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**Heritage Tourism and Urban Destinations:
A Local Economic Development Strategy**

A Plan B Paper

Jenelle Collins

August 2000

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**HERITAGE TOURISM AND URBAN DESTINATIONS:
A LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY**

By

Jenelle Collins

A PLAN B PAPER

**Submitted to Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

MASTER OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

**Department of Geography
Urban and Regional Planning Program**

August 2000

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

1. INTRODUCTION

Travel has always been a part of human behavior. Throughout history, people have traversed the globe by foot, horse, covered wagon, steamship, train, automobile, plane, and many other forms of transport. As the world's technology has advanced, most specifically in terms of communication and transportation, the early random traveler has evolved into a member of the mass tourism industry. The industry has become not only the physical journey from Point A to Point B, but embodies the formal understanding, definition, and organization of the entire commodity that is the tourist experience. This experience represents the consumption of tangible goods and services (food, transportation, lodging) as well as the intangibles (education, emotion, quality of life) while supporting numerous occupations (travel agents, tour guides, food service, hotel staff). Tourism is a balance of emotive encounters within the realm of blatant consumerism.

As today's fastest growing industry with worldwide traveler expenditures exceeding \$4 trillion during 1999, it is an understatement to say that tourism is a lucrative business with significant economic importance (Edgell 1999, 14). Domestic travel volume in the United States reached over a billion person trips in 1998 (<http://www.tia.org/press/fastfacts3.stm>). In the US economy, tourism is the third largest industry, the second largest employer, and the largest services export (Edgell 1999, 14). Despite these notable statistics, the study of tourism is rarely taken seriously by those outside of the profession. After all, it is basically a leisure activity and the notion of analyzing pleasure seems rather senseless. It is because of this misrepresented viewpoint that tourism "just happens" in many communities much to the resentment and detriment of the local government, residing population, and the built and natural environments. A better understanding of the diverse economic and social benefits produced by tourism will allow individual communities to develop appropriate, agreeable strategies using existing assets to create a considerable revenue source. "A well-managed tourism program improves quality of life as residents take advantage of the services and attractions tourism adds. It promotes community pride, which grows as people work together to develop a thriving tourist industry" (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1993, 3).

1.1 Purpose, Need, and Hypothesis

This paper explores the aspect of tourism, specifically heritage tourism to urban destinations, as an economic development strategy. This strategy affords opportunities to communities that respect and preserve their history for the benefit of both local residents and visitors. Development opportunities created

by heritage and urban tourism provide economic advantages and diversification while contributing to a community's *sense of place* and overall quality of life. The purpose of this study is twofold:

1. To determine how the partnering of historic preservation and tourism can become a viable and significant contributor to a community's local economic development.
2. To determine what qualities enhance a city's position as an urban tourist destination.

From this purpose, the hypothesis is derived:

1. Successfully implemented heritage tourism, defined as tourism where indigenous resources are merged to promote history and conservation, has the ability to generate economic prosperity, development opportunities, and improve the quality of life for its host community.
2. Historic preservation maintains a community's character, identity, and sense of place, qualities that are necessary to attract visitors in the establishment of an urban tourist destination.

"The economic benefits of tourism are often discussed but are seldom fully appreciated" (Edgell 1999, 15). Tourism is a means to economic development and revitalization, as is historic preservation; both contribute to the local economy. The need for this study hinges on the fact that the symbiotic inter-relationships among heritage and urban tourism, historic preservation, and economic development are a relatively unexplored dynamic. Historically, planners and municipalities have not viewed tourism as a function of the city and not within the scope of their responsibilities. "Perhaps foremost is the lack of understanding of tourism ... at the local level. It is often thought of as the business of someone else or merely ignored completely" (Gunn 1997, 1). Because tourism is generally considered a peripheral activity, not fundamental to the city itself, potential economic development opportunities are not seized and optimal capital gain is not often fully recognized.

1.2 Methodology

The purpose and hypothesis proposed in this study are supported by several research methods including a review of literature on the topics of tourism planning, urban tourism, heritage tourism, historic preservation, and local economic development. Existing statistical research includes data from the Travelscope Survey conducted for the Travel Industry Association of America (TIA). This *Profile of Travelers Who Participate in Historic and Cultural Activities* was published in 1997 for travel during 1996. This paper also features a profile of New Orleans as an example of an urban destination that capitalizes on its

history, culture, and unique built environment to attract visitors, making tourism a pivotal factor in the City's economy. The case study is used to apply theories and concepts described in the literature review to a practical example. Included in this profile is a summary of two personal interviews conducted by the author with professionals, independent of one another, working with New Orleans' historic preservation efforts and travel industry. All of these methods endorse the affirmation of the proposed hypothesis.

1.3 Limitations of the Study

Economic development, tourism, and historic preservation are very complex entities in their own rights. This paper does not attempt to explain all facets of each subject. Rather, this paper predominately concentrates on the economic benefits of heritage and urban tourism and the characteristics that constitute a tourist destination. The intangible benefits of tourism are briefly referred to, but not fully researched due to the time constraints and this report's narrowed scope. Historic preservation is mentioned frequently throughout this paper. However, the purpose of this study is not to explain the economic benefits of preservation, although there are many. In this paper, historic preservation is described as a means to strengthen an urban tourist destination and, therefore, a part of a local economic development strategy.

1.4 Organization

This paper consists of five chapters. *Chapter 1 – Introduction* provides a brief, rudimentary description of the evolution of travel and the tourism industry and presents the purpose and need for this study. *Chapter 2 – Review of Literature* is the foundation of this report. This chapter introduces the terminology used throughout the paper as well as the economic development, tourism, and historic preservation concepts with appropriate existing research findings that support the purpose and hypothesis. *Chapter 3 – Case Study: New Orleans* is a profile of an urban destination, New Orleans, Louisiana, with an economic dependence on tourism. In addition to this dependence, the preservation of New Orleans' built environment, local customs and heritage, and the City's sense of place are critical in its ability to maintain its position within the tourism industry. *Chapter 4 – General Findings* reviews the purpose of this research, re-states the hypothesis, and summarizes the relevancy of the case study to the concepts introduced in the literature review. *Chapter 5 – Conclusion* closes with some ending remarks and suggests directions for future study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Chapter 2

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As stated earlier, the study of economic development opportunities created through urban and heritage tourism has been relatively ignored. However, a few authors, mostly European, have approached the subject and published materials concerning to this type of tourism development occurring in, appropriately, cities in Europe where history is revered as the basis of most travel activity. With regard to the United States, "until recently, critics did not believe the nation was old enough to value its past. Within the nation, the drive toward business, industry, and progress was so strong that many citizens saw no reason to protect older buildings and artifacts" (Gunn 1997, 27). This chapter summarizes the terminology, concepts, and existing research findings associated with the two fundamental perspectives of this paper – the economics of tourism and the characteristics of a destination.

2.1 Terminology and Definitions

Local economic development is a process whereby local governments or community-based organizations work to create or sustain business activity and employment. The primary goal of this activity is to encourage development and opportunity that improves the community's *quality of life* while capitalizing on existing assets and resources. Quality of life is a contrived rating that assembles a wide range of citizen concerns into a subjective image assessment.

"In many respects tourism is the geography of consumption outside the home area..." (Law 1993, 14). The term *tourism* encompasses day travel as well as extended trips for all purposes. The World Tourism Organization defines the term *visitor* as any person visiting a location, away from home, for any reason. A *tourist* is a temporary visitor staying for any reason, business or pleasure, at least 24 hours in the place visited while a visitor staying less than 24 hours is an *excursionist*. In the United States, a tourist is generally referred to as one who is traveling for pleasure (i.e. "on vacation"). In this report, the terms *tourist* and *traveler* will be used interchangeably to describe those partaking in travel for leisure and recreational purposes.

Urban tourism is travel to a major city. "Large cities are arguably the most important type of tourist destination across the world" (Law 1993, 1). Amenities such as museums, shopping, theaters, history, architecture, and professional sports found in large cities, initially developed for the high standard of living of local residents, draw a large visiting population. The city's status itself as a center of culture, education, and physical development provide the *urban sense*

sought out by urban tourists who are drawn to places of historical, cultural, architectural, and ethnic importance.

Historic preservation is “the careful management of a community’s historic resources; avoidance of wasted resources by careful planning and use; the thrifty use of those resources” (Rypkema 1994, 5). Preservation assists in the establishment and maintenance of a community’s *sense of place* (unique attributes that distinguish it from all other places), reinforcing its distinctive character, and providing a way for local residents and visitors alike to rediscover the past.

Tourism and preservation have historically been perceived as mutually exclusive entities. However, according to Arthur Frommer, tourism aficionado and author of many travel guidebooks, every travel study pertaining to motivations indicates that “interest in the achievements of the past is among the three major reasons why people travel” (*Preservation Forum* quoted in Beaumont 1996, 17). The Travel Industry Association of America defines a *heritage tourist* as one who includes a visit to a historical place or museum. The synergy between tourism and historic preservation creates a powerful economic development strategy benefiting both the host community and the traveler. The outcome of this synergy is *heritage tourism*, where indigenous resources are merged to promote history, conservation, and economic development.

2.2 Economic Development Strategy

“... urban researchers have substantially ignored this link between consumerism, tourism and cities. They appear to be embarrassed, or at best disbelieving, that a ‘real’ city could be devoted to such frippery. ‘Real’ cities have ‘real’ industries like manufacturing, or at best, financial and commercial services” (Mullins 1999, 2003). Despite this dated viewpoint, tourism has emerged as a feasible local economic development strategy equivalent to business attraction, creation, retention, and expansion. In a service-driven economy with an aging population, possessing more discretionary time and income than previous generations, the trend in tourism industry growth is predicted to continue at rates ahead of other industries within the US economy.

“Cities must perpetually strive to attract economic growth or else they will face the prospect of decline” (Law 1993, 20). As the nation has become deindustrialized and the perpetual trend of suburbanization has continued, major US cities, especially those heavily dependent on manufacturing, mining, and other declining industries, have experienced devastating economic and fiscal plight. In an effort to combat this hardship, many of these cities have instituted tourism as a way to diversify their local economies. “The promotion of culture and tourism quickly became a principal component of the new economic development strategy. In assessing their prospects, mayors knew that the

central cities would never regain their dominance in manufacturing” (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 35).

Tourism is an export subject to the economic forces of supply and demand. Like most industries, tourism provides a revenue source for the host community and employment opportunities for local residents. A location’s ability to become a tourist destination hinges on its comparative advantage over competing communities, relative to its attributes and targeted customer base.

2.2.1 *Supply and demand*

Tourism is driven by the two classic economic factors, supply and demand. Demand is simply the segment of the population that has the interest in and ability to travel. This paper focuses more on supply, the tourism product, which includes a destination’s natural and built environment, attributes, infrastructure, overall feeling of hospitality, and “all of the physical development and programs that provide for the needs and desires of travelers” (Gunn 1997, 31). Essentially, tourists comprise demand; destinations constitute supply. As with any industry, in order to achieve optimal benefits from tourism, there needs to be a reasonable balance between these two economic factors.

When considering the supply and demand alliance in tourism, most often it is the demand side that receives the majority of the attention. A possible explanation for this is that the demand deals with the travelers. The travelers’ interests and motivations are matched with available supplies, which are then extensively marketed and promoted. There exists a profession of destination marketers that do nothing else but sell a destination. Convention and visitors bureaus, chambers of commerce, cruise lines, travel agencies, hotels, tour companies, and the like employ these professionals. Their job descriptions do not include anything related to the quality or sustainability of the tourism supply, only to make the destination look and seem attractive to potential customers. Again, as mentioned in the introductory chapter of this report, municipalities do not ordinarily consider tourism as a function of the city. Therefore, the supply side of tourism that includes the value and quality of a city’s indigenous built and natural environments are misunderstood because, generally, no one claims responsibility for it and necessary time and resources are not expended on its development or management. Yet, the supply side variables of tourism are indicative of a location’s ability to become a tourist destination.

2.2.2 *Exporting the tourism product*

“Cities are sold just like any other consumer product” (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 4). However, the *product* is not a tangible good, but a sociocultural experience or collection of experiences. A location’s product, which is actually a service, is its attractions and general level of consumer appeal and interest. The experiences encountered by tourists, positive or negative, depend on the development of the attractions and the travelers’ personal preferences.

The conventional definition of an export is “the amount and value of goods and services produced in one place that are sold and shipped to another place” (Kotler, Haider, and Rein 1993, 261). In this same mindset, exports are considered “hard goods.” It is assumed that services are much less exportable than manufacturing. However, that is not true; in terms of the balance of trade, services have the same relevance and exportability as material products. Tourism is sometimes referred to as an invisible export, where the experience is the export. Invisible in the sense that as an export, it is not produced, packaged, shipped, or received like a hard good. The market (tourists) brings itself to the product (destination) at the point of sale for consumption within the seller’s domain. Unlike a typical export, the product never leaves its place of origin.

On-premises consumption creates additional opportunities for selling other goods and services. Outside the realm of direct tourism-related products such as transportation, lodging, meals, and entertainment, tourists make use of other peripheral goods and services not typically associated with the tourism industry – banking services, medical services, auto repair, apparel sales, etc. Additional income created through these purchases made by the visiting consumer would not exist without the onset of tourism.

2.2.3 *Employment*

The tourism industry generated a total of 16.9 million jobs in 1998, 7.5 million direct and 9.4 million indirect. Since 1990, employment created by travel has grown by 27.7 percent compared to the 19.6 percent increase in total non-agricultural US employment (<http://www.tia.org/research/employ99.asp>). Currently, tourism is the second largest employer in the United States with the promise of increasing employment opportunities into the 21st century (Edgell 1999, 16).

Industry	Forecast Growth in Employment 1996-2006
Travel	21%
Construction	9.30%
Manufacturing	-1.90%
Mining	-22.80%

Table 1. Employment growth forecasts for major industries in the US economy (<http://www.tia.org/research/employ99.asp>).

After years of high employment rates concentrated in the manufacturing industry, critics are quick to discount tourism as a serious employment contender in the US economy because of its nature and tendency to employ those in the services industry. Jobs in the services industry are perceived as being low paying, part-time, and seasonal with little or no opportunity for growth and advancement. However, the myths and stereotypes of these types of positions continue to

evolve. With the exception of finance, insurance, and real estate, average hourly earnings in the services sector have increased at a rate faster than wages in all other industries. This rate of increase over the past ten years is at nearly 37 percent for the services industry versus just over 32 percent for all other private employers (<http://www.tia.org/research/employ99.asp>).

Tourism trumpets a variety of flexible employment opportunities in its many segments. These various opportunities are appropriate to and representative of the world's diversified economy and labor force. Contrary to popular belief, high compensation positions do exist throughout the travel industry, requiring formal education, skills, and training. The forecast increase for these types of executive positions is 29.3 percent by 2006, as compared to 14.8 percent for employment increase in the overall economy (<http://www.tia.org/research/employ99.asp>).

The US Department of Labor estimates that minorities, women, and immigrants now comprise 80 percent of new entrants into the workforce (Edgell 1999, 17). These groups tend to experience the greatest difficulty in securing employment. The travel and tourism industry will play a key role in alleviating this hardship. With its diversity in employment levels, tourism offers a range of job opportunities for those just entering the workforce and reduces their probability of dependence on public assistance. Without the tourism-created employment, the US unemployment rate for 1998 would have been ten percent. Because of tourism, the actual national unemployment rate was between four and five percent (<http://www.tia.org/research/employ99.asp>).

Like tourism, historic preservation is labor intensive. In a typical historic preservation project, between 60 and 70 percent of total project costs are dedicated to labor; new construction projects tend to allocate only 50 percent of total costs to labor. Each preservation undertaking generally creates five to nine more construction jobs than new construction, while prompting an additional 4.7 jobs elsewhere in the community. Labor is usually hired locally and "those individuals, in turn, spend their wages locally" (Rypkema 1994, 14).

2.2.4 *Income*

Tourism embodies all purchases of goods and services by travelers, which most often includes expenditures made on transportation, lodging, meals, and attractions/entertainment. Direct spending by domestic and international travelers in the United States totaled nearly \$519 billion in 1999, which is almost a five percent increase from 1998 and equal to over five percent of the gross domestic product. Additionally, this travel generated approximately \$87 billion in federal, state, and local government tax revenue for the year (<http://www.tia.org/press/fastfacts1.stm>).

Tourists introduce outside money into a community, adding new rather than recycled dollars to the local economy. It is not just the initial investment made by

tourists/consumers that is of importance, the number of times that same investment is re-spent within the host community is of greater importance. This is called the *multiplier* amount or effect. For instance, money spent by tourists at a hotel contributes to the salaries of the hotel staff, which they used to purchase groceries for their families, an employee of the grocery store takes a portion of his wages to pay the plumber for his services, and the cycle continues. The original money spent by the tourist progresses through the local economy generating more economic activity than the amount initially spent. The more often the dollar “turns over” in a year, the higher the multiplier. Thus, the higher the multiplier, the better economic effect on the community. The extent of the tourism multiplier varies by location. On a national scale, it is likely to be between two and four. Meaning, a dollar spent on tourism will increase the US gross national product by somewhere between two and four dollars (Edgell 1999, 18).

Traveler Spending in the US 1990 - 1999 (in billions)			
Year	US Resident Traveler Spending	International Traveler Spending in US	Total Travel Spending in US
1999	\$445.6	\$73.0	\$518.6
1998	\$424.0	\$71.3	\$495.3
1997	\$407.6	\$73.3	\$480.9
1996	\$386.1	\$69.8	\$455.9
1995	\$360.4	\$63.4	\$423.8
1994	\$340.1	\$58.4	\$398.5
1993	\$323.4	\$57.9	\$381.3
1992	\$306.0	\$54.7	\$360.7
1991	\$296.1	\$48.4	\$344.5
1990	\$290.7	\$43.0	\$333.7

Table 2. Travel Industry Association of America, US traveler spending
(<http://www.tia.org/press/fastfacts2.stm>).

2.2.5 Comparative advantage

Comparative advantage is the economic theory that locations, be it countries, states, regions, counties, or cities, will produce and export the goods and services in which they possess an advantage in terms of land, labor, natural resources, technology, or other factors. Comparative advantage is also applicable in tourism. As identified earlier, a destination's *product(s)* are its features and attractions – favorable climates, sandy beaches, scenic landscapes, historic monuments, shopping and entertainment, outdoor activities, etc. A city becomes a travel destination when it uses these features to attract consumers. Some locations are more likely to become destinations than others. For instance, tourism is an annual \$2 billion industry in the Florida Keys because of the natural beauty and warm climate. The Keys have an advantage over Duluth, Minnesota, when it comes to attracting the sunseeking tourist. Cities with a profusion of historic buildings and artifacts like Charleston, South Carolina, or,

later profiled in this report, New Orleans, Louisiana, prevail with the heritage tourist over relatively “new” cities like Las Vegas or suburban areas.

2.3 Economics of Historic Preservation and Tourism

Due to the fact that cities’ economic bases shifted in the 1980s, attitudes toward the tourism industry somewhat followed suit. Tourism became acknowledged as a means for temporarily or chronically depressed cities to recapture some economic prosperity in a growth industry while revitalizing for current and future residents. In the United States, the strategy to capture the tourist market was almost formulaic. Cities constructed convention centers, ostentatious hotels, festival marketplaces, domed stadiums, aquariums, and redeveloped waterfronts, quite often with public money and considerable tax breaks to private investors, in an effort to spruce up the aesthetics and attract attention. In the past few years, the trend has continued to include casinos and creative ways to legalize gaming in certain areas. City after city has used this perceived tourism generating template, often with marginal success.

In many large cities around the United States, historic preservation has been central to an overall economic development strategy. A few years ago, economic development professionals around the country were asked to name cities with the most successful economic development efforts. Of the 20 cities most often cited, 15 were among the cities with the greatest amount of historic rehabilitation activity nationally. On the other hand, of those large cities that have had the least success in attracting and maintaining investment and jobs over the last 20 years, most also have dismal records in historic preservation (Rypkema 1994, 16).

Cities, and to some respect mainstream America, are now realizing what advocates have been declaring for years – that historic preservation does make good economic sense and is one of the more successful revitalization strategies. In terms of tourism, the popularity of contrived environments and manufactured amusements of places such as Disney World or Las Vegas does not interest all demographics. “... tourists do not always want to be humored or amused. Instead they often seek immersion in the daily, ordinary, *authentic* life of a culture or place that is not their own” (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 7). Enter urban tourism via historic preservation. In addition to drawing residents and businesses, “historic resources are among the strongest community assets for attracting visitors” (Rypkema 1994, 77). Although long-standing with travelers in Europe, heritage tourism to urban destinations is a relatively new concept in the United States. Most cities have a stock of buildings with varying degrees of historic architectural integrity; these buildings are a part of a city’s charm, ambiance, and overall attraction. “Among cities with no particular recreational appeal, those that have substantially preserved their past continue to enjoy tourism. Those that

haven't receive no tourism at all. It is as simple as that" (Arthur Frommer, *Preservation Forum* quoted in Rypkema 1994, 80).

2.4 Urban Attraction

US cities grew in size and status during the early 20th century. They became centers of cultural life for the American population in terms of education, art, architecture, history, and commerce. "Tourists were attracted to urban places, for only there could modern life be seen in its most abundant flowering. In the cities, fads and fashions bloomed. Cities were vast gardens of visual delight" (Jakle 1985, 245).

This notion is applicable to the urban tourists of today as cities, despite the patterns of suburban growth, still remain the centers of cultural life offering amenities and experiences not available in suburbs or rural areas. Many cities have incorporated tourism into their downtown revitalization plans with the construction of sports stadiums, convention centers, hotels, aquariums, and casinos all competing for a share of the tourists' dollar and contributing to the individual city's tourism industry and level of appeal. Amidst the amenities and experiences contrived by formal means (i.e. professional sports, art museums, eclectic restaurants), there exists a non-quantifiable sense created by cities' intangibles that includes the interaction of people, their relationships to the built and natural environments, and the overall feeling of urbanity not present in typical suburban strip mall and parking lot landscapes. This non-quantifiable sense is enhanced by the presence of history evident in the built environment. It is the quality of the built environment that distinguishes one urban place from the next.

The inherited built environment of historical architecture and urban morphology, associations with historical events and personalities and the accumulations of cultural artifacts and associations with artistic achievements and individuals are the raw material from which the... city is created. It is our contention that these historic resources are the single most important primary attraction for tourists and thus... cities are the world's most important tourism resorts (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990, 59).

Tourists visit places that are unique and interesting. A city becomes a destination when it has something to offer, an exceptional feature exclusive to that location. This statement validates the argument for historic preservation as a tourist attraction. Preservation assures character and *sense of place*. "The more a community comes to resemble Anyplace, USA, the less reason there will be to visit" (Ed McMahon, past president of Scenic America quoted in National Trust 1993, 33). People travel to get away from Anyplace, historic preservation certifies that the tourist destination will be Someplace.

When analyzing the activities participated in by US resident travelers, shopping being the number one tourist activity, most are typically associated with or commonly found in large cities. As shown in Figure 1, historic and/or museum activities are participated in by 15 percent of all tourists (1997/98). In 1998, US resident travel approached 1.3 billion person trips; 15 percent of this figure is just under 200 million. In domestic tourism alone, approximately 200 million travelers are seeking a historical experience or are considered heritage tourists (<http://www.tia.org/press/fastfacts3.stm>).

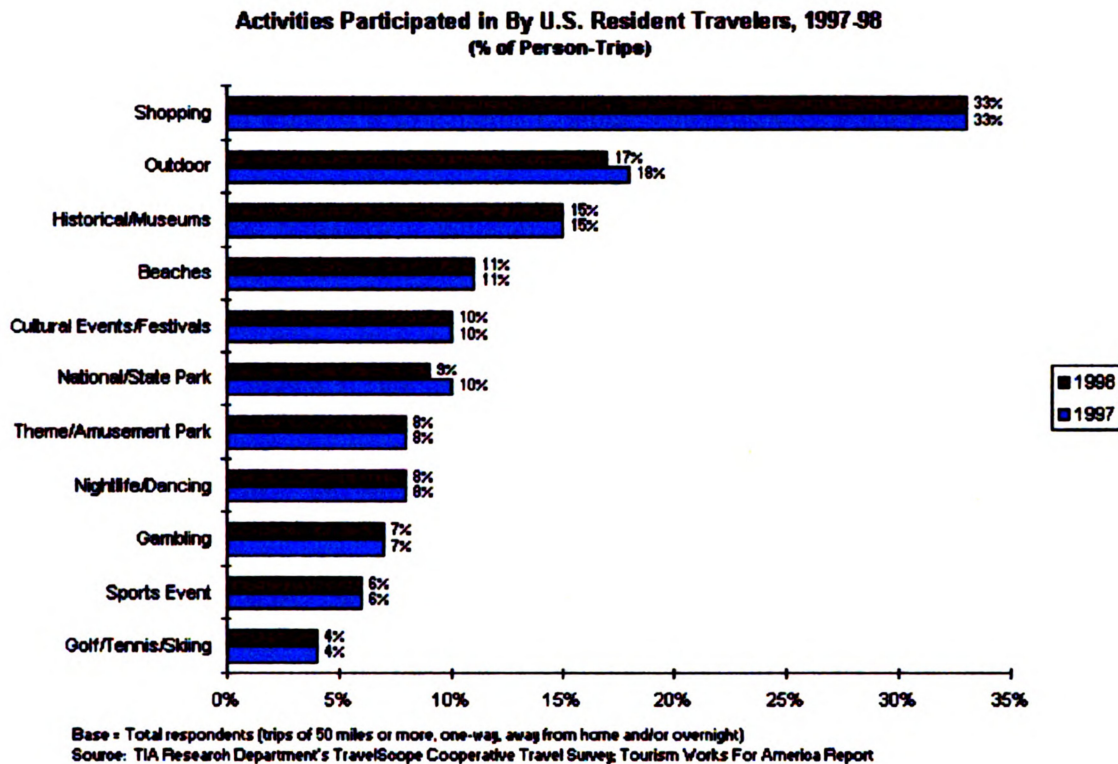


Figure 1. Activities participated in by travelers (<http://www.tia.org/press/fastfacts3.stm>).

2.5 Traveler Motivations

In a simple phrase, the allure of tourism is the opportunity to see something different. "Travel is part of the American psyche" (<http://www.tia.org/press/fastfacts3.stm>). Motivations behind travel are related to the demand for travel, the segment of the population that has the interest in and ability to travel – the tourists. As stated earlier, this paper focuses not on the tourists, but on the destinations. However, it is worthwhile to explain the mentality of average tourist in order to determine how a city can capitalize on their interests. Without getting into specific scientific reasoning and terminology, people travel to experience change. Leisure tourists seek distraction from the pedestrian experiences of everyday life and receive some sort of personal validation and shared understanding from their travels. "They want to feel that they have visited the

famous places. After they have visited these places their life has become valid and put in contact with world history” (Law 1993, 13).

2.5.1 *The heritage tourist*

“Heritage tourism has been one of the most traditional motivations for leisure travel; for centuries people have visited sites of special historic interest...” (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 65). The relatively recent emergence of heritage tourism within the travel industry is attributed to the decline of the passive tourist, those content to lie on the beach for days. Travelers are seeking experiences that are distinctive, not homogenized or manufactured amusement. “Today’s tourists travel to experience a new region they have heard of, to educate their children, and to visit cultural events and historical sites” (Partners for Livable Communities 1997, 12).

In 1997, the Travel Industry Association of America (TIA) compiled a profile of travelers who participate in historic and cultural activities. This profile was based on a national TravelScope Survey for the travel year 1996. The statistics presented in this report are the results and findings from that survey. Over 50 million tourists included a historic place or museum on their travel itineraries in 1996. Of these 50 million plus tourists, ten million indicated that their interest in history and historical places was the primary reason for their trip; over 20 million said that this interest served as a secondary reason for their travel. Heritage tourists spend almost five nights on a trip, in a hotel, motel, or bed and breakfast, versus three nights, the mean for all travelers. On the average, heritage travelers spend nearly \$615 per trip, compared to \$425 per trip for all other travelers (TIA 1997, 5 and 12). In addition, heritage tourists are inclined to spend over \$250 per trip, with 20 percent spending over \$1000 per trip, as shown in Figure 2.

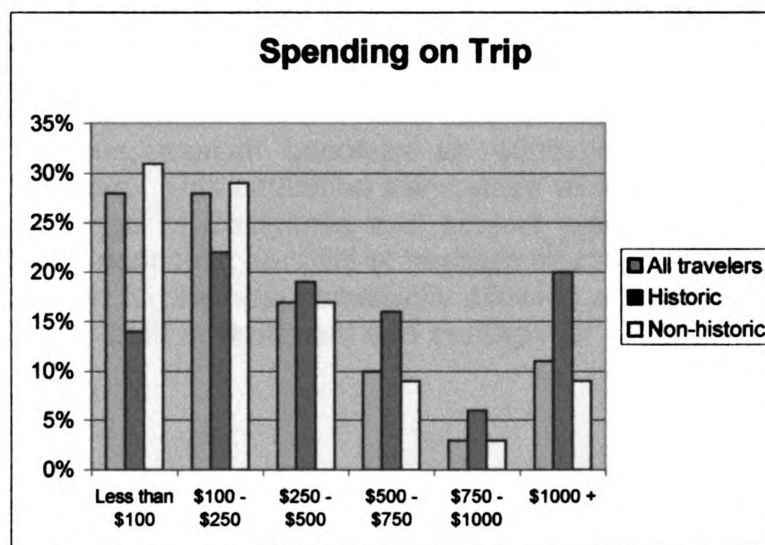


Figure 2. Historic travelers' spending amounts in comparison to all travelers – TravelScope Survey (TIA 1997, 66).

For the most part, the heritage tourist is upscale, affluent, well-educated, and well-traveled, a highly desired type of visitor. The average age is 48 years with 32 percent over the age of 55. Heritage tourists are more likely to be retired and less likely to have children under the age of 18 living at home as compared to US travelers-at-large. Nearly 80 percent of heritage tourists attended college, with a 54 percent graduation rate. The median annual household income is \$43,503, compared to \$41,455 for all travelers (TIA 1997, 72-73).

2.6 Local Non-Economic Benefits

The social, cultural, and economic impacts of tourism are all closely related. Economic benefits are usually the principal reason for developing tourism. From these economic benefits stem the promise of new jobs and income, new business investment opportunities, increased government revenues, improved infrastructure and services, and a larger market for local products. Beyond these economic benefits therein lies non-economic, sociocultural advantages that also directly contribute to the improved quality of life.

Tourism gives economic justification for historic preservation initiatives and, quite often, subsidizes the preservation undertakings. Other than economics, there is a social value placed on preserving history and cultural heritage that is related to community pride and local sense of identity. Historic preservation creates a bond between a community and its citizens. Maintaining a unique sense of place or identity is fundamentally important to local residents and essential to a community's position as a tourist destination. Some or all of an area's unique heritage and character may be lost, through general modernization, without tourism providing support for its conservation.

Tourists frequent museums, theaters, and other facilities and activities, which are also utilized by the local inhabitants. These cultural amenities would not necessarily be available without the advent of tourism. Heritage tourism enhances local community esteem, providing the opportunity for greater understanding of history and better communication among people of diverse backgrounds. Thus, tourism becomes an educational experience for both residents and visitors. This education transcends all levels and can be used to enrich a broad range of disciplines and subject matters. By integrating the economic and non-economic benefits of heritage tourism, an improved quality of life can be achieved for the host community allowing a fair profit for the industry while protecting the built environment and heritage for continuous future use and education.

CASE STUDY: NEW ORLEANS

Chapter 3

3. CASE STUDY: NEW ORLEANS

“A unique tourist space also exists in New Orleans, whose French Quarter, Mardi Gras, and sin industry have never been successfully mimicked” (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 39). New Orleans embodies all that is meant by sense of place and community character. There is no other US city with its genuine qualities.

The purpose of this case study is to profile a major US city with a stock of architecturally significant historic buildings and a relative dependence on tourism to illustrate how a city’s heritage and preservation efforts impact its tourism business and local economic development. New Orleans was selected because it met these criteria, exemplified a strong connection between its built environment and local culture, incorporated history into everyday life, possessed an everyday life interesting enough to attract visitors, and, above all, the City’s notorious reputation, unique vernacular, and unconventional customs intrigued the author. This section contains a brief description of New Orleans, its heritage, its tourism business and tourist base, and a summary of personal interviews. Interviews were conducted by the author with two professionals working with the City’s historic preservation efforts and travel industry.

3.1 Description



Figure 3. New Orleans, denoted with star, in a regional context (<http://www.mapquest.com>).

New Orleans is a city of 199 square miles located in southern Louisiana on the banks of the Mississippi River, near the Gulf of Mexico. The City occupies all of Orleans Parish; a Louisiana parish is the equivalent of a county. In which case, Orleans Parish is New Orleans. As the State's most populated parish with 11 percent of its residents, Orleans Parish had a 1999 population of 464,718, a decrease from the 1990 population of 496,938 (New Orleans Convention and Visitors Bureau). This decreasing trend is expected to continue; since 1990, the City has lost an average of 6400 people per year (City of New Orleans 1999). However, areas of the City, such as the French Quarter, have experienced an increase in permanent residents within the past few years (Esolen 2000).

	1990	1999	2004 Forecast	Growth 1990-99	Growth 1999-04
Population	496,938	464,718	447,227	-6.5%	-3.8%
Households	187,662	182,964	178,735	-2.5%	-2.3%
Ave. HH size		2.54			

Table 3. Population report for Orleans Parish (New Orleans Metropolitan Convention and Visitors Bureau).

Louisiana is one of the poorest states in the country. In 1995, 21 percent of the population was living in poverty (<http://www.census.gov>). Although the New Orleans metropolitan area has prospered, many areas of New Orleans proper reflect the statewide economic distress. Approximately 64 percent of Orleans Parish residents are African-American. The median age is just over 34 years. More than half of the residents have the educational attainment of a high school diploma or less; 27 percent has a bachelor's degree or higher. The median household income was \$24,142 in 1999, lower than the State median income of \$27,265, and lower than the national median income of \$38,885 (New Orleans Metropolitan Convention and Visitors Bureau; <http://www.census.gov>).

3.2 History and Sense of Place



Figure 4. St. Louis Cathedral in Jackson Square, built in 1789 and rebuilt in 1849, is one of the most photographed churches in the world (<http://www.laimages.com>).



Figure 5. French Quarter bed and breakfast (<http://www.laimages.com>).

New Orleans is a city of Spanish and French Catholic descent. Its inhabitants, culture, traditions, and architecture continue to uphold this deep-rooted Old World heritage. New Orleans is described as more European than any other American city. Nicknames such as “the Crescent City,” describing the pattern of growth along the Mississippi River, and “the Big Easy,” depicting the gentle and relaxed pace of life dating back to early days of jazz, assist in the visualization of the New Orleans sensation. Famous for Cajun and Creole cuisine, jazz musicians, churches, cemeteries, voodoo, festive nightlife, and unparalleled annual special events (i.e. Mardi Gras), New Orleans’ distinctive atmosphere and identity provides an unconventional lifestyle for its residents and a unique experience for tourists.



Figure 6. Example of Creole architecture featuring the ubiquitous Vieux Carre balcony and ironwork (<http://www.laimages.com>).

In 1936, New Orleans became the second American city to enact a historic preservation ordinance (Beaumont 1996, 19). Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the Vieux Carre, commonly known as the French Quarter, is the City’s original downtown and its most notable tourist attraction. This ten-block square boasts a mosaic of history, architecture, and tradition reflective of New Orleans’ French and Spanish ancestry. Buildings in the Vieux Carre display extraordinary French colonial, but predominately Spanish architecture. Several fires in the late 1700s destroyed a majority of the French colonial structures. The preservation of this district’s unique buildings and ornate ironwork is the appeal for the heritage tourist, creating a large revenue source for a city with few industrial alternatives.

New Orleans has suffered over the last decade from the “bust” in the oil and gas industry, but there is always the hope and possibility that a “bust” might be followed by another “boom.” However, once the physical manifestations of New Orleans’ cultural and architectural heritage – its historic buildings – are lost, no future “boom” from that irreplaceable asset will ever be possible... To lose [historic buildings] through design or neglect would constitute a fiscally irresponsible waste of New Orleans’ most valuable economic resource (*An Evaluation of Revitalization Opportunities and Economic Development Strategies for the Lower Garden District*, quoted in Rypkema 1994, 17).

3.3 Heritage Meets Tourism

New Orleans initially preserved its architectural heritage for the sentimental benefit of its own residents. As a response to these locally initiated efforts, the City slowly evolved into a heritage tourism destination. Building on the tourist appeal of the French Quarter, in which 86 percent of all New Orleans' travelers visit (1998), and other historic points of interest, downtown New Orleans added typical large city tourist attractions – a stadium, convention center, aquarium, first-class hotels, and a casino (Esolen 2000). These relatively new amenities assisted in the City's revitalization efforts and have increased New Orleans' tourist base to include business, trade, and industry conventioners. Infamous annual events like Mardi Gras and the Jazz and Heritage Festival have attracted both national and international attention for the City, making it one of the top three US urban destinations, as ranked by travel intermediaries (Dimanche and Lepetic 1999, 19). By capitalizing on existing assets and historic significance, its most valuable economic resources, and using them as an impetus for further revitalization, New Orleans achieved a comparative advantage over other urban tourism destinations, both domestic and foreign. The preservation potential masterpiece that is New Orleans gives justification to the City's unofficial designation as "America's most interesting city."

The city of New Orleans has enjoyed the steady growth in its tourism industry throughout the 1990s. Tourism jobs comprise 16 percent of the City's total employment, an increase from seven percent in 1989 (Dimanche and Lepetic 1999, 20). New Orleans attracts a large number of business, trade, and industry conventions on a year-round basis, but is also a popular destination for heritage tourists seeking the unusual American history experience. More or less indicative of the typical heritage tourist's profile, the average New Orleans tourist is just over 43 years, married, white, living in a household with two people (no children at home), college graduate, employed full time in a managerial or professional position, with an annual income of \$65,000 (Esolen).

Parish	Expenditures (in millions)	Payroll (in millions)	Employment (in thousands)	State tax receipts (in millions)	Local tax receipts (in millions)
Orleans	\$3,486.53	\$868.48	60.74	\$133.23	\$86.97
Jefferson	\$765.45	\$158.72	9.64	\$32.24	\$15.38

Table 4. Economic impact of travel on the two most common Louisiana parish tourist destinations (Foley 1999, 8).

More than 90 percent of all international travelers to Louisiana visit New Orleans (Taylor and Dimanche 1999, 2). In 1998, domestic tourists spent approximately \$7.3 billion throughout the State. The traveler expenditures generated nearly \$1.6 billion in payroll, over 104,000 jobs, and \$495 million in state and local taxes. Louisiana's tourism is concentrated in essentially one geographic region, the New Orleans metropolitan area. The metro area received over 60 percent of

the State's tourists who spent \$4.5 billion and created 72,000 jobs (Foley 1999, 7). Table 4 illustrates the economic impact of domestic tourism on Orleans Parish to its nearest competitor, neighboring Jefferson Parish.

Nine percent of New Orleans' 1998 tourists attended Mardi Gras festivities and spending during the season was \$841 million, a \$40 million increase from 1997 (Esolen 2000; McLain 1999, 10). Since 1827, Mardi Gras, with the French translation meaning "Fat Tuesday," has been celebrated on the streets of New Orleans, especially in the historic Vieux Carre. The Mardi Gras season commences on the twelfth day after Christmas, January 6, and continues until Fat Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday, the beginning of the Catholic Lenten period of 40 days of fast before Easter. The entire season is a carnival, which translated from Latin means *carnis* or flesh. From the religious origins of Mardi Gras, the carnival is the feast of the flesh before the fast; traditionally, meat is not consumed during the 40 days of Lent. Over the years, Mardi Gras has been marketed and commercialized into an illustrious event that is the City's claim to fame. Although Mardi Gras is celebrated in other cities within and outside of Louisiana, the authentic carnival is synonymous with New Orleans and is an attraction for tourists.



Figure 7. Mardi Gras festivities on Bourbon Street in the French Quarter (<http://www.laimages.com>).

"Tourists' intentions to visit a destination such as New Orleans are influenced by their perceptions of their knowledge of that destination" (Dimanchen and Lepetic 1999, 20). New Orleans' reputation as a liberal, risqué, somewhat dangerous party town with unorthodox traditions, on some level, has mass tourist appeal, especially with the morbidly curious traveling demographic. Upholding this image is crucial to maintaining the City's position as an urban destination.

3.4 Interview Discussions

On January 6, 2000, coincidentally the first day of the Mardi Gras season, the author traveled to New Orleans to get a tourist's perspective and sense of the Big Easy. In addition to general sightseeing, concentrated mostly in the French Quarter, the author met with two professionals involved with the use of New Orleans' history and image for tourism and economic development. After some preliminary online research conducted prior to the New Orleans trip, the author

contacted six organizations and requested personal or telephone interviews for the development of this paper. Interviews are a critical foundation for the methodology of this report; they are necessary to gain a greater perspective of New Orleans' heritage tourism and economic development from those who work with these issues on a daily basis and are well versed in the City's dynamics.

Organizations contacted included the city of New Orleans, the Chamber of Commerce, the Convention and Visitors Bureau, historic preservation advocates, and two private tourism marketing and economic development agencies. Of these six initial contacts, two unrelated organizations responded favorably – the Preservation Resource Center and New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation. Since the site visit in early January, the author has had several conversations with the Research Department of the New Orleans Metropolitan Convention and Visitors Bureau and the University of New Orleans College of Business Administration regarding the economic impacts of tourism on the City.

The summary description for each interview is written from the perspective of the interviewee. Like all things New Orleans, the interviews were informal in structure and information was revealed through casual conversation. However, when opportunity presented itself to ask a direct question, very similar, if not identical, questions were asked of each organization. In some cases, conflicting responses were given. The concluding paragraph of this sub-section is the author's perceptions of each organization's position in the realm of New Orleans tourism, historic preservation, and economic development efforts.

3.4.1 Preservation Resource Center

The Preservation Resource Center is a private, non-profit membership organization with a mission "to promote the preservation of New Orleans' historic architecture by expanding the constituency that understands the economic, cultural and aesthetic importance of historic preservation, and by involving citizens in preservation projects and services that enhance living in New Orleans" (<http://www.prcno.org>).

The Executive Director of Preservation Resource Center was interviewed on January 7. In this interview, the Executive Director indicated that there is not a general understanding of the relationship between historic preservation and tourism in New Orleans. Initial grassroot preservation efforts 30 to 40 years ago sparked some tourism interest and in the late 1970s, the City recognized its appeal as a travel destination. At that time, City officials began taking proactive steps towards attracting tourists, but historic preservation was not at the forefront of discussion. With tourism as a conscious effort by the City and associated travel intermediaries, the focus became capturing conventions and special events such as college football bowl games and the Superbowl. Much to the detriment of dilapidated, but historic and restorable, neighborhoods and buildings.

In terms of the relationship between tourism and preservation, the City does not capitalize on resources and outreach provided by the proximate universities or receive proper assistance and guidance from the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). The responsibility of tourism is delegated to organizations like the Convention and Visitors Bureau and marketing agencies. These organizations put a majority of their emphasis on the marketing and promotional aspects of tourism in New Orleans. The economic development aspect is secondary and historic preservation, at best, is tertiary. In short, the correlation among the image created by the historic architectural resources of New Orleans, the type of tourists the City receives, and the economic benefits and opportunities prompted by tourism is not fully recognized or understood by city planners, tourism marketers, or even the general public. They do not realize that the true New Orleans experience cannot be achieved without the presence, and hence preservation, of the New Orleans built environment. Only a few make the connection and those few shoulder the burden of promoting the possibilities and benefits of the preservation/tourism/economic development dynamic.

3.4.2 New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation

The New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation provides funding and support for various entities involved with tourism throughout the metropolitan area in an effort to market the City as a desirable destination, attract trade shows and conventions, and develop programs that assist private businesses and non-profit organizations with economic development strategies based on tourism.

On January 7, the former Executive Vice President was interviewed. In this interview, the former Executive Vice President conveyed a comprehensive view of urban and heritage tourism in the City. Recognizing that New Orleans' tourism is fundamentally based on history, the relatively new attractions, including the stadium, convention center, new hotels, and the casino, only support and enhance the New Orleans experience. These new additions do not encroach on the City's most famous historic areas, like the French Quarter, because they are outside of such districts. When approached by a national retailer, the city of New Orleans is very meticulous with regard to the aesthetics of its commercial areas. Corporate architecture is not permitted and signage is restricted. Any type of big-box retailer or theme restaurant wanting to locate in the City's most prominent, populated, and famous areas must adjust their designs to fit an existing building and all rehabilitation must comply with the local historic district's standards. This is to ensure that a historic structure in a district is not demolished to allow for a typical suburban-style building with a surrounding parking lot. New Orleans is aware that its built environment maintains its position in the tourism industry.

Tourism evolved incrementally in New Orleans during the early 1970s as a result of the decline in the oil and gas industry. A series of public policy decisions, building on the established New Orleans mystique and ambiance, pronounced

tourism as the new industry of choice. Soon after, the Superdome, home of the New Orleans Saints, was constructed along with a few luxury hotels. In the 1980s, the convention center and additional hotels were built and an aggressive marketing campaign commenced that concentrated on capturing trade shows and industry conventions. New Orleans, itself, already had a “hook” with brand awareness and mass appeal. The addition of the convention center, meeting facilities, and supporting amenities (hotels, restaurants, proximity to a major airport) positioned New Orleans as an attractive venue for large conventions. Consistently each year, the City is within the top five choice convention cities.

Tourism is critical to New Orleans’ economy. New Orleans’ image is critical to its tourism appeal. Preservation of historic structures and entire districts is critical to its image. All of these components relate to each other and feed into the New Orleans experience. This experience hinges on the protection and sustention of the City’s inordinate culture and heritage, including its architecture, religions, local color, music, food, and overall ambiance. New Orleans is as much of a state of mind as it is a place. Its reputation as a relaxed yet excited City with a year-round festive atmosphere allows those who visit to drop their inhibitions and assimilate with the unconventional. The New Orleans experience cannot be re-created or manufactured anywhere else, “not even by Walt Disney, even though he has tried.”

3.4.3 Summary of the New Orleans experience

During these two interviews, the author was presented with two aspects of tourism in the city of New Orleans. One each understanding and recognizing the responsibility of the other, but each with a separate purpose and agenda. The New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation is well aware of the role preservation plays in attracting tourists and understands the need to preserve the built environment in order to maintain the New Orleans experience for visitors. The Preservation Resource Center acknowledges the need to market and advertise the New Orleans product and the economic importance of the City’s ability to attract large events such as conventions and the Superbowl.

Any problems or miscommunications between these two organizations, and most likely with others involved with the City’s tourism, economic development, and preservation, is common in other cities and carries over into other industries. The Preservation Resource Center’s claim that too much emphasis and excessive resources are placed on and within marketing is an issue faced by most travel destinations that have a high dependence on tourism and host an influx of visitors. As stated earlier in this paper, the job description of a marketer and the role of the marketing agency are much more defined with a narrowed scope of responsibilities than that of a preservationist, who must take into consideration social and non-economic factors. In New Orleans, the tourism marketers bring in mass quantities of tourists, point them in the direction of attractions, and hope that they spend money – everything else pertaining to

visitor behavior or local economic development is outside the scope. The Preservation Resource Center has the responsibility of preserving for immediate tourist consumption as well as for the residing present and future populations, always assuring an improved quality of life.

It is established and documented that tourism is an integral part of the New Orleans economy. The City has the ability to attract all types of tourists – urban, heritage, conventioners, and other. Even the tourist who does not exhibit an obvious interest in history and heritage cannot deny the importance of the New Orleans built environment in the full attainment of the New Orleans experience. This case study is used to support the purpose of this paper and affirm the hypothesis. The personal interviews are incorporated to support the validity of the case study.

Unquestionably, no other US city is like New Orleans. When venturing into the economic development strategy of tourism, the City used its history, mystique, and unique characteristics to generate various types of tourist interest – namely conventions and special events. Any city can build a stadium, aquarium, convention center, or casino like the facilities found in New Orleans. However, no city can duplicate the New Orleans experience. This experience encompasses, in the non-quantifiable sense, culture, heritage, atmosphere, and Mardi Gras. All of which convene in the historic and distinctive built environment. Building upon its existing resources, the City devised a plan for tourism. New Orleans is a classic example of a city that capitalizes on its unique existing assets to promote and encourage the development of a growth industry for the benefit of the local economy, quality of life for the residing population, and the educational contributions to all types of visitors and tourists.

GENERAL FINDINGS

Chapter 4

4. GENERAL FINDINGS

To review, the twofold purpose of this paper is (1) to determine how the partnering of historic preservation and tourism can become a viable and significant contributor to a community's local economic development and (2) to determine what qualities enhance a city's position as an urban tourist destination. From this purpose, the twofold hypothesis is derived:

1. Successfully implemented heritage tourism, defined as tourism where indigenous resources are merged to promote history and conservation, has the ability to generate economic prosperity, development opportunities, and improve the quality of life for its host community.
2. Historic preservation maintains a community's character, identity, and sense of place, qualities that are necessary to attract visitors in the establishment of an urban tourist destination.

With over one billion people traveling in the United States and spending over \$500 billion, the travel industry cannot be ignored. Tourism is the third largest industry, the second largest employer, and the largest services export. Its effects on the US economy are significant and growth in this industry is expected to continue. A strong correlation exists among historic preservation, tourism, and prevailing economic development strategies. *Successfully implemented heritage tourism, defined as tourism where indigenous resources are merged to promote history and conservation, has the ability to generate economic prosperity, development opportunities, and improve the quality of life for its host community.*

- The tourism experience is an export with the same economic relevance as manufactured goods.
- Tourists introduce new money into a local economy, which is re-spent prompting additional economic activity.
- Domestic and international travelers in the United States in 1999 spent nearly \$519 billion, generating approximately \$87 billion in federal, state, and local government tax revenue.
- Tourism generated a total of 16.9 million jobs in 1998 with an employment growth forecast well into the 21st century.
- Tourism presents flexible and diversified employment opportunities from entry-level to executive.
- Tourism reduced the 1998 national unemployment rate from ten percent to 4.5 percent.

- Heritage tourists are more likely, than all other travelers, to be affluent and retired with no dependent children, leaving more discretionary money and time for travel and other leisure activities.
- Heritage tourists spend an average of \$615 per trip, compared to an average of \$425 per trip by all other travelers
- Heritage tourists stay an average of five nights on a trip, compared to three nights per trip for all other travelers.

Below the surface-level economic benefits are the non-economic, sociocultural benefits that contribute to the improved quality of life. Tourism, specifically heritage tourism, can encourage and finance historic preservation efforts, which, in turn will restore local community pride and identification. The merging of tourism and preservation demonstrates the importance of heritage and cultural resources to a community's economic and social well-being. The built environment and the preservation of historic resources are critical to a community's sense of place. With the basis of traveler motivation being to experience something different, unique attractions become an integral part of a destination's ability to bring in tourists. *Historic preservation maintains a community's character, identity, and sense of place, qualities that are necessary to attract visitors in the establishment of an urban tourist destination.*

- Historic preservation assures community individuality.
- Historic resources are strong community assets for attracting tourists.
- A profusion of historic and cultural resources is concentrated in large cities and urban environments.
- Historic and/or museum activities are participated in by 15 percent of all tourists.
- Over 50 million tourists included a visit to a historic place or museum on their travel itineraries in 1996.
- Urban destinations with distinctive histories and preserved built environments, like New Orleans, receive an influx of heritage tourists making tourism a significant component of their local economies.

Through the case study of New Orleans, it is evident that the City relies on tourism for the above listed economic rationale. Its built environment, heritage, and distinct sense of place provide the foundation for the City's tourism industry and its ability to attract visitors. Without these characteristics, travel to New Orleans would not be as abundant. Therefore, the preservation of the City's historical and cultural resources is not only consequential to the sentimental and social quality of life aspects for the residing population, but for the quality of life in terms of local economic development and prosperity.

Tourism by way of historic preservation is a local economic development opportunity. All three are inter-related, with consideration given to additional factors not covered in this report.

Historic Preservation → Tourism → Economic Development Opportunity



The fundamental premise of heritage tourism is to save the heritage, share it with visitors, and reap the economic benefits of the industry. Along the same lines of the “build it and they will come” theory that is subscribed to by many cities in their revitalization efforts, preservationists are quick to announce their modified version of this theory “if you don’t destroy it, they will come.” In the ever-changing global, national, and local economies, communities must perpetually search for new economic development opportunities in the interest of the constituencies in which they represent. Urban and heritage tourism presents cities with the ability to embrace future industry alternatives and economic possibilities without disregarding the past.

CONCLUSION

Chapter 5

5. CONCLUSION

Tourism is not the solution to all economic problems. It is merely a tool in the toolkit of economic development strategies. The first priority of any community is the welfare of its own inhabitants. Because tourism is not fully understood, quite often communities are not prepared for a tourist invasion. By not taking the time to discover what makes their community a destination, many cities scramble to build or create attractions or amenities assumed to be desired by visitors. This can cause some citizen animosity towards tourists and impair a city's position as a travel destination.

Now, the unfortunate trend is to mindlessly cater to tourism at the expense of resident needs and a locality's genuine character and sense of place. The short-term gains will eventually be lost as, over the long term, residents depart. Local residents and the life and economy they create is what gives a place the appeal to draw tourists in the first place (Gratz and Mintz 1998, 258).

Historic preservation maintains community character, attractive to potential visitors and inhabitants. Benefits from preservation efforts are both economical and sentimental. The preservation of historic resources rarely receives objections by local residents. The use of historic preservation to encourage tourism is a technique agreeable to most any community as these activities contribute to local pride and sense of identity while generating economic prosperity throughout. Therefore, when venturing into an aggressive, possibly controversial, economic development strategy, a technique that provides financial rewards along with an improved quality of life is ideal. As with any economic development strategy, it is critical to first meet the needs of the residing population. Tourists are transient and tourism is cyclical, but residents are permanent and the foundation for the local economy. Historic preservation allows a city to take part in the growth industry of tourism while protecting the interests of the residing population.

5.1 Recommended Future Study

Many aspects of tourism and historic preservation have not been discussed in this paper, as the scope has been limited to allow for completion within the available time frame. Only economic benefits of tourism and the use of historic preservation in the enhancement of an urban tourist destination have been explored. Before fully capitalizing on its potential as a tourist destination, a community must first devise and implement an effective tourism strategy that comprehensively addresses and delegates responsibility, incorporating tourism

into all future economic and physical plans. Strategic planning for tourism is an area in need of elaboration.

Responsibility and physical planning are two ambiguous factors in local tourism development. As mentioned throughout this report, planners and municipalities generally do not consider tourism to be a function of the city. "The development of a detailed physical improvement plan for tourism is generally an afterthought by local officials" (Blakely 1994, 161). Additional study within the topic of heritage and urban tourism could further research the private and public sector roles and responsibilities in the development and sustainability of a local tourism strategy. Traditionally, the public sector, at the city level, provides the basic infrastructure used by tourists. This infrastructure is a part of the tourism supply, or destination characteristics, and includes transportation systems (including air and water ports), lighting, water supply, waste and sewage disposal, police and fire protection, etc. Local residents primarily use this infrastructure, but the additional stress placed on it by tourists requires reinforcement and the involvement of the municipal government in the local tourism industry. The private sector tends to meet the travelers' demands in terms of lodging, meals, attractions, and entertainment. Further, destination marketing and promotion is usually handled by the private sector.

A paradox of tourism is that the growth in demand will eventually inundate the supply, destroying the critical balance between tourists and local human, cultural, and natural resources. Consequently, the local resident animosity perpetuates. The synergy of a public/private partnership for tourism development is a dynamic worth investigation. With the public sector involved with the supply side and the private sector involved with the demand, a partnership appears to be necessary to assure leadership and appropriate resources are used to encourage responsible and sustainable tourism and effective tourism planning. Additional study could provide role clarity, advantageous to all vested parties to assure the optimal economic and social outcomes that tourism can offer.

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