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Catherine McCracken Vesey
University of New Orleans

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**Tourism as Community Development: A Comparative Analysis of the
Vieux Carré and the Lower Garden District from 1950 to 1990**

By

Catherine M. Vesey, Ph.D.

Qualifying Paper 1997

College of Urban and Public Affairs
University of New Orleans
New Orleans, Louisiana

Introduction

Tourism is growing in the United States and has been since World War II with the increased availability of inexpensive air travel and more leisure time for the American population. Communities labeled as quaint, old fashioned, or culturally and historically significant are ripe for tourism development. Areas all over the U.S. are experiencing increasing tourism, and towns such as Santa Fe and Taos (New Mexico), Jackson (Wyoming), Camden (Maine), Butte (Montana), and Telluride (Colorado) all have had increasing amounts of development to attract tourists. The resulting impacts on these communities and their residents have been both positive and negative.

This research examines changes in host communities that have tourism as a major source of economic activity. Specifically, it examines changes brought about by tourism development in the Vieux Carré of New Orleans to illustrate how retail activity in the community came to focus more on tourism-oriented services rather than residential ones as tourism escalated. Through a case study design, changes are illustrated by examining types of businesses in the Vieux Carré and in a comparable neighborhood (the Lower Garden District) to demonstrate how businesses have geared themselves towards tourism services rather than residential ones. By doing a comparative study, it is possible to show how increased tourism has influenced New Orleans' businesses development in neighborhoods attractive to the tourism market.

Within this research, the Vieux Carré is examined from a perspective which views tourism developments within unique cultural locales built to attract tourists with little regard of its subsequent impact on the host community. This research contributes to the formulation of a theory of how the fabrication of cultural events is targeted toward consumer relations between

tourists and businesses rather than relations between residents and community businesses and services.

Prior studies of tourism examined the transformation of economies and social changes within the communities that are hosts for tourists. A majority of these studies have examined impacts of tourism in Central and South America, Europe, and Africa (see de Kadt 1979; Kinnaird and Hall 1994; Nebel 1994;). What they demonstrate is the positive impact of tourism development, specifically the increase of revenue for the host city, employment, development of local products and resources, and a greater appreciation of socio-cultural differences between visitors and indigenous people. However, the costs of tourism are inflation, seasonality of employment, and commercialization of culture, religion, local artifacts, and environmental resources (Jafari 1983; Kinnard and Hall 1994; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Neumann 1994; Pearce 1988; Preglau 1983).

Specifically, impacts on a host community are both economic and social (Graburn 1977; Mathieson and Wall 1982). Economically, tourism is a welcome economic development strategy, but this can disrupt indigenous economies. Native people having to obtain cash income abandon their traditional economic system to sell products to tourists. Agricultural production gives way to tourism production, and goods become imported which puts profits in the hands of outsiders (Nash 1977; Robbins 1993). Also, arts and crafts traditions are maintained through the purchase of items by tourists; but there is potential of “trinketization” or “airport art” which negates the authenticity of the product for mass consumption (Graburn 1977; Urry 1990).

On a social level, impacts from tourism add another level of disruption. According to Greenwood (1977), primitive cultures are commodified and presented as parts of themselves for

tourist benefits. For instance, the Masai in Africa charge money so tourists can come into their area, and what is presented to tourists is a caricature of their traditional life. Further, hosts are alienated from their environment during the “on season” because of their inability to live spontaneously in their own community. This objectifies the local as a curiosity for guests (Pi-Sunyer 1977). There is also a separation between tourists and hosts in that tourists go to culturally familiar hotels, bars, and restaurants to be with others like themselves (Nunez 1977). What this creates a front-stage/back-stage component to tourism destinations where tourists are funneled into areas where commercial attractions are provided for their consumption. The front-stage is for the tourist to experience local cultures, while the back-stage is reserved for residents (MacCannell 1976).

Although these issues have been identified by research outside the United States, the same issues are relevant to host communities in the U.S. as well. In fact, studies of American tourism destinations have found the same impacts as in foreign ones (Dorst 1989; Norkunas 1993; Norris 1994; Peck and Lepie 1977). For instance, in the Southwest, Taos Pueblo Indians charge money for tourists to enter the pueblo and sell mass produced pottery and jewelry as their traditional craft work. The focus of the pueblo becomes centered more on the tourist rather than the pueblo itself (Robbins 1994; Sweet 1990).

Although more research is being done on impacts as tourism develops across America, a majority of tourism research focuses on how to attract tourists rather than on the outcome of having a tourism-based economy (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Law 1993). The resulting lack of attention of the impacts of tourism on host communities leaves the tourism industry with free reign on future tourism cities (Pearce 1984). With the overall impact unexamined thoroughly in

American sites, negative consequences can be overlooked or downplayed. As Robbins (1994) states, planning is necessary to ameliorate the differences between the needs of tourists and residents. Without proper studies, future destinations will be subject to the same social and economic problems which have developed in existing tourism-oriented economies.

Research Perspective

Recent examinations of tourism have observed it as a colonializing process which takes place through increased investments made by outsiders in the host community (Nash 1977). Subsequently, profits go to outside investors and the prices of goods and services increase for native residents. Furthermore, locals can no longer afford to support their community because they are paid low wages in service-oriented jobs, so there is a dependence of the community on outside tourists and investors as opposed to its own population for growth and investment (Preglau 1983; Robbins 1994).

One of the most tourism-oriented areas in the United States is the Southwest. Visitors have been going to national parks and historical sites for many years. Some of the most frequented destinations are in New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona. Robbins (1994) writes that tourism is an "extractive industry," and that those people who cater their business to tourists have sold out to money from an outside economy (p. 82). Focusing his analysis on Jackson, Wyoming, Robbins states that the people of Jackson have left the area because the character of the town has changed from a residential community to a resort one. As a result, locals have had to move out of the area to find affordable housing and available goods and services such as grocery stores and other life necessities. Robbins argues that there is no planning for tourism in

tourist areas, there is only the single-minded search of tourist dollars. He states, however, that tourism produces benefits such as a consistent economy and monies for historic preservation; but, he asks if the tourist environment is a trade off between one colonial state for another where cultural artifacts become marketing tools as opposed to artistic or functional tools of the everyday.

One of the most important writers on tourism is MacCannell (1976), who wrote that tourism is a social outcome of modern alienation in a postindustrial society, and the tourist seeks authenticity as a way of regaining the loss of soul. To MacCannell, modern tourism is a contradiction where there is international homogenization of culture for tourists which artificially preserves ethnic cultures and their attractions (1976, 1992). So, what tourists seek is the authentic, but there is little authenticity to what they find.

Private capitalist ventures seek to commercialize what is authentic for profit. In this process, the authentic form is transformed into something synthetic and sold to the masses. In tourism economies, mass production of cultural items benefits private retail and manufacturing ventures, but it robs from the culture its indigenous forms and monies to those who produced them in the first place (Graburn 1977; Norkunas 1993). Further, historical reconstruction offers to tourists a partial picture of the authentic historical moments which tourists seek. In this process, history is altered and commodified as well (Norkunas 1993; Watson and Kopachevsky 1994).

Despite problems identified in previous research, tourism has the potential to revive declining neighborhoods. Areas in urban downtown centers have been losing residents, businesses, and industry as people have fled to surrounding suburbs. The result is that older

neighborhoods have become blighted and left to decay. However, many of these areas hold architecturally significant buildings and historical sites. Renewal efforts to bring them back have made interesting neighborhood changes and are often marketed for tourist consumption. Tourist sites such as Cannery Row in Monterey, California offer visitors an aquarium, shopping, and eateries. Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco as well as South Street Seaport in New York have turned industrial buildings into pedestrian malls with boutiques and restaurants. By renewing older urban areas, residents have relocated as the neighborhoods improved. So, even though there are negative impacts of tourism, positive outcomes have occurred as well.

The differing issues toward the impacts of tourism are applied to the study of the Vieux Carré as a tourism destination. New Orleans has always been attractive to tourists, and people frequented it as a sight-seeing destination even before the Civil War (Asbury 1964). Known for its distinctive culture, food, architecture, music, and its celebration atmosphere, New Orleans has attracted visitors from all over the globe. As a result, New Orleans has marketed itself as a tourism destination, and tourism has become a major source of income, even more so since the decline of the oil industry in the mid-1980s (Tolendano 1983).

One of the problems facing New Orleans, as with other cities with large tourist industries, is the increasing commercialization of the culture which attracts tourists in the first place (Jafari 1983). Furthermore, as communities orient themselves towards tourism, residential services diminish as businesses focus more on tourism consumption. It is argued here that as the Vieux Carré has increasingly turned towards tourism to augment the local economy, there has been an increase of businesses catering toward tourism. It is also argued that an increase of tourism-oriented businesses has come at the expense of businesses catering to residential need despite the

fact that tourism has revitalized the Vieux Carré district.

To provide convincing evidence that tourism has led to the replacement of residential businesses in the Vieux Carré, a rival proposition is examined that tourism is not the major factor for changes in retail trends, but that out-migration has led to the decline of residential businesses. The population of the Vieux Carré has declined in the last fifty years as people have moved to nearby suburban areas. So, changes in types of businesses could be due to a lack of residential support as opposed to increased tourism.

To examine these issues, the Vieux Carré and the Lower Garden District are analyzed to illustrate that retail trends are not due entirely to out-migration, but to increased tourism in New Orleans. Also, increased tourism can enhance urban renewal, but at the same time cost communities residential needs. The Lower Garden District was chosen as a comparative neighborhood because of its similarities to the Vieux Carré: decrease of residents, proximity to river industries, major highways, and local housing projects. Also, both neighborhoods offer unique cultural histories to the New Orleans area. The Lower Garden District contains many architecturally significant buildings as does the Vieux Carré, and it is labeled the Irish Channel for the Irish settled there bringing a unique culture significant to the history of the city. Finally, the Lower Garden District is classified as a National Historical District, but it has not been targeted for tourism like the Vieux Carré has.

Method

For this research an embedded multiple case study design was employed. The unit of analysis was each address in zoned business areas of the Vieux Carré and the Lower Garden

District from 1950 to 1990.¹ Archival records from the Polk City Directories were the source of evidence to examine each address. The streets surveyed in both districts were those zoned by the City Planning Commission for business usage (Appendix I). Maps of the city from 1995 were examined to determine which areas were zoned for industry, commercial, and entertainment businesses.² Addresses were classified as either residential or a type business. The business categories used were those listed in the Standard Industrial Classification Manual for retail trade (Appendix II).

Analysis of the data includes descriptive statistics to examine the main arguments. Through using a matching procedure to compare the two neighborhoods, it is possible to examine the position that there has been an increase of tourist-oriented businesses along with a decrease of residential-oriented businesses in the Vieux Carré despite that increased tourism has revitalized the neighborhood.

To analyze the data, tourist-oriented businesses are conceptualized as places which carry products which are commercialized representations of New Orleans culture for sale. For example, souvenir shops carry Mardi Gras beads and masks, so anyone can purchase these items without having to attend the event itself. Tourism-oriented businesses offering facets of New Orleans culture for sale are defined as souvenir shops, gift boutiques, poster shops, and T-shirt shops. These types of stores sell products such as sexual and drinking paraphernalia, lingerie, voodoo dolls and spell items, bayou art posters and paintings, Mardi Gras products and posters,

¹ These dates were chosen because significant tourism development began after World War II and has continued for the last forty years (Bureau of Governmental Research 1992)

² Maps from earlier years were examined as well and it was found that zoned locations did not differ between 1950 and 1990.

T-shirts with drinking and sexual slogans on them, local music, and local food products such as pralines, chicory coffee and hot sauces. Another type of a tourism-oriented business are hotels which house tourists and offer cultural items in their gift shops and provide lists of stores where tourists can purchase other similar commodities. Further, hotels in traditional Vieux Carré buildings offer historical moments for tourists to consume by staying in an "old fashioned" setting.

Nontourism- or residential-oriented businesses are defined as groceries, bakeries, banks, hardware and housewares stores, drug stores, and other services such as laundry facilities, beauty and barber shops, lawyers, accounting offices, and doctors. Businesses like these are a part of neighborhood communities, and they offer residents services needed for day-to-day living. Further, given that New Orleans is a port city and both the Vieux Carré and the Lower Garden District flank the Mississippi river, many industries are located along in these neighborhoods and offer employment and services to the maritime and oil industries.

Findings and Discussion

Table One illustrates that there has been an increase in tourism-oriented businesses along with a decrease in residential businesses in the Vieux Carré. Tourism services such as hotels, tourist information and museums have increased since the 1950s. Further, entertainment businesses have increased as well. There are more restaurants, burlesque or strip clubs, and music clubs in the 1990s than in previous decades. The number of tourism-oriented retail businesses have also grown: occult shops, adult sex shops, apparel boutiques, and jewelry stores are more prevalent. The most notable increase is the number of art galleries, poster shops, and souvenir shops. In fact, the data demonstrate that a majority of businesses are devoted to selling

tourism- oriented souvenir items such as T-shirts, posters, post cards, and Mardi Gras paraphernalia.

To further illustrate how businesses have catered to tourism in the Vieux Carré, there has been a decrease of residential-oriented businesses. There has been a decrease in groceries, bakeries, and miscellaneous food shops such as candy stores, ice cream and sno-ball stands, food stalls at the French Market, produce and seafood stands, and produce wholesalers. For entertainment, several theaters have closed, and despite increased tourism there are fewer bars in the Vieux Carré than in the past. This could be explained by the increase of restaurants which have utilized more business space in the area and offer alcohol as well.

Retail businesses are less oriented towards providing day-to-day needs than they have been. The number of shoe and shoe repair shops have decreased as well as furniture stores, hardware and housewares businesses, department and drug stores. However, the number of miscellaneous retail businesses have been consistent since the 1940's. The number of leather good shops, fur stores, needlework supplies, lace stores, toys and hobby shops, used clothing, florists, and other types of retail businesses have not changed over the last several decades.

Services offered to residents have decreased as well. There are fewer beauty and barber shops, laundry services, banks, doctors, and political and business associations. However, there has been an increase in lawyers and accountants, but this could be attributed to the growth of these professions in general. Similar to retail trends, miscellaneous services have remained consistent since the 1940s. These services include government offices, radio and televisions stations, printers, newspapers, fur traders, physical fitness facilities, gambling businesses, upholsterers, interior designers, architects, arcades, and bowling alleys. Despite the consistent

amount of miscellaneous services, there have been changes since the 1940s. There is no longer a bowling alley in the Vieux Carré and facilities for radio and television stations have decreased.

TABLE ONE
Businesses in the Vieux Carré from 1950 to 1990

<u>Business</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	14	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Groceries	44	31	4	15	18
Bakeries	3	4	8	3	3
Liquor St.	9	8	26	6	3
Misc. Food	44	34	87	28	20
Restaurants	83	77	75	119	103
Bars	63	71	2	70	53
Coffee Shops	4	3	23	12	5
Adult Clubs	17	10	4	17	15
Adult Shops	0	1	6	5	4
Music Clubs	7	15	4	8	13
Theaters	4	4	32	1	1
Apparel	14	14	11	25	33
Shoes/Repair	9	9	11	5	5
Dept. Store	10	12	2	7	3
Furniture (new)	9	9	59	3	4
Antiques	71	57	6	53	45
Hardware/Appliances	31	21	3	4	3
Drug Stores	6	5	6	3	3
Book Stores	10	9	3	6	8
Stationary/Art Supplies	0	4	10	2	5
Jewelry	10	9	60	22	25
Souvenir	26	32	2	116	135
Occult	3	2	18	5	6
Posters/Framing	1	3	2	34	22
Costumes	3	4	32	2	3
Art Galleries	10	15	28	33	38
Hotels/Motels	21	17	17	33	39
Laundry	24	27	23	16	8
Salons/Barbers	31	27	3	9	8
Financial Services	7	11	11	6	2
Accountants/Lawyers	5	8	2	10	10
Tourism Info.	0	0	1	2	2
Schools	5	2	10	2	2
Museums	7	7	7	11	13
Business Associations	14	6	51	3	3
Freight/Warehouse	34	42	20	16	4
Industrial	42	28	17	15	5
Manufacturing	55	45	22	2	0
Auto Needs	21	19	2	14	7
Fire and Police	3	2		4	5
			724		
TOTAL	755	710		726	679
		<u>1970</u>			

Further, there are no longer government offices, fur traders, newspapers, or as many printers as there were, but there are more recreational facilities, arcades, and personal services such as therapists and gay and lesbian centers.

Other businesses which have declined in the Vieux Carré are manufacturing, industrial services, freight distribution, and warehouses. Much of this phenomena can be ascribed to changes in technology as industries sought more manufacturing space which lead them to seek locations in other parts of the greater New Orleans area. But their removal has led to more tourism-oriented businesses. Many manufacturing addresses were converted to hotels, parking lots, condominiums, and shopping emporiums. For example, Jax Brewery was made into a shopping mall. Furthermore, auto industry services have decreased as well. There are fewer gas stations, mechanics, and car lots than in the past.

What these findings illustrate is that the majority of businesses in the Vieux Carré cater more to tourists than to the residents in the community. There are more entertainment businesses as well as shops selling commercial products of New Orleans culture. Along with the increase of tourism-oriented businesses and services there is a corresponding decrease of residential businesses and services that serve the community by providing day-to-day needs. Additionally, industry provided better paying jobs as opposed to service-sector jobs which often pay only minimum wage.

One of reasons for the decreases of businesses could be due to the decrease of residents in the Vieux Carré and an increase of shopping in suburban areas. The Lower Garden District provides a basis for examining this issue since there has been a decrease of residents in both areas. But, there has been an increase of businesses only in the Vieux Carré district, and most of

this development can be attributed toward increasing tourism.

As seen in Table Two, there is a similar trend of out-migration away from both the Vieux Carré and Lower Garden District. But, when examining Tables One and Three, it is demonstrated that there has been an increase of certain types of businesses in the Vieux Carré while there is a decrease of all types of businesses in the Lower Garden District, with the exception of antique shops and hotels both of which cater to the increasing tourism market in the city. Both districts studied have a large amount of antique galleries supported by both residents and tourists. Antique business owners in the Lower Garden District, unable to afford rents in the Vieux Carré, may have opened shops in an already established good business environment for antique sales. Knowing that tourists and locals alike go to the area, the businesses of the Lower Garden District cater more to antiques than to other residential needs. Furthermore, to support growing tourism in the New Orleans area, there has been an increase of hotels in the Lower Garden District. Most of these businesses are small bed and breakfast type operations as opposed to the Vieux Carré, which has more large hotels.

Tourism also has influenced the Vieux Carré through the conversion of dwellings to apartment units (Table Four). This could be due to the increase of people coming to the community for short period of times and less interest by owners to stay in the community. Also, more money can be made from a building with apartment units as opposed to it being utilized by a single family. Furthermore, there is an increase of addresses that have been removed from the area to make way for larger structures. This suggests that smaller buildings with a multitude of addresses have been replaced by larger ones with a single address. In the case of the Vieux Carré, hotel construction and business expansion have remodeled buildings to accommodate

more

TABLE TWO
Social Characteristics of the Vieux Carré and Lower Garden District Populations

Vieux Carré

Year	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Total Population	10,340	8,445	5,772	5,596	3,991
Percentage White	77.4	76.6	87.4	93.0	93.0
Percentage Non-White	22.4	22.4	11.4	7.0	7.0

Lower Garden District

Year	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Total Population	14,717	13,473	11,743	10,245	7,431
Percentage White	92.0	92.0	49.0	30.0	27.0
Percentage Non-White	8.0	8.0	51.0	70.0	73.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

TABLE THREE
Businesses in the Lower Garden District from 1950 to 1990

<u>Business</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Groceries	28	28	13	9	10
Bakeries	3	2	1	1	0
Liquor St.	9	1	1	1	0
Misc. Food	3	2	0	1	2
Restaurants	15	14	12	5	4
Bars	22	26	18	12	2
Coffee Shops	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Clubs	0	0	0	0	0
Adult Shops	0	0	0	0	0
Music Clubs	0	0	0	0	0
Theaters	2	1	1	0	0
Apparel	1	2	1	1	0
Shoes/Repair	4	2	2	3	2
Dept. Store	2	2	1	1	0
Furniture (new)	4	3	2	2	1
Antiques	4	5	12	16	23
Hardware/Appliances	8	13	4	7	2
Drug Stores	7	2	1	0	0
Book Stores	0	1	1	1	1
Stationary/Art Supplies	0	0	0	0	0
Jewelry	1	1	1	0	0
Souvenir	1	0	0	0	0
Occult	0	0	0	0	0
Posters/Framing	0	0	0	1	1
Costumes	0	0	0	0	0
Art Galleries	0	0	1	1	3
Hotels/Motels	2	2	2	2	6
Laundry	5	9	9	5	4
Salons/Barbers	14	14	9	4	0
Financial Services	5	3	3	3	0
Accountants/Lawyers	0	1	1	4	4
Tourism Info.	0	0	0	0	0
Schools	1	3	1	1	1
Museums	0	0	0	0	0
Business Associations	0	0	0	0	0
Freight/Warehouse	13	14	17	12	2
Industrial	26	33	42	48	28
Manufacturing	5	12	5	5	2
Auto Needs	6	6	8	8	5
Fire and Police	2	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	188	204	171	156	106

people.

Although the data reveal that there is also an increase of apartment units in the Lower Garden District with a corresponding decrease of single-family residential units, this can be attributed to the tearing down of buildings in the area. As seen in Table Four, there is an increase in the address not listed category. This is not due to expansion, but blocks of buildings in the neighborhood have been demolished due to urban abandonment and parking needs for nearby industry. Many buildings in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s provided residential space and businesses. In later years, many businesses closed and more buildings were demolished due to lack a community development. This is in contrast to the Vieux Carré, which has been maintained as a residential community and developed for tourism.

In general, as Table Five demonstrates, there has been a decrease in the population of both neighborhoods with a resulting decrease of residential-oriented businesses in each area. However, for both communities there is an increase of tourism-oriented businesses. This can be attributed to the growth of tourism in New Orleans in general. Especially within the Lower Garden District, where even though it has lost its residents, businesses there have tapped into the tourism market by providing them accommodations and attractions common in the Vieux Carré. However, the tourism business growth in the Lower Garden District is not as substantial as that within the Vieux Carré illustrating that tourism has maintained the economic base of the Vieux Carré, and could potentially revitalize the Lower Garden District in the future. Given that the Lower Garden District is an impoverished neighborhood, attracting tourism to the area could provide an economic boost to the community.

TABLE FOUR
Residential Usage in the Vieux Carré and the Lower Garden District from 1950 to 1990

Vieux Carré

Year	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Single Family Residences	642	580	358	255	143
Apartments	69	129	253	374	401
Boarding Houses	15	19	9	3	2
Not Listed ³	437	418	519	509	620
No Response	3	4	6	3	29

Lower Garden District

Year	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Single Family Residences	452	362	260	186	135
Apartments	9	23	52	72	51
Boarding Houses	0	10	4	6	5
Not Listed	173	201	299	338	401
No Response	0	0	1	6	10

³The Not Listed category was created for those addresses attributed to buildings that were torn down. The category also includes those buildings that were modified to either create multiple addresses from one or from one address to several.

TABLE FIVE

Percentage Changes of Businesses and Population in the
Vieux Carré and the Lower Garden District

	Vieux Carré	Lower Garden District
Residential-Oriented Businesses	-15.58	-24.0
Tourism-Oriented Businesses	+32.4	+27.28
Total Population	-61.0	-49.5
White Population	+15.6	-65.4
Non-White Population	-14.4	+65.0

Conclusion

The focus of this research has been to examine the proposition that as the Vieux Carré district has utilized tourism to augment the local economy there has been an increase of businesses catering to tourism. Further, it is proposed that tourism has the ability to revitalize declining neighborhoods, but it comes at the cost of residential needs.

The findings of this study reveal that there are more tourism-oriented businesses than residential ones in the Vieux Carré. To counter the argument that residential decline is attributable to the decrease in community based businesses, a comparison was done to a similar neighborhood only to show that the Lower Garden District experienced a decrease of both residents and businesses with no resulting redevelopment to sustain the community. This is in contrast to the Vieux Carré, which has had an increase of development despite a decrease in residents.

Given the findings, it can be argued that tourism development is way to regenerate a community. Due to increased tourism in the Vieux Carré, there has been increased redevelopment, commerce and preservation of historical structures. Tourism development could potentially do the same for the Lower Garden District and there have been efforts to attract tourists to the neighborhood. This could be the beginning of the revitalization of the area if tourism businesses continue to emerge. But, this could be potentially problematic for the community as well, because the redevelopment in the Vieux Carré district focuses more on businesses which center on attracting tourism dollars by selling products reflecting aspects of the local culture, rather than providing goods and services to maintain the residential character of the neighborhood. For instance, there are more T-shirt shops and poster and art galleries than there

are any other type of business in the district.

Lastly, it can be argued that even though tourism can revitalize neighborhoods in declining urban areas, the increase of businesses catering to tourism commercial demands has the potential to create a false cultural environment where tourists are presented with a front-stage version of local culture while residents are pushed into back-stage regions with little to no day to day amenities. As seen with the case of the Vieux Carré, there has been a revitalization of the neighborhood as tourism development has increased, but there are fewer businesses to meet their needs. Additionally, with the increase of businesses to appeal to tourists, there are more commercial enterprises representing images of local culture. What this illustrates, and can be a source for future research, is that although tourism can be beneficial for communities, there is price as the culture is commercialized for tourism consumption. For what makes a destination appealing is its local cultural elements, not its commercial portrayal through trinkets, t-shirts and souvenirs. As commercial enterprises increase, commercial portrayals have the potential to alter local cultures, which can influence the future of tourism altogether. Therefore, communities reliant upon tourism need to ensure that while revitalization takes place, attention also needs to be given to residential life as well to counter potential encroaching tourism commercialization.

APPENDIX I

<u>Street</u>	<u>Business Zones</u>
Annunciation	Erato to Felicity
Bienville	River to Rampart
Bourbon	River to Rampart
Chartres	Canal to Ursulines
Chippewa	Race to Felicity
Conti	River to Rampart
Decatur	Canal to Esplanade
Dumaine	River to Rampart
Erato	River to Annunciation
Euterpe	River to Annunciation
French Market	Ursulines to Barracks
Iberville	River to Rampart
Magazine	Erato to Jackson
Market	River to Annunciation
Melpomene	River to Annunciation
North Rampart	Canal to Esplanade
North Peters	Canal to Esplanade
Orange	River to Annunciation
Orleans	Royal to Rampart
Prytania	Clio to Felicity
Race	River to Annunciation
Religious	Race to St. Mary
Richard	River to Annunciation
Royal	Canal to Ursulines
South Peters	Thalia to Tchoupitoulas
St. Peter	River to Rampart
St. Louis	River to Rampart
St. Thomas	Race to Felicity
St. Philip	River to Rampart
St. Ann	River to Rampart
Tchoupitoulas	Thalia to Jackson
Terpiscore	River to Annunciation
Thalia	River to Annunciation
Toulouse	River to Rampart

KEY: The borders for the Lower Garden District are the US 90, Prytania, Jackson, and the Mississippi River. For the Vieux Carre, the borders are Iberville, Esplanade, North Rampart, and The Mississippi River. Zoned business areas were taken from the 1995 City Planning Commission Map. They include the Vieux Carre entertainment and commercial districts, and Lower Garden District industrial and commercial zoned areas.

APPENDIX II

RETAIL TRADE

00	No Return
01	Residential/Private Households
02	Vacant
03	Hardware/Building Materials
04	Department Stores
05	Grocery Stores
06	Vegetable Stands
07	Bakeries
08	Seafood Stands
09	Misc. Food Stores
10	Gas Stations/Auto Repair *
11	Clothing/Apparel Men, Women and Children
12	Shoe Stores/Shoe Repair/Shoe Shine Parlors *
13	Misc. Clothing Stores
14	Furniture Stores - new merchandise
15	Appliances/Electronics
16	Records/Tapes/CD Stores
17	Musical Instrument Stores
18	Restaurants
19	Bars
20	Burlesque/Strip Joints *
21	Adult Sex Stores/Pornography *
22	Coffee Shops *
23	Drug Stores
24	Liquor Stores
25	Used Merchandise Stores/Antiques
26	Sporting Goods
27	Book Stores - new/used
28	Stationary/Art Supply Stores
29	Jewelry Stores/Jewelry Repair *
30	Hobby/Toy/Game Stores
31	Camera/Photography/Photo Studios *
32	Gift/Novelty/Souvenir Shops
33	Leather Goods
34	Needlework/Sewing Shops
35	Florists/Garden Supplies
36	Tobacco Shops
37	Newsstands
38	Optical Supplies
39	Misc. Retail
40	Hotels/Motels
41	Rooming and Boarding Houses
42	Laundry Services
43	Beauty Services/Barber Shops *
44	Funeral Services
45	Accountants/Lawyers *
46	Misc. Personal Services
47	Misc. Business Services
48	Physical Fitness/Spas
49	Coin-Operated Amusements/Arcades

50	Occult Shops *
51	Gambling/Bookies/OTB/Pool Halls *
52	Tourist Information Services *
53	Misc. Amusement and Recreation Services
54	Doctors/Dentists/Chiropractors
55	Schools
56	Libraries/Research Centers *
57	Museums/Historical Collections/Historical Houses *
58	Family Social Services
59	Religious Organizations
60	Business/Political Associations *
61	Misc. Services Not Classified
62	Freight Distribution/Warehouse/Wharfs *
63	Industrial Supplies/Services *
64	Fire Stations/Police Stations/Post Office *
65	Parking
66	Costumes/Mardi Gras Supplies *
67	Manufacturing/Factories *
68	Hospital/Nursing Homes *
69	Art Galleries/Studios *
70	Poster Shops/Framing Shops *
71	Used Clothing Shops *
72	Apartments
73	Music Club/Lounge
74	Banks/Financial Services
75	Animal Care Services/Pet Stores
76	Under Construction
77	Car Sales
78	Public Service Station *
79	Food Market Stalls *
80	Theaters
81	Housewares/Household Services
82	Printers/Newspapers *
83	Rail Road Stations

KEY: An (*) denotes changes made from the SIC Listings. Some similar types of businesses were collapsed into one category, and businesses not classified in the SIC Manual, but were listed in the City Directories were added (for example, costume shops and strip clubs).

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