

by the numbers 3

Planning for economic revitalization is just as important as planning for physical revitalization.

Planning always begins with a thorough understanding of the current situation and what led to it. This chapter outlines the results of research conducted by the Dover-Kohl team to better understand the communities that surround both corridors and to identify the problems that have held them back from sharing the prosperity experienced in most of Lee County in recent decades.

DEMOGRAPHICS IN 2000

Compared to the City of Fort Myers:

- Dunbar has larger household size (3.02 versus 2.52 persons per household).
- The Dunbar population is younger (median age is 25.1 years versus 32.4 years).
- Dunbar has lower average household income (\$23,913 versus \$41,649).
- The percentage of the Dunbar population that is African-American is higher than the city as a whole (90.3% versus 32.9%).
- The percent of the Dunbar population with income below the national poverty level is higher than the City of Fort Myers (48.4% versus 21.8%). The statistic for Lee County is 9.7%.
- Dunbar's unemployment rate is much higher than either the City of Fort Myers or Lee County (10.7% versus 6.0%, and 3.7% respectively).

A COMMUNITY POISED FOR TAKEOFF

The Dunbar community meets the following wellestablished criteria for economic development:

COMMUNITY CONFIDENCE:

There is heightened confidence within the community that Dunbar is poised for economic development.

ACCESS TO MARKETS:

Because of its location along the principal corridor (MLK) to the City of Fort Myers, Dunbar has excellent communications with and access to attractive markets throughout the region.

SAFETY AND SECURITY:

According to police statistics, crime has noticeably decreased in recent years. There now is renewed confidence in Dunbar, both as a safe place to invest and as a residential community.

GROWING POPULATION:

According to US Census statistics, between 1990 and 2000, Dunbar's population declined 5.8%, from 9,113 to 8,590.

AVAILABILITY OF CAPITAL:

Public and private capital has shown a willingness to invest in the community. Public capital includes upgrading of both major boulevards, public housing, and other infrastructure. Public capital includes plans for additional housing.

ACCESS TO LABOR FORCE:

At 10.7%, Dunbar's unemployment rate is almost three times higher than the Lee County average The community possesses the labor to drive the community-wide expansion in construction and small business development which is expected to occur over the next few years.

SUPPORTIVE REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT:

The city has an expanded Enterprise Zone and a commitment to support administrative and regulatory changes that will enhance new business development and eliminate zoning practices that have degraded the community.



Buildings in Dunbar, such as McCollum Hall, are waiting for reinvestment.

WHY PEOPLE RELOCATE FROM DUNBAR

As part of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard/ Veronica S. Shoemaker Boulevard study, a group of African-Americans with strong ties to the Dunbar community were interviewed between December 15 and 23, 2005. Respondents, about 33% of whom live outside the community, were presented a list of questions that were previously identified as important "reasons for people to relocate from Dunbar" by a panel of community residents, and asked to select five that they perceived as most contributory. The top five choices identified are shown in Table 1.

Respondents, regardless of where they lived, agreed on the top five reasons for relocating from Dunbar. Especially among persons living outside of Dunbar, "land use and zoning practices that degrade residential communities" and "lack of decent housing that is aesthetically pleasing" were the top reasons selected. Interestingly, the large differential response to "an environment characterized by high levels of crime" suggests that residents perceive it as a less determinant factor in the relocation decision than non-residents. Also, Dunbar residents had a higher opinion of their neighborhood schools, reflecting the equality of a county-wide school system and the local School Board's successful emphasis in the past 15 years on improving in-town schools.

The statistics provide support for the notion of replenishing the housing stock in the Dunbar community. In addition to meeting the needs of residents, there is a demand for suitable and affordable housing by workers in the city of Fort Myers who commute long distances to and from work. The likely mix of housing needs suggest a mixture of affordable and pricier homes.

The research did not inquire if non-residents would return or live in Dunbar if appropriate housing were available. Nevertheless, some persons volunteered that they lived elsewhere because of lack of suitable housing

Table 1: Reasons why some people chose to relocate from Dunbar *		
Questions	Dunbar Residents	Non-Residents
Lack of decent housing that is aesthetically pleasing	79 %	85 %
Land use and zoning practices that degrade residential communities	78 %	92 %
Shortage of suitable and affordable rental accommodation	67 %	73 %
An environment characterized by high levels of crime	61 %	84 %
Better access to quality neighborhood schools for children	57 %	74 %
* The sample consisted of 67 persons identified as Dunbar residents and 32 persons living elsewhere in Lee Co	unty	

Organizations	Dr. MLK Bl	vd. Corridor	VSS Corr	-	Total		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Contractor/Building Supplies	2	2.3	2	7.7	4	3.5	
Government Services *	5	5.7			5	4.4	
Social Services	3	3.4			3	2.7	
Education/Child Care	5	5.7	1	3.8	6	5.3	
Foods: Home/In-Store	16	18.4	3	11.5	19	16.8	
Funeral Services	1	1.1	1	3.8	2	1.8	
Hair Care/Beauty Salon	9	10.3	1	3.8	10	8.8	
Auto Services	8	9.2	2	7.7	10	8.8	
Clothing/Fashions	2	2.3	1	3.8	3	2.7	
Miscellaneous Household	3	3.4			3	2.7	
Churches	12	13.8	6	23.1	18	15.9	
Petroleum/Service Stations	4	4.6			4	3.5	
Trucking/Equipment	1	1.1	1	3.8	2	1.8	
Industrial **	5	5.7	6	23.1	11	9.7	
Health	1	1.1			1	0.9	
Mass Retailer - Fleamaster's ***	1	1.1			1	0.9	
Miscellaneous	9	10.3	2	7.7	11	9.7	
Total	87	100.0	29	100.0	113	100.0	

* Including The Business Development Center/SWF Enterprise Center, which currently houses 15 businesses in a 13,000 square foot building. Current plans envision about 180 businesses in a 40,0000 square foot building.

** Including Pepsi

*** The Fleamasters's Fleamarket occupies 400,000 sq. feet under roof and houses over 900 businesses

DUNBAR BUSINESS PROFILE

There are 113 individual business, civic, social, and religious organizations located along the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard and Veronica S. Shoemaker Boulevard corridors not counting Fleamaster's Fleamarket, which occupies 400,000 square feet and houses over 900 businesses, and the Southwest Florida Enterprise Center (formerly the Business Development Corporation) which hosts 15 businesses (Tables 3, 4, 5).

As shown in Table 2, these MLK and VSS corridor organizations can be further categorized as:

- Social, Education, Government: 14 (12.4%)
- Churches: 18 (15.9%)
- Industrial: 11 (9.7%)
- Other Businesses: 70 (62%)

Over 90% of the individual businesses are small, with 1-5 employees, and owner managed. These include a high percentage of auto repair shops and services, restaurants, bars, mom-and-pop grocery stores, and hair care salons. These businesses are representative of typical inner city African-American communities. However, significant gaps in businesses typical of similar communities exist. Members of the community who participated in the charrette and visited the various work sessions identified many of these. The most noteworthy gaps include:

- Supermarket
- Bank
- Pharmacy
- Fast Foods
- Laundromat
- Video/Music
- Real Estate
- Check Cashing

CURRENT AND RECENT ECONOMIC STUDIES

In recent years, several changes have occurred in the community's business profile. For example, there now exists a Family Dollar store and Western Union, which provides limited financial services and check cashing opportunities. Also, a branch of Family Health Center of Southwest Florida is located along Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard and addresses some of the community health needs. On the negative side, the single community bank located along Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard no longer exists.

Overall, the profile of product needs and business opportunities has not changed dramatically in recent years. According to the 1992 Dunbar Retail Market Study and the 1992 Economic Feasibility Analysis and Business Plan for the Dunbar Shopping Center, the Dunbar community spends \$65 million dollars annually for retail purchases; food items (at home), food items (away from home), clothing/apparel, personal care items, health care items, beer/wines/ coolers, household furnishings, recreational/entertainment, packaged alcoholic beverages, and miscellaneous household items. Of the \$65 million expenditure, less than \$8 million was spent in the community.

The bulk of community shopping still occurs on the community periphery, Palm Beach Boulevard, US 41, and recently, at the new super Wal-Mart located at the intersection of Ortiz and Colonial Boulevard. The community-identified retail and business gaps correlate well with those identified in the 1992 studies, which presented community perceptions of possible entrepreneurial opportunities in Dunbar. The top identified retail and business gaps were:

٠	Supermarket	(79%)
٠	Drugstore/Pharmacy	(98%)
٠	Clothing/apparel	(98%)
٠	Hardware store	(100%)
٠	Fast food store	(85%)
•	Music/Video rental store	(80%)

The 1992 studies also presented community perceptions of the reasons for out-shopping. Then, as now, there was "strong support for economic development and revitalization of the Dunbar community." However, the studies also identified "a sense of abandonment of the community by major commercial interests and, specifically, by the absence of convenient modern retail facilities with ample parking, good security, large inventories, and competitive prices."

The reasons for community out-shopping voiced during the 1992 studies were:

- 1. Limited assortment of product offerings
- 2. Unavailability of one-stop shopping opportunities
- 3. Prices too high relative to stores outside of Dunbar
- 4. Poor management/impolite workers
- 5. Fear for personal security
- 6. Unpainted/unkempt buildings and premises
- 7. Lack of clean, well-lit exterior parking areas
- 8. Loud music, drunks, prostitutes and idlers, and surroundings not free from litter, garbage, and overgrown shrubbery.

Except for items 7 and 8, these are exactly the reasons for out-shopping expressed during this current study.

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Table 3: Individual Business, Civic, Social, and Re	igious Organizations Along MLK Corridor	
Blanding Diamonds	Island Paradise Bar and Grille	Cutters Edge Barber shop
Miracle Fashions	Community Coop Ministries Soup Kitchen	Essence Beauty Salon
Natural Elegance Beauty Salon	West Coast Batteries	Lorenzo Tires
Bryson's Insurance and Bail Bonds	Blake Repair and Tire Services	Pepsi Cola Bottling Plant
City of Fort Myers Utility Center	Family Dollar	Unique Beauty Supply
I Like It Like That Bakery	Allied Recycling	Lee Charter School
Afrocentric Fashions	Western Union	Flint and Doyle
Cold Grills	D and D Convenience Store	Fort Myers Business Development Center *
Promiseland furniture	Magic Touch Beauty and Barber	CITGO Service Station
Boyd's Funeral Home	Shoemaker's Florist	Fort Myers Rescue Mission
Utopia Unisex Salon	Family Health Center	Edison Oil Company
Blossom Child Care Center	Big Daddy's Crab Shack	Fleamaster's Flea Market **
R. L. Dabney American Legion	Pop's Grocery	Daniel's Welding
B and H Tires	Hi-Tech Collision	Forestry Resources
The Ultimate Carwash	Woods Metal Works	Benchmark Corporate Park
Quality Life Center	J and D Grille	Alligator Towing
Cornerstone Ministries	AWF Auction/Dealers Registration	Sunguard Window Tinting
Mildred's Kitchen	City of Fort Myers Public Works	Damron LKQ Corporation
Dunbar Redevelopment	Bucket Mart Certified Slings – Contractors Supply	CITGO Service Station
Dunbar Housing Association	Jerry Scheutz Nursery	SUNOCO Service Station
Dunbar Improvement Association	Metro PCS	Peterbilt
Trans Seafood Mart	Family Food Mart	
* The Fleamasters's Fleamarket occupies 400,000 sq. feet under roof ar	d houses over 900 businesses	
** Including The Business Development Center/SWF Enterprise Center, building.	which currently houses 15 businesses in a 13,000 square foot building. Cu	rrent plans envision about 180 businesses in a 40,0000 square foot

Table 4: Individual Business, Civic, Social, and Re	eligious Organizations Astride the Dr. MLK Jr. Corridor
Friendship Baptist Church	Archie's Barber Shop
Mount Hermon Church	Sam's Foodmart
Mount Hermon Church School	Moses Fast Food
Wright's Grocery	Grocery Store (no longer in business)
Mr Z's Unisex Salon	Church of Jesus Christ of the Apolostic Faith
Palm Discount Grocery	The Apostolic House of God
Dave's Store	The Miracle Prayer Band of Deliverance
Dunbar Christian Preschool	New Gale Baptist Church
St John First Missionary Baptist Church	B-Unique Beauty and Barber Supply
Lincoln Boulevard Church of God	Full Gospel Pentecostal Missionary Baptist Church
Trinity United Methodist Church	Mount Olive AME Church

Table 5: Individual Business, Civic, Social, and Relig	gious Organizations Along the VSS Corridor
Cornerstone Kitchens	Hickson's Funeral Home
Allied Recycling	Paul's Auto Body
Press Printing	Big Daddy's
Storm Safe Manufacturing	Waste Services Inc
Shamrock Electric	New Apostolic Church
Wilderness Yukon	Chaney's Barber and Beauty
Pelliccione Builders Supply	Fellowship Christian Church
A Storage Quarters	Church of Christ
Cameron Ashley Building Products	The New Robinson Chapel
Thompson's Grocery	Palmetto Avenue Church of God
Unity Christian Church	LA Total Fashion
All Star Equipment	Big B #3 Food Store
Dennis Quality Auto Body	Quality Life Academy

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DISINVESTMENT IN THE DUNBAR COMMUNITY

In recent years substantial disinvestment has occurred in residential and commercial Dunbar. This disinvestment is reflected in:

- The large number of vacant lots currently available (Table 6 and 7),
- The relatively low cost of Dunbar residential units compared to elsewhere in Lee County (Table 8), and
- The comments of respondents to a consumer survey which was conducted as part of this study.

Currently, over twenty-nine percent (29.5%) of the lots in Dunbar are vacant. Of this total vacant acreage, 176 acres (36.7% of the vacant lots) are less than 1 acre in size, and 220 acres (45.9%) are 4.50 acres and above. Empirical and anecdotal evidence suggest that people are currently buying the small lots and assembling them into larger parcels preparatory to development.

As shown in Table 8, in 2005 the median price for single family residential units in Central Fort Myers where Dunbar is located was \$145,000, substantially lower than any other Lee County or contiguous market areas. The value of these properties, like those throughout the county, has increased substantially in recent years. For example, between 2004 and 2005, the value of Central Fort Myers homes increased 28%. This compares to a 54% increase for single-family homes throughout Lee County during the same period.

Currently, over 266 acres (40%) of the lots along the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard/Veronica S. Shoemaker Boulevard corridors are vacant (Table 7). Of this vacant acreage, 109.5 acres (41.1%) involve lots under 1 acre in size, and 108.2 acres (40.6%) 4.75 acres and above. The median Central Fort Myers values include both new and older homes. Since the Dunbar housing stock consists of mostly older homes, indications are the values there are substantially below the median shown.

Even though the price of Dunbar real estate is currently lower than comparable properties in Lee County, Dunbar land is no longer cheap. During the latter part of 2005, average sales prices reached the mid-\$40,000 range for typical 15,000square-foot residential lots in nearby Lehigh Acres. In Dunbar, average sales prices varied from \$2 to \$4 per square foot, resulting in average prices from about \$30,000 to \$60,000 for residential parcels of that same size: however. Dunbar parcels of that size can usually accommodate two homes instead of one. Though the number of lots sold in Dunbar in 2006 has been relatively small, the downward pressure on prices seen elsewhere in the county is also evident here, with selling prices declining 15-20%.

There are many factors suggesting that Dunbar is poised for substantial development activity:

- The shortage of affordable homes near down-town Fort Myers;
- The aggregation of vacant Dunbar land into larger developable parcels;
- Efforts by investors to purchase prime Dunbar properties and demolish buildings for later development;
- Relatively low lot prices in Dunbar compared to elsewhere; and
- The frenetic pace of construction of high-priced riverfront condominiums contiguous to Dunbar in downtown Fort Myers.
- As illustrated in Table 1 (Reasons why some people chose to relocate from Dunbar), from

a residential perspective, the reasons for the disinvestment vary from lack of decent housing that is aesthetically pleasing, and perceptions of high levels of crime, to land use and zoning practices that degrade residential communities. From a commercial perspective, the reasons vary from poor merchandising practices by local businesses, absence of capital to upgrade properties to acceptable commercial standards, emergence of mega-retailers on the outskirts of Dunbar, which may provide more economical shopping experiences, and the business disruptions during the widening of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard which both increased the cost of and reduced the economic incentives for conducting business for many local entrepreneurs.

Lot Size	Vac	Vacant Improved			Chu	urch	Pu	blic	Grand Total		
	Lots	Acres	Lots	Acres	Lots	Acres	Lots	Acres	Lots	Acres	
0.00 - 0.24	777	110.43	1595	253.76	23	3.91	127	17.72	2522	385.8	
0.25 - 0.49	132	43.84	358	117.78	14	5.05	39	13.61	543	180.2	
0.50 - 0.79	22	13.10	45	27.41	5	2.85	12	7.77	84	51.13	
0.75 – 0.99	10	8.63	23	20.13	4	3.41	7	6.11	44	38.28	
1.00 – 1.24	11	12.11	15	16.72	1	1.20	4	4.20	31	34.23	
1.25 – 1.49	6	8.45	8	10.63	3	3.96	4	5.38	21	28.42	
1.50 – 1.74	5	8.18	8	13.54	4	6.32	2	3.27	19	31.31	
1.75 – 1.99	3	5.74	8	15.06	0	0.00	0	0.00	11	20.80	
2.00 - 2.24	1	2.24	7	14.61	0	0.00	2	4.23	10	21.08	
2.25 – 2.49	4	9.34	6	13.89	1	2.45	1	2.26	12	27.94	
2.5 – 2.74	2	5.37	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.71	3	8.08	
2.75 – 2.99	1	2.90	2	5.60	0	0.00	2	5.93	5	14.43	
3.00 - 3.24	0	0.00	3	9.23	1	3.06	0	0.00	4	12.29	
3.25 – 3.49	3	10.23	2	6.69	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	16.92	
3.5 – 3.74	3	10.98	2	7.43	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	18.41	
3.75 – 3.99	2	7.66	1	3.83	0	0.00	3	11.48	6	22.97	
4.00 - 4.24	0	0.00	3	12.29	0	0.00	4	16.39	7	28.68	
4.25 - 4.49	0	0.00	1	4.44	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.44	
4.50 - 4.74	2	9.23	4	18.62	0	0.00	2	9.38	8	37.23	
4.75 - 5.00	2	9.73	6	29.57	0	0.00	2	9.82	10	49.12	
Over 5.00	20	201.04	14	165.88	0	0.00	21	361.58	55	728.5	
Total	1006	479.20	2111	767.14	56	32.21	233	481.82	3406	1760.3	
Percent	29.54	27.22	61.98	43.58	1.64	1.83	6.84	27.37	100.00	100.00	

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Lot Size (acres)	Va	cant	Imp	roved		
	# of Lots	Total Acres	# of Lots	Total Acres	Grand Total Lots	Grand Total Acres
0.00 - 0.24	446	61.25	581	90.58	1027	151.83
0.25 - 0.49	90	30.00	163	54.98	253	84.98
0.50 - 0.79	23	13.83	23	14.67	46	51.50
0.75 – 0.99	5	4.42	15	12.96	20	17.38
1.00 – 1.24	7	7.78	5	5.59	12	13.37
1.25 – 1.49	6	8.34	3	4.00	9	12.34
1.50 – 1.74	4	6.57	5	8.13	9	14.70
1.75 – 1.99	2	3.88	3	5.65	5	9.53
2.00 - 2.24	0	0.00	1	2.00	1	2.00
2.25 – 2.49	1	2.45	2	4.71	3	7.16
2.5 – 2.74	1	2.65	0	0.00	1	2.65
2.75 – 2.99	2	5.87	2	5.78	4	11.65
3.00 - 3.24	0	0.00	3	9.21	3	9.21
3.25 – 3.49	1	3.47	0	0.00	1	3.47
3.5 – 3.74	2	7.38	0	0.00	2	7.38
3.75 – 3.99	0	0.00	2	7.62	2	7.62
4.00 - 4.24	0	0.00	1	4.12	1	4.12
4.25 – 4.49	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
4.50 - 4.74	0	0.00	4	18.62	4	18.62
4.75 – 5.00	2	9.58	4	19.65	6	29.23
Over 5.00	7	98.58	6	127.47	13	226.05
Total	599	266.12	823	395.73	1422	661.65
Percentage	42.1	40.2	57.9	59.7	100.00	100.00

- 2004 and 2005							
Median Sales Price (\$)							
2004	2005	Percent change					
169,400	277,485	29%					
175,000	259,900	49%					
212,000	349,900	65%					
180,300	178,500	(1%)					
128,250	188,000	47%					
135,000	204,000	51%					
113,500	145,000	28%					
220,000	374,900	70%					
215,000	325,000	51%					
287,000	419,000	46%					
185,000	284,500	54%					
	2004 169,400 175,000 212,000 180,300 128,250 135,000 113,500 220,000 215,000 287,000	Median Sales Price (\$) 2004 2005 169,400 277,485 175,000 259,900 212,000 349,900 180,300 178,500 128,250 188,000 1135,000 204,000 113,500 145,000 220,000 374,900 215,000 325,000 287,000 419,000					

ANALYSIS OF RECENT DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS: 2000 TO 2005

Table 9 presents summary demographic statistics for Dunbar, the City of Fort Myers, and Lee County. Data are from the 1990 and 2000 US Census. In this analysis, Dunbar is defined as:

- Block Groups 1-2-3-4-5-6, Census Tract 5.02
- Block Groups 1-2-3-4, Census Tract 6

In 2000, Dunbar had larger household sizes, higher unemployment rate, lower average household income, lower educational attainment, and a larger percent of the population with income below the poverty level than either Lee County or the City of Fort Myers.

ACCORDING TO THE 2000 CENSUS STATISTICS:

- The Dunbar population was 8,590 persons. This represented a 5.8% decline in population, from 9,113 in 1990.
- Over ninety percent (90.3%) of Dunbar residents were African-American. This compares to African-American representation in Lee County and Fort Myers of 6.6% and 32.9% respectively.
- Other Dunbar data including comparisons with Lee County and Fort Myers:
- 2,839 households in Dunbar (3.02 persons per household compared to 2.34 in Lee County and 2.52 in Fort Myers).
- 3,069 housing units in Dunbar, of which 40.7% were owner-occupied and 51.8 were renter-occupied.
- 2,780 persons in the labor force, of which 2,482 (89.3%) were employed and 298 (10.7%) were unemployed.
- The average household income was \$23,913. In comparison, the average household income for Lee County and the City of Fort Myers were \$56,642 and \$41,649 respectively.

- Dunbar's population is comparatively young. The community's median age was 25.1 years, compared to 45.2 years for Lee County and 32.4 years for the City of Fort Myers.
- 48.4% of the population had income below the poverty level. This compared to 9.7% for Lee County and 21.8% for the City of Fort Myers.
- Dunbar's level of education was low compared to Lee County and the City of Fort Myers. The distribution by level of educational attainment was: Grades K to 12 49.9%, High school graduate 30.4 %, Some college/no degree 9.3%, and College graduate -10.1%. Equivalent statistics for Lee County and the City of Fort Myers were: 16.7%, 32.5%, 22.6%, 27.1% and 27.4%, 29.2%, 18.2%, 23.3%.

IMPLIED HOUSING TRENDS

Anecdotal comments, and empirical findings, suggest a shortage of housing units currently available within the Dunbar community. Additional units are needed to meet the needs of residents of Dunbar and replace the limited supply of older houses currently available within the community. Dunbar housing shortages also represent an opportunity cost for those City of Fort Myers employees (and potential employees), who because of this deficiency, must commute longer distances for work and entertainment within the city.

Dunbar households are likely to adjust through time to more closely resemble that of the City of Fort Myers. Household sizes will tend to become smaller, less black, more affluent, and more demanding of the better and newer housing choices available elsewhere in the community.

Statistics on the community savings rate and measures of investment potential are unavailable

but may be inferred from the above statistics. For example, the deficit between household income and household expenditures suggest a relatively low saving rate for the Dunbar community. This in turn suggests the need both for substantial public and private infusion of capital, creative financing programs, and social intervention strategies to facilitate upgrade in housing stock, and community revitalization.

		Dur	nbar		Lee County				Fort Myers				
	199	1990		1990 2000		1990 2000			C	1990		200	0
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total Population	9,113		8,590		335,115		440,888		44,759		48,203		
Male	4,318	47.4	3,845	44.8	161,919	48.3	215,504	48.9	21,845	48.8	23,882	49.	
Female	4,795	52.6	4,745	55.2	173,196	51.7	225,384	51.1	22,914	51.2	24,321	50.	
Black	8,805	96.6	7,760	90.3	22,184	6.6	29,035	6.6	13,767	30.8	15,844	32.	
White	218	2.4	298	3.5	306,202	91.4	386,598	87.7	29,360	65.6	27,289	56.	
Hispanic	264	2.9	574	6.7	15,095	4.5	42,042	9.5	3,512	7.9	7,265	15.	
Total households	2,753		2,839		140,123		188,599		18,141		19,104		
Persons per household	3.31		3.02		2.39		2.34		2.47		2.52		
0 to 4 years old	1,085	11.9	1,000	11.6	19,937	6.0	22,970	5.2	3,767	8.4	3,937	8.2	
5 to 19 years old	2,766	30.4	2,735	31.8	52,583	15.7	71,759	16.3	8,855	19.8	10,212	21.	
20 – 64 years old	4,504	49.4	3,970	46.1	179,601	53.5	279,257	53.3	25,008	55.9	27,332	56	
65 years and older	701	7.7	885	10.4	77,281	23.0	112,111	25.4	5,119	13.7	6,721	13	
Median age (years)	25.6		25.1		42.0		45.2		32.1		32.4		
Average household income	\$18,817		\$23,913		\$37,010		\$56,642		\$29,232		\$41,649		
Average household expenditures	NA		NA		NA		NA		NA		NA		
Percent of population with income below poverty level****				48.4				9.7				21.	
In labor force	3,578	89.1	2,780		151,496		193,893		21,943		22,071		
Employed	3,188	11.0	2,482	89.3	144,374	95.3	184,499	96.2	20,549	93.7	20,749	94.	
Unemployed	394	40.1	298	10.7	6,736	4.5	7,232	3.7	1,376	6.3	1,317	6.	
Not in labor force	2,397		2,691	49.2	124,744	45.2	169,927	46.7	12,665	36.6	14,667	39	
Total housing units	3,085		3,069		189,053		245,405		21,238		21,719		
Owner occupied	1,323	42.9	1,249	40.7	101,094	53.5	144,245	58.8	7,800	36.7	7,591	32.	
Renter occupied	1,430	46.4	1,590	51.8	39,032	20.7	44,354	18.1	10,341	48.7	11,513	52	
Vacant	332	10.8	230	7.5	48,928	25.9	56,806	23.1	3,097	14.6	2,615	15	
Education													
Grades K to 12	2,797	60.4	1,974	45.9	56,244	23.0	54,733	16.7	8,950	31.6	8,192	16	
High school graduate	1,121	24.2	1,308	30.4	82,818	33.8	106,480	32.5	8,285	29.2	8,769	16	
Some college, no degree	392	8.5	400	9.3	51,461	21.0	74,119	22.6	5,036	17.8	5,446	9.	
College graduate	320	6.9	435	10.1	54,313	22.2	88,790	27.1	6,087	21.6	6,977	18	
No schooling complete			185	4.3			3,221	1.0			601		
U. S. Census													
** U. S. Census/Poverty Status in 1999 by Age													