

Economy Shoe Shop	1109	NW 3rd Av
Roy's Shoe Shop	102	NW 14th St

7 General Stores

Dixie Cash Market Inc	139	NW 14th St
James Five & Ten Store	1200-06	NW 3rd Av
Leonard's Stores genl mdse	741	NW 2nd Av
Mission Thrift Store	1210	NW 3rd Av
Modern Credit Store	1146	NW 3rd Av
Salvation Army Thrift Store	1214	NW 3rd Av

8 Others

Leonards Bakery	1655	NW 3rd Av
Sands Hosiery Shop	1132	NW 3rd Av

Table 1.8: Raw Data, Business Profile: Actual Count

			1949	1954	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1972	1976	1980	1989
A	Professional	NW14	4	1	6	4	5	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	Hotel/boarding	NW14	6	6	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	0
C	Entertainment	NW14	19	14	14	16	15	15	10	8	4	6	3	2	1
D	Local Services	NW14	20	15	12	17	15	14	10	5	5	6	4	1	1
F	Local Retail	NW14	30	33	17	16	16	14	7	6	5	3	3	2	3
F2	Regional Retail	NW14	5	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
G	Community	NW14	1	1	6	6	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	0	1
H	Others	NW14	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M	Unclassified	NW14	3	4	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
	TOTAL	NW14	89	78	58	61	57	53	31	22	18	22	14	5	6
A	Professional	NW2	13	13	12	11	13	13	11	11	11	11	6	4	3
B	Hotel/boarding	NW2	13	10	11	11	11	9	8	9	7	9	8	2	0
C	Entertainment	NW2	35	30	20	22	21	24	20	18	20	18	12	2	1
D	Local Services	NW2	32	28	33	27	31	27	20	20	18	19	15	6	1
F	Local Retail	NW2	38	31	22	19	14	12	14	12	13	11	9	3	2
F2	Regional Retail	NW2	10	8	6	7	6	5	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
G	Community	NW2	1	0	2	4	3	3	2	2	3	2	4	3	2
H	Others	NW2	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
M	Unclassified	NW2	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	2	1	3	1	0	1
	TOTAL	NW2	144	124	109	104	99	93	78	76	75	76	56	22	11
A	Professional	NW3	12	18	21	25	22	17	12	8	7	3	2	2	0
B	Hotel/boarding	NW3	10	11	8	6	8	10	6	3	3	3	2	0	0
C	Entertainment	NW3	35	28	26	32	23	21	19	15	12	12	7	5	3
D	Local Services	NW3	34	40	36	46	44	45	36	30	21	16	12	8	10
F	Local Retail	NW3	51	48	39	36	37	36	23	19	13	11	9	10	4
F2	Regional Retail	NW3	5	9	8	7	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	0	0
G	Community	NW3	7	6	10	12	12	12	15	16	12	9	9	4	7
H	Others	NW3	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0
M	Unclassified	NW3	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	NW3	156	163	151	167	152	147	117	94	71	57	42	29	24

			1949	1954	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1972	1976	1980	1989
A	Professional	ALL	29	32	39	40	40	34	24	19	18	14	8	6	3
B	Hotel/boarding	ALL	29	27	19	17	20	20	15	13	12	14	10	2	0
C	Entertainment	ALL	89	72	60	70	59	60	49	41	36	36	22	9	5
D	Local Services	ALL	86	83	81	90	90	86	66	55	44	41	31	15	12
F	Local Retail	ALL	119	112	78	71	67	62	44	37	31	25	21	15	9
F2	Regional Retail	ALL	20	20	15	15	12	10	7	5	5	4	3	1	0
G	Community	ALL	9	7	18	22	19	19	18	19	16	13	14	7	10
H	Others	ALL	4	6	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1
M	Unclassified	ALL	4	6	3	4	0	1	2	2	1	5	3	0	1
	TOTAL	ALL	389	365	318	332	308	293	226	192	164	155	112	56	41
TOTAL -- Checking Purpose			389	365	318	332	308	293	226	192	164	155	112	56	41

Table 1.9: Raw Data, Business Profile: Rate of Changes

	1949	1954	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1972	1976	1980	1989
Absolute Changes		-24	-47	14	-24	-15	-67	-34	-28	-9	-43	-56	-15
Annualized Percent Change per period		-1%	-2%	2%	-4%	-2%	-23%	-8%	-15%	-3%	-8%	-16%	-3%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-2%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-7%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-14%				
Economic Engine = A+B+C+F2	167	151	133	142	131	124	95	78	71	68	43	18	8
Absolute Changes		-16	-18	9	-11	-7	-29	-17	-7	-3	-25	-25	-10
Annualized Percent Change per period		-2%	-2%	3%	-4%	-3%	-23%	-9%	-9%	-2%	-11%	-20%	-9%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-2%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-11%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-13%				
Total Commercial	380	358	300	310	289	274	208	173	148	142	98	49	31
Absolute Changes		-22	-58	10	-21	-15	-66	-35	-25	-6	-44	-49	-18
Annualized Percent Change per period		-1%	-3%	2%	-3%	-3%	-24%	-9%	-14%	-2%	-9%	-16%	-5%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-2%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-8%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-14%				
	380	345.15	307.52	295.91	284.74	274	268.77	258.63	253.70	244.13	226.04	209.30	176.030
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 72										-10%			
Annualized Percent Change 70 to 89													-8%
Percent between 49 to 66						-28%							
Percent between 66 to 70									-46%				
Percent between 70 to 89													-79%
Non-Basic Business = D +F	205	195	159	161	157	148	110	92	75	66	52	30	21
Absolute Changes		-10	-36	2	-4	-9	-38	-18	-17	-9	-14	-22	-9
Annualized Percent Change per period		-1%	-3%	1%	-1%	-3%	-26%	-9%	-18%	-6%	-6%	-13%	-4%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-2%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-7%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-16%				

	1949	1954	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1972	1976	1980	1989
Professional	29	32	39	40	40	34	24	19	18	14	8	6	3
Absolute Changes		3	7	1	0	-6	-10	-5	-1	-4	-6	-2	-3
Annualized Percent Change per period		2%	3%	1%	0%	-8%	-29%	-11%	-5%	-12%	-13%	-7%	-7%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						1%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-9%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-15%				
NW14 Business	88	77	52	55	53	49	30	21	17	20	13	5	5
Absolute Changes		-11	-25	3	-2	-4	-19	-9	-4	3	-7	-8	0
Annualized Percent Change per period		-3%	-6%	3%	-2%	-4%	-39%	-16%	-19%	8%	-10%	-21%	0%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-3%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-8%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-23%				
NW2 Business	143	124	107	100	96	90	76	74	72	74	52	19	9
Absolute Changes		-19	-17	-7	-4	-6	-14	-2	-2	2	-22	-33	-10
Annualized Percent Change per period		-3%	-2%	-3%	-2%	-3%	-16%	-1%	-3%	1%	-8%	-22%	-8%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-3%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-9%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-5%				
NW3 Business	149	157	141	155	140	135	102	78	59	48	33	25	17
Absolute Changes		8	-16	14	-15	-5	-33	-24	-19	-11	-15	-8	-8
Annualized Percent Change per period		1%	-2%	5%	-5%	-2%	-24%	-13%	-24%	-10%	-9%	-7%	-4%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-1%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-8%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-19%				
Hotel/Boarding	29	27	19	17	20	20	15	13	12	14	10	2	0
Absolute Changes		-2	-8	-2	3	0	-5	-2	-1	2	-4	-8	-2
Annualized Percent Change per period		-1%	-6%	-5%	8%	0%	-25%	-7%	-8%	8%	-8%	-33%	-100%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-2%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-100%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-12%				
Entertainment	89	72	60	70	59	60	49	41	36	36	22	9	5

	1949	1954	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1972	1976	1980	1989
Absolute Changes		-17	-12	10	-11	1	-11	-8	-5	0	-14	-13	-4
Annualized Percent Change per period		-4%	-3%	8%	-8%	1%	-18%	-9%	-12%	0%	-12%	-20%	-6%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-2%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-10%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-12%				
Local Services	86	83	81	90	90	86	66	55	44	41	31	15	12
Absolute Changes		-3	-2	9	0	-4	-20	-11	-11	-3	-10	-16	-3
Annualized Percent Change per period		-1%	-0%	5%	0%	-2%	-23%	-9%	-20%	-3%	-7%	-17%	-2%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						0%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-7%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-15%				
Local Retail	119	112	78	71	67	62	44	37	31	25	21	15	
Absolute Changes		-7	-34	-7	-4	-5	-18	-7	-6	-6	-4	-6	-15
Annualized Percent Change per period		-1%	-6%	-5%	-3%	-4%	-29%	-8%	-16%	-10%	-4%	-8%	-100%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-4%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-100%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-16%				
Regional Retail	20	20	15	15	12	10	7	5	5	4	3	1	0
Absolute Changes		0	-5	0	-3	-2	-3	-2	0	-1	-1	-2	-1
Annualized Percent Change per period		0%	-5%	0%	-11%	-9%	-30%	-15%	0%	-11%	-7%	-24%	-100%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						-4%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-100%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-16%				
Community	9	7	18	22	19	19	18	19	16	13	14	7	10
Absolute Changes		-2	11	4	-3	0	-1	1	-3	-3	1	-7	3
Annualized Percent Change per period		-5%	17%	11%	-7%	0%	-5%	3%	-16%	-10%	2%	-16%	4%
Annualized Percent Change 49 to 66						4%							
Annualized Percent Change 67 to 89													-3%
Annualized Percent Change 66 to 70									-4%				

Table 1.10: Raw Data, Business Profile: Composition

		1949	1954	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1972	1976	1980	1989
Professional	NW14	4%	1%	10%	7%	9%	8%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Hotel/boarding	NW14	7%	8%	0%	0%	2%	2%	3%	5%	11%	9%	0%	0%	0%
Entertainment	NW14	21%	18%	24%	26%	26%	28%	32%	36%	22%	27%	21%	40%	17%
Local Services	NW14	22%	19%	21%	28%	26%	26%	32%	23%	28%	27%	29%	20%	17%
Local Retail	NW14	34%	42%	29%	26%	28%	26%	23%	27%	28%	14%	21%	40%	50%
Regional Retail	NW14	6%	4%	2%	2%	2%	0%	3%	5%	6%	5%	7%	0%	0%
Community	NW14	1%	1%	10%	10%	7%	8%	3%	5%	6%	9%	7%	0%	17%
Others	NW14	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Unclassified	NW14	3%	5%	3%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	9%	14%	0%	0%
TOTAL	NW14	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Professional	NW2	9%	10%	11%	11%	13%	14%	14%	14%	15%	14%	11%	18%	27%
Hotel/boarding	NW2	9%	8%	10%	11%	11%	10%	10%	12%	9%	12%	14%	9%	0%
Entertainment	NW2	24%	24%	18%	21%	21%	26%	26%	24%	27%	24%	21%	9%	9%
Local Services	NW2	22%	23%	30%	26%	31%	29%	26%	26%	24%	25%	27%	27%	9%
Local Retail	NW2	26%	25%	20%	18%	14%	13%	18%	16%	17%	14%	16%	14%	18%
Regional Retail	NW2	7%	6%	6%	7%	6%	5%	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%	5%	0%
Community	NW2	1%	0%	2%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	7%	14%	18%
Others	NW2	1%	3%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	5%	9%
Unclassified	NW2	0%	0%	1%	3%	0%	0%	1%	3%	1%	4%	2%	0%	9%
TOTAL	NW2	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Professional	NW3	8%	11%	14%	15%	14%	12%	10%	9%	10%	5%	5%	7%	0%
Hotel/boarding	NW3	6%	7%	5%	4%	5%	7%	5%	3%	4%	5%	5%	0%	0%
Entertainment	NW3	22%	17%	17%	19%	15%	14%	16%	16%	17%	21%	17%	17%	13%
Local Services	NW3	22%	25%	24%	28%	29%	31%	31%	32%	30%	28%	29%	28%	42%
Local Retail	NW3	33%	29%	26%	22%	24%	24%	20%	20%	18%	19%	21%	34%	17%
Regional Retail	NW3	3%	6%	5%	4%	3%	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%	2%	0%	0%
Community	NW3	4%	4%	7%	7%	8%	8%	13%	17%	17%	16%	21%	14%	29%

		1949	1954	1960	1962	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1972	1976	1980	1989
Others	NW3	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	4%	0%	0%	0%
Unclassified	NW3	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
TOTAL	NW3	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Professional	ALL	7%	9%	12%	12%	13%	12%	11%	10%	11%	9%	7%	11%	7%
Hotel/boarding	ALL	7%	7%	6%	5%	6%	7%	7%	7%	7%	9%	9%	4%	0%
Entertainment	ALL	23%	20%	19%	21%	19%	20%	22%	21%	22%	23%	20%	16%	12%
Local Services	ALL	22%	23%	25%	27%	29%	29%	29%	29%	27%	26%	28%	27%	29%
Local Retail	ALL	31%	31%	25%	21%	22%	21%	19%	19%	19%	16%	19%	27%	22%
Regional Retail	ALL	5%	5%	5%	5%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%	0%
Community	ALL	2%	2%	6%	7%	6%	6%	8%	10%	10%	8%	13%	13%	24%
Others	ALL	1%	2%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	2%	0%	2%	2%
Unclassified	ALL	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	3%	3%	0%	2%
TOTAL	ALL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chapter 2: Profile of Overtown and Surrounding Areas: 1950-1990

Prepared by Peter Cattan

1. The socio-demographic importance of Overtown at mid-century.

Located next to the heart of Miami's downtown area, Overtown was Miami's largest African American neighborhood in 1950, home to more than 29,000 persons, almost three-fourths of the city's black residents. By way of contrast, as the decennial censuses for Miami also indicate, Miami's other major black neighborhoods in the Liberty City/Brownsville and Coconut Grove areas together accounted for less than 18,000 African American residents. Both neighborhoods were far from downtown; the former occupied a square within the northwestern fringe of Miami City, while the latter was in a corner at the city's southeastern extreme. There were smaller black neighborhoods in the northern part of Miami as well as in areas adjacent to the city's boundaries.

Unlike Liberty City/Brownsville and Coconut Grove, Overtown's population in 1950 was disproportionately 25-to-54 years old, an age group that tends to have a high level of work attachment. In addition, a rather high proportion—approximately 68 percent—of Overtown's working age population was employed in 1950. Like African American workers in other neighborhoods, Overtown's residents were concentrated in low-paying jobs; men were disproportionately employed in laborer occupations and most women were private household workers. Less than five percent of Overtown's workers were professionals or managers, about on par with the proportion for Coconut Grove and slightly below that for Liberty City. Median household income for Overtown (approximately \$1,500 in 1949) was somewhat below that for other African American residential areas.

2. The 1950s were pivotal years for Overtown.

The proportion of Overtown residents who were homeowners in 1950 (just under 12 percent) was lower than that for other black neighborhoods and declined dramatically by 1960. Between 1950 and 1960, more than 4,000 new renters entered Overtown. With approximately three persons per household, this influx represents approximately 13,000 new residents. More than 6,000 multi-family units were constructed during this period. Overtown changed from a neighborhood of smaller homes to one with a disproportionate number of rather large apartment buildings.

An estimated nine or ten thousand persons left Overtown during the decade, moving in large numbers to less crowded and more modern living accommodations in Liberty City/Brownsville and other neighborhoods relatively distant from Miami's downtown. With

new residents entering these neighborhoods from other areas as well, the more distant neighborhoods grew rapidly during the 1950s. By 1960, Overtown accounted for only half of Miami City's African American residents, down from almost three-fourths

As part of this out migration, Overtown lost a large portion of its 25-to-54 year old population. In addition, its small group of managers and professionals declined in contrast to other black neighborhoods which experienced modest increases in the number of persons employed in these top-level jobs. In the 1950s, Overtown's economy became somewhat more dependent on a smaller group of employed persons who tended to be more concentrated in lower-paying positions.

3. Overtown's economic base declined rapidly in subsequent decades.

While economic well-being tended to increase for most black neighborhoods during the 1960s, Overtown's median household income (adjusted for inflation) was virtually stagnant. It declined in subsequent decades.

Incomes—and populations—declined markedly for Liberty City/Brownsville in the 1970s, while increasing dramatically in adjacent and suburban black communities. In the 1980s, population sizes and inflation-adjusted median incomes throughout Miami's African American neighborhoods declined noticeably, while continuing to increase in black suburban areas beyond the city's boundaries.

Currently, Overtown is experiencing the most extreme economic hardship of any community in Dade County. For example, the most recent census indicates that only 34 percent of Overtown's working-age residents were employed in 1990. This proportion was almost half that for African Americans in Dade County as a whole. Most of Overtown's potential workers are not seeking jobs and thus are not counted as unemployed. Undoubtedly, many of these non-workers are discouraged about their prospects of finding employment.

Over half of all families in Overtown were below the official poverty line in 1990. This was almost twice the average poverty rate for the county's black residents. Much family poverty can be attributed to the lack of employment. In fact, the poverty rate in Overtown drops a dramatic 22 percentage points (to 29.4 percent) for families headed by a worker. It is nevertheless clear that even among Overtown's residents who were employed, a large proportion fell below the poverty line.

4. Supplemental Information

Table 2.1: Summary Comparison between Overtown and Dade County

	Overtown	Dade County
Employment status		
Persons 16 years and over, both sexes	5,187	257,144
In labor force	2,198	181,256
Employed	1,762	158,428
Percent of persons 16 years and over	34.0	61.6
Unemployed	436	22,828
Percent of the labor force	19.8	12.6
Not in the labor force	2,989	75,888
Percent of persons 16 years and over	57.6	29.5
Women 16 years and over	3,075	149,631
In labor force	1,111	93,896
Employed	915	82,180
Percent of persons 16 years and over	29.8	54.9
Unemployed	196	11,716
Percent of the labor force	17.6	12.5
Not in the labor force	1,964	55,735
Percent of persons 16 years and over	63.9	37.2
Men 16 years and over	2,112	107,513
In labor force	1,087	87,360
Employed	847	76,248
Percent of persons 16 years and over	40.1	70.9
Unemployed	240	11,112
Percent of the labor force	17.6	12.7
Not in the labor force	1,025	20,153
Percent of persons 16 years and over	48.5	18.7
Occupations		
All employed persons, 16 years and over, total	1,762	158,428
Upper white collar (%)	12.5	20.0
Lower white collar (%)	19.3	26.5
Upper blue collar (%)	6.1	8.6
Lower blue collar (%)	22.9	17.1
Services (%)	34.4	25.6
Farming (%)	4.8	2.2
Work status in 1989		
Persons 16 years and over who worked in 1989, total	2,430	184,502
Percent who worked 35 hours or more per week, 50-52 weeks	49.3	53.6

	Overtown	Dade County
Earnings		
Number of all households	2,799	120,077
With earnings	1,632	99,468
As percent of all households	58.3	82.8
Mean earnings (in dollars) for households with earnings	15,811	28,286
With public assistance	885	17,598
As percent of all households	31.6	14.7
Mean public assistance (in dollars)	3,831	3,365
Poverty status		
All families, total	1,769	89,758
Below poverty level	907	24,043
Poverty rate	51.3	26.8
Family head worked in 1989	1,018	68,593
Below poverty level	299	11,664
Poverty rate	29.4	17.0
Female householder, no husband present, total	1,148	37,095
Below poverty level	745	16,366
Poverty rate	64.9	44.1
Female householder who worked in 1989	581	25,083
Below poverty level	255	7,445
Poverty rate	43.9	29.7
Children under 18 years	3,058	134,176
Below poverty level	1,984	52,138
Poverty rate	64.9	38.9
Persons 65 years and over	608	22,563
Below poverty level	364	8,093
Poverty rate	59.9	35.9
Percent of all residents who are in extreme poverty (income below fifty percent of the poverty level)	33.7	15.8
Selected socio-demographic characteristics		
Age, total population	7,961	397,993
Percent under 5 years	12.4	10.3
Percent 25 to 64 years	44.8	40.6
Percent 65 years and over	7.6	5.8
Educational attainment, persons 25 years and over, total	4,020	216,558
Percent with no high school diploma	59.8	44.0
Percent with high school diploma	36.8	46.1
Percent with college diploma or beyond	3.4	9.9
Non-institutionalized persons 16 to 64 years, total	4,377	245,064
Percent with a work disability	11.5	7.8
Percent of work-disabled who are prevented from working	72.5	61.1

Profiles of Overtown and of black residents of Dade County as a whole, 1990
(Derived from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Population and Housing Characteristics for
Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas, Miami, Section 1, CPH-3-229B)

Table 2.2: Census Tract Selection for Miami Neighborhoods

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami					
Overtown	A-31, A-32, A-33, A-34, A-35	31, 34	31, 34	31, 34	31, 34
Liberty City and vicinity	A-15, A-17, A-18, A-19, A-23, A-24, A-25	15A, 15B, 17A, 17B, 17C, 18A, 18B, 18C, 19A, 19B, 19C, 23, 24, 25	15.01, 15.02, 17.01, 17.02, 17.03, 18.01, 18.02, 18.03, 19.01, 19.02, 23, 24, 25	15.01, 15.02, 17.01, 17.02, 17.03, 18.01, 18.02, 18.03, 19.01, 19.02, 23, 24, 25	15.01, 15.02, 17.01, 17.02, 17.03, 18.01, 18.02, 18.03, 19.01, 23, 24, 25
Coconut Grove	C-71, C-72	71, 72	71, 72	71, 72	71, 72
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Edison, Little River, Little Haiti, Wynwood, Downtown/Omni)	A-13, A-14, A-20, A-21, A-22, A-26, A-27, A-28, A-36, A-37	13, 14, 20A, 20B, 21, 22A, 22B, 26, 27, 28, 36, 37A, 37B	13, 14, 20.01, 20.02, 22.01, 22.02, 26, 27.01, 27.02, 28, 36.01, 36.02, 37.01, 37.02	13, 14, 20.01, 20.02, 21, 22.01, 22.02, 26.01, 26.02, 27.02, 28, 36.01, 36.02, 37.01, 37.02	13.01, 13.02, 14.01, 14.02, 20.01, 21, 22.01, 22.02, 26, 27.02, 28, 36.01, 36.02, 37.02
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary (Includes West Little River, Gladeview, sections of Opa-Locka, and contiguous census tracts.)	A-4, A-5, A-9, A-10, A-11	4A, 4B, 4C, 4D, 4E, 4F, 4G, 4H, 5A, 5B, 5C, 9A, 9B, 9C, 10A, 10B, 10C, 10D, 11A, 11B, 11C, 11D	4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, 9.01, 9.02, 9.03, 10.01, 10.02, 10.03, 10.04, 11.01, 11.02, 11.03, 11.04	4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, 9.01, 9.02, 9.03, 10.01, 10.02, 10.03, 10.04, 11.03	4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, 9.01, 9.02, 9.03, 10.01, 10.02, 10.03, 10.04, 11.03
Outer Suburbs: Northern (Includes Golden Glades, Norland, Scott Lake, Carol City, and contiguous tracts.)	n/a	2F, 2G, 94, 95, 99, 100	2.06, 2.07, 94, 95.01, 95.02, 99.03, 99.04, 100.01, 100.02, 100.03, 100.04	2.06, 2.07, 94, 95.01, 95.02, 99.03, 99.04, 100.01, 100.02, 100.03, 100.04, 100.05, 100.06, 100.07, 100.08	2.06, 2.07, 94, 95.01, 95.02, 99.03, 99.04, 100.01, 100.02, 100.03, 100.04, 100.05, 100.06, 100.07, 100.08
Outer Suburbs: Southern (Includes South Miami City, Palmetto Estates, Perrine, South Miami Heights, and contiguous tracts.)	C-76	76B, 76C, 83, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 113	76.02, 76.03, 83.01	76.02, 76.03, 83.01, 83.02, 102, 104, 105, 106.02, 106.03, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114	102.02, 102.03, 102.2, 104, 106.02, 106.03, 107.01, 107.02, 108

NOTE: The Census changed its system of naming tracts in 1960 and again in 1970.

Table 2.3 Tenure Status of Housing Units in the Overtown Neighborhood

Year	Number of renters*	Number of owners*	Total number of housing units with black householder	Percentage of housing units occupied by owner*
1950	5,625	737	6,362	11.6
1960	9,888	621	10,509	5.9
<i>Change</i>	<i>4,263</i>			
1970	5,450	122	5,572	2.2
<i>Change</i>	<i>-4,438</i>			
1980	3,696	192	3,888	4.9
<i>Change</i>	<i>1,754</i>			
1990	2,707	106	2,813	3.8
<i>Change</i>	<i>-989</i>			

*Data refer to nonwhite renters and owners in 1950 and 1960 and black renters for the remaining years.

Table 2.4 Characteristics of Housing Units in the Overtown Neighborhood

Year	Number of dwellings built over the past decade and change	Number of residential buildings with 5 or more dwelling units and change	Number of residential buildings with 5 or more dwellings as a percentage of all dwelling units	Number of dwelling units with more than 1 person per room as a percent of all dwelling units	Estimated median rents and percent change
1950	1030	979	14.4	33.7	1085
1960	4337	7136	62.3	27.7	4947
<i>Change</i>	<i>3307</i>	<i>6157</i>			<i>356</i>
1970	546	4621	78	31	2712
<i>Change</i>	<i>-3791</i>	<i>-2515</i>			<i>-45</i>
1980	406	3166	80.8	63.5	1864
<i>Change</i>	<i>-140</i>	<i>-1455</i>			<i>-31</i>
1990	430	2199	77.7	67.2	1338
<i>Change</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>-967</i>			<i>-28</i>

Table 2.5 Distribution of black residents of Dade County, by major neighborhood grouping, 1950-1990

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Dade County	64,947	137,299	189,666	280,434	397,993
City of Miami	40,262	65,213	76,156	87,110	98,207
Overtown	29,253	32,665	15,935	10,109	7,961
Liberty City and vicinity	11,921	42,522	65,484	49,592	
Coconut Grove	5,918	8,143	9,285	5,961	5,545
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits	548	6,311	15,129	34,162	45,692
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary (Includes West Little River, Gladeview, sections of Opa-Locka, and contiguous census tracts.)	5,527	18,204	37,448	64,994	89,708
Outer suburbs, total	10,318	25,376	40,739	84,791	115,794
Northern suburbs (Includes Golden Glades, Norland, Scott Lake, Carol City, and contiguous tracts.)					
Southern suburbs (Includes South Miami City, Palmetto Estates, Perrine, South Miami Heights, and contiguous tracts.)					

Table 2.6 Distribution of black residents of Dade County, by major neighborhood grouping, 1950-1990: Level of change

	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1980	1980-1990
Dade County, total	72,352	52,367	90,768	117,559
Miami City, total	24,951	10,943	10,954	11,097
Overtown	3,412	-16,730	-5,826	-2,148
Liberty City and vicinity	30,601	22,962	-15,892	-49,592
Coconut Grove	2,225	1,142	-3,324	-416
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits	5,763	8,818	19,033	11,530
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary (Includes West Little River, Gladeview, sections of Opa-Locka, and contiguous census tracts.)	12,677	19,244	27,546	24,714
Outer suburbs, total				
Northern suburbs (Includes Golden Glades, Norland, Scott Lake, Carol City, and contiguous tracts.)				
Southern suburbs (Includes South Miami City, Palmetto Estates, Perrine, South Miami Heights, and contiguous tracts.)				

Table 2.7 Percent change in the number of black residents of Dade County, by major neighborhood grouping, 1950-1990

	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1980	1980-1990
Dade County	111.4	38.1	47.9	41.9
City of Miami	62.0	16.8	14.4	12.7
Overtown	11.7	-51.2	-36.6	-21.2
Liberty City and vicinity	256.7	54.0	-24.3	...
Coconut Grove	37.6	14.0	-35.8	-7.0
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits	1051.6	139.7	125.8	33.8
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary (Includes West Little River, Gladeview, sections of Opa-Locka, and contiguous census tracts.)	229.4	105.7	73.6	38.0
Outer suburbs, total	145.9	60.5	108.1	36.6
Northern suburbs (Includes Golden Glades, Norland, Scott Lake, Carol City, and contiguous tracts.)				
Southern suburbs (Includes South Miami City, Palmetto Estates, Perrine, South Miami Heights, and contiguous tracts.)				

Table 2.8 Percent distribution of black residents of Dade County, 1950-90

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Dade County, total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
question on this data...					
Miami City, total	62.0	47.5	40.2	31.1	24.7
Overtown	45.0	23.8	8.4	3.6	2.0
Liberty City/Brownsville, Allapattah	9.2	14.1	19.5	12.5	8.8
Liberty City and vicinity					
Coconut Grove	6.6	4.8	3.9	1.7	1.2
Edgewater, Edison, Little Haiti, Wynwood	0.8	4.6	7.5	12.2	11.5
Remainder	0.4	0.2	0.8	1.0	1.2
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits					
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary (Includes West Little River, Gladeview, sections of Opa-Locka, and contiguous census tracts.)	8.5	13.3	19.7	23.2	22.5
Outer suburbs, total	15.9	18.5	21.5	30.2	29.1
Northern suburbs (Includes Golden Glades, Norland, Scott Lake, Carol City, and contiguous tracts.)					
Southern suburbs (Includes South Miami City, Palmetto Estates, Perrine, South Miami Heights, and contiguous tracts.)					

Table 2.9 Change in the number of 25 to 54 year olds, 1950 to 1990

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Dade County	32,786	54,929	64,263	105,620	
City of Miami	21,929	27,308	27,696	34,119	
Overtown	16,383	14,540	6,068	3,425	2,967
Liberty City and vicinity	5,158	10,698	14,946	16,722	
Coconut Grove	2,909	3,242	3,105	2,105	
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits	363	8,821	5,050	15,288	

Table 2.10 Comparison: Percent change in total population (all ages) with ages 25-54

	% Change 1950-60		% Change 1960-70		% Change 1970-80		% Change 1980-90	
	All ages	25-54	All ages	25-54	All ages	25-54	All ages	25-54
Dade County	112.6	67.5	36.4	17.0	47.9	64.4		
City of Miami	62.2	24.5	15.9	1.4	14.2	23.2		
Overtown	11.7	-11.2	-51.1	-58.3	-36.7	-43.6		-13.4
Liberty City and vicinity	136.7	107.4	102.8	39.7	-13.6	11.9		
Coconut Grove	37.7	11.4	14.2	-4.2	-36.0	-32.2		
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits	3,174.1	2,330.0	-37.1	-42.8	148.0	202.7		

Table 2.11 Persons 25 to 54 years of age: As percent of total population

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Dade County	50.1	39.5	33.9	37.7	42.0
City of Miami	54.0	41.5	36.3	39.2	41.2
Overtown	56.0	44.5	38.0	33.9	37.3
Liberty City and vicinity	43.1	37.8	26.0	33.7	35.2
Coconut Grove	49.1	39.8	33.4	35.3	42.1
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits	54.3	40.3	36.7	44.8	43.6

Table 2.12 Employment-to-population ratios for black residents of Dade County, by major neighborhoods, 1950-1990

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Dade County	65.1	63.9	62.6	61.0	
City of Miami	66.1	63.8	62.5	57.4	
Overtown	67.8	64.3	59.6	48.4	
Liberty City and vicinity	58.0	62.1	62.8	55.2	...
Coconut Grove	69.6	70.2	65.4	58.3	...
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits	57.9	65.4	64.2	61.0	...

Table 2.13 Percent of persons 25 years and over with high school diplomas or beyond, 1950-1990

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami City, total	10.8	19.0	27.6	38.3	22.2
Overtown	10.0	17.0	21.8	28.2	40.2
Liberty City and vicinity	12.3	23.6	29.6	39.6	41.7
Coconut Grove	9.3	16.9	23.5	42.0	50.7
Other major black neighborhoods primarily within city limits	n/a	21.5	27.6	36.6	40.2
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary	10.5	20.0	33.7	54.7	52.2
Outer suburbs					
Northern suburbs	n/a	n/a	40.8	68.0	68.6
Southern suburbs	n/a	12.9	22.1	46.8	55.7

Table 2.14 Percent of black workers 16 years and over employed as managers or professionals, 1950-1990

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami City, total	4.5	5.0	8.3	9.9	11.0
Overtown	4.5	3.3	3.8	2.8	9.3
Liberty City and vicinity	6.3	8.4	8.9	11.9	13.0
Coconut Grove	3.5	5.8	9.1	12.8	17.2
Other major black neighborhoods primarily within city limits	n/a	n/a	8.7	8.6	10.2
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary	3.8	5.9	10.5	13.2	13.2
Outer suburbs					
Northern	n/a	n/a	12.0	18.7	18.3
Southern	n/a	4.4	7.2	15.1	15.1

Table 2.15 Estimated median incomes for black households of Dade County, by major neighborhood groupings, 1949-1989, in dollars (Incomes not adjusted for inflation)

	1949	1959	1969	1979	1989
Miami City, total	1,518	2,635	4,246	8,600	12,481
Overtown	1,506	2,450	3,245	6,174	9,560
Liberty City and vicinity	1,832	2,983	5,156	9,261	12,739
Coconut Grove	1,513	2,461	4,317	11,570	13,599
Other major black neighborhoods primarily within city limits	N/A	3,111	4,609	8,456	13,683
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary	2,221	3,456	5,799	13,577	22,453
Outer suburbs					
Northern	n/a	n/a	8,652	18,896	30,988
Southern	n/a	2,462	4,911	11,885	19,811

NOTE: We felt that it was important to be able to compare each of these neighborhoods with each other and with the City of Miami and Dade County in terms of income level. However, the census data did not break down neatly at the neighborhood level, which are generally made up of several tracts. In order to estimate the median income of these neighborhoods to use in tables 2.15, 2.16 and 2.17, we multiplied the median income by the number of households in each tract, added them those together, and then divided this sum by the total number of households in the entire neighborhood. In this way, we were able to create a weighted average.

Table 2.16 Estimated median incomes for black households of Dade County, by major neighborhood groupings, 1949-1989, in dollars (Incomes adjusted for inflation)❖

	1949	1959	1969	1979	1989
Miami City, total	366	767	1,558	6,244	15,476
Overtown	363	713	1,191	4,482	11,854
Liberty City and vicinity	442	868	1,892	6,723	15,796
Coconut Grove	365	716	1,584	8,400	16,863
Other major black neighborhoods primarily within city limits	n/a	905	1,692	6,139	16,967
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary	535	1,006	2,128	9,857	27,842
Outer suburbs					
Northern	n/a	n/a	3,175	13,719	38,425
Southern	n/a	716	1,802	8,629	24,566

❖ Household incomes are adjusted using the Consumer Price Index for all urban consumers (CPI-U), where the average CPI-U for 1982-84=100.

Table 2.17 Percent change in estimated median incomes for black households of Dade County, by major neighborhood groupings, 1949-1989, using inflation-adjusted incomes in table 2.16

	1949 - 59	1959 - 69	1969 - 79	1979 - 89
Dade County, total	43.0	34.8	24.8	6.3
Miami City, total	43.8	27.8	2.4	-15.0
Overtown	34.7	5.0	-3.8	-9.3
Liberty City and vicinity	37.9	24.4	-12.7	-12.7
Coconut Grove	34.7	39.1	35.5	-31.2
Other major black neighborhoods primarily within city limits	28.9	0.6	16.0	-12.7
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary				
Outer suburbs				
Northern				
Southern				

Chapter 3: Chronology of Important Transportation

Decisions in the Area: 1950-1990

Prepared by Keith Revell

1. Synopsis:

For the period from 1950 to 1970, major transportation decisions affecting the Overtown area fall roughly into four major phases:

1. Selecting the Route
2. Initiating Construction; Delaying the Downtown Area
3. Revising the Downtown Route
4. Displacement, Relocation and Completion

These phases are explained next.

2. Phase 1 (1950 to 1956)

SELECTING THE ROUTE: This phase included the initial debate over how to handle the traffic problems of the downtown area. Building on traffic studies done in 1950-1951, Mel Connor, of the State Road Board, drafted an initial plan for an elevated highway through downtown. Under the Connor Plan, the expressway would have been routed over the Florida East Coast Railroad tracks in the downtown area, along the eastern boundary of Overtown. Because of the difficulty of moving or building over the FEC tracks, and because of disagreements among city and county officials, the Connor Plan was not acted on through 1955, nor was a locally acceptable alternative developed.

With the passage of the National Interstate and Defense Highway Act in 1956, local and state officials working with consulting engineers Wilbur Smith and Associates shifted the route of the expressway to the west of the FEC tracks to a point between 6th and 7th Avenues (approximately the route it takes today). The 1956 Wilbur Smith route for the North-South expressway (later I-95) cut through the western part of Overtown, and included an East-West expressway (later I-395 and SR 836) bisecting Overtown at about 9th Street (several blocks south of its current location). According to newspaper sources and elite interviews, there were several reasons for the choice of the westerly route: first, the battle with the FEC made it unlikely that the expressway could be built over the railroad tracks; second, land to the west of the tracks was cheaper than in the downtown area; third, it was

easier to deal with a few large property owners in Overtown rather than many property owners in other sections of the downtown area; and finally, black residents of the downtown area had little political voice at the time and thus their objections to the route would be easier to disregard.

3. Phase 2 (1956 to 1961)

INITIATING CONSTRUCTION; DELAYING THE DOWNTOWN SECTION: Under the leadership of State Road Board Chairman William Singer, construction began on the North-South expressway. Because of limited funding, Singer elected to use federal money to begin work on the northern section of the expressway (from 29th Street to the Golden Glades Interchange), then begin construction on the southern section (from SW 32nd Road to the Miami River). In spite of spirited opposition from residents and public officials, construction on the north section of the expressway began in July 1959. Opposition to the downtown section of the expressway was more effective. SRB Chairman Singer encouraged Dade voters to pass a highway bond to fund the downtown section of the expressway, with the stipulation that the County would be reimbursed by the federal government in the late 1960s. Voters approved the highway bond in May 1960; however, City Commissioner B. E. Hearn blocked the bond sale by filing a suit in the Florida Supreme Court. This suit and a subsequent suit were eventually thrown out by the court, but by that time Ed Ball, head of the Du Pont interests (which included the FEC and the Du Pont Plaza) objected to the location of the downtown feeder, which would have cut across Du Pont Plaza property. According to newspaper sources, Ball was a contributor to Farris Bryant's gubernatorial campaign. Once in office in 1961, Bryant called for a re-evaluation of the downtown route of the North-South expressway.

4. Phase 3 (1961 to 1965)

REVISING THE DOWNTOWN ROUTE: During this phase, work on the northern and southern sections of the expressway were completed, and the final route of the downtown section was chosen. The real debate during this period concerned the revised alignment of the downtown section of the expressway, from the Miami River to 29th Street, including the downtown and midtown interchanges. To respond to the concerns of Ed Ball, the SRB shifted the downtown interchange several blocks west, thus putting the expressway exit on SE 2nd Avenue rather than running it across Du Pont Plaza to Biscayne Boulevard. To maintain proper spacing between interchanges, the midtown interchange (between I-95 and I-395) was shifted several blocks north, from its original location at 9th Street up to 14th Street. Although these changes were more or less finalized by the end of 1963, several key issues were debated through 1965. City of Miami officials, along with members of the garment industry (located along 7th Avenue north of 20th Street), pressed the SRB and eventually the federal Bureau of Roads to put additional exits between 54th Street and 8th Street. Miami officials also argued vehemently to have the expressway elevated on concrete stilts below 29th Street to allow easier movement of traffic. Federal officials rejected the repeated requests for more exits by arguing that the interstate system was not intended to solve local traffic

problems and also cite the lack of funding. Eventually, however, concrete stilts were used for the section below the midtown interchange.

5. Phase 4 (1965 to 1970)

DISPLACEMENT, RELOCATION, AND COMPLETION: With the route and design of the downtown section more or less finalized, purchase of right-of-way and construction began. Although some SRB officials had expressed concern over the relocation of blacks in the downtown area as early as 1963, concern over displaced families became a leading topic in 1965 and 1966. The SRB made no provisions for the relocation of families displaced by the expressway, in part because the State legislature twice failed to pass legislation that would have allowed the use of the federal relocation money. Instead, the burden of relocating displaced families was given to the Urban Renewal Agency (established in 1963). Due to a lack of public housing—in part because of opposition by private builders—there was a relocation crisis in 1965 and 1966, with public authorities scrambling to find housing for displaced families. Construction began on the midtown section of the expressway in September of 1966, with the project virtually completed by 1969.

6. Timeline

Abbreviations:

FEC Florida East Coast Railroad
SRB Florida State Road Board
SRD Florida State Road Department
URA Metro Urban Renewal Agency
MHA Miami Housing Authority

Date	Activity or Event
1950-1951	State Road Board does origin and destination studies on movement of Miamians from work to home.
Dec. 1952	Connor Plan for elevated expressway over FEC tracks.
5-6-55	Revised expressway plan calls for elevated expressway over FEC tracks from point between 14th and 20th Street to Miami River, connecting with Rickenbacker Causeway. The plan is the result of five years of intensive research. The plan was unveiled during a briefing by Road Board Chairman Wilbur Jones and J. H. Connor, the Board's traffic and planning engineer. The estimated cost is \$150,000,000. Jones hoped the federal government could pick up some of the cost if the highway could be justified as part of the new interstate system. [Map shows east-west route coming from northwest, cutting through Central Negro District and linking with route to Venetian Causeway]
5-23-55	Other plans for relieving the downtown traffic problem include a city plan for expansion of NW 7th Avenue; a county plan for expressway from airport to

Venetian Causeway; a malecon proposal by R. C. Gardner; an area-wide plan by Henry Simmonite based on removal of FEC track. Critics say the SRB plan is flawed because it puts another obstruction to traffic flows in place of the railroad.

- 7-1-55 SRB encourages Miami officials to speed their planning along. They won't be able to hold money with officials in Orlando, Jacksonville and Tampa clamoring for it.
- 7-3-55 Local officials express concern that expressway will create Chinese Wall downtown. The elevated structure should be further to the west with feeders into the downtown, they say.
- 7-8-55 For lack of an officially accepted local plan, Greater Miami may be saddled with a network of elevated highways designed in Tallahassee. The plan was first unveiled on December 8, 1952 by Melvin A. Connor. The elevated expressway would be raised 25 to 45 feet over the FEC tracks, creating a Chinese Wall across downtown. The Connor Plan calls for replacing several blocks downtown with parking garages fed by elevated trunk-lines from the expressway. The plan was labeled tentative at first, but after two and a half years no unit of local government has come forward with an alternative.
- 12-19-55 The City could miss out on federal aid for lack of agreement on a plan for downtown traffic. The current SRB plan has the expressway running down NW 3rd Avenue to 36th Street, then jogging east to join up with FEC tracks at Miami Avenue at 20th Street. There, a feeder expressway goes west and then northwest toward Hialeah. The expressway follows the FEC tracks through downtown and across the River and to the Rickenbacker Causeway, with a spur running west just south of Tamiami Trail. A spur at NW 14th Street runs to the Venetian Causeway. These routes all follow the desire lines determined by the 1950-1951 traffic flow studies.
- 12-20-55 Expressway planning is like the blind men and the elephant, with different officials advocating different routes to solve different problems, but with no one seeing the whole problem. County, city, and SRB officials disagree on what to do. Limited access highways stand the best chance of being approved for federal funding, but city engineers have local traffic problems they want to solve. Arthur Darlow, City of Miami Traffic Engineer, has a plan based on considerations dating back through every traffic director the city has ever had, with a few 1955 refinements. He wants to improve the flow between traffic coming into downtown and traffic leaving by reversing one-way traffic on some streets and designating others as two-way; currently they tend to run into each other. It is almost impossible to widen streets because too many buildings would be demolished. A second city traffic plan uses expressways, very much like the SRB plan, but the City Commission approved the Darlow

plan. The County has a plan with bypasses in the hinterlands, but it is not well received by city or state officials. State officials are also not impressed by the county's mid-bay malecon expressway and scenic road to the Florida Keys. The county also has a plan for a northwest toll expressway to link the Venetian Causeway and the airport. State planners don't like the idea because it will cost too much to collect tolls and will serve too few people.

- Dec. 1956 Wilbur Smith plan published showing route of expressway through Overtown area. Smith says the route was moved west from its original route over the FEC tracks for several reasons: (1) the need to make room for the westward expansion of the downtown; (2) the expense of building an elevated highway over the railroad line; (3) the uncertainty over whether the right-of-way could be purchased.
- 12-12-56 Expressway will connect with east-west expressways at 36th Street and 9th Street. No exit is planned between NW 9th and NW 3rd. "Slide-rule" men are going to squeeze every dollar out of the expressway that they can. They don't want too many disembarkation points—the bugaboo of the expressway. The idea is to move people into downtown and disembark on Biscayne Boulevard, which means bulldozing your way across Du Pont Plaza. The Connor plan over the FEC tracks was two or three plans back; it was discarded because Miami has been trying for 20 years to get rid of the tracks without success; building over the tracks would be very expensive; and it would create a Chinese Wall through downtown.
- 2-3-57 Extensive Miami News article on full length of expressway. Blacks in crowded Central Negro District will be displaced. Location of expressway between 6th and 7th will affect many homeowners. Design of interchange at 36th Street may have been placed slightly "off center," thus taking more homes, in order to avoid the taking of higher cost business properties at the corner of 36th and 7th Avenue.
- 2-4-57 Key to downtown plan is 55-foot high bridge over the River. Another drawbridge is not a good idea, and the federal government will not pay for drawbridges for the interstate system.
- 2-5-57 Plans to start construction next year. Delays resulted from opposition to original plan proposed by SRB. If Miami doesn't grab her share of the money, other Florida cities will. The expressway will cause "a kind of minimum slum clearance program in the downtown Negro section," but ironically the midtown interchange is planned where three new apartment buildings have gone up. "There is apparently no help for this. The [Wilbur] Smith report says: 'It was necessary to shift the midtown interchange southward to the vicinity of NW 9th Street to avoid the Highland Park High School, the Elementary School on NW 12th Street and the Elementary School at NW 7th and 11th

Street.” The size of the huge midtown interchange is dictated by the fact that the North-South expressway must pass under the East-West expressway.

- 9-1-57 North Miamians fighting expressway. The expressway route between 6th and 7th Avenue will effectively divide the city, already divided by the FEC tracks and the Biscayne Canal. A brief prepared by the city's attorneys say homes, schools and churches will be destroyed between 121st and 143rd Streets. The attorneys offered a counter proposal, with a route looping west at 81st Street and extending to NW 27th Avenue and then arcing back toward Golden Glades. Councilmen suggest this route would take as few as 100 homes, rather than the 250 in the original route. On August 13 councilmen passed a resolution making it a criminal offense for any governmental unit to put a limited access highway in the city without council consent.
- 4-10-59 Expressway route is shifted east in the ten-block area between 58th and 68th Streets to avoid taking parking areas belonging to Shell's and Frederick's supermarkets. The new route will take about 50 homes, but leaves almost as many that were to be taken originally.
- 5-12-58 North Miami officials, who had been holding up the expressway for about a year demanding an alternative route, relented.
- 1-21-59 Bridge over Miami River became a problem last October.
- 1-25-59 Bids for the 36th Street interchange will be let in July or August but the midtown interchange will be delayed for at least five years unless local financing is worked out, with reimbursement from the federal government coming later.
- 2-15-59 Land costs along right-of-way are a stumbling block. Current right-of-way package only includes a strip from NW 48th to 71st Street. Engineers hope to have the section from NW 29th to NW 95th Street under contract, but the southern section over the River is blocked because of bridge problem. The section south of 29th Street and East-West expressway is described as “pie in the sky.”
- 3-5-59 Route of the expressway in North Miami has been moved 200 feet east at two points north of 116th Street. This means that a group of houses that were going to be condemned will no longer be taken. Now that the expressway will run along 6th Avenue, it will leave a strip of about 60 homeowners “trapped” between the expressway and the business strip along 7th Avenue.
- 4-20-59 The SRB began condemnation proceedings in circuit court for the first leg of the North-South expressway. The first contract will be let on July 1. The first section will cost \$20 million, and run from 48th to 95th Streets. There is still a

question as to what will happen north of 95th because of protest from North Miami.

- 4-21-59 Dade realtor Roland Allison sent telegrams of protest to officials in Washington, Tallahassee and Miami, saying that he has been getting the brush off on expressway matters. Allison wants to block construction of the expressway. He sent telegrams from business groups, including the Miami Edison Board of Trade and the Allapattah Business Men's Association.
- 6-29-59 SRB announced plans to start construction on a bridge over the Little River housing project between NW 71st and 75th Streets. City Commissioner B. E. Hearn objects to the earth embankment for the expressway, claiming it will create a Chinese Wall.
- 7-22-59 Construction on the first section of the North-South expressway will begin on August 3, from 71st to 75th Streets.
- 12-2-59 The Metro Commission voted 7-3 to place a \$40 million expressway bond before the voters in the May 1960 election. The plan calls for a 1.5 mill tax (a three percent increase in the current county property levy). William Singer won over two key votes after a 5-5 vote.
- 2-7-60 Final plans for downtown section of North-South Expressway unveiled; endorsed by business and government leaders as the key to saving downtown from economic decay.
- 3-11-60 An extension of the expressway from 75th Street to 95th Street will begin by March 25. Clearing of right-of-way has started.
- May 1960 Voters approve expressway bond issue.
- 5-6-60 Bridge over River now 75 feet high.
- 5-7-60 The modernistic building of the First Unitarian Church at SW 29th Road and US 1 became the first piece of property taken for the downtown section of the expressway. Reverend Robert Sonen said the church had discussed losing some of its property after the voters approved the bond issue in last Tuesday's election, but had no idea that whole church would be demolished. They will begin searching for a new site.
- 8-25-60 Engineers estimate that about as many families and businesses that have been moved for the expressway thus far will be required to give up their homes and properties in the future. To date, approximately 3,500 families have been displaced, meaning nearly 10,000 persons have had to move.

- 9-8-60 County Attorney asked the Florida Supreme Court to kill a suit brought by B. E. Hearn to invalidate the bond issue approved by voters. Hearn argues the May vote was illegal.
- 10-20-60 Singer thinks contracts for the downtown section of the expressway will not be let before Governor Collins and he leaves the office.
- 11-7-60 Plans to start the \$40 million downtown section of the expressway before Governor Collins goes out of office were abandoned today.
- 11-27-60 Outgoing SRB chairman William Singer used the tactic of pinning down the two ends of the expressway, leaving the section from Flagler to 29th Street for a later date.
- 12-6-60 B. E. Hearn filed another suit in Supreme Court to stop the expressway.
- 12-16-60 Metro Attorney Darrey Davis asked the Supreme Court to throw out a suit by B. E. Hearn to stop county from selling \$46 million of voter-approved bonds for the downtown section of the expressway.
- 12-17-60 Hearn suit means that there are homeowners whose houses have been condemned but who cannot be paid.
- 12-24-60 Construction will begin on section between 95th and 119th Streets.
- 1-15-61 Ed Ball's attorney intervenes in Hearn suit as friend of the court to oppose validation of Dade's expressway bonds.
- 1-19-61 Hearn loses suit but bonds still in legal deep-freeze because he can appeal.
- 3-12-61 Ed Ball, chieftain of the Du Pont interests, wants the off-ramp through Du Pont Plaza dropped from the downtown expressway plan.
- 3-26-61 Revised route through North Miami leaves about 60 homeowners squeezed along strip between the expressway and businesses along 7th Avenue, from 111th to 152nd Street. The SRB admits people were hurt, but since their homes were not directly in the path of the expressway, there was nothing they could do.
- May 1961 Plan by City Traffic Engineer Kunde eliminates ramp at Du Pont Plaza and moves North-South expressway several blocks east to FEC tracks for a straight shot north.
- 6-7-61 Supreme Court throws out Hearn suit.
- 6-21-61 Metro officials considering two new routes to satisfy Ed Ball's objections.

- 7-23-61 Other downtown businessmen, including realtor Oscar Dooly and cement magnate Jose Ferre, are frustrated by lack of progress on downtown expressways.
- 7-30-61 Since Farris Bryant has become governor, little progress has been made on the downtown expressway.
- 10-25-61 Work will finally begin next week on the last leg of the expressway between 36th Street and Golden Glades -- the section from 135th to 151st Street.
- 1-12-62 Expressway section between 95th and 103rd opens today. Next week the section between 103rd and 119th will open. The section to 135th will open in February.
- 1-23-62 New route has expressway two to three blocks west of earlier site, crossing River just west of SW 3rd Avenue. The old plan called for a crossing between Miami Avenue and the FEC tracks. The new location would allow the off-ramp to drop down on SE 2nd Avenue, a block west of the Du Pont Plaza. The new route provides a drastic relocation of the North-South expressway south of Flagler and would entail a relocation of the interchange between the North-South and East-West expressway. This midtown interchange was originally planned for the vicinity of 4th Avenue and 9th Street, but would have to be moved about six blocks north near 5th Court. The alignment will be the same from 20th to 29th.
- 5-23-62 SRD says the midtown interchange construction will not begin until 1964. W. T. Billy Mayo, board member from Tallahassee, said Governor Bryant is holding the project because Dade County has made no provision for Negroes living in the slums the expressway will bisect. Acquisition of the land is set for July 1964, the last six months of the Bryant administration. Mayo wonders what Metro will do about the "60,000 Negroes" living in the area. They say urban renewal will take care of them, but his experience with urban renewal in Tallahassee suggests you don't do it overnight. William Singer said that if what Mayo says is true that construction is being delayed because of something Metro and Miami were supposed to do, it is a sad situation.
- 5-25-62 Metro Planning Director Roscoe Jones disputes Mayo's comments. He says local officials must have details on the right-of-way to set up relocation activities. Jones says there are 60,000 Negroes in the Central Negro District, but most will not be affected by the expressway. He says the situation is that Miami, Metro and the Public Housing Agency have approved construction of 1,100 housing units in the Central Negro District to handle low-income families. There are 2,000 vacancies in the District now. They estimate they need 3,000 units to relocate families displaced by the expressway; public housing, vacancies, and new private construction, "which will spring up," will take care of all housing needs.

- 6-13-62 Metro consulting engineers, Wilbur Smith and Associates, gave a qualified financial go-ahead to the county's proposed \$40 million East-West Expressway.
- 6-15-62 Section of North-South Expressway between 125th and 135th opens to motorists today.
- 6-20-62 Metro will probably have to build the East-West Tollway in two phases for financial reasons.
- 6-29-62 New construction is going up in the path of the expressway, including a Miami Rug building on SW 1st Place.
- 7-3-62 There is conflict between SRB and Miami's Offstreet Parking Authority. The route of the expressway through downtown is still uncertain.
- 8-22-62 A SRD official says taxpayers lost \$725,000 when plans for the expressway were scrapped due to the change of administration in Tallahassee. The Bryant administration heard the complaints of Ed Ball and the original plans were junked. Ball was a backer of Farris Bryant during the campaign.
- 9-23-62 Fifty-two homes and one church will be moved or demolished to make way for the North-South Expressway between SW 21st Road and 32nd Road.
- 10-9-62 A group of Miami businessmen, represented by William T. Kruglak, complain the expressway will choke off their businesses. The group includes business owners, office building owners, hotel owners and property owners north of Flagler and east of Miami Avenue. The present plan shows an exit only south of Flagler.
- 10-10-62 A hearing was held on both the North-South and East-West sections of the expressway. Businessmen from downtown complained about the lack of exits. SRB officials were also asked to: install an underpass at NW 12th Street to allow school children to get to Booker T. Washington Junior High, and make sure to prevent an exit or entrance ramp at NW 20th where the School Board is building a school. Timetable for construction: tentative plans for the downtown stretch will be available in four months, final plans in six to eight months; final plans to the East-West tollway from MacArthur Causeway to NW 12th should be ready in six to eight months.
- 11-12-62 Wrecking of homes begins in route of expressway between SW 20th Street and 32nd Road.
- 12-6-62 State officials have promised to make the eastern leg of the proposed East-West Expressway free of tolls. Financing has been the big problem for the

East-West Expressway, but SRD officials feel they have a good chance of getting federal money for the eastern portion of the project.

- 1-23-63 Construction on expressway between SW 20th Street and 32nd Road should begin in sixty days. Plans and specifications for the section from Flagler to NW 29th should be ready by January 1964.
- 1-31-63 Wilbur Smith proposed to eliminate the Chinese Wall from the downtown plans for the expressway by elevating part of the structure on concrete pillars. This would allow parking underneath, as proposed by the Offstreet Parking Authority. Smith's original plan called for the expressway to be built on fill. This revision would have the expressway on pillars from the River to 13th Street.
- 3-27-63 Tentative plans for downtown section of expressway and the East-West expressway to the MacArthur Causeway goes on public display.
- 3-25-63 Tentative SRB plans for downtown expressway must be approved by Metro, Miami, the Offstreet Parking Authority and urban renewal officials before the consulting engineers get the go-ahead for their design. It will take a year after the plans are approved to acquire the right-of-way. Summary of past events: in 1960 Dade taxpayers approved a \$46 million bond issue at the urging of William Singer, SRB chairman, to speed construction of the downtown loop; six million was for other projects. The first big delay came with the change of administration in Tallahassee. Former Miami City Commissioner B. E. Hearn filed a law-suit to prevent construction. Months were lost because Ed Ball objected to plans to have the expressway cut across Du Pont Plaza, and the plans were changed to accommodate Ball, a Bryant supporter. Now, engineers are ready with an alignment for an accelerated project.
- 3-31-63 The final alignment of the expressway has been chosen. The downtown section will start with a 55-foot bridge across the River at SW 3rd Avenue, landing on the other side near North River Drive and 3rd Street. The downtown distributor will terminate on SE 2nd Avenue on the edge of the Du Pont Plaza property. North of 6th Street the expressway will be built on a fill embankment up to the midtown interchange.
- 4-16-63 The City blasts the plan as a Chinese Wall. Half of the route from SW 32nd Road to NW 29th Street will be built on fill instead of pillars. City Engineer Andrew Crouch said the basic problem was that the expressway was built to rural specifications in order to qualify for 90 percent federal funding. Police and fire service, particularly in the Central Negro District, will be disrupted. Streets will be blocked off. And there are too few exits between 29th Street and downtown.

- 4-22-63 The SRD has agreed to revise its plans. It will agree to elevate the section from 6th Street to 14th Street on piers if urban renewal money can be used to pay the added cost. The interchange at 12th Street will also be redesigned.
- 7-25-63 Consulting engineers, Wilbur Smith and Associates, give the green light for the East-West Tollway.
- 9-21-63 Farris Bryant announced that due to an agreement with the federal Bureau of Roads, Florida will receive additional monies, and therefore the expressway can be built without the \$40 million in bonds from Dade County.
- 12-28-63 Federal Bureau of Roads officials axed SRD plans for a bridge and three ramps for the North-South expressway. SRD engineer Clarence Davidson said that Bureau of Roads officials were opposed to the downtown link of the expressway and would have preferred if the expressway did not extend south of 36th Street. The Bureau eliminated four parts of the SRD design: (1) a bridge (one of four) across the Miami River; (2) an access ramp in the NW 5th and 6th Street area; (3) a southbound ramp leading into Tamiami Trail; and (4) ramps at 20th Street—meaning that there will be no way for southbound traffic to leave the expressway between the 36th Street interchange and NW 11th Street.
- 12-31-63 The route for the downtown expressway has been approved by state, federal, and county officials. The new design was not what any of them wanted, but it was the first that they all agreed on since Farris Bryant killed the original plan in January of 1961. Joseph Barnett, of the Bureau of Public Roads, said his agency will not approve any exits between 54th Street and the proposed midtown interchange because the highway will be overcrowded by 1967/1968 and cannot handle the additional traffic created by more exits. This highway was intended to move traffic from Maine to Florida. The government originally intended to get traffic to Miami, not through it. If the highway had stopped at 36th Street, the Bureau of Public Roads would have done its job. The expressway does not relieve the city or county of taking care of local traffic problems and people traveling only a few miles should not be on the expressway.
- 8-3-64 City and county officials worried about the expressway joined forces to call for openwork pillars so it won't split Miami. Miami Commissioner Sidney Aronovitz appealed to Governor Bryant to have the section between NW 10th and 13th made negotiable to cross-town traffic.
- 10-6-64 Miami and Dade County officials asked the SRD to redesign the downtown section of the expressway to allow for more exit ramps. City Commissioner Sidney Aronovitz is concerned that there are so few exit ramps south of 54th Street, far fewer than along the north section of the expressway. SRD engineers drew up two sets of plans, one with an entrance and exit at 20th

Street, the other at 17th Street. The Federal Bureau of Roads rejected both options.

- 10-8-64 John Monahan, State Road Board member, said additional ramps in the downtown area would throw too much short-trip traffic onto the expressway and changes in the plans would delay the December 1967 completion. City Commissioner Sidney Aronovitz said, "These people don't realize what's being done to our neighborhoods." The airport expressway is already strangling areas such as Allapattah, and the garment industry will be next.
- 10-9-64 An attorney for the Florida Fashion Council (garment makers and workers) sent a letter to the SRD warning that their industry will have to move from the area along 7th Avenue if there are no additional exits south of 54th Street. The garment industry employs about 5,000 people.
- 10-13-64 Gubernatorial candidate Hayden Burns said he would tear up blueprints if need be to put more exits on Miami's downtown expressway.
- 10-14-64 Federal Bureau of Public Roads official J. S. Call said Burns was playing with the future of the expressway. Call said "he did not see the feeblest ray of hope for the changes sought by local men," such as more exits in the downtown area, which had been flatly turned downtown by federal officials.
- 10-14-64 Miami officials appeal directly to Bureau of Roads for more access to expressway. Current plans call for no ramps between NW 8th and 54th Streets, with solid fill between 16th and 29th. The multi-million dollar garment industry says it will be forced to move if there is no entrance between 20th and 29th Streets.
- 10-20-64 Miami Commissioners agreed to go directly to Washington to fight for more exits in the downtown area and for the elevation of the section from NW 16th to 29th on stilts. Edwin Tucker, director of the Urban Renewal Agency, expressed concerns that more exits around the midtown interchange would take up too much renewal area property.
- 11-17-64 The East-West Tollway is "in trouble," according to the SRD. The federal government agreed to link the eastern portion (now designated as I-395) with the interstate system, but the western portion will have to be built with county bonds.
- 1-3-65 The East-West portion of the expressway will now be known as I-395, with the first stage of construction to start in early 1966. Acquisition of right-of-way is running well ahead of schedule.
- 2-11-65 City Commissioner Sidney Aronovitz says federal highway officials have developed plans for more exits in the downtown area.

- 6-24-65 New temporary southbound exits at NW 26th and 22nd Streets will replace the old ramps at 29th and 30th.
- 8-15-65 Miami Vice Mayor Sidney Aronovitz criticized federal officials for “leading us down the primrose path without hope of results” regarding additional exit ramps in the downtown area. Federal officials told Aronovitz that the ramps, in addition to causing safety problems, would not be eligible for federal funding.
- 8-17-65 There is an ominous shortage of housing for the 325 families displaced by the expressway that are eligible for public housing. The Urban Renewal Agency has assumed responsibility for people displaced by government action, even if not in the renewal area. On October 1, the county will start acquiring land in the renewal area between NW 14th and 22nd Streets from 3rd to 6th Avenue. 200 families must be relocated from that area to make way for acquisition, increasing the demand for relocation housing, already in short supply. Ainslee Ferdie, URA chairman, said the present public housing shortage had been forced by the SRD moving faster than relocation officials think desirable.
- 8-18-65 Metro officials agreed to accelerate and broaden their program for 300 families from the Central Negro District displaced by the expressway. There is a shortage of public housing for displaced families, largely because of zoning controversies that have slowed the completion of 969 units by the Miami Housing Authority as part of the expressway-Urban Renewal program.
- 10-26-65 Construction bids on downtown interchange open today. Plans call for an 80-foot bridge over the River. Plans almost reached the bid stage five years ago in the closing months of the Collins administration. A lawsuit blocked it and during the Bryant administration the plans underwent a major revision largely because of objections raised by Ed Ball.
- 11-18-65 The Miami City Commission has been shocked by reports that thousands may be left homeless by the expressway construction downtown. Housing Authority chairman Martin Fine put the blame on the SRD. “The State Road Department neither acknowledges nor assumes any responsibility for relocation of families,” Fine said. “It is apparent that they have made no effort to relocate families in the path of the expressway.” Another MHA official noted that the State Legislature has twice refused to adopt legislation permitting the use of federal highway funds for relocation of families.
- 11-24-65 The Greater Miami Urban League charged that an “explosive condition” exists in the Negro area because of the lack of adequate housing. Haley Sofge, MHA director, said some 1,696 units will be available within the next 18 months. Part of the delay in creating new public housing for families displaced by the expressway is the result of the long and sustained opposition to public housing

by the Free Enterprise Association, made up of private rental housing providers.

- 12-29-65 John Pennekamp article in the Miami Herald: City tried to have section from 10th to 13th put on pillars but Uncle Sam said no—they had to be in the original plan; the SRB said it didn't have the money to do it. The City also tried to have an exit put in around 23rd or 24th Street; a preliminary survey said there was sufficient traffic. Washington said too late and the SRB said they did not have the money.
- 2-17-66 Miami City Commissioners shelved their plans for a suit to force a change in the downtown distributor of the expressway. After a meeting with SRD officials, Commissioners decided not to initiate a suit designed to extend the downtown distributor past SE 2nd Avenue to Biscayne Boulevard.
- Sept. 1966 Work starts on midtown interchange.
- 9-27-66 A speed up of the expressway could leave 300 low income families homeless for five months, according the Haley Sofge, Miami Housing Authority director. Sofge was alarmed at the SRB's new target date of December 1966 for awarding demolition and construction contracts for the section from 11th to 5th Street. The original target date was March or February 1967, which would have allowed the Housing Authority to finish relocation housing. The December target date will allow the SRB to award contracts in the final months of the Bryant administration. Acceleration of construction contracts is typically politically motivated. The Housing Authority, with its own accelerated program, will have 60 units available in October or November, and 496 available by late January or February. The Inter-Agency Relocation Committee opened an off-site office in the downtown area to assist residents recently displaced.
- 10-10-66 Sofge has reached an agreement with the SRB to prevent the 250 to 300 families displaced by the expressway between 5th and 11th from being homeless. The Housing Authority will not have enough units, but the relocation committee -- which includes representatives from the city, county, poverty program, urban renewal agency, housing authority, and SRB -- have established a program to move displacees into housing as quickly as possible. This may include leasing buildings from the SRB as temporary housing.
- 8-11-67 Doxiadis plan for downtown includes the expressway distributor at SE 2nd Avenue, making it unnecessary to change the alignment. Traffic officials have argued against it for three years, and at one time last year city officials threatened a suit to stop it.
- 12-28-67 Senator Dick Stone called for a public hearing on the 2nd Street distributor. He says the distributor will cause huge traffic tie-ups.

- 1-1-68 SRB officials say the segment of the expressway from SW 8th Street to NW 2nd Street will open soon. The segment from US 1 to 8th Street is already open. The only remaining sections to open are from Tamiami Trail to 2nd and from 2nd through the midtown interchange. It is possible that the East-West segment from the Palmetto to 29th Avenue will be open by the end of the year. The entire East-West is under contract except for the eastern portion from the midtown interchange to the MacArthur Causeway. This portion will be bid this year and is expected to be completed by January or February of 1970.
- 1-5-68 SRB chairman Michael O'Neil said appraisals have begun for air rights over the FEC tracks in preparation for another downtown expressway. He said he hoped to begin negotiations soon with Ed Ball. Construction of an expressway from 54th to the River and then to SE 15th Road over the tracks would be in line with the Doxiadis plan for downtown. Doxiadis recommended that Biscayne Boulevard become a local traffic street and that US 1 be switched to a new expressway over the FEC tracks. City of Miami officials have begun discussion with Ball about a land swap in order to build a controversial convention hall and cultural complex.
- 3-19-68 Expressway section from Tamiami Trail to NW 2nd Street opened. Later this year the section from 2nd to 20th will be opened.
- 12-19-68 The section of the North-South expressway between Flagler and NW 23rd Street will open tomorrow, completing the route from the Golden Glades on the north to a point near the Rickenbacker Causeway on the south.
- 1-23-69 Downtown ramps onto 2nd Avenue will open tomorrow.

Chapter 4: Perceptions of the Impact of Transportation Projects on Overtown

Prepared by Keith Revell

1. Summary of Perspectives of Current and Former Residents of Overtown Regarding the Impact of Transportation Projects on their Community

To assess the perceptions of Overtown residents regarding the impact of transportation projects on Overtown, the Overtown Project Team subcontracted with the Black Archives, History and Research Foundation, Inc., to select interviewees and to conduct some 50 hours of interviews with current and former Overtown residents. Complete transcripts of the interviews are included in three accompanying volumes.

1.1 Synopsis of the Interviews

TENURE IN OVERTOWN: Of the 56 interviewees, 50 are no longer living in Overtown. The majority of interviewees (35 of 56) moved out between 1948 and 1965; 2 left in the 1970s; 16 left in the 1960s; 18 left in the 1950s; 9 in the 1940s; 2 in the 1930s.

DISPLACED BY GOVERNMENT ACTION: 21 residents say that their property or the property of a relative was taken by the government under eminent domain. More importantly, however, 28 said they, their relatives or their businesses were forced to move because of I-95 or urban renewal.

REASONS FOR MOVING: The reasons that residents moved vary more than these numbers suggest, however. While a few were displaced directly by the expressway or urban renewal, others moved in anticipation of these policies. Some residents wanted a larger home or a less crowded environment. At least 6 moved because they heard rumors that blacks would be displaced from Overtown.

FAMILY BACKGROUND: Many of the residents that had been in Overtown for the longest period of time were from Bahamian descent; residents with a shorter tenure came from a variety of backgrounds.

HOMEOWNERSHIP: Twenty-eight of the 56 interviewees owned the homes they lived in (or lived in a home owned by their parents)—a disproportionately large group.

OCCUPATIONS: Twenty-one were teachers; other professionals, including medical doctors and dentists, as well as a variety of entrepreneurs and business owners, are represented.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY: The sense of togetherness, caring, and looking out for one another was key; churches, schools (especially Booker T. Washington), and local businesses were also important. Public events, such as the Orange Bowl Classic, and the presence of nationally-known entertainers gave the place a sense of importance. Collective responsibility for children was an important dimension of togetherness. Single-family homes played an important symbolic role.

IMPACT OF I-95: The main impact of I-95 appears to be displacement and scattering of core members of the neighborhood. Even those who had already left the neighborhood described the impact in visceral terms.

MITIGATION: Interviewees mention a variety of remedies, mainly those suggested in the question (jobs, beautification, transportation, tourism). So few are currently living in the area that their opinion may not be as relevant as those now residing in Overtown proper, and several acknowledged that point. Many also would like to see the area flourish again, or at least have it designated as a historic area.

1.2 Discussion of the Interviews

The group of residents interviewed for this project constitutes a community in exile. The community as it was constituted in the heyday of Overtown (1920s through 1940s) is now living outside of the area. Although many continue to attend church in the area, the majority of interviewees have not been residents of Overtown for over thirty years. Universally, they argue that Overtown now is only a pale reflection of what it was when they considered it a thriving community.

Although interviewees moved out more or less steadily between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s, there is remarkable agreement as to what made Overtown a community. Although those who moved away in the 1950s describe a loss of community, those who left in the 1960s contend that the sense of community lasted through the period when they departed. In other words, it is probable that the bonds of community lasted in some form until, arguably, the 1970s, if not later. However, there were changes that occurred between the 1940s and 1970s that contributed to what former residents perceived as a decline in the community they knew, particularly the displacement of residents during the construction of the expressway and urban renewal in the mid-1960s.

The primary factors that made Overtown feel like a community included churches, accessibility to businesses, schools, public events, and, more generally, the distinctive sense of togetherness and collective mobility generated by these factors.

Churches were the most frequently mentioned community institution. In addition to providing spiritual sustenance and serving as social centers, churches were an important source of leadership in the community, producing such well-known figures as Reverend John Culmer.

Accessibility to almost every sort of store or convenience gave Overtown a sense of being self-contained. Almost every interviewee mentioned drugstores, movie theaters,

restaurants, cleaning establishments, grocery stores, barber shops, beauty salons, and other local businesses. Although several interviewees reported shopping on Flagler Street from the 1930s onward, they did not have to go out of Overtown to get anything they needed or wanted. The variety of local businesses thus gave Overtown a sense of completeness.

Frequently, interviewees mentioned that they recall Overtown as a self-contained community. In retrospect, it is clear that Overtown was self-contained in a particular sense. It is probable that a majority of Overtown residents worked outside the area, and thus economically speaking the area as intimately tied to the larger community. However, culturally and socially the Overtown was almost entirely independent of Miami. Due in large measure to segregation, Overtown developed as a city within a city. Businesses in Overtown, whether white- or black-owned, were dedicated to serving the black community, and this gave residents the sense that their world was not dependent on the successes or largesse of the white community outside Overtown. In an important sense, therefore, Overtown was culturally autonomous.

Black-owned businesses played an especially important role in anchoring the sense of community autonomy. Black-owned businesses contributed to the sense that Overtown survived independently of white Miami. They served as gathering places, as places of employment, as emblems of pride, and as sources of inspiration. The presence of a large number of black-owned businesses encouraged a sense of entrepreneurship in the community. Black professionals also helped sustain the idea that hard work, education, and dedication to family and neighborhood could lead to upward mobility. The presence of businesses thus had an incubator-effect, encouraging young people to aspire to business ownership.

The same can be said of homeowners. Although homeowners never represented more than about 12 percent of the community, they played an important role in anchoring the community. While it should be noted that they are over-represented among interviewees, it is nonetheless clear that the presence of homeowners strongly suggested that Overtown was a place of permanent residents, rather than transients.

Along with black professionals, businesses and homeowners, schools contributed significantly to this sense of collective mobility and cultural autonomy. Booker T. Washington Senior High School, especially, was a center of community spirit and cultural activities. Booker T. was considered the community's school. Doctors and laborers attended, with the school thus performing a sort of social leveling function. Booker T. represented a shared socializing experience, linking people of different economic classes

Perhaps more importantly, because local schools were truly neighborhood schools, with teachers and students living in the same area, they played an important role in sustaining a sense of collective responsibility for children. Several interviewees remarked that their parents knew their teachers, who would often talk to parents as they walked home from work at the end of the school day. Teachers thus had ample opportunity to report directly to the parents of children who misbehaved in school. These close relationships among teachers, students and parents meant that children got a clear sense that the community had an interest in their behavior. This was reinforced by other adults in the neighborhood, who would stop

children from roughhousing in the street and either punish unruly children or report back to their parents. The result of these connections was a clear sense that the community had standards, that role models in the community enforced those standards, and that the community expected young people to abide by them.

A handful of public events also reinforced the notion that the community was self-contained. Several interviewees mentioned the Orange Bowl Classic football game and parade as a wonderful part of life in Overtown. The Classic brought people together and renewed friendships. At the same time, it contributed to the sense of the community's importance. The presence of nationally known entertainers in Overtown also gave residents a sense of collective importance. Mohammed Ali, Flip Wilson, Ella Fitzgerald, Count Basie . . . (the list goes on and on) stayed and performed in Overtown. Black entertainers who performed on Miami Beach were required to stay in Overtown because of segregation. Their presence, like the Classic, gave community members a sense that Overtown was an important and desirable place to live.

More generally, these factors contributed to a strong sense of togetherness and collective mobility in Overtown. Several interviewees suggested that, although in retrospect they realize that they were poor, they did not recognize this at the time. *Low* incomes, lack of social amenities, even the severities of segregation did not mean that their lives were unpleasant. The citizens of Overtown were proud of their community, and had a strong sense that they were in the same boat. This sense of solidarity was often expressed as a feeling of family, of black folks looking out for one another in ways that they no longer do.

Interviewees attributed the decline of Overtown as a community primarily to I-95 and urban renewal. Although many had already left the area by the time expressway building and urban renewal actually got under way (1965 or so), they identify I-95 as the primary factor in displacing and dispersing residents of their once-stable neighborhood. Residents speak of I-95 as scattering residents to the winds. In addition to displacing homeowners and other residents, the expressway displaced many businesses. Even those that were not displaced often had to suffer through several years of construction. More importantly, businesses that stayed had far fewer customers in the area, and thus were compelled to change locations in order to survive.

Interviewees also mentioned other reasons for leaving Overtown. Several heard rumors that the downtown was going to expand into Overtown or that there were plans to move blacks out of the Overtown area. Others moved because they wanted to own a home, to have more space, or to take advantage of veterans' housing loans.

Reading across the interviews of both the residents of Overtown and individuals involved in the policy process, we can conclude that there were a wide range of factors that contributed to the decline of Overtown, including rumors, in-migration, the opening of new suburban areas for blacks, building code enforcement, integration, school desegregation, urban renewal and expressway building.

Rumors played an important role for a small segment of the population of Overtown. Especially for those who were familiar with real estate development or public policy debates, rumors of encroachment by downtown or rumors of efforts to remove blacks from Overtown

encouraged some members of the community to leave the area even before such plans were finalized or acted upon by individuals or government agencies.

In-migration of blacks from northern cities and southern states after World War II both increased crowding in Overtown and changed the neighborhood. Several interviewees described a change in the character of the people who lived in Overtown, particularly a shift from homeowners to renters. In all likelihood, the proportion of homeowners did not change significantly between 1940 and 1950, remaining about 10 percent of the population. But, like many northern cities, Miami absorbed its share of blacks during the Great Migration that occurred in the decades after 1946. The majority of these in-migrants were renters, and several interviewees argued that these transients changed the character of the neighborhood (at least as it had been constituted prior to 1946). The change can really be seen between 1950 and 1960, when the proportion of homeowners dropped by about half.

This trend toward a change in the composition of Overtown residents was assisted by an out-migration to new suburban areas and the construction of apartment buildings (so-called concrete monsters) by white investors. For at least a decade white policy-makers and black leaders from Overtown had been searching for new residential areas in Dade County for blacks. The opening up of areas such as Richmond Heights, Brownsville, Browns Sub, and Bunche Park, in addition to the movement of blacks into previously white areas such as Allapattah, meant that some of the residents of Overtown moved out. By the 1950s, many of the shotgun shacks in Overtown were being replaced by apartment buildings, which became home to a large number of in-migrants. The combination of out-migration of homeowners and in-migration of renters contributed to the feeling that Overtown was not what it used to be. It would be a mistake, however, to say that the sense of community disappeared.

At the same time, largely in response to public criticism of living conditions in Overtown, the City of Miami began tentative slum clearance efforts. These culminated in a new resolve to enforce building regulations and bring substandard housing up to code. In some cases, condemnation of rental properties owned by whites or homes owned by blacks (held by individuals who were unwilling or unable to make the necessary improvements) drove residents out of the neighborhood. More disturbing, there may have been cases in which condemnation of black-owned homes was a tactic for transferring land to white landlords, who then built rental properties on the sites. As a result, an area dominated by homes and shotgun shacks, which at least gave the appearance of individual ownership, gave way to an area dominated by apartment buildings. It should be noted that many of the residents who reported being displaced by I-95 or urban renewal in the 1950s were probably referring to code enforcement efforts.

Integration and school desegregation helped erode the sense of togetherness in Overtown, although this was probably unrecognized at the time. While it is true that integration opened up shopping areas for blacks, most continued to shop in Overtown. Integration probably had its greatest impact on the housing market and the area's nightlife. With expansion areas for blacks opening up all over Dade County, residential choices were no longer determined quite so directly by policymakers. Integration thus completed a trend that started in the late 1940s—with blacks no longer forced to live in Overtown, they often times chose to live elsewhere. And because entertainers could stay on Miami Beach or

wherever they performed, businesses such as hotels and clubs lost an important segment of their market. School desegregation had an even more direct impact on the feelings of community in Overtown. The last year that Booker T. remained a high school was 1967. The discontinuation of Booker T. as a high school meant that an important socializing institution was lost. Even more importantly, the close connections among students, teachers and parents disappeared, along with important methods of collective supervision of young people.

While all the foregoing policies and events contributed to changes in the sense of community in Overtown, it is abundantly clear that the one-two punch of expressway building and urban renewal were the primary factors in the disappearance of the vestiges of the Overtown community as it had survived from the 1940s. The expressway displaced perhaps as many as 12,000 residents. This alone might not have destroyed the community entirely, had it not been followed closely by urban renewal. Even the displacement of residents by urban renewal, which was intended to be temporary, might not have destroyed Overtown, had it not been for the long delay between clearance and rebuilding. Clearance for the expressway began in Overtown in late 1965, with urban renewal clearance beginning in 1966. However, it was not until 1969 that the first urban renewal projects were under construction. This meant that while residents left the area for some three years before they had an opportunity to move back in to a “renewed” area. The local businesses that relied on those customers could not survive the hiatus of so many residents, nor did Overtown remain the focal point for public events. The departure of businesses, coupled with school desegregation, meant the loss of three of the most important institutions in the community. By the time Overtown started to repopulate, the only institutions that remained were the churches.

Perhaps more importantly, the departure and decline of community institutions, along with the physical destruction of the area during clearance and renovation, signaled the end of the sense of autonomy that had been a hallmark of life in Overtown throughout its existence. The vitality of social and cultural institutions in the area gave residents a sense of self-determination, within the obvious limits imposed by segregation. Although mainly poor, the residents of Overtown found ways to support each other and nourish a sense of collective achievement. The expressways and urban renewal made it clear that, at least in Overtown, blacks ceased to be in charge of their community. Although that feeling had been building slowly since the end of World War II, the Diaspora finalized by large-scale public construction projects was convincing proof that Overtown was no longer the self-contained community it had been previously.

At the same time, even for those individuals who had departed from Overtown in the 1950s or earlier, the area represented a link to the past and a reminder of the participation in a vital community. The razing of familiar areas in Overtown, as well as the loss of key businesses and the high school, meant that an important link with the past had been severed. Overtown, whatever its problems, represented a collective achievement. For many of those who moved out (and for a disproportionate number of those interviewed for this study), Overtown represented their hometown—a place founded and built by grandparents and parents. Its decline was thus a personal and familial loss. This loss of place has only been exacerbated as more recent immigrants, particularly from Cuba, have founded their own

neighborhoods, businesses and institutions, which seem to overshadow the legacy of the black community in Dade County.

The decline of Overtown as a self-contained community raises the most problematic feature of this study: the relationship between the past and the present. To a large extent, the individuals interviewed for this study represent a different community than lives in Overtown today. Arguably, the mitigation measures recommended by interviewees—which include job creation, beautification efforts, improved transportation and the creation of tourist attractions through the preservation of historic structures and sites in the area—may benefit the current residents of Overtown. However, it may be that the current residents of Overtown are more interested in getting better jobs and moving out than they are in reviving Overtown’s past. In any case, the interviews conducted in this study tell us very little about the views, needs and feelings of current residents.

Table 4.1 Years in Overtown

ID	Last Name	First Name	First Year	Last Year	Total	Current Resident
1	Dorsett	Doris	1914	1985	71	No
2	Noriega	Hammond	1981	1984	3	No
3	Osbourne	Bennie	1969	1975	6	No
4	McKenny	Edward	1952	1972	20	No
5	Harrell	Clayton	1959	1968	9	No
6	Simpson	Dazzelle	1953	1968	15	No
7	Davis	Derek	1951	1968	11	No
8	Cumbie	Ann	1954	1968	14	No
9	Dames	Joseph	1949	1965	16	No
10	Valles	China	1962	1964	2	No
11	Culmer	Leome	1925	1963	38	No
12	Thomas	Eugenia	1931	1963	32	No
13	Newbold	Maud	1940	1963	23	No
14	Littlefield	George	1959	1963	4	No
15	Roberson	James	1939	1963	24	No
16	Graham	Dorothy	1916	1962	46	No
17	Wright	Sonny	1957	1962	5	No
18	Lockhart	Geneveive	1924	1961	37	No
19	Roach	Christell	1937	1960	23	No
20	Bloomfield	Mary	1927	1960	33	No
21	Cooper	Theodora	1922	1959	37	No
22	Brassfield	Eleanor	1935	1959	24	No
23	Littlefield	Gloria	1931	1958	27	No
24	Jennings	Wilhelmenia	1917	1958	41	No
25	Williams	Rachel	1918	1957	39	No
26	Johnson	Enid	1931	1957	26	No
27	Holifield	Norvella	1950	1955	5	No
28	McKenny	Peggy	1934	1955	21	No
29	Braynon	Edward	1936	1954	18	No
30	Mickens	Andel	1952	1954	2	No
31	Shannon	Marion	1938	1954	16	No
32	Jackson	Radie	1942	1953	11	No

ID	Last Name	First Name	First Year	Last Year	Total	Current Resident
33	Dorsett	Herman	1940	1953	13	No
34	Johnson	Charles	1940	1952	12	No
35	McCartney	Ralph	1934	1952	18	No
36	McCartney	Leon	1925	1951	26	No
37	Welters	Gwendolyn	1924	1951	27	No
38	Clark	Roslyn	1932	1950	18	No
39	Bell	Jackie	1943	1949	6	No
40	O'Berry	Benny	1921	1948	27	No
41	McKellar	Dorothy	1909	1948	39	No
42	Fields	Dorothy	1942	1948	6	No
43	Thompson	Roberta	1904	1948	44	No
44	Nelson	Judy	1944	1946	2	No
45	Bloomfield	Cleome	1917	1942	25	No
46	Meeks	Abraham, Jr.	1928	1942	14	No
47	Smith	Beulah	1913	1941	28	No
48	Range	Athalie	1923	1937	14	No
49	Wanza	Fredericka	1918	1937	19	No
50	King	Opal	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	No
51	Sawyer	William	1918	1997	79	Yes
52	Sawyer	Bernice	1921	1997	76	Yes
53	Edwards	Helen	1957	1997	40	Yes
54	McKnight	Irby	1966	1997	31	Yes
55	Kelly	Denise	1990	1997	7	Yes
56	Welcome	Balam	1992	1997	5	Yes

2. Summary of Interviews with Participants in the Policy Process

The Overtown Project Team conducted a total of 13 interviews with participants in the policy process who were not from Overtown. These interviews were conducted with:

(1) Ross Apgar: Co-founder of the Apgar-Markham construction company. Apgar-Markham built the first renewal project in Overtown in 1969.

(2) Andrew Crouch: City of Miami, Department of Public Works and Engineering Department, between 1947 and 1979. Crouch did surveying and other work in Overtown in the 1950s and 1960s.

(3) George DuBreuil: Miami City Commissioner, 1955-63. DuBreuil was involved in the early phases of urban renewal in the City of Miami, including the drafting of state legislation to permit the use of federal Urban Renewal funds. He also held hearings on the location of I-95.

(4) Ainslee Ferdie: Chairman of the Urban Renewal Agency, 1963-67. Ferdie chaired the URA during its first crucial years, helped select its first director, Edwin Tucker, and oversaw the early stages of the implementation of the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan.

(5) Juanita Greene: Urban Affairs reporter for the Miami Herald, late 1950s and early 1960s. Wrote stories on housing conditions in Overtown.

(6) George Harth: Bonded Collection Agency, since 1953. Bonded, owned by Luther Brooks, managed a substantial number of rental units in the Overtown area.

(7) Oliver Kerr: Priest at St. Francis Xavier in Overtown, 1967-1971. Kerr was actively involved in the debate over what projects using Urban Renewal funds would be built in Overtown. His church headed the consortium that built Town Park Village and other projects in the area.

(8) George Kunde: City of Miami Traffic Engineer, 1952 to 1957; County Traffic Engineer 1957 to 1961. Kunde was at the center of efforts to resolve downtown's traffic problem and helped determine the route of I-95 through downtown.

(9) Eugene Miles: City of Miami's Department of Neighborhood Rehabilitation, 1960s; Little HUD's Division of Neighborhood Rehabilitation, 1960s and 1970s. Miles helped enforce the new minimum housing standards and coordinate housing inspections.

(10) Beverly Phillips: former Dade County Commissioner.

(11) John Ricciardelli: Member of Urban Renewal Agency board, 1963-65. Ricciardelli, owner of an insurance business in North Miami, participated in some of the early debates over relocation and rebuilding in the Overtown area.

(12) Kenneth Treister: Architect and member of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal Agency.

(13) Reginald Walters: Former Director, Metro Dade Planning Department.

2.1 Goals and Method

Our goal in these interviews was to understand how policies affecting Overtown were made and implemented. Interviews lasted between an hour and two and a half hours, during which time interviewees were asked about their experiences with Overtown, the expressway, building code enforcement, urban renewal and the downtown business district.

2.2 Key Points Emerging from Interviews

PERCEPTIONS OF LIFE IN OVERTOWN: Overtown had serious problems, including severe overcrowding, lack of amenities and unemployment. The area had a small but important middle and upper class which seemed to help hold the community together. There were also glamorous sections to the neighborhood, such as the clubs and theaters along 2nd and 3rd Avenue, along with some nice homes. In spite of the poor living conditions in many parts of Overtown, the social life of the area appeared to be strong. Generally speaking, Overtown is probably remembered by its residents as a nicer place to live than it really was, with residents nostalgically highlighting the pleasant aspects of living in the area while downplaying the problems, especially the wretched condition of the housing.

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN OVERTOWN: After World War II, owning rental housing in Overtown was a profitable venture for many white (and some black) investors. Although some landlords kept their property in good shape, many did not invest in upkeep and maintenance, thus leading to very poor housing conditions in the Overtown area. The condition of housing in Overtown was portrayed by reformers such as Elizabeth Virrick and media outlets like the Miami News, Miami Herald, and WTVJ, as inhumane to the residents and as cause for civic shame.

CONFLICTING PRESSURES ON PUBLIC OFFICIALS: City officials in charge of building code enforcement and urban renewal were often caught between civic leaders, such as Elizabeth Virrick and Theodore Gibson, who pushed for rehabilitation efforts in Overtown, and property owners, derisively termed “slumlords” by local media, who resisted efforts by the City and County to upgrade rental property in the area.

INTER-INSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT: The City and the County battled over a number of issues beginning in the late 1950s. The County’s efforts to move into new policy areas, such as urban renewal and land-use planning, created friction with the City, and that friction led in some cases to delays in designing and implementing policies. There was also conflict between local urban renewal officials and federal urban renewal authorities in Washington and Atlanta. “Red tape” often held up decisions for months, especially on urban renewal projects.

GOALS AND PROBLEMS OF SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN RENEWAL: The primary goal of both slum clearance and urban renewal was to improve the quality of the housing in the Overtown area; at no point was “Negro removal” the goal of either slum clearance or urban renewal. Miami was one of the first cities to change the focus of urban renewal from helping the white downtown through “Negro removal” to helping the black areas near downtown by improving housing conditions. Local Urban Renewal bureaucrats were competent and concerned with preserving the neighborhood, but it was far clearer how to improve infrastructure and housing than to improve the social and economic conditions of the people. There was also a long debate over what to build in the area, co-ops, single family homes, high rises, or public housing, a debate that included urban renewal bureaucrats, citizen advisors, and clergy from the neighborhood. The key problem with urban renewal was that many of the key policy decisions were made in Washington, DC, and the change in administration in the late 1960s—from Johnson to Nixon—meant that land that had been cleared to make way for new building in 1966 and 1967 lay fallow for 3 or 4 years while the incoming administration decided what to do. During that time, there were very few people in the area to patronize local businesses, which died as a result of the erosion of their customer base.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DECLINE OF OVERTOWN: Several factors contributed to the decline of Overtown through the mid-1960s. I-95 certainly had an important impact. Desegregation also contributed to the fragmentation of the community and complicated the debate over what should be built in the Overtown area. For example, critics of the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan argued that the construction of housing primarily

for black residents of the neighborhood would result in “reghettoization” at a time when public officials should be interested in creating integrated neighborhoods. More generally, the decline of downtown Miami hurt Overtown, for downtown was a center of jobs.

DOWNTOWN TRAFFIC PROBLEMS AND THE ALIGNMENT OF I-95: Offstreet parking and traffic congestion were the city’s key problems in the late 1940s and 1950s. Widening streets to allow more traffic was difficult because the major routes were lined with strip shopping. The 1952 plan for an elevated expressway, done by Mel Connor at the SRB, was the first comprehensive transportation plan. Studies had shown that the key traffic flows were to the north, toward Hialeah, and to the south. The FEC tracks presented a problem, blocking traffic at key times of the day. Connor thought the FEC station should be in North Miami. The expressway alignment was determined by the fight with the FEC. Additionally, taking homes on the west side of the tracks was easier all the way up to the Golden Glades because property was generally cheaper along that path. Downtown it was much easier to take property in the Central Negro District because blacks had no political voice. It was also easier for a highway planner to deal with one or two Luther Brookses—who managed many of the rental units in Overtown and could facilitate purchase of right-of-way—rather than a multitude of property owners. By the late 1950 and early 1960s, slum clearance was seen as an added benefit of the expressway alignment through Overtown.

EXPANSION OF THE DOWNTOWN: The downtown was not expanding westward or northwestward since the end of World War II. The debate over downtown expansion was whether it would move up Biscayne Boulevard or down Brickell Avenue, with the latter prevailing. Fifth Street was the extreme northern limit of the downtown area throughout the period under study. By and large, downtown Miami was just trying to hang on, especially in the face of competition from suburban shopping areas.

THE IMPACT OF EXPRESSWAYS ON OTHER EXISTING NEIGHBORHOODS: The expressways cut through existing neighborhoods in several areas of Dade County, intruding upon established residential and business patterns. I-95 displaced homeowners and cut off customers from retailers in the 79th Street area, contributing to the decline of businesses in that area. Along 36th Street, which was affected both by I-95 and I-195, many homeowners were displaced and existing patterns of commerce were upset. Thus, in the process of providing commuters with a faster means to travel into downtown, the expressways disrupted thriving neighborhoods in various parts of the county.

PLANS, “PLANS” AND RUMORS OF PLANS: During the period under consideration, it is clear that there were many plans generated by a variety of participants, whether the issue was highway planning, real estate development, or the expansion of the sewer system. For example, at one time there were “plans” to pave the Miami River to provide automobile access between downtown and Hialeah; there were also “plans” for an expressway running down the middle of Biscayne Bay; and there were plans (in this case, by State Road Board engineers) for elevated highways around downtown with direct access to multi-story parking garages. However, none of the individuals interviewed during this study recalls any serious plan for the removal of blacks from the Central Negro District and none believe that the

purpose of either the expressway or urban renewal was “Negro removal.” It should be added that there may indeed have been rumors to this effect (see the Perceptions of Overtown Residents), especially because Negro removal was an important aspect of urban renewal programs in other cities. Furthermore, it was probably very difficult, if not impossible, for residents of Overtown to distinguish between rumors of plans and actual, realistic plans, given the political and social isolation of the black community at the time. Just as importantly, given the results of both the expressway and urban renewal, it is quite easy, if not entirely accurate, to infer intentions from results.

2.3 Community Forums

Sitting through the Overtown Community forums provided an opportunity to determine if what has been said, heard or read about Overtown is true. Fainstein and Nesbitt (1996) address the question of whether the black ghetto had a golden age. At the first community forum one participant referred to Overtown as the “golden ghetto.” Attending the forums and hearing the recollections of folks who lived in Overtown from the 1930s to now, provides evidence to support the thesis that during the golden age of “Colored Town” as it was called, despite poverty, overcrowding, and substandard housing, Overtown was a place where there was a communal existence. Living in the area were different classes of blacks of varying economic backgrounds, who shared dreams, hopes and aspirations. There were residents who worked in and outside the community, and were able to shop, attend church, educate their children and have access to many of the top entertainers in the country. Overtown was described as a “self-contained” community.

During the forums, many participants stepped forward to provide their recollections of Overtown from the early 1930s to the present day. Memories were provided of an existence that in many ways was a positive one that was significantly and adversely impacted by the construction of I-95. There were recollections of fast deals that inadequately compensated homeowners for their properties, notes that were signed promising residents better housing upon their return, and a pervasive feeling that the expressway and urban renewal meant progress for the area.

The forums allowed those from outside Overtown to capture a glimpse of the people who have lived there over the years. There were African-American doctors, lawyers, judges, pharmacists, store owners, beauticians, barbers, restaurant and hotel owners. We were told that Northwest Second Avenue was the main drag and was the place to be when you visited the area from spots further north. Forum participants remembered many black-owned businesses, recalling that there were even difficulties experienced by some, in finding office space for businesses. These recollections were in sharp contrast to what currently exists in the area.

One community forum focused on education. Several participants spoke very eloquently about Booker T. Washington High School. Booker T. was recalled as “not the largest, but the best.” Teachers were held in high esteem, and the community rallied around the school by supporting many school activities and initiatives. One participant observed that integration had a detrimental effect on the school and the community in the sense that those

who cared very little about the welfare of black children were transferred to Booker T. to teach. There was consensus among the attendees that even though the schools in the area were segregated the students were well prepared. During the forum that focused on black businesses, one presenter, a dentist, talked about growing up in Overtown and working in his family's grocery store. His parents were able to send four children to college with the proceeds from the store.

In each forum, participants recalled the displacement of their families, and friends as a result of both the construction of I-95 and urban renewal. A few participants recalled a public meeting related to I-95. Others recalled no such meetings.

By attending the forums it became clear that current residents and former residents have very strong feelings about Overtown, its glorious past and its uncertain future. William Julius Wilson (1996) argues that some of the problems of the poor in today's ghettos are related to the success of other African-Americans who abandoned the old ghettos. The testimony of several of the forum participants suggests that along with I-95 and urban renewal, there was also movement out of the Overtown area because of better housing opportunities and entry to areas blacks previously had been denied access. Participants discussed the perception at the time related to the existence of better housing in Liberty City. This perception and the desire for better housing led some families to leave the area. One participant's husband took advantage of an opportunity to open a pharmacy in the Brownsville section of Dade County. Some forum participants suggested that the idea of the highway was something that was slipped in, with no one really knowing or understanding what the ramifications would be.

During the third forum, a participant identified the 5th Street section of Overtown as a location where many families owned their own homes, and as the place that was considered the "Bal Harbour" of Overtown. One participant recalled the carefree and pampered lifestyle of her mother and other black women from wealthy families living in Overtown. By listening to forum participants it was difficult to determine if there were any problems between the different strata of blacks in Overtown. What was clear however was that regardless of the income levels, everyone remembers the many thriving black businesses, hotels and nightclubs where popular black entertainers would perform into the wee hours of the night after having worked the clubs on Miami Beach.

The ethnicity of Overtown residents has changed with current residents being of both African-American and Caribbean descent. Residents who attended the forums feel that revitalization of the area is critical to its survival. There is a perception that there is some group out there somewhere laying wait to claim Overtown, after its current residents have been forced from it.

There are strong sentiments related to previous, current and future transportation projects. It was clear that many participants blamed transportation for the decline of Overtown. One participant likened the goals of transportation projects in the area to similar goals of covert missions he participated in as a soldier in Viet Nam. He argued that transportation projects have led to the destruction of the area. The removal of vital and key services in the community results in the dissolution of the community. This happened in Viet

Nam; this is what has happened to Overtown. Transportation was portrayed as a mechanism for disrupting the community.

Current sentiments suggest that any future transportation projects be designed to improve resident's access to economic opportunities. On a recurring basis, employment opportunities that were available to residents in the downtown area cease to exist. The McCrory's department store, according to one participant, hired many Overtown residents. This store recently closed.

2.4 Mitigation

In terms of mitigation several suggestions were made related to community economic development. One forum participant suggested that the area around the train stations in Overtown be used to house business incubation centers. Another suggestion related to the creation of an entertainment zone. The creation of more tourist attractions was suggested, and the creation of tourist housing. Participants felt that improved bus service is needed. There is the perception that buses run few and far in between.

In light of the development of a major shopping area adjacent to the Dadeland North Metrorail Station, it would seem fitting to determine how transportation systems can be utilized to create and enhance economic opportunities in and for the Overtown area.

Chapter 5: Comparing Overtown, Miami, with Neighborhoods in Other Cities

Prepared by Alan Bly and Jill Strube

1. Background

Fair compensation is expected when the public interest inconveniences the private individual. Unfortunately, through market forces, cultural or racial biases, thoughtlessness or lack of foresight, the construction of major transportation projects often have adverse effects on the neighborhoods they traverse and the public agencies inadequately compensate the residents they displace. In the early stages of bringing Eisenhower's autobahn dream to reality, the engineers and planners had few aggressive opponents, but those who would challenge their authority soon grew in number and strength, and by the late 1960s a large-scale resistance with a "coherent ideological rationale" existed (Colcord, 1979).

Three factors were especially important in the development of this social movement. First, the Interstates, which had previously been constructed mainly through the less densely populated, rural areas, began the process of taking the 8,000 miles of right-of-way in urban areas and building large, concrete barriers in neighborhoods surrounding the central city. Second, the consequences of urban renewal policies and procedures, which displaced thousands by leveling their homes before running out of the political will to fund replacement housing, had by this time generated intense resistance. And, third, a higher level of activism among lower income people, especially African-Americans, was stimulated by the civil rights movement as well as by the anti-poverty and model cities federal programs. Highway planners were slow to respond to public demands, however, due to the strength of pro-highway business, labor, and political leaders, as well as their own ideological commitment to the projects (Colcord, 1979).

As the public outcry gained momentum, various policies came into play that took consequences into account. The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) was enacted in late 1969 as a policy that would promote consideration of environmental issues. In addition, public participation became an important element of public works procedures. Currently, Executive Order 12898, signed by President Clinton on February 11, 1994, requires that federal agencies pay attention to the environmental and social conditions particularly of minority and low-income communities, and mandates that each federal agency incorporate environmental justice into its mission (EPA, 1995). "At the core of an environmental justice perspective is the recognition of the interconnectedness of the physical environment to the overall economic, social, human, and cultural/spiritual health of a community. The vision of environmental justice is the development of a paradigm to achieve socially equitable, environmentally healthy, economically secure, psychologically vital, spiritually whole, and

ecologically sustainable communities” (National Environmental Justice Advisory Council, Revised March 6, 1997).

Public policy does not always translate well into effective action, however. For example, providing technical assistance does not guarantee that citizens will be more accepting of technologies or their locations (Cohen, 1995). Similarly, allowing a formal means of participation will not guarantee that citizens’ concerns will be properly addressed by political and bureaucratic entities; in fact, if citizens perceive that they are not being heard or taken seriously, disempowerment is likely to result (Rich, Edelstein, Hallman & Wandersman, 1995). These authors conclude that public participation needs to take place at the initial phases of looking for solutions to problems; it is not adequate to consult the public to slightly adapt the preferred alternative to citizen suggestions after a decision has already been made.

The following research questions are addressed in this chapter: What conditions produce more successful mitigation policies? What have been the outcomes of public participation in the process of developing transportation alternatives? Have some strategies been more successful than others at satisfying the needs of the community? What have been the results of mitigation efforts? Looking specifically at low-income and minority neighborhoods, has mitigation been successful?

2. Use and Selection of Comparison Cities

The construction of expressways through and near neighborhoods has long been recognized as having an impact on those communities, particularly in terms of displacement and separation, but also in terms of air and noise pollution and visual and physical barriers (Bullard, 1989; Mumford, 1963; Hill, 1967; US DOT, 1975, Neel-Schaffer, Inc., 1996, others). As Bogden (1981) notes, federal and state highway agencies in the US have, unintentionally, destroyed more communities and their economic lives than any other single government action. Blinders on, they responded to the needs of the automobile rather than the needs of the resident. By looking at the specific consequences of Interstate construction on several neighborhoods, the team hoped to find similarities in effects and to discern differences in approaches each city or county government may have taken towards the minimization or remediation of those consequences. In order to put the Overtown experience into a national perspective and to provide the Florida DOT with a more complete overview of this issue, the research team explored the impacts of other expressways through African American neighborhoods in other cities.

Comparison neighborhoods in five large cities in the south-eastern United States were chosen based in part on their size, their socio-economic and racial characteristics, the strength of the tourist industry in the area and for the position of the highways that run close to each individual central business district. Each neighborhood was chosen based on four criteria: (1) a freeway cut through the neighborhood or was on its border; (2) the community was predominantly African-American; (3) the neighborhood was located near the city’s central business district (CBD); and (4) it had a separate, viable black CBD prior to the construction of the expressway. In addition, control neighborhoods were identified in New Orleans,

Tampa, Atlanta and Jacksonville that fit criteria 2, 3 and 4, but was not directly affected by a freeway.

Table 5.1 Miami and Selected Comparison Cities

Metropolitan Area (MSA)	1992 MSA Population (000)	1990 City Pop. (000)	Density (Population/Land Area) sq. mi.	Percent African-American	Median Family Income (1989)	Percent Owner-Occupied Housing
Miami (Dade Co., FL)	2,008	358.5	1,003	20.5	\$31,113	54.3
Jacksonville (Duval Co., FL)	701	(na)*	906	24.4	\$33,548	62.0
Tampa (Hillsborough Co., FL)	859	280.0	817	13.2	\$31,244	63.1
Atlanta (Fulton Co., GA)	666	394.0	1,259	49.9	\$36,582	49.5
New Orleans (Orleans Parrish, LA)	490	(na)*	2,711	61.9	\$22,182	43.7
Nashville (Davidson Co., TN)	518	(na)*	1,031	23.4	\$34,705	53.8

NOTE: All Statistics from the County & City Data Book, 1994; all but the City Population refer to the MSA.
 * Consolidated city-county government system; City population is the same as MSA population.

3. Information Sources

The team gathered information from as many historical and current planning documents as possible, searching for these studies and reports in planning departments at the city and county levels, at public libraries, and in the personal possession of several former planners. In addition, several people were interviewed within each planning agency, in university planning, public administration and history departments, as well as long-time area residents, activists, and leaders. Much of the historical documentation, particularly concerning dates and numbers, could not be located, and so in some cases we needed to rely more heavily on institutional memory of the participants.

4. Analysis of Expressway and Other Public Action Impacts

The expressway impacted neighborhood in each of the five comparison cities were analyzed with respect to: 1) the resident participation in the planning of the freeway; 2) the mitigation incorporated in the freeway design; 3) the direct and indirect impact of the freeway; 4) other concurrent public action impacts; and 5) any subsequent revitalization (reinvestment) in the area. Since most of the neighborhoods were experiencing urban renewal activities concurrently with the expressway construction, it was deemed necessary to include

consideration of these often more significantly impacting actions. This analysis of the comparison areas is summarized in Table 5.2 and described below. The same analysis for Overtown is found in Chapters 3 and 4.

EXPRESSWAY PROJECTS: Like Miami, virtually all of the expressway projects impacting the comparison areas were portions of the Interstate highway system completed in the latter half of the 1960s. The exceptions were I-40 in Nashville, which was completed in the early 1970s; the Stone Mt. Tollway/Freedom Parkway in Atlanta, a non-interstate project opened in 1994; and the proposed improvements to I-4 in Tampa, that will not be constructed for more than a decade.

PLANNING PARTICIPATION: The Interstate projects constructed in the 1960s had no planning participation from the impacted areas and limited involvement of local governments. The state highway departments had the major expertise and responsibility for the design and construction with final approvals obtained from the city and/or county. Only in Atlanta was there evidence that a slight realignment resulted from informal area leadership input. The planning of later highways benefited from past mistakes and had considerably more neighborhood involvement as the result of increased local political strength (Atlanta) or heightened state and federal regulations (Tampa). In these cases, the project design and mitigation actions were significantly altered to reduce the impact on the local area.

MITIGATION ACTIONS: Few on-site mitigation actions accompanied the 1960s expressways. The pedestrian plazas (Atlanta) and occasional overpass (Tampa) provided little relief of the barrier-effect of most projects. Structural design amenities were limited and, where provided, landscaping was only a temporary measure (New Orleans). The use of an open space buffer along Atlanta's Freedom Parkway was perceived as effective. No off-site mitigation actions were evident in any of the comparison areas.

IMPACTS: The removal of businesses and/or homes by the expressways was severe in all areas, except in New Orleans where I-10 was built on an existing parkway median. Although it was reported that displaced home and business owners generally received fair payment, little or no financial assistance was provided to the renters that dominated the rights-of-way locations. The expressway dislocation often was adverse to the city's low-income housing supply and resulted in a slow down of concurrent urban renewal and housing code enforcement activities.

OTHER CONCURRENT IMPACTS: In most of the comparison areas, urban renewal, housing code enforcement, and construction of area-wide facilities were concurrently underway, making it difficult to separate the impacts of the expressway from the impacts of the other programs. The households displaced by these other activities may have exceeded the displacement from highway construction and reduced the viability of roadway-impacted business areas (Atlanta, Jacksonville, New Orleans and Tampa). However, in several of the cities the expressway was perceived as having no benefits and thus largely responsible for the demise of the area. In most of the cities, the expressway construction was preceded by or concurrent with black suburbanization, inner city racial transition and low- and moderate-income housing financing that were effecting changes in the socio-economic characteristics

of comparison areas. These changes may have been accelerated by the impact of the roadway projects.

SUBSEQUENT REVITALIZATION: In general, the expressway projects represented a disinvestment in the immediately surrounding neighborhoods by lowering the value of adjacent housing and of local businesses that were separated from a portion of their supporting customers. Only where urban renewal clearance was utilized were citywide public facilities investments attracted by the improved regional accessibility provided by these new roadways (Atlanta and New Orleans). Private reinvestment has been slow to happen in the renewal areas and usually required additional public investment incentives (Atlanta and Tampa). In no comparison areas were public investments made in the impacted area explicitly to compensate for adverse highway impacts. Only in Tampa are proposed expressway improvements being seen as an integral part of a comprehensive approach to the revitalization of a community.

In summary, the analysis had the following findings:

- Local area planning participation that was totally lacking in the first expressway projects was provided in later ones, to the benefit of the impacted areas.
- Expressway impact mitigation actions were superficial and on-site; none were substantive or off-site.
- In virtually all cases the overall impacts of the expressways were severe on area residences and businesses.
- Multiple public actions and socio-economic trends with significant impacts usually preceded and/or accompanied expressway construction, however, the highway projects were often perceived by the residents as the principal cause of the demise of the area.
- Expressways caused disinvestment in impacted areas. In conjunction with urban renewal, some citywide-serving public facility improvements were made in the area but private reinvestment was slow and often required additional public incentives.

Table 5.2 Transportation and Other Concurrent Impacts in Comparison Neighborhoods

City/Area/ Expressway	Expressway Planning and Construction		Impacts	Other Concurrent Area Impacts	Subsequent Area Revitalization
	Resident Participation	Mitigation			
Atlanta, Georgia Auburn Ave./4th Ward I-75/85 Downtown Connector: 1965	Very limited; informal input caused slight realignment to avoid taking of key business	Limited: overpass of business area incorporated wide pedestrian plaza with little easing of barrier effect	Severe: 4350 residents and one block of businesses displaced without relocation assistance, business area severed	Significant: middle-income residents move to suburbs; 10,100 low-income residents displaced by urban renewal	Limited: only disinvestment resulted; some CBD-related public and private reinvestment in urban renewal sites
Atlanta, Georgia Auburn Ave./4 th Ward Stone Mountain Tollway/Freedom Parkway	Significant: informal coalitions led to formal alternatives study committee	Significant: 4 lane expressway changed to 2 lane local connector with bordering open space	Limited: 150+ residents and 8 businesses displaced from area	Significant: impacts resulted in loss of businesses, initiation of City neighborhood planning program aided expressway input	Significant: business area disinvestment, major private reinvestment in urban renewal sites aided by public reinvestment
Jacksonville, Florida Durkeeville/College Gardens I-95: 1957	Very limited: At the time there was virtually no input from the community; residents still feel much resentment towards the freeway. Since then, a Community Planning Advisory Council began in 1993	Very Limited: Planners and residents say that there was no mitigation efforts at the time; no mitigation efforts were required until after 1975	Severe: A major community center was destroyed because it was in the path of the freeway (Wilder Park, Wilder Library, YWCA, Mt. Array Baptist Church; all but the park were rebuilt in other locations, but none is currently central to the community); many old homes on Johnson and Lee were taken by the freeway ROW; physical barrier cut the neighborhood in two	Significant: City/County consolidation (1967-68) shifted the growing African-American power base back into white hands	Potentially significant developments too recent to evaluate. The neighborhood belongs to an Enterprise Zone and is part of the Mayor's Intensive Care Program

City/Area/ Expressway	Expressway Planning and Construction		Impacts	Other Concurrent Area Impacts	Subsequent Area Revitalization
	Resident Participation	Mitigation			
Jacksonville, Florida Lower Eastside Haines Street Expressway. Begun in 1951, modified in 1961.	Very Limited: Community was not consulted and input was not welcome; planners were not required to ask	Very Limited: As above	Significant: Contributed to loss of business and customer base as many businesses and people were displaced	Significant: Consolidation issue, as above; riot in late 1960s and construction of the stadium contributed to out-migration and further eroded customer base; urban renewal removes 601 housing units	(Same as above) There have been a number of studies looking at the problems in the Lower Eastside, but none makes concrete recommendations other than for beautification projects
Tampa, Florida Ybor City I-4: 1964	Very Limited: Even by 1983, the Revitalization Plan there is no element of public involvement	Very Limited: In some sections, supports have been painted recently; a reconfiguration of the expressway may realign the ramps to better serve the business community	Severe: Overpass built through an area designated as “substandard” older commercial strip dried up due to physical barriers created by the highway; elevated roads take through traffic out of commercial strips easier to go to suburban malls	700 structures razed after 1968 through urban renewal money (\$3.2 million) but few were rebuilt; area rezoned as multi-family rather than single or two-family residences in 1965; neighborhood elementary and junior high schools closed	1983: Ybor City Historic District Revitalization Plan Currently: the construction of an urban transit station for commuters and tourists, renovation of the Amtrak Station for the FOX, and, once the I-4 expansion is begun, realigning the ramps to bring the tourists into Ybor City easier; TIF area
Tampa, Florida Central Avenue I-275: 1960s	Very Limited: Planners were not required to listen to protest; currently, people are nostalgic about the past	Limited: Created a number of underpasses to connect each side of the neighborhood and reduce the barrier effect	Severe: Expressway was built directly over the top of the business district	The 1951 slum clearance project in the area; exclusion from the political process due to at-large representation	The new configuration that the F-DOT is considering in the area would close many of the underpasses that link each side of the community.

City/Area/ Expressway	Expressway Planning and Construction		Impacts	Other Concurrent Area Impacts	Subsequent Area Revitalization
	Resident Participation	Mitigation			
New Orleans, Louisiana Treme/Lafitte I-10: Completed 1969	Limited: The Planning Council developed a Major Street Plan in the early 1950s but waited for the 1954 Interstate Highway Act to pass to provide federal funds; the Plan calls for the use of existing roads and canals; town meetings to provide opportunity for input, but objections did not begin until the trees were destroyed	Limited: They displaced few people and businesses by using existing roads and canals; in the 1970s, they attempted to mitigate through beautification projects and a small public park	Significant: They destroyed a tree-lined linear park (the "Neutral Zone") that was central to the community; physical barrier cuts the neighborhood	Severe: Construction of the Louis Armstrong Cultural Center, created in part to draw in tourists from the French Quarter, displaced 410 families in an 8 block area (the city ran out of funds to complete the park); integration allowed the customer base to buy from the competition	Several residents and planners are in litigation to recover the use of the parking lot of the Municipal Auditorium (owned by the Casino) as a "Park and Ride" for historic tour buses; two neighborhood groups trying to convince the City to reconstruct Claiborne Avenue and the Neutral Zone as it was
Nashville Tennessee North Nashville/ Jefferson Street/ Hope Gardens I-40 and I-265: 1960s	Limited: Citizens protested loudly (it was a fairly affluent neighborhood then), but were ignored	Very Limited: Officials were unwilling to work with residents (possibly due to strength of Civil Rights activities)	Severe: Traffic circulation in the area eroded; residential neighborhoods in the north cut off from commercial developments, industrial areas, institutions and other residential areas; neighborhood was not given an exit ramp	Significant: Abandoned by residents and consumers who were able to live and shop elsewhere	Bicentennial Mall, Farmer's Market, and improvements to TSU; 1996 Hope Gardens Neighborhood Plan; JUMP (Jackson Street United Merchant Project), a non-profit, working to help small businesses; some additional private revitalization efforts by SunTrust bank; Citizen's Advisory Board (CAC) established

5. Analysis of Demographic Changes

Key Population and housing characteristics for the expressway-impacted and control neighborhoods for Miami and each of the five comparison cities were examined. Census data for 1950-1990 were used to compare black population, total population, black population by age, black employment to population ratios, median household income and owner and renter occupied dwelling units. These comparisons are summarized in the tables that follow.

The analysis of the Census data showed the following:

- Each of the neighborhoods experienced a tremendous decline in their populations during the years of interstate construction and urban renewal.
- There was a decline in terms of absolute numbers and percentages of the population aged 25-54 (those of prime working age) in many neighborhoods.
- For the most part, the SMSA, county, and city either maintained or increased their levels of the employment to population ratio for persons of working age (e.g., the ratio which shows what percentage of potential workers are employed) while the ratio declined both for neighborhoods affected by freeways and the control neighborhoods, though there is a less dramatic decline in controls.
- Generally, lower income levels of the comparison neighborhoods (including the control neighborhoods) did not rise as quickly as did the income level for the SMSA, county, or city as a whole. In addition, the income levels of the African American communities started at a much lower level than the larger metropolitan area in 1949.
- Homeownership was low in all of these inner-city neighborhoods; the vast majority of residents were renters. While the proportion of renters declined in most of the larger communities and, to a smaller extent, declined or stabilized in most of the control inner city neighborhoods, it has grown in most of the areas affected by expressway construction.

6. Conclusion

While each neighborhood is different in disposition and reaction, in many ways the impacts of the freeway construction have had similar effects on the people living in those communities. The extent of public participation and government actions varied as much as the unique character of each individual place. However, public policies and private decisions of the past forty years have produced similar results in many inner city neighborhoods. The communities near the CBD were in the way of progress as planners responded to the pent-up demand from the Depression and World War II with the resources that were again available. The more affluent, white communities (the French Quarter in New Orleans, Overton Park in Memphis, for example) were able to divert the destruction of their neighborhoods, but the minority communities in this study were unable to mobilize to change the routes of the

freeways; only in the Atlanta comparison area were African American community members in cooperation with adjacent affluent whites able to significantly alter the design of an expressway. Reports, local histories, and especially personal interviews with both residents and planners of the time support this finding. One planner in New Orleans said that freeways had to go somewhere, and there were several logical reasons, including financial constraints and the consideration of doing the least possible damage to the city as a whole, which determined the location of the route. With the exception of the Haines Expressway in Jacksonville and the Freedom Parkway in Atlanta, these roads were constructed after federal funds became available through the 1954 Interstate Highway Act. There was little to no input from the community during the planning process and only in Atlanta and Nashville, two cities with later strong civil rights activism, do interviewees remember any community reaction to the plans; for the most part, they remember only a sense of acceptance.

In this sample, most of the highways were constructed in the 1960s when desegregation provided legal means for the suburbanization of the black middle class residents who chose “personal advancement over community unity” as one community leader said; the neighborhoods were to some extent abandoned by many of the residents and consumers who were now able to live and shop elsewhere. In several areas, urban renewal efforts also served to displace residents by removing substandard housing without replacing units in an adequate time frame. Developers have taken interest in Tampa’s Ybor City only in the past three years, and in other locations lots left vacant the past 25 years may remain so indefinitely. Blatant exclusion from the political process (in the forms of at-large representation, the closing of schools in the African American communities, and the consolidation of government to recapture the votes of the whites who retreated into the suburbs after fleeing the city), was an additional element in both the Tampa and Jacksonville neighborhoods.

Until very recently, impact mitigation in the affected areas has been non-existent or has taken the form of beautification projects including murals and bricks on the concrete structures and fountains and parks underneath them. Residents, for the most part, have not found that these kinds of projects function as they should. For example, the fountains built in Treme were dry soon after they were first turned on because many of the homeless started to use them as public baths. In the 1950s and 60s, city and county planners, DOT and HUD, officials did little planning at the neighborhood level. They did not look on these areas as cultural, social, and economic entities. The 1970s and 80s saw a surge of community planning documents and studies on revitalization designed to provide recommendations to assist these communities. However, their focus seems to be mainly on surface issues, such as trash and painting; the recommendations they provided (i.e. “create more jobs in the area”) lack the strategies for getting from here to there, and, for the most part, still do not include the voice of the community.

The neighborhood plans of the 1990s, on the other hand, make public participation an integral part of the process to some extent. Nashville and Jacksonville seem to take the lead in terms of a partnership between the government officials and the residents of the area; interviews of resident community activists indicated that they are very cautiously buying in to these programs. The latest documents for the Jefferson Street/Hope Gardens community

(Nashville) report that the plans were developed after extensive meetings with residents to hear their views and incorporate their priorities in the plan for revitalization. The Intensive Care Program in Jacksonville, on the other hand, uses volunteerism and community action as the starting point; the city is there to support the neighborhood with infrastructure and human services needs, but, as noted by the mission statement, local government is clearly doing so in an effort to “help neighborhoods help themselves.” On the other side of the spectrum, Ybor City and Tampa are making a different kind of partnership that includes economic development of the main commercial strip but for the most part excludes the residents in the area. The City of New Orleans has not made any recent efforts at revitalizing Treme, though the University of New Orleans is developing a system to help neighborhoods create their own plans. In both of these cases, though, the residents are being ignored by the government and tourists are told not to stray into these neighborhoods.

The expressway experience for many African American neighborhoods located near their city’s CBD had many common elements. Decisions were made by engineers and planners who sought the most efficient technical solution but did not understand the dynamics of or relationships in a community and did not welcome input from its members. People were displaced by the expressway, as well as urban renewal, changes in zoning and black suburbanization. Customer bases were eroded, forcing many businesses to abandon the area. Many of these neighborhoods have suffered countless studies and reports over many years (after all, they have always been the blighted neighborhoods and many leaders, with a variety of intentions, wish to increase the standard of living in them). However, excepting some recent efforts in Atlanta, Jacksonville, Nashville and Tampa, the recommendations that investigators developed have not been implemented. Remaining long-time residents in and exiles of these communities feel nostalgic about what the community used to be and are distrustful of government officials and their interventions.

The Department of Transportation at the state as well as the national level is moving towards innovative solutions to mobility issues through a high level of public participation. They need to be aware, however, that they must establish relationships with members of each community, possibly through liaisons, if they wish to succeed (Dryzek, 1996; Cohen, 1995). This, in part, means that timelines need to be extended and progress will have to be made at a slower pace.

Table 5.3 Census Tract Selected

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	Notes
Miami						The Census changed its system of naming tracts in 1960 and 1970.
Overtown	A-31, A-32, A-33, A-34, A-35	31, 34	31, 34	31, 34	31, 34	
Liberty City and vicinity	A-15, A-17, A-18, A-19, A-23, A-24, A-25	15A, 15B 17A, 17B, 17C, 18A, 18B, 18C, 19A, 19B, 19C, 23, 24, 25	15.01, 15.02, 17.01, 17.02, 17.03, 18.01, 18.02, 18.03, 19.01, 19.02, 23, 24, 25	15.01, 15.02, 17.01, 17.02, 17.03, 18.01, 18.02, 18.03, 19.01, 19.02, 23, 24, 25	15.01, 15.02, 17.01, 17.02, 17.03, 18.01, 18.02, 18.03, 19.01, 23, 24, 25	
Coconut Grove	C-71, C-72	71, 72	71, 72	71, 72	71, 72	
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Edison, Little River, Little Haiti, Wynwood, Downtown/Omni)	A-13, A-14, A-20, A-21, A-22, A-26, A-27, A-28, A-36, A-37	13, 14, 20A, 20B, 21, 22A, 22B, 26, 27, 28, 36, 37A, 37B	13, 14, 20.01, 20.02, 22.01, 22.02, 26, 27.01, 27.02, 28, 36.01, 36.02, 37.01, 37.02	13, 14, 20.01, 20.02, 21, 22.01, 22.02, 26.01, 26.02, 27.02, 28, 36.01, 36.02, 37.01, 37.02	13.01, 13.02, 14.01, 14.02, 20.01, 21, 22.01, 22.02, 26, 27.02, 28, 36.01, 36.02, 37.02	
Tracts contiguous to the Miami City boundary	A-4, A-5, A-9, A-10, A-11	4A, 4B, 4C, 4D, 4E, 4F, 4G, 4H, 5A, 5B, 5C, 9A, 9B, 9C, 10A, 10B, 10C, 10D, 11A, 11B, 11C, 11D	4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, 9.01, 9.02, 9.03, 10.01, 10.02, 10.03, 10.04, 11.01, 11.02, 11.03, 11.04	4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, 9.01, 9.02, 9.03, 10.01, 10.02, 10.03, 10.04, 11.03	4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, 9.01, 9.02, 9.03, 10.01, 10.02, 10.03, 10.04, 11.03	
Outer Suburbs: Northern	n/a	2F, 2G, 94, 95, 99, 100	2.06, 2.07, 94, 95.01, 95.02, 99.03, 99.04, 100.01, 100.02, 100.03, 100.04	2.06, 2.07, 94, 95.01, 95.02, 99.03, 99.04, 100.01, 100.02, 100.03, 100.04, 100.05, 100.06, 100.07, 100.08	2.06, 2.07, 94, 95.01, 95.02, 99.03, 99.04, 100.01, 100.02, 100.03, 100.04, 100.05, 100.06, 100.07, 100.08	

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	Notes
Outer Suburbs: Southern	C-76	76B, 76C, 83, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 113	76.02, 76.03, 83.01	76.02, 76.03, 83.01, 83.02, 102, 104, 105, 106.02, 106.03, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114	102.02, 102.03, 102.2, 104, 106.02, 106.03, 107.01, 107.02, 108	
New Orleans						
Treme	39, 40, 44	39, 40, 45	39, 40, 46	39, 40.01, 44.02	39, 40.01, 44.02	Outside boundary of neighborhood did not change.
Holy Ghost	100, 101, 103	100, 101, 103	100, 101, 103	100, 101, 103	100, 101, 103	
Tampa	(Not Tracted in 1950)					Based on 1990 GIS Neighborhood Tract information. A number of Tracts were eliminated because they did not fit the same population profile (in terms of % black) as the others. Tract boundaries adjusted in 1970 to follow the Interstates, constructed in about 1965.
Ybor City	...	37, 38, 39, 40	39, 40, 41	39, 40, 41	39, 40, 41	
Central Avenue	...	25	31	30, 31	30, 31	Tract 30 added in 1980 due to dramatic increase in the black population.
East Tampa	...	27, 28, 29	19, 34, 35	19, 33, 34, 35	19, 33, 34, 35	Tract 33 added in 1980 due to dramatic increase in the black population.
Nashville						
Hope Gardens	3, 4, 5	3, 4, 5	139, 141, 142, 144	139, 141, 142, 144	139, 141, 142, 144	The neighborhoods remain roughly the same.
Highland Heights (Control)	10, 11, 16	10, 11, 16	162, 163	162, 163	162, 163	

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	Notes
Jacksonville	(Not Tracted in 1950)					Boundaries of Tracts 16, 17 and 18 slightly changed from 1960 to 1970: 1970 covers slightly less area than 1960.
Durkeeville	...	16, 17, 18	16, 17, 18	16, 17, 18	16, 17, 18	
East Jacksonville	...	4	4	4	4	
Royal Terrace	...	...	115	115	115	This Tract did not exist until 1970
Atlanta						
Auburn Ave	18, 28, 29, 33	18, 28, 29, 33	18, 28, 29, 33	18, 28, 29, 33	18, 28, 29, 33	Tract 17 not included in the Census analysis, though it is in historical accounts.
University District (Control)	24, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43	24, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43	24, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43	24, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43	24, 25, 26, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43	

Table 5.4 Overview of Selected African American Neighborhoods

	Total number of black residents					Total population, all races				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami										
Dade County	64,947	137,299	189,666	280,434	397,993	495,084	935,047	1,267,792	1,625,781	1,937,094
City of Miami	40,262	65,213	76,156	87,110	98,207	249,276	291,688	334,859	346,865	358,548
Overtown	29,253	32,665	15,935	10,109	7,961	29,754	32,991	16,120	10,335	8,191
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	11,921	42,522	65,484	49,592		53,066	76,599	88,893	71,307	
Coconut Grove (Control)	5,918	8,143	9,285	5,961	5,545	9,383	11,473	12,344	9,642	9,241
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	548	6,311	15,129	34,162	45,692	65,174	70,050	74,269	61,964	59,515
New Orleans										
SMSA	...	267,478	323,776	387,422	430,470	...	868,480	1,045,809	1,187,073	1,238,816
New Orleans (Parish)	181,775	233,514	267,308	308,149	307,728	270,812	627,525	593,471	557,515	496,938
Treme	9,127	11,470	12,370	11,380	8,854	16,786	16,250	13,885	12,002	9,299
Holy Ghost (Control)	4,385	5,630	7,875	8,326	6,883	13,426	13,748	12,061	10,757	8,845
Tampa										
SMSA	...	88,586	109,413	145,688	185,503	...	772,453	1,012,594	1,569,134	2,067,959
County	...	55,498	66,648	86,464	110,283	...	391,188	490,265	646,960	834,065
City	...	46,244	54,720	63,835	70,131	...	274,970	277,767	271,523	280,015
Ybor City	...	29,546	7,182	5,233	4,012	...	50,798	8,280	6,226	5,031
Central Avenue	...	1,973	2,285	5,117	4,838	...	4,818	4,434	8,348	7,156
East Tampa (Control)	...	10,628	12,318	13,208	11,247	...	17,946	17,954	14,376	12,194
Nashville										
SMSA	...	...	96,210	137,348	152,349	...	...	541,108	850,505	985,026
County	...	76,437	87,851	106,369	119,273	...	399,743	448,003	455,651	510,784
City	54,696	64,570	...	...	...	174,307	170,874	448,003	455,651	510,784
Hope Gardens	15,397	13,890	13,062	9,100	4,138	16,026	14,041	13,306	9,505	6,898
Highland Heights (Control)	6,529	6,685	5,320	6,180	5,349	7,971	7,483	6,024	7,291	6,785

	Total number of black residents					Total population, all races				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Jacksonville										
SMSA	...	...	118,158	158,358	181,265	...	...	529,965	737,541	906,727
County	...	105,655	...	140,561	163,902	...	455,411	...	571,003	672,971
City	...	82,525	...	137,324	160,283	...	201,030	...	540,920	635,230
Durkeeville	...	19,984	13,165	6,968	3,841	...	20,077	13,226	7,123	4,029
East Jacksonville	...	7,530	4,917	3,527	2,675	...	7,944	5,270	3,702	2,811
Royal Terrace (Control)	...	...	6,130	4,095	4,182	...	...	6,844	4,462	4,388
Atlanta										
SMSA	...	231,474	310,632	498,826	736,153	...	1,017,188	1,390,164	2,029,710	2,833,511
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	215,195	294,367	434,488	554,433	...	822,108	1,022,979	1,072,928	1,174,788
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	121,285	186,464	255,051	282,911	264,262	331,314	487,455	496,973	42,022	394,017
Auburn Avenue	30,675	30,813	17,280	10,567	9,845	32,183	32,002	18,332	11,354	10,707
University District (Control)	37,855	32,429	22,623	16,682	...	38,569	33,252	22,839	16,787	14,298

	Percentage of black residents					Percent change in number of black residents			
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90
Miami									
Dade County	13.1	14.7	15.0	17.2	20.5	111.4	38.1	47.9	41.9
City of Miami	16.2	22.4	22.7	25.1	27.4	62.0	16.8	14.4	12.7
Overtown	98.3	99.0	98.9	97.8	97.2	11.7	-51.2	-36.6	-21.2
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	22.5	55.5	73.7	69.5	...	256.7	54.0	-24.3	...
Coconut Grove (Control)	63.1	71.0	75.2	61.8	60.0	37.6	14.0	-35.8	-7.0
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	0.8	9.0	20.4	55.1	76.8	1051.6	139.7	125.8	33.8
New Orleans									
SMSA	...	30.8	31.0	32.6	34.7	...	21.0	19.7	11.1
New Orleans (Parrish)	67.1	37.2	45.0	55.3	61.9	28.5	14.5	15.3	-0.1
Treme	54.4	70.6	89.1	94.8	95.2	25.7	7.8	-8.0	-22.2
Holy Ghost (Control)	32.7	41.0	65.3	77.4	77.8	28.4	39.9	5.7	-17.3
Tampa									
SMSA	...	11.5	10.8	9.3	9.0	...	23.5	33.2	27.3
County	...	14.2	13.6	13.4	13.2	...	20.1	29.7	27.5
City	...	16.8	19.7	23.5	25.0	...	18.3	16.7	9.9
Ybor City	...	58.2	86.7	84.1	79.7	...	-75.7	-27.1	-23.3
Central Avenue	...	41.0	51.5	61.3	67.6	...	15.8	123.9	-5.5
East Tampa (Control)	...	59.2	68.6	91.9	92.2	...	15.9	7.2	-14.8
Nashville									
SMSA	...	...	17.8	16.1	15.5	...	...	42.8	10.9
County	...	19.1	19.6	23.3	23.4	...	14.9	21.1	12.1
City	31.4	37.8	...	...	...	18.1	...	...	...
Hope Gardens	96.1	98.9	98.2	95.7	60.0	-9.8	-6.0	-30.3	-54.5
Highland Heights (Control)	81.9	89.3	88.3	84.8	78.8	2.4	-20.4	16.2	-13.4

	Percentage of black residents					Percent change in number of black residents			
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90
Jacksonville									
SMSA	...	...	22.3	21.5	20.0	...	...	34.0	14.5
County	...	23.2	...	24.6	24.4	...	...	...	16.6
City	...	41.1	...	25.4	25.2	...	...	...	16.7
Durkeeville	...	99.5	99.5	97.8	95.3	...	-34.1	-47.1	-44.9
East Jacksonville	...	94.8	93.3	95.3	95.2	...	-34.7	-28.3	-24.2
Royal Terrace (Control)	...	...	89.6	91.8	95.3	...	...	-33.2	2.1
Atlanta									
SMSA	...	22.8	22.3	24.6	26.0	...	34.2	60.6	47.6
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	26.2	28.8	40.5	47.2	...	36.8	47.6	27.6
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	36.6	38.3	51.3	67.3	67.1	53.7	36.8	10.9	-6.6
Auburn Avenue	95.3	96.3	94.3	93.1	91.9	0.4	-43.9	-38.8	-6.8
University District (Control)	98.1	97.5	99.1	99.4	...	-14.3	-30.2	-26.3	...

Table 5.5 Black residents 25 to 54 years of age: total number, as a percentage of all Black residents, and percent change, 1950-90

	Total number of black residents 25 to 54 years of age					Total number of black residents, all ages*				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami										
Dade County	32,786	54,929	64,263	105,620	...	65,392	138,993	189,606	280,434	...
City of Miami	21,929	27,308	27,696	34,119	...	40,578	65,800	76,260	87,110	...
Overtown	16,383	14,540	6,068	3,425	...	29,268	32,699	15,974	10,109	...
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	5,158	10,698	14,946	16,722	...	11,957	28,302	57,389	49,592	...
Coconut Grove (Control)	2,909	3,242	3,105	2,105	...	5,921	8,151	9,310	5,961	...
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	363	8,821	5,050	15,288	...	669	21,904	13,774	34,162	...
New Orleans										
SMSA	...	92,711	97,476	131,621	167,150	...	868,480	1,045,809	1,187,073	1,238,816
New Orleans (Parish)	78,863	81,785	81,157	104,821	118,233	270,812	627,525	593,471	557,515	496,938
Treme	3,657	4,124	3,867	3,755	3,096	16,786	16,250	13,885	12,002	9,299
Holy Ghost (Control)	2,118	2,830	2,833	2,955	2,572	13,426	13,748	12,061	10,757	8,845
Tampa										
SMSA	...	32,711	34,409	48,897	73,132	...	772,453	1,012,594	1,569,134	2,067,959
County	...	20,465	20,806	28,844	43,899	...	391,188	490,265	646,960	834,065
City	...	17,362	17,027	20,695	26,574	...	274,970	277,767	271,523	280,015
Ybor City	...	5,200	2,157	1,621	1,320	...	50,798	8,280	6,226	5,031
Central Avenue	...	550	506	1,393	1,552	...	4,818	4,434	8,348	7,156
East Tampa (Control)	...	944	4,761	3,898	3,798	...	17,946	17,954	14,376	12,194
Nashville										
SMSA	...	...	30,511	46,486	62,188	...	...	541,108	850,505	985,026
County	...	28,171	27,093	36,658	49,218	...	399,743	448,003	455,651	510,784
City	...	23,650	27,093	36,658	49,218	174,307	170,874	448,003	455,651	510,784
Hope Gardens	7,369	4,958	3,675	2,316	1,931	16,026	14,041	13,306	9,505	6,898
Highland Heights (Control)	3,750	2,520	1,726	1,859	1,825	7,971	7,483	6,024	7,291	6,785

	Total number of black residents 25 to 54 years of age					Total number of black residents, all ages*				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Jacksonville										
SMSA	...	...	37,089	51,906	70,965	...	...	529,965	737,541	906,727
County	...	38,915	...	46,554	64,554	...	455,411	...	571,003	672,971
City	...	30,465	...	45,520	63,243	...	201,030	...	540,920	635,230
Durkeeville	...	5,446	4,011	2,007	1,365	...	20,077	13,226	7,123	4,029
East Jacksonville	...	2,458	1,415	931	887	...	7,944	5,270	3,702	2,811
Royal Terrace (Control)	...	...	1,713	1,188	1,401	...	...	6,844	4,462	4,388
Atlanta										
SMSA	...	...	102,766	125,546	336,576	...	1,017,188	1,390,164	2,029,710	2,833,511
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	...	97,725	168,494	251,251	...	822,108	1,022,979	1,072,928	1,174,788
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	56,411	...	85,185	102,868	107,774	331,314	487,455	496,973	42,022	394,017
Auburn Avenue	15,266	...	5,956	3,446	3,678	32,183	32,002	18,332	11,354	10,707
University District (Control)	17,411	...	6,501	4,407	3,666	38,569	33,252	22,839	16,787	14,298

*Census data by age were gathered from a sample. For this reason, totals (all ages) reported here differ slightly from tabulations derived for the entire population.

	Percentage change in number of 25-54 year olds				Persons 25 to 54 years of age as percent of total population				
	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami									
Dade County	67.5	17.0	64.4		50.1	39.5	33.9	37.7	...
City of Miami	24.5	1.4	23.2		54.0	41.5	36.3	39.2	...
Overtown	-11.2	-58.3	-43.6		56.0	44.5	38.0	33.9	...
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	107.4	39.7	11.9		43.1	37.8	26.0	33.7	...
Coconut Grove (Control)	11.4	-4.2	-32.2		49.1	39.8	33.4	35.3	...
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	2330.0	-42.8	202.7		54.3	40.3	36.7	44.8	...
New Orleans									
SMSA	...	4.9	25.9	21.3	...	10.7	9.3	11.1	13.5
New Orleans (Parish)	3.6	-0.8	22.6	11.3	29.1	13.0	13.7	18.8	23.8
Treme	11.3	-6.6	-3.0	-21.3	21.8	25.4	27.9	31.3	33.3
Holy Ghost (Control)	25.2	0.1	4.1	-14.9	15.8	20.6	23.5	27.5	29.1
Tampa									
SMSA	...	4.9	29.6	33.1	...	4.2	3.4	3.1	3.5
County	...	1.6	27.9	34.3	...	5.2	4.2	4.5	5.3
City	...	-2.0	17.7	22.1	...	6.3	6.1	7.6	9.5
Ybor City	...	-141.1	-33.1	-22.8	...	10.2	26.1	26.0	26.2
Central Avenue	...	-8.7	63.7	10.2	...	11.4	11.4	16.7	21.7
East Tampa (Control)	...	80.2	-22.1	-2.6	...	5.3	26.5	27.1	31.1
Nashville									
SMSA	...	...	34.4	25.2	...	...	5.6	5.5	6.3
County	...	-4.0	26.1	25.5	...	7.0	6.0	8.0	9.6
City	...	12.7	26.1	25.5	...	13.8	6.0	8.0	9.6
Hope Gardens	-48.6	-34.9	-58.7	-19.9	46.0	35.3	27.6	24.4	28.0
Highland Heights (Control)	-48.8	-46.0	7.2	-1.9	47.0	33.7	28.7	25.5	26.9

	Percentage change in number of 25-54 year olds				Persons 25 to 54 years of age as percent of total population				
	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Jacksonville									
SMSA	28.5%	26.9	...	...	7.0	7.0	7.8
County	27.9	...	8.5	...	8.2	9.6
City	28.0	...	15.2	...	8.4	10.0
Durkeeville	...	-35.8	-99.9	-47.0	...	27.1	30.3	28.2	33.9
East Jacksonville	...	-73.7	-52.0	-5.0	...	30.9	26.9	25.1	31.6
Royal Terrace (Control)	-44.2	15.2	...	...	25.0	26.6	31.9
Atlanta									
SMSA	18.1	62.7	...	...	7.4	6.2	11.9
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	42.0	32.9	...	...	9.6	15.7	21.4
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	17.2	4.6	17.0	...	17.1	244.8	27.4
Auburn Avenue	-72.8	6.3	47.4	...	32.5	30.4	34.4
University District (Control)	-47.5	-20.2	45.1	...	28.5	26.3	25.6

Table 5.6 Employment to Working-Age Population Ratio for African Americans,
16 Years and Over

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami					
Dade County	65.1	63.9	62.6	61.0	
City of Miami	66.1	63.8	62.5	57.4	
Overtown	67.8	64.3	59.6	48.4	
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	58.0	62.1	62.8	55.2	...
Coconut Grove (Control)	69.6	70.2	65.4	58.3	...
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	57.9	65.4	64.2	61.0	...
New Orleans					
SMSA	...	48.6	48.7	50.9	47.8
New Orleans (Parish)	...	48.5	48.3	49.7	46.3
Treme	40.7	47.3	46.1	45.2	34.1
Holy Ghost (Control)	55.8	53.2	57.1	...	45.1
Tampa					
SMSA	...	58.4	58.4	55.0	56.8
County	..	57.6	54.7	51.2	57.1
City	...	58.0	54.4	48.4	51.3
Ybor City	...	58.1	55.4	42.4	35.7
Central Avenue	...	47.3	48.8	44.6	39.3
East Tampa (Control)	...	54.5	52.4	43.5	42.8
Nashville					
SMSA	...	...	...	55.4	58.8
County	...	53.7	...	55.6	58.6
City	...	54.3	...	55.6	58.6
Hope Gardens	69.2	52.8	...	38.8	39.6
Highland Heights (Control)	47.7	60.6	...	53.8	47.8
Jacksonville					
SMSA	...	...	53.0	49.3	55.5
County	...	55.4	...	49.5	56.0
City	...	56.0	...	49.4	55.8
Durkeeville	...	54.0	46.8	28.9	33.8
East Jacksonville	...	52.4	45.4	...	42.9
Royal Terrace (Control)	...	...	48.7	...	38.6
Atlanta					
SMSA	...	56.0	60.9	57.9	64.5
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	55.8	61.1	57.6	63.2
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	55.7	60.6	51.7	52.1
Auburn Avenue (Control)	60.9	57.2	54.6	37.1	40.1
University District	54.3	52.2	54.2	49.8	37.5

Table 5.7: Ratio of 25-54 Year-Olds to Total Population

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami					
County	50.1	39.5	33.9	37.7	42.0
City	54.0	41.5	36.3	39.2	41.2
Overtown	56.0	44.5	38.0	33.9	37.3
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	43.1	37.8	26.0	33.7	35.2
Coconut Grove (Control)	49.1	39.8	33.4	35.3	42.1
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	54.3	40.3	36.7	44.8	43.6
New Orleans					
SMSA	...	30.5	29.5	34.0	32.8
New Orleans (Parrish)	...	30.9	48.3	33.5	32.2
Treme	28.8	31.2	30.5	32.2	23.8
Holy Ghost (Control)	43.4	38.6	39.2	...	33.6
Tampa					
SMSA	...	38.5	35.4	36.5	38.9
County	...	38.0	33.3	34.1	38.8
City	...	38.7	33.4	32.3	35.0
Ybor City	...	39.4	33.7	28.3	23.4
Central Avenue	...	24.8	21.8	13.6	21.9
East Tampa (Control)	...	35.0	31.9	29.4	29.5
Nashville					
SMSA	...	...	...	40.1	42.8
County	...	37.4	...	40.5	42.6
City	...	37.9	...	40.5	42.6
Hope Gardens	48.1	37.9	...	30.7	30.6
Highland Heights (Control)	48.0	4.4	...	39.8	35.6
Jacksonville					
SMSA	...	...	33.0	33.6	38.7
County	...	35.9	...	33.8	39.1
City	...	37.0	...	35.3	39.0
Durkeeville	...	35.8	30.5	20.5	24.9
East Jacksonville	...	34.3	30.0	...	31.0
Royal Terrace (Control)	...	...	28.7	...	27.7
Atlanta					
SMSA	...	36.6	38.7	40.0	0.5
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	36.6	38.8	39.9	0.5
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	37.0	38.9	36.7	0.4
Auburn Avenue (Control)	47.2	40.6	38.7	31.1	0.3
University District	41.4	36.9	39.9	36.1	0.3

Table 5.7 Renters vs. Owners

	Number of dwelling units occupied by renters					Number of dwelling units occupied by owners				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami										
Dade County	...	25,928	30,144	47,220	67,731	...	10,041	19,324	37,331	52,590
City of Miami	7,475	16,570	17,086	22,235	24,135	1,360	2,497	5,640	6,955	7,134
Overtown	5,625	9,888	5,450	3,696	2,707	737	621	122	192	106
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	1,026	5,634	8,161	9,904	9,516	835	3,168	7,251	5,954	5,773
Coconut Grove (Control)	1,072	1,613	1,981	1,398	1,383	294	427	634	657	601
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	53	1,672	3,523	9,092	10,316	33	58	1,077	2,176	2,401
New Orleans										
SMSA	...	50,908	60,574	78,847	83,268	...	19,900	27,336	42,780	57,548
New Orleans (Parish)	38,849	46,718	54,475	68,689	66,250	10,806	15,879	19,875	30,658	37,345
Treme	2,085	2,827	3,226	3,610	1,182	290	441	542	638	351
Holy Ghost (Control)	1,102	11,393	2,357	2,058	1,745	236	359	685	876	804
Tampa										
SMSA	...	14,851	16,008	23,188	34,430	...	8,817	14,962	23,101	28,605
County	...	9,039	9,590	14,350	21,190	...	5,959	9,189	13,085	16,268
City	...	7,983	8,623	11,717	14,293	...	4,737	7,109	8,973	9,590
Ybor City	...	3,124	2,057	1,616	1,332	...	710	279	273	176
Central Avenue	...	435	518	1,227	1,181	...	33	68	251	677
East Tampa (Control)	...	1,215	1,817	2,161	1,934	...	1,073	2,276	2,180	1,982
Nashville										
SMSA	...	...	15,595	23,869	31,316	...	...	10,933	19,870	22,355
County	...	12,704	14,607	19,911	26,165	...	7,461	9,606	14,468	16,407
City	10,271	11,623	14,607	19,911	26,165	4,936	5,869	9,606	14,468	16,407
Hope Gardens	3,171	3,963	3,130	2,410	2,083	1,081	953	955	714	521
Highland Heights (Control)	1,714	2,044	1,215	1,564	1,432	744	659	536	671	714

	Number of dwelling units occupied by renters					Number of dwelling units occupied by owners				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Jacksonville										
SMSA	14,747	23,185	30,846	...	...	17,947	27,257	31,052
County	...	14,813	...	...	28,682	...	12,435	...	...	27,582
City	...	13,196	...	...	28,001	...	8,483	...	...	27,077
Durkeeville	...	4,723	3,791	2,337	1,347	...	564	562	335	243
East Jacksonville	...	1,130	735	717	595	...	716	717	548	433
Royal Terrace (Control)	644	418	573	...	...	939	933	839
Atlanta										
SMSA	...	40,007	50,916	93,803	151,324	...	16,149	33,504	67,388	102,557
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	38,122	49,039	83,786	112,196	...	16,448	31,520	58,750	79,373
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	34,099	44,586	59,318	57,925	...	14,089	26,583	35,252	34,798
Auburn Avenue (Control)	7,469	8,136	5,357	4,467	3,760	912	1,253	677	501	522
University District	6,768	7,008	5,557	4,596	3,470	2,656	2,033	1,300	1,014	711

	Percent of units occupied by renters					Percent of units occupied by owners				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Miami										
Dade County	...	72.1	60.9	55.8	56.3	...	27.9	39.1	44.2	43.7
City of Miami	84.6	86.9	75.2	76.2	77.2	15.4	13.1	24.8	23.8	22.8
Overtown	88.4	94.1	97.8	95.1	96.2	11.6	5.9	2.2	4.9	3.8
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	55.1	64.0	53.0	62.5	62.2	44.9	36.0	47.0	37.5	37.8
Coconut Grove (Control)	78.5	79.1	75.8	68.0	69.7	21.5	20.9	24.2	32.0	30.3
Other major black neighborhoods predominantly within city limits (Control)	61.6	96.6	76.6	80.7	81.1	38.4	3.4	23.4	19.3	18.9
New Orleans										
SMSA	...	71.9	68.9	64.8	59.1	...	28.1	31.1	35.2	40.9
New Orleans (Parrish)	78.2	74.6	73.3	69.1	64.0	21.8	25.4	26.7	30.9	36.0
Treme	87.8	86.5	85.6	85.0	77.1	12.2	13.5	14.4	15.0	22.9
Holy Ghost (Control)	82.4	96.9	77.5	70.1	68.5	17.6	3.1	22.5	29.9	31.5
Tampa										
SMSA	...	62.7	51.7	50.1	54.6	...	37.3	48.3	49.9	45.4
County	...	60.3	51.1	52.3	56.6	...	39.7	48.9	47.7	43.4
City	...	62.8	54.8	56.6	59.8	...	37.2	45.2	43.4	40.2
Ybor City	...	81.5	88.1	85.5	88.3	...	...	11.9	14.5	11.7
Central Avenue	...	92.9	88.4	83.0	63.6	...	...	11.6	17.0	36.4
East Tampa (Control)	...	53.1	44.4	49.8	49.4	...	...	55.6	50.2	50.6
Nashville										
SMSA	...	...	58.8	54.6	58.3	...	...	41.2	45.4	41.7
County	...	0.6	60.3	57.9	61.5	...	37.0	39.7	42.1	38.5
City	0.7	0.7	60.3	57.9	61.5	32.5	33.6	39.7	42.1	38.5
Hope Gardens	0.7	0.8	76.6	77.1	80.0	25.4	19.4	23.4	22.9	20.0
Highland Heights (Control)	0.7	0.8	69.4	70.0	66.7	30.3	24.4	30.6	30.0	33.3

	Percent of units occupied by renters					Percent of units occupied by owners				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Jacksonville										
SMSA	45.1	46.0	49.8	...	...	54.9	54.0	50.2
County	...	54.4	...	...	51.0	...	...	...	...	49.0
City	...	60.9	...	...	50.8	...	...	...	...	49.2
Durkeeville	...	89.3	87.1	87.5	84.7	...	10.7	12.9	12.5	15.3
East Jacksonville	...	61.2	50.6	56.7	57.9	...	38.8	49.4	43.3	42.1
Royal Terrace (Control)	40.7	30.9	40.6	...	...	59.3	69.1	59.4
Atlanta										
SMSA	...	71.2	60.3	58.2	59.6	...	28.8	39.7	41.8	40.4
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	69.9	60.9	58.8	58.6	...	30.1	39.1	41.2	41.4
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	70.8	62.6	62.7	62.5	...	29.2	37.4	37.3	37.5
Auburn Avenue (Control)	89.1	86.7	88.8	89.9	87.8	10.9	13.3	11.2	10.1	12.2
University District	71.8	77.5	81.0	81.9	83.0	28.2	22.5	19.0	18.1	17.0

Table 5.8 Estimated Median Income

	1949	1959	1969	1979	1989
Miami					
Miami City	\$1,518	\$2,635	\$4,246	\$8,600	\$12,481
Overtown	\$1,506	\$2,450	\$3,245	\$6,174	\$9,560
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	\$1,832	\$2,983	\$5,156	\$9,261	\$12,739
Coconut Grove (Control)	\$1,513	\$2,461	\$4,317	\$11,570	\$13,599
Other major black neighborhoods primarily within city limits (Control)	N/A	\$3,111	\$4,609	\$8,456	\$13,638
New Orleans					
SMSA	...	\$2,421	\$3,808	\$9,382	\$13,931
New Orleans (Parrish)	...	\$2,406	\$3,683	\$8,847	\$13,033
Treme	\$1,330	\$2,096	\$3,204	\$8,233	...
Holy Ghost (Control)	\$1,734	\$2,736	\$4,411	\$10,671	...
Tampa					
SMSA	...	\$2,316	\$3,867	\$9,193	\$16,855
County	...	\$2,292	\$3,719	\$9,253	\$17,409
City	...	\$2,306	\$3,666	\$7,995	\$14,422
Ybor City	...	\$2,099	\$2,857	\$5,549	\$7,309
Central Avenue	...	\$1,978	\$2,930	\$4,979	\$11,114
East Tampa (Control)	...	\$2,495	\$3,685	\$8,872	\$6,844
Nashville					
SMSA	...	...	\$3,930	\$10,528	\$18,807
County	...	\$1,890	\$3,932	\$10,704	\$18,849
City	...	\$1,851	\$3,932	\$10,704	\$18,849
Hope Gardens	\$1,139	\$1,636	\$2,756	\$5,964	\$9,162
Highland Heights (Control)	\$1,346	\$1,911	\$4,234	\$8,363	\$12,266
Jacksonville					
SMSA	...	...	\$3,883	\$9,053	\$17,683
County	...	\$2,366	...	\$9,140	\$17,765
City	...	\$2,295	...	\$9,166	\$17,936
Durkeeville	...	\$1,826	\$2,416	\$3,956	\$6,628
East Jacksonville	...	\$2,045	\$2,804	\$4,974	\$8,916
Royal Terrace (Control)	...	...	\$2,993	\$7,041	\$11,829
Atlanta					
SMSA	...	\$2,503	\$4,937	...	\$24,267
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	\$2,500	\$4,964	...	\$18,289
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	\$2,516	\$4,844	...	\$16,347
Auburn Avenue (Control)	\$1,338	\$2,156	\$3,039	...	\$7,691
University District	\$1,525	\$2,234	\$3,167	...	\$10,223

NOTE: It was important to be able to compare each of these neighborhoods with each other and with the City of Miami and Dade County in terms of income level. However, the census data did not break down neatly by neighborhoods, which are generally made up of several tracts. In order to estimate the median income of each area to use in this table, we multiplied the median income by the number of households in each tract, added them, and divided this sum by the total number of households in the entire neighborhood to derive a weighted average.

	Constant dollars*				
	1949	1959	1969	1979	1989
Miami					
Miami City, total	\$366	\$767	\$1,558	\$6,244	\$15,476
Overtown	\$363	\$713	\$1,191	\$4,482	\$11,854
Liberty City and vicinity (Control)	\$442	\$868	\$1,892	\$6,723	\$15,796
Coconut Grove (Control)	\$365	\$716	\$1,584	\$8,400	\$16,863
Other major black neighborhoods primarily within city limits (Control)	n/a	\$905	\$1,692	\$6,139	\$16,967
New Orleans					
SMSA	...	\$8,320	\$10,376	\$12,923	\$11,235
New Orleans (Parrish)	...	\$8,268	\$10,035	\$12,186	\$10,510
Treme	\$5,519	\$7,203	\$8,730	\$11,340	...
Holy Ghost (Control)	\$7,195	\$9,402	\$12,019	\$14,698	...
Tampa					
SMSA	...	\$7,959	\$10,537	\$12,663	\$13,593
County	...	\$7,876	\$10,134	\$12,745	\$14,040
City	...	\$7,924	\$9,989	\$11,012	\$11,631
Ybor City	...	\$7,213	\$7,785	\$7,643	\$5,894
Central Avenue	...	\$6,797	\$7,984	\$6,858	\$8,963
East Tampa (Control)	...	\$8,574	\$10,041	\$12,220	\$5,519
Nashville					
SMSA	...	...	\$10,708	\$14,501	\$15,167
County	...	\$6,495	\$10,714	\$14,744	\$15,201
City	...	\$6,361	\$10,714	\$14,744	\$15,201
Hope Gardens	\$4,726	\$5,622	\$7,510	\$8,215	\$7,389
Highland Heights (Control)	\$5,585	\$6,567	\$11,537	\$11,519	\$9,892
Jacksonville					
SMSA	...	...	\$10,580	\$12,470	\$14,260
County	...	\$8,131	...	\$12,590	\$14,327
City	...	\$7,887	...	\$12,625	\$14,465
Durkeeville	...	\$6,275	\$6,583	\$5,449	\$5,345
East Jacksonville	...	\$7,027	\$7,640	\$6,851	\$7,190
Royal Terrace (Control)	...	...	\$8,155	\$9,698	\$9,540
Atlanta					
SMSA	...	\$8,601	\$13,452	...	\$19,570
County (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	\$8,591	\$13,526	...	\$14,749
City (DeKalb and Fulton)	...	\$8,646	\$13,199	...	\$13,183
Auburn Avenue (Control)	\$5,552	\$7,409	\$8,281	...	\$6,202
University District	\$6,328	\$7,677	\$8,629	...	\$8,244

* Household incomes are adjusted using the Consumer Price Index for all urban consumers (CPI-U), where the average CPI-U for 1982-84 is 100.

7. Descriptions and Timelines for Expressway-Impacted Neighborhoods

7.1 Atlanta - Auburn Avenue/Old Fourth Ward

This 1.67 square mile (1,066-acre) area is adjacent to the east side of the Atlanta Central Business District and encompasses Census Tracts 17.00, 18.00, 28.00, 29.00 and 33.00. It has a current population of 13,000 with more than 90 percent African-American (note: Tract 17.00 was not used in the above Census Tract analysis). It is predominately residential but includes several commercial areas, the Atlanta Civic Center complex and the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial and Historic District. The area is impacted by north-south I-75/85 and east-west Freedom Parkway.

Timeline

- 1870 Shermantown began to take form as Atlanta's principal black community with significant institutions and businesses.
- 1906 A major race riot and the tightening of racial segregation practices increased both pride and fraternity in the Auburn Avenue black community.
- 1920 The first of major black-owned banks, savings and loan, insurance and newspaper were established and a substantial middle-class neighborhood, "Old Fourth Ward", evolved to north and east and a low-income community to the northwest.
- 1917 The Great Fire destroyed approximately one third of the area and caused many residents to migrate to the west side of the city that was newly opened to blacks.
- 1922 The enactment of the city's racial zoning ordinance in 1922 reinforced the pattern of segregation and a strengthened sense of community in the "Sweet Auburn" area.
- 1930 Over 175 black business establishments were located along the Avenue. However, many firms moved with the growth of the African-American population on Atlanta's west side.
- 1940 The population of the study area had reached 36,000 and, with the exception of the northeast corner, was virtually entirely African-American.
- 1942 The 536 unit Grady Homes public housing project was constructed.
- 1950 The area population exceeded 38,000 and the beginnings of racial transition in the remaining white area increased the African-American composition to 84 percent.

- 1952 Slum clearance was first proposed by the Atlanta Regional Planning Commission.
- 1956 Auburn Avenue was cited as “the richest Negro street in the world” on which businesses had collective assets in excess of \$58 million.
- 1960 The migration to the west side, enforcement of the City’s new housing code, and the beginning of I-75/85 construction were responsible for a decline to a 31,000 population that was 96 percent African-American.
- 1961 The Butler Street urban renewal project was initiated to provide CBD expansion room.
- 1965 The I-75/85 Connector was completed and three additional urban renewal projects had begun, one of which was to provide a site for the new Atlanta Civic and Convention Center. U-Rescue asserted itself as the first area organization to have effective local participation in the planning of ongoing public projects.
- 1970 The area population had dropped to 17,100 as a result of the expressway and other public projects.
- 1972 Construction of the Stone Mt. Tollway was stopped by vigorous neighborhood opposition after right-of-way with area had been acquired.
- 1979 The MARTA rapid transit line along the south boundary of the area was opened with little stimulation of redevelopment.
- 1980 Auburn Avenue businesses had declined to 60; much of the renewal land remained vacant.
- 1986 Dr. Martin Luther King National Historic Site was opened.
- 1987 City creates Urban Enterprise Zone program providing property tax abatement incentives for inner city revitalization.
- 1990 The overall population of the area reached a low point of 10,700 and began to increase as a result of urban renewal redevelopment.
- 1994 Freedom Parkway opened as a lower impact alternative to the Stone Mt. Tollway
- 1997 Enterprise Zones had stimulated the development of 1,759 middle- and upper-income housing and commercial/industrial units mostly in urban renewal areas.

Expressways and Other Public Project Impacts

I-75/85 Downtown Connector

Direct - After 1960, the Connector and the interchange with the proposed Stone Mt. Tollway stub penetrated the study area displacing 1,500 low-income African-American households. No relocation assistance was provided to the 95 percent of the relocatees who were renters. Only one block of business buildings was removed from Auburn Avenue and a wide pedestrian plaza was provided under the overpass which crossed it. Nevertheless, the negative economic repercussions to this business area were great.

Indirect - The construction of the connector had two significant secondary impacts. First, the displacement of an estimated 4,350 low-income persons into the city's already constrained low-cost housing supply created a sense of distrust of local government action within the African-American community that resulted in strong opposition to future public projects involving similar displacements. Second, the bifurcation of the Auburn Avenue commercial area contributed to its economic downturn, which was accelerated by the subsequent urban renewal actions. Even with the overpass, the one-third of the street that was west of the expressway was effectively cutoff from its customer base in the residential area to the east.

Freedom Parkway (Stone Mt. Tollway)

Direct - Freedom Parkway, the replacement for the proposed Stone Mt. Tollway, had limited direct impact. The interchange and stub expressway that linked it to the I75/85 Connector at the midpoint of the area had been constructed in 1964-65. Land for the additional right-of-way within the study area and for the interchange with proposed I-485 just outside of the eastern boundary of the area was acquired during the latter half of the decade. It is estimated that more than 150 housing units containing in excess of 500 persons were cleared from within the area, as were approximately eight commercial and industrial properties.

Indirect - The secondary effects of this project were significant. The Tollway proposal led to the organization of a coalition of neighborhoods in the vicinity of its path (and that of the proposed companion I-485 to the east of the study area), which, in turn, helped prompt the City to establish its Neighborhood Planning Unit program providing for extensive area participation in community decisions. This opposition against the Tollway was partially successful when the Parkway was constructed on supposition of the previously acquired right-of-way as a medium-capacity connector serving in-town commuters rather than as the proposed high-capacity expressway link with the eastern suburbs. The area residents were able to have effective input into the decision to use the surplus right-of-way land for open space rather than housing sites.

Rapid Transit System (MARTA)

Direct - The study area received little direct impact from the construction and operation of the East Line of the MARTA system along its southern boundary. The transit line and King

Memorial Station were built at or above grade within or adjacent to the right-of-way of the Georgia Railroad and thus required little displacement of housing or business structures.

Indirect - Few developmental changes have been reported within the MARTA impact area (within approximately 2,000 feet of the station). Over the six year interval from approval of the system referendum to completion of construction, real estate transactions were relatively inactive and per square foot sales values increases modest (+40%). No assemblage into larger, more developable holdings was evident. The low level of employment in the impact area in 1970 (4,688 jobs) was reported to have declined by 66% by 1980. More than three-quarters of these losses were in manufacturing. Declines were experienced in all job categories except the services group, which increased by 86 employees or 38 percent.

Transit ridership at the King Memorial Station was far short of expectations. Whereas week day entry patronage was projected to be 9,000 by 1990; as of May 1997 it was 2,271. The current ridership is 1.1 percent of the system total and the seventh lowest among its 36 stations.

Urban Renewal Projects

Direct - In combination, the four urban renewal projects which included portions of the study area displaced about 10,100 persons who were almost entirely low-income renters. There were more than 140 businesses displaced by the redevelopment actions. Most of these were commercial establishments in the Butler Street project area that was largely outside of the western boundary of the study area.

Most of the Auburn Avenue study area commercial structures that were located within the Butler Street project area were designated for rehabilitation rather than clearance. However, little significant modernization occurred. Of much more significant loss to Avenue businesses was the removal of a major part of their clientele by the urban renewal actions in the residential portions of the study area.

Apart from the CBD-related commercial redevelopment in the Butler Street area, the private reinvestment in the area was slow to occur. The construction of the Civic Center, replacement of two demolished public schools, provision of a buffer park, opening of a public housing project and expansion of a hospital were the first reinvestments in the renewal sites. However, much of the renewal land remained vacant for more than a decade. Finally, in the mid-1980's the City's Urban Enterprise Zone program began to stimulate private revitalization in the renewal sites and by 1997 \$143.2 million in redevelopment had occurred. The creation of the Dr. Martin Luther King Memorial, Historic Site and Preservation District has begun to provide a stimulant for reinvestment in the vicinity of Auburn Avenue.

Indirect - The urban renewal projects in the study area helped focus attention on the magnitude of the low-income (i.e., African-American) housing crisis that was heightened by these clearance actions. Organized neighborhood opposition formed for the first time, as did a widespread distrust in Atlanta's African-American population of urban renewal actions.

The removal through urban renewal of a substantial portion of the customer base of the Auburn Avenue commercial area accelerated the economic, and subsequently physical decline of the area. Other factors also contributing to the economic demise of the community-serving commercial areas were the opening up of other areas of the city for African-American business opportunity; a diminishing sense of identification by younger blacks with the traditional community; and the intransigence of older, longtime entrepreneurs to make needed changes in their operations.

7.2 Jacksonville

East Jacksonville (the Lower Eastside): Approximate Census Tract: 4

Durkeeville/College Gardens/New Town: Approximate Census Tracts: 16, 17, 18

Control--Royal Terrace: Approximate Census Tract: 115

All three communities are part of Jacksonville's Enterprise Zone, and are in the Mayor's Intensive Care Program. Unfortunately, I was not able to tour any of the neighborhoods, though I was able to go to meet a community leader (Celia Miller) at her home in Durkeeville. Celia believes that consolidation was the major factor in the economic and political deterioration of her neighborhood; the city's population had reached a point in white flight where it would have been possible to elect a black mayor. This was unacceptable to the white power structure, which then pressed for consolidation.

In order to build the freeway, they demolished a number of older, historical homes on Johnson and Lee Streets (essentially, the freeway ran between these two streets and all the structures in that area were destroyed), and displaced a community center that consisted of Wilder Library, Wilder Park, the YWCA, and Mt. Array Baptist Church. All but the park were rebuilt in other areas, but none were as centrally located as this particular area.

The Mayor's "Neighborhood Profiles" (1996) report, describes the predominant land uses and zoning for each of the neighborhoods as follows:

Neighborhood	Description	Vacant structures	Deteriorating, Dilapidated, Abandoned, Condemned
Durkeeville/ College Gardens/ New Town	"low-density residential (with a small but significant number of multifamily structures) with commercial development along Kings Road and West Beaver Street, and commercial nodes at several other major intersections along the periphery"	208	117
East Jacksonville (Lower Eastside):	"industrial (land use) in the east along Tallyrand Avenue; low-density residential, commercial and light industrial throughout the remainder"	151	321
Royal Terrace (Control)	"single-family residential with commercial activity along streets that border the neighborhood"	52	37

All three communities are included in the city's Enterprise Zone. In addition, Royal Terrace has received Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funding for eight years; the report mentions that it will continue to do so for the 1995-6 year.

Timeline

- 1936 First public housing projects built in Florida: Durkeeville Homes.
- 1951 Construction of the Haines Street Expressway begun (Project # 7209-175) (Tony O'Neill at Right of Way). Affects the Lower Eastside.
- 1955 Jacksonville Expressway Authority is created.
- 1957 Sections of I-95 built (Job # 72290-2401) (Tony O'Neill at Right of Way). Affects Durkeeville.
- 1959 Pastor Charles B. Daily moves to East Jacksonville; describes it as "bustling" but saw it decline through "urban removal": *Neighbor to Neighbor: Community Newsletter for the Mayor's Intensive Care Neighborhoods; May 1997, Vol. 2, No. 4.*
- 1961? Blueprints for the Haines Expressway state that the plans are finalized; I-95 Construction (Wayne Douglas in FDOT Maintenance). (May be just for the intersection)
- 1968 City/County Government Consolidation takes place.
- 1970s The majority of Public Housing is built.
- 1972? Jacksonville Expressway Authority becomes the Jacksonville Transportation Authority.
- 1975 Growth management becomes an issue.
- 1978 "Lower Eastside Redevelopment Strategy" (JFL-0146 at the Public Library). The steady decline in population since 1950 (with a marked decline since 1960) is attributed to three factors: 1) urban renewal activities; 2) industrial expansion; and 3) out-migration of young households. Since 1970, the area lost 601 units (almost 20% of the housing stock) due to demolition of dilapidated units: "This loss, however, has contributed to the general improvement in housing conditions."
- 1980s? Stadium built in Lower Eastside.
- 1981 I-95 widened from 21st Street all the way to downtown.

- 1993 Community Planning Advising Council established as the first formal community participation program.
- 1993 Demolition of original Blogett Homes Complex.
- 1994 Public Housing Section of Jacksonville HUD splits, becomes Jacksonville Housing Authority, and the rest of the departments find themselves in the Planning Department.
- 1995 Jacksonville Housing Authority votes to renovate the Durkeeville Projects rather than build all 314 new units throughout the city after community protest (231 units would be built in other areas). (Florida Times-Union, 9/19/95: Martin Wisckol: “Durkeeville renovation approved”)
- 1996 Mayor’s Neighborhood Initiative (Mayor’s Intensive Care Neighborhood Program) calls for business-school partnerships, coordinates volunteers and community groups for mentoring and other activities, provides help for homeownership. “The purpose of the *Intensive Care* project is to improve the learning environment in the schools by strengthening infrastructure and human services in the neighborhood around them. City employees will work side by side with residents to identify neighborhood concerns and develop plans to address them. City resources will be made available to help neighborhoods help themselves. Although Intensive Care is sponsored by local government, neighborhood participation and long term commitment are essential to success.” (Mission Statement)
- Current Discussion of widening I-95 and taking more right of way.
- HOPE VI (federal money) grant provides funds to demolish Durkeeville Homes (historic public housing project).

7.3 Tampa

Ybor City: Census Tract: 39, 40, 41

Central Avenue: Census Tract: 21, 22, 30, 31, 32

Control--East Tampa: Census Tract: 19, 20, 33, 34, 35

Currently F-DOT is undertaking an extensive project to retrofit, widen and provide mitigation for the area for most of the highway system. Though the plans were approved in 1989, they do not expect to see funding for another 20 years or so, and are currently trying to work with the community to get local approval on these improvements. In Ybor City, specifically, there is also talk of improving the area through the construction of an urban transit station for commuters and tourists, renovation of the Amtrak Station for the Florida Overland eXpress (FOX), and, once the I-4 expansion is begun, realigning the ramps to bring the tourists into Ybor City easier.

I-4 in Ybor City and I-275 in the Central Avenue District were build directly on top of the main commercial drag and split the neighborhood in half, making it difficult for the residents to move around the community. There is a lot of nostalgia about the Central Avenue area, and with the new configuration, many of the underpasses that link each side of the community will be closed.

One former resident of Ybor City said that a number of other factors also affected the decline of the community and that the Interstate only hastened the process: 1) government loans for housing and the GI bill encouraged suburbanization and education for a higher standard of living--outside the city; 2) the Presbyterian Church moved to West Tampa and many residents moved with it; and 3) urban renewal demolished a number of buildings, but the lots stood empty. She told me that when right of way was being purchased, a number of residents were happy to move and felt that the price they got was fair; they were ready to leave the area (also, partially due to white, or in this case, Latino, flight as more African Americans began to move into the community). Homeowners who were located right next to the highway, but not in the right of way to be bought out, were the unhappy residents. Her husband commented that it was the freeway that killed Ybor City. Currently, there is some commercial activity on 7th and 8th Streets, but much vacant land and poverty in the part that has remained residential.

Currently, Tampa is trying to revitalize Ybor City and is exploring a number of different redevelopment incentives including ad valorem tax exemptions, historic preservation tax credits, various loan programs, enterprise zone tax credits, on-site storm-water retention reductions and exemptions from transportation impact fees.

Timeline

- 1940s & 50s Tampa has trolleys (currently trying to get them back).
- 1957 The Ybor City Presbyterian Church moves to West Tampa; many residents begin to move there also.
- 1960s City closes elementary and junior high schools in Ybor City.
- 1964 I-4 construction completed.
- 60s-70s Urban Renewal projects: Many go into Ybor City; lots of land remains vacant after it is cleared.
- 1970 Census tract boundaries change to follow the new interstate system.
- 1983 Ybor City Historic District Revitalization Plan calls for repopulating the neighborhood, emphasizing its "Latin" heritage, and controlling the impact of vehicular traffic among other things.
- 1988 June 2: Ybor City declared blighted by the Tampa City Council.

- 1988 A Community Redevelopment Plan is prepared. It provides a framework for coordinating and facilitating public and private redevelopment of the area. In order to eliminate conditions of economic and structural blight, the plan proposes that the city find an appropriate means of financing its redevelopment, including purchasing property.
- 1989 Master Plan approved which includes improvements to I-4 like widening the highway. This will be the most expensive improvement and will relocate the most historic homes of any project to date.
- 1994 Private funds begin to make the commercial activity on 7th Avenue pay off by turning it into a bar/tourist area.
- 1996 Tampa: Ybor Revitalization Strategy. "Much needed infrastructure improvements, aesthetic enhancements and other projects included in this strategy will increase the attractiveness of the Ybor City area to both residents and potential investors." Since 1980, \$40 million has been invested to create 130 new businesses (1,200 new job opportunities).
- Current Tampa Interstate Study commissioned to look at mitigation efforts through urban design guidelines such as murals, lighting, better aesthetic integration with the community, parks and landscaping.
- \$100,000 study undertaken to look at how highway beautification projects can buffer high traffic streets.
- The City is discussing taking over maintenance duties of the interstate from DOT (like St. Petersburg has done already).

7.4 New Orleans

Sixth Ward/Treme/Lafitte: Census Tract: 39, 40, 44.01, 44.02

Control: Holy Ghost: Census Tract: 100, 101, 103

City Planners state that the growing population and tourist industry of the 1950s placed a high demand on the narrow roads in New Orleans that could not meet the new traffic capacity requirements. The preservation of the historic character of several districts (some going back to the 1700s) was one of the important criteria in the search for an interstate route. In addition, planners needed to accommodate the high volume of traffic due to the jobs and services that the New Orleans CBD provides for five parishes, and the important trucking industry to this port town; in order to preserve the historic character of the city, planners emphasized the importance that improvements to the system be made where there would be the least impact to the community as a whole. The logical choices for the highways, then, were the areas that were already mainly owned by the state (filled canals, broad boulevards, etc.), and so few residents and businesses were actually displaced to make room for construction.

In Treme, the Interstate was constructed along Claiborne Avenue, a wide expanse of right of way that the state already owned. It was called the “neutral ground,” had some of the oldest Oak trees in the city between the east- and west-bound roads, and was highly utilized as a linear park. Businesses lined both sides of the road. People I spoke to seemed to agree that there was really no public opposition to the freeway until they started to take down the trees. However, it seems that the strongest point of community dissatisfaction is the Louis Armstrong Park that displaced 410 families in eight blocks (this may be because the Interstate was built in the 1960s while the Park has stirred up controversy in recent years). Ralph Thayer at University of New Orleans says that the freeway and the Park made the community completely distrustful of government. One homeowner/community activist indicated that government has not been responsive to the needs of the residents either in an historical context or in the recent past; if the community had been allowed to participate in the development of the area under the freeway from the beginning, it would have been easier for them to accept. As it was, outsiders came in to tell the neighborhood what it would get.

The freeway prevented residents from using the commercial area due to the difficulty in gaining access to it as well as the change from a pleasant to an ugly area. In addition, desegregation allowed the upper and middle class residents to buy more goods and services from the competition. Many Treme residents have been concerned about gentrification, real estate speculation, and displacement, and are worried that speculators, upper-income residents of Treme, and government officials will try to make the neighborhood into an extension of the French Quarter. In order to curb the possibility of displacement of more of its residents, the University of New Orleans CUPA (1994) report recommends that adequate affordable rental housing be provided for this community since it is and always has been primarily a community of renters. They also point out that enhancement of the public transportation system will produce great economic benefits to this community since almost half of its residents (48.92% compared with 26.27% in the city) do not have access to a vehicle. For this reason, 36.07% of the community (compared with 16.99% in the city) currently relies on public transportation.

Timeline

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1810 | Treme becomes the first suburb of New Orleans, populated mainly by free persons of color and Caucasians. |
| 1829 | Enough land “reclaimed” to plan streets for the Sixth Ward. |
| 1926 | Municipal Auditorium bond issue passed and construction began on a site in Treme, displacing the Treme Market and Parish Prison. |
| 1939 | US Housing Act (Wagner Bill) passed to facilitate construction of public housing projects; US Housing Authority created to contract with local housing officials. |

- 1939-41 Lafitte Housing Project (for black tenants) and Iberville Housing Project (for white tenants) built. (100% occupancy in 1941). Over 1,400 Treme families displaced to make room for projects.
- 40s-50s New Orleans has the third highest use of mass transit in the nation (follows New York and Chicago).
- 1949- mid 1970s Shift from single to multi-family residences.
- 1950s Planning Council draws up a Major Street Plan that includes an expressway system. Gets put on hold once the 1954 Interstate Highway Act is passed so that they can use federal dollars.
- 1950s Acquisition of land to be used for Louis Armstrong park begun.
- 1953 Treme zoned for heavy commercial on exterior streets and for multiple family dwellings on the interior and fronting Esplanade Avenue (Agnew, M.: Draft of "Strategic Neighborhood Renaissance Plan" 1996?)
- 1956 Planning begins for I-10.
- 1960s Proposed Riverfront Expressway opposed by residents, historic preservationists, and environmentalists in the French Quarter
- 1960s State Project #450-16-42: Toulane to New Orleans Ave on Claiborne: Begun October 2, 1967, completed Aug. 14, 1969; State Project #450-16-43: New Orleans Ave to St. Bernard Ave on Claiborne: Begun in mid 1966, completed May 2, 1968 (Kent Doyle, FDOT).
- 1969 Louisiana State Legislature passes Urban Renewal.
- 1969 French Quarter group wins against the Highway.
- 60s-70s The US Marshall is required to enforce integration. Many whites from surrounding areas posed counter-demonstrations and threatened to close down the schools. 410 families are evicted from homes in the eight block area that would become Louis Armstrong Park (Urban Renewal Project): 80% were black, most had annual incomes less than half of the city mean, many historic buildings demolished. Though guidelines for citizen input was required to receive Urban Renewal funds, the public hearings were considered a "sham" in which public officials informed citizens about plans rather than listening to their concerns: 1994 CUPA report.
- 1970s Mitigation efforts: bricks on some of the supports, fountains that shut down quickly, trees that died, a park on the east end under a ramp, parking and impoundment area.

- 1970s Area became a low rent neighborhood with housing predominantly for black families (previously had been a greater mix of whites and Creole blacks) (Neighborhood Profile, 1978: City of New Orleans, Office of Policy Planning).
- 1971 Construction began on Theater for Performing Arts in Louis Armstrong Cultural Center; funds run out for more buildings, so the city decides to leave a park for cultural festivals; park is incomplete until 1974 (delay causes controversy over cost, design, and cultural issues).
- 1972 Pressure from community results in allocation of space in the Louis Armstrong Park for the Treme Community Center.
- 1973 Lawrence Halprin and Associates retained by the City of New Orleans to prepare a Development Plan for the Louis Armstrong Park. Worked with the Client Committee of the City to develop a Master Plan with four elements (land use, open space, circulation and parking, and urban design).
- 1975 Only 12% families in Treme own their own home (compared to 35% city average).
- 1978: Sixth Ward/Treme/Lafitte Neighborhood Profile (City of New Orleans, Office of Policy Planning) reports that 1.4% of the housing stock is “sound,” 53.0% is “moderate,” 42.13% is “deteriorated,” and 2.96% is “dilapidated.”
- 1980 Moratorium on multiple residential buildings.
- 1988 Plans announced to turn the Louis Armstrong Park into a Jazz- theme urban garden; residents and community leaders oppose and gardens project goes away.
- 1990 Treme has 410 vacant housing units.
- 1991 “Blueprint for Economic Revival” (cited in the 1994 CUPA report; p. 26) identifies obstacles to economic development and makes recommendations.
- 1991 City debt refinancing approved by voters; Housing Trust Fund established by funds set aside annually from the refinancing of the debt to be available for home ownership and rental affordability.
- 1992 Municipal Auditorium in Treme used as the site of a temporary casino (later went bankrupt).
- 1992 Citizen advisory committee completed 25-year master plan for the City.
- 1994 “A Plan for Recovery for New Orleans Housing” introduced by Mayor Morial to help increase stability and home ownership.

1994 New Orleans Redevelopment Authority (NORA) created from the former Community Improvement Agency to deal with structures declared blighted by the New Orleans City Council.

1994 Construction began on the Black Music Hall of Fame in Armstrong Park.

Current Working on replacing old trolley lines throughout the city.

Residents and planners trying to get the Casino's parking lots to be used as a park and ride as well as a place for tourist busses to congregate and shift tourists into smaller, jitney-sized vehicles which will have a smaller impact on the historic buildings.

Chapter 6: Previous Studies of Overtown

Prepared by Sidney Wong

1. Highlights of studies and trends in strategy suggestions

Between 1970 and 1996, a number of studies have been completed and a number of planning proposals and economic development recommendations have been made for Overtown. Studies in the early seventies were narrowly focused. For example, the 1971 Multiple Use Opportunities was concerned with the problems created by expressway and urban renewal: neighborhood division, fragmented land use, broken traffic circulation, and inferior design caused by urban renewal and the expressway. This study recommended physical improvements such as beautification, multi-use centers at focal points, innovative uses underneath the expressway structure, and better pedestrian linkages in the renewal area.

The later studies expressed concerns with commercial blight, poverty, abandonment and lack of employment opportunities. These studies, nonetheless, pointed out several potentials for Overtown: its strategic location with close proximity to major employment centers, the African-American heritage, abundant infrastructure and developable land, and the possible market for mixed income housing development. Since Overtown was designated as one of the federal CDBG Target Areas, the City of Miami periodically published a Neighborhood Planning Program for Overtown. Limited in scope, these Neighborhood Planning Programs manage to cover a wide range of issues and make comprehensive recommendations for wider housing choice, mixed-income residential developments, business development and retention, job training, social services improvement, and infrastructure improvement.

Several studies on the redevelopment of Overtown and the surrounding areas were written in the late seventies. These proposals were finally incorporated into the 1979 Overtown Redevelopment Plan. When a tax-increment-financing district for Park West and Southeast Overtown was created, most of the 1979 Redevelopment Plan's proposals were merged in the 1981 Southeast Overtown/Park West Redevelopment Plan. In anticipation of the spin-off effects of the downtown government center, the community college and the metrorail station, a number of these studies painted a rosy picture for Overtown's future. They recommended office and hotel development and mixed-income housing projects. Market conditions kept most of these recommendations on the shelf.

Interest in Overtown was minimal during the 1980s; in the 1990s, studies have tended to focus on revitalization. A joint effort among the city, the Overtown Advisory Board and the Florida Center for Urban Design and Research was completed in 1993, resulting in the Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan. The recommendations of this study and of the St. John CDC's 1996 Three Year Plan emphasized the extension of the tax-increment-financing district to the rest of Overtown, housing rehabilitation, affordable housing development, economic development, commercial revitalization, and specific site

development for health research and business incubators. The 1993 plan stressed the need for community-based development and the reliance on grass-roots organizations and community development corporations to forge a public-private partnership.

In 1992, Miami-Dade Community College launched the Overtown Neighborhood Partnerships effort including a survey, focus groups and community forums to mobilize grassroots involvement on future actions for Overtown. In 1995, this collective effort recommended several priority projects such as beautification, market place, home-business training, community gardens and promotion of neighborhood associations.

Meanwhile, as part of the application process for the federal empowerment zone designation in 1994, Metro-Dade County conducted several fact-finding and descriptive studies. It summarized some of the existing recommendations on community development and business promotion in the 1994 Empowerment Zone Strategic Plan.

In addition, the Black Archives has recommended the development of the Historic Overtown Folklife Village in a two-block area between NW 2nd and 3rd Avenues and NW 8th and 10th Streets; this was incorporated into the Miami Comprehensive Neighborhood Plan. A number of urban design studies and community forums have been conducted to fine-tune the vision and concept. Finally, in response to the possible alignment of the East/West Transportation Corridor in Overtown, local community groups and individuals worked out a concept of economic development around a station where metro-rail and the East/West Corridor rail line were scheduled to meet.

In all of these studies, housing is the central theme. Most studies stressed both mixed-income development to promote business revitalization and improvement of housing conditions and affordability for current residents. Also, there has been a clear shift in the focus of these studies from zoning and physical improvements toward economic development. These studies have proposed a variety of economic development projects including business promotion and retention, incubator and capital support, workforce improvement, possible retail activities around existing metro-rail stations, and possible attraction of high-tech industries. Another shift in focus in more recent studies is the increasing emphasis on local involvement and community participation.

Most of these studies only give partial attention to transportation-related recommendations; rather, they emphasize economic development and housing.

2. Summary of Significant Overtown Studies

2.1 Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1956. A Major Highway Plan

This report submitted to State Road Department of Florida on Dec 10, 1956 based on an agreement on May 28, 1956. It deals with the 41 miles of expressway in Dade County. The study was authorized by joint action of the Dade County Commissions and the State Road Department of Florida and was prepared for DDA of City of Miami under contract to the City's Office of Community Development funded by the HUD through the CDBG program. It has four parts—statutory elements; projection execution; market forecast;

environmental assessment. This was the blueprint of I-95 and established the basic alignment through Overtown.

2.2 Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, 1961. Existing Land Use Study

In 1959-60 the MDPD conducted a land use inventory on a block by block, lot by lot basis for the purpose of obtaining current and reliable data about land use. It covered 26 municipalities with the county and the unincorporated areas. They develop a broad pattern with an interest to identify developable areas and areas of environmental sensitivity.

Urban Areas then Residential – the contribution of FHA and VA mortgage insurance contributed to the boom. Only 8% of all residential uses in the urban area were in duplexes and multi-family houses. There was excessive zoning of the two-family category (20.5 square miles vs 2.8) reflecting a rezoning immediately after WWII. But the rezoning was not fully utilized.

Blight – visually checked for physical deterioration and blocks exhibiting 50% of more structural decay are shown separately, largely in Overtown. Criteria for blight: visual appearance, structural blight, technological blight (obsolescence), overcrowding, urban service blight and community facilities blight.

Commercial – an abundance of strip commercial development along well-traveled thoroughfares is recommended. The support of shopping center type of commercial development—off-street, centrally located facilities surrounded by acres of parking space is a logical response to the retailing needs of the automotive age. But it is recognized that shopping center accommodated suburban residents. For older commercial areas, it is suggested that pedestrian shopping mall should be attempted. Attractively landscaped esplanade limited to foot traffic but parking problem must be resolved. Lincoln Road in Miami Beach is the second permanent pedestrian mall in the US.

2.3 Wilbur Smith and Associates, 1962. Alternatives for the Expressway

In 1962, Wilbur Smith and Associates were required to report back to County Manager to discuss alternatives. They recommend an alternate that lies generally west of the alignment of the 1960 plan (2 to 3 blocks). Construction would be faster. This report also includes a map called: “Existing and Proposed Expressway System – 1962.” A county bond issue aimed at expediting completion of the entire system puts it ahead of schedule: \$40 million of the authorized \$46 million bond issue was designated for the N-S Expressway in the central area so that the route could be completed by 1966. Later it would be reimbursed by the Interstate funds. The authors discuss the need for realignment, specifically in the downtown area because of the ROW procurement problems that included objection on aesthetic grounds. Others are concerned with possible effects on the old seaport property and loss of small boat docks and with the Corps of Engineer’s clearance requirements over the Miami River (75 ft). There is an argument about alignment: “In the northern part of the downtown area, the location of the MacArthur and possibly the Venetian Causeway at the East-West Expressway

dictated selection of the general route. Also, the North-South Expressway was located generally between N.W. 6th and N.W. 7th Avenues, based on land use and on anticipated land acquisition and construction costs.” (p. 5)

2.4 Hill & Adley Associates, Inc. (of Atlanta GA). (1963). “General Neighborhood Renewal Plan: Central Miami urban renewal area.” Miami, FL. For the Planning Department of Miami.

The audience/client: The Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department commissioned the study which was to be submitted to the Housing and Home Finance Agency of the federal government as part of an applications for a grant of funds. Once they received federal approval, the plan would be reviewed by key advisory bodies like the Dade County Planning Advisory Board and the Miami Planning and Zoning Board before submitting it to the Dade County and City of Miami Commissions for formal adoption.

The report states that Overtown (Central Miami GNRP Area) was selected for Dade County’s first urban renewal efforts because it had the highest concentration of substandard housing in the city and county. This document outlines a land use plan that is designed to “remove the conditions which have created or contributed to the substandard character of the GNRP Area...” (2). Transportation routes were designed by planners to remove through traffic from residential streets, to interconnect neighborhoods with only a few connector streets to discourage through traffic, to increase the width of major arteries, to separate incompatible land uses, to remove strip commercial development to improve traffic capacity of roads, to remove all substandard residential structures, to establish development standards, to reduce residential density and increase usable open space, to increase the amount of land necessary for community facilities, to accommodate the tentative expressway alignment that was at the time proposed for the area.

Land use plans were designed to achieve: deliberate disruption of the gridiron street system; connecting neighborhoods; increase the width of major traffic arteries; land use pattern to segregate uses (incompatible land uses); remove strip commercial development; remove substandard structure; impose new building standard; reduce density; increase land from community facilitates and; accommodate the tentative expressway alignment. “The ultimate object of the land use plan is to create an environment conducive to the redevelopment of a sound residential neighborhood and in addition, to provide logical areas for the expansion and or further development of commercial and industrial uses.” P.3 The GNRP attempts to circumvent these recognized deficiencies (structurally sound apartment buildings that did not comply with current zoning and yard requirements) by selected clearance of residential structures.” P.3 (comment: physical determination) It proposed a new set of residential bulk and yard requirement that governed FAR, coverage, building heights, yards, lot area and width, density, parking requirements (comment: completely restructure the site configuration)

Recommendations for commercial areas include: regroup commercial activities into neighborhood commercial and general commercial; and eliminate uses such as warehouse,

manufacturing, junkyards, nuisance; complete separation between commercial and residential uses and; new standards. Recommendations for industrial planning include: limited the uses permitted; stringent control on established industrial areas if they are adjacent residential areas and buffers; and total clearance—complete restructuring. Other recommendations include: landscaping, restriction of access, massing of sites and blocks; building community facilities, enlarging school sites, providing additional parks, and other public improvements such as street repairs, widening and new construction, sewer, storm drainage, other infrastructure improvements.

The Overtown area was divided into four projects, all of which was to have Title I assistance; Projects 2, 3, and 4 were expected to be completed in 36 months and Project 1 was expected to be completed in 60 months. They expected to displace 6,900 families and 2,100 individuals: Project 1 would displace 2,600 families; Project 2 would displace 1,500 families, but 375 of these will have already been displaced due to the freeway; Project 3 would displace 1,080 families, 80 due to highway construction; Project 4 would displace 1,700 families, 260 due to construction of the interstate. By the time Project 4 dislocated these people, the planners hoped that houses constructed in the Project 2 and 3 areas would be completed so that they could relocate 160 families within the neighborhood.

“The ultimate objective of the land use plan is to create an environment conducive to the redevelopment of a sound residential neighborhood and in addition, to provide logical areas for the expansion and/or further development of commercial and industrial use” (3). They are concerned with separating land uses; therefore, the authors recommend specific zoning standards for residential, commercial, and industrial areas in order to meet the goals described above.

Recommendations specifically related to transportation include street repair, widening and new construction, changing the street system to eliminate through traffic. They recommend vacating and interconnecting minor streets to provide adequate residential access but to eliminate through traffic.

2.5 Metropolitan Dade PD, 1971. Multiple Use Opportunities for Midtown Miami

This report was prepared under contract with FDOT in cooperation with the FHA under authority of Title Twenty-three of the US Code. It was expanded concern for improving environment, “Realizing that in the past expressways have created significant problems for adjacent urban neighborhoods, highway planners have initiated the use of multiple use planning techniques in determining future route alignments and design.” (p. 2) Its purpose is “to analyze proposed or existing expressway corridors in an effort to minimize or eliminate their negative impact while fully utilizing their positive potentials to the benefit of the urban areas through which they pass.” P.2 Its goals are:

- To analyze the physical, social, economic and esthetic impacts of an expressway on adjacent neighborhoods.

- To determine how negative effects might be reversed by sharing the expressway corridor with other uses.
- It is recognized that the Midtown Interchange has imposed serious conflicts in surrounding neighborhoods.
- The public involvement is limited – government agencies, professionals and few individual represented business interests.

This study identifies several problems: real and implied barriers; continuity of neighborhood land use patterns; economic base; residual properties; and blighting influences. In 1970 I-395 was under construction. In 1967, the Central Miami Neighborhood Development Program area was created as the “R-10” renewal area was incorporated into it. The expressway’s impacts are identified as follows:

- Multiple, physical and alterations in human behavioral patterns
- Changes in the form of the urban environment and alterations in the spatial organization around the facility.
- Re-distribution and flow of traffic and the displacement of physical facilities

“The expressway’s impact on the social structures stems from the effects of its location and use on the economic, social and esthetic well-being of the individual members of the neighborhood. These are felt first of all as immediate effects on displaced families, local governments and the market areas of local merchants. Over the long run, alterations in the time-distance relations between households and areas of economic activity, or sources of supply and the market, eventually solidify into permanent behavioral changes.” P12

The report looked into possibilities of creating community focal points, centralized business area, centralized location for public services, insulation and buffering and visual impressions. The comprehensive development plan they offer intends to put back residents through redevelopment and rehabilitation of high-rise development along Biscayne or the Old Port 6000 people and to develop an eight acre community oriented commercial center, located partially under the expressway near NW 14th St. and NW 3rd Av. to serve the basic shopping needs of adjacent neighborhoods. They plan a complex with other public and park uses and served by a series of pedestrian ways from surrounding residential areas. Also see Table 6.2 for summary.

Specifically related to transportation issues, they recommend that a transportation terminal be created that directly serves the Midtown area and intercept and accommodate increased traffic conveniently and efficiently. The terminal would be located between NE 14th Street (to the north) and NE 10th Street (to the south), NE 2nd Avenue (to the east) and NE 1st Avenue (to the west). A parking structure would be provided so that motorists could come to the City and use the transit system, including the then proposed People Mover system, or walk, in the downtown area. This was also meant to be a Satellite Airline Terminal to provide better access by bringing passengers via shuttle to and from the downtown area.

2.6 Wallace, McHarg, Roberts & Todd. 1975. Miami Comprehensive Neighborhood Development Plan: Technical Appendix Interim Report

The authors are Urban and Ecological Planners. City of Miami PD, Hunter Moss and Company, Gladstone Associates, Environment Design Group, Dr Ernest Bartley of Bair, Abernathy and Associates (a zoning consultant). Their information about zoning and their planning definitions are quite useful. This report contains background housing and land use information for the whole city in the early 1970s.

2.7 City of Miami Planning Department, 1979. Culmer Redevelopment Study

This study analyzes existing conditions within the Overtown and Dorsey-Wheatley areas of the Culmer Community to provide data necessary for a redevelopment plan. Its goal is to identify community needs, problems and opportunities in the redevelopment process. Under the provision of the Florida community Redevelopment Act of 1970 which specifies that in certain blighted areas, the government entity may undertake a more extensive public program including land acquisition and redevelopment. A Community Redevelopment Plan must be adopted however before a community development project can be planned or implemented. “[Overtown] grew and developed into a vibrant community. Blacks eventually became owners of businesses and, thereby, helped establish a viable economic community. Schools, homes, churches, and commercial uses were developed. Blacks developed large economic venues, such as hotels, apartments, theaters, night-clubs and small neighborhood markets. This created a very strong and pulsating community. In the 1920’s and 1930’s, NW 2nd Avenue was called Avenue G. It was a center for entertainment, retail stores, and hotels.” (p. 3) “The population continued to expand within Culmer until the early 1960’s when it reached its apex of over 40,000 persons. Desegregation, urban renewal, the Neighborhood Development Program and construction of the SR-836, I-95 expressways significantly changed the character of the neighborhood. Residents were scattered and relocated, and economic, physical, and social decay became more pronounced.” (p. 3)

2.8 City of Miami Planning Department, 1982. Land Use Atlas

This provides a geographical and categorical breakdown of land use in the city in 13 sub-areas. It used major land use categories of residential (single family, duplex, multi-family and mixed residential/commercial), commercial (retail, office, service, amusement, wholesale and hotel and motel), industrial, transportation and utilities, miscellaneous (parks/open space, education, religious/cultural, public administration and hospital), and water and vacant.

Overtown CD Target Area is defined as NW 22nd St. to NW2nd Av., then NW20th St., then the FEC, NW7th to Miami River, then East-West Expressway. These boundaries are larger than those which historically have defined Overtown.

2.9 City of Miami Planning Department, 1985 Overtown Environment Assessment

The authors offer remedies to civil disturbance and cover a wide range of issues and proposed a variety of actions and recommendation. The area defined as OTCDDTA including the area south of SR 836 to the river (same as the 1982 land use atlas). They identify the issues as unemployment, underemployment, economic instability, the lack of viable black-owned businesses and the erosion of black family units. In addition, there are the problems of involvement and stand against institutional racism, because of economic reprisal (job loss, intimidation and harassment) and the erosion of spirit and fatalism, self-hatred, destruction and violence. Through the public sector, they recommend increasing economic opportunities through fostering black business entrepreneurship, developing set aside programs, providing technical assistance, prohibiting redlining at financial institutions and setting requirements on insurance companies. Through the private sector, they recommend active recruitment, fair affirmative action, training and high-end job, cross-cultural communication programs, incentives for resolving issues and participation and equal opportunities in procurement. They also discuss the role of the religious community and the residential community in demanding accountability from public and private institutions. “[The] long-time residents of Overtown have been excluded from virtually all economic prosperity in surrounding areas such as the Garment Center expansion to the north, the OMNI/Downtown area to the east, the Civic Center/Hospital Complexes to the west, and the Government Complex to the south.” (page 31)

2.10 City of Miami, Dade County, FL. (1988). “Miami: Comprehensive Neighborhood Plan: Volume III: Neighborhood: Data and Analysis / Goals, Objectives and Policies: Part II.” Miami, FL.

The audience/client: Prepared by City of Miami under contract with the Florida Department of Community Affairs. The preparation of this document was financially aided through a grant from the State of Florida under the Local Government Comprehensive Planning Assistance Program authorized by Chapter 86-167, Laws of Florida.

I. Downtown: Southeast Overtown/Park West Sub-Area. (Does not include Overtown north of I-395).

Goals: 1. Maintain and increase affordable housing, enhance the quality of life in residential neighborhoods, and encourage redevelopment and revitalization efforts in blighted and declining neighborhoods; 2. Promote and facilitate business development and job growth, foster redevelopment in commercial and industrial districts; 3. Ensure an adequate infrastructure network to complement development; 4. Provide adequate social services including health care and educational services, facilities and programs.

Recommendations specifically related to transportation: Ensure that traffic circulation will protect and enhance the character of the neighborhood: transportation improvements must be designed to minimize the intrusion of commuter traffic on city residential streets and do not fragment well defined neighborhoods or result in major disruption of pedestrian

traffic; a streetscape design program should be developed to guide landscaping, lighting, and construction of sidewalks and bicycle paths the construction of which should be coordinated with major repairs and renovation of city streets; dirt shoulders will be replaced by sidewalks with curb and gutter where major repairs or renovations are made on streets; and reduce the need for commuting by building Overtown/Park West near the central business district.

II. Downtown: Overtown Historic Folklife Village Sub-Area.

Redevelop the Overtown Historic Folklife Village as a mixed-arts center highlighting black and Caribbean cultural themes: Goals: 1. Promote and facilitate business development and job growth, redevelop the blighted and declining area as a lively mixed arts center; 2. Provide capital improvements ensuring that an infrastructure is in place to compliment the development of the Village; 3. Maintain and enhance the development of the Historic Folklife Village through quality urban design and by protecting and conserving the historic and cultural heritage of the city.

Recommendations specifically related to transportation: Develop a traffic circulation system designed to protect and enhance development of this area, specifically, develop a streetscape design program to guide landscaping, lighting and construction of sidewalks and bicycle paths to be coordinated with major repairs and renovations of city streets.

2.11 City of Miami Planning Department, 1990 - OT CDTA Neighborhood Planning Program

This is the plan for the 16th and 18th CD years (1989-92). Through a federal mandate, it is required that a CD plan is developed which has to identify CD and housing needs and specify short and long-term community development objectives. This study focuses on:

- improving the environment and the economic base of the commercial areas
- investigating the need to augment the existing open space and recreational facilities; and
- satisfying the need for social service and cultural activities.

In addition, the current focus is on housing including rehabilitation, new construction, economic development and social services. Overtown is the target area with boundaries west of the FEC, north of NW 5th and Miami River, east of NW 7th Av. and 836, and south of NW 20th St., 21st Terrace and 22nd St.

Several problems are identified: the high concentration of low-income residents and blighted structures; depopulation, level of deterioration so severe. Overtown is a dying community, dissected by highway construction, urban renewal and experiencing the continued deterioration of its housing and commercial stock. The largest concentration of low-income residents and blighted structures with Dade County. No major impact has been made even with the effort to expand employment opportunities. Business and economic development activity has been dismal. Massive public and private investment of \$2.5 billion

between 1977 and 1990 in the surrounding areas had no significant impact. Instead, there is a continuous pattern of disinvestment and abandonment. Infusion of public funds and substantial physical improvement. In addition, there is a high cost in conducting business—insurance cost, occurrence of pilferage and vandalism.

The report also discusses land use, economic development and social/public service for the area. The authors are not very optimistic: “it is anticipated that existing trends will continue since conditions within the physical environment have degenerated to a level that does not allow private market forces to operate.” They call for a comprehensive approach maximizing the utilization of public and private sector resources.

2.12 Joint Center for Environmental and Urban Problems. (1991). “An evaluation of redevelopment in Overtown (Final Report).”

The audience/client: Homes for South Florida; the purpose was to provide management useful information to help them determine the nature and extent of their participation in development finance in the Overtown area. The report focuses on Southeast Overtown due to the concentration of redevelopment activities initiated by the City in this area.

The primary recommendation is to increase coordination between urban planners and finance specialists who provide “bricks and mortar” physical redevelopment with other government agencies that will be able to develop social services and educational opportunities for the residents of the community. Low income residents should have better links to employment and training services, child care, elder care, health services, drug awareness and treatment, and several other social services.. They also recommend set asides for students in special programs to help them continue their studies, ensure their employability, and provide businesses with a skilled labor force in the neighborhood.

They also recommend: 1. that the market be studied from both the perspective of maximizing return on investment and of reaching social objectives; 2. that the full range of social services (key to the redevelopment process) be summarized so that developers and planners can address these issues from a practical standpoint; 3. that development proposals be reviewed with regard to physical design features and social needs; 4. that Homes for South Florida lead the private sector involvement in Overtown; and 5. that urban design principles meant to enhance community living be used in development proposals for Overtown.

The only recommendations specifically related to transportation is that “Special transportation services” as part of the social services need to be addressed.

2.13 Yelvington, K. (1992). "Urban Renewal and 'Negro Removal:' Redevelopment in Overtown, Miami." A paper presented to the American Anthropological Association 91st Annual Meeting: San Francisco, December 2-6, 1992. Unpublished.

The audience: American Anthropological Association.

An academic paper based on the information gathered for the Joint Center for Environmental and Urban Problems 1991 final report: "An evaluation of redevelopment in Overtown," there is no outline of specific recommendations. Throughout the text, however, the author implies that improvements to the infrastructure have superseded social programs and that developers and planners need to coordinate with social service planners.

2.14 City of Miami Planning, Building and Zoning Department. (1994). "Overtown: Community Development Target Area." Neighborhood Planning Program 1994-1996, Miami, FL.

The audience/client: Prepared by the City of Miami Planning, Building and Zoning Department for City Officials as well as for the federal HUD.

A Community Development Plan which identifies physical, economic and social needs and specifies both short and long term community development objectives is required by federal regulations for communities that wish to be eligible for Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funding. Activities must (1) benefit low and moderate income persons, (2) help to eliminate or prevent slum conditions and blight, and (3) meet other health and welfare needs that are urgent due to conditions in that specific community.

The report deals with conditions in the 1990s, and only in a few cases compares 1990 data to 1980 or 1970 information. It outlines the issues of concern to the community, describes the Neighborhood Enhancement Team (NET) approach for the delivery of municipal services and what exactly they can help citizens do, presents the poverty rate and ranking of this area (at the time the fourth poorest city in the US), and describes the general neighborhood characteristics, including poverty, unemployment, and median income by location, land use, housing, labor force, social/public services, and economic development. It states: "There has been a continual infusion of public funds in to the area since the mid-1960s through Urban Renewal, Neighborhoods Development Programs and Community Development Block Grants funds. These programs were instrumental in improving the infrastructure in the Overtown area i.e., street improvements, sewer/water line upgrades, street lights, curbs and gutters and sidewalks" (16).

They recommend that community leaders work to provide a variety of suitable housing, better schools and cultural activities, increased safety, better shopping areas, and create a neighborhood environment similar to that in the suburbs to encourage young singles, young families with higher disposable income, and middle income persons to come to and remain in Overtown.

To meet housing needs, they recommend the demolition and replacement of outdated and substandard housing, construction of new affordable multifamily housing, code enforcement, incentive programs to attract more affluent, younger families as well as developers, increased homeownership including subsidies for lower income residents.

To meet commercial and economic development needs, they recommend developing a strong center of specialty shops and retail stores to attract non-traditional patrons and tourists, develop the Folklife Village District, encourage mixed commercial/residential development, establish incubators, find job head hunters for local residents, find year round employment for youths, provide technical and vocational training facilities, simplify the enterprise zone application process.

Specifically in terms of transportation related issues, they find that there is a need to decrease the cost of public transit, to construct the East-West corridor connecting West Dade to Miami Beach, and to improve the storm drainage and beautify a number of streets using landscaping, security fences, lighting, and other aesthetic improvements. In addition, they find that traffic circulation (Capital Improvements, Goal 1, Objective 1.2) should be used to protect and enhance the character of the residential and commercial centers in the neighborhood.

2.15 St. John Community Development Corporation. 1996 – Three Year Plan

In 1991 the city provided \$100,000 to the OTA for a Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan and Action Program. Final report in 1993 – field surveys throughout the community, data research, building conditions, demographic trends, economic needs; five community meetings. They recommended a Community-Wide Needs Assessment be developed to guide the economic development strategies and policies for the area. This would include affordable housing and an action program strategies and phasing plan. It is important to recognize that this is a unique regional community with unique cultural traditions of the historical black community. They also recommend coordination with those in the previously initiated SE Overtown/Park West Redevelopment Area. See Table 6.2 for summary.

2.16 Worthy, K. R. (1997). "A vision for the Historic Overtown Folklife Village." Consortium of Worthy Consultants.

The audience/client: Proponents of the Historic Folklife Village

Urban design and architecture are emphasized, particularly in terms of cultural and ethnic sensibilities, spatial patterns, and history. Specifically, four design principles are recommended: 1. Use physical features to engender a sense of identity and place; 2. Design streets to provide views that add to community definition; 3. Design open and public spaces in strategic locations to encourage human interaction; and 4. Plan the density and intensity of land use to encourage pedestrian activity and interaction. There are no recommendations regarding transportation issues. The author includes an assessment of all the streets in the project site. Also, a case study of the Caribbean Marketplace in Little Haiti is provided.

Table 6.2 Summary of Previous Planning Studies and Redevelopment Proposals

	Multiple Use Opportunities, 1971	Overtown Redevelopment Plan, 1979	Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan, 1992	Overtown CDBG Neighborhood Planning Program, 1994	St. John CDC 3-Year Plan, 1996
Existing Potentials	Possibilities of compatible land uses adjacent to the expressway	Strategic location, close to downtown employment center	Accessibility to major employment centers, black heritage	Recent historical restoration, construction of Booker T Washington Middle, housing development underway	Black heritage, central location, accessibility to other employment centers
Existing Needs	Neighborhoods continuity, access to facilitates	Business stabilization, housing improvement and employment	Affordable housing, jobs	Community stability, mixed income residents, housing, social services, employment,	Affordable housing, employment generation
Pressing Problems	Impact of freeway & interchange, neighborhood division, commercial blight		Unemployment, slum & blight, tax base erosion, housing needs	High public land ownership, poverty, low income, high business vacancy	Housing conditions, slum & blight, erosion of tax base, disinvestment
Development Strategy	Zoning, physical improvement, land use reconfiguration	Tax increment financing to promote redevelopment, housing development	Land acquisition, conservation, rehab, improved neighborhood design, housing development, rezoning	Low income housing development, assistance to business, various social services provision	Economic development and housing
Priority of Programs	Transportation & land use	Clearance for new housing and housing rehabilitation	Extension of the SE Overtown/Park West TIF district	Not specified	Housing development and rehab
Program Orientation	Physical design, esthetic improvement	Physical improvement	Community-Wide Partnership	Public-sector funding	Community-based, grassroots orientation, & private-public partnership

	Multiple Use Opportunities, 1971	Overtown Redevelopment Plan, 1979	Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan, 1992	Overtown CDBG Neighborhood Planning Program, 1994	St. John CDC 3-Year Plan, 1996
Economic Development Recommendations	Community-shopping facilities, industrial park	Limited commercial, uses mixed in residential neighborhood, traditional job training program	Small business assistance, training, building improvement, land development	Mixed income development, training, simplified enterprise zone application, formation of a community action team	Business support, commercial revitalization, small business assistance, high-tech development, training, improved human services
Major Economic Development Sites	A multiple-use center at 14 th St, commercial development along NW 7 th Av	Housing development near transit station	Commercial and Mixed-use development around the Culmer Station, bio-medical business & industrial center at NW 7 th Avenue, small business & high-tech center near Booker T. Washington Middle, business park at the northeast corner, renovation of the OT Shopping Center	Not specified	NW 3 rd Av and its mixed use center, bio-tech service center near Booker T. Washington, industrial & office on the west & the northeast perimeters, Municipal Justice Facility in the Civic Center
Transportation-related Recommendations	Landscaping improvement, innovative use underneath freeway, better buffer to freeway, an integrated pedestrian system, elimination of residual properties,	Street improvement, expansion of parking spaces, and other upgrading around transit station	Increase walk-in patronage to Metrorail stations, massive face-lifting, strengthening the visibility and circulation along the NW 11 th Street corridor, new access & landmarks in entries to northern part of Overtown, reinforce east-west access linkages along NW 14 th , NW 17 th and NW 20 th Street	Public transit linking West Dade/Airport & South Dade, street improvement & beautification,	Eliminate land use and traffic conflicts, better access, street beautification, limited circulation/ROW adjustments, security improvements

Table 6.3 Additional Public Documents

Author	Year	Title	Place	Publisher
State of Florida	1950?	extensive expressway system		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1955	The Miami Long Range Plan: Proposed Generalized Land Use Plan		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1955	The Miami Long Range Plan: Report on Tentative Planning for Trafficway		
Housing and Home Finance Agency	1955	Factors and Outlook Relative to the Undertaking of an Urban Renewal Program in Miami, Florida	Atlanta, Georgia	Housing and Home Finance Agency
Metropolitan Dade County	1955?	Dade County highway plan		
Miami City Department of Engineering	1956	Classification of highways for the City of Miami		
Wilbur Smith and Associates	1956	A Major Highway Plan for Metropolitan Dade County, Florida	New Haven, Connecticut	Wilbur Smith and Associates
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1957	The City Planning and Zoning Board Annual Report 1956-57		
DeLeuw, Cather, and Brill	1958?	Design of the North-South Expressway		
City of Miami	1959	The Miami Comprehensive Plan: Generalized Land Use Plan for the City of Miami	Miami, Florida	
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1960	Phase II, Part II of the Miami Comprehensive Plan: Schools		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1960	Phase II, Part III of the Miami Comprehensive Plan: Libraries		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1960	Phase II, Part II of the Miami Comprehensive Plan: Parks and Recreation		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1960	The Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance		
Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, et al.	1960	Magic City Center Plan for Action		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1961	Phase II Report of the Miami Comprehensive Plan: A Comprehensive Analysis of Miami's Neighborhoods		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1961	Current Planning Information: Selected Population, Housing and Land Use Characteristics, CPR No. 3, June		

Author	Year	Title	Place	Publisher
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1961	Current Planning Information: A Report on Recent Studies related to Central Business Districts and Urban Freeway Development, CPR No. 4, July		
City of Miami Planning and Zoning Board	1961	Current Planning Information: 1961-1962 State Road Department Tentative Budget and Work Program for Dade County and City of Miami, CPR No. 2, May		
Goodkind & O'Dea	1961	Miami North-South Expressway, Downtown Interchange, Preliminary Engineering Report		
Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department	1961	Existing Land Use Study: An Element of the Comprehensive Plan		
Wilbur Smith and Associates	1962	Alternatives for Expressways: Downtown Miami, Dade County, Florida		
Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department	1963	General Neighborhood Renewal Plan: Central Miami Urban Renewal Area		
City of Miami	1965	Community Renewal Program		
City of Miami	1965	City of Miami Community Renewal Program: Phase I - Extent and Nature of City-Wide Blight Conditions	Miami, Florida	City of Miami
Downtown Development Authority	1965	Downtown Miami: Toward a New City		
Hunter Moss and Company	1965	City of Miami Housing Needs and Resource Study		
Metropolitan Dade County Urban Renewal Agency	1965	Central Miami Project No. 1		
Miami Housing Authority	1965	Relocation Housing Report	Miami, Florida	
City of Miami	1966	City of Miami Community Renewal Program: Phases 2 & 3 - Community Renewal Goals and Detailed Resources and Needs in Miami	Miami, Florida	City of Miami
City of Miami	1966	Provisional EDA Report for the City of Miami, Florida		
Hunter Moss and Company	1966	Analysis of Commercial and Industrial Trends		
Doxiadis Associates, Inc.	1967	Downtown Miami Comprehensive Plan: Ekistic Conditions, Problems, Goals and Objectives	Miami, Florida	
Metropolitan Dade County Department of Planning	1968	Miami Urban Area Transportation Study ?? is this the one in 69?		
Mel Conner & Associates, Inc.	1969	Miami Urban Area Transportation Study: The Principal Street & Highway Plan - 1985, A Summary Report		

Author	Year	Title	Place	Publisher
Metropolitan Dade County Department of Planning	1969	Miami Urban Area Transportation Study: Technical Memorandum		
Candeub, Fleissig, and Associates	1970	Development Plan for NDP Area No. 3 (Central Miami)		
City of Miami	1970	Miami: 3 Proposals for Downtown		
City of Miami ?	1970	Urban Renewal and Neighborhood Development		
Metropolitan Dade County Department of Housing and Urban Development	1970	Clumer Park: A Reserach, Planning and Development Proposal		
Metropolitan Dade County Department of Planning	1970	Miami Urban Area Transportation Study: Status Report		
	1971	Development plan adopted by Metro Dade for the Central Miami Neighborhood Development Program Area No.3		
Candeub, Fleissig, and Associates	1971	Central Miami NDP 3		
Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department	1971	Multiple Use Opportunities for Midtown Miami: East-West Expressway - Interstate 395 Midtown Interchange to Biscayne Bay		
Beiswenger, Hoch and Assoiates	1973	Downtown Miami: A Conceptual Transportation Plan		
City of Miami Planning Deaprtment	1973	Design Analysis of R-10 Renewal Project		
Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd	1974	Downtown		
	1975	Metro Dade Comprehensive Development Plan		
Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd	1975	Miami Comprehensive Neighborhood Development Plan: Technical Appendix - Interim Report, City-Wide Emphasis		
Hunter Moss and Company	1976	Miami Comprehensive Neighborhood Plan 1976-86: Technical Appendix - Economics		
University of Miami	1976	Culmer Park-Overtown Study		
Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd	1976	Miami Comprehensive Neighborhood Plan 1976-1986: Technical Report		
City of Miami	1977	Miami Comprehensive Neighborhood Plan 1976-86		
	1978	Preliminary redevelopment plan for the Dorsey-Wheatley Area		
City of Miami Planning Deaprtment	1979	Culmer Redevelopment Study - Overtown Dorsey Wheatley: Existing Conditions		

Author	Year	Title	Place	Publisher
City of Miami Planning Department	1979	Overtown Redevelopment Plan		
Gladstone Associates	1979	A Market Reconnaissance Analysis and Determination of Miami, Florida Development Opportunities for Overtown		Gladstone Associates
Metro-Dade County	1979	Comprehensive Development Master Plan for Metropolitan Dade County		
	1980	A Feasibility Study of the Culmer/Overtown Shopping Center and Supermarket		
City of Miami	1980	Community Deveopment Application 1980-1981		
City of Miami Planning Department	1980	Report to the Heritage Conservation Board on the Lyric Theater		
DDA?	1980	Park West Alternative Development Concepts		
Wallace, Roberts and Todd	1980	Miami Park West: A Redevelopment Program for Downtown Miami - Final Report		
Wallace, Roberts and Todd	1980	Miami Park West: A Redevelopment Program for Downtown Miami - Technical Appendix		
	1981	The Southeast Overtown/Park West Redevelopment Plan		
Metropolitan Dade County Station Area Design on Development	1981	Station Area Profile: Overtown	Miami, Florida:	Metropolitan Dade County Station Area Deisgn on Development
City of Miami Planning Department	1982	Land Use Atlas		
US Commission on Civil Rights	1982	Confronting Racial Isolation in Miami		US Commission on Civil Rights
City of Miami	1983	1983 Overtown Employment Survey Report		
Dade County Revitalization Board	1983	Racial Isolation in Miami: A Community Progress Report		
Overtown Blue Ribbon Committee	1984	Findings and Recommendations		
Behavioral Science Research	1985	Demographics and Demand Factors Affecting the Appeal Coral Gables, of the Southeast Overtown/Parkwest Community: Final Report	Florida:	Behavioral Science Research
City of Miami Planning Department	1985	Overtown Community Development Target Area - Environmental Assessment		
City of Miami Planning Department	1988?	Miami Comprehensive Neighborhood Plan, 1989-2000		

Author	Year	Title	Place	Publisher
Downtown Development Authority	1988	Consolidated Application for Development Approval for Downtown Miami as a Development of Regional Impact		
City of Miami Planning Department	1990	Overtown Community Development Target Area - Neighborhood Planning Program 1990-1992		
Florida Center for Urban Design & Research	1990?	Overtown Connection: Opportunity for Partnership and Progress		Florida Center for Urban Design and Research
Overtown Advisory Board?	1991?	Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan and Action Program		Florida Center for Urban Design and Research
Barker, Reginald A. and Robert D. Cruz	1992	Market and Community Development Needs/Opportunities Assessment		Florida Center for Urban Design and Research
Florida Center for Urban Design & Research	1992	Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan and Action Program Study, Final Report Part II - Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan		Florida Center for Urban Design and Research
Florida Center for Urban Design & Research	1992	Assessment of Existing Conditions Warranting Additional Redevelopment Action in Overtown		Florida Center for Urban Design and Research
Florida Center for Urban Design & Research	1992	Overtown CRP Implementation Action Program/Fiscal Impact Report (Part III)		Florida Center for Urban Design and Research
Florida Center for Urban Design & Research	1993	Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan and Action Program Study, Final Report Part II - Overtown CRP Executive Summary		Florida Center for Urban Design and Research
City of Miami Planning, Building and Zoning Department	1994	Overtown Neighborhood Planning Program, 1994-96	Miami, Florida	Miami Planning and Zoning Board
DevPlan, Inc.	1994	The Cost to sustain Life in Overtown and in the Empowerment Zone in 1990	Boca Raton, Florida	DevPlan, Inc.
Overtown Neighborhood Partnerships	1995	Reflections of the Past: Overtown Neighborhood Partnerships Project		
City of Miami Planning Department	1996	Sufficiency Issues with Responses by City of Miami	Miami, Florida	City of Miami Department of Planning
St. John Community Development Corporation	1996	A Three Year Plan for the Redevelopment of Overtown	Miami, Florida	St. John Community Development Corporation
Consortium of Worthy Consultants	1997	A Vision for the Historic Overtown Folklife Village	Miami, Florida	Consortium of Worthy Consultants

Chapter 7: Mitigation Strategies: Employment and Economic Development

Prepared by Ken Lipner

1. Introduction

Overtown, the historic Negro central business district (CBD), has changed dramatically over time. Prior to the 1964 national Civil Rights Acts, Miami's Negro population could not sit at lunch counters, try on clothes in stores, nor be employed in sales or supervisor positions at the stores in downtown and on Flagler Street, Miami's historic central business district. "Over Town," the term used by African Americans to differentiate this area from the white Downtown, was the officially zoned black area where African-American shoppers at least received dignity and respect in its stores. Since 1964, the Overtown area has been changed by highway development, metrorail, integration, suburban sprawl, white flight, black flight, Latinization and the global economy. The area's inhabitants, 87% of whom are poor, are literally located in the shadow of high density commercial development in the regions tallest downtown skyscrapers with the largest concentration of employment in South Florida. What are the economic prospects for this small but important neighborhood?

Without the obstruction of the expressways, Overtown is in close proximity to South Florida's largest health care concentration which is comprised of the Jackson, Cedars, Veterans, and University of Miami hospital complexes. However, direct access is limited to a certain extent by I-95. It is within this context of location, that the potential for economic development and employment opportunities for today's Overtown residents will be analyzed.

2. The Location-Place

From a detached perspective analyzing only location, it is difficult not to conclude that Overtown has potential for economic development. Overtown is located in the center of a "U" shaped area with intensive high density development in the health care – civic center to the west, Downtown/ Brickell commercial government and residential development to the south, and the Omni, the Seaport, Miami Herald, and planned performance arts complex to the east. This community occupies a strategic location that can either help or hinder its neighbors depending upon what develops or is developed within its confines.

Of course, it has to be recognized that Overtown is more than a parcel of land located in close proximity to intense economic activity and development. Overtown also has a history and a legacy. As this study has shown, Overtown and its inhabitants have played a substantial role in the history of Miami and its African-American community. To many,

Overtown's historic significance and the role of its citizens in building and contributing to growth and development of modern Miami has never been properly acknowledged. Transportation officials have not directly attempted to make up for the previous negative consequences which resulted from transportation projects.

It can be argued that at present it is not Overtown's history but the perception of the tattered socio-economic conditions that dominates current discussion. That view shows Overtown to be blighted, crime ridden and poor, the community and inhabitants abandoned. It is a stigma that Miami's gleaming 10-year-old \$60 million arena could not overcome, that global developers and international capital shy away from and creates discomfort and trepidation among most middle- and upper-income Miamians of all backgrounds.

The explanations for these conditions are complex and the academic literature is thick with data and dialog about the American dilemma of confronting race and class in America's central cities. The situation in Overtown is not unique; in fact, it should be noted that empirical evidence suggests that the conditions similar to Overtown are found on the edge of many of America's downtowns as reported in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, it is still the objective of this analysis to determine what potential solutions may exist to mitigate the economic problems of Overtown and the income and employment difficulties of its residents.

3. The East-West Metrorail Phase II

As presently configured, phase II of metrorail will run east, starting from a western terminus near the Palmetto Expressway and Flagler Street. It runs past the Blue Lagoon office complex south of the airport near 57th Avenue, the Miami Airport's transportation node, 27th Avenue south of the Miami River, and the Orange Bowl. From there, it will continue underground to the Metropolitan Dade County government center, and will terminate at the Port of Miami. Pending additional funding, contingency plans include the extension of the proposed route farther west to Florida International University's University Park campus at SW 8th Street and 107th Avenue and farther east to the southern tip of Miami Beach. It is important to note that this current routing circumvents Overtown causing virtually little physical disruption to the neighborhood, but also providing little direct benefit to Overtown since the proposed line does provide linkage and access to the most vital employment concentrations in Dade County. Though there were some in Overtown who wanted to take advantage of this route, others, who were more vocal, wanted no new projects in the community.

4. What We Currently Know About the Labor Market

The Miami-Dade County labor force, based on State of Florida data as of May 1997, is comprised of just over one million workers of which 950,000 are employed, and 75,000, 7.2% are unemployed and actively seeking employment. The labor market itself is part of a larger South Florida megalopolis of 4 million people extending from Palm Beach County to the north and the upper Keys in Monroe County to the south. An estimated 90,000 Broward and Palm Beach County residents primarily utilizing interstate highways I-75 and I-95 commute daily to jobs in Dade County. A net 55,000 jobs go to commuters from other

counties. It was during the post World War II era throughout the United States that extensive and costly expressway systems were built in urban areas to rapidly bring commuters from their suburban homes to their urban employment. Miami is typical of this pattern of post WWII automobile dominated transportation and development. Post Hurricane Andrew (1992) dislocation and relocation substantially intensified this suburban commuting pattern in South Florida.

Currently, as a continuing response to highway development, suburb to suburb and edge city development is common throughout the United States resulting in some cases in the virtual abandonment of the central city and its valuable physical and economic infrastructure. At this time, Miami seems to have avoided this pattern of development. Evidence of this is provided by Miami's (DDA) Downtown Development Authority. May 1990 U.S. census data of downtown Miami, as defined by the Omni shopping center at 17th and Biscayne to the north and the Brickell Avenue commercial area to Coral Way to the south, Biscayne Bay to the east, and Metrorail, I-95 to the west, is the work site of approximately 112,000 people. According to the DDA the largest employers in downtown are banks, law firms, financial and accounting firms import and export activities, hotels, and retail sales. The largest single employer is the Miami-Dade County government itself. Ironically, more Broward residents have found work here than have Overtown residents.

Other large employers in downtown are the City of Miami, the Miami Herald/Knight Ridder, Burdines, the State of Florida, the U.S. Government, Miami-Dade Community College, and the headquarters of the Dade County Public Schools. To the west of Overtown, the Civic Center/Hospital complex is a second employment concentration with approximately 8,000 employees at Jackson Memorial, 3,000 at the Veterans Administration hospital, and another 4,000 employees at the University of Miami medical school and facilities. At the Veterans hospital approximately 1/3 of the employers are medical professionals, 1/3 clerical and administrative employees and the remaining workers are service employers. Other important employment sites in this location, not health related, are the Justice Building and Metro Dade County jail at the Civic Center. Global transportation nodes such as the seaport, the Miami River, and the approximately 30,000 workers directly employed 24 hours a day, 7 days a week at Miami International Airport. An extension of the free airport employee shuttle bus to the nearby Earlington Metrorail station would make airport jobs cheaply and readily accessible to Overtown.

The location and close proximity to some jobs for Overtown's residents is an asset, yet at least two major impediments to employment exist. The first problem is transportation access to more distant employment centers. Public transportation to these employment centers is difficult to negotiate and requires numerous changes. The second problem, a more difficult issue to resolve, is the constraint of a labor market match of skills and jobs, structural labor market problems.

5. Access by Public Transportation to Jobs

Access by public transportation from the northern parts of Overtown south to Downtown is relatively good; the area is served by Metro bus lines during normal working

hours and by independent privately organized van and jitney service. Public Metrobus transportation to the east, to the Omni, Miami Herald, and farther east to Miami Beach is adequate to good. Access to the jobs at the Seaport by bus and public transportation is inadequate. Perhaps the most difficult access is to the west to the Jackson/Civic Center Complex. Interstate 95 represents an obstacle and dangerous physical impediment to those residents without automobiles. For both employment opportunities and the vital health and social services available at Jackson Hospital, only few streets provide direct access to the West. The I-95/I-395 interchange creates a dangerous obstacle course for direct east-west pedestrian traffic. In lieu of providing more bridges or tunnels for pedestrians and automobile traffic, a subsidized van or jitney service could be provided to the Jackson area for Overtown residents. At a 25-cent fare, equal to the subsidized Downtown Metromover fare, a 14-hour 6 am to 8 pm service could be provided from Overtown to the Civic Center/Jackson area Monday through Friday with reduced service on weekends, late night and holidays.

6. Structural Employment–Supply Side Problems and Housing

Several presumptions can be made based on 1990 census data in regard to the inner city labor supply. One presumption is that the occupants of the low-income public housing in Overtown have low incomes. The individuals who reside in public housing, as one would expect, earn low incomes presumably because of limited education and little marketable human capital. These individuals can only command low wage employment and reportedly afford a rent of only \$300 per month. Low pay provides minimal remuneration but does allow for continuous eligibility for low-income residents to remain in subsidized public housing. For these residents, like for most people, housing cost is a function of and is dependent upon their family income. While distortions in the housing market exist, housing costs are driven by market forces and tend to be rational. The more a family is willing or able to pay for housing the greater quantity or quality of housing they can rent or purchase. The low income of Overtown's residents means they can't afford much housing.

While valiant and notable examples exist where Overtown residents and absentee owners have both maintained or even upgraded their property, it must be acknowledged that most of the private housing stock, only 5% owner occupied and 95% rental, is poor quality, bordering on substandard and blighted. Not enough is known about the current residents of the private unsubsidized rental housing in Overtown. According to rational economic expectations, one would believe several or all of the following characteristics would describe most of these individuals and families:

1. This is the best housing they can afford.
2. They prefer to allocate only a small share of their income for housing.
3. This location provides some positive location attributes such as closeness to their place of employment or access to public services.
4. They have a social attachment to the area and its institutions.

Income price and employment address factors 1, 2 and 3, while social issues address the fourth reason. Individuals living in Overtown's poor quality housing primarily for economic reasons (i.e., it is all they can afford), can be expected to leave Overtown and relocate to better quality housing when their income increases as the results of programs oriented towards improving their income. Other low-income residents may replace out-migrants, renting the newly vacated housing. Through a filtering process, the worst of this poor quality housing would eventually be abandoned. Those people staying in Overtown for reasons 2, 3, 4 essentially feel comfortable with the area, even with its associated problems and presumably would benefit substantially from an increase in their income, a reduction of the neighborhood's problems and an upgrade of the housing stock.

7. Structural Employment Problems—Demand

The mismatch in the market place, specifically the lack of a good match or fit between the skills demanded by the labor market and the supply of skills available in the labor market describe the structural employment problems of Overtown residents. Ostensibly Overtown's residents have easy access to Downtown Miami's 112,000 jobs yet they may lack the skills demanded by downtown employers. This is quite unfortunate given the large potential number of employment opportunities. The solutions to structural problems are addressed though a wide range of public and non-profit agencies and entities which are centrally located and accessible to Overtown. Entities providing job training include:

- Dade County Public Schools - Lindsay Hopkins Vocational Training Center
- Miami-Dade Community College - Downtown Campus and Medical Campus
- South Florida Employment and Training Consortium funded placement and training centers.

8. The Stratified Market

In the stratified labor market, competition for entry level low wage, low skill employment in South Florida is intense. This is compounded in part by the area's attractiveness and receptiveness to refugees, as well as legal and illegal immigrants primarily from the Caribbean and Latin America. For example, in addition to normal family reunification, the lottery system put in place two years ago to discourage illegal immigration from Cuba, now allows 20,000 Cubans per year to orderly enter the United States. Local labor market officials estimate that 90% of these individuals will reside in South Florida. Of these 18,000 Cubans, 70% or more than 12,000 people, 70% male, 30% female will enter the Miami labor market. Most of these new entrants will have problems with both English language and marketable skills.

8.1 Labor Market Demand: The Jobs

Entry level jobs are scarce and competition for these jobs is fierce. For example, approximately 300 job openings that pay \$10,000 or more annually are listed daily by the Florida State Jobs Service and its subscribing public and non-profit agencies. A quick review of this list would indicate that few of these jobs, even those that are in the food service industry are unskilled or secondary labor market jobs. There are only a limited number of good paying manual labor jobs accessible to Overtown residents. The Overtown based International Longshoreman Association (ILA) reports a membership of over 1,000 members, but the daily need or call at the port of Miami reportedly will vary from a low of 50 to a daily high of 300 seaport workers. The Miami River also is an important source of jobs with maritime executives estimating the total employment on the Miami River of approximately 800 workers daily, with a high of 80 workers employed by one shipper alone.

While this type of work exists, the diverse South Florida economy has evolved to a position of prominence among U.S. cities involved in international commerce and trade. The volume of international trade has increased and the dollar volume has more than doubled over the past 15 years. The estimated \$20 billion of trade in Miami moving by both air and sea represents only a small fraction of the annual \$1 trillion worth of U.S. exports and imports. However, consistently for at least the past 15 years, virtually 85% of all U.S. exports to Latin America and the Caribbean are exported through South Florida. While the dominant trading partner of Miami has changed and will continue to shift from Venezuela, to Colombia, to Brazil, based on both their internal economic conditions and a global demand for goods, the outlook for sustained broad long range growth in the Miami based, downtown centered, international trade economy is good. Based on the continued growth of the global economy, the evolution of Overtown may be absorbed by this growth rather than by-passed by it.

9. Strategies for Economic Development

9.1 Historic Overtown

There are many individuals who advocate a restoration of historic Overtown. Memphis, Tennessee's historic Beale Street with its shops and entertainment would be the prototype. Similar to the success of historic preservation efforts throughout South Florida from Miami Beach to Morningside to Homestead, interest in both preserving and recreating the architecture of Overtown's Lyric Theatre and its main street history is evident. For this preservation and restoration to be accomplished several actions should occur. For example, the most vibrant and vital of Overtown's existing churches and institutions should actively participate in Overtown's restoration. Community based organizations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles have utilized the seed money of the membership of African-American neighborhood churches to garner matching funds and grants to build a variety of low cost and subsidized housing. This housing would be available to the church members and other income eligible individuals. There may be a market for more housing in Overtown, but

it is apparent that after 30 years of no evidence of private housing investment, this subsidized option may be the only viable strategy for private development.

9.2 Overtown Recreated as a Afro-Caribbean Community or Neighborhood

Another option is a different Overtown, consistent with the global economy. Because 18,000 Cuban refugees are expected to arrive annually in South Florida over the next three years, these new residents, combined with the Haitians, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Bahamians, Jamaicans, as well as the Central Americans and some Asians who continue to arrive in Miami creates a demand for housing in a central location. There are two important aspects to this Caribbean strategy that could lead to its viability.

The first element is that there is some anecdotal and observable evidence that demographic change in Overtown may already be occurring. Caribbean people, some working at the boatyards on the Miami River have moved into some of Overtown's housing. The housing is both close and affordable.

Second and perhaps even more important, there is evidence that people of Caribbean origin are less sensitive regarding issue of race and color than the white Americans who have left Miami. Transitional neighborhoods such as Riverside to the South of Overtown, Spring Garden to the West, and the Wynfield and Allahpattah neighborhoods to the North all have successfully absorbed Caribbean residents including people of color. There is a long history and extensive literature which explains this phenomena of racial tolerance and harmony. Notwithstanding these explanations, the economic viability of a new revitalized Overtown based on ethnic and racial diversity is compatible with the Latin American and Caribbean base of Miami's centralized international economy. This new diverse community could be a potentially viable development option for Overtown.

10. Public Investment: Job Creation

The final development option is that of continued public investment in Overtown. During the Carter Administration (1977-1981) by executive order, President Carter directed federal facilities when feasible to locate in the central areas of our nation's cities. The downtown Miami federal building renovation, the federal courthouse, jail and holding facility are all the results of this policy. The Metropolitan Dade County government center, the City of Miami, State of Florida offices and the development of Miami Dade Community College in downtown were all the results of direct policy initiatives and the lobbying of the business community through the Downtown committee of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. Notable exceptions to this policy of central city public investment include the suburban West Dade Metro Dade County Police headquarters, the West Dade Regional Florida Department of Transportation, the West Dade Florida Highway Patrol Regional Headquarters, and West Dade Florida International University, University Park Campus. In the 1970's a major battle that was lost, was an attempt to permanently locate the Miami branch of the Atlanta Federal Reserve in downtown Miami rather than its suburban location west of Miami International Airport.

Future public investment in Overtown could include a state funded law school, and public schools which are major centers of academic excellence. This could include a University laboratory and research related elementary, middle and high school. As a matter of public policy, the State of Florida could facilitate more public investment in older, deteriorating areas. In Overtown, this would imply low land acquisition cost and a minimum amount of relocation given the vast amount of publicly owned vacant land.

For example, an interesting project of note is the East St. Louis Action Research Project. This is a cooperatively managed community assistance project of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, which is permanently located in the economically depressed city of East St. Louis Illinois. In this project the faculty and students work in cooperation with municipal agencies and neighborhood groups to find solutions to pressing social, economic, and environmental problems in this disadvantaged community. Overtown could certainly gain from a similar sustained effort.

11. Recruiting Overtown Residents

There is little evidence of any special efforts on the part of downtown employers including public employers to recruit employees from Overtown. For the most part employers appear indifferent or insensitive to the plight of their neighbors, a condition that could result in the reciprocity of hostility by Overtown towards its neighbors. This process is self destructive for South Florida. Progress would dictate cooperation.

While the Florida State Jobs Service maintains an office in their gated downtown office, the South Florida Employment and Training Consortium recently abandoned their Overtown location. It must be recognized that while a portion of Overtown's residents may be job ready or capable of successfully completing training programs, many residents have troubling structural problems of literacy, and quantitative skill that defy quick, easy, or inexpensive solutions. For the hard-core unemployed, the paucity of jobs to match their limited skill is serious. It is virtually impossible for even the most sympathetic employer to provide placement, and then demand and receive immediate productivity from employees with rudimentary skills and little work place experience, even presuming no mutual cultural biases.

12. Summary and Conclusion

Overtown, once the well established central Negro Business District, is currently the home to predominately low income African-American current residents. While lacking development, the area is adjacent to large concentrations of employment. In its immediate vicinity and short commuting distance are over 170,000 jobs: approximately 112,000 in the downtown area, 30,000 in the area near the Civic Center and the hospitals, and another 30,000 in the Miami International Airport area.

The depressed economy of Overtown is directly related to public policy decisions, racial integration, structural labor market shifts, and Miami's emergence as an important city in the global economy. These conditions were created, over a long duration of time and defy

instant or inexpensive solutions. Any solution to Overtown's plight must consider both the spatial implications, considering what would be the highest and best use for the land, and the best way to provide hope and opportunity to all the men, women and children who call Overtown home. Public policy, which includes transportation, training, and advocacy, must be utilized in this vital endeavor.

Chapter 8: Mitigation Strategies: Transportation and Economic Development

Prepared by Sidney Wong

Overtown has declined for almost three decades since the displacement of its social institutions and physical settings in the late sixties. During this period, the only private investment activities in Overtown have been the speculation in ghetto apartments. Disinvestment led to abandonment, vacant land and structures, property defaults, and finally the gradual taking over of land and property by the government. Apart from a minority who now live in the new mixed-income housing development in Southeast Overtown, the current residents are poor, highly dependent on welfare and likely to be out of the workforce and disabled. Recent studies of Overtown have indicated the pressing need of decent and affordable housing, employment opportunities, and economic development for Overtown's residents.

1. The Future without Active Intervention

Public efforts to stabilize the Overtown community did not occur immediately after the upheaval of urban renewal. When they finally occurred, they focused on site improvement, infrastructure and physical facilities, and failed to generate private investment. In addition, these public actions were uncoordinated and sporadic with limited funding and lacking long-term commitment. If this pattern continues, in our judgment, the reinvestment cycle in Overtown will take a long time to occur.

More specifically, future transformations might follow completely different directions for each of the four separate quadrants. For example, the northeastern section, referred as the Wheatley-Dorsey Park area, continues to accommodate the lowest-income group in the most sub-standard housing units built in the 1960s or earlier. Crime, vandalism and drugs will plague this neighborhood while abandonment increases. The northwestern section, or the Town Park/Rainbow Village area, where subsidized low-income housing is located, may gradually move forward if the HUD privatization experiment is successful in attracting mixed-income occupants. The southwestern section, generally referred to as "Culmer," will remain a residential neighborhood for public housing tenants in Culmer Place and Culmer Gardens, mixed with some residual residential areas. This section is physically isolated from other sections of Overtown and will continue to gravitate more to the mixed residential/industrial areas to the west and south.

The greatest change will be in southeastern section where scattered public and subsidized mixed-use projects are targeted under the Southeast Overtown/Park West Redevelopment District. Over the past thirty years, public land acquisition has almost eliminated the old residential buildings except those bordering I-395. At the fringe, public-

initiated uses such as the Miami City Police Headquarters, the US Postal Depot and the Arena development have occurred. The rest of the area will be developed for housing projects such as the Poinciana Village and the Folklife Village. While the current market is weak, the cluster of subsidized development in close proximity to the Arena Station may, in the long run, eventually stimulate revitalization and some retail activities.

This envisaged path of development, however, will be long and painful, especially for the current residents. Overtown will remain destitute because this path does not address the pressing issues of housing conditions and lack of employment opportunities. Abandonment, dereliction and vacant structure will be more widespread. The social and economic conditions of Overtown residents (except for those who recently moved into Southeast Overtown) will continue to be distressed. For the displaced leaders of the former community, this path of development is unsettling and excludes their involvement. Resentment toward decision-makers and redevelopment agencies will persist since validation can be easily found in the experience of projects that are perceived as “encroaching” on Overtown and gradually moving Overtown further away from its past.

2. Some Important Considerations

When recommending economic development strategies for Overtown, several fundamental considerations must be recognized and addressed. First, Overtown will never be what it was in the early 1950s. Past events and mistakes have already imposed irreversible changes. Overtown is now inhabited by different types of residents who have diverse aspirations. In preparing any kind of revitalization strategy, one must address the question: What is the vision for the future and whose interests will be served? Ultimately this vision has to be defined jointly by the “exile community” and current residents. The interests of Overtown can only be championed effectively and with long-term commitment after a broad consensus has arrived within the community. As such, grassroots involvement and citizen participation have to be strengthened.

Second, the past has to be properly recognized and reconciled for the benefit of the future. Clearly policy-makers made some mistakes in launching expressway construction and urban renewal; and they took no immediate actions to stabilize the disruption and to reinvest in the community. The interviews demonstrate the resentment, mistrust, and confrontational politics resulting from this hurtful experience still haunts the community. This shared negative experience has prevented useful dialogue in revitalization proposals and has turned away a few sincere attempts to improve conditions in Overtown. The future of Overtown has to be built on a solid ground of public-private partnerships in which respect, trust and cooperation are key elements.

Third, Overtown is physically and functionally divided. Any development strategy that does not recognize this unfortunate reality either lacks the necessary specificity or creates counterproductive results. The four sections of Overtown have evolved along a separate path under which each has its own priority of issues, diversified types of residents, and different development potentials. Applying one uniform economic development strategy to all of them will not be effective. This division is also reflected in a different articulation of diverse

interest among the renter-residents, the absentee land-owners, the local churches (who own a lot of property), leaders from the displaced community, business owners, and other neighborhood groups in each of this section.

Last, it must be understood that different development strategies will cause different results. A strategy that focuses on infrastructure improvement and site acquisition to attract mixed-income housing or public-sector offices will likely change the current composition of residents and displace the most economically vulnerable. Even when such a strategy is successful, it may not provide jobs for the residents nearby. On the other hand, a strategy that puts emphasis on job training and upgrading skills will improve upward mobility of the individual. If that strategy is successful it will likely help the upwardly mobile groups leave the area for the higher standard of living offered by other neighborhoods.

3. Broad Economic Development Strategy

3.1 Infrastructure Improvement and Site Development

This strategy will best serve Southeast Overtown where mixed-income housing projects are under way. Under this strategy, public investment will focus on land assembly, site formation, and possibly land swap for real estate development that usually requires heavy public subsidy. Usually this type of development is in the form of either mixed-income housing or public facilities such as government offices or institutional uses. This effort has to be targeted to the southern and eastern fringe of Southeast Overtown to produce maximum impact in attracting future private investment especially when the population around the station grows beyond the critical mass. In this regard, one possible use would be an educational/vocational facility accommodating a future FIU downtown campus. Another project is the Folklife Village that attempts to build a distinct architectural style surrounding a tourist/museum like cluster on the black heritage of South Florida. It may attract some private investment in tourist housing and restaurants in the vicinity. This strategy should also be targeted to areas along NW 7th Avenue and the FEC track because selected vacant sites and vacant structures have the potential to be converted into business incubators or business development centers.

This strategy is best in uplifting physical appearance and eliminating vacant lots and generating reinvestment. However, to be successful, it requires very careful functional coordination to the surrounding uses and compatible design among developments. Also, there are some limitations. Employment generated may not necessarily go to Overtown residents unless a mechanism is set up for job referral and training. Even so, the job opportunities open for Overtown residents will likely be in the low-skill and low-paid sector. If institutional uses are the primary starters, they may have a sterilizing effect on the surrounding areas because such buildings tend to be surrounded by blank, high walls or parking lots. Unless carefully designed, they will greatly reduce pedestrian traffic and the possibility of retail uses with a vital street environment.

3.2 Business Development and Investment Support

This strategy includes traditional means such as small business loans, tax incentives and exemptions and technical assistance. It is best applied to existing businesses in Overtown, especially those along NW 3rd Avenue to the north, and any future industrial or distribution activities along the FEC track and NW 7th Avenue. No new program is required to implement this strategy because Dade County has already established a great number of programs which list this as a primary goal. What is lacking is streamlined application procedures that place all programs together and the investment of more program resources.

The business development strategy has to be implemented in a very selective manner in Overtown. First, it has to focus on specific target areas within Overtown for maximum demonstration effect. The Overtown Shopping Center could be a pilot scheme for an integrated business support package including technical assistance, business skill training, and especially the state enterprise zone tax benefits that can be automatically made available to lessees. Second, Overtown currently does not provide many incentives for new industrial development, so the best approach is to retain and stabilize existing businesses. The same business support package should be provided and marketed to all the existing businesses in Overtown. Third, aggressive outreach is necessary. To maximize its effectiveness, a staff person stationed within Overtown is needed to bring all these business support programs together conveniently and to invite every existing business to apply for them. Last, a business incubator or workshop should be established within Overtown as a place for nurturing small business skills and provision of support service to startup firms. In this regard, the project proposed by the Overtown Neighborhood Partnerships Project in promoting home-based businesses should be incorporated in the incubator.

Several obstacles are present for a successful business development in Overtown. Given the existing conditions, large amounts of private investment are not likely. As such, attempts to use business support to attract new industry, especially high-tech research activities will be of limited effect. The other obstacle is the lack of sizable employment effect. Targeting local service and retail businesses, which are predominantly small in size, will not generate many jobs for local residents. The last obstacle is that resources through business development programs devoted to Overtown has been minimal historically. Unless there is a strong push and policy change, it is doubtful that Overtown businesses will receive much more support than the present.

3.3 Investment in People

Primarily, this strategy focuses on upgrading an individual's ability to compete in the job market by improving basic education, and providing job referral and vocational training. Current welfare reform efforts are aimed at moving welfare recipients into the workplace. Another aspect of this strategy is to provide better accessibility to potential workers to workplaces through better transportation services, improved networking and child-care facilities. This strategy should target the Wheatley-Doresy Park area where unemployment rate is the highest and there is a disproportionate amount of the residents outside of the workforce. In order to be effective, these programs have to be located within the

neighborhood. The success of such a strategy requires an extensive database on job availability (in this case relating to the nearby employment centers such as the Garment District, the Omni-School Board area, the Civic Center/Medical Center, Miami-Dade Community College, and the Downtown area), and integrated services including training, child-care and substance abuse rehabilitation. Programs under this strategy can be connected with the proposed incubator so that potential workers can be trained in home-based business. In addition, the involvement of neighborhood-based organizations to connect the potential clients with these services is essential.

3.4 Housing Development Strategy

There are two approaches under this strategy. The first is to use subsidized mixed-income housing projects to attract higher income group into Overtown. One important result of this approach is that it will improve the community purchasing power and will stimulate retail and service businesses. The second approach is improving the housing conditions of current occupants through housing rehabilitation, affordable housing development, and increasing home-ownership. Both approaches are required in Overtown.

The mixed-income housing development approach has already taken place in Southeast Overtown. With its proximity to downtown Miami, its accessibility to the Metrorail Arena station, and its land almost completely cleared of old structures, the pace of this kind of housing development can be expected to accelerate. This direction will ultimately attract a new group of residents who are likely to be wage earners (particularly public-sector employers), younger, and more affluent. The affordable housing approach should have its priority in Wheatley-Dorsey Park area where the condition of many housing units is deplorable. However, the effort must be incremental. The scarce resources have to be concentrated in one block at a time. Hopefully, block after block could be improved by rehabilitation and well-constructed projects. The ultimate goal is to increase home-ownership. Once the number of homeowners increases and the living environment improves, the community will be more stabilized as residents have a stake in the area.

3.5 Transportation and Economic Development

3.5.1 Transportation Improvements Required for Economic Development

This section will focus on the transportation requirements for economic development strategies. Under the infrastructure/site improvement strategy, some projects such as the Folklife Village needs street improvement or realignment, and parking as required by site configuration. In general, transportation improvement should facilitate accessibility to these development sites by putting up landmarks and improving signage. Transportation improvements, such as strengthening the NW 3rd Avenue, and providing easier access to the Overtown Shopping Center and other business development sites are critical. Under the human capital strategy, affordable and reliable public transportation for low-paid workers is crucial to sustain their employability. A better connection of the jitney and bus services to

Metro-Rail station and the development of bus service to emerging employment centers in the west part of Dade County are essential.

3.5.2 Transit Station Economic Development

Economic development projects located at the transit station are also important. Conditions conducive to a success transit-station economic development are currently not present in Overtown. Successes in other cities demonstrate that a much greater ridership and more compact residential development are needed to support any commercial development around or above a transit station. Also, a sophisticated station designed to channel foot traffic to a shopping area is an absolute requirement. The Arena Station area does not have any of these successful components. The original ridership forecast was grossly overestimated while the vicinity has only spotty residential development and no retail establishments. The areas around the Arena and Culmer Stations need retail development and higher density housing developments.

4. Transportation Mitigation

Transportation infrastructure changes can be made at reasonable costs to make Overtown more attractive for current residents and businesses and most importantly for new development. For a new investment cycle to begin, coordinated public effort is crucial. The examination of the current transportation and circulation problems in Overtown suggests that a large number of small-budget projects are needed.

The following projects and studies are recommended:

4.1 Improvement of Internal Circulation

The existing access along NW 2nd and 3rd Avenues should be strengthened to provide better linkage between the northern and southern sections of Overtown and access to I-395. Efforts such as brighter lighting, landscaping or other uses underneath the expressways are needed. Street improvements and beautification should be considered along the major local roads such as NW 2nd and 3rd Avenues, NW 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th and 20th Streets. Streets that dead-end with the expressway structure and streets bordering the FEC track should be examined carefully and opened for traffic where possible.

Since NW 2nd Avenue dog-legs at NW 11 Street after it goes under I-395, motorists have to overcome certain psychological barriers to go forward. Therefore we suggest NW 3rd Avenue should be strengthened as the north-south spinal road of Overtown. Unfortunately, the 9th block section of NW 3rd Avenue is one-way as it negotiates with the entrance ramp to I-95. This pattern causes a confusing circulation pattern for motorists who travel south along NW 3rd Avenue. It is suggested that the junction to the entrance ramp should be redesigned so that the entire length of NW 3rd Avenue can accommodate two-way traffic. As an interim measure, clear signage and direction to channel traffic from NW 2nd Avenue to NW 3rd Avenue should be set up along the junctions of NW 2nd Avenue with NW 9th to 11th Street.

4.2 Better access to surrounding neighborhoods

Landmarks and clearly visible signage should be strategically placed at entry points to Overtown such as the junctions of NW 2nd Avenue and NW 7th Street, of NW 3rd Avenue and NW 9th Street, of NW 7th Avenue, several east-west connectors in Overtown and at both ends of NW 14th and 20th Streets.

4.3 Metromover extension

While sensitive to possible physical intrusion and disruption of existing surface circulation, the MPO should conduct a feasibility study to extend the Metromover from the School Board station westward to Overtown Shopping Center and possibly further westward to Culmer Station. This extension would complete the loop of the downtown Metromover and stimulate possible retail uses. An alternative would be an extension directly south to the Overtown/Arena Station. This would also complete the Metromover loop.

4.4 Better Access to the Expressway

An exit ramp from I-95 at NW 14th (so that the driver does not have to exit to the westbound SR 836 ramp), an entrance ramp at 17th Street to I-95, and another to I-395 from NW 12th Street should be considered. Given the sensitive nature of any expressway project in Overtown and the stringent weaving requirements, the MPO must pay special attention to the local response. If such options are not feasible, efforts have to be made to improve current signage and direction within Overtown leading to the I-95 entrance ramp at NW 8th Street.

4.5 Transit Service Improvement

While the existing bus and jitney services are adequate (see Table 8.1), some bus routes should run along NW 1st Court or NW 1st Avenue to serve the northeastern section of Overtown. Two transfer points, the Overtown Shopping Center and the Overtown/Arena Station, need to be strengthened as hubs where all buses and jitneys stop. This would enhance foot traffic and economic development possibilities. An east-west running bus route should be considered to link Overtown with the Omni Center to the east and the Civic Center/Medical complex to the west. Longer bus routes linking Overtown to emerging employment centers along the 836 corridor, to the west of the airport, and other outlying areas should be considered.

4.6 Community Transportation and Traffic Forum

F-DOT and the MPO should go over these recommendations to provide data on costs. Afterwards, representatives of the MPO, the transit authority and related agencies should regularly meet with Overtown residents to discuss these proposals and other transportation-related issues. In particular, this forum should provide a chance to take into account the special transportation needs of the Folklife Village.

4.7 Designated Freight Route

The proposed freight route linking the Port with the expressway system has aroused anxiety in Overtown. And if it really goes through Overtown it will jeopardize several on-going housing projects. It is recommended that a joint task-force be formed involving DDA, City of Miami Planning Department, the Port and resident groups in Overtown and Park West.

Table 8.1: Overtown Weekday Bus Routes

Route	Origination	Destination	Frequency	Starting Time	Ending Time	Charges
2	MDCC Downtown Campus	163rd Street Mall <i>North Miami Beach</i>	Every 15 minutes	5:30 a.m.	11:10 p.m.	\$1.25 .60 cents *(reduced fare)
6	NW 18th Avenue & 29th Street <i>Miami (Central)</i>	NW 7th Street & 37th Avenue <i>Miami (Central)</i>	Every 60 minutes (hour)	8:37 a.m.	4:37 p.m.	\$1.25 .60 cents reduced fare
7	MDCC Downtown Campus	Miami Int'l. Mall <i>Sweet- water</i>	Every 30 minutes	5:33 a.m.	10:00 p.m.	\$1.25 and .60 cents reduced fare
21	Downtown Bus Terminal	NW 165th Streets & 25th Avenue <i>North of Opa- Locka</i>	Every 30 minutes	5:36 a.m.	11:34 p.m.	\$1.25 and .60 cents reduced fare
F/M	NW 20 Street & 19th Avenue <i>Allapatha</i>	Miami Heart Institute <i>Miami Beach</i>	Every 30 minutes	5:40 a.m.	10:30 p.m.	\$1.25 and .60 cents reduced fare
32	Omni Mall Bus Terminal	NW 199th Street & 47th Avenue <i>Carol City</i>	Every 20 minutes	5:32 a.m.	11:05 p.m.	\$1.25 and .60 cents reduced fare
77	Metro-Dade Govern- ment Center	NW 183rd Street & 7th Avenue <i>North Dade</i>	Every 15 minutes	5:30 a.m.	1:10 a.m.	\$1.25 and .60 cents reduced fare

* Reduced fare for qualified senior citizens, people with disabilities and youth anytime with Id/Permit.

Table 8.2: Overtown Weekday Jitney Routes

Jitney Name	Origination	Destination	Frequency	Starting time	Ending Time	Charges
Liberty City	NW 1St. and NW 1St. Avenue	NW 135 Street <i>Opa-Locka</i>	Non-Specified	6:00 a.m.	12 Midnight	\$0.75 per person
Sun	NW St. and NW 2nd Avenue	Calder Race Track at NW 207th Street <i>Carol City</i>	Non-Specified	24 Hours, Seven Days a Week	24 Hours, Seven Days a Week	\$0.75 per person
Dade	NW St. and NW 1 Avenue	NW 103rd Streets and 27th Avenue <i>East of Hialeah</i>	Non-Specified	6:00 a.m.	9:00 p.m.	\$0.75 per person
King	NW St. and North Miami Avenue	NW 79th Street and 27th Avenue <i>Liberty City</i>	Non-Specified	24 Hours, Seven days a Week	24 Hours, Seven days a Week	\$0.75 per person

5. Connection to Employment Centers

The combined services provided primarily by the bus and jitney and supplementally by the Metrorail do provide a reasonable access of Overtown to quite a number of places and employment centers. Downtown is directly accessible by bus No. 21 and all jitneys for residents who live along the NW 2nd and 3rd Avenue corridor and in all the Town Park co-op developments. However, residents in some areas in the northeastern and southwestern portion of Overtown will find the Downtown more difficult to access.

Other nearby employment centers in the Omni, South Beach, the Civic Center/Jackson Memorial Hospital, the garment and distribution areas in Wynwood, retailing and repairs businesses along the NW 7th Avenue, industrial areas in Opa-Locka, and even some parts near Miami International Airport are directly connected at least by one bus or jitney route. Again, transfer among buses, jitney and the Metrorail is necessary for residents who do not live close to a particular route. However, there is another way of improving the circulation patterns within Overtown. A Special Circulator Bus System like the pilot project in the City of Miami Beach travels a fixed route in the heavily congested South Beach area. In Overtown, the subsidized buses could serve a fixed route in the entire area and connect residents with jobs and retail areas. The bus would operate in prime time hours and allow Overtown residents even better access to the downtown areas like the Omni, the Port, the Jackson Medical Complex, Bayside, and Flagler Street.

Table 8.3: Access to Employment Centers from Overtown

Employment Center	Direct Routes
Allapattah	Bus No. 6
Brickell	Bus No. 6
Carol City	Bus No. 77 and Sun Jitney
Civic Center/Jackson Memorial Hospital	Bus No. F/M; Dade Jitney, Liberty City Jitney, Sun Jitney; Metrorail
Downtown	Bus Nos. 21 and 6, 7 & 77 at the fringe; all jitneys; Metrorail
Little Havana	Bus No. 6
Miami International Mall	Bus No. 7
Miami-Dade Community College Downtown Campus	Bus Nos. 2 & 7; Liberty City Jitney
Miami-Dade Community College North Campus	Bus No. 21; Sun Jitney
NW 163 th and 167 th retail corridor in North Miami	Bus No. 2
NW 7 th Avenue retailing and repair services	Bus No. 77
Omni, School Board, Miami Herald area	Bus Nos. 6, 32 & F/M
Opa-Locka	Bus Nos. 21, 32 & 77; Liberty City Jitney, Sun Jitney
Some employment centers to the south of MIA	Bus Nos. 6 & 7.
South Beach	Bus No. F/M
Wynwood Garment District and distribution warehouse areas	Bus Nos. 2 & 6

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Miami Neighborhood: Phase I Report						
Miami Neighborhood: Phase II Report						
Preliminary Report Factors and Outlook: Undertaking of an Urban Renewal						
Report on Tentative Plan for Trafficways						
The Florida Benchmarks	State of Florida					
Videotapes of East-West Corridor Public Information Meetings						
Downtown Miami Masterplan: Development of Regional Impact	(Report and Statistics)		19??	Engineering report, maps, plans, statistics		
City Planning Board: Annual Report: 1947	Planning Board	(Report)	1947	Highlights of activities		Planning Board
The realities of urban redevelopment: A statement of essential principles to insure coordinated and integrated plans for rebuilding blighted areas	Wood, Elizabeth	booklet	1947	American Public Works Association	Chicago	Photocopy: 8 page summary paper
City Planning Board: Annual Report	Planning Board	(Report)	1949	Planning Board		Highlights of activities
City Planning Board Annual Report	City Planning Board	(Report)	1950	City Planning Board		Highlights of planning board activities for the year
Federal low rent housing program to start: 7 projects in 4 cities lined up	Kerwin, W.	Miami Herald	1950	Miami Herald	Miami, FL	6/4/50: Bridgeport, CN; New Orleans, Kingsport, TN and Denver get the federal dollars: job expected to be completed in 1951.

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Negro Housing in the Miami Area: Effects of the Postwar Building Boom	Wolff, R.P. and Gillogy, D.K.	(Report)	1951	University of Miami		Attempts to answer whether home ownership increased and slum housing decreased after the availability of VA and FHA financing.
City Planning and Zoning Board: Annual Report: 1954-1955	City Planning and Zoning Board	(Report)	1955	Planning and Zoning Board		Annual Report
Factors and Outlook relative to the Undertaking of an Urban Renewal Program in Miami, Florida	Housing and Home Finance Agency, Region III Office	(Report)	1955	Housing and Home Finance Agency	Atlanta, Georgia	Preliminary evaluation of the city of Miami's ability to meet the Federal requirements for certification of a Workable Program (Housing Act 1954).
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Miami Long Range Plan: Tentative Plan for Trafficways	City Planning and Zoning Board	(Report)	1955	Planning and Zoning Board		Intended as a fundamental part of the comprehensive plan
The Miami Long Range Plan: Proposed Generalized Land Use Plan	City Planning and Zoning Board	(report)	1955	Comprehensive Technical Staff		The purpose of the land-use plan is to identify the major functions of the community and, with due regard for practical limitations, to determine the location, character, and extent of corresponding "functional areas" that will serve future needs.
A mapmaker's eye-views of master traffic plan	Miami Herald		1956	Miami Herald	Miami, FL	11/21/56: maps of proposed expressway routes
Downtown expressways proposal assumes that port will be moved	Greene, J.	Miami Herald	1956	Miami Herald	Miami, FL	11/21/56: describes expressway routes and elevations
Fashioned for the future	Berning, C.G.	Miami Herald	1956	Miami Herald	Miami, FL	11/21/56: reaction to Wilbur Smith study ranged from caution to

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
						optimism
Highways--1956-1969: The story of the long-range highway program	The Constructor, July 1956		1956		Washington DC	History by the associated general contractors of America, Inc
Memo: To Governor Collins From Wilbur E. Jones: 6/22/56	Wilbur E. Jones	(MEMO)	1956			Photocopy: Re: Pending Federal Highway Legislation in Congress
Officials see 'bold' proposals	Miami Herald		1956	Miami Herald	Miami, FL	11/21/56: GET PAGE ONE PIECE
Will traffic survey join others in dusty files?	Thompson, L.	Miami Herald	1956	Miami Herald	Miami, FL	11/21/56: Release of Wilbur Smith & Associates' "survey to end all surveys" -- article describes several other reports.
Department of Engineering: City of Miami: Annual Report	Department of Engineering	(report)	1957	City of Miami		Highlights of the Dept. of Engineering's projects during 1957; also some look into the future
City Planning and Zoning Board: Annual Report: 1957-58	City Planning and Zoning Board	(Annual Report)	1958	Planning and Zoning Board		Annual Report
Study of Traffic and Transportation in Metropolitan Dade County (2 copies)	Dept. of Traffic and Transportation	(Report)	1958	Dept. of Traffic and Transportation-Dade County		Transportation study: lots of graphs, plots, and maps
THE INFLUENCE OF HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENTS ON URBAN LAND USE PATTERNS	REAL ESTATE RESEARCH CORPORATION	(REPORT: PREPARED FOR BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS	1958	REAL ESTATE RESEARCH CORP	(NONE LISTED)	REPORT COMMISSIONED BY CONGRESS TO DETERMINE TAX EQUITY AND BURDEN ON THE PEOPLE WHO USE OR BENEFIT FROM FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAYS.
Payment of \$242,000 for R/W to Housing Authority of City of Miami	(Agreement-State Legislature)		1959	Photocopy: legal agreement		
Studies of Highway development and geographic change	GARRISON, WILLIAM L., BRIAN JL BERRY, DUANE F. MARBLE, JOHN D. NYSTUEN, RICHARD L	(BOOK)	1959	University of Washington Press	Seattle, WA	FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL STRUCTURE OF OUR WAY OF LIFE ARE EMPHASIZED...STUDIES ARE SAMPLES OF FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF GEOGRAPHICAL

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
	MORRILL					ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC LIFE.
Studies of the central business district and urban freeway development	Horwood, Edgar M & Boyce, Ronald R.	(book)	1959	University of Washington Press	Seattle, WA	This volume examines the evolving structure of the cbd and seeks to evaluate its change in relation to burgeoning urban highway networks.
Workable Program	Francis A. Kelly, Director, Dept. Slum Rehab. & Prevention	(Report)	1959	Office of the City Manager		Program of action for the prevention and elimination of slums and blight in the Miami Community
GOALS: Magic City Center	City of Miami and Metro Dade County	(Report)	1960	City of Miami/Metro Dade County		Planning goals to create "magic city center"
Hearing held by Florida legislative committee on public roads and highways	(TOC only)		1960			Photocopy: contents of testimony given regarding public roads and highways, September 22-23, 1960.
Planning and Zoning: Annual Reports: 1958-1960 (2 copies)	Planning and Zoning Board	(Annual Report)	1960	Planning and Zoning Board	City of Miami	Annual Report
Right of Way Resolution, SR 9-A (I-95).	(Resolution-State Legislature)		1960		State Archives, Tallahassee	Photocopy: Resolution: State Road Department and State of Florida should take immediate possession of properties. Also resolution regarding Right of Way in Dade County
STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF MAJOR HIGHWAYS ON LOCAL TAX BASES	REAL ESTATE RESEARCH CORPORATION	(REPORT)	1960	REAL ESTATE RESEARCH CORP	(NONE LISTED)	THIS REPORT SUMMARIZES THE RESULTS OF AN INVESTIGATION INTO CHANGES IN ASSESSED VALUATION THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE DUE TO TRAFFIC IN NEWLY OPENED ROADS.
Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance for	City of Miami	(Report: DMIA	1961	City of Miami		Photocopy of just the table of

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
City of Miami (no. 6871)		507.002/2:0 73 1961)				contents: if this looks valuable, we can go back to get it.
Street Stories	Dept. of Engineers	(Report: DMIA 703.005/2:S 74 1961)	1961	Dept. of Engineers		Photocopy of table of contents
12th Annual State Conference of FL. Planning and Zoning Association, Inc	(Report of Proceeding)		1962	Planning and Zoning Board		Theme: "Is Florida Prepared for Continued Growth?"
Information on the mass transportation demonstration grant program	booklet		1962	Photocopy: Selected information	Washington DC	
Thousands of Families Will Lose Their Homes	Miami Herald		1962	Describes the process of gaining right of way, and how many people it will affect.		Notebook I
			1963	US Dept. of Commerce		Photocopy of certain tables and definition of terms.
Census of Business: Major Retail Centers	Bureau of the Census		1963			(Report: DMIA 408.005/1:B 87 1963)
Community Renewal Program: The Economic Background	Reinhold P. Wolff Economic Research, Inc	(report)	1963	Reinhold P. Wolff Economic Research Coral Gables, FL		An economic background study on the City of Miami's community renewal program.
Control of highway access	Netherton, Ross D.		1963	TOC, Chapter 9: Acquisition of access rights through eminent domain (HE 355 N4)	Madison WI	

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
General Neighborhood Renewal Plan	Metro Dade Planning Department	(Report)	1963	Dade County Planning Dept.		Describes the need for "conservation, clearance, and redevelopment" in the Central Miami General Neighborhood Renewal Area.
Developing the transportation plan	The American Municipal Association	(Book)	1964	Public Administration Service	Chicago, IL	Photocopy: TOC and introduction only (HE 355 A 622)
Community Renewal Program	City of Miami	(Report)	1965	City of Miami		Phase I: describes a City-wide program "for the preservation and improvement of our housing and of our living and working environment"
Development Plan for Little River Business District	(Brochure)		1965	Planning Document		
Relocation of the US 1 Crossing the Miami River	JE Greiner Co. Consulting Engineers	(Engineering Report)	1966	Tampa, FL		Engineering report, photos, and schematics of street layouts
Downtown Miami Master Plan	Downtown Development Authority, City of Miami	(Report)	1967	Downtown Development Authority		Action plan to prevent the further deterioration of downtown CBD.
Planning Grant Application for a Model Neighborhood Program in Metropolitan Dade County Florida	Metropolitan Dade County	(Application from the County)	1967	Metropolitan Dade County	Metropolitan Dade County	An application submitted to HUD for a grant to plan a comprehensive city demonstration program.
The Effect of Freeways on Neighborhood	Right of Way Research	(Report)	1967	Right of Way and US DOT	Washington DC	The research has shown... that in stable neighborhoods freeways constructed along neighborhood boundaries will have little effect upon the neighborhood; more mobility may result from a freeway in a neighborhood which is undergoing significant change...

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
Implications for planning policy of neighborhoods' resistance to proposed housing and highways	Fellman, Gordon	study through grant	1968		Waltham, Mass	Photocopy of summary: investigates nature and functions of three neighborhood protest movements: 711.585 (74461) F25
Industrial Districts	Jacknin and Company, Inc	(Report)	1968	Jacknin & Company, Inc.	Washington DC	Engineering plans, financing, implementation, and resources for industrial districts of Little River, Allapattah, and Coconut Grove
THE FREEWAY IN THE CITY: THE PRINCIPLES OF PLANNING AND DESIGN	Michael Rapuano (chairman) et al	(BOOK)	1968	US GOV't PRINTING OFFICE	Washington, DC.	
ANTICIPATION OF THE EFFECTS OF AN URBAN HIGHWAY IMPROVEMENT ON THE HIGHWAY CORRIDOR	BURKHARDT, JON E. AND NANCY L. CHINLUND	(REPORT UR-166)	1971	Resource Management Corporation	BETHESDA, MD	Before and after study that shows adverse community effects due to anticipation of highway were avoided or minimized with participation from the community.
Anticipation of the Effects of an Urban Highway Improvement on the Highway Corridors	Burkhardt, J.E. and Chinlund, N.L.	(Report)	1971	Resource Management Corporation	Bethesda MD	This project identifies community changes following a planned highway improvement but before final route selection ("period of anticipation") and designs methods to alleviate fears and adverse effects on community.
Highway Planning Techniques: The balance of cost and benefit	Wells, G.R.		1971		London	Chapter 7: other simple methods of economic assessment and Chapter 8: More sophisticated methods of economic assessment (HE 336 E3 W4)
Photocopy of the Report in Brief and the table of contents	Wilbur Smith and Associates		1972			Broward County Library
THE HIGHWAY CORRIDOR: PREDICTING THE CONSEQUENCES OF ALTERNATIVE HIGHWAY LOCATIONS	SAUERLENDER, OWEN H. ET AL	(REPORT TTSC 7214)	1972	PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY	PENN	THE STUDY WAS DESIGNED TO TEST THE FEASIBILITY OF ESTIMATING BY MEANS OF A PROBABILISTIC ACTIVITY MODEL THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ECONOMIC

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
						IMPACTS ON COMMUNITIES CAUSED BY HIGHWAY CHANGES
COMMUNITY EFFECTS OF HIGHWAYS REFLECTED BY PROPERTY VALUES	OSLAC, MICHAEL J. AND GERHARD REETHOF	FINAL TECHNICAL REPORT	1973	PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY	PENN	EVALUATION OF NOISE FROM LIMITED ACCESS HIGHWAYS AND ITS INFLUENCE ON RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES
Master Plan Amendment #2: Jackson Hospital	Department of Hospitals	(Special Report)	1974	Government Agencies		Zoning and maps of the area
Impact of Intensive High-Rise Development in San Francisco (HUD-000057)	Office of Policy Development and Research and HUD	(Report)	1975	Washington DC		Studies the consequences of urban growth, based in San Francisco.
NOTEBOOK SERIES: 1- IDENTIFICATION OF TRANSPORTATION ALTERNATIVES	US DOT	DOT P 5600.4	1975	US GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE	WASHINGTON DC	A GUIDANCE MANUAL FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF TRANSPORTATION ALTERNATIVES
NOTEBOOK SERIES: 2-SOCIAL IMPACTS	US DOT	DOT P 5600.4	1975	US GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE	WASHINGTON DC	A GUIDANCE MANUAL FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL IMPACTS DUE TO HIGHWAY FACILITY IMPROVEMENTS
NOTEBOOK SERIES: 3-ECONOMIC IMPACTS	US DOT	DOT P 5600.4	1975	US GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE	WASHINGTON DC	A GUIDANCE MANUAL FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMIC IMPACTS DUE TO HIGHWAY FACILITY IMPROVEMENTS
NOTEBOOK SERIES: 4-PHYSICAL IMPACTS	US DOT	DOT P 5600.4	1975	US GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE	WASHINGTON DC	A GUIDANCE MANUAL FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF PHYSICAL IMPACTS DUE TO HIGHWAY FACILITY IMPROVEMENTS
NOTEBOOK SERIES: 5- ORGANIZATION AND CONTENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT MATERIALS	US DOT		1975			A GUIDANCE MANUAL FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND CONTENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT MATERIALS RELATED TO HIGHWAY

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
NOTEBOOK SERIES: 6-ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT REFERENCE BOOK	US DOT		1975			FACILITY IMPROVEMENTS A REFERENCE MANUAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT MATERIALS RELATED TO HIGHWAY FACILITY IMPROVEMENTS
Profiles of Change: Large City	RL Polk & Co.	(report)	1975	RL Polk & Co.	Detroit, MI	This booklet was prepared as a case study in workshops that are part of HUD's conferences: all the data are for an undisclosed entitlement city (one of the 318).
Profiles of Change: Management Summary by Census Tract	RL Polk & Co.	(report)	1975	RL Polk & Co.	Detroit, MI	Using Census Tract data from 1973 and 1974, the authors develop three means to see Miami: city-wide overview with 12 indicators, 31 maps with neighborhood characteristics, summary for each tract.
Profiles of Change: Mgmt reports by census tract	RL Polk & Co.	(Report)	1975	RL Polk & Co.	Detroit MI	Statistical information by census tract for Miami, 1973-1974
Profiles of Change: Small-Area Profiles	RL Polk & Co.	Report)	1975		Detroit, MI	Ranks of each tract for the City of Miami in: all factors, current counts, gross change, key indicators--rates, key indicators--change, secondary indicators
Profiles of Change: Urban Info Package User's Guide	RL Polk & Co.	(Guide)	1975		Detroit, MI	Guide to using Profiles of Change series
Profiles of Change: User's Guide II	RL Polk & Co.	(Guide)	1975	RL Polk & Co.	Detroit, MI	Guide to using Profiles of Change series.
Secondary Impacts of Transportation and Wastewater Investments: Review and Bibliography (HUD-OO50028)	(Report)		1975	US Gov't	Washington DC	A review of over fifty major studies and three hundred relevant reports related to secondary environmental impacts on various forms of public investments.

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
	US DOT	(Report)	1976	US DOT	Washington DC	Highlights the effects that modern highways have on individuals, communities, and regions, and offers tentative conclusions on several aspects of highway experience.
SECONDARY IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF HIGHWAY PROJECTS	US DOT	(FINAL REPORT: DOT-TST-77-24, OCT. 1976)	1976	US DOT	WASHINGTON, DC	THIS DOCUMENT ATTEMPTS TO DELINEATE A CONSISTENT METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND DESCRIBE APPROPRIATE TECHNIQUES TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE DEFINITION, ANALYSIS, AND INITIAL EVALUATION OF THE RANGE OF SECONDARY IMPACTS OF TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENTS.
A bibliography of highway impact studies, 1966-1976	Yi-rong Hsu, Ann, & Wheeler, J. O.	(book)	1977	Council of Planning Librarians	Monticello, IL	Council of Planning Librarians Bibliography: 711 (016) C65 1401
Your rights and benefits as a highway displacee (Federal Relocation Assistance Program)	US DOT	(Brochure)	1977	US-DOT/ FHA/ Office of Right of Way	Washington, DC	Photocopy: "One of the unfortunate, but unavoidable, consequences of a modern highway program in a progressive nation is the necessary displacement of a comparatively small percentage of the population for the greater good of the whole."
Final Environmental Impact Statement: Metropolitan Dade County rail rapid transit project (UMTA project no. FL-03-0036)	US Dept. of Transportation	(Report)	1978	US Dept. of Transportation	Washington DC	Documents the environmental impacts of the proposed Metrorail. Public meetings were held in Miami and in the neighborhoods where the proposed project is located.
The effect of the Washington Metro on urban property values	Lerman, S. R., Damm, D., Lerner-Lamm, E. & Young, J.		1978			value capture policies presume that transit systems actually have an impact on urban properties... (not

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
						complete report--call # HE203.M26A3 no. CTS-77-18 c.2)
BART in the San Francisco Bay Area-The Final Report of the BART Impact Program	Staff of Metro Transportation Commission	(Report)	1979	US DOT and HUD	Washington DC	Comprehensive study and evaluation of impacts of BART; analyses the impacts of the BART system to assist in guiding future transportation planning and policy decisions in the Bay Area and other urban areas.
Implications of BART's Impacts for the Transportation Disadvantaged (HUD-0050741)	Donnelly, R. and Arguelles, J.	(Report)	1979		Washington DC	Analyzes the effects of BART on ethnic minorities, the elderly, and the physically and mentally disabled.
State Transit-Management Assistance to Local Communities	pamphlet		1979			Photocopy of summary and info for Florida: 388. S717
Public Property: Overtown CD Target Area and the SE Overtown/Park West Community Redevelopment Area	City of Miami, Planning Dept.	photocopy	198?	City of Miami, Planning	Miami, FL	Lists and describes parcels and zoning requirements of public land: no date given, but Greg Gay says that the zoning dates it between 1980 and 1989.
Station Area Profile: Overtown	Dade County Planning Department		1981			Description of land use, setting, zoning, development trends, etc. specifically at the Overtown station.
Urban euthanasia for fun and profit	Weiler, C.	Neighborhood policy and planning	1983	Lexington, Mass	Environmental Justice	Clay, P.L. & Hollister, R.M. (eds.) "It is our contention that the advocacy of planned neighborhood death ... contributed in the 1970s to concealing patterns of inner-city reinvestment that threatened & displaced existing working-class & poor residents..." HUD Library, DC (711.581 N24ne)
Cost-Benefit Analysis: Ethics and Problem Boundaries	Skaburskis, A.	Evaluation Review, 11, 591-611	1987			This review of the conflict generated by a BART station's land-use impact shows how the relevant issues expand beyond the boundaries ordinarily set in cost-

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
Mobile Home Coop Conversion		http://neighborlink.cc.duq.edu/cie/ciedata/	1987			benefit evaluations, and involve reassessment of ethical premises..." A group of low-income mobile home park residents organized a non-profit corporation to oppose their displacement by a proposed state highway expansion.
State and Local Attitudes on Relations in Highway Policy	Kincaid, J.	Transportation Quarterly, 43, April 1989 (153-167)	1989			Planning, building and servicing highways and other transportation networks in the American federal system involve complex processes of bargaining and negotiation among several interests. Joint funding further complicates things.
Building Florida roads: The highway construction process		pamphlet	199?	Public Information, FDOT	Tallahassee	short pamphlet from FDOT about the process of road building
Colors of Renewal	Thompson, W.	Landscape Architecture, 85, 39-43	199?			Can a vibrant pedestrian mall help the recovery of Miami's historic African-American district?"
Comprehensive Transportation Models: Past, Present and Future	Lewis, S., Cook, P. and Ming, M.	Transportation Quarterly, 44, 249-265	1990			Presents an overview of comprehensive transportation modeling, the types of use these models serve, and their strengths and weaknesses.
Corridor preservation: Case studies and analysis factors in decision-making	Rivkin Associates	Report	1990	Rivkin Associates	Bethesda MD	ISTEA encourages State Transportation agencies and MPOs identify corridors whose protection is in public interest, and establish strategies for protecting them. This study provides background and strategies.
Evergreen Historic Conservation District Design Guidelines...	Memphis City Council	(Report)	1990	Memphis City Council	Memphis	Design guidelines

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
Land Use and Highway Functional Classification Systems	Wilbur Smith and Associates	(Report: Z 159 TR C2: L15 990)	1990			
Summary of Funds Spent in the Overtown Target Area (Public/Private)			1990	List of redevelopment activity and costs from 1975 to 1990.		photocopy
Black Contractors and Subcontractors in the Dade County construction industry: A portrait of racial discrimination	Feagin, Joe R.	(Report)	1991	Race Relations Consulting Services	Gainesville, FL	Prepared for Board of County Commissioners, Dade County.
Racial discrimination and disparities in the market place: construction industry in Dade County	Brimmer and Company, Inc.	(Report)	1991	Brimmer & Company, Inc.	Washington DC	Provides background information and analysis of trends and developments in the construction industries. Provides an overview of operations in the construction industry.
The states and the interstates	American Association of State Highways and Transportation Officials		1991			Opposition to state road engineers in the 1960s described
Overtown Community Redevelopment Plan & Action Program: Final Report: Part II	Florida Center for Urban Design & Research	(Report)	1992	Florida Center for Urban Design & RMiami, FL		This report recommends a unique, multi-faceted community redevelopment plan and implementation strategy within the targeted area which will vigorously address all of the basic, long-term negative factors of distress to the Overtown Community...
List: Property Transferred from Dade County	S. Adelman	photocopy	1993	Miami, FL		Lists public properties transferred to city of Miami from Dade County: these are the parcels that were not developed yet. Dade County got them originally from HUD, as the local manager of the properties
Overtown Community Redevelopment	Florida Center for	(Report)	1993	Florida Center		Overview and summary of final

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
Plan & Action Program Study: Final Report: Executive Summary	Urban Design & Research			for Urban Design & RMiami, FL		conclusions and recommendations generated by the "Overtown Redevelopment... Study" of the OAB. Most important conclusion is that there is justification for additional governmental actions to deal with blight in Overtown.
Overtown: Communtiy Development Target Area	City of Miami, Planning, Building and Zoning Dept.	(Report)	1993	City of Miami Planning Building & ZMiami, FL		Neighborhood planning program: 1994-1996: gives demographics, trends, general characteristics, neighborhood problems and needs, and how to address them.
Race and Space in the Modern City: Interstate-95 and the Black Community in Miami	Mohl, R.A.	Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America	1993	Rutgers University Press	New Brunswick, NJ	Hirsch, AR and Mohl, RA (Eds.): Federal highway building, dislocation of residents, predominately in poor and black areas.
Advanced Public Transportation Systems: Evaluation Guidelines	Office of Technical Assistance and Safety	(Report)	1994	US DOT	Washington DC	Photocopy of table of contents and introduction: TD 1. 20/ 10 94-10
EPA Environmental Justice Fact Sheet	Strategy Document		1994	EPA's Strategy and Action Document		
FDOT: State Procedures, Chapter 8: Public Involvement	State DOT	(Handbook)	1994	State FDOT		Photocopy: State procedures for public involvement
Getting there: The epic struggle between road and rail in the American century	Goddard, S. B.		1994		New York	Chapter 13: summarizes the history of the freeway revolts and the demise of commuter rail: urban poor get left behind.
Presidential Document: EO 12898	US Gov't	http://w3.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/waisga..(etc)	1994		Washington, DC.	Text of Executive Order on Environmental Justice
E-W Multimodal Corridor Study: Draft: Environmental Impact Statement, Major Investment Study	FDOT: District VI	(Report)	1995	FDOT: District VI		Purpose is to provide decision makers with all relevant informaiton to select the best multimodal transportation improvements for the SR 836 E-W corridor: includes transportation impacts and

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
E-W Multimodal Corridor Study: Public Involvement Results Report	FDOT: District VI	(Report)	1995	FDOT: District VI		environmental consequences. Describes what FDOT did to get the public involved, and lengthy appendices give transcripts and details of what happened in those meetings, etc.
Overtown Public Involvement Plan	Carr Smith Associates	(Report)	1995	Carr Smith Associates		Feedback from the Overtown Community regarding the proposed East-West corridor, and info on the Public Involvement Plan
Reflections of the Past, Visions of the Future: Overtown Neighborhood Partnerships Project	Overtown Neighborhood Partnerships	(Report)	1995	Miami, FL		examines Overtown, past, present and future, as seen through the eyes of its residents; outlines visioning and partnership building, planning capacity, program implementation and systems change.
Residential Segregation by Socioeconomic Class in Metropolitan Miami: 1990	Boswell, T.D.	Paper: FIU's Public Policy and Citizenship Studies	1995			Makes comparisons within each ethnic group to determine if there is class segregation by income, education, and occupation. Then, comparisons between ethnic groups, standardizing for income, ed, and occupation.
Community Impact Assessment: A quick reference for transportation	US DOT and FHA	Booklet	1996	US DOT, FHA	Washington DC	Guide to be used by transportation professionals and analysts who assess the impacts of proposed transportation actions on communities. Outlines process, highlights critical areas that need to be examined, identifies tools and info sources etc.
Economic returns from transportation investment	Madrick, Jeffrey	Report	1996	Eno Transportation Foundation, Inc.	Lansdowne, VA	Forum on US economy and how transportation investments can help growth

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
Evergreen: A Story of Devastation, Revival and Prosperity	Jones, M. and Clay, J.A.	Presented at SECOPA 1996	1996	Memphis		Describes a case in which an interstate was planned and many homes demolished to make room, but citizens fought back and are now working to rebuild.
FDOT: District 6: Public Information plan: Format and requirements	District Six Office of Public Information	(Booklet)	1996	District Six Office of Public Info	Miami FL	Photocopy: Describes public involvement procedures, purpose, gives background and history, and provides a template action plan.
Interagency consultation: The key toward collaborative state and local decision making in the conformity process	Office of Environment and Planning	Report	1996	US DOT	Washington DC	The purpose of this report is to summarize key findings associated with the implementation of successful interagency consultation processes... hoping to improve coordination and consultation among agencies at all levels.
Miami's Urban History: a Conversation with Raymond Mohl	Castillo, T.A.	Miami Centennial '96: Special Forum	1996	RACE/HIGHWAY/HISTORY	Miami, FL	Interview with Ray Mohl.
The Best Investment A Nation Ever Made: A tribute to the Dwight D. Eisenhower System of Interstate and Defense Highways	Cox, W. and Love, J.	Report for the American Highway Users Alliance	1996	Wendell Cox Associates	Belleville, IL	Glorification of the interstate. WWW.publicpurpose.com
The Democratization of Data: Bridging the Gap for Community Groups	Sawicki, D.S. and Craig, W.J.	APA Journal	1996			Community groups from low-income neighborhoods have the most to gain from full access to data, yet the least capability to achieve that access or make use of it: intermediaries assist with analysis and policy development.
Transportation Research Record # 1559: Environmental, social, and economic effects of transportation	Transportation Research Board	(Report)	1996	Transportation Research Board	Washington DC	Several papers presented at the meeting of the Transportation Research Board in Jan. 1996: especially "Operationalizing concepts of equity for public project investments

Title	Author	Journal	Date	Publisher	City/State	Notations
Environmental Justice (fact sheet)			1996?			Outline of environmental justice as it pertains to the East-West Corridor project.
Categorical List of available documents through NTIS			1997			list of documents available through NTIS of US DOT
Congestion Management Issues and Needs: Draft Discussion Paper	Federal Highway Administration		1997			The discussion paper developed to foster open feedback and explore current and expected planning program and technical needs related to transportation management
Transportation and the 1997 Legislature: Florida's turnpike... a major issue	T-News	T-News	1997		Tallahassee	Newsletter

APPENDIX A

Urban Development Models: Using Urban Models in Evaluating Public Actions or Policies

Prepared by Harvey Averch

Note to Reader: In the beginning of this project, Professor Averch was asked to review the literature on urban modeling and suggest applications that would answer questions raised in the study. Because modeling was so heuristic and expensive, the Project Team decided not to invest in the development of a model to simulate an Overtown without I-95/I-395 built through it. However, we want to acknowledge Averch's effort to help us decide the most appropriate methodology to use.

1. Introduction

Urban science, throughout its hundred-year-old history, has never defined a canonical set of questions or problems. Instead, new questions and problems arise from emerging, inchoate social and economic trends or from programs or policies decision-makers deploy hoping that they will solve some currently vexatious social problem.¹ Urban science is truly a worldly science compared to physics or even economics.² Given the fluidity of its concerns,

¹Recent welfare reforms are a case in point. The "welfare mess," having finally become a generic national problem, instead of one concerning welfare agencies and social workers, has been transformed by limits on receipt of funds and the requirements that recipients find a job after two years, irrespective of conditions in local labor markets. The urban research community will now evaluate the welfare implementation, providing new problem definitions and new solutions. These evaluations will appear in basic and applied journals that graduate students are assigned to read. The evaluations become grist for dissertations until some new problem arrives. Thus, urban research lurches forward.

²Economics uses models, but they are usually restricted to partial equilibrium analysis. They do not address upstream or downstream effects. So they assume away the most interesting interactions, saying that they are small on intuitive grounds. A change in the price of chickens will only have major impact in the chicken market and not the turkey or tuna markets. Computable, general equilibrium models have not yet appeared much in the benefit-cost literature.

³Urban planning, we might say, is the applied arm of urban science. See, for example, Tietz, M..B. (1997). "American Planning in the 1990's: Part II, The Dilemma of the Cities," *Urban*

it follows that urban science can have no ruling intellectual paradigm that dictates the true way to attack a problem. Given that decision makers pose some specific questions and provide funds for some applied research, the analytical method elected by the researchers depends primarily on tastes, training, and epistemological beliefs.

Urban science is rich in these competing styles. Two of the most striking are “disjoint empiricism” practiced by most of the social science community and mathematical, integrated model building practiced by social planners and engineers. Social scientists hold that scientific truth can only be discovered and tested in the field, on the ground, using empirical methods.^{3,4} For model builders, truth emerges from computer models. Computers, and only computers, can reveal hidden causes and demonstrate the unintended consequences that produce the behavior recorded by social scientists using empirical methods. Truth for model builders is a complex relationship or interaction that reveals surprising or counterintuitive outcomes. Such outcomes derive from the “deep structure” of a city. This “deep structure” can never be revealed by traditional social science methods. Observed and then manipulated data can be consistent with many postulated deep structures.

The modeling problem I want to address here is a more limited one: the use of large or small scale computer models in small scale, delimited urban research projects.

Problem: Suppose that some set of decision makers (all with different objectives and interests) want to know the (marginal) impact of some public works project on the communities and the people where it is scheduled to go.

I use the economic term *marginal* to mean that these decision-makers want to find the impact attributable to the public works project, and only to that project, holding constant all the other factors that make a difference in outcomes. Public works projects are, of course, usually lumpy and discontinuous. Society generally cannot use the work until it is complete. Half a bridge is difficult to traverse. So we will not have a good set of data showing marginal

Studies, 34, pp.775-795. Tietz reviews the urban problems of the last twenty years. He describes how central urban planners did or did not address the questions. He observes that planning did not really address the central city problems, the problems of the underclass. He believes that these, at root are a result of the failing economies of the older American cities. None of these problems turned out to be amenable to the traditional armamentarium of the urban planning profession, zoning regulation, central command-control prohibitions.

⁴ “Triangulation” using multiple, empirical methods has become popular in applied social science and public administration. If two or more contrasting methods lead to the same outcome and the same recommendations, then this is said to increase confidence in results and recommendations. The only difficulty is that using two or more methods known a priori to be unreliable, decreases statistical confidence. If, say, method 1 is .10 unreliable, and if method 2 is, similarly, .0 unreliable, then the overall reliability goes down to .81, since error can now arise from one or another or both methods. Evidently triangulation advocates mean something else than statistical reliability.

changes in relation to continuous doses of public works. It is certainly possible to discern statistically that it had some effect. Interrupted time series models have become increasingly sophisticated. For a given public work, like a highway, one can estimate the impact by discovering that a shift parameter (0= before; 1= after) has statistical significance. However, if the decision-makers want to measure some general public works projects, they will have to pay special attention to some particular enclave in a city, and then the time series data needed for a statistical approach will have to be constructed.

Now suppose that we have an off-the-shelf, computerized model that we can use to simulate impacts. Then what can be done? Lee's criteria for a model useful for policy making include the following: transparency, replicability and policy relevance.⁵ To these, we might add validity⁶. Now let us consider some of the off-the-shelf models currently available. I begin with the simplest ones and move on to the large-scale, general purpose, multiple question model.

2. Spreadsheet models

Spreadsheet models are the simplest models to construct and use. They can be run on an ordinary personal computer.^{7,8} The model and its uses thus stay close to the original purposes of the analysis. They facilitate sensitivity and "what if" analysis. Spreadsheet models are relatively easy to construct and have lower costs than the large-scale urban models (LSUMs). Until recently they were designed to emphasize one or two major questions. They rarely evaluate policy instruments directly, but they can be approximated by changing the parameters of the model. For example, a bridge or a superhighway impacts the economic base, either by lowering or raising the costs for basic industry. However, the same bridge or highway can physically displace portions of the economic base. Spreadsheet models can mediate the two effects quite easily. Since the models simulate tradeoffs quickly, they can estimate net benefits and costs more consistently and with lower cost than surveys, focus groups or statistical modeling.

⁵Lee, D. B. (1994). "Retrospective on Large-Scale Urban Models." *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 60, pp.35-43.. Transparency means that one can comprehend how the model reached the result it did; replicability means that if some one took the same model and same parameters, outcomes would be the same; policy relevance means that the model must have some levers within the partial control of the decision makers.

⁶I use validity in the strict scientific sense that the model represents to certain degree of confidence some reality out there. A model using this criterion would not valid if it used "as if" conditions to reach its conclusion.

⁷See Klosterman, R.E., Brail, R. K., and Bossard, E.G. (Eds.) (1993). *Spreadsheet Models for Urban and Regional Analysis*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Cartwright, T. J. (1993) *Modeling the World in a Spreadsheet: Environmental Simulations on a Computer*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

⁸Spreadsheet models themselves can be large in and of themselves. Klosterman et al. (op. cit) report on one researcher who in 1985 (!) was able to implement econometric models with up to 450 endogenous variables and 100 exogenous variables over a simulated 20 years.

2.1 The Economic Base Model⁹

This model implements the economic base technique for local and regional economic analysis. It provides three procedures for estimating a region's (county's, state's, and small country's) basic and non-basic employment. The basic employment drives the model, since it assumes that some local firms have external demands. "Exporting" by the basic firms drives the local non-basic economy by bringing income into the region. If the basic firms grow, the non-basic firms also grow according to "base" multiplier assumed constant over time. This base multiplier can be estimated using historical data.

The model will also generate total employment in the region by multiplying projected base employment by the base multiplier. The model can be used to simulate the effects of losses in the economic base or attrition of the non-basic industries.

2.1.1 Using an economic base model in the Overtown case

Since evidence suggests that it was so considered, assume that Overtown can be identified as a discrete geographic area. Then it is possible to define its basic and non-basic sectors. For most of the period considered by the Overtown empirical team, the basic sector was probably very small.¹⁰ Any external demand from Dade County for Overtown's basic "products" was no doubt slim and cyclical. Dade, too, had little basic industry, although the tourist industry is usually defined as "basic." However, continued reliance on tourism as a principal component of its economic base subjected Dade to the vagaries of the national business cycle. Overtown, whose tourist multiplier was very low, would naturally decline in the trough of a national and state business cycle. Overtown would have to lift itself by its own bootstraps to maintain its economic health.

Overtown's economy must have been heavily *non-basic*. Assume that, using a model, we project Overtown's economic history for 50 years without I-95. Now assume that with the arrival of I-95 some of the economic base physically disappeared. Assume that this initial loss induced other basic industries to relocate, since agglomeration and communications economies were reduced. Assume that the non-basic sector remained the same or that it increased, since Overtown residents now had greater difficulty traveling. Thus, we have a portrait of permanent decline.

However, suppose I-95 had little impact on the Overtown's basic economic sectors, then the economic decline of Overtown must be blamed on something else. As residents moved out in response to more housing opportunities, the non-basic economy shrank. The basic sector, even if it were robust, could not generate enough local jobs anymore. Thus, the

⁹Klosterman, R.E. and Yichun, Xie. (1993). ECONBASE: Economic Base Analysis. In Klosterman et. al. This model has been implemented on a spreadsheet that comes with this book. The author of this chapter has uploaded the model.

¹⁰The basic sector consists of exporting firms, federal and state government and local firms that sell to tourists, transients and college students. Manufacturing, mining, forestry, fishing and agriculture are all considered as basic. Neither Dade, Miami nor Overtown were heavily endowed with such industries.

non-basic sector shrank as desegregated housing made it easier to move out. The basic multiplier would have less and less affect.

2.2 The Lowry model ¹¹

The Lowry model grafts spatial distribution questions onto an economic base model. It assumes some initial distribution of basic economic workers in some arbitrarily selected zones of a region; it then distributes basic workers to the zones depending on their simulated tastes for travel. It then calculates the number of non-basic workers required to serve basic workers and distributes them to the appropriate zones. But increases in the number of *total* workers in a zone means that more service people are needed to service them. Lowry designed the model so that it could be used to evaluate new infrastructure. The effects of bridges or superhighways like I-95 can be simulated by varying the population's taste for travel. The taste for travel is a function of the cost of travel expressed in minutes.

2.2.1 Applications to Overtown

Consider Overtown one region among many. Assume that its basic workers small in number work in other zones. Let the model run without I-95. Then simulate the arrival of I-95 by changing the costs of travel for the basic workers in Overtown. If the costs become too great, the number of basic workers will decline. If the number of basic workers declines, then the rest of the economy declines. Policies and program to arrest the decline, to counteract the effects of I-95, may be simulated through variations in travel time, through variations in the basic-nonbasic mix of workers in Overtown and in other regions of Dade County.

3. Simulation Models for the PC: SimCity 2000 and SimCity 3000

SimCity 2000 and the forthcoming SimCity 3000 are full-blown simulations that operate on ordinary PCs.¹² Although popular for playing urban games,¹³ these models permit

¹¹Cartwright, T.J.(1994)(op.cit) documents the model in his previously cited work on spreadsheet models. See Webber, M. J. (1984). *Explanation, Prediction, and Planning: The Lowry Model*. London: Pion. Webber provides an exhaustive evaluation of the Lowry models and its offspring up to the mid-eighties. See also Lowry, I. S. (1964). *A Model of Metropolis*. RM-4035-RC. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

¹²In a simulation, model builders try to represent some real world system of interest to policy makers, and they try to miniaturize the system and make it operate inside a computer the way it operates in real life. The advantage is that the models can be run on machine time so that far out effects can be seen. Simulations usually contain stochastic variables. These create alternative histories. Given a large number of runs, the average of all variables of interest over the simulated life of the city becomes the expected history of the city.

¹³In urban games, simulated cities provide the background for heroes and villains to conduct their activities. However, in their conflicts the heroes and villains can damage vital city

one to simulate the birth, adolescence, and death of cities. The models come with a political sector that includes city officials and the public. They contain feedback mechanisms to the public sector such as newspapers. Analysts can build one city and play out its development over twenty-five or fifty years. They can vary the initial “boundary” conditions or stop it as it runs. The average outcomes from a large number of runs becomes history that urban historians can analyze *ex post* and the policy analysts can search for lessons learned.

Alternatively, the analyst could construct many cities of different types. She could make the policy instruments a variable. I-95s for some communities may be a disaster. For others, they may be the key to success. Most jurisdictions fight hard for access to the interstates that pass by. In the computer, the analyst can easily vary the proposed routes of the I-95s. So it becomes possible to discern what has to be done to minimize damage or maximize the growth of basic and nonbasic industries in some Overtown. Furthermore, if some small models were nested in larger county, state, and national models, then the analyst could compute the opportunity cost of taking care of Overtown while not taking care of some other jurisdictions.

4. Large Scale Urban Models (LSUMs)

Large-scale urban models first appeared in the 1960s¹⁴ If we could send a man to the moon, so the argument went, then we could solve urban problems by using the same kinds of systems analysis used in the moon-shot. Mainframe computers now presented the potential of getting whole cities into the machines and simulating their “life histories.” The rationale for building large-scale models was that they alone reveal unexpected and unintended consequences. Only they catch the inconsistencies in verbal models, and only they can trace through the tacit implications of ad hoc judgments by nominal experts. Like the science of the atom bomb, the science here was sweet especially to engineers who saw social relations as mere feedback mechanisms. Qualitative social scientists could not speak systems language and hardly know programming languages. Thus, LSUM designers used information from experts to specify the design and structure.¹⁵ But there are few experts other than the

infrastructure. Winning the game means possibly destroying the city. Alternatively, saving the city becomes a measure of competence for heroes and power for villains.

¹⁴Interesting history of these models may be found in Klosterman et. al., op. cit.

¹⁵According to accounts of the time, the search for craft knowledge by the social engineers was slight. A social scientist would be hijacked into a computer lab and then were asked to consult their intuition on the relations to be modeled. This casualness infuriated social scientists who said one needed craft knowledge and data to make a serious model. However, conforming to data would have defeated one of the main purposes of building the LSUM's, showing that the social science community was totally ignorant of positive and negative feedback. These generated unforeseen outcomes that were possible if not true. So instead of relying on the erroneous intuitions of social scientists, one should rely on the ability of the computer to find unexpected events and run them out for hundreds of years.

computer itself that can trace out the simultaneous interactions between all sectors and show the counterintuitive outcomes of those interactions.¹⁶

Social scientists, in general, prefer to construct their models *ex post* using statistical or specialized econometric data. These statistical models may run into thousands of equations and variables. Even though there exist tests of goodness of fit and statistical significance, the really large ones are difficult to validate, especially where the models have many simultaneities and nonlinearities.

“Engineering” models forecast an economic and social collapse that could be avoided only if the decision-makers took rapid action. The engineers claimed that their computer models would reveal unintended outcomes and surprises that were also empirically true. For example, if a model showed that economic growth attracted large numbers of the underclass and the poor, then growth had to be self-limiting. The decline in the average skills of the labor force and the unwillingness to work of some of the underclass and poor meant that growth had to slow down. A growing economy with high value-added industry would not, in the short run, be able to employ the underclass and the poor. Highly trained labor would be deterred from entering the local labor force by social problems caused by the underclass. Thus, the local economy needed to shift to industries that required labor force of lower skill than in the past. Thus, low value-added industry would move in, and high value-added industry would move out. It follows that one should try to keep the homeless and the poor out of one’s city. Over the long run, refusal to provide adequate housing and training for the poor and homeless would be a counterintuitive good policy, whatever its clash with liberal political views.

One group of social scientists used models frequently and knew them well—the economists and their offshoot, policy analysis community. Using the plausible protocols for evaluating policy analysis, they discovered that the “knife-edge” bad outcomes generated by the engineering models came from now allowing markets to do their work of adjusting to different tastes, changes in cost, and applied research. The invalidation of models, however, did not mean, then or now, that true believers will give them up. True belief remains, even though justified true belief is no longer possible. The destruction of theoretical and empirical warrants merely means that more research is needed. So large-scale model builders retreated to the universities where they would carry on their work.¹⁷ The great disagreement on

¹⁶For example, telecommuting enthusiasts argue that traffic congestion can be cured by working at home with computers, at least for those workers who do not bend metal. Telecommuting models (children of the “plain vanilla” urban transit models) suggest that may not be so. While the number of trips to one’s factory or law office may be reduced, the telecommuting worker can live a very long distance from her place of work. The number of trips falls, but the length of each one goes up. If thousands or hundreds of thousands of workers telecommute, on any given day, there will be congestion anyway because trips to other venues take longer.

¹⁷See Wegener, M. (1994). “Operational Urban Models: State of the Art.” *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 60, pp. 17-29. In 1994, Wegener found about twenty active

epistemology and on outcomes led to agreements to disagree among social scientists and engineers, and each group went its separate way in the academy.¹⁸

4.1 The current state of the general purpose LSUMs

At least on university campuses, LSUMs are enjoying a revival. Critics of work on LSUMs in the seventies and eighties assumed that computing power and modeling technology would not progress as rapidly as they did. Thus, great strides in the verisimilitude of large-scale models have taken place, not because empirical knowledge about urban dynamics has increased, but because different bodies of knowledge can be assumed and then played out for long periods of time. So if cities really have chaos built into them, the models will eventually ferret this out. If the models work, they have created knowledge. Today it takes only a PC, not a supercomputer, to model urban behavior at very high levels of resolution. For example, an English team is creating a full-scale three-dimensional model of London with fly by capabilities for the virtual researcher. On the way to this achievement, they report they have simulated three smaller cities in the United Kingdom.

4.2 LSUM state-of-the art in 1997

As of 1994, Wegener reports on twelve documented LSUMs produced by the twenty major modeling centers.¹⁹ The twelve collectively cover land use regulations, transportation policy, environmental policy, public works, housing, etc. They do not deal with the inner city or problems of equity or of social justice.

Time in most models is divided into discrete chunks, and the models use information from one period to derive outcomes in the next period. Some use internal optimization techniques, and some do not. The output is usually reported in the aggregate. For example, for a given zone, the models would report population in and out, but they would be unable to report how many minorities and poor or homeless came in. To do this would require a submodel of how the poor or homeless specifically behave, not the average behavior of the average commuter assumed in the models.

Wegener reports few validation efforts. Two of them have been subject to back casting. A valid model should forecast the past as well as it forecasts the future. One runs the model backwards for about the same period one plans to run it forwards. The problem of validity represents an unsolved epistemological problem. One can always “tune” or calibrate

centers for LSUMs around the world working on a variety of big models. Seven out of the twenty were in the United States.

¹⁸Except possibly Carnegie-Mellon and a few other technical universities, the two schools do not communicate. Carnegie-Mellon has, in fact, two policy analysis shops. One is run by the Engineering School, and the other is in the Heinz School of Public Policy.

¹⁹Documentation of models has never been a high priority among model builders. Like any craft activity, there are secrets that, if acquired by rivals, would make receipt of external funds less likely.

any model to reproduce actual data. Whether that is validation as scientists mean it is an open question.

4.3 Large numbers of large scale transportation models

In addition to general purpose LSUMs that provide answers for a large number of “soft” and “hard” questions, there exist a very large number of large-scale special purpose transportation models. They are big, because the transportation sector is big. It is modeled in fine detail. The transportation models can, in fact, simulate what would happen to Dade County or Overtown as a zone within Dade, if more highways were to be built or if some were abandoned. The outputs of a solved model might be equilibrium employment, possibly the ethnic composition of the labor force, congestion, housing stock, etc. Generally, one uses a national input-output matrix to forecast overall growth, then one makes the appropriate growth assumptions for Florida using a Florida model, and then one comes down to city level.

The notion that subcities or ethnic enclaves have objectives and futures different from their parent city cannot be modeled directly. This, a Miami-Overtown situation probably requires some kind of game-theoretic model. We can, of course, always treat Miami as a special kind of state and Overtown as a special kind of city and simulate the interactions using a normal transportation model.

4.4 Where are the LSUMs going?

Right now the LSUMs are busy digesting new developments in GIS, in virtual reality, and in three dimensional modeling, among other developments. To some extent they are achieving the ambition of putting whole cities into the computer and then running their simulated histories.

4.5 Where do technologically alert urban studies groups go?

Social scientists interested in general “urban studies” will need to become more familiar with computerized urban models. While the division of labor suggests that they do not have to build a model for every question they address, modeling forces researchers to be explicit about their assumptions going in and coming out. Forcing economists, historians, planners, and demographers to put their findings into even a simple spreadsheet model provides consistency checks and the “systems integration” such groups badly need. Thus, groups heavy with social scientists need one or two persons who are very sophisticated users of models up to the point where they can retrofit off-the-shelf models for the immediate purpose at hand.

APPENDIX B

Environmental Justice

Prepared by Jill Strube

Presidential Executive Order 12898 of February 11, 1994, mandates that all government agencies develop strategies to identify and address programs, policies, and activities that have a disproportionate adverse effect on minority and low-income populations. It creates an Interagency Working Group for greater coordination in a more integrated approach to identifying problems and finding solutions to mitigate or eliminate these negative effects. This group is also charged with developing interagency model projects that require cooperation among federal agencies and with developing strategies that reach out to citizens and ensure meaningful participation in the decision-making process. In addition, the Order requires that Human Health and Environmental Research and Analysis include a means by which participants are provided an opportunity to comment on the development and design of the research strategies, and that research be conducted to compare risks to low-income and minority populations and to assess the impacts of agency programs on these communities.

The Florida Environmental Equity and Justice Commission found that several important events lead up to the 1994 Executive Order:

1. The 1971 Annual Report by the President's Council on Environmental Quality was the first to link race-based discrimination with the inability to improve environmental conditions for low-income individuals.
2. An investigation in relation to the 1979 *Bean v. Southwest Waste Management* case found that municipal solid waste landfills were significantly more often located in African American communities.
3. National attention turned to Warren County, North Carolina, in 1982 when national and local civil rights and environmental organizations joined forces to protest the proposed disposal site for 32,000 cubic yards of PCB contaminated soil in an African American community.
4. A 1983 US General Accounting Office study concluded that commercial waste sites are located in low-income and African American communities 75 percent of the time.
5. In 1987, the United Church of Christ's Commission of Racial Justice published *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*. This crucial study found that 60 percent of

black and Hispanic Americans, and almost 50 percent of all Asians, Pacific Islanders and Native Americans live in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites.

6. A 1992 Study by the National Law Journal found that violations of environmental codes were penalized less in minority communities than in white communities and that abandoned hazardous waste sites in minority communities take 20% longer to be placed on the National Priority List of the Superfund program.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the basis on which many statutes were built to go beyond preventing intentional discrimination; currently they can be used to prohibit unjustified disparate impact. This standard also applies to Title VI cases, which prohibits the discriminatory use of federal funds, as was decided in *Alexander v. Choate* 469 U.S. 287, 293 (1985). Under the Fair Housing Act, Title VIII states that the plaintiff must first prove discriminatory impact, and if the defendant can show justification for the behavior, the plaintiff must demonstrate that a less discriminatory alternative was available. Certain land use proposals, such as freeway construction, involve the fair housing act when it affects access to housing by minority groups or if it increases the effect of segregation. Environmental enforcement statutes can also provide the legal bearings for pursuing claims of disparate impact on minority neighborhoods as they can result in increased judicial scrutiny at the level of agency policy and practice (Lee, 1996?).

Lee (1996?) identifies several cases that are more useful specifically in transportation issues as well:

1. Mothers of East Los Angeles, El Sereno Neighborhood Action Committee, El Sereno Organizing Committee, et al. v. California Transportation Commission et al.
2. Clean Air Alternative Coalition v. United States Department of Transportation (N.D. Cal. C-93-0721-VRW)
3. James City Historical Society v. North Carolina Department of Transportation
4. Labor/Community Strategy Center v. Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority (C.D. Cal. CV 94-5936 TJH (Mex))
5. Nettie Thomas et al. v. City of Macon, Georgia, et al.

On April 15, 1997, the Department of Transportation issued its final DOT Order on environmental justice to outline the process by which DOT will integrate the goals of and comply with the intent of Executive Order 12898. The agency uses the framework of existing requirements through the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), Title VI of the Civil rights Act of 1964, the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970 (URA), the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA) and other DOT statutes for regulations and guidance on planning issues, impact

assessment, and public involvement. The Order is meant to reinforce previous attempts (NEPA and Title VI) which require a process for assessing impacts on communities, for developing alternatives, and for taking mitigation measures, ensuring that this process becomes common and consistent practice. As a matter of philosophy, DOT administrators have also determined that existing training courses should be modified to ensure that DOT personnel receive adequate information and strategies concerning environmental justice considerations.

DOT must consider the impacts of individual projects as well as their cumulative effects both on the community at large and on target populations. If proposed mitigation and enhancement efforts do not outweigh the negative impacts to the community in question, DOT requires that activity on the project cease unless more mitigation measures that avoid or reduce the negative effect are not “practicable,” unless it can be adequately demonstrated that there is a substantial need for the program and some agreement with the potentially affected populations can be reached, or unless it can be demonstrated that the social, economic, environmental, or human health impacts of not developing a project are more severe than those associated with the project itself.

Experts on the subject tend to indicate that DOT must consider stronger mitigation and enhancement measures to avoid or minimize impacts to low-income and minority communities when planning projects. A crucial component to determining appropriate mitigation measures is the public participation process in which the community is provided an opportunity to voice opinions, concerns and ideas during the very early stages of project development. Planners are discovering that they need to know the social and cultural characteristics of a community to ensure that its members are adequately represented in the planning process. Early and frequent contact with the neighbors builds their trust in DOT’s intentions and helps the DOT discover their concerns as well as potential problems that may require mitigation. Public involvement from the outset facilitates the ability to avoid problems. Unfortunately, planners find that it is difficult to maintain public interest in projects that break ground many years down the road.

Successful mitigation efforts require an assessment of the impacts to the community. A 1996 booklet printed by the DOT called “Community Impact Assessment: A quick reference for transportation” identifies the key components of the assessment process:

1. Define the Project and Study Area
2. Develop a Community Profile from a Variety of Sources
3. Analyze Impacts (in terms of alternatives which includes “no action”)
4. Identify Solutions to Address Adverse Impacts
5. Use Public Involvement (and document findings)

6. Consider it an Iterative Process (to account for changes in the community over time)

Essentially, the literature and the experts agree that it is imperative that the steps in the process of planning and implementing any project be determined by an integrated effort involving all affected people, including those who live in the community and who work in other agencies, and that the various players are represented at all stages of planning.

Public involvement is crucial in determining successful mitigation strategies. Forkenbrock & Schweitzer (1997) recommend the following guidelines for obtaining public input:

1. Strengthen the role of neighborhood and community based organizations in the planning process; hold community leaders accountable for participation
2. Educate planners on how to actively promote citizen involvement, dealing with specific cultural issues to facilitate communication
3. Use liaison organizations to link neighborhoods on area-wide planning
4. Recognize limitations of traditional public hearings and comment periods
5. Involve minority and low-income populations in the early stages of the planning process
6. Provide information on key issues and changes; make use of advertisements and announcements at prime time

The limitations of traditional public hearings and comment periods and traditional announcement methods contribute to frustrations at both the public and agency levels as projects are delayed due to public opposition after an agency has invested a year or two in a study. One expert said that it is critical to use alternative methods of participation, particularly existing community organizations, to obtain input from low-income and minority populations through personal communication. The role is changing for transportation planners. Successful mitigation efforts often include issues that are not specifically related to transportation; another expert commented that DOT's philosophy in this regard is bending towards helping communities deal with issues that affect them. Their role is sometimes as simple as connecting neighborhoods to the right agencies.

The bottom line is that successful mitigation efforts in the future will be as unique as the communities in which transportation planners want to construct transportation improvements. In order to develop a mitigation strategy that is acceptable to all concerned, thus deemed "successful," individuals and groups must be represented at all stages of discussion and decisions must be shared actions.

APPENDIX C

Minutes of Selected Meetings

June 13, 1997: Community Forum: Kick-Off

Charles Flowers calls the meeting to order and introduces the FIU team. He asks Mr. Irby McKnight to say a few words. He expresses indignation that the meeting was called on a Friday evening; people don't go to meetings on Friday. This tells him that the FIU team does not know anything about the community.

Mr. Flowers introduces Clinton Forbes of the MPO who turns the meeting over to Valerie Patterson and assures the community that his office is open to them to express any concerns or issues (gives the number).

Dr. Valerie Patterson introduces herself, says that Mr. McKnight's concerns have been noted and that all other meetings will be coordinated through the Overtown Advisory Board. She reviews the scope of services and the objectives of the project. She requests the help of the community with the interview process. She announces the award of the subcontract to the Black Archives and Dr. Dorothy Fields. She asks for the community to introduce themselves before the FIU staff introduces itself.

Dr. Dorothy Jenkins Fields introduces herself and the Black Archives. She mentions that she is looking for college students from the Overtown area to help work on the project as interviewers. She states that this is a very important project for the Overtown experience. She introduces her staff, the Director of the Black Archives, Derrick Davis, and the Program Coordinator, Stephanie Wanza, a graduate of Public Administration at FIU.

Attendees introduce themselves around the room. Several express their concerns, mainly similar to that of long-time resident Rosa Green: Hopes this is not like the other proposals; tired of hearing the same thing every year and nothing happening. It only takes a few people who mean what they say and follow through on their words to make the change happen. They don't need any more studies; they need someone to do what they said they would do. "If you came to make a difference, do that."

Dr. Milan Dluhy introduces himself and talks about why the FIU team is in Overtown; more specifically, he talks about how his homestead was destroyed by a freeway in Chicago. He is the project coordinator for the project; Dr. Patterson will be the community outreach coordinator. He introduces the other members of the team and talks about their role in the project.

He informs the community that, based on the public hearings held on the East-West Corridor project, the MPO and F-DOT have decided to go with a different alternative which will not

go through Overtown. Mr. Forbes and Mr. Gary Dunn of F-DOT explain further why this decision was made.

Getting back to our project, Dr. Dluhy talks more about the importance of public participation in the two parts of this project: the correct documentation of the mistakes that have been made in the past; and the possibilities of mitigation with federal and other discretionary funds. Mr. Manuel Noriega says that it is important that we make clear what mistakes have been made and how they came to be so that the community can start to have trust in the officials that are making the decisions. Mr. Forbes says that the community leaders who were at the last public hearing on the East-West project expressed their resistance to having a station built in the Overtown community if it did not also include some economic development dollars. The MPO then decided to look at the other alternatives more closely. This study was developed because Commissioner Art Teele and others wanted to be sure that the impacts of transportation on Overtown would be well documented. Several members of the community expressed their dissatisfaction about the loss of the station through the Overtown community. Dr. Dluhy reminded the community that the other part of this study will provide a list of recommendations for economic development. Dr. Fields talked about proposals for economic development that were developed by eleven of the community groups that were turned down by the MPO who said that they would not do economic development. She asked how these recommendations will be different than theirs and what will we do if the recommendations will fall on deaf ears. Dr. Dluhy replied that our part then can be to facilitate getting those recommendations to people who can do something.

The Reverend Ralph Rawls, pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist Church, said that he is concerned mainly that they are going around in circles and that it seems like they are getting somewhere, but after all the studies, they are right back where they started. Too many meetings have wasted his time. Several other participants express their concerns that there is too much talking and not enough doing. One participant says that he is convinced that the transportation projects have the intent of destabilizing and destroying the community. None of the projects has benefited the community. Economic development will do nothing until the community is brought together. Transportation needs to give back what it took away from the community. Others expressed the concern that the scope of services should be changed because much of it has already been done. Other things should be done instead.

Dr. Dluhy emphasized that the Overtown community needs to come to consensus about what needs to be done. The players need to come to the table and come to consensus so that the MPO and the Commissioners will take action on a specific, agreed upon set of recommendations. He thanks the participants for coming.

October 30, 1997 Meeting

OVERTOWN STUDY: EAST-WEST CORRIDOR UPDATE (SR 836 & I-395)

ATTENDANCE:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PHONE</u>
Ana T. Aruelo (F-DOT)	470-5210
Marjorie Bixby (F-DOT)	470-5229
Mike Ciscar (F-DOT)	470-5201
Dr. Milan Dluhy (FIU)	919-5888
Clinton Forbes (MPO)	375-4507
David Korros (F-DOT)	377-5910
Laura Letson (F-DOT)	470-5218
Kouroche Mohandes (F-DOT)	470-5217
Jo Laurie Penrose (F-DOT)	377-5916
Jill Strube (FIU)	919-5851

** Ms. Aruelo will send Dr. Dluhy a copy of the Cultural Assessment done on this project.

Two segments of the main east-west freeways (SR 836 and I-395) equaling a total of three-miles that run between NW 17th Avenue and the MacArthur Bridge are slated to undergo rehabilitation in the near future; in addition, work will affect I-95 from NW 8th Street in the south to NW 20th Street in the north. Progress was stopped on this project (it was about 65% complete at the time) when it became necessary to halt work on the new MetroRail line because both segments will impact Overtown. However, it is an older freeway with a number of deficiencies, including capacity and accessibility problems to the Jackson Memorial Medical Complex, access from downtown and Overtown going east and west in particular, and a confusing configuration that creates a safety hazard and causes an above-average number of accidents and fatalities as well as a greater cost in losses. The three main categories of problems, then, are: 1. capacity; 2. accessibility; and 3. safety.

Ms. Aruelo and the consultant (not named above?) gave the group an overview of his office's preferred alternatives. In essence, they tried to separate local access traffic from through traffic, providing local traffic on the edges and additional through roads in the center lanes. Of all the alternatives they looked at, this will have the least amount of impact on the residents. On the SR-836 segment, takings will amount to 3.5 acres and will involve the relocation of 21 families. On the I-395 segment, F-DOT will need to take 3.2 acres and to relocate 12 families.

While it is difficult to put an exit off I-395 closer to the interchange due to safety issues, necessary ramp angle, and required height to go over the FEC Railway line, it may be possible to put an exit at Miami Avenue. They are trying to alleviate local traffic congestion on Biscayne Blvd. by routing as many exits on different streets as possible. They are also

recommending an additional entrance (no more Right-of-Way will need to be taken) near NW 8th Street going north on to I-95.

Mr. Korros noted that the current south- and east-bound exits could be routed into the Overtown area through better signage and better timing on stop lights to promote bringing traffic back underneath the freeway and into Overtown. Signage for the Miami Arena appears to have worked well; this may be a good model to use. These kinds of changes may help increase traffic into the commercial streets of Overtown to facilitate its revival. The question was raised about other kinds of remedies for the more social problems that the freeway creates. A study on the possible multiple uses under the interchange was begun, but never got very far. However, the African Stone Park will be going forward.

The consultant remarked that more access is not necessarily better because it can increase the amount of accidents on the freeway itself: the 12th Street area near the Medical Center generates 325 accidents, 2 fatalities, and \$8 million in losses each year, well above the statewide average.

F-DOT participants were very open to recommendations that would involve:

1. a circulation study for both the problems of access between the residential area and the school as well as for the commercial area;
2. better signage; and
3. safety underneath the current structure.

The highest concentration of urban employment in the County is the Jackson Complex. The east-west Metrorail system will include a shuttle system between the Orange Bowl station and the Complex. Riders would also have the option of transferring to the existing Metrorail line and walking or taking the shuttle to the Complex from the Culmer Station.

Dr. Dluhy noted that the parking areas around the Miami Arena could be utilized in an economic development approach; the Overtown Station could become a destination location for a commercial district.