DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY:

AN EXAMINATION OF QUALITY OF LIFE, SECURITY, OPPORTUNITIES, AND EMPowerMENT AMONG New Orleans’ Tourism Industry Workers

AN ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT

The tourism industry (TI) brings substantial resources into New Orleans, Louisiana (NOLA); and yet many of its workers continue to experience high levels of poverty and related socio-economic issues. Previous research has adequately addressed how the TI impacts the city on a macroeconomic level, but no studies have yet been conducted on those working within it.

This study demonstrates that NOLA TI workers are experiencing multiple dimensions of poverty. For this research the common definition of poverty is expanded beyond income levels and asset holdings to include: quality of life; social and political empowerment; personal and property security; and educational and professional opportunities.

This emergent qualitative research study draws upon archival data to garner official and objective descriptive statistics, and in-depth interviews with TI workers. A conceptual framework originally devised by Weibing Zhao and JR Ritchie is augmented using research from the fields of Anti-Poverty Tourism (APT), Satisfaction With Life (SWL) surveys, and Capabilities Approach. This revised framework is then applied to the responses provided by 61 NOLA TI workers that were interviewed.

This study finds that levels of income and asset poverty among NOLA TI workers are significantly higher than the rest of the city, state, or country. Additionally, age, race, and gender do not play significant factors in determining levels of poverty among workers, but job category plays a small role. While levels of security, opportunity, empowerment and quality of life (SOEQ) may be demonstrably low among TI workers, they frequently perceive them to be high.
The hypothesis of “geographical capital” is presented which maintains there are non-wage factors keeping workers in their occupations due to their love for the city based on their reasons for moving to it. These factors may enrich workers’ lives in other ways, but they are not correlated to higher levels of SOEQ. This hypothesis is rejected.

The hypothesis of “relationships as compensation” is then presented. It suggests there are non-wage factors for which workers are willing to endure higher levels of different kinds of poverty in exchange for developing and maintaining extensive social networks. The evidence supports accepting this hypothesis. International development researchers and policy-makers can design and implement new policies focusing on social networks and personal relationships to decrease nontraditional forms of poverty.

In this way the research aims to inform the poverty, labor, and tourism dialogues within the context of international development in New Orleans and elsewhere.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

Workers in New Orleans’ Tourism Industry (NOLA TI) are experiencing different forms of poverty and resulting negative socio-economic effects yet their industry attracts vast resources. In order to ensure the sustainability of the TI, questions must be addressed concerning degrees of poverty among its workers. In the field of international development the definition of “poverty” has been expanded beyond low incomes and few assets by using levels of mobility, security, opportunity, empowerment, and quality of life. Examining these factors provides a more complete understanding of the nature of poverty among TI workers than the traditional purely economic model. In this study such an examination takes place within three contexts; 1.) the macro-economic nature of the NOLA TI as it is now, 2.) current levels of poverty in NOLA in general, and 3.) certain preliminary observations this researcher has made after having worked in the industry for nearly seven years.

This study is unique in that, though academic research exists documenting the macroeconomic impacts of an individual location’s tourism industry (TI), to date there has been no study of the effects of working in the TI on the workers themselves. This scarcity of information is regrettable because it is the sort of evidence governments, nonprofits, businesses, and individuals require in order to evaluate and support policies surrounding the TI. This study aims to inform the poverty, labor, and tourism dialogues in New Orleans and elsewhere.

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I. New Orleans Tourism Industry

For nearly a century the tourism has been an attractive economic sector to New Orleans leadership\(^2\). State and local governments, in partnership with business leaders, continue to direct public funds to promote growth in tourism; maintaining that its revenues will help solve the city’s social and economic problems. This thinking is based on the tenets of modernization theory, which holds that economic growth alone is enough to spur development in multiple sectors.\(^3\) Financial benefits “would have trickle-down effects in the forms of abundant tax revenues and public resources that would flow into poor neighborhoods, schools, and other public institutions thereby benefiting the whole city.”\(^4\) The persistence of significant negative socio-economic issues has led to questions regarding how the proceeds of the industry are being utilized to combat them. These questions will be addressed in later chapters.

The popularity of New Orleans as a tourism Mecca is well documented.\(^5\) In 2014 the city received 9.52 million visitors who spent $6.81 billion\(^6\) and it is the stated goal of Mayor Mitchell “Mitch” Joseph Landrieu and the City Council to raise those numbers to 13 million people and $11 billion by 2018 when the city celebrates its tricentennial.\(^7\) The NOLA TI is also expanding with an increasing share of the city’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) relying on it. By 2013 the city now ranked 4\(^{th}\) in the USA for percent of

\(^2\) See Appendix B for an historical overview of the TI in NOLA.

\(^3\) Telfer & Sharpley, pg. 27.

\(^4\) Gotham, pg. 126.

\(^5\) Souther, pg. 1.

\(^6\) New Orleans CVB Press Kit 2013.

\(^7\) New Orleans CVB Press Bureau 2012.
GDP drawn from tourism with just over 13%. Only Las Vegas, Atlantic City, and Orlando are ranked higher.\(^8\)

As of 2015 almost one third of all workers in Orleans Parish, or 70,000 people, work in hospitality and leisure\(^9\). That is significant when compared to other metropolitan areas in the south such as Atlanta, GA or Houston, TX.\(^10\) In this, New Orleans has more in common with major tourism hubs such as Las Vegas, NV or Orlando, FL\(^11\).

**Figure 1.I.1 – TI workers as percentage of overall workforce**

![TI Workers as %age of overall Workforce](image)


Tourism is regarded as an export industry because it draws money from outside of the economy. The export of products and services to other regions is a chief driver of regional growth and development. Tourism employs more than the city’s two next largest export industries (oil and gas, and shipping) combined.\(^12\) The average TI wage is

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\(^8\) Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, pg. 4.

\(^9\) BLS New Orleans & GNOCDC “Index at Eight”, and BLS’s OES.

\(^10\) BLS Houston.

\(^11\) BLS Orlando.

\(^12\) GNOCDC. “The New Orleans Index at Eight”, pg. 17.
significantly lower than that of the other export industries, however; less than a third of the average oil and gas wage, for example.

**Figure 1.1.2 – 2011 Avg. wage in various blue-collar jobs**

![Bar chart showing average wages in various blue-collar jobs](image)

Source: Greater New Orleans Center for Data Collection, “Index at Eight” August 13, 2014

Though wages may be low, the prevailing sentiment\(^\text{13}\) among city council and industry leaders remains that tax revenues from the TI are high, and could therefore provide valuable services to the people of the city in general, and TI workers in particular because of their proximity to it. The city of New Orleans earned $505,836,090 total revenues in 2014, of which $305,460,327, or 60.39% came from taxes. More than 50% of total tax revenue comes from sales tax. Up from 19% of the city’s budget in the 1940s, 33.8% of New Orleans’s total revenues from all sources currently come from sales tax. Hotel occupancy taxes are a significant portion of sales tax revenue.\(^\text{14}\) The city is expecting $43 million in hotel tax revenues by the end of the 2015 fiscal year.\(^\text{15}\) These revenues are then distributed as seen in the graphic below.

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\(^{13}\) Gotham, pg. 126.

\(^{14}\) City of New Orleans 2014 Operating Budget, pg. 19.

Of the expected $43 million in occupancy tax revenue in 2015, $13,244,000 goes to the Convention Center and an equal amount goes to the Louisiana Sports and Exposition District (LSED) which oversees the John A. Alario Sr. Event Center, Mercedes-Benz Superdome, Smoothie King Arena, New Orleans Saints Training Facility, TPC Louisiana, and Zephyr Field. $4.9 million is allocated to City Hall; and $3.3 million to the Regional Transit Authority (RTA) and the Conventions and Visitor’s Bureau each\(^\text{16}\). The remaining funds distributed to the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB) are worth detailing.

The CVB and other city and TI boosters routinely tout the contribution the industry makes to city schools.\(^\text{17}\) There are 145 schools in Orleans Parish, of which 58 are private and/or parochial, and therefore ineligible to receive public funding\(^\text{18}\). 67 schools

\(^{16}\) \url{http://www.neworleanscvb.com/articles/index.cfm?action=view&articleID=8644&menuID=1602}


\(^{18}\) \url{http://www.privateschoolreview.com/louisiana/orleans-county}
operate under semi-autonomous school boards with charters given to them by either the Recovery School District (RSD) or the Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE). Only 20 of the schools in the city are operated by the OPSB. Therefore the proceeds of the hotel occupancy tax go to benefit less than a third of the public schools in the city. 11.8% of $43 million is $4.9 million. To put this in perspective, $5.2 million was the 2014 operational budget for the International High School of New Orleans, a 500 pupils institution. Thus, the portion of the proceeds of the occupancy tax provided to the education system are not evenly distributed, nor do they exceed that which is necessary to fund an average-sized school for a single year.

City and TI leadership maintain the need to use tax revenues to pay for the infrastructure around the industry itself. Jeff Anding, the director of external affairs for the New Orleans Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB) said, “To maintain its tourism momentum, New Orleans needs to make sure money is in place to keep streets safe and maintain the French Quarter.” In October 2014 the City Council voted on a quarter-cent sales tax on French Quarter businesses to pay for more police patrols in the historic neighborhood.

The mayor’s budget also includes the rationale for tax revenue expenditure on the highly concentrated tourist areas now dubbed, the “Hospitality Zone”:

“Due to the increasing number of visitors to our city on an annual basis, the City must be maintained a [sic] level that is welcoming and attractive. As a result, this offer is to utilize funding from the Convention Center to

19 http://lacharterschools.org/charter-schools/school-directory

20 http://opsb.us/about/our-schools/

increase the level of mechanical street sweeping and flushing, manual street and sidewalk sweeping and enforcement in the French Quarter.”

Numbers are increasing not only of tourists, but also full-time residents. New Orleans is the fastest growing city in America, increasing in population by 28.2% since 2007. The population has climbed back to 378,715, or approximately 83% of its pre-Katrina 455,000. A significant demographic shift occurred in the resident population as well. There are now 99,650 fewer African Americans living in Orleans Parish compared to 2000. Meanwhile, the number of Hispanics has grown by 6,023.

A large number of young, educated people also moved to NOLA as part of the revitalization process. The number of New Orleanians with a Bachelor’s degree or higher grew from 26% to 34% between 2000 and 2012. Notably, though there are 17% fewer residents than there were before the storm, there are now 67% more restaurants; more 1,400 total. “Economically speaking the restaurant boom is a barometer of a city that is more affluent and more educated than it used to be.” Generally when a city has more restaurants, especially high-end ones, it indicates a wealthier city overall. Although it should be noted that there is an influx of people who come from wealthier backgrounds and are highly educated, it does not mean that they are richer when living in the city.

24 QuickFacts 2015.
26 Ibid.
27 http://www.neworleanscvb.com/visit/faq/ Citing Tom Fitzmorris at www.nomenu.com
28 http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/03/business/rebuilding-new-orleans-one-meal-at-a-time.html?_r=0
There is also significantly inelastic demand for hotel rooms. In 2004 the average cost for a hotel room for one night was $111.65 and the occupancy rate in the city was only 63.9%. In 2014 the average nightly rate is 33% higher at $148.72 and yet the occupancy rate is 71.2%; and that is with many more hotel rooms available in the city than there were a decade ago. By segmenting the data further, it can be observed that each of the three product types of hotel (full service, limited service and select service) all have the same, consistent 7.6% rate of growth. That is to say, no one kind of hotel targeting a particular wealth/income group is winning out over the others. Each segment grew at roughly the same rate, room prices increased at the same rate, and the occupancy rates held up for all three segments.29 Thus, the industry is attracting people of all socio-economic levels to visit the city. Meanwhile, the number of NOLA denizens with lower levels of financial wealth is large and growing.

II. NOLA Poverty

As stated earlier, “poverty” has numerous definitions in the field of international development. Expanded definitions of this sociological phenomenon will be explored in later chapters; but for the present, standard economic measures are used to establish the context of poverty in NOLA. More than a quarter, 27.2% of NOLA’s population, lives below the Federal Poverty Line (FPL).30 An additional 10%, or 37% total, lives in asset poverty which is,

“a new measurement of poverty defined as not having the financial means to support a household for three months at the federal poverty level, should they lose their main source of income. (i.e. $2,872.50 for an individual)”31

29 Lair, 2014.

30 A more detailed discussion of this metric is found in the section entitled “Literature Review”.

31
This poverty measurement device is used by many of the sources from which this study draws data including the Ford Foundation, the Greater New Orleans Foundation, and the Data Center.\textsuperscript{32} This classification is also especially useful when dealing with the TI owing to its seasonality and the transience of its workers. Seasonality is an important factor to consider because if workers have a high-earning month followed by several lean ones, they may be compelled to dip into savings or sell off assets such as a home or car. An individual’s lack of assets increases the severity of microeconomic shocks experienced, such as an adverse health event or being laid-off.

Exacerbating the macroeconomic situation is the high rate of income inequality. The standard measure of income inequality, the Gini coefficient, was .4757 in the US in 2013, roughly the same as Morocco and Nicaragua.\textsuperscript{33} Within the US there are eight metropolitan areas with Gini coefficients higher than the national average. New Orleans has the second highest with a score of .5754\textsuperscript{34}, on par with Zambia.\textsuperscript{35} While Atlanta, Georgia has a higher Gini coefficient, the median household income in Atlanta is almost $10,000 higher than it is in NOLA. This means that “In New Orleans, the bottom 40 percent of the population earns just 7.5 percent of the income,” and that income is fairly

\textsuperscript{31} GNOF, \url{http://www.gnof.org/asset-poverty-in-new-orleans-a-call-to-action/}

\textsuperscript{32} Formerly known as the Greater New Orleans Center for Data Collection, or GNOCDC.

\textsuperscript{33} \url{http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/income-gini-coefficient}

\textsuperscript{34} \url{http://www.bloomberg.com/visual-data/best-and-worst/most-income-inequality-us-cities}

\textsuperscript{35} \url{https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html}
low to begin with. Financial privation also contributes to chronic negative sociological phenomena which disproportionately affect the poor.

Many NOLA citizens suffer from a range of poverty-related conditions such as high crime rates and disease incidences, low education attainment levels, and a scarcity of job opportunities. In 2014 in New Orleans there were 150 homicides and in 2015 there were 164 more. The current rate of 46 murders per 100,000 people is higher than Baltimore, Memphis, and Chicago, among other cities. The national average is 4.8 per 100,000, and for cities similar in size to New Orleans, the average is 11.8, according to the FBI. In fact, when compared to the murder rates of 218 countries and territories, NOLA ranks alongside Belize and El Salvador at third and fourth highest respectively. Only Venezuela and Honduras have higher rates of intentional homicide.

The rates of syphilis and gonorrhea are the highest in the nation, with NOLA’s chlamydia-infected population coming in third. With an estimated 1,858 people living with HIV/AIDS in the city, that is a prevalence rate of 491 per 100,000 people. This constitutes the third highest rate in the country, and globally puts it on par with Sudan, Vietnam, and Columbia. TI workers regularly interact with large numbers of people

38 http://www.nola.com/crime/murders/
42 http://www.lphi.org/home2/section/generic-160/
who are in town expressly to enjoy themselves in an environment perceived as sexually permissive. As a result, many TI workers are frequently solicited, harassed and/or assaulted, making them especially vulnerable to contracting prevalent diseases.

It is unclear if levels of wealth-based poverty in New Orleans are lower than they would have been had the TI not been such a central focus in the city. The literature is divided on this topic and is discussed further in the following chapter. To fill in some of the gaps in this field, this research seeks to identify and analyze some of the socio-economic impacts of working in the tourism industry on those who work within it.

III. Preliminary Observations:

Having worked six and half years within the NOLA TI, this researcher made certain preliminary observations prior to the official start date of the study. First among these is that there are not, nor have there ever been, any government policies or TI initiatives with TI-worker assistance as a goal. This is an important point to make at the outset of this study because the presence of such initiatives would provide control groups of TI workers to compare with one another.

Secondly, only 4.5% of the workforce of NOLA is unionized, and almost none of them are in the TI. 17% of the overall Las Vegas workforce and 90% of its hotel workers are unionized. In Orlando 6.6% of the overall workforce is unionized, but a single union, Local 362, represents 38,000 Disney employees. The failure of unions to break into the NOLA TI is well-documented.

44 http://unionstats.com/
45 http://www.uniteherelocal362.org/wdw-ft/
A third observation is that while the tourism industry draws in large amounts of money, it appears that earnings remain low for most of the workers. With such a large portion of the population employed in a low-paying industry, the rest of the city becomes more susceptible to shocks. With low levels of tax revenue, the city has difficulty providing services to the needy and developing more transportation and educational infrastructure. A city filled with low-earners, limited career advancement opportunities, poor education, and other public services is more prone to violence, disease, and unrest.\textsuperscript{47} Thus it is important to ascertain whether working in the TI is making things better or worse for its workers and how.

TI scholars Weibing Zhao and J.R. Brent Ritchie proposed a means of determining whether a particular TI is providing meaningful benefit to its workers. An augmented version of their conceptual framework was used in this study to answer the primary research question, namely: \textit{What dimensions of poverty are NOLA TI workers experiencing?} This question is relevant because the prevailing sentiment in speeches and print claims TI workers are the primary beneficiaries of this burgeoning industry. Stephen Perry, president and CEO of the CVB said,

"The traveler economy at its core is about driving economic growth and enriching the lives of people. The more than nine million visitors in 2013 pumped a record of $6.47 billion in spending directly into our city. That money contributes greatly to state and local economies and supports jobs for more than 78,000 New Orleanians from every neighborhood."\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{47} Wilson, pg. 160.

That the CVB, NOTMC, City Hall, and the mayor’s office all reinforce this line with regular press releases and conferences is well-documented.⁴⁹

The following chapter constitutes a review of the relevant literature. It is necessary to understand how other studies have assessed the impacts of the tourism industry and to demonstrate the lack of research in particular spheres. It is also important to draw upon the conceptual frameworks of other studies in order to best identify and analyze the impacts of the industry on its workers. Chapter 3 outlines the primary research questions and objectives and presents the conceptual framework used to conduct this study. Chapter 4 contains a description of the research design and methods used to operationalize this framework. Chapter 5 details the findings of the study, and a brief conclusion follows.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

As the purpose of this study is to explore the dimensions of poverty among TI workers in New Orleans, it is necessary to review two sets of literature, namely: 1.) ways of defining and measuring poverty, and 2.) and the nature of the tourism industry and various forms thereof.

I. Poverty

This is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon with numerous definitions depending upon the context in which it is used.50 This research was conducted within the field of international development studies. As such, it is appropriate to begin an exploration of the concept with the definitions used by primary actors such as the World Bank and the United Nations (UN). An expanded definition incorporating additional factors relevant to this research follows.

A. Definition of Economic Poverty:

The World Bank defines extreme poverty as an individual’s average daily consumption being valued at $1.90 or less.51 According to recent estimates,52 9.6% of the global population, or 702 million people, lived at or below the extreme poverty rate in 2015. Due to price differences, relative economic and political stability, and the availability of services, the extreme poverty rate used by the World Bank is not an

50 Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 121.


52 World Bank 10/04/2015.
effective measurement of poverty in the United States. Still, it is worth noting that in 2013 1.65 million US households, or 1.4% of the population lived in poverty at the rate of $2 per day.53

Prior to 1959 no official data on poverty were collected in the United States.54 It was not until President Johnson declared his “War on Poverty” in 1964 that a politically sanctioned classification for the poor existed.55 His administration used a poverty threshold designed by Mollie Orshansky,56 which included some significant assumptions. Key among them was that a household spent one third of its income on food. She drew up a list of basic, nourishing food staples, priced them out, and multiplied by three. Any earnings less than that amount were deemed inadequate and below the newly established Federal Poverty Line (FPL).57 As of 2014 there were nearly 46.7 million Americans, or 14.8% of the total population, living at or below the FPL.58

In light of the 50th anniversary of Johnson’s declaration of war on poverty, debate resurfaced about the quality, relevance, and accuracy of Ms. Orshansky’s metric.59 One discrepancy is that Americans no longer spend one third of their income on food. “Food


54 Blank & Blinder, pg. 188.

55 Danziger & Weinberg, pg. 1.

56 Orshansky’s metric was partially based on the work of Seebohm Rowntree, who determined the level of poverty in York, UK by costing out the minimum caloric intake necessary to prevent sickness and death. Rowntree, 1941.

57 Fisher, pg. 2.

58 US Census Bureau, “Poverty” 2014Highlights https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/about/overview/

59 http://www.npr.org/2014/01/08/260807955/five-decades-later-time-to-change-the-way-we-define-poverty
now accounts for something closer to one-sixth of the family budget. Housing, transportation and utilities are much larger components of family spending.  

In European Union (EU) countries poverty is measured using relative income poverty lines. Those people “below 60% of median income are said to be ‘at-risk-of poverty.’” If this same metric were applied to the US, the poverty rate would increase by nearly ten percent to 24% of the total population. The median income in New Orleans is $37,146, and 60% of that is $22,876; still well above the current FPL.

Exacerbating difficulties concomitant to low-income levels and values of assets are high levels of income inequality. As the poor work to increase their wealth by small amounts, the rich observe their substantial wealth increase annually. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Administrator Helen Clarke stated, “The richest 1% of the world population owns about 40% of the world’s assets, while the bottom half owns no more than one percent.” The United States is no exception to this trend. Between 2002 and 2007 the top 1% received 65% of total national income gains. In more dramatic terms, the top tenth of 1% in the US earned in a day and a half what the bottom 90% of society earned in all of 2007.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, New Orleans has the second highest rate of income inequality in the country with a Gini Coefficient of 0.5754. This means that the

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60 http://www.ocpp.org/poverty/how/#sthash.GYuaSriC.dpuf


63 QuickFacts 2015.

64 http://www.spyghana.com/clark-has-decried-global-inequality/

65 Stiglitz, pg. 2.

66 Stiglitz, pg. 4.
wealthiest quintile in New Orleans receives 60% of the city’s income. Although this study does not include an analysis of the disparity between the rich and poor in New Orleans, it is nevertheless valuable to understand the context in which the research takes place.

Those at the top of the income pyramid often have skewed perceptions of those at the bottom. Surveys conducted from 1960 onward consistently demonstrate that Americans believe the cause of poverty is the moral character of the poor themselves. Individuals’ laziness and undue sense of self-entitlement are believed to be the root causes, and “not the iniquities in the social and economic structure of society.” New Orleans has a long and well-documented history of animosity between the haves and the have-nots. The poor in New Orleans, especially the poor African Americans, have routinely been viewed as “backward, belligerently opposed to enlightenment, and tethered to self-defeating cultural habits” which undermine any chances of escape from poverty and ignorance.

Whatever the cause may be, low levels of income and class-based antagonisms are not the only deleterious effects of poverty. Low or nonexistent wages lead to low neighborhood property value which, in turn, results in poorly performing schools. Poor schools are highly correlated with numerous negative social conditions such as higher rates of drug use, violence, gang-related activity, STDs, and teen pregnancy. Schools

67 Wilson, pg. 160.
68 Wilson, pg. 161.
69 Gill 1997; Dyson 2006; Horne 2006; Stanonis 2006.
70 Dyson, pg. 21.
lacking resources also fail to prepare students for meaningful participation in an advanced workforce. This may not have been a problem when the bulk of work available was either agricultural or industrial, but the high-paying job market has shifted to one that is more technologically-based. In cases like NOLA where most of the obtainable jobs are in the service industry, opportunities for educated citizens to secure employment in their fields are limited. As such, many of these people either leave the city in search of employment elsewhere participating in the so-called “brain-drain”, or they accept work that is below their pay-grade and out of their fields. These people must then compete for jobs with less educated workers, as there are few opportunities available to them outside of the TI as well. A large labor supply competing for positions in one industry drives down wages within in. A more-diversified job market would alleviate this situation, but NOLA does not have one.

Gotham demonstrated that NOLA “never did develop a high wage manufacturing sector or textile industry. Most of the city’s industrial activity was limited to catering to the local market.”72 This, compounded with “the decline of the mass production system and the rise of new jobs in the highly technological global economy requiring training and education have severely weakened the labor-force.”73 Wilson et al. argue that this factor is even more significant than poverty in contributing to social ills. While a poor neighborhood has its own set of problems, if people have steady employment, the effects of economic poverty are not nearly as pernicious as a poor neighborhood filled with unemployed people.74

72 Gotham, pg. 49.
73 Wilson, pg. 105.
Pierre Bourdieu demonstrated that steady work is more than simply a way to make money; it provides structure to daily life and long-term goals.\textsuperscript{75} It requires discipline and regularity, and without it people lack more than income, they lack “a coherent organization of the present – that is, a system of concrete expectations and goals.”\textsuperscript{76} Those experiencing protracted periods of unemployment or under-employment are then likely to become apathetic and no longer take advantage of even the few opportunities that remain to them. Owing to the broad seasonal variations within the TI, such conditions are common. The impacts of irregular scheduling and nontraditional hours common in the TI have long been acknowledged by the CDC and others as being associated with a host of negative psychological and physiological conditions. Caruso, \textit{et al} cited weight gain, smoking, alcoholism and other substance abuse, depression, and a greater likelihood to be a victim of an accident as common results of extended hours, night shifts and not enough leisure time.\textsuperscript{77} These findings are consistent with interview data gathered for this dissertation. A more thorough discussion of the relation between work schedule and quality of life is presented in Chapter 5.

It is important to distinguish between the poor and the working poor. The factors inherent to and resulting from the poverty-unemployment nexus are so numerous they would cloud this research and distract it from the original goal. This study explores the impacts of working in the TI, and some of the subjects of this study are income poor,

\textsuperscript{74} Wilson, pg. xiii, Chok, \textit{et al}., pg. 158, Danziger, pg. 10.

\textsuperscript{75} Bourdieu 1965.

\textsuperscript{76} Wilson, pg. 73.

\textsuperscript{77} Caruso, \textit{et al}, pg. iv.
asset poor, poor according to alternate definitions, or not poor at all; but all of them are employed.

**B. An Expanded Definition of Poverty**

The above poverty classifications are based solely on income or assets, but such measurements are not indicative of the complex nature of poverty. Questions regarding social and political capital, educational opportunities, infrastructure availability, and others are ignored when calculating poverty solely based on assets or income. The UN defines poverty much more broadly as “the nonfulfillment of any human right” and credits Amartya Sen with doing more to expand the definition than anyone else.78

The UNDP goes on to specify:

People cannot be reduced to a single dimension as economic creatures. What makes them, and the study of the development process, fascinating is the entire spectrum through which human capabilities are expanded and utilized.”79

The “capabilities” referred to were drawn largely from Sen’s work in Capabilities Approach (CA). As CA is used in the formulation of this study’s conceptual framework and one of the dependent variables tested in this research, it is worthwhile to expound upon it here.

CA is a normative development framework that expands the perception of poverty alleviation and development from solely economic growth to other important aspects of social improvement and an individual’s quality of life. In this more holistic process emphasis is shifted to expanding people’s capabilities – “their freedom to promote or

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78 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, pg. 5

achieve valuable beings and doings”⁸⁰.

Sen contends that the expansion of freedom is viewed as both the primary end and principal means of development; “that focusing on freedom is a more accurate way to build what people really value.”⁸¹ The three central terms within CA are: functionings, capabilities, and agency. They can be defined as:

- “Functionings are the valuable activities and states that make up people’s well-being. They are related to goods and income but they describe what a person is able to do or be as a result. It can be differentiated between functionings as ‘the various things a person may value doing or being’ and achieved functionings as ‘the particular beings or doings a person enjoys at a given point in time’.

- Capabilities are the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that a person can achieve. They reflect the person’s freedom to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value.

- Agency is the ability to pursue goals that one values and has reason to value.”⁸²

Capability can be understood as a kind of opportunity freedom; as a wealthy person can purchase many things, a person with many capabilities can enjoy many different things and has the ability to pursue any path s/he values. Through this perspective development is meant to promote the agency, or the ability to pursue and realize goals that a person

⁸⁰ Alkire 2005, pg. 1.
⁸¹ Ibid.
⁸² Ibid.
values and has a reason to value. “The key idea is that people are able to be active, creative, and act on behalf of their own aspirations.”

The literature is replete with criticisms and complaints at the difficulty in operationalizing Sen’s theories to improve quality of life. Sen’s work with Mahbub al Haq in creating the Human Development Index (HDI) and Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) are powerful tools in diagnosing levels of poverty, however. These indices use health, education, life expectancy, and levels of income with the explicit purpose "to shift the focus of development economics from national income accounting to people-centred policies".

The HDI and IHDI have been applied to nations and regions for a quarter century. They have also inspired the Social Science Research Council to develop their own American Human Development Index, which assigns scores to each congressional district in the country plus the District of Columbia. Louisiana’s Second District, in which all but two of the subjects interviewed in this study reside, ranks 391st out 436 with a score of .715, on par with Jamaica (itself ranked 97th out of 187 measured nations), just below Albania and above St. Lucia.

Such alternate definitions of poverty and development allow for a more holistic approach to their study. Strictly income and asset-based measurements of poverty are

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83 Schoop, pg. 17.
84 Grasso, Pg. 3.
85 UNDP HDR 1990.
87 Adjusted from the reported AHD score of 3.96/10 found at: Burd-Sharps & Lewis pg. 64.
included in this dissertation but not as the primary focus. This research examines NOLA’s TI workers through the additional lenses of CA, the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS), and Anti-Poverty Tourism (APT) – which will be discussed in detail later.

These “people-centered” definitions of poverty allow for a more thorough analysis of the experiences and perceptions of workers. The following review provides an additional framework for analyzing the TI. Subsequently, this framework and the aforementioned discussion enable a novel and replicable approach to studying the tourism-poverty nexus.

II. Dimensions of the Tourism Industry

A. Defining Tourism

Tourism is an umbrella term that “encompasses travelers away from home and the businesses and people who serve them by expediting or otherwise making travel easier or more entertaining.”\textsuperscript{89} Such a broad term is often subject to shifting definitions and when viewed as an industry rather than a leisure activity it becomes more complex. The TI is composed of countless component businesses including restaurants, lodging, transportation companies, conventions, government agencies, NGOs, retail shops, entertainers, and many others.

Owing to the large number of jobs and activities that comprise the TI, the labor market is highly segmented. Labor market theorists such as Doeringer and Piore find it useful to divide an economy into two main sectors.\textsuperscript{90} The primary sector includes more skilled and stable work positions such as hotel clerks and concierges. These jobs tend to

\textsuperscript{89} Lundberg, et al, pg. 4.

\textsuperscript{90} Doeringer and Piore 1970.
have better working conditions and employees demonstrate longer lengths of work tenure.\textsuperscript{91} The secondary sector of the TI labor market consists of jobs that require little training and tend to have lower wages, fewer opportunities for career advancement, and poorer working conditions. Examples of such jobs include food service and certain types of low-skill performers. With less incentive to stay, the secondary sector experiences a high turnover rate, and workers are replaced quickly. In the TI generally, and in NOLA in particular, there is a steady supply of transient workers ready to fill these positions.\textsuperscript{92} This glut of labor supply acts to suppress wages further and thereby decrease stability and longevity of work tenures.

Despite the fragmented nature of the TI, it is now the largest and fastest growing industry in the world. In 1960 there were 25 million tourist trips to foreign countries. In 2012 that number exceeded 1 billion, representing an annual growth rate of over 6\%.\textsuperscript{93} Today it employs 260 million people; providing one tenth of the jobs on the planet. The industry now comprises 9\% of global GDP and 6\% of exports; $1.5 trillion, amounting to $4 billion every day.\textsuperscript{94} Because the industry requires such a wide variety of goods and services it has the potential to offer,

“more opportunities than other industries for backward linkages throughout the local economy, whether directly meeting tourists’ needs, such as providing food to hotels, or through indirect links with, for example the construction industry.”\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{91} Wachter 1974.

\textsuperscript{92} Romig 2014, Anding 2014.

\textsuperscript{93} http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/vision.htm

\textsuperscript{94} http://www2.unwto.org/content/why-tourism

\textsuperscript{95} Telfer & Sharpley pg. 19.
It is notable that only a few decades ago tourism was not considered a single economic activity, but rather a “constellation of industries… separately taken seriously but not grouped together.”  

This presents a significant obstacle to the study of the industry because many of the activities occurring within it are often considered components of other industries. Few nations included it as a distinct industry to be included on GDP indices until the late 1950s. No textbooks were written on tourism economics from a US perspective until 1995. It was not until 2003 that the United Nations saw the industry as relevant enough to elevate the World Tourism Organization to a UN agency dedicated to promoting it. 156 nations, six territories, two Permanent Observers, and over 400 Affiliate Members from the private sector are now members of the UNWTO. The United States is not one of them, citing budgetary constraints as the cause.

B. Characteristics of the Tourism Industry

Many studies refer to the TI as a double-edged sword. It has the potential to provide significant benefits to host populations. Pro-tourism literature is filled with descriptions of how the industry can lift cities out of poverty through direct exchanges of foreign capital and through public services funded through taxation of the industry.

The TI also has the ability to exacerbate existing problems and create new ones. Large

96 Becker, pg. 10.
100 Lundberg, et al, pg. 43.
influxes of tourists in some areas have led to increases in the trafficking of sex and illegal drugs. “The social impact can be devastating, particularly in the case of child prostitution and the spread of STDs.”101 The negative impacts of the industry on the environment are also well documented. The TI is responsible for 5.3% of the world’s carbon emissions, roughly the same as Russia. It is also responsible for polluting the oceans, and “the degradation of nearly every tropical beach in the world.”102

As the TI grows in relation to other industries, concerns are raised about overdependence on it.103 For many island states in the Caribbean and Pacific regions tourism revenues can account for upwards of 50% of their GDPs.104 Any economy that is dependent on a single industry is left far more susceptible to both internal and external shocks. Harold Goodwin’s analysis is consistent with that of Harrison, Mak, and Telfer & Sharpless suggesting that overreliance on the industry traps the destination in under-development.105

Tourism is particularly vulnerable to market fluctuations on account of its seasonality. Many tourist destinations are only popular for an annual quarter resulting in a need for the local governments and citizens to make savings wisely in such periods and spend carefully for the rest of the year. Tourism is also affected by larger macroeconomic boom and bust periods of longer duration that often originate in different sectors.

101 Telfer & Sharpless, pg. 196.
102 Becker, pg. 20.
104 Telfer & Sharpless pg. 185.
105 Goodwin, pg. 192; Mak 2004; Telfer & Sharpless 2008.
Tourism can be more sustainable if it is made more regular; a year-round industry with linkages to other local industries less susceptible to seasonality and other shocks.

Additional threats to the industry come in the form of terrorism and natural disasters. A terrorist attack à la Bali, or natural disasters such as the 2004 Asian tsunami, or Hurricane Katrina in 2005 can obliterate an entire region’s tourism market. It has now been ten years since the levee failure in New Orleans, and as seen in FIGURE 2.II.1 the number of tourists still has not reached its pre-storm level of 10.1 million.106

FIGURE 2.II.1 – Number of Tourists Visiting NOLA by year 2004-2014

Disasters can also have far-reaching effects on other markets. It is estimated that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 led to the loss of five million jobs in the tourism industry worldwide107.

Source: NOCVB 2015

Disasters can also have far-reaching effects on other markets. It is estimated that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 led to the loss of five million jobs in the tourism industry worldwide107.

106 http://www.neworleanscvb.com/articles/index.cfm?articleID=7792&menuID=1602

Tourism is regarded as an export industry because it brings in money from outside of an economy. Keynes referred to these exports as injections into the economy that make it grow.\textsuperscript{108} These monetary injections have a stimulatory effect that increases the more times they are spent and re-spent within a particular economy; this is called the ‘multiplier effect’. Any money that goes out of circulation, whether through imports or savings are ‘leakages’. The multiplier effect can be calculated by dividing 1 by the leakages, or, in “mathematical terms: Multiplier = \( \frac{1}{(1-C+M)} \) where C is the marginal propensity to consume and M is the marginal propensity to import.”\textsuperscript{109} The higher the levels of imports/leakages, the lower the multiplier effect and the less economic growth. The tourism and travel industry is highly prone to financial leakages.\textsuperscript{110}

While tourists may spend large amounts of money in a given destination, the things they purchase such as airline tickets, hotel rooms, and alcohol redirect the resources out of the hosting destination. According to UNCTAD, 40-50\% of foreign exchange earnings flow back to the tourists’ home countries.\textsuperscript{111} One study demonstrated that in Fiji a mere 20\% of tourism earnings remained in the economy.\textsuperscript{112} It is unknown what level of financial leakage is occurring in NOLA’s tourism industry. Direct correspondence with the Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB), the Greater New Orleans Center for Data Collection, City Hall, and the New Orleans Tourism and Marketing Corporation (NOTMC) has confirmed that reliable estimates have not been

\textsuperscript{108} Keynes 1965.

\textsuperscript{109} Lundberg, et al, pg. 141.

\textsuperscript{110} Goodwin, pg. 191, Telfer & Sharpley, pg. 19.

\textsuperscript{111} Plüss & Backes, pg. 11.

\textsuperscript{112} Ryan, pg. 50.
formulated. If they have been, no one in a position of power is making them available to the public.

The tourism industry is extremely competitive and frequently relies on various cost-cutting measures. What this often means is “a reduction of wages and benefits as well as large-scale dismissals.”¹¹³ This trend is widely recognized and is often “categorized by low wages, over-dependency on tips, long working hours, stress, lack of secure contracts, poor training and almost no promotion opportunity” for the workers.¹¹⁴

It is notable that in President Obama’s 2012 National Travel and Tourism Strategy, of the 17 goals listed, only one directly refers to the TI workforce, and only then to ensure workers are trained to be hospitable to foreign visitors.¹¹⁵ The other 16 goals deal with making it easier for foreigners to gain admittance to the US, encouraging Americans to travel domestically, and conducting monitoring and evaluation on the growth of the industry. In the president’s follow-up report in May 2014 he emphasized the need to attract 100 million foreign visitors per year, especially from the emerging markets of Brazil and China, but neglected to mention the TI workers at all.¹¹⁶

Mayor Landrieu’s plan for NOLA TI is based exclusively on bringing more people to the city with the assumption that their spending will foster the industry’s growth, directly benefit the city, and by extraction, the people. No reference to direct assistance for TI workers or job development is made.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Chok et al, pg. 157.
¹¹⁴ Beddoe, pg. 5.
¹¹⁵ National Travel and Tourism Strategy, pg. 33.
¹¹⁶ https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/travel_and_tourism_progress_report.pdf
It is important to note that even as a particular destination’s industry grows, it
does not necessarily translate as an increase in the number jobs. For example, “a new
rollercoaster at an amusement park may drive up ticket sales, but the increase in sales
does not necessarily require hiring additional park employees.”118 In New Orleans a more
relevant example would include the addition of a new sporting event or festival to the
annual calendar. Most studies of the TI fail to take this into account.119

Mark Romig, the president and CEO of the NOTMC has stated that while visitors
to NOLA come from all over the world, 51% are from within 400 miles, or a day’s drive
of New Orleans.120 Those 4.76 million people (51% of 9.52 million) then came from,
Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, the Florida Panhandle, and other parts of
Louisiana. These are the poorest states in the nation with the lowest rates of educational
attainment, and high rates of infectious disease.121 NOLA TI workers depend on this
population for 51% of their clientele; the negative effects proceeding from such
interactions are discussed in Chapter 5.

C. Impacts of the TI

“Impacts” must not be confused with “benefits”. Much of the literature lacks this
distinction and it is significant because it demonstrates the general thinking that the

117 Office of the Mayor, “New Orleans Achieves 9.28 Million Visitors in 2013” Press release New Orleans,
numbers/

118 Bess & Ambargis, pg. 8.

119 Bess & Ambargis 2011; Becker 2013; and Lundberg, et al 1995 for detailing the exact opposite view

120 Personal Correspondence, November 2014.

121 Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2012, U.S. Census
impact of a given TI is inherently beneficial economically, and that it translates as a net benefit in other areas as well.\textsuperscript{122}

Prior to the late 1990s the prevailing thought was that tourism was synonymous with economic growth, which automatically led to poverty reduction.\textsuperscript{123} Initially it was seen as an effective ‘growth pole’ and, “reflecting modernization theory, its potential was considered to lie in its contributions to economic growth, this being measured by indicators such as income and employment generation and the multiplier effect.”\textsuperscript{124} Policy-makers believed that economic improvement would “eventually trickle down to the local poor through multiple channels, such as employment, public welfare and family network.”\textsuperscript{125} After decades of failed attempts to lift local populations out of poverty using the tourism industry, scholars and industry leaders started to reformulate their thinking.\textsuperscript{126}

Organizations such as the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTCC) acknowledged the need to consider other aspects of life aside from economic growth. The WTTC is a forum for top business leaders in the industry with a mission “to raise awareness of the full economic and social impact and potential of Travel & Tourism.”\textsuperscript{127} The Council has urged governments to “balance economics with people, culture and environment, ensuring the industry’s long-term growth and prosperity.”\textsuperscript{128} The focus here

\textsuperscript{122} Dwyer, et al, pg. 222.


\textsuperscript{124} Telfer & Sharpley, pg. 27.

\textsuperscript{125} Zeng, et al, 2005.

\textsuperscript{126} Scheyvens, pg. 240.

\textsuperscript{127} http://www.wttc.org/our-mission/

\textsuperscript{128} WTTC 2003, para 6.
appears to be the longevity of tourism activity.\textsuperscript{129} It is an important distinction to make; namely that between sustaining humans and the environment, and sustaining the tourism industry.

Many economically struggling regions answered the WTTC’s call and focused on expanding their TIs, but they failed to address the problems of poverty (however it was defined), environmental degradation, and capabilities, among others.\textsuperscript{130} Not only were tourism destination sites at-large suffering economically, but workers within the seemingly prosperous industry found their conditions, financial and otherwise, lacking improvement.

D. Alternative TIs

In response to increasing global interest in sustainable human development (SHD) and the TI as a tool thereof, a multitude of “alternative” forms of tourism came into existence. ‘Eco-‘, ‘green’, ‘appropriate’, ‘responsible’, ‘soft’, and ‘community-based’ tourism (CBT) became approaches attempting to “transpose the principles of alternative development on to tourism, proposing appropriately scaled, locally owned and controlled development, with the community as the primary instigators and beneficiaries of tourism.”\textsuperscript{131}

One of the most frequently used terms within the ‘alternative’ tourism pantheon is ‘eco-tourism’, defined by Martha Honey as, “travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas that strive to be low impact and (often) small scale.”\textsuperscript{132} Numerous

\textsuperscript{129} Chok \textit{et al}, pg. 153.

\textsuperscript{130} Christie 2002.

\textsuperscript{131} Sharples & Telfer, pg. 27.

\textsuperscript{132} Honey, pg. 33.
theorists take issue with this form of tourism. Ashley et al. contend that while it may focus on preserving the environmental aspects on which the industry depends, it does not take into account the “impacts on the livelihoods of the poor.” Chok et al. state that locals benefit from the conservation efforts of eco-tourism only secondarily; that the primary motivation behind eco-tourism is the preservation of popular destinations for rich members of the North. Sharpley and Telfer’s review of the literature revealed that consumers of ecotourism are mostly motivated by the beauty of the destination, and not by environmental values at all. Duffy offers a damning criticism that most ecotourists are indistinguishable from mass tourists in their lack of environmental awareness and even their desire to attain it. Brennan and Allen go further to state that “eco-tourism is essentially an ideal promoted by well-fed whites.”

CBT, which focuses on local involvement in the planning, executing and profit-sharing of the industry, has also been criticized. A false assumption all-too-often made is that communities are homogenous units with common goals and interests. In reality:

“most communities are made up of distinct interest groups. Often communities are split into various factions based on a complex interplay of class, gender and ethnic factors, and certain families or individuals are likely to lay claim to privileges because of their apparent status.”

133 Ashley, et al., pg. 1.
134 Chok & Macbeth, pg. 149.
135 Telfer & Sharpley, pg. 164.
136 Duffy 2002.
137 Brennan & Allen, pg. 219.
138 Chok & Macbeth, pg. 149.
139 Scheyvens, pg. 241.
Chok et al write that distributive justice is not an explicit objective of CBT. As such, the poorest members of the community (who lack the skills needed to participate in the industry and will bear the lion’s share of any negative impacts) receive few or none of the benefits. Generally the local élite seize control of the process, and thereby the profits. Responsible Tourism scholar Harold Goodwin offers, “CBT is a good idea, but there is little evidence that it works.” Even if such alternative forms of tourism do contribute positively in some ways, they comprise only a small segment of the overall tourism market; about 8%. 

While most of these ‘alternative’ tourisms are usually applied to rural environments, many holidaymakers also seek culture and heritage tours in urban areas like New Orleans. Here the social and financial costs of the industry are apparent in the presence of large numbers of poor people.

By the late 1990s tourism-as-development began shifting from environmental preservation and locals’ engagement to one more clearly focused on poverty alleviation. In 1999 the UK Department for International Development (DFID) launched the Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) Partnership with the help of the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) to explore tourism’s potential in the reduction of poverty. PPT represented an important transition away from the modernization and neoliberal approaches to development. It is defined as tourism that generates net benefits that outweigh the costs

140 Chok et al, pg. 150.
142 Goodwin, pg. 206.
143 Becker, pg. 246.
144 DFID 1999, pg. 1.
for the poor.\textsuperscript{145} This takes into account, not just economic growth, but all costs and benefits associated with the social, environment, cultural, and political situation. “As long as poor people reap net benefits, tourism can be classified as pro-poor (even if richer people benefit more than poorer people).”\textsuperscript{146}

PPT is meant to be an approach to existing forms of tourism, rather than a new variety altogether. “Any kind of tourism can be made pro-poor. PPT can be applied at different levels at the enterprise, destination or country.”\textsuperscript{147} Its emphasis is on “unlocking opportunities for the poor within\textsuperscript{148} tourism, rather than expanding the overall size of the sector.” Whatever form it takes, tourism remains an industry within the global neo-liberal market economy that views humans as consumers whose decisions are driven by purely economic self-interests.\textsuperscript{149} At its core tourism is, “a commercial sector driven by business opportunities, not an engine for providing social services to the poor.”\textsuperscript{150} As such, the private sector alone cannot be relied upon to self-regulate and act in the best interests of the poor.

Chok \textit{et al.} contend that the entire industry must be radically restructured from both outside and within in order to aid its workers at all. Dependent on cash gratuities and prone to seasonal fluctuations in addition to external shocks, the poor who work in the industry are especially vulnerable. If it allows for labor exploitation or income instability,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[145] PPT Partnership 2004a.
\item[146] Ashley, et al. 2001, pg. 2.
\item[147] Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership 2005a, pg. 1.
\item[148] Emphasis added.
\item[149] Hamilton, pg. 42.
\item[150] DFID, pg. 2.
\end{footnotes}
it is inherently not pro-poor. But these are the precise aspects of the industry, which make it so profitable to those currently directing it.

Robert Chambers writes that ethical arguments should be used to convince the powerful and wealthy to cede their control to the poor. He suggests actions should be taken that are based on, “the values of common decency, compassion and altruism.”

Having the rich transform the industry into one that generates net benefits for the poor at the cost of the rich does not seem likely. Although it is worth noting that the TI could be a prime candidate for social entrepreneurship initiatives, whereby the profits are social, rather than economic in nature. There are no such initiatives in New Orleans at this time. This is perhaps because the TI lacks the usual drivers of such initiatives including a cohesive identity, political organization and representation, and a broad-based desire towards innovation. It is unknown if there are any such programs in existence elsewhere; and if so, it provides direction for further research.

In 2003 the UNWTO launched the Sustainable Tourism for the Elimination of Poverty (ST-EP) program further emphasizing focus directly on the poor. ST-EP aims “to establish a direct link between tourism and poverty alleviation and emphasize the voices and needs of the poor in tourism development.” Whether the poor can gain meaningful benefit from the tourism industry is now the “primary criterion for justifying any tourism-based development initiative.”

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152 Chambers, pg. 196.

153 Huybrechts & Nicholls 2012.


155 Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 120.
seminars and conducting research.\textsuperscript{156} As yet there are no quantifiable results directly attributable to this initiative.

**E. Assessing Benefits of the TI on its Workers**

There is a dearth of academic research on assessing the relationship between tourism and poverty alleviation among workers and their communities. TI researchers Weibing Zhao and J. Ritchie call it \textit{terra incognita}.\textsuperscript{157} In their article, “Tourism and Poverty Alleviation” it was noted that in the fields of PPT and ST-EP (which they combine to call Anti-Poverty Tourism, or APT) “relevant research to date is fragmented, limited in scope and lacks consistent methodological development.”\textsuperscript{158} They then present an integrated research framework drawing upon a multitude of perspectives to address these shortcomings. At the core of this research structure is a multidimensional definition of poverty which includes “vulnerability and a lack of voice, power and representation.”\textsuperscript{159}

They identify three determinants for analyzing the tourism industry’s capacity to alleviate poverty; namely: opportunity, empowerment, and security. Below is their original conceptual framework.

\textsuperscript{156} \url{http://step.unwto.org/content/overview-st-ep-activities-0}

\textsuperscript{157} Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 120.

\textsuperscript{158} Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 119.

\textsuperscript{159} Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 121.
FIGURE 2.II.2 – Zhao & Ritchie’s Anti-Poverty Tourism Conceptual Framework

Source: Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 122

An augmented version of this framework was used to conduct this dissertation research and is discussed at length in the following section.

Zhao & Ritchie presented their research outline in 2007 and to date their work has only been cited 36 times in other publications.160 Most of the other publications refer only to how little research there is on the topic or how effective a tool their framework might be if actually applied to a given situation. No one has yet attempted to do so. Zhao & Ritchie themselves state that, “Judging the appropriateness and efficacy of a certain poverty alleviation approach can be as straightforward as to examine whether it contributes to the opportunity, empowerment or/and security of the poor.”161 This study does just that in the case of the tourism industry in New Orleans. NOLA is a fitting place to conduct this study for several reasons:

• It has a large and growing tourism industry (9.52 million visitors in 2014, 70,000 workers)162

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160 http://www.tandfonline.com.libproxy.tulane.edu:2048/doi/citedby/10.2167/cit296.0#tabModule

161 Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 124.
• Vast revenues ($6.81 billion in tourist spending in 2014)\textsuperscript{163}

• High poverty rate (27%, nearly twice the national average, 37% of NOLA households are in Asset Poverty, 24% have zero or negative net worth)

• High level of income inequality (NOLA has a Gini Coefficient of .5754)\textsuperscript{164}

• Prone to external shocks such as natural disasters

• The availability of literature and data pertaining to history, poverty, and tourism

• This researcher’s extensive personal experience working in the New Orleans tourism industry

The nature of poverty in New Orleans is discussed regularly in the local, state, and national news, and Tulane University’s Howard Tilton Library’s holdings alone hold 51 academic journals and articles on this topic that have been published since 2004. Much has also been written on the tourism industry in New Orleans, with notable work by J. Mark Souther addressing how tourism transformed the cultural landscape;\textsuperscript{165} Anthony Stanonis chronicling the forces that led to tourism’s preeminence in the city;\textsuperscript{166} and Kevin Gotham exploring the tourism-race nexus.\textsuperscript{167} Their contributions to the literature provide a historical context in which this study took place. A more thorough description of the history of the TI in New Orleans is included in Appendix B.

\textsuperscript{162} http://www.neworleanscvb.com/articles/index.cfm?action=view&articleID=7792&menuID=1602

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{164} Weinberg, pg. 12.

\textsuperscript{165} Souther, 2006.

\textsuperscript{166} Stanonis, 2006.

\textsuperscript{167} Gotham, 2007.
This researcher has culled through sources dealing with the economic impacts of the industry on New Orleans issued by the mayor’s office, City Hall, the CVB, the NOTMC, the UNO Hospitality Research Center, and the Data Center. There is not a single text or academic article examining the impacts of working in the NOLA tourism industry on its workers, however.

The following chapter presents the research questions and objectives that emerged from this review of existing literature. Chapter 3 also includes the conceptual framework which gave structure to the execution of this study.
CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH QUESTIONS & OBJECTIVES

Having identified gaps in the fields of tourism and poverty studies, this chapter outlines the primary research framework that will fill them. In doing so, this dissertation regarding the dimensions of poverty among TI workers in New Orleans contributes to the existing body of knowledge in the fields of tourism studies, economics, poverty studies, and international development.

A. Conceptual Framework

As mentioned earlier, the most comprehensive approach to the study of this topic was formulated by Weibing Zhao and J.R. Brent Ritchie in 2007. The authors state that the three primary determinants of an equitable, sustainable, and effective poverty-alleviating tourism industry are: opportunity, empowerment, and security, “which collectively reflect the guiding principles of contemporary development practices.”168

After considerable review, a fourth determinant was added to the original framework, namely: Quality of Life. Drawing largely from Sen’s CA and the field of Satisfaction With Life (SWL) research, Quality of Life, adds a subjective dimension of satisfaction with one’s condition to the analytical model.

Functionings and capabilities as defined by Sen are already accounted for effectively in Zhao and Ritchie’s model with security, opportunity, and empowerment. Agency (defined as the ability to pursue goals that one values and has reason to value) is a primary focus in the quality of life variable added to their framework. Agency and the

168 Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 123.
general freedom to pursue personal goals is necessary but not sufficient in determining one’s quality of life, however. Happiness is also a factor in quality of life.

“Because happiness is described as the subjective evaluation of how much an individual is satisfied with the life he/she is living, it can be measured by using different types of questioning techniques.” Based on the research of Diener, et al, the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) is an effective means of determining subjective well being as it has “high internal consistency and high temporal reliability. Scores on the SWLS correlate moderately to highly with other measures of subjective well-being, and correlate predictably with specific personality characteristics.”

Combining agency from the CA with the SWLS yields a robust and reliable metric for a person’s quality of life. This augmented model can be applied to any population in any location, but for this research it is applied to those working in the NOLA TI.

FIGURE 3.1.1 – Augmented Conceptual Framework

The various forms of poverty in the NOLA TI.

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169 Jaloh, et al, pg. 64.

This conceptual framework is bounded by both macro and micro environmental influences such as global economics and local politics at work on the situation. The stakeholders that serve as subjects for this study are the NOLA TI workers who are experiencing one or more forms of poverty. Viewed through the APT themes of local participation (workers, business and governmental leaders) and sustainability, the determinants of an effective poverty-alleviating TI are Opportunity, Empowerment, Security, and Quality of Life. Analysis, monitoring and evaluation of these factors will determine whether or not a TI is effective at alleviating poverty. This particular TI can then compete with or complement other approaches.

This framework is most appropriate primarily because it offers four discrete variables with accompanying indicators that can be coded, indexed, and analyzed meaningfully.

B. Research Questions:

With Security, Opportunity, Empowerment, and Quality of Life (as an acronym, SOEQ) as variables, the following research questions emerge:

• **Security** – What levels of security are experienced by NOLA TI workers? To what extent are tourism industry workers vulnerable to various risks such as ill health, economic shocks, job stability, and crime?

• **Opportunity** – What opportunities are available to workers of the NOLA TI? To what extent do TI workers have access to economic opportunities provided by the industry “of which they can take advantage to change their destiny?” ¹⁷¹ What other opportunities, such as social, cultural, educational, and political ones are available which can substitute the economic ones?

¹⁷¹ Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 123.
• **Empowerment** – What levels of empowerment are NOLA TI workers experiencing? What capacity do the workers have to influence state and social institutions, the TI itself, to build assets, and engage effectively in markets?

• **Quality of Life** – What is the quality of life among NOLA TI workers? To what extent are the workers satisfied with the conditions under which they live and work? What level of agency do they have in formulating their own values and pursuing things they value? How happy are they?

The answers to these questions provide insight into the primary research question:

*What dimensions of poverty are experienced by those working in the tourism industry of New Orleans as evidenced in their levels of security, opportunity, empowerment, and quality of life?*

**C. Research Objectives:**

The goal of this study is to help shed light on the apparent contradiction that multiple forms of poverty persist in among NOLA TI workers despite the vast resources brought in from the industry. This researcher hopes to do this by:

1.) Gathering general demographic information about who works in the TI, where they live, and how they become involved in it;

2.) Determining whether and to what extent NOLA TI workers are experiencing income and asset-based poverty;

3.) Determining levels of SOEQ factors among TI workers as a whole;

4.) Determining levels of SOEQ among subgroups based on age, race, gender, and job category;\(^{172}\)

\(^{172}\) If a particular subgroup is experiencing especially high or low levels of any key variable, then it will serve as a reasonable starting point for policy recommendations and further research.
5.) Analyzing the groups and individuals with the highest and lowest scores in each category and overall;

6.) Offering possible explanations for why TI workers remain in the city, in the TI, and at their particular jobs despite levels of privation;

7.) Opening the field for further research into NOLA TI and TIs in other locations.

The following chapter presents the means with which the conceptual framework presented here will be operationalized in order to answer the research questions and meet these research goals.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODS

I. Study Design

This study follows the qualitative research paradigm. The goal of this kind of research is to increase understanding of a given event, social situation, group, or series of interactions.\textsuperscript{173} The researcher is the primary instrument of information gathering, and the data collected are descriptive. Qualitative research “is an emergent design in its negotiated outcomes. Meanings are negotiated with human data sources because it is the subjects’ realities that the researcher attempts to reconstruct.”\textsuperscript{174} Being emergent also means that the initial research plan must be mutable. After entering the field to gather data, every phase of the process is susceptible to modification. This study is based on document-based research and in-depth interviews with industry workers. Archival data provides a contextual frame for the rest of the study and the in-depth TI worker interviews reveal the thoughts and actions of the main stakeholders.

A. Document-Based Research

Specific statistics regarding the TI, its workers and wages are available through the GNOCDC, the NOTMC, the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), the CVB, UNO Hospitality Research Center archives, and New Orleans City Hall.

This research conducts analysis using simple, descriptive statistics, especially on wages, sales and hospitality taxes, income, cost, investment, and job numbers. This study

\textsuperscript{173} Creswell, pg. 194.

\textsuperscript{174} Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba 1985; Merriam 1988.
also includes reviews of reports from the Convention Center, Super Dome, Jazz and Heritage Society and other similar organizations. Use of this secondary data provides greater context for the overall study. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, data from these sources revealed:

- The amount of money entering New Orleans through the industry;
- The number and varieties of TI workers;
- Average wages of NOLA households, and TI workers;
- The macroeconomic environment in which the TI exists globally, nationally, and locally;
- The political economy in which the NOLA TI exists with tax structures and quasi-governmental entities;
- The sociological environment in which the TI exists, namely HDI scores, poverty, STD, and crime rates;

B. In-Depth Interviews

This researcher is uniquely positioned, after having worked for more than six years in the New Orleans tourism sector, to conduct interviews with TI workers. The presence of researcher bias is acknowledged and addressed later on. The selection criteria for which workers were interviewed are detailed below. This author was the sole and principal investigator.

The interviews first gathered basic demographic information including age, race, education level, nativity and places of work and residence. The rest of the interview was designed to reveal the levels of SOEQ the subject was experiencing. Subjects answered questions on key variable points including factors such as home and vehicle ownership,
use of public transit, number of children, and enrollment in health insurance programs.\textsuperscript{175} The interview questions then probed all four variable sets focusing on the following breakdown of indicators:

- **Security:**
  Health risks, natural disasters, crime/violence (both perceived and experienced), economic shocks, receipt of any government assistance, bank account holdings, home ownership, health insurance, social networks “to get by”\textsuperscript{176}, working a second job, other household members, feelings of safety at home, at work, and en route in between

- **Opportunities:**
  Level of education of participant, their parents and their children, years employed at current job, how they got the job, career/education plans, computer literacy, social network “to get ahead”, English language competence, other skills/training, sense of hope for future

- **Empowerment:**
  Membership in a union, social, or faith-based organization, NGO/nonprofit, political party; voter registration status, frequency of voting; ownership of a computer, home, vehicle, or other forms of savings, stocks or bonds, mobility; trips outside of NOLA

- **Quality of Life:**
  Level of happiness, sense of hope for future, enjoying job, enjoying life in this city (as opposed to moving elsewhere for higher pay, for example), leisure time.

  Social networks and community ties are prominent factors in determining the quality of life of its citizens as well. When people feel isolated and removed, they report

\textsuperscript{175} A sample interview script with questions divided by variable can be found in Appendix D.

\textsuperscript{176} Royce, pg. 204.
lower levels of life quality. However, if they perceive themselves to be part of a community, neighborhood, or other socio-familial group, they tend to experience higher qualities of life.

II. **Researcher’s Role:**

As this researcher was the primary instrument of data collection in this qualitative study, it is necessary to detail my own biases and experiences at the outset. My perceptions of New Orleans, the tourism industry, and the local government have been shaped by my experiences with them. I was a resident of New Orleans from August 2004 until December 2013 and from January 2015 until the present. I spent six and a half years as a tour guide of the French Quarter where I worked and socialized with entertainers, city officials, tourists, and industry workers of all varieties from chambermaids to restaurant owners.

These experiences enhanced my understanding of the context as well as the struggles, joys, and decisions of the individuals that I interviewed. I bring knowledge of both the structure of the industry and its people to this study. I also bring bias.

Although every effort was made to ensure my personal feelings and opinions did not influence the data, how it was collected, or analyzed, I commenced this study with the perspective that the NOLA TI did not provide for sustainable increases in security, opportunity, or empowerment for most of its workers. I suspected that it did contribute to higher levels of Quality of Life among most workers.

My personal observations appeared to be supported by the preliminary research I did in the review of literature. I knew that:
A.) NOLA TI workers lacked a significant union presence177
B.) TI jobs in most places were highly unstable178
C.) NOLA relies heavily on its TI179
D.) TI tax revenues are being used to expand the industry rather than provide services to
the people180

In light of this perspective, I assembled a dissertation committee with a wide
range of expertise and strong academic fidelity who helped me identify and reduce such
bias. Other means of ensuring variability, reliability, and robustness are detailed under
the “Verification” heading within this chapter.

III. Bounding the Study

A. Setting

As the majority of the tourism industry is centered in the French Quarter, the
interview zone for this study was limited to that area. Information was gathered during
face-to-face interactions with people in environments where they felt safe to speak freely.
Originally I did not wish to conduct interviews at the participants’ places of work. This
was to ensure they did not feel threatened by possible reprisals from their employers for
responses given. However, as soon as I started interviewing workers from well outside of
my social circle, many requested meeting me at their place of work. There are a number
of bars and coffee shops in the French Quarter, which are frequented by groups of TI

177 http://unionstats.com/
178 Becker, pg. 10.
179 Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, pg. 4.
180 http://www.nola.com/business/index.ssf/2015/06/new_orleans_hotel_tax_hits_hig.html#incart_river
workers and served as optimal interview sites. Primarily those were Finnegan’s Easy and Johnny White’s; both on St. Peter Street. I also conducted the six key informant interviews at places of the participant’s choosing, which included offices outside of the French Quarter, at their homes, or places of work.

B. Subjects

There are 70,000 people, or one third of all the adults in Orleans Parish, employed in the tourism industry.\(^{181}\) Without a research staff, funding, or vast amounts of time, it is unthinkable to conduct a quantitative study surveying a randomly selected representative sample of over 500 people. Instead, the original goal was to select 80 TI workers (20 members of each worker subgroup), and 15 key informants, and ask them to complete the interview. For reasons that will be detailed in a later section, the original typology of workers was abandoned and the concept of worker subgroups disregarded. There was no longer any need to interview that number of people. Studies regarding the issue of saturation, or “when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation”\(^{182}\) suggest that more is not necessarily better. Most PhD qualitative studies have a mean of 31 participants; 10 is the bare minimum, and anything over 60 is superfluous.\(^{183}\) Meaning that interviewing 80 people was unnecessary. In order to ensure the reliability and validity of responses, however, my committee advised getting just over the superfluous marker.

C. People targeted


\(^{182}\) Mason 2010.

\(^{183}\) Ibid.
Every interview participant had attained the age of legal majority at the time of the interview. They included hotel workers such as receptionists, servers, and bartenders, street artists, performers, and dancers on Bourbon and Royal Streets. French Market salespeople and gift shop workers were also subjects. I interviewed buggy drivers, tour guides, and pedi-cab drivers.

D. Excluded parties

1. Taxi drivers - Though it is acknowledged that taxi drivers do deal with tourists, this research would be skewed if their responses were added to the rest of the workers’ whose primary activity is unquestionably within the tourism industry.

2. Illegal/undocumented workers (IUWs) - Though it is acknowledged that IUWs constitute a significant part of the TI, access to them is limited and obstacles such as language barriers and intentionally falsified answers based on fear of being reported would damage the internal validity of this study. Furthermore, the number of IUWs in the NOLA TI remains unknown. Estimates for the total number of IUWs in Louisiana range from 40,000-55,000 statewide, and between 6,000-10,000 in the greater NOLA MSA\(^\text{184}\). It is unknown how many of those are employed in the TI. After seven months and nearly 70 interviews, not a single person of foreign origin indicated their status was anything less than legal, nor did anyone indicate they knew anyone whose was.

3. Wealthy business leaders and owners - These are the top 1%, or roughly 700 people who own most of the businesses and employ the most people. Examples would include Warren Reuther, owner of 20 tourism-centered companies in

NOLA, and employer of between 1,500-2,000 people; and Kishore Motwani, owner of 36 shops in the French Quarter and employer of more than 200 people. Preliminary observations have demonstrated that levels of SOEQ among people like Reuther and Motwani have little in common with the rank and file workers and their responses would skew the study.

E. Subject selection

Subjects were selected using a three-stage referral strategy called “snowball,” or “chain” sampling.\textsuperscript{185} I began by interviewing individuals whom I knew already. This initial convenience sample is “SET A”. From there each subject referred me to someone they knew who also worked in the TI. This is “SET B”. I then interviewed those referrals and asked each of them to refer me to another person or two (“SET C”) with the added stipulation that the referrals did not know the people in SET A. This way the net cast was a far-reaching one; including respondents from groups with whom I would not normally have contact. Additionally, having the members of SETs A & B provide direct references made it more likely that the total strangers in SETs B & C would be willing to participate in the study. I contacted 48 out of 61 interviewees via telephone and text message beforehand to set up a meeting at a time and place convenient for them. This snowball strategy is supported in the qualitative research methods literature because “bias from the convenience sample of initial subjects was progressively attenuated as the sample expanded wave by wave.”\textsuperscript{186}

IV. Interview Processes

\textsuperscript{185} Goodman, pg. 148.

\textsuperscript{186} Heckethorn, pg. 355.
To each participant this researcher clearly articulated the research questions and goals of this study, then read a consent form\textsuperscript{187} aloud to each interview participant, provided them a copy, and asked them to sign it. That is the only record of their name, as the interview sheets only have numbers at the top. All records were securely stored in a locked box at a secure location. Their identities and any means of connecting them to interview answers are concealed throughout the study and beyond. Once consent was given, I conducted the interview, recording on a digital recorder with password lock when possible and permitted, and taking notes throughout. These notes were then transcribed as soon afterward as possible to ensure the maximum amount of information and observations were preserved.

Some interview questions were open-ended, some were multiple-choice, and many used a Likert scale, which is, “an ordinal psychometric measurement of attitudes, beliefs and opinions.”\textsuperscript{188} The questions were presented as statements to which participants indicated degrees of agreement or disagreement. Use of the Likert Scale is supported in research literature because it is the, “most universal method for survey collection, therefore easily understood. The responses are easily quantifiable and since it does not require the participant to provide a simple and concrete yes or no answer, it does not force the participant to take a stand on a particular topic.”\textsuperscript{189} This makes the process easier on the participant. Also, the Likert Scale allows for neutral or undecided feelings of participants. These responses can be coded with ease “when accumulating data since a

\textsuperscript{187} The IRB-approved Consent Form can be found in Appendix C.

\textsuperscript{188} Carfio & Perla, pg. 106.

\textsuperscript{189} LaMarca 2011, citing Likert 1932.
single number represents the participant’s response.” 190 All questions, multiple choice, Likert Scaled, or open-ended were designed to reveal the levels of SOEQ the participant was experiencing.

V. Limits & Ethical Considerations

A. Time Period

There were substantial limitations on the study as the interviews were locked in time within a context of an industry with extreme seasonal variations. Interviews were conducted between October 2, 2014 and April 21, 2015. This was an optimal time to do so because it encompassed one of the slowest tourist traffic months of the year (December) and two of the busiest (October and March). 191 The time of year that the interview took place was also a factor; respondents’ opinions were impacted by how busy the season was; and this will be discussed in the next chapter.

B. Economic Leakage

Statisticians at the US Commerce Department, Bureau of Economic Analysis can formulate special reports dealing with a particular industry in a particular MSA. The cost of such a report was beyond the means of this penurious author, however. As such, the study was never commissioned and the level of financial leakage from the NOLA TI is unknown; and remains a fertile ground for further research.

C. Sensitive Nature of Questions

Some of the interview questions were extremely personal, especially those dealing with financial matters; thus some responses may have been withheld or distorted

190 Allen & Seaman, pg. 64.

191 Personal Correspondence Jeff Anding, April 22, 2014; Sidney Smith May 10, 2014.
either voluntarily or involuntarily. Every effort was made to ensure anonymity and the entire interview process was handled with all due discretion.

The interview was designed to build trust and confidence with the interviewee. The first questions were routine demographic ones which the respondent would have few if any reservations about answering. The second set of questions pertained to Quality of Life and was conversational in tone. The participant and I had generally built up a rapport by then; discussing life in New Orleans, the social scene, and general feelings of satisfaction. Only after the participant had comfortably answered these questions did we move to more personal ones about security and finances.

D. Illegal Activities

New Orleans has a shadow labor force that was not interviewed. A significant but as-yet unquantified portion of this city’s economy is in the illicit trade of drugs, sex, and weaponry. The purveyors of these goods and services were not knowingly included in this study. If a member of the TI happened to be a drug dealer on the side, this information remains unknown. Likewise, interviews were not conducted with undocumented workers. The effects of the tourism industry on the illegal alien labor force are beyond the scope of this study. Though it is acknowledged that they constitute a significant part of the TI, access to them is limited and obstacles such as language barriers and intentionally falsified answers based on fear would damage the integrity of this study.

E. Internal Review Board

As the interviews were with live human subjects, my research proposal had to pass through the Tulane University Internal Review Board (IRB). Approval was granted
on September 26, 2014 (IRB Reference # 14-541056U) and remained valid throughout
the duration of the interview process.

VI. Data Collection Strategies

Document-based data collection and analysis continued throughout the process as new reports, articles and books were published regularly discussing the economic impacts of tourism in general and the NOLA TI in particular. Special attention was paid to the monthly reports from the GNOCDC, and articles in The Times Picayune and The Advocate as well as reports from the CVB and NOTMC.

Interviews lasted between 29 minutes and three and a half hours. To assist in the data collection phase, I recorded as many interviews as I was permitted, 39 in all, and kept a field log. This log provides a detailed account of my observations outside of the questions, my experiences with targeting and interviewing participants, time management, and all issues that eventually led to redesigning this emergent qualitative study. The most significant aspect of alteration to this study was with regard to the Typology of Workers.

Worker Sub Group Plan and Rejection

Having worked six and half years within the tourism industry, this researcher had made certain preliminary observations prior to the official start date of the study, specifically, that the TI cannot be analyzed as a single, monolithic entity. There is significant diversity among the workers within each of the career fields. Initial attempts at categorization yielded six distinct worker subgroups.192 The flaws in this typology

192 For a more thorough description of the previous plan, see Appendix E.
became apparent by the second month of interviews. The basis for those classifications came from anecdotal evidence and personal perceptions by myself and others. This empirical evidence skewed the distribution so, upon the advice of my committee, the previous classifications were abandoned.

In order to help decrease self-selection bias this researcher relied upon “snowball” sampling to broaden the pool of subjects and it was sufficient to gain an accurate picture of what most TI workers were experiencing. And, as one of the primary goals of research is to prepare the field for future researchers, these findings can aid them in establishing a realistic starting point.

VII. Data Analysis Procedures:

A. Simultaneous Nature of Emergent Study

Many research experts suggest that collection and analysis of data must be simultaneous processes in qualitative studies.\(^{193}\) As soon as the first interview was completed, I started to code the data and index it into spreadsheets. By the time I had entered the coded data points for all of Set A and a few subjects in Set B I knew that my original assumptions regarding the worker typology were inaccurate. Once Set B was complete and I had several people in Set C, I was certain that the typology was inappropriate and I gained approval from my committee to alter my methodology. This would not have happened had I not been entering data and running regressions as it was collected.

Within the interview itself, every primary and follow up question was designed to elicit a response which clearly fit into one or two of the four prime variable sets (SOEQ).

Several of these variables overlap, such as education or social group, and these can be coded easily. For example, education is an indicator of both Security and Opportunity, and can be coded as: S-education, O-education. Many of the data were purely qualitative.

As more data were gathered, coded, and indexed, patterns began to form, and these were plotted out on graphs and charts and analyzed further. These indices were then used for numerous groups within the sample set. The indices for workers in each of the snowball sets were compared against each other, as were racial/ethnic groups, genders, neighborhoods of residence, job type, and age, among others. All of these graphic representations and their narrative explanations are presented in the following chapter.

B. Coding and Indexing the Data

Each interview subject was asked the same four demographic questions (age, race, gender, age, and job category) and 118 questions pertaining to the main variables (56 QoL; 20 S; 24 O; 18 E). Of these, 21 were purely qualitative, and 97 questions could be converted into numerical values (42 QoL, 16 S; 19 O; 16 E). Some had to be reconfigured such as grouping people into age brackets, and coding sets of monthly payments.

Once all of the questions were properly coded, they were used to create an index for each category. Responses to questions that indicated higher levels of SOEQ were given positive points, and lower levels were given zero or negative points. An example for quality of life (Q) includes:

Q.2.1 How do you feel about your life in New Orleans?
1 – Hate it  
2 – Dislike it  
3 - Neither like nor dislike it, 
4 – Like it  
5 – Love it
For this example, the lowest score, option 1, was valued at zero, and the highest score possibility was four points for option 5.

Another example, this one from Security is:

S.6.3 Do you know anyone who was ever verbally, sexually harassed or abused at work?
A NO response was worth one point, and a YES response was worth NEGATIVE one point.

Here are the total point scores possible for each of the indices:

**TABLE 4.VII.1 – Maximum and Minimum possible raw SOEQ scores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Maximum Score Possible</th>
<th>Minimum Score Possible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SECURITY</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>(-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPPORTUNITY</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>(-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPOWERMENT</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUALITY of LIFE</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>(-8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are the raw numbers, and the data sheets in the appendices use them as they are. However, for ease and accuracy of comparison, future recordations of these scores in this study are listed as percentages of the total value possible. For example, a person with a raw Q score of 72.8 and an O score of 29.25 has a pair of 65%. The same has been done for groups and overall averages.

It is acknowledged that the responses to certain questions could have been valued differently based upon their bearing on other questions within each category. In the absence of a sample set large enough to accurately determine internal variance, however, this researcher chose to use a more simplified metric. Future researchers may wish to explore this further.

**C. Verification**
In order to ensure internal validity, this researcher employed the following measures:\textsuperscript{194}

1.) Triangulation of data – multiple sources including interviews, observations and document analysis;

2.) Member checking – this researcher continually confirmed and reconfirmed with each subject that my interpretation of their responses accurately reflected their reality and meanings. This “ensures the truth value of the data;”\textsuperscript{195}

3.) Committee guidance – my dissertation committee assisted in examining my findings and helped reformulate the design and analysis when necessary;

4.) Clarification of researcher bias – I have clearly restated this earlier.

\textbf{D. Reliability}

Joppe defines reliability as:

\begin{quote}
“The extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study is referred to as reliability and if the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research instrument is considered to be reliable.”\textsuperscript{196}
\end{quote}

To ensure reliability, this study employs the following measures:

1.) Triangulation of data – which aids in both validity and reliability;

2.) Purpose effectively conveyed – I provided a detailed account of who I am, why I am conducting the study, and how the findings will be used in order to put the participants at ease and increase the reliability of their responses;

\textsuperscript{194} Format derived from Miller’s 1992 doctoral proposal as quoted by Creswell, pg. 199.

\textsuperscript{195} Creswell, pg. 199.

\textsuperscript{196} Joppe, pg. 1.
3.) Subject to scrutiny - detailed information regarding all collection methods and data analysis is provided and subject to external examination.

**E. Reporting the Findings:**

This is an exploratory, emergent, and qualitative study. The results of the research are presented in narrative style with charts and graphs to illustrate patterns and trends. The appendices include a copy of the interview scripts, transcriptions of recorded interviews, spreadsheets with all findings coded and indexed, and additional descriptions of the study as it evolved.
CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

Introduction

This study exploring the dimensions of poverty experienced by TI workers in New Orleans has yielded five categories of findings. They are: 1.) general demographic profiles of NOLA TI workers, 2.) levels of income and asset-based poverty among TI workers, 3.) levels of poverty under the expanded definition (SOEQ) among TI workers, 4.) perceptions vs. reality of TI workers’ conditions, and 5.) possible explanations for why workers remain in the NOLA TI.

I.) Interview Subjects

This research is based on the results of interviews taken with 61 NOLA TI workers in the French Quarter between October 2, 2014 and April 21, 2015. The following is a breakdown of who the interview participants were and how they identified themselves.

- Gender – 24/61 (40%) of respondents identified as male, 36/61 (59%) as female, and one (1.6%) respondent as “gender neutral”\(^{197}\)

- Age – subjects ranged in age from 20-52 with an average of 33, and the most common response, or mode is 28. This is significantly younger than the national

\(^{197}\) NOTE – IS#0013 self-identified as “Gender Neutral” and constituted the only non-male/female interviewee. It was later discovered that he lived most of his daily life identifying as a gay male. For the purposes of this study, he has been added to the male tabulation. Although future researchers may wish to explore the unique experiences of gender neutral, trans-, poly-, omni-, and others in the NOLA TI, it is out of the purview of this study.
average of all workers’ ages, 42.3 years,\textsuperscript{198} but slightly higher than the national average of leisure and hospitality workers of 31.3 years.\textsuperscript{199}

- Race or ethnicity – In this study, as with the US Census Bureau, “an individual’s response to the race question is based upon self-identification.”\textsuperscript{200} With no boxes to fill, the respondent was free to categorize themselves as they saw fit. Two thirds, (66%; 40/61) subjects self-identified as white, and the others (34%; 21/61) subjects identified as being a wide variety of races and non-white mixes. Notable among them were the two New Orleans natives who identified as “Black-Creole”, a woman who demanded she be listed as Cajun and not white, and one man who was unsure what to say, so I recorded “Afro-Chinese-Apache”.

For the purposes of this study, all future race/ethnicity-related metrics fall into only two categories – white, and non-white. Non-whites represent both the numerical minority in this study as well as the sociological definition of a minority group. Sociologist Louis Wirth defined a minority group as:

"a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.”\textsuperscript{201}

This is how the term “minority group” is used henceforth. Even when a group, such as women, is not in the numerical minority, the group is still referred to, in the sociological sense, as a minority group.

\textsuperscript{198} http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/tenure.pdf

\textsuperscript{199} http://www.bls.gov/cps/industry_age.htm

\textsuperscript{200} http://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html

\textsuperscript{201} Wirth 1945, pg. 347.
• Citizenship - The vast majority of interview subjects, (86.9%; 53/61) were native-born US citizens, and eight were citizens of seven foreign nations (UK, Netherlands, Kazakhstan, Nepal, Pakistan, Kenya, and Czech Republic).

• Purpose for coming to NOLA – While the 2010 census indicated that 79% of Louisiana and 73.2% of New Orleans\textsuperscript{202} was “native-born,” only 16.4% (10/61) of TI workers were born in the city. Smaller numbers still came for education (8.2%; 5/61), to follow family (8.2%; 5/61), or looking for work (9.8%; 6/61). The majority (57.4%; 35/61) came to New Orleans for what they described as the “culture” and remained here, now employed in the TI. “Culture” is a broad term which will be explored further in this context in Section V.

FIGURE 5.1.1 – Reason for coming to NOLA

• Time spent in NOLA – The range was broad; from three weeks to 45 years with an average of 12 years and a mode 10. This indicates that, while there are always new people coming to town, most people stay for much longer than a few tourist season cycles which typically last 4-8 months.

• Nature of work – Subjects’ job-types were broken down into six categories, namely:

\textsuperscript{202} https://www.census.gov/acs/www/data/data-tables-and-tools/american-factfinder/
- Retail/Sales (art galleries, French Market, souvenirs, bottled water, T-shirts, pet costumes, cigars, etc.) – 12/61 (20%)
- Transport - (pedi-cabs and buggies only) 4/61 (7%)
- Service –Food 13 (21%)
- Service-Alcohol 16 (26%)
- Entertainment (guides, strippers, street performers, Karaoke singers, musicians) - 13 (21%)
- Lodging (hotel front desk workers, chambermaids, concierges) - 4 (7%)

FIGURE 5.I.2 – Percentage of interviewed TI workers by job category

- Work tenure at time of interview – Subjects had worked at their jobs from a single week to 22 years with an average of 4.28 years and a median of 2.5 years. This indicates a lower level of transiency than national industry metrics. In 2014 the national median tenure at work for all occupations was 4.6 years. Nationally workers in the leisure and hospitality had a median work tenure of 2.3 years; suggesting that NOLA TI workers are right on par with national levels. In fact, entertainers, with a mean of 9.2 years have the highest mean work tenure; almost

double the mean of retail workers, the second highest tenure.\textsuperscript{204} Entertainers also have a median work tenure of 8 years, which is higher than the longest median occupation tenures in the country, management and architecture (6.9 and 6.7 years respectively).\textsuperscript{205} This indicates there are broad variations within the TI which would account for the low average and median.

\textbf{FIGURE 5.1.3 – Mean Work Tenure by Job Category}

These demographic data serve as the foundation for exploration of workers’ experiences in the NOLA TI. Having identified a number of subgroups, they can be analyzed independently or compared to one another. The following section addresses how interview subjects on the whole experienced poverty as it is commonly defined.

\textsuperscript{204} Such a long tenure could suggest higher degrees of stability, but it might also indicate low degrees of mobility. Analysis of these possibilities is found in Section V.

II. Traditional Forms of Poverty Among TI Workers

A.) Traditional, neoclassical definition of poverty

As noted in earlier chapters, the standard definition of poverty used in neoclassical economics is based on set income levels. Such metrics ignore non-income generating activities and “also any transactions or methods of obtaining food, shelter, etc., that do not require a capitalist form of money exchange.”206 These activities will be addressed in later sections. For the present, purely income-based definitions of poverty are applied to the NOLA TI workers. Institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF, and many national governments continue to use GDP per capita to determine whether or not a community (region, country, etc) is poor; and annual cash income is used as a metric of poverty for individuals and their dependents.207

If an individual in the US with no dependents earned less than $11,770 per year in 2015, then they fell below the Federal Poverty Line (FPL).208 In 2015 14.5% of the US, 19.1% of Louisiana, and 27.3% of New Orleans fell below the FPL.209 The average wage of a NOLA TI worker was just over $32,000 per year,210 which is significantly higher than the FPL even for a family of four at $24,250.211 In this dissertation study, however, 13% (8/61) of those interviewed claimed they did not earn or possess enough money to meet their needs for more than one week. Interview Subject (IS) #0056, a hot dog cart

209 http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/22/22071.html
210 GNOCDC. The New Orleans Index at Eight, pg. 16.
211 http://obamacarefacts.com/federal-poverty-level/
attendant, said, “What I make today is what I eat tonight; I got nothing beyond that.” All eight of these respondents acknowledged living from day to day with no savings, steady income, contract, or benefits. Two of them were homeless. These eight fall below the FPL of $11,770.

An additional 21 interview respondents (34.4%) said they did not have enough resources to last beyond one month, and that they did not earn enough to save anything after paying for basic needs. If only half of these fell below the FPL, then the poverty rate within this sample is over 29%. Without asking them directly what their income levels are, they cannot be known for certain. Thus, even using a very conservative estimate, NOLA TI workers have a higher level of income-based poverty according to a neoclassical definition of that term than do TI workers elsewhere in the New Orleans, or Louisiana, or the US.

**B.) Asset poverty**

In addition to traditional income-based metrics, asset poverty is a useful classification to explore differing dimensions of poverty. This is defined as,

> “not having the financial means to support a household for three months at the federal poverty level, should they lose their main source of income. (i.e. $2,872.50 for an individual)”

This measurement device is especially useful when dealing with the TI owing to the seasonality and the transience of its workers. Seasonality is an important factor to consider because if workers have a high-earning month followed by several lean ones, they may be compelled to rely upon savings or sell off assets. A lack of assets would

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hinder someone’s ability to survive lean times. While 27% of the US and 37.2% of NOLA\textsuperscript{213} lives in asset poverty, 61% (37/61) of the TI workers in this study did as well.\textsuperscript{214}

**FIGURE 5.II.1 – Levels of asset poverty by population**

Primary assets that people sell or use as collateral when income levels are low are homes and vehicles. Less than half (42.6%; 26/61) of interviewed TI workers owned mechanized vehicles, and only 11.5% (7/61) owned their homes. A lack of assets decreases one’s ability to:

“weather adverse events. After experiencing an involuntary job loss, asset-poor families are nearly three times more likely to experience hardship than non-asset-poor families.”\textsuperscript{215}

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, there is a clear and distinct relationship between poverty and increased crime rates. “Persons in poor households at or below the FPL (39.8 per 1,000) had more than double the rate of violent victimization as persons in high-income households (16.9 per 1,000).”\textsuperscript{216} This is consistent with the findings in this study wherein 96.7% (59/61) personally know someone in the French Quarter who has


\textsuperscript{214} Note: Interview subjects were not asked directly about their income or asset values. Instead, they were asked how long they could survive using what they owned at the time of interview. Those who responded with less than three months were deemed Asset Poor.

\textsuperscript{215} Ratcliffe 2013.

been a victim of a personal or property crime; and 91.8% (56/61) know people who have been victims of a crime at work. Concerns over personal safety are compounded by high levels of economic and employment insecurity.

C.) Economic Insecurity:

Of the TI workers interviewed for this study, 85% of them are Independent Contract Laborers (ICL), meaning, they do not have employee contracts, or even written agreements. They get paid weekly and their employers do not process any withholdings for income tax, social security, etc. At the end of each tax year the worker must pay a lump sum out of his or her calculated earnings. ICL most often does not provide any benefits such as health insurance or retirement plans. 82% of interview subjects received no benefits of any kind from their work. 59% of interviewees had some form of insurance, although most of them held only car insurance. Additionally, 41% (25/61) of workers received no reward by management for good performance at all. Of the ones who did receive something, many (38.8%; 14/36) reported receiving alcohol, sex, or drugs as reward. IS#0048 said:

Everyone’s a drunk. It is a requirement to be drinking or on drugs to work in the service industry or you’re not going to make it... Oh, yeah. Out of 40 employees in this company, I am the only one that doesn’t do drugs – at least pot. And that’s why so many people stick to these jobs – many people work for their habit. You should ask people – because this is a confidential survey, you should ask people how they get paid – cash tips, sure, but what about drugs, prescription or not. People who work in service – we have access to alcohol all the time, and we have access to every drug out there.

This exchange between me (A.W.) and IS#0034 further exemplifies this point:

A.W.: How are workers rewarded by management for good performance in your job?
I.S.: Dick.
A.W.: You mean, like nothing at all?
I.S.: No, I mean dick. Penis. If I do good, _____ (I.S.’s manager) will give
it to me – and it’s a good one.
A.W.: Ok. Are you or any other workers rewarded in any other ways for
good performance by management, __________, or otherwise?
I.S.: Yes, drugs and sex and more fun, lots of free booze, woohoo! But it’s
really the dick.

Historically more traditional benefits, such as health insurance and sick leave in
low-wage jobs, are products of unionization and other forms of collective bargaining. No
one interviewed reported being a member of a workers’ union of any kind. The
correlation between unionization and lower levels of poverty and inequality is well
documented.217 Not only do unions fight to ensure better wages for the workers, they also
“reduce inequality by putting a ceiling on executive pay, thereby compressing the wage
scale within a company.”218 A brief discussion of the role of unions in NOLA TI is found
in this chapter’s Section IV.D.

A lack of organized labor and concerns over workplace contracts and wages are
exacerbated by worry over rising rent prices. More than a third (36.1%; 22/61) of TI
workers mentioned rent and rising housing prices as a concern. “It’s becoming a
playground for rich yuppies with no culture, we can’t afford to live here anymore,” said
IS#0012. “Yeah, I’d love to stay where I’m at, but how much plasma do I have to sell to
pay the rent?!” (IS#0059) The Data Research Center reports that more than 35% of the
city's residents spend at least half of their salaries on rent. The national average is about a

217 Brady, Baker, & Ryan.
218 McClendon, Robert 2014.
The median household income in NOLA increased by less than $500 between 2011 and 2014, and:

“Meanwhile, fair market rents increase by nearly 12%. New Orleans’s rental market is rapidly becoming one of the least affordable for residents. Fair market rent in New Orleans is equal to 41% of median income, eighth highest of America’s 50 largest cities.”

“The price per square foot nearly doubled in the 70118 area of Uptown and was up 134 percent in the 70119 ZIP code which includes Mid-City and the 7th Ward.” These two neighborhoods are home to 34% (21/61) of interview subjects. They are also prone to significant levels of violent crime, roughly double the national rate. If workers cannot afford to live in neighborhoods with lower crime rates, then they will continue to be exposed to localized risks that might otherwise be avoided.

As such, the effects of financial privation are not limited to one’s ability to make payments; but rather, they have the potential to adversely impact individuals and communities in numerous ways. This leads to the expanded definition of poverty mentioned earlier. The previous three sections addressed only income and asset-based measures of poverty, but this study goes further by examining the levels of security, opportunity, empowerment, and quality of life of NOLA TI workers.


221 Wallace, 2015.


III. Expanded Definition of Poverty (SOEQ) Among TI Workers

Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, which, in the field of international development, includes vulnerability, a lack of voice, power, and representation. The UN defines it as, “the nonfulfillment of any human right.” Dimensions of this expanded conception of poverty are ‘quality of life’, ‘opportunity’, ‘empowerment’ and ‘security’, which collectively reflect the guiding principles of contemporary development practices. A brief review of how each section is comprised is in order here:

- **Security** is concerned with decreasing vulnerability to various risks such as ill-health, crime, and economic shocks. Because poor households have fewer and less diversified assets and sources of income, they are far more prone to “despair when these adverse impacts happen to them.”

- **Opportunity** addresses workers’ ability “to change their destiny” through both economic means, as well as by taking advantage of available social, cultural, educational, and political opportunities which can substitute the economic ones. Workers’ perceptions of the TI itself and its overall impact on the city and its people are also explored in this section. Faith in the industry in general is linked with workers’ confidence in the stability of their own particular jobs.

- **Empowerment** refers to workers’ capacity to influence the state and social institutions; to participate in local decision-making. It also deals with removing economic barriers to building assets. Poor people, “being socially, economically
and politically marginalized, both forms of empowerment represent the essential processes for them to pursue and benefit from economic opportunity.”

For the purposes of this study, “marginalized” is defined as ‘Social exclusion’, a complex multidimensional process of:

“relegating specific groups of people to the lower or outer edge of society… Politically this process of relegation denies people equal access to the formal power structure and participation in the decision making processes leading to their subordination to and dependence on the economically and politically dominant groups of society.”

- **Quality of Life** incorporates the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) and aspects of Sen’s Capabilities Approach (CA) to gauge levels of workers’ satisfaction with the conditions under which they live and work; levels of agency they have in formulating their own values, and pursuing things they value.

The index developed from the above dimensions of poverty then yielded the following TI workers’ scores in each variable set.

**A.) Overall Scores**

TI workers’ scores in each of these categories were tabulated, and below they are listed by mean, median, mode, and range. The “Trimmed Range” refers to the removal of the outliers on either end; the highest and lowest scores in each category. As mentioned earlier, for ease and accuracy of comparison in this study, future recordations of these scores are listed as percentages of the maximum value possible. For example, a person with a raw Q score of 72.8 and an O score of 29.25 has a pair of 65%.

| TABLE 5.III.1 – Overall Scores – Raw and Percentages of maximum possible |
|-----------------|------|-----|-------|-------|------|------|-------|
| VARIABLE        | Possible | Range of | Trimmed | Median | Mode | Average |

---

228 Zhao & Ritchie, pg. 124, and World Bank 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>(Mean)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>(7)-31</td>
<td>2-18</td>
<td>5-15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(23.7%-71.1%)</td>
<td>(31.6%-57.9%)</td>
<td>(42.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (44.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity</td>
<td>(-1) – 44</td>
<td>15-33</td>
<td>16-32</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(35.6%-75.6%)</td>
<td>(37.8%-73.3%)</td>
<td>(55.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23 (53.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>0-29</td>
<td>7-21</td>
<td>8-20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(24.1%-72.4%)</td>
<td>(27.6%-68.9%)</td>
<td>(44.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17 (58.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of Life</td>
<td>0-112</td>
<td>41-104</td>
<td>46-89</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(36.6%-92.9%)</td>
<td>(41.1%-79.5%)</td>
<td>(63.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>64 (54.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that the medians and averages, or means, are so close to one another for most dimensions signifies that there are not large disparities within the sample set.

**B.) Subgroup scores analysis**

As this kind of study has never been conducted on TI workers in NOLA or elsewhere, there is no baseline to which the above scores can be compared. However, comparisons between subgroups of workers in the context of national poverty dialogues are useful. The effects of poverty are disproportionately experienced by minority groups. For example, in the US in 2014 “among racial and ethnic groups, African Americans had the highest poverty rate, 27.4 percent, followed by Hispanics at 26.6 percent and whites at 9.9 percent.” These figures only refer to traditional income-based measures of poverty, however, and the goal here is to explore multiple dimensions of poverty. This then leads to the next research question:

*Among TI workers, which sub-groups are experiencing lower levels of SOEQ?*

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230 Wilson 1996.

The preliminary demographic questions of self-identified race, gender, age, and job category led to the creation of four distinct worker subgroups. The mean scores of each variable set for each subgroup (white/non-white; male/female; ages 20-29/30-39/40-49/50+; jobs in retail/food service/alcohol service/transport/entertainment/lodging) were then compared and the results are detailed below.

1.) Race/Ethnicity

The purpose here is not to delve into a detailed study of the effects of race on working in the NOLA TI; that is beyond the scope of this research. Instead, the goal is to determine whether or not it plays a significant factor in determining levels of SOEQ when compared to other subgroups.

In this study 57.5% (23/40) of white workers and 66.6% (14/21) of non-white workers were found to be asset poor. While this does represent a significant difference between the subgroups, it is considerably less than the disparity seen on city, state, or national levels. This would suggest that the working in the NOLA TI actually flattens the range of wealth inequality between races. This is not to say that the NOLA TI solves the systemic problems of racial inequity in the workplace but rather, it provides a more common of experience of privation among its workers. Instead of improving the experiences of historically marginalized groups, working in the NOLA TI appears to lead to lower average scores regardless of race. As demonstrated earlier, the rates of income and asset-based poverty among TI workers of all races are significantly higher than national averages. However, as seen in the table below, there is very little difference between the scores of non-whites and whites in each of the four variables, less than 4%.
### TABLE 5.III.2 – SOEQ Means by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Mean of Q</th>
<th>Mean of O</th>
<th>Mean of S</th>
<th>Mean of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>64.6%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White</td>
<td>62.1%</td>
<td>54.9%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Q, O, and S sections, whites do score higher, but only slightly so. Variable E demonstrates non-whites perceived themselves as slightly more empowered than their white counterparts. Thus, race does not have a significant impact on the sampled NOLA TI workers’ levels of SOEQ. Members of both the majority and minority groups experienced these four dimensions of poverty in equal measure.

#### 2.) Gender

Similar to the brief discussion on race, this is not a study about gender disparity in the NOLA TI either; the purpose of this subsection is to ascertain whether and to what extent members of different gender groups were experiencing greater levels of poverty. Not only did females have a lower rate of asset poverty 58.3% (21/36) than men 64% (16/25), but five of the seven workers who reported they had enough assets to support themselves without income for a year or more were females. While numerous female interview subjects made reference to their careful spending and savings habits, not one male did the same. When asked how long she could survive at the FPL with no additional income, IS#0006 said,

“Oh, I know that already. I know I always have at least three months of FOAD money. That is F*** Off And Die money. Right now I have about seven months of it. That does not include my savings or 401K.”

Nine of the 36 female TI workers (25%) are mothers, and several mentioned the need to save for their children. 7/25 (28%) male workers are fathers, and three are currently paying arrears on their child support. While these factors may drive up females’
security scores, there are personal safety factors included within the S variable also. Frequent mention of the sexual harassment and exploitation of women in the TI workplace was also made. 88.5% (54/61) knew someone who was sexually harassed or abused at work. IS# 0001 said, “Anyone who doesn’t is lying.” Without prompting, six female respondents offered that they themselves had been victims of such unwanted attention. A food server (IS#0039) said, “Everyone in the restaurant business is sexually harassed – I got less sexual harassment when I was a stripper in Texas.”

In addition to workplace stressors, TI incomes in NOLA reflect a national trend of gender disparity. Nationally, women earn about 79 cents to every dollar a man makes in the service industry.\(^{232}\) In New Orleans women earn just over 80 cents to the men’s dollar.\(^{233}\) This disparity would suggest that women in the NOLA TI would be experiencing lower levels of SOEQ than their male counterparts, but as indicated in the table below, that is not the case.

### TABLE 5.III.3 – SOEQ Means by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>Mean of Q</th>
<th>Mean of O</th>
<th>Mean of S</th>
<th>Mean of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (+1 N)</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean of women’s scores is slightly lower than men’s for Quality of Life and Security, but it is slightly higher than men’s scores in Opportunity and Empowerment. Education level is often thought of as a means of increasing social and economic opportunities.\(^{234}\) More than half of the women interviewed (53%; 19/36) had a college

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degree or higher. Their male counterparts had only a 40% rate of such high levels of education. The only person with PhD interviewed in this study is a female alcohol server (IS#0041).

With regard to the E variable, sub categories such as voter registration rates and self-reported levels of political involvement are nearly identical between men and women. In addition to the other scores, this would suggest that, similar to race, gender does not play a significant factor in a NOLA TI worker’s level of SOEQ. Again, it must be noted that these findings do not indicate the cure for gender inequity in the workplace is the TI. All they demonstrate is that males and females in this study are reporting similar degrees of poverty. A description of various policy recommendations proceeding from these findings is presented in Chapter Six - Conclusions.

3.) Age

With a range of ages from 20-52, this research study was able to incorporate the responses of workers both entering and exiting the TI and those in between. The service industry in general, and the TI in particular, are often perceived as offering temporary jobs for people just entering the workforce, or for people going through a difficult financial time and needing some extra cash.235 As demonstrated earlier, the median age of TI workers is more than a decade younger than that of the total workforce. Only two interview subjects were over the age of 50, while nearly half of them were under 30.

Breaking the workers into four age groups and then tabulating the averages of their SOEQ scores yielded the table below. The scores with the ↑ symbol represent the

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235 Interviews with TI leaders Smith, Reuther, and Anding 2014.
groups with the highest mean score of a given variable. Scores with the ↓ represent the lowest.

**TABLE 5.III.4 – SOEQ Means by Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Mean of Q</th>
<th>Mean of 0</th>
<th>Mean of S</th>
<th>Mean of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>61.4%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>66.3% ↑</td>
<td>58% ↑</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>59.8% ↓</td>
<td>52.2% ↓</td>
<td>48.7% ↑</td>
<td>50% ↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>55.3%</td>
<td>41.3% ↓</td>
<td>44.5% ↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

↑ = Highest Score
↓ = Lowest Score

None of the mean scores of any of these age groups is more than half of one standard deviation\(^{236}\) from the mean on each variable. This would suggest that age, like race and gender, is not a significant factor on NOLA TI workers’ levels of SOEQ.

**4.) Job Category**

Because there were no significant differences in scores between races, ages, or genders, this would suggest that working in the TI is a determining factor for these levels of SOEQ, and not their demographic details. Comparing these scores to people who work in the TI of other locations may well present significant differences of SOEQ experiences between races, genders, and age groups, but that is not the focus of this study.

As the TI is such a highly disaggregated industry with broad variations between the kinds of work performed, it is necessary to examine the experiences of each kind of worker within the interview sample. Below is a table containing the mean SOEQ scores of each of the six job category sub groups. Again, the scores with the ↑ symbol represent the groups with the highest mean score of a given variable. Scores with the ↓ represent the lowest.

\(^{236}\) \(S\sigma = 3.2; O\sigma = 4.3; E\sigma = 3.4; Q\sigma = 11.6.\)
TABLE 5.III.5 – SOEQ Means by Job Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Category</th>
<th>Mean of Q</th>
<th>Mean of O</th>
<th>Mean of S</th>
<th>Mean of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>40.5%↓</td>
<td>43.1%↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodging</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
<td>60.7%↑</td>
<td>52.9%↑</td>
<td>54.5%↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>71.4%↑</td>
<td>57.8%</td>
<td>43.4%↑</td>
<td>54.5%↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Service</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Service</td>
<td>58.5%↓</td>
<td>52.4%↓</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>44.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

↑ = Highest Score
↓ = Lowest Score

Unlike the previous comparisons between subgroups based on simple demographic information, within this series significant differences occur. Those working in transport (mule cart and pedi-cab drivers), for example, have an average Q score nearly 15 points (19%) higher than those working in food service. Entertainment and lodging workers also score below the overall Q mean of 63.8% (raw score = 71.4), while alcohol service and retail workers scored above it. Food service workers and entertainment workers each had two of the lowest mean scores while lodging workers had three of the highest (OEQ), and transport workers had two (Q and E). The reasons for these differences are not within the scope of this study. Without a baseline of comparison elsewhere in the world or from a different time period in NOLA, any attempt to explain why food service workers in NOLA feel slightly more empowered than entertainers would be pure, anecdotal conjecture.

The purpose of breaking down the worker sub-groups in this section is to demonstrate that common factors regularly associated with poverty such as race, age, and gender do not apply in the NOLA TI. That is, each of these groups appears to be experiencing the same levels of SOEQ as the other. The notable sub- Finding in this exploration is that job category does play a factor in determining SOEQ levels. This was
to be expected as the daily experiences of workers in each job category are so fundamentally different from one another. Again, the TI is an umbrella term encompassing a wide variety of work types, and the primary and secondary labor market sectors within it are fundamentally different. It is also conceivable that different kinds of jobs attracted certain kinds of workers with age/gender/race/education characteristics. Though this line of inquiry is beyond the scope of the present study, it provides fertile ground for future researchers.

C.) Asset Poverty-SOEQ Nexus

Having established that NOLA TI workers are experiencing disproportionately high levels of income and asset-based poverty, and acquiring a data set pertaining to their self-reported levels of SOEQ, this section explores the relationship between the two. Below is a table displaying the mean of indexed scores of TI workers in asset poverty and those TI workers outside of it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Avg. of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Avg. of Sum of S</th>
<th>Avg. of Sum of O</th>
<th>Avg. of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asset Poor</td>
<td>61.6%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Asset Poor</td>
<td>66.96%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant differences in point scores exist in each of the categories with the notable exception of empowerment. This would suggest that holding Non-Asset Poor TI workers as a control against which to analyze Asset Poor TI workers could yield meaningful results. In the case of empowerment it appears asset poverty has little to no bearing on TI workers’ feelings of social, political, or economic inclusion; whereas it has a substantial impact on quality of life levels.
1.) Standard Deviations

Standard Deviation (SD, or $\sigma$) is a statistical measure used to determine the amount of variation within a data set. Examining which individuals or groups fall one or two standard deviations above or below the mean is used to determine who is experiencing exceptionally high or low levels of a given variable. Below is a table of standard deviations for each variable set followed by four graphic representations of each sample distribution.

**TABLE 5.III.7 – Standard Deviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range of 1 $\sigma$</th>
<th>Range of 2 $\sigma$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quality of Life</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>11.56</td>
<td>59.44-82.56</td>
<td>(47.88-59.43) and (83.5-95.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>19.71-28.29</td>
<td>(15.42-19.7) and (28.30-32.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>6.83-12.7</td>
<td>(3.66-6.82) and (12.8-16.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>10.64-17.36</td>
<td>(7.28-10.63) and (17.37-10.73)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SD can be used to construct a “typical person” who falls above, below, or at the mean of each one of these variables. Knowing what kinds of people tend to be at each end of the SOEQ poverty spectrums is essential to answering the primary research question. As such, it is worthwhile to analyze the distribution of interview subjects at some length here.

**FIGURE 5.III.1 – Quality of Life SD**
One σ and higher above the Q Mean

Thirteen subjects scored 73.7% (raw score: 82.56/112), or at least one standard deviation above the mean. Their average age was 34.9, their time in NOLA was 14 years, and their time in their current job was 3.95 years. They are overwhelmingly white (10/13), and significantly more likely to be female (8/13 subjects). Only five of them are asset poor, and they are heavily concentrated in alcohol service (5/13) and retail (5/13). Notably, not a single person in the highest Q bracket works in food service. They live all over the city from the French Quarter to the West Bank and Metairie and, like the overall sample, more than half of them (7/13) came to NOLA for what they described as “the culture.” Not one moved to NOLA for work, however.

The Q Mean

The eleven individuals clustered around the mean Q score of 71 are slightly younger than those at the top, 33.8. These workers have lived in NOLA on average for 16.2 years, and have worked at their current job for 6.1 of those years; both longer terms than their counterparts in the highest bracket. But they moved to NOLA for the same reasons, more than half for culture, and not one for work. There are no French Quarter residents in this group, but rather they tend to live in the Marigny-Bywater area (5/11). However, two of the longest commuters in the entire sample set are in this group – one from Kenner and one from Slidell. They are again more likely to be white (7/11), but less so than the previous group. This group is again majority female (7/11) and tends to work in retail or entertainment (7/11). The proportion of asset poor people in this group (7/11) is significantly higher than the previous one; 63.6% vs. 38.5%.

One σ and lower below the Q Mean
Nine subjects scored 53.1% (raw score: 59.4/112), or at least one standard deviation below the mean. Their average age was slightly younger again at 33.8 years old. Their average time in NOLA was just under 9 years, and their time in their current job was the shortest yet at 2.7 years. They are fairly evenly split between males and females and whites and nonwhites. In fact, the four lowest Q scores in the entire sample were nonwhite. Three of these workers are in food service, and none are in transport. Seven of the nine are asset poor, the largest percentage yet, and they, too came to NOLA mostly for the culture (5/9), but also, for work (2/9). Notably, they also live all over the city, including three of them in the French Quarter; an even greater percentage of FQ residents than those with the highest Q scores. Frequent mention was made about the difficulty or even “savagery” of working in the NOLA TI, and how to cope with it. A non-white male entertainer who lived in the Bywater echoed what many others had said, “It is a requirement to be drinking or on drugs to work in the service industry or you are not going to make it.” (IS#0015) With attitudes such as this, it is unsurprising that they are experiencing low quality of life.

**Quality of Life Conclusions:**

The lower the Q score, the more likely the subject is to be non-white, asset poor, in the food service, and originally moving to NOLA looking for work. Neither neighborhood, nor length of stay, nor job tenure were significantly different between those at the mean and those at least one SD above or below it.

**FIGURE 5.III.2 – Security SD**
**One σ and higher above the S Mean**

Ten subjects scored 51.8%, or at least one standard deviation above the mean. Their average age was 37, their time in NOLA was 20 years, and their time in their current job was 6.3 years. They are evenly split white and nonwhite and slightly more likely to be male (6/10). Half of them are asset poor, but four subjects report being able to support their household without any further income for one full year or more. They represent every job category and reside all over the greater metropolitan area, including Jefferson and Tangipahoa parishes, indicating that they are extremely mobile and in possession of their own vehicles. Half of them own their own homes. Notably, as many members of this group were born in NOLA as moved here for the “culture”. Two more came for family, and the other two were for education and work. The primary security issues faced by this group are rising housing prices, concerns about violent personal crime, and disdain for the corrupt local government.

**The S Mean**

The eight people clustered around the mean S score of 9.5, or 43.4% are significantly younger than those at the top, 31. These workers have lived in NOLA on average for 14.2 years, and have worked at their current job for 4.7 of those years; both
shorter terms than their counterparts in the highest bracket. But they are in NOLA for the same reasons; the same number (3/8) for culture as were born there. Again, they live all over the city, although none of them owned their homes. This group is majority female (6/8) and tends to work in food or alcohol service (7/8). Notable about this group, it is 100% white. Again, half of this group is asset poor, but unlike the previous group, only one person herein has the wherewithal to support their household for a year or more.

Primary security concerns among those around the S mean were sexual harassment and various forms of personal and property crime. Most of them are young white females serving food or alcohol, often late at night; such concerns are understandable.

**One $\sigma$ and lower below the S Mean**

Ten subjects scored 36.4%, or at least one standard deviation below the mean. Their average age was 35, their time in NOLA was 9.3 years, and their time in their current job was 4.3 years. They are evenly split white and nonwhite and slightly more likely to be male (6/10). More than half of this sample works as entertainers (6/10), which is consistent with multiple subjects’ claims that the reason they came to New Orleans was to practice their art. Unlike the previous two groups, none of this set was born in NOLA, and eight of them moved to the city for what they described as culture.

The overwhelming majority of them (8/10) are asset poor, and the other two claim that without further income, they could survive only three months, or the bare minimum above the asset poverty threshold. They are concentrated in MidCity (4/10) and the Bywater (3/10), but also reside in Central City (2) and the Lower Garden District (1).

These neighborhoods have long histories of high violent crime rates, and that is reflected in subjects’ statements about their levels of security such as, “I’m just tired of getting a
Security Conclusions

The higher the S score, the more likely the subject is to be a home and/or car owner, to have been born in NOLA, and to work in any of the six job categories. Those with higher S scores worried more about broader political and citywide criminal matters while those with lower scores cited (and had often experienced) immediate threats to their personal and property security. The lower the S score, the more likely the subject is to be asset poor, to have moved to NOLA for the culture, and to work as an entertainer. Neither neighborhood, nor length of stay, nor job tenure, race, gender, or age were significantly different between those at least one SD above or below it.

FIGURE 5.III.3 – Opportunity SD

One σ and higher above the O Mean

Ten subjects scored 66.7%, or at least one standard deviation above the mean. Their average age was 31, their time in NOLA was 12.9 years, and their time in their
current job was 4.9 years. They are almost entirely white (9/10) and while the three highest scores were all men, the next seven were women. Half of them are asset poor, but two subjects report being able to support their household without any further income for one full year or more. They represent every job category except lodging, but mostly alcohol service (4/10) and entertainment (3/10). Half of these workers reside in the Marigny-Bywater area, but the rest are spread out. Four of these workers came to NOLA for work, or family, by birth, or for education, but six of them came for culture. The opportunity variable includes levels of educational attainment; and this segment of the sample has, on average, completed college and taken some graduate school courses. Their concerns for their own personal and professional opportunities revolve around concepts of social and economic justice. One subject who scored well above the mean said,

The service industry workers in general are to some extent almost, like, disposable, in terms of the people by whom they’re employed, and are treated as such. And so there’s a lot of burnout. You know, people are exhausted. People are pissed and fed up. And some of that translates, has to translate, to the people whom they serve, as well. (IS#0044)

Despite sentiments such as this, the ten subjects in this set are objectively experiencing a higher range of opportunities than the other 51 workers in this study.

The O Mean

The seven people closest to the mean O score of 24, or 55.6%, are on average, only six months younger than those at the top. These workers have lived in NOLA on average for 10 years, and have worked at their current job for three of those years; both shorter terms than their counterparts in the highest bracket. They are in NOLA for the same reasons, however. Six out of seven were brought by culture, and the last was born
there. Again, they live all over the city, although none of them owned their homes.

Similar to those at the S mean, this group is majority female (6/7) and tends to work in food or alcohol service (6/7). No one at the mean works in retail, entertainment, or transport. Most of this group is not asset poor (5/7), and one person has the wherewithal to support their household for a year or more. Members of this group have, on average, completed an undergraduate degree, and they are slightly more likely to be white (4/7). The general sentiment among them is that, while the TI may provide many opportunities, they are not very good ones. One woman had this to say about the TI’s impact on the people of NOLA:

Well, for the people of New Orleans it is good, because anyone in New Orleans can get a job easily. You always can get – if you want work, and stuff, you can always get a different job. It may not be a high-paying job, you can’t make, like, $300 a night, but you can make a certain amount of money, sure…To survive, yes. It’s a good idea, but at the same time, it makes you not be – um. It doesn’t make you – some people, it affects you as a person. You can burn. That can happen to you, too. Like, I don’t know if you can go out after shift and, I don’t know. Spend all your money on drinks…So that becomes what they do. They go, they work, they go out, they spend all the money they make. (IS#0031)

In addition to the impact the industry has on workers, this female alcohol server saw a cultural cost:

It has a positive effect on the financial side of things, but you do have the people that come and are of the mindset that this is strictly a party city and it ends up destroyed. Because their idea of partying is demolishing things. (IS#0006)

**One \( \sigma \) and lower below the O Mean**

Ten subjects scored 46%, or at least one standard deviation below the mean. Their average age was 32.6, their time in NOLA was 6.8 years, and their time in their current job was 4.6 years. They are and more likely to be white (6/10), and mostly female (7/10).
Entertainers and food servers were most prevalent (3/10 each), and there were no lodging or transport workers represented in this group of lowest opportunity scores. The FQ and MidCity were most common home neighborhoods (4/10 each), and nearly all (9/10) workers in this lowest O group are asset poor. Eight subjects had come to NOLA for the culture; none by birth or for education. This is also the least educated group, with an average worker having completed some college courses. Common in this group was the desire for more work opportunities of nearly any description. Interview subjects 0025 (entertainer), 0033 (retail), 0034 (entertainer), and 0056 (food service) all asked me directly, either during or after the interview, if I could help them get more hours at any job I knew of.

**Opportunity Conclusions**

The higher the O score, the more likely the subject is to be highly educated, and to work in all job categories except for lodging, especially in alcohol service. Those with higher O scores worried more about broader social and political matters while those with lower scores cited the need for more work. The lower the O score, the subject becomes significantly more likely to be asset poor, to have moved to NOLA for the culture. Neither neighborhood, nor race, nor gender, nor age were significantly different between those at least one SD above or below it. Unlike the Q and S variables, however, the highest O scores were correlated with the longest amounts of times spent in NOLA and job tenure, and the lowest scores with the shortest times. It is possible, then, that those who are newest to the city will gain more opportunities over time and decrease that dimension of poverty.

**FIGURE 5.III.4 – Empowerment SD**
One $\sigma$ and higher above the E Mean

Six subjects scored 59.9%, or at least one standard deviation above the mean. Their average age was 30.7, their average time in NOLA was 5.4 years, and their time in their current job was 2.8 years. They are half non-white, and twice as likely to be female as male (4/6). Most of them are asset poor (4/6), but two subjects report being able to support their households without any further income for one full year or more. Half work in alcohol service but none work in entertainment or food service. Most of these workers reside in the Marigny-Bywater area (4/6), but the rest are spread out. Half of these workers came to NOLA for the culture, none were born there. The empowerment variable includes levels of political involvement; and in this segment of the sample, every subject has voted in an election; either local or national, within the last three years. They are also highly educated, scoring, on average the same as the highest O group; having completed some graduate school. The “typical” person in this category is outspoken about his/her political and sexual identities. IS#0044 classified himself as a “radical leftist”, and subjects #0009, #0013, #0057 all emphasized their homosexuality.

The E Mean
The five people at the mean E score of 14, or 48.3%, are on average, less than six months older than those at the top. These workers have lived in NOLA on average for 16.2 years, and have worked at their current job for four of those years; both of these are significantly longer periods of time than their counterparts in the highest bracket. Three out of five came to NOLA for the culture, the rest were born there. Again, they live all over the metro area, although two do live in the French Quarter. This group is majority female (3/5) and works exclusively in food or entertainment. No one at the mean works in retail, lodging, alcohol service, or transport. This small group is evenly distributed with asset wealth and poverty; two cannot support themselves longer than two months, one can do so for three months, and the other two can live off their assets for life. Members of this group have, on average, completed an undergraduate degree, and they have voted within the last five years.

One $\sigma$ and lower below the E Mean

Five subjects scored 36.7%, or at least one standard deviation below the E mean. Their average age was 33, their time in NOLA was 18.4 years, and their time in their current job was 6.7 years. They are and more likely to be white (3/5), and mostly female (4/5). Entertainers were most prevalent (2/5), and there were no alcohol or transport workers represented in this group of lowest empowerment scores. There is slightly less wealth (1/5 worker with assets to last one year or more), but still the same level of asset poverty (2/5) as those at the E mean. Two subjects had come to NOLA for the culture and two by birth, one for family, none for work or education. This is also the least educated group, with an average worker having completed some college courses. They are also the least politically active; three have never voted at all, and the other two have not voted
within the last five years. Not one of them is a member of an organization of any kind, none of them read the newspaper, and most (4/5) get their news from Facebook.

**Empowerment Conclusions**

The higher the E score, the more likely the subject is to be highly educated, and to work in all job categories except for food and entertainment, especially in alcohol service. Those with the highest E scores were socially and politically active, well-informed, and outspoken on a variety of matters. Those around the mean were less educated, more likely to be NOLA natives, and generally ambivalent to political processes. Those with the lowest scores were the least educated, the least informed, and the least politically active. Neither neighborhood, nor race, nor gender, nor age were significantly different between those at least one SD above or below it. However, the highest E scores were correlated with the shortest amounts of times spent in NOLA and job tenure, and the lowest scores with the highest times.

**Asset Poverty & SOEQ Means**

A basic comparison of the number of respondents living in asset poverty with scores below the mean in each variable versus those above it will help clarify the situation. As demonstrated in the table below, significant differences appear.

**TABLE 5.III.8 – Asset Poverty prevalence above and below the mean**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLE</th>
<th># of subjects in asset poverty below the mean</th>
<th># of subjects in Asset Poverty above the mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quality of Life</td>
<td>22/29 (75.8%)</td>
<td>15/30 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity</td>
<td>20/26 (77%)</td>
<td>15/28 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>23/31 (74%)</td>
<td>10/22 (45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>20/31 (65%)</td>
<td>15/25 (60%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all four variable sets there is a clear disparity between those above and those below their respective means. Those below the SOEQ means are significantly more likely
to be asset poor. For example, 50% of TI workers with Q scores above the mean live in asset poverty while 75.8% of them with scores below the mean do.

The least significant difference, only 5% is in the empowerment variable. Again, asset poverty is not highly correlated to workers’ perceptions of their empowerment. This phenomenon will be explored further in the Section IV.

The most dramatic difference, nearly 30%, is in the realm of security. Asset poverty is a variable within the S section. As such, it would stand to reason that those who reported fewer assets would also report other forms of economic insecurity. This variable also takes into account personal safety, however. Those lacking their own homes or vehicles are particularly prone to feelings of danger, especially traveling between home and work. More than a third of TI workers interviewed (37.7%; 23/61) reported feeling unsafe or very unsafe in transit, and the topic elicited numerous elaborative comments.

A retail worker who commuted from his home in the Tremé on foot said, “There are crazies everywhere – they’ll just kill you here. And it’s not going to happen at work – although it could. With my luck it will happen standing on my front doorstep putting my f***ing key in the door.” (IS#0013) A food vendor (IS#0056) said, “I’m fine at work, and where I’m staying; once I’m there or here, I’m fine. It’s in between when they get you.” A street performer (IS#0019) recounted an attack during his walk home to the Bywater one night,

“They wait for you to finish your shift, knowing everyone in service has tons of cash on them, and as soon as you hit a dark patch, Bam! They hit me with a brick – fractured my skull, broke my teeth. I kept telling them I didn’t have any money because I didn’t make any that night, but they didn’t care.”
These accounts reinforce the data, which suggest personal insecurity is a form of poverty that affects a large portion of the TI workers in NOLA. Larger and more diverse assets could offset this kind of privation. Owning a car would substantially decrease the exposure to violent crime that many TI workers feel in transit to and from work. Owning a home provides many people with an added sense of security; “I know it’s mine; if I want to put bars on the windows or add an alarm system, or some cameras, I don’t have to wait for some crummy landlord to do it – I can do it myself.” (IS#0049). Even something as simple as having a bank account which allows electronic paycheck transfers or 24 hour deposits would relieve many TI workers of the fearful experience of walking home late at night with a pocket full of cash (IS#0018).

While low incomes and asset levels are not the only determinants of poverty, they do have significant impacts on other forms of it, especially security. Therefore, an increase in traditional forms of wealth could be expected to decrease some dimensions of non-wealth-based poverty. This line of reasoning is not valued by the majority of TI workers. In fact, a significant discrepancy between the objective reality of some workers’ conditions and their perceptions of it exists. Some of them recognize this inconsistency.

When asked how safe she felt in general, IS#0018 responded in this exchange:

I.S.: I’d say a four.
A.W.: Safe?
I.S.: Fairly, yeah. You know. Because we compartmentalize... That’s a terrible way to think, but you just – you know, when nothing is going wrong, it’s human tendency to think that nothing is going wrong.
A.W.: Nothing is going wrong in front of you?
I.S.: Right. So we have this false sense of security. So yeah, I feel pretty safe. You know.

The following section explores this divide within the context of each of the key variables.
IV. Tourism Industry Workers’ Perceptions vs. Reality

It is worth restating that all of the scores used in this study are derived from self-reporting. As such, the limitations associated with qualitative research apply here. These include whether the interviewees are telling the truth, if they are sharing complete answers, and if their words are consistent with their actions.\textsuperscript{237} Every effort was made at the outset of this study to ensure the interview format would minimize these limitations. One example mentioned earlier is the use of perception-based questions prior to action-based questions. This is an important distinction in this research instrument design. Having a respondent discuss his/her feelings about a subject before being asked to describe his/her actions provides insight into any potential disconnect between what they think and what they do. For example, asking someone to rate their level of political involvement first, and then asking them if they are registered to vote, when they had last voted, and if they were a member of a political party will likely yield different ratings than if the order is reversed.\textsuperscript{238} These differences are particularly poignant in the field of poverty research.

Conditions of poverty can be both subjective and objective. This dissertation has already explored absolute economic measures of privation. Poverty psychologists Mohanty and Misra demonstrated that the concepts of poverty or disadvantage are linked to “the risk of lacking resources which are valued in a given society…. and are embedded in the socio-cultural, political, economic, and psychological contexts.”\textsuperscript{239} In other words, while an outside observer from one cultural milieu may view a person as poor, or lacking

\textsuperscript{237} Dean and Whyte 1958.

\textsuperscript{238} Creswell 2007.

\textsuperscript{239} Mohanty & Misra 2000 pg. 23.
sufficient levels of SOEQ, the person being observed may not share that perception. People will sometimes accept less time with family and friends in exchange for more financial resources derived from longer hours at work, but sometimes the opposite is true. The value a person attaches to the resources, experiences, or status they have determines their perception of their own wealth or poverty. That is what makes the following statement all the more remarkable:

**Not a single TI worker interviewed ever referred to themselves as poor or actually living in poverty.**

This researcher spent nearly 200 hours interviewing a broad cross-section of individuals in the TI in NOLA, asking personal and often provocative questions, and yet still, the fact remains, no-one self-identified as “poor”. There was never a direct question to that effect, but the questions were designed to leave room for people to offer their own assessments of their SOEQ levels. Two subjects were homeless at the time of their interviews, and yet they did not say they were poor. Interviewees described their financial positions in detail, 37 of them revealing their asset poverty, but still they did not consider themselves “poor”.

Groups and individuals who scored the lowest on the SOEQ measures, often referred to their conditions as temporary and non-indicative of their “true-selves.” (IS#0012). Many subjects stated that their job was a necessary requirement just to “get-by” while they pursued other, more important personal interests such as filmmaking (IS#0001), writing graphic novels (IS#0016), completing graduate school (IS#0011), modeling (IS#0025), belly-dancing (IS#0030), acting (IS#0047), witchcraft (IS#0048), and being a DJ (IS#0054), to name a few. Flexibility of one’s schedule and the ability to

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take time off for these other interests was referenced frequently and favorably. Nearly half (47.5% 29/61) of all interviewed TI workers in this study reported having “a lot” or “total” control over their schedules. This kind of freedom and control contributed favorably to workers’ overall Q scores.

A discussion of other key questions within each variable set follows. Special attention is given to the areas in which a clear disconnect was visible between TI workers’ perceptions and objective measures of SOEQ.

**A.) Quality of Life**

This variable had the most interview questions and hence, the greatest range of points (0-112). Key among these questions was, “How do you feel about your life in New Orleans?” Interviewees were asked to choose on a scale from 1-5; 1 being hatred and 5 being love. Not a single person responded with hate, and only one said they disliked it. The average score was a 4 (they liked it), and the mode was a 5. This indicates a very positive set of feelings towards the lives TI workers live in NOLA today. Although it should be noted that four subjects – all unknown to each other - all responded with, “Love and Hate.” As such their scores were tabulated as 3s.

Workers may have been overwhelmingly positive about their lives in New Orleans, however they felt “slightly dissatisfied” with their own lives. The Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) asks people to rate their levels of agreement with a series of five

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241 IS# 0004, 0005, 0015, 0026.

242 Note: The scores in this section were for initial tabulation; they were later tabulated, not as 1-5, but as 0-4 as detailed in at the end of the Methodology chapter entitled “Coding and Indexing the Data”

243 Pavot & Diener, 1993; accessed at: [http://www.ksbe.edu/assets/spi/pdfs/survey_toolkit/other_samples/pavot_diener.pdf](http://www.ksbe.edu/assets/spi/pdfs/survey_toolkit/other_samples/pavot_diener.pdf)
statements\textsuperscript{244} on the Likert scale of 1-5. The average scores for all TI workers on four of the statements was an ambivalent 3, or “neither agree nor disagree”. Only on the statement, Q.13.3 – “I am satisfied with my life”, did the mean scores increase to over 4, or “agree.”

In this, many workers seem to demonstrate "satisficing behavior"\textsuperscript{245}; not motivated by the desire to accumulate wealth, and do not maximize, but often pursue goals only until an acceptable baseline level has been reached so that they can maintain their flexible schedules, social lifestyles, and individual pursuits. These workers hold preferences that are highly interdependent, and a strong sense of camaraderie and fairness exists amongst the workers. “We’re all in this together,” said IS#0035, “I know someone who be in service just like me and they know how we do. And because of that we got each other’s back.” IS#0001 offered,

“When you meet a person in this town, in this industry, who’s not a douche – and that’s really all it takes – just show up for your shift, don’t f*** anybody over, and treat the rest of us like humans – when you’re not a douche, then you have an instant network…. and there’s something sacred when one of us has an event – a parent comes to town, they’re going through a hard time, babies, whatever – we all band together and give that person what we have – it’s not much, but when a lot of people give it adds up. I’m talking giving free shots to a visiting mom, or getting a tour or a mule cart ride, a discounted dinner, you know. Everybody pitches in.”

\textsuperscript{244} Q.13.1 - In most ways, my life is close to my ideal. Q.13.2 – The conditions of my life are excellent Q.13.3 – I am satisfied with my life. Q.13.4 – So far I have gotten the important things I want in life. Q.13.5 – If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

\textsuperscript{245} A combination of two words: “satisfy” and “suffice” coined by Herbert Simon in 1967. “Contrary to the tenets of classical economics, Simon maintained that individuals do not seek to maximise their benefit from a particular course of action (since they cannot assimilate and digest all the information that would be needed to do such a thing). Not only can they not get access to all the information required, but even if they could, their minds would be unable to process it properly. The human mind necessarily restricts itself. It is, as Simon put it, bounded by “cognitive limits”. Hence people, in many different situations, seek something that is “good enough”, something that is satisfactory.” - http://www.economist.com/node/13350892
Based on these comments and others like it, the money wage earned is only a part of the reward that workers get; they also factor in other non-monetary rewards and benefits. Non-wage factors that influence the TI labor market in NOLA will be addressed more thoroughly in Section VI.

**B.) Opportunity**

Questions in the O section dealt with the extent to which TI workers have access to economic opportunities provided by the industry of which they can take advantage to change their destiny. A few workers had a dim view of the levels of opportunity available to them.

IS#0012 said, “Opportunity is a misnomer – it’s disingenuous, especially if you’re black. Seriously, how many black bartenders do you know in the French Quarter?”246 The ostensible paucity of African-Americans in this particular profession has been noted in academic literature for decades.247 The prevailing belief is that most business owners will not hire black bartenders in order to prevent offending the sensitivities of white patrons.248 Most TI workers still thought very highly of their prospects and those of the TI and the city itself. 88.5% (54/61) agreed or strongly agreed, with the statement, "The tourism industry provides many job opportunities."

70% (43/61) agreed or strongly agreed that, "Overall the tourism industry has a positive effect on the people of the city". Notably, not one subject strongly disagreed.

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246 Note: While 11/15 alcohol service workers did identify as white, this study included one bartender who self-identified as black-Creole, IS#0035.


74% (45/61) agreed or strongly agreed that, "Tourism is the most important industry in New Orleans." Only 13% (8/61) disagreed or strongly disagreed.

In other words, workers regard the industry as extremely important and overall personally and professionally beneficial for them even in light of all the negative experiences they are having. This high degree of optimism regarding the industry suggests that workers may be willing to tolerate current lower levels of other variables, such as security, in the hopes that their situation will soon improve. This “trade-off” is common among rural to urban migrants around the world.249 Migrants are ready to accept difficult, often dangerous working and living conditions in an urban environment in order to have a chance at succeeding.250 Opportunities for what they desire often include job diversity, specialized education, or proximity to the political hub.251 These are perceived as more readily available in the city rather than their rural origin. Only four subjects in this study reported coming to New Orleans from rural environments. The majority of those who came to NOLA said they did so to experience what they described as the “culture”; a kind of social, creative, and gastronomic set of opportunities that were lacking at their point of origin. This factor is explored further in Section V.

C.) Security – Personal

78.7% (48/61) of workers reported they felt “very safe from crime in general in New Orleans” which affected their Q and S scores positively. However, 96.7% (59/61)


personally know someone who has been a victim of a crime in NOLA; 91.8% (56/61) know people who have been victims of a crime at work; and 88.5% (54/61) know someone who was sexually harassed or abused at work. About a third (19/61) mentioned crime and corrupt and/or unresponsive NOPD directly in their interviews as an issue that needs to be addressed. And yet these same people reported feeling “very safe.” 

Crime, and especially violent crime, has consistently been shown to both result from and cause higher rates of poverty and inequality.252 Most businesses avoid entering unsafe and unstable locales. Italian sociologists Delotto and Otranto demonstrated that:

"Criminal activity acts like a tax on the entire economy: it discourages domestic and foreign direct investments, it reduces firms' competitiveness and reallocates resources creating uncertainty and inefficiency. Crime restricts economic growth. It imposes costs on businesses that if they didn't have, they could spend the money elsewhere. They're spending money on greater security precautions."253

The resulting environments, devoid of viable economic alternatives, often experience increasing rates of crime.254 The cycle then repeats itself and can eventually lead to a total abandonment of entire industries. The lack of alternative industries offering low-skilled jobs could also explain why so many people turn to the TI as a source of employment; it might be the only viable economic option for them.

The CVB, NOTMC, and the mayor’s office have routinely cited crime as a major obstacle in dealing with the success of NOLA TI. Numerous national publications and


253 Detotto & Otranto 2010

online forums warn travelers who are considering a trip to NOLA to be on the guard against increasing violent crime even in the well-populated tourist areas such as the French Quarter. In January 2015 Mayor Landrieu requested dozens of Louisiana state troopers come to town and patrol the French Quarter streets to protect tourists. The troopers were dispatched and they stayed through the carnival season, but they did not patrol areas outside of the French Quarter. Many local residents took it upon themselves to install new street lighting, conduct neighborhood watches, and even post signs warning visitors not to walk alone.

The objective facts are that: 1.) New Orleans has a very high crime rate, 2.) TI workers experience high levels of personal and property crime, and 3.) TI workers are aware of other people’s experiences with crime. These three factors affect their Q and S scores negatively. This indicates the difference between workers’ perceptions and the reality of the poverty of insecurity. Many of these workers recognize that the environment in which they live is unsafe and unstable, but accept it as part of the life they wish to live. IS#0012 said,

“Yeah, sure, you could die here any minute – hurricanes, race riot, police violence, thug violence, frat boy idiocy, getting eaten by a pot hole – f***! I know. But that’s how you know you’re alive. It’s like what Lafcadio Hearn said, ‘Times are not good here, but it’s better to live in New Orleans with sackcloth and ashes than own the whole state of Ohio.’”


257 The full and accurate quotation is taken from a letter Hearn wrote in 1879. It is: “Times are not good here. The city is crumbling into ashes. It has been buried under a lava flood of taxes and frauds and maladministrations so that it has become only a study for archaeologists. Its condition is so bad that when I write about it, as I intend to do soon, nobody will believe I am telling the truth. But it is better to live here in sackcloth and ashes than to own the whole state of Ohio.” Starr, Frederick, Ed. Inventing New Orleans: Writings of Lafcadio Hearn. University Press of Mississippi. 2001.
It should be noted that five other TI workers made reference to this same quotation. 83.6% (51/61) of interviewees moved to NOLA from elsewhere indicates that this lifestyle was actively sought after. In fact, 57.4% (35/61) came here expressly for what has been categorized as “culture.”

Culture is a broad and often ill-defined term in multiple academic disciplines. In this study a single definition was not employed, but rather, the use of the word itself by interview subjects was recorded. When asked why they came to New Orleans, 35 said, the “culture”. When asked to clarify, most said, the music, the food, the way of life. Further prompting yielded responses such as, “It’s rich in opportunities for the arts” (IS#0030), “The music scene is hands down the best on the planet.” (IS#0010) “Music brought me here; food made me stay.” (IS#0048).

A vibrant music, food, and arts scene is commonly held as positive attribute of a place, but some interviewees made direct reference to what many people would view as negative attributes. “It’s slow-moving and dirty, I love it.” (IS#0056), or “It’s not for the weak, this city will chew you up and spit you out again. A lot of people can’t hack it.” (IS#0017). And IS#0006 offered this colorful analogy,

This city is a bad ex-girlfriend. You know she’s not good for you, you know there’s crazy there, but she’s goddamned good in bed. You know? You know the government’s f***ed, you know there’s crime, you know that there is corruption and just when you’ve had enough and you say f*** this world, then you walk down the street and there’s some old black tranny singing “Dancing Queen”. You know? Just when you’re ready to leave she comes back and goes, ‘kiss, I love you!’ Touché, New Orleans!

Thus, even though workers openly acknowledge their lack of both financial and personal security, many do not perceive this is a significant detriment to their lifestyles or levels of perceived wealth or poverty. In fact, many appear to take a kind of proud

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ownership of the security issues they are facing, and believe it actually enhances their experience of living and working here. Having a few “war stories” earns TI workers social credibility which, as poverty psychologists Misra and Mohanty have shown, is sometimes more valuable than actual money.259 Strength and perseverance are valued very highly among the workers, as IS#0021 mentioned,

“With so many people coming and going all the time, you stick it out, it means something. You’re tough, you know? People who come, work a bit and they’re gone? S**t! I don’t even bother to learn their names the first six months. It’s hard work; you deal with a lot of bulls**t. And you need to be tough to get by around here, so you’re reliable. And people need that. They don’t like that, they need that. If I’m going to rely on you at work or anywhere else, I need you to be tough as s***. Then, after we work together, and I see you drink, then maybe we can be friends. Maybe.”260

In an industry that values hard work, physical and psychological resilience, and good stories, a little lionizing of hardship is to be expected.

D.) Empowerment

Only four interviewees agreed with the statement, “New Orleans government adequately addresses my needs and wishes.” Most TI workers (65.6%; 40/61) were quick to make comments disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with the statement such as,

“They only seem to harass and punish us for breaking arbitrary rules.”(IS#0002)

“As a man of color I get no respect.” (IS#0008)

“All services and infrastructure are basically a joke. Government and police are corrupt.” (IS#0011)

“Are you f***ing kidding me?!” (IS#0013)

259 Misra & Mohanty, pg. 76.

260 IS#0021 would not let me record our interview, but she allowed me to write down this direct quote which she repeated into my cell phone’s recorder.
“The local government panders to Yankee snowbirds; not us. They try to ban music!” (IS#0014)

“New Orleans government is the most bassackward, bureaucratic unnavigable maze of lazy f***-sticks I’ve ever dealt with.” (IS#0027)

“Those bitches don’t give a f*** about us.” (IS#0034)

“It’s a hot mess.” (IS#0036)

“The wrong people are in power.” (IS#0050)

These comments and others like them indicate an unfavorable relationship between the majority of TI workers and the local government that regulates them, negatively affecting their E scores. When asked about their level of political involvement, 32/61 reported being “uninvolved” or “totally uninvolved” while only a third as many, 11/61 identified as being “involved” or “very involved”. 36% have never voted in any election of any kind, and only 21% have voted within the last 3 years. That is half of the national average which is 41.9%.261 Political involvement was often dismissed as a waste of time; not something of interest or value. IS#0006 said, “Voting doesn’t work. If it did, it wouldn’t be legal.” Lack of participation in the electoral system is believed to have a direct negative effect on the ability of people to change political and economic situations.262 TI workers did not share this view, however, and as a result, they did not perceive their low levels of involvement as a hindrance to their lives.

Social networks can sometimes fill the gaps in direct political participation. An individual’s ability to affect change in his or her environment is increased significantly


by having the support of an organized group.\textsuperscript{263} Such groups include churches, sports
teams, social aid and pleasure clubs, marching krewes and unions. More than a third
(37.7\%; 23/61) of TI workers interviewed belonged to a social organization of some kind.
None of the groups mentioned were politically oriented.

It is worth noting that those who self-identified as politically active and those who
did not have significantly different E averages. TI workers who described themselves as
“active” or “very active” had an E mean of 56.9\% (raw score = 16.5), while their
“uninvolved” or “very uninvolved” counterparts had a mean of 41.4\% (raw score = 12).
This indicates that, unlike the S, O, and Q variables, people’s perceptions of their
empowerment levels are more in line with objective measures of it.

As mentioned earlier, not a single person interviewed claimed to be part of a
union. Las Vegas, Atlantic City, and Orlando have significant (and growing) union
membership among their TIs.\textsuperscript{264} According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, union
membership accounts for a weekly average of $100 higher pay rates than non-union
workers. Unions also provide job security, bargaining strength, and an intangible sense of
belonging. The lack of organized labor within the industry that most TI workers viewed
as vital to the city did not seem to bother anyone. In fact, only two (IS# 0012 and #0022)
ever made reference to the idea of unionizing TI labor, and even then just as a “pleasant
fantasy.”

Various unions have been attempting to organize TI workers in NOLA for over
twenty years; but they have never succeeded in gaining members in the FQ. Only very


recently have they gained a foothold across Canal Street in the newer and more corporate TI establishments of the CBD.\footnote{Union Facts – Local 2262.} This small union presence, around 1,500 employees at Loews Hotel and Harrah’s Hotel and Casino, represents 2.1% of the overall TI worker population. By comparison, in Las Vegas, 90% of major hotels use organized labor, and in “New York, union density runs about 70-80 percent in the hospitality industry.”\footnote{McClendon, September 2014.}

According to a leader of Unite Here Local 2262 who chose to remain anonymous, the largest obstacle to establishing union membership in the FQ is the workers themselves:

> They just don’t see how it benefits them yet. They don't understand the value in doing something after hours for a job they see, that they view as temporary. And, let’s face it, largely legally "gray-area-ed", you know? Where is most of their money coming from? Cash tips. And why would they want to report it, pay dues, go to meetings? But we’re working on it. Give them time.\footnote{Unite Here Local 2262 leader – Anonymous, Interview November 18, 2016.}

The fact that unions are experiencing greater difficulty entering one neighborhood over another further emphasizes the point made earlier that the TI labor market is a highly segmented one. While this study has endeavored to explore the dimensions of poverty among NOLA TI workers, it was geographically bounded to the French Quarter. The significantly different role of unions on either side of Canal Street separating the CBD from the FQ would suggest that the NOLA TI is segmented further into at least two distinct submarkets. Larger corporations such as Sheraton, Harrah’s, Hilton, etc, tend to remain on the CBD side, and older, smaller, and more locally-owned establishments such as the Monteleone, Bourbon Orleans, Maison Royale, and others remain in the FQ. While
the experiences of workers in the CBD compared to those in the FQ might provide fertile ground for future research, it is outside the range of the current study.

As this research constitutes an emergent qualitative study, it is common for new questions and corresponding hypotheses to emerge after the original research questions have been answered.268 In this case, the findings mentioned above give rise to the following question:

Why do NOLA TI workers in the French Quarter choose to stay in jobs with low wages and levels of SOEQ; especially when they are aware of their situation?

Possible explanations for this phenomenon are explored in the following section.

V. Why workers remain in NOLA TI

It has been established that there are nonwage factors that influence the TI labor market in NOLA. The goal now is to determine what some of them might be. It is useful to review why TI workers came to NOLA in the first place before speculating as to why they stay. As shown in FIGURE 5.1.3 – “Reason for coming to NOLA”, only 16.4% (10/61) of interviewees were born in the city, while the rest came for work, family, education, or “culture”. The vast majority of these transplants, 68.6% (35/51) came here for what they described as the “culture.” This begs the question, is that why they would continue working in an industry that offered low levels of SOEQ?

A.) Hypothesis of “New Orleans variable”

268 Creswell, pg. 47.
Does New Orleans itself play a role in these workers’ decisions and if so, to what degree? Perhaps it is not non-wage factors in the realm of social, political, or cultural capital, but something altogether different; a kind of *geographical capital*. For the purpose of this research, “geographical capital” could be defined as: resources based on climate, community, events, and infrastructure perceived through popular social and historical values that increase the desirability of a specific location and the esteem of those who dwell there.

When asked why they came to New Orleans many people followed their initial answer with an explanation of why they stayed:

“This is the only place I can drink on the job all day every day and people think it’s normal. It’s not just acceptable – it’s required!” (IS#0001)

“I came here for the drinking age, back then it was 18, and I stayed. The city has an extremely strong historical and metaphysical pull.” (IS#0003)

“Well, it’s like that bumper sticker – “We’re here because we’re not all there.”” (IS#0005)

“I think a lot of people are here because they can’t make it anywhere else.” (IS#0018)

"Originally I came here for the experience and general wackiness; and now I'm here for the money." (IS#0026)

“A two week vacation that’s lasted 8 years so far.” (IS#0037)

“Chris Rose said it, ‘The longer you’re in New Orleans, the less fit you are to live anywhere else.’” (IS#0061)

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269 With permission from Dr. Julie Hernandez 2015.
Some of these comments seem to indicate not so much a draw to NOLA as an inability to succeed or even survive elsewhere. In order to ascertain if workers were physically and financially able to leave the city, in section E they were asked to describe their travel experiences of the last five years, and if they had taken any trips outside of NOLA in the preceding 12 months. 86.9% (53/61) reported travel outside of NOLA in the last year; all but five of them for leisure. Almost a third (18/61) reported international travel in the last five years. This indicates disposable income in amounts necessary for extra-municipal mobility.

If TI workers are able to leave, but NOLA has such a high degree of geographical capital that it enriches them to a point that their SOEQ scores would be higher than their counterparts, then it should be demonstrable in this study’s data set.

B.) Test hypothesis– reject or accept

The table below displays the means of SOEQ scores of TI workers based on the reasons they came to NOLA. The scores with the ↑ symbol represent the groups with the highest mean score of a given variable. Scores with the ↓ represent the lowest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Being in NOLA</th>
<th>Quality of Life</th>
<th>Opportunity</th>
<th>Security</th>
<th>Empowerment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>60.2% ↑</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>68.2% ↑</td>
<td>57.8%</td>
<td>52.1% ↑</td>
<td>38.6% ↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>54.5% ↓</td>
<td>51.8% ↓</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>58.7%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>57.9% ↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td>55.4%</td>
<td>41.1% ↓</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All who moved here</td>
<td>63.5%</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All except culture</td>
<td>65.2%</td>
<td>57.5%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

↑ = Highest Score
↓ = Lowest Score
These findings indicate that interviewees who came here specifically for work are experiencing the highest levels of both Q and O poverty, feeling limited and let-down by the prospects they found in the city. IS#0047 said, “I hate being stuck in the bar scene – it’s been far too long; but what else is there? Service is pretty much the only industry in the city.”

IS#0030 who had been in town for only one month and at work for two weeks said, “It’s ok, but it’s a lot harder than I thought. People can be really tough to outsiders.”

IS#0014 specifically came to NOLA to work as a street performer, and lamented, “If you’re not making money for them – for Harrah’s or Grayline or the city, then you are a nuisance and they will fine you, even arrest you. I had hoped a place like the French Quarter – a haven for weirdos, would embrace me, and the people do, only the city, the system – they restrict and abuse us.”

Workers who came here for education have the highest mean E score which is consistent with the research that indicates higher educational attainment makes people feel they have the capacity to influence state and social institutions, to build assets, and engage effectively in markets.

The original reason for creating this table was to ascertain whether those who came to NOLA for the “culture” were experiencing higher degrees of SOEQ than their counterparts due to enrichment from NOLA’s store of geographical capital. However, the scores of this group do not indicate this at all. In fact, people who came here for the “culture” have the lowest S scores of all five groups, and a full 11% lower than the highest scoring group. This is in large part due to the fact that 60% (21/35) of those that came here for that reason are asset poor, and they comprise more than half (56.8%) of all

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270 In all five cases this meant higher education at UNO, Loyola, or Tulane.

asset poor people in this study. This researcher heard numerous stories about how the interviewee had been suddenly inspired by the romance and novelty of NOLA, dropped everything in the interviewee’s former life, and used all their resources to move to the city, such as this comment: “I actually ran out of gas getting here; had to bum some off a guy at a gas station and rolled in on nothing but fumes. I sold that car to pay a security deposit and I’ve been on a bike ever since.” (IS#0002 – in NOLA for two years at time of interview)

Or this: “I’d always wanted to come here, and when I did it was to visit a friend and then I just stayed. Problem was I didn’t have any money, or a car or a job. I did a lot of couch-surfing, until I got a job. It was fun.” (IS#0023 – in NOLA for one year at time of interview)

And consider this: “I came here with $300 and a duffel bag, I was just glad to be out of Mississippi.” (IS#0033 – in NOLA for one year at time of interview)

“Well, we were coming through on a road trip and my aunt lived here, she said stop and party, so we did. I just brought my party clothes with me and so we did. And my a** is still here!” (IS#0034 – in NOLA for eight years at time of interview)

Perhaps the perceived allure of New Orleans and its unmeasured geographical capital compensates for this group’s low S levels. The fact remains, however that objectively, they are more vulnerable to breaches of personal and financial security than any other group. Whether or not this actually concerns them greatly could be the basis of future research. Thus, the evidence supports rejecting the hypothesis that TI workers who came to NOLA for the culture are less poor than their counterparts who came here for other reasons.
The groups with the highest S, O, and Q scores were those who were born in NOLA and those who moved there with family. Extended familial networks and other lifelong contacts would insulate workers from economic shocks as they could share resources in times of privation, increasing S levels. Additionally, the ability to utilize these networks for jobs and other opportunities would increase their O scores. Lastly, as will be discussed in the following section, a significant body of literature exists that suggests happiness, SWL, and other forms of quality of life are closely tied with the number of meaningful relationships a person has. This concept gives rise to an alternate theory for why people work in unsafe and unstable conditions, living financially and personally insecure lives in a poor, crime-ridden city in a poor and undereducated state. That hypothesis is:

\[ NOLA \text{ TI workers endure high levels of income, asset, and SOEQ poverty in exchange for building, maintaining, and benefiting from large social networks that extend into the workplace.} \]

C.) \textbf{Happiness and relationships}

a. \textbf{Happiest State}

A 2014 Harvard study rated Louisiana the happiest state in the country, and the top five happiest cities in the country are located there.\textsuperscript{272} The data used in that study were drawn from the CDC Behavioral Health Risk Factor Surveillance System, SWL survey, and other peer-reviewed sources. It was originally conducted to determine why cities with low happiness ratings were experiencing population growth. Their findings revealed that if a location was undesirable to inhabit, then the wages for work therein

\textsuperscript{272} They are, Lafayette, Houma, Shreveport, Alexandria, and Baton Rouge according to: http://www.wilmott.com/blogs/irismack/index.cfm/2014/7/23/Harvard-Study-Louisiana-is-the-Happiest-State-in-America
were higher. “Indeed, the residents of unhappier metropolitan areas today do receive higher real wages - presumably as compensation for their misery.”

Polls that disagree with these findings,

“typically use determinants such as financial, economic and purpose driven objectives many of which are career oriented, none of which apply (or have a significant impact) on happiness levels of Louisianans. Some studies have even declared Louisiana to be one of the unhappiest states [because it] ranks very low in median family and household income, typically 47th and 48th out of 51 states. It also ranks among the highest in percent of people below poverty level.”

A 2013 study from Lund University in Sweden found that relationships, not material things, are what make people happy. Isolated individuals far from home and without family connections nearby are consistently ranked as unhappy regardless of how much material wealth they have accumulated. This comes as a result of what the individual and the society in which s/he lives values most highly. In New York City, the least happy city in the US according to the Harvard study, residents will sacrifice happiness in exchange for higher incomes. “In this view, individuals make trade-offs among competing objectives, including but not limited to happiness.”

In Louisiana, however, relationships often take priority over income. According to the 2014 U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey, 81.1% of the population of Louisiana was born there, making it the second highest nativity rate in the country. The city of New Orleans is not far behind with 73.2%. In a society with such a high


“home-grown” population, lifelong and intergenerational contacts are common. The in-born sense of community is an intangible asset which is referred to often by NOLA residents both native and transplant alike. IS#0040, an Arizona native said, “You can’t find people like this anywhere else in the world – the sense of community is real – you can feel it everywhere you go. That’s why it hurts so much more when one of us kills another one – it’s practically suicide.” New Orleans native IS#0061 shared, “I tried moving away – I thought Boston would be cool, and it was – it just wasn’t New Orleans. That’s all there is to it, the people make the place.”

One server, originally from Central Asia, (IS#0031) said, “You can drink anywhere, you can get great food all over the world. And yes – they will kill me if they hear it – there is great music everywhere else too, not just here. But my friends here are what makes it why I stay here. They are my family.”

The reference to friends as family was a common refrain among TI workers. When asked question S.2.2: “What factors keep you here as opposed to a different city?” Four said they were unable to leave but wanted to, one said there was nothing holding her back, and 91.2% (56/61) of TI workers cited “Family and friends” as the reason for staying. More than a quarter of all respondents (16/61), like the Central Asian server, made direct reference to their friends as their family.

b.) Test hypothesis - reject or accept

In order to test the assumption that these TI workers endure higher levels of poverty in exchange for building, maintaining, and benefiting from large social networks that extend into the workplace, nine Q questions were used. In each question the interviewees were asked to provide a number for how many people they knew, socialized
with, and would feel comfortable asking for a small service or favor (such as a ride to the airport) in their neighborhood, at work, and elsewhere in town. SOEQ levels were then tabulated for people with each network size (0, 1-5, 6-10, 11+) The results were very consistent.278

1.) In all nine cases, the people with the largest networks of 11 or more people had the highest Q scores.

2.) TI workers with the smallest networks of 0 people had the lowest Q scores.

3.) In all but one case (Q.10.3: “socialize in NOLA”) the highest O scores were held by people whose networks were 6 or more.

4.) In all but one case (Q.10.2: “socialize at work”) the highest E scores were held by people whose networks were 6 or more.

5.) TI workers with networks of 6 or more scored the highest S score five times.

These findings support the theory that more relationships and larger, geographically nearer, social networks lead to greater happiness and overall quality of life. They also appear highly correlated to lower levels of S, O, and E poverty. As such, the evidence supports accepting the hypothesis that NOLA TI workers endure high levels of income, asset, and SOEQ poverty in exchange for building, maintaining, and benefiting from large social networks that extend into the workplace.

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278 These nine tables can be found in Appendix F.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

Tourism is the largest and fastest growing industry in the world. Because it is an export economy, drawing in resources from outside of a particular region, the tourism industry (TI) has been viewed favorably by governments, researchers, and international development (ID) practitioners as a potential panacea for a host of social and economic issues. Elected officials, industry boosters, and business leaders in New Orleans have viewed the industry in similar terms. Substantial research has already been conducted on the history and macroeconomic impacts of the TI on NOLA. However, no studies have been conducted assessing the conditions of the workers in this industry, especially from their own perspectives. As such, the results of this study constitute a significant contribution to the existing body of knowledge.

This dissertation presents an integrated research framework that can guide future empirical studies in this field. This framework makes use of measurement models that could be applied in any attempt to measure poverty and tourism initiatives. The methodology used in this study could be reapplied to the same population in NOLA at a later date to track progress or regress among workers as a whole, subgroups, or within SOEQ variable sets. Ideally this study will be repeated on a much larger scale and the reliability of the findings in this study will have a firm basis for comparison.

Moreover, so long as the primary conceptual framework is utilized, this study’s model could be replicated in any tourism destination. Indeed, the research instrument is such that it could also be applied outside of the TI in an attempt to determine the levels of
SOEQ experienced by workers in completely different industries. Such an instrument would be valuable to development practitioners conducting needs assessments on particular regions and markets.

Expanding the definition of poverty beyond the bounds of wealth and income is integral to conducting this kind of research. While the TI in a particular locale may draw significant resources and appear to be beneficial to the macro-economy, the benefits might not be experienced by the majority of TI workers. These benefits include a sense of personal and economic security, educational and career opportunities, political engagement, and the ability to recognize and pursue the life and objectives a person has reason to value. What a person chooses to value is sometimes dictated by the socio-cultural environment in which they dwell. In this study, for example, many workers exhibited a kind of post-materialist philosophy by valuing autonomy, leisure time, and relationships more than traditional definitions of wealth including personal and economic security. The analysis here indicates that they gave greater value to other forms of capital such as geographical and social capital. As the analysis demonstrates, workers were willing to endure multiple varieties of privation so long as they had large social networks that extended into their workplaces.

This was one of the most surprising findings of the study; and the implication is that expanding personal networks can contribute to reducing non-traditional forms of poverty. This important finding is consistent with the last twenty years of happiness

280 Inglehardt 1970.
research, which holds that individuals make trade-offs among competing objectives, including but not limited to happiness, wages, and personal security.\textsuperscript{281}

Though the workers expressed a lack of interest in traditional forms of wealth, the policies surrounding the TI should not exploit or encourage that lack of interest. To do so would undercut the long-term sustainability of a working population that is transient due, in part, to that very exploitation. This undermines growth assessment, valuation, and sustainability for what would otherwise be an industry capable of attracting and retaining local workers.

It must be noted that such extended sets of relationships on their own are insufficient in reducing levels of SOEQ poverty. This study found that high levels of asset poverty were strongly correlated with higher levels of SOEQ poverty as well. As such, only an industry that provides for increased asset holdings as well as the creation and maintenance of large social networks could effectively and efficiently alleviate multiple forms of poverty among TI workers.

It should also be noted that, while purely objective measures would classify many workers as income poor, asset poor, personally insecure, and lacking in skills and viable job opportunities, no interviewee self-identified as, “poor.” This phenomenon suggests that, while workers’ responses may have accurately reflected their perceptions and value structures, they did not necessarily reflect the statistical reality of their situations. In numerous cases workers reported being personally safe, financially secure, professionally successful, and happy even while objective indicators would suggest otherwise. Such indicators included the Satisfaction With Life survey, levels of income and asset

\textsuperscript{281} Glaeser et al, July 2014, pg. 1.
holdings, and being recently and/or repeatedly the victims of armed robberies. Any future research or policy implementation around these issues must take into consideration this discrepancy.

An additional, unexpected finding was the close similarity of levels of SOEQ experienced by historically marginalized groups such as racial and ethnic minorities and women and their white male counterparts. This does not suggest that these marginalized groups are “better-off” by working in the TI. Rather, it suggests that members of historically privileged groups working in the TI might be experiencing greater degrees of poverty than they normally would in other fields.

Targeting the value of relationships in pro-poor tourism or anti-poverty strategies has significant precedence in the field of ID. The Grameen Bank and similar microlending/microfinance approaches focus on women’s engagement with local markets; one of the mechanisms by which they ensure loan repayment is by using internal social pressures within established social networks. The earnings they receive are then directed toward increasing education to empower women in households. Similarly, the present study offers further in-roads into the value that relationships hold among formal and informal labor, and thus new strategies proceeding from it would be consistent with previous successful ones.

The segmentation of the TI in general and NOLA's labor market in particular drives down wages, which contributes to workers entering cycles of economic poverty. The social reward of TI work in New Orleans does not halt this cycle. At the same time, ending the cycle through economic empowerment need not adversely affect the social rewards that this study has demonstrated are so vital to TI workers in NOLA. Policy

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282 Dorbruck Lowe 2012; European Anti-Poverty Network 2016.
makers could combat different forms of poverty by helping expand networks from primary to secondary sectors of the TI labor market (discussed in Chapter One) to increase opportunity for career advancement. This is currently lacking in the NOLA TI labor market. Furthermore, when coupled with a large, transient supply of workers, it has the effect of suppressing wages. Increased opportunities for job development and workforce training tend to stabilize labor markets with high turnover rates that would, in turn help increase wages. Business owners could also work with governments and educational institutions to subsidize formal and/or job-based education as a form of compensation.

Efforts could be undertaken by civil society actors to increase workers’ levels of empowerment as well. Because active participation in the electoral process among TI workers in this study was less than half of national averages, organizing voter registration drives and other forms of political outreach near their places of employment could increase levels of empowerment. With one out of three workers in the city employed in the TI, they represent a formidable voter block if ever they were to unify.

Yet most subjects interviewed for this research displayed little interest in formal power structures. These workers instead opted for participation in unique and often NOLA-specific hierarchies of their own design such as Mardi Gras krewe royalty, chiefdoms of neighborhood “Indian” tribes, and positions among various quasi-religious orders. This reinforces the concept of differing value structures among TI workers in NOLA as compared to the general population mentioned earlier.

In sum, this study demonstrates that, by acknowledging different forms of wealth and poverty, and recognizing how they are correlated with one another, ID researchers

and practitioners can more holistically assess the conditions of workers in the tourism industry in New Orleans and elsewhere. Further, based on these assessments, governments and nonstate actors alike can design and implement new policies to ensure the sustainability, equity, and prosperity of tourism and other industries.
## APPENDIX A

### Acronym Reference and Definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APT</td>
<td>Anti-Poverty Tourism</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLS</td>
<td>Bureau of Labor Statistics</td>
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<td>CA</td>
<td>Capabilities Approach</td>
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<td>CBT</td>
<td>Community-Based Tourism</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
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<td>CDC</td>
<td>Centers for Disease Control</td>
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<td>CDC</td>
<td>Community Data Center</td>
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<td>CES</td>
<td>Current Employment Statistics</td>
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<td>CPI</td>
<td>Consumer Price Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>CVB</td>
<td>Conventions and Visitors’ Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department For International Development (UK)</td>
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<td>FPL</td>
<td>Federal Poverty Line</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNOCDC</td>
<td>Greater New Orleans Center for Data Collection</td>
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<td>GNOF</td>
<td>Greater New Orleans Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNO, Inc.</td>
<td>Greater New Orleans, Incorporated</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<td>HDR</td>
<td>Human Development Report</td>
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<td>ICL</td>
<td>Independent Contract Labor</td>
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<td>ID</td>
<td>International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Tourism Organization (prior to 2003)</td>
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<td>WTTC</td>
<td>World Travel and Tourism Council</td>
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APPENDIX B

Historical Context of Tourism in New Orleans

Overview:

Understanding the current state of the tourism industry in NOLA requires a brief historical overview. New Orleans has attracted large numbers of outsiders for many purposes for nearly three centuries. What began as primarily port-based traffic eventually evolved into a male-centric destination catering to the needs of the business community and then finally became a hub for families, conventions and package tours. For the first two thirds of the city’s existence tourism never constituted a significant portion of its overall economy. In the aftermath of Reconstruction, Prohibition, and the Great Depression, tourism emerged as the most viable industry to drive the city’s economic engine. This process did not occur rapidly, nor was it a single set of shifted institutions that led to the reliance upon tourism that New Orleans has currently. It was, and remains, a series of ongoing decisions made by the local government and the business community which has led to the (re)creation of New Orleans in its current form.

Because what is recognized as the tourism industry today did not exist prior to the 1930s, there can be no meaningful discussion of tourism as a tool of poverty alleviation in New Orleans for its first 200 years. It is useful to understand the flow of goods, services, and people over time through the city that gradually evolved into the industry. This provides a historical aspect to three parts of the conceptual framework used in this study, namely: 1.) the micro-environmental influences, 2.) the macro-environmental influences, and 3.) the stakeholders, especially the government, tourists, and the business community.
History:

The city was founded for business purposes in 1718 by the French Mississippi Company under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville. He saw its location on relatively high ground with river access in three directions and the Lake Pontchartrain spill basin to the north as a perfect shipping hub. The Mississippi River is at its very deepest right in front of the original settlement – more than 200 feet – and can therefore accommodate ocean-going vessels. Within months of its founding, ships from what are now 27 US states and two Canadian provinces started passing through New Orleans to ports all around the world. Everything the heartland of North America provided, including cotton, lumber, sugar, grain, furs, tobacco and indigo were loaded and unloaded onto ships at the New Orleans docks. Manufactured goods from Europe and slaves from West Africa and the Caribbean all made their first stop in North America at the port of New Orleans. Such an enormous amount of traffic occurred that President Thomas Jefferson was determined to buy it from the French. What was originally a bid of $3 million to purchase the port of New Orleans then became the largest single land purchase deal in history with the Louisiana Purchase doubling the size of the new United States for a mere $15 million.

At the time of the American takeover of New Orleans in 1803, more than 3/8 of all goods entering and leaving the continent passed through New Orleans. Further development upriver in addition to the mobile wealth of the plantation owners led to

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284 Sublette, pg. 8.

285 Sublette, pg. 195.
significant enriching of the city. By 1840 its population had passed 102,000\textsuperscript{286} making it the largest city in the south, the third largest city in the country and the richest city in the western hemisphere.\textsuperscript{287} The advent of the steamboat facilitated upriver traffic and the port grew even wealthier. The Civil War drew this prosperity to a grinding halt.

The city was captured by Union forces in 1862 and remained under martial law during the Reconstruction period for a full decade after the war had ended. The entire landscape of commerce had changed by 1875. Railroads emerged as an intercontinental freight-hauling competitor, decreasing reliance on river systems and the significance of the port took a downturn.\textsuperscript{288} Business leaders and New Orleans politicians did everything they could to attract investment and industry staging the enormous Cotton Centennial and Industrial Exposition in 1884 even using the Mardi Gras Rex parade as a showcase of New Orleans’s capacity for opulence and aristocracy\textsuperscript{289}.

Tourism, as it was at the time, was almost exclusively geared toward male visitors;\textsuperscript{290} arriving without their families and engaging in formal business practices by day and informal diversions by night. Nightlife in New Orleans had always been infamous, but by the 1890s the number of prostitutes operating throughout the city became overwhelming. In an attempt to curb their activities, a somewhat puritanical city alderman named Sidney Story proposed and got passed a municipal resolution to confine all sex-trading activities to a single district behind the French Quarter. To his horror the

\textsuperscript{286} \url{http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1840_fast_facts.html}

\textsuperscript{287} Souther, pg. 1.

\textsuperscript{288} Sublette, pg. 286.

\textsuperscript{289} Souther, pg. 5.

\textsuperscript{290} Stanonis, pg. 105.
denizens of that area named it “Storyville.” The high-class brothels and $1 cribs therein oversaw the birth of jazz. This unique American artform was a blend of Afro-Caribbean rhythms and European melodies and incorporated the musical legacies of both artist and patron. By the turn of the century New Orleans became a destination for conventions of businessmen, rather than small groups or individuals. But tourism as an industry in itself was not yet embraced.

“New Orleans businessmen desirous of industrial and commercial growth hesitated to encourage tourism because the public perception of a city as consumer or leisure oriented undermined efforts to foster industrial and commercial enterprises by making the city appear physically stagnant rather than dynamic.”

In 1917 the U.S. Navy threatened to close its base in New Orleans unless Storyville ceased to operate. The City Council complied. City leaders continued to streamline operations using updated technologies to expand the port and concentrate capital in the construction of a Central Business District (CBD) adjacent, but upriver from the French Quarter. Between the 1920s and the 1950s, construction in this district hardly ceased. Gasoline-powered vehicles and an-ever expanding system of roads and bridges linking the entire country allowed for people to come in from the hinterlands with greater ease and regularity to find work and pleasure. Once again, New Orleans seemed poised to become an economic powerhouse. Instead, the Great Depression and Prohibition crippled the city in those areas for which it had been known best.

“…the Great Depression shattered the hopes of local industrialists and commercial men. New Orleanians lost faith in traditional economic enterprises. Industry did not supply relief from economic collapse. Commerce along the riverfront withered as Americans pocketbooks thinned. Labor unrest further tarnished the pursuits businessmen had so

291 Stanonis, pg. 29.

292 Gotham, pg. 70; Souther, pg. 30.
cherished…. Rising unemployment and growing bankruptcy rolls led desperate New Orleanians to rethink tourism…. Tourism meant creating a service-oriented economy… Tourism became increasingly likened to the previous economic pillars of manufacturing and agriculture. By 1939, James Thomson, publisher of the *New Orleans Item*, could boast that the surest crop that Louisiana can plant is the tourist crop.”

With less male business-dominated focus, no legal alcohol or prostitution, and the advancement of women’s rights, the city became more accessible to women. As the Depression worsened, they and their families were often looking for a cheap getaway in order to lift their spirits and New Orleans was becoming a viable possibility. At this time attractions specifically geared toward women and families became more available. Riverboat rides, walking tours, and low-cost musical and theatrical performances all increased to cater to this new market segment. With decidedly fewer options open to local business leaders, they jumped on the tourism bandwagon with vigor in the hopes of attracting and retaining outside capital.

In the winter of 1930 the severity of the Great Depression increased and thousands of homeless people appealed to the government for housing. Plans were drawn up by the federal and state governments to bulldoze the French Quarter and construct public housing projects. The local power elite increasingly saw the old district as their cash cow and blocked the plans to demolish the Quarter, instead, investing city funds to beautify it and improve the street car lines within it.

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293 Stanonis, pg. 31.

294 Gotham, pg. 109.
In November 1931 the Association of Commerce “proposed a massive five-phase program to bolster the local economy mainly by attracting more visitors… Commercial development and the attraction of industry ranked second and third.”

The city council formed a Conventions and Visitors Bureau (CVB) and actively recruited across the country with magazine ads, billboards and bumper stickers touting New Orleans as, “The Most Interesting City in America.” It worked. “From the meager 16,571 conventioneers in 1934, the number of conventioneers had boomed to 150,000 in 1937 and more than 152,000 in 1938,” bringing more than $18 million into the city during that period. 68% of these traveling businessmen and commercial leaders were from the Midwest, Texas, and New York. The rest were from, “all kinds of everywhere else.” In a near total reversal of earlier policies and mindsets, the CVB printed a pamphlet entitled, “New Orleans’ Largest Industry Has No Smoke Stack”.

Property tax had once been a major source of income for the city, but at the height of the Great Depression fewer people could afford to purchase property and homeowners struggled to make payments. As a result, the city fathers found that,

“…the gasoline tax, liquor licenses, gambling levies, luxury tax, and amusement tax offered various means of spreading the burden of taxation throughout the population… sales taxes typically provided 5 percent of the budget for other major U.S. urban centers. Most importantly, nearly a fifth of sales tax fund collected within New Orleans came from the pockets of visitors.”

295 Stanonis, pg. 62.

296 Gotham, pg. 108.


298 Stanonis pg. 84.
It is important to note that the majority of the money that entered the city went into relatively few hands. There were only nine official hotels in town and if traditional investment did occur outside of the tourism industry it tended to be concentrated in the “tight-knit, almost oligarchic control of its upper-class white civic leaders, who tolerated shady politics and believed in the inevitability of New Orleans's continuation as the South's leading city.”

When WWII broke out New Orleans was in prime shape to help the war effort. In the CBD Andrew Higgins designed and manufactured the landing barges used by Allied Forces during the D-Day invasion of Normandy in 1944. The naval base was enlarged and thousands of soldiers and sailors filled the town while on leave and just before shipping out to the European and North African theatres. Funds were flowing into the city and the war generally pulled the entire country out of the Depression. By 1945 the city had accumulated enough capital to make another bid at becoming a commercial center. The Port of New Orleans combined import and export business was valued at $683.8mn in 1945. With Chep Morrison as mayor, that number rose to more than $1.7bn by 1951. Enormous attention was focused on the central and South American nations’ raw materials, especially fruit. These goods were shipped to the US heartland through New Orleans, while manufactured goods from the industry heavy north were shipped out of it. The port was expanded with larger docks and more cranes. More jobs were found for people who could operate them. The post war prosperity of the 1950s in addition to the updated grid of federal interstate highways increased access to the city and tourists.

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299 Souther, pg. 16.
300 Gotham, pg. 90; Souther, pg. 24
came in droves. Even the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie made an official state visit in June 1954; such was the appeal of the city.

The 1960s were a tempestuous decade for the whole country, but they proved economically disastrous for New Orleans. Nationalist movements in Latin America led many governments to replace their economic structures with Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) which left New Orleans in the lurch for raw materials to ship into and manufactured goods to ship out of its port. Those lost revenues led to an inability to modernize the facility further. The city opted to invest more money in the CBD and French Quarter than it did in upgrading its port to handle container shipping. As a result, much of the port traffic that remained went to Houston instead.\textsuperscript{301}

In 1954 New Orleans turned down half (300 out of 600) convention applications due to a lack of hotel rooms. By 1963 the number of hotel rooms had doubled and the city had been boosted from 19\textsuperscript{th} to 4\textsuperscript{th} in booking conventions.\textsuperscript{302} By 1965 the city was the largest it has ever been in its history, 670,000 people. Over half of whom were black. This led to extraordinary conflicts during desegregation. If New Orleans had been less dependent upon outsiders’, perhaps it would have taken longer to integrate. However, “the intensifying dependence of municipal finances on tourist-oriented taxes and licenses led city administrators to keep a keen eye on the desires of out-of-towners.”\textsuperscript{303} City leaders and entrepreneurs alike were less interested in black/white politics and more in green-back dollar economics. Hotels were desegregated over night, musicians of different races who could not play together anywhere else in the South were found

\textsuperscript{301} Souther, pg. 35.

\textsuperscript{302} Ibid, pg. 34.

\textsuperscript{303} Stanonis, pg. 103.
sharing stages in every club in the French Quarter. This did not please many of the Old Regulars in uptown white society and it led to massive “white flight” to outlying, wealthier, more racially homogenous suburban parishes. This eroded the tax base in the city and the public schools became abysmal. By 1971 Orleans Parish was rated 67th out of 68 Louisiana parishes in terms of quality of education; and this in a state ranked 49th in the country. Those who could afford it sent their children to the numerous private and parochial schools in town leaving the public schools as underfunded warehouses for black youths. Nearly every aspect of society was undergoing massive changes.

In 1966 Disneyland opened its New Orleans Square replica in Anaheim, California and Mayor Victor Schiro dispatched staff members to visit it and gather information on what tourists were seeking. "The city government sought to make the [French Quarter] neighborhood attractive for the same middle-class, largely white suburban clientele that Walt Disney hoped to entice." New Orleans was becoming an imitation of a facsimile of itself.

By 1971 there were nearly 200 bars in the French Quarter and 39 on Bourbon Street alone, up from only 14 in 1945. Gone were the days when only Carnival and Spring Fiesta attracted hordes of tourists. By 1975 New Orleans was a year-round city.

304 Cowen Institute, pg. 5.
305 Cowen Institute, pg. 4.
306 Blokker, 2012; Cowen Institute, 2007; Sanders, 2012
307 Souther, pg. 60.
308 Gotham, pg. 201.
309 Ibid, pg. 45.
It had gained its own NFL team, the Saints, in 1965, and an NBA team, the Jazz in 1974. The following year the largest domed structure in the world, the Superdome, opened with a seating capacity in excess of 73,000. Starting in 1970 the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival experienced an increase in annual visitors numbering in the tens of thousands every year reaching an all time high of 450,000 in 2003. In 1978 the Ernest N. Morial Convention Center opened its doors to 1.1 million square feet of convention space and hosted the Louisiana World Expo in 1984.

More government funds continued to go into improving the streetcar lines, protecting historic live oak trees and renovating Audubon Zoo and the Aquarium of the Americas. Meanwhile the schools continued to falter and the crime rate skyrocketed. According to FBI Uniform Crime Reports, the levels of violence climbed steadily throughout the 1980s and 1990s peaking in 1994 when 421 people were murdered (85.8 per 100,000 people), a homicide rate which puts it roughly on par with San Salvador and Tegucigalpa, Honduras today. A decade later, after countless attempts at reform and control, 265 people were victims of homicide in 2004. That same year the state formed a special Recovery School District to take over the failing schools in the city. Less than half of New Orleans schools had 50% of their students matriculating to the next grade. All of this while the number of visitors grew each year.

August 29, 2005 Hurricane Katrina smashed into the Gulf Coast. The levees in New Orleans broke in five different places flooding 82% of the city leading to a massive population outflow and demographic shift. As of December 1, 2013 the population of

310 http://www.noladefender.com/content/jaz56zfest-attendance-down-2013
New Orleans had climbed back to 378,715, or approximately 83% of its pre-storm 455,000.\textsuperscript{313}

In April 2010 a massive oil spill caused by the explosion of the Deepwater Horizon in the Gulf of Mexico led to untold ecological disaster. Thousands of businesses and individuals in the Louisiana TI who were adversely affected by the spill filed suit against British Petroleum for damages. BP has paid $18.7bn to claimants affected by the spill, including some of the 3,417 in New Orleans\textsuperscript{314}. It is unknown how much money the local government has received at this time. It is further unknown how any moneys that were received have been spent; whether on poverty-reducing programs, the tourism industry, or anything else.

As previously mentioned, 70,000 New Orleanians, or nearly one third of the city’s adult population, currently work in hospitality and leisure.\textsuperscript{315} Such an overemphasis on the tourism industry leaves the local economy vulnerable to shocks such as price fluctuations and recessions.\textsuperscript{316} When people are suffering financially they are less likely to go on a vacation and tend to spend less money if they do. Increases in energy prices lead to more expensive air and road travel, which can also inhibit consumers from venturing to different cities.

It is worth noting also that of the 10 major hotels in New Orleans only one, the Monteleone, is locally owned. The others all have corporate headquarters elsewhere and

\textsuperscript{313} http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/22/2255000.html
\textsuperscript{315} http://www.bls.gov/eag/eag_la_neworleans_msa.htm
\textsuperscript{316} UNDP. “Export Dependence and Export Concentration” 2010: http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Inclusive%20development/Towards%20Human%20Resilience/Towards_SustainingMDGProgress_Chapter1.pdf
thus the cash that visitors spend on lodging frequently leaves the city; a form of leakage. The proportion of tourist money that actually stays in the city is unknown. Credit Card companies and even alcohol are similar in this regard, as shown in the list below.

**Hotels:**

Hilton - Tysons Corner, VA  
Holiday Inn – Buckinghamshire, UK  
Marriott – Bethesda, MD  
Roosevelt – Waldorf Astoria (Hilton)  
Sheraton – Stamford, CT

**Credit Cards:**

Visa – San Francisco  
Mastercard – New York  
American Express – New York  
Discover – (Sears) Hoffman Estates, Illinois

**Alcohol:**

Miller – Milwaukee, WI  
Budweiser – Belgium  
Jack Daniel’s – Lynchburg, TN  
Stolichinaya – Moscow, Russia

Even locally owned restaurants and shops are problematic for a sustainable economy due to the amount of concentrated wealth remaining within very close-knit circles. The Brennan family operates 14 restaurants in the city and John Besh alone runs 10 more. That means 24 of the biggest and most popular restaurants in the city are
owned by two families. The same tendency exists in other parts of the industry such as T-shirt and souvenir shops. 36 such shops in the Quarter belong to one man, Kishore Motwani. These numbers speak to the level of inequality in the city generally, and within the TI particularly.

A significant portion of every tourist dollar is electronically transferred from a bank in one part of the country to a company’s corporate account in another. Of the money that remains in New Orleans it is unclear how much is distributed in wages or services to 70,000 people.

From 1992 to 2002 trade unions campaigned vigorously to organize hospitality workers to increase wages and benefits. In 2002 voters “overwhelmingly approved a city minimum wage hike to achieve a “living wage” for working people.”317 In September of that year, however, the Louisiana Supreme Court struck it down for being unconstitutional. No significant labor organization efforts have taken place in the TI since.

New Orleans began in 1718 as a purely trade-based settlement entirely focused on its port traffic and was “once among the largest cities in the United States, [then it] gradually embraced its cultural heritage as a hook for attracting tourists rather than competing head to head with more economically dynamic southern cities – especially Atlanta, Houston, Miami, Dallas, Nashville, Charlotte, and Tampa – that surpassed it in the second half of the twentieth century.”318 City leaders reformed it largely into a tourism-based economy. The fruits of these reforms have not been directly nor indirectly allocated to poverty alleviation.

317 Gotham, pg. 17.

318 Souther, pg. 2.
APPENDIX C

TI Worker Consent Form

Tulane University Human Research Protection Office
Social/Behavioral IRB Consent Form for Participation in a Research Study
“Working in the tourism Industry: Impacts on quality of life, security, opportunities and empowerment of New Orleans’ poor and potential for sustainable poverty alleviation”

Principal Investigator & Student Researcher: Andrew Ward, MS, MEd
Study Title: “Working in the New Orleans Tourism Industry: Socio-economic impacts and potential for sustainable poverty alleviation”
Performance Sites: French Quarter, bars, clubs, restaurants, private homes and offices – all in Orleans Parish
Department Address & Telephone Number and/or email: Colin Crawford c/o Payson Center for International Development, 300 Hebert Hall, Tulane University 6823 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans, LA 70118, (504) 865-5240 colin.crawford@tulane.edu Andrew Ward (571) 265-9723 award1@tulane.edu

Introduction
You are invited to participate in a research study to better understand the impacts of the tourism industry on its workers in New Orleans. You are being asked to participate because you have identified yourself as a member of the TI workforce in this city. There is very little research in this field. No research activity is to be conducted until you have had an opportunity to review this consent form, ask any questions you may have, and sign this document, if applicable.

This consent form will give you the information you will need to understand why this study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will need to do to participate and any known risks, inconveniences or discomforts that you may have while participating. You are also encouraged to ask questions now and at any time. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and it will be a record of your agreement to participate. You will be given a copy of this form.

Your participation is completely voluntary and there will be no penalties if you chose not to participate.

Why is this study being done?
The purpose of this research study is to better understand the effects of the tourism industry on its workers. There has been very little academic attention paid to whether the tourism industry in New Orleans enhances the security, opportunity, empowerment, and quality of life of its workers. This study will foster future research into these matters and inform policy decisions surrounding them.
What are the study procedures? What will I be asked to do?
You will be asked to answer interview questions pertaining to your demographic information and regarding the indicators comprising your levels of security, empowerment, opportunity, and quality of life. The survey should take no more than 30 minutes of your time and will be administered at the location of your choice inside Orleans Parish. Your employer will not be present at the time of the survey and he/she will have no knowledge of your taking it.

What are the risks or inconveniences of the study?
There are very minimal risks associated with this research study. If you are experiencing discomfort from answering any sensitive questions during the study; such as those regarding income, security, thoughts on your employment situation, you may, at any time, approach me and discuss removing yourself from the study without penalty. There may be a possible time inconvenience. Also there exists a very remote possibility of a breach of confidentiality.

What are the benefits of the study?
You may not directly benefit from this research; however, I hope that your participation in the study will contribute toward informing policies at the city and state level that will benefit tourism industry workers and their families.

Will I receive payment for participation?
You will not receive any payment for participating in this study.

Are there costs to participate?
There are no costs to you to participate in this study.

How will my personal information be protected?
All electronic files (e.g., database, spreadsheet, etc.) containing identifiable information will be password protected. Any computer hosting such files will also have password protection to prevent access by unauthorized users. Only I will have access to the passwords. Data that are shared with others will be coded as described above to help protect your identity. At the conclusion of this study, I may publish my findings. Information will be presented in summary format and you will not be identified in any publications or presentations. The surveys will not have any identifying materials. The Payson Center will have written record of your participation in this study if you chose to sign a consent form. However, there will be no way to determine which participant filled out which survey because your name and any other identifying information will not be recorded on the survey. I, myself will not know which participant filled out any of the surveys. Finally, only my doctoral committee chair, Professor Crawford, and I will have access to your consent forms and will keep them in a locked cabinet.

You should also know that the Tulane University Human Research Protection Office, Social/Behavioral Institutional Review Board (IRB) and/or the Office of Research Compliance may inspect study records as part of its auditing program, but these reviews will only focus on the researchers and not on your responses or involvement. The IRB is a group
of people who review research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

**Can I stop being in the study and what are my rights?**
You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. If you agree to be in the study, but later change your mind, you may drop out at any time. There are no penalties or consequences of any kind if you decide that you do not want to participate.

**Whom do I contact if I have questions about the study?**
Take as much time as you like before you make a decision to participate in this study. I will be happy to answer any questions you have about this study. If you have further questions about this study, want to voice concerns or complaints about the research, or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the principal investigator, Andrew Ward (571) 265-9723. If you would like to discuss your rights as a research participant, discuss problems, concerns, and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research, you may contact the Tulane University Human Research Protection Office at 504-988-2665 or email at irbmain@tulane.edu.

**Documentation of Consent:**
I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the research project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement and possible risks and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw at any time. My signature also indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form.

____________________________________________      _____________
Subject                                         Date

____________________________________________      _____________
Person Obtaining Consent                                       Date

I am unable to read but this consent document has been read and explained to me by ANDREW WARD. I volunteer to participate in this research.

____________________________________________      _____________
Subject                                         Date

____________________________________________      _____________
Witness                  Date

____________________________________________      _____________
Person Obtaining Consent                                        Date
Interview Script for NOLA TI Workers

Tulane University Human Research Protection Office
Social/Behavioral IRB Net ID# 541056-1
Principal Investigator & Student Researcher: Andrew Ward, MS, MEd
Study Title: “Working in the New Orleans Tourism Industry: Socio-economic impacts and potential for sustainable poverty alleviation”
Performance Sites: French Quarter, bars, clubs, restaurants, private homes and offices – all in Orleans Parish
Department Address & Telephone Number and/or email: Julie Hernandez c/o Payson Center for International development, 300 Hebert Hall, Tulane University 6823 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans, LA 70118, (504) 865-5240 hernanjulie@gmail.com
Andrew Ward (571) 265-9723 award1@tulane.edu

Interview Script for NOLA TI Workers

GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION:
AGE:_____ RACE/ETHNICITY:_____ GENDER:____NEIGHBORHOOD:_____ (Self-identified)

Questions Related to: QUALITY of LIFE
Focus is on: Health, Social/Family Network, and General Satisfaction Level

Q.1.1 How long have you lived in New Orleans?
Q.1.2 Where were you previously?
Q.1.3 What brought you here?

Q.2.1 How do you feel about your life in New Orleans?
1 – Hate it 2 – Dislike it 3 - Neither like nor dislike it, 4 – Like it, 5 – Love it
Q.2.2 How does it compare to what it was when you first arrived?
1 - Much worse, 2 – Worse, 3 – About the same, 4 – Better, 5 - Much Better
Q.2.3 What do you think it will look like in five years?
1 - Much worse, 2 – Worse, 3 – About the same, 4 – Better, 5 - Much Better
(If problems are noted)
Q.2.4 What solutions do you think there might be to those issues?
Q.2.5 How would you rate the quality of government services in New Orleans?
1–Very bad; 2–Bad; 3–Neither good nor bad; 4–Good; 5–Very Good

Q.3.1 Where do you work?
Q.3.2 How many hours a week do you work (avg.)?
Q.3.3 Do you socialize/hang out with your coworkers? Your boss?
Q.3.4 Would you feel comfortable asking them/him/her for a ride across town, to the airport, for example?

Q.4.1 Please describe your work schedule.
Q.4.2 Do you work night shifts?
Q.4.3 Do you work holidays?
Q.4.4 Do you have control over your schedule? (0-None; 1-Some; 2-A lot; 3-Total)
Q.4.5 How is it arranged?

Q.5.1 Overall would you say your health is:
1–Very Bad; 2–Bad; 3–Neither Good nor Bad; 4–Good; 5–Very Good
Q.5.2 Do you have health insurance?
Q.5.3 Do you have a regular doctor/health care provider?
Q.5.4 Have you visited a health care provider in the last two years?

Q.6.1 Tell me about your family.
Q.6.2 What is your marital status?
Q.6.3 Who are your close relatives?
Q.6.4 Do they live (1) in the South? (2) In New Orleans? (3) In your neighborhood? (4) With you? (5) Elsewhere?
Q.6.5 How many children do you have? Living in the house?

Q.7.1 Living situation: 0-Homeless; 1-Public Housing; 2–Dorm; 3-Apartment; 4-House
Q.7.2 How many people do you live with?
Q.7.3 Do you live with your immediate family?
Q.7.4 Do you live with your extended family?
Q.7.5 Do you live with friend(s)?
Q.7.6 Do you live with your partner?
Q.7.7 Do you live with a roommate(s)?
Q.7.8 Do you rent or own your home?

Q.8.1 How safe from crime do you feel in general?
1-Not safe at all; 2-Unsafe; 3-Neither safe nor unsafe; 4–Safe; 5–Very safe
Q.8.2 At home?
Q.8.3 At work?
Q.8.4 In transit?

Q.9.1 How many people do you know in your neighborhood?
Q.9.2 How many people do you know at work?
Q.9.3 How many people do you know elsewhere in NOLA?

Q.10.1 How many people do you socialize with in your neighborhood?
Q.10.2 How many people do you socialize with at work?
Q.10.3 How many people do you socialize with elsewhere in NOLA?

Q.11.1 How many people would you be comfortable asking for a service (borrowing food, a ride to the airport, etc.) in your neighborhood?
Q.11.2 How many people would you be comfortable asking for a service at work?
Q.11.3 How many people would you be comfortable asking for a service elsewhere in NOLA?

Q.12.1 Describe your social life now.
Q.12.2 What kind of social events do you like to attend?
Q.12.3 What are your feelings about the social scene in New Orleans compared to other places?
1–Much worse; 2–Worse; 3–About the same; 4–Better; 5–Much better

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1-5 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

5-Strongly agree   4-Agree   3-Neither agree nor disagree
2–Disagree   1 - Strongly disagree

Q.13.1 In most ways my life is close to my ideal. ______
Q.13.2 The conditions of my life are excellent. ____
Q.13.3 I am satisfied with my life. ____
Q.13.4 So far I have gotten the important things I want in life. _____
Q.13.5 If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing. _____

Q.13.6 How would you describe your ideal life?

Questions Related to: SECURITY
Focus is on: Asset Stability vs. Vulnerability, Employment Security, Physical Integrity/Personal Safety

S.1.1 Could you please describe the nature of your employment contract (if any)?
S.1.2 How long have you worked at this job?
S.1.3 What type of benefits are you offered?
S.1.4 How long does it take for you to get to work?
S.1.5 How far do you live from your place of work?
S.1.6 Were you ever injured while at work?

S.2.1 In the next five years do you plan to have:
1-the same job at the same company; 2– same job at a different company; 3–different job at the same company; 4–different job at a different company?
S.2.2 What factors keep you here as opposed to a different city? Family? Social network?

S.3.1 What would you do if you were to lose your job?
S.3.2 Have you got any forms of insurance?
S.3.3 What kinds of assets do you hold? (stocks, bonds, savings, house, car)
S.3.4 What are your thoughts on government assistance?
S.3.5 Do you know anyone who receives it?

S.4.1 What kinds of payments are you making already? Student loans, credit card, mortgage, car?
S.4.2 What are your total monthly payments? Rent, bills, mortgage, debt, etc.
  $0-$200;  $201-$500;  $501-$750,  $751-$1,000;
  $1,001-$1,500;  $1,501- $2,000  $2,001 and up
S.4.3 What kinds of things do you hope to own or pay-off in the next five years?
S.5.1 So, all in all, how long could you support your household if you were to lose your main source of income?

S.6.1 Do you personally know anyone who has ever been the victim of a crime? (person/property crime)
S.6.2 Do you know of anyone who was the victim of a crime at work?
S.6.3 Do you know anyone who was ever verbally, sexually harassed or abused at work?

Questions Related to OPPORTUNITY:
Focus is on: Education, Training, and Skills
O.1.1 What is the highest grade or degree you have completed?
1- Some high school; 2–Graduated high school; 3 – Some college; 4–Graduated college
5 – Some graduate school; 6–Masters degree; 7–Doctorate
O.1.2 What is the highest grade or degree your parents completed?
O.1.3 Are you currently enrolled in any program?
O.1.4 Are you on a scholarship?
O.1.5 What are your future educational plans?
O.1.6 Does your job provide training opportunities?
O.1.7 What is your first language?
O.1.8 How many languages do you speak?
O.1.9 What licenses/certifications do you hold?

O.2.1 What are your main uses of computers/smart-phones?
- Work (including Word, Excel)
- Internet browsing and searching
- Games and Social Media?
O.2.2 What are your main sources of information?
O.2.3 Do you own a computer? What kind? Phone?
O.2.4 Can you use Microsoft Word?
O.2.5 Can you use Excel?

Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements using the following scale:
1- strongly disagree; 2 – disagree; 3 – neither agree nor disagree, 4 – agree, 5 - strongly agree
O.3.1 The tourism industry provides many jobs opportunities for New Orleanians.
O.3.2 Overall the tourism industry has a positive effect on the people of this city.
O.3.3 Please elaborate.

O.4.1 How much would you agree with this statement?
Tourism is the most important industry in New Orleans.
1- strongly disagree, 2 – disagree, 3 – neither agree nor disagree, 4 – agree, 5 - strongly agree
O.4.2 Please elaborate.
O.4.3 What does the future of this industry in New Orleans look like to you?
If participant has children:
O.5.1 What is the highest grade or degree your children have completed?
O.5.2 Public or private?
O.5.3 Do you have any children in college? Scholarships?
O.5.4 Do they work as well?

Questions related to EMPOWERMENT:
Focus is on: Political involvement, Social Network, and Mobility (job, spatial, social)
E.1.1 How would you describe your level of political activity?
   1–Totally uninvolved/inactive; 2–Uninvolved; 3–Neither involved nor uninvolved; 4–Involved; 5–Very active and involved
E.1.2 Are you registered to vote?
E.1.3 What was the last election you voted in?
E.1.4 Are you a registered member of any political party?
E.2.1 How much would you agree with this statement?
New Orleans government adequately addresses my needs and wishes.
1-Strongly disagree; 2–Disagree; 3–Neither agree nor disagree; 4–Agree; 5-Strongly agree
E.2.2 Please elaborate.
E.3.1 Are you a member of any social organizations?
Examples: neighborhood associations, leisure, sports league, church, PTAs, unions
E.4.1 Describe your travel experience in the last five years.
E.4.2 Anything for work?
E.4.3 Have you taken any trips outside of New Orleans in the previous year? Where and why?
E.5.1 How likely is it that you would lose your job is in New Orleans?
   1–Very likely; 2–Likely; 3–Neither likely nor unlikely; 4–Unlikely; 5–Very unlikely
E.5.2 Does your job have branches in other locations?
E.5.3 In the event of the loss of your job would you remain in New Orleans?
E.5.4 For slightly higher wages at the very same job would you be willing to move to a different city?
E.6.1 How are workers rewarded by management for good performance in your job?
E.6.2 Have you been promoted within the last five years?
E.6.3 Have you received a raise in your current position within the last five years?
E.6.4 Do you receive other perks from your employer (formal or informal such as free food, events tickets, other services)?
APPENDIX E

Worker Sub Group Plan and Rejection

Having worked six and half years within the tourism industry, this researcher had made certain preliminary observations prior to the official start date of the study, specifically, that the TI cannot be analyzed as a single, monolithic entity. There is significant diversity among the workers within each of the career fields. Initial attempts at categorization yielded six distinct worker subgroups. They were:

1.) Undocumented, illegal workers – Mostly this group is found in “back of house” and low, even sub-minimum wage-paying jobs such as custodial work, kitchen hands, bar backs, etc.

2.) Asset-holding, low pay workers – These are often highly educated people, some are retirees from prestigious jobs such as military officers, surgeons, or attorneys who willingly accept lower wages in exchange for life in a desirable location with a job they enjoy. They are often found as bartenders, shop or gallery workers, tour guides and buggy drivers. They are distinguished from the following group because they tend to have more regular employment over long periods of time and often own their homes in the city.

3.) Transient low-pay workers – These are low-earners who have spent less than three years in New Orleans with plans to leave. These include students, artists, and drifters who work in the TI for spending money or temporary subsistence and do not intend to stay in that position.
4.) Permanent, low earners – These are long-term NOLA residents, often natives, who tend to have lower levels of formal education and work many of the same jobs as the undocumented workers for many years.

5.) Permanent mid-to high pay earners – These are long-term NOLA residents, often natives, who work in their jobs for a long time as well. They include multiple generation waiters and concierges at high-end establishments, and owners of small tour companies. The majority of their income is cash, however, and they do not declare their income. As such, in official government reports they are listed as being low-wage earners, poor and/or asset poor.

6.) Permanent high pay and income earners - These are long-term NOLA residents, often natives, who work in their jobs for a long time as well. These are the people who own or manage the establishments and organizations that employ those in the preceding five subgroups.

   These were never intended to be concrete groups in their own right; there appeared to be some overlapping between them in individual instances. An example would include a student (Category 2) who holds personal assets such as a trust fund and/or savings account (Category 3) and stays on working at a part-time tourism industry job for a few years after graduation before entering a higher paying field. There was also the potential for evolving from membership in one group to another.

   The flaws in this typology became apparent by the second month of interviews. The basis for those classifications came from anecdotal evidence and personal perceptions by myself and others. One example is Worker Subgroup 5. I knew a retired neurosurgeon who drove a mule cart and a wealthy attorney who chose to give bicycle
tours. I assumed that if I knew two members of that group already, then there must be dozens more out there. As I asked increasingly larger numbers of people if they knew anyone that fit the description of Worker Subgroup 5, they kept referring me to the same two people I already knew personally. This empirical evidence skewed the distribution so, upon the advice of my committee, the previous classifications were abandoned.

In order to help decrease self-selection bias this researcher relied upon “snowball” sampling to broaden the pool of subjects and it was sufficient to gain an accurate picture of what most TI workers were experiencing. And, as one of the primary goals of research is to prepare the field for future researchers, these findings can aid them in establishing a realistic starting point.
## APPENDIX F

### Social Networks and SOEQ Scores

#### Q.9.1 - How many people do you know in your neighborhood?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of S</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of O</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>62.13</td>
<td>10.69</td>
<td>23.75</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>69.57</td>
<td>9.23</td>
<td>22.48</td>
<td>12.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>66.90</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td>25.70</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>78.64</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>25.68</td>
<td>14.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>24.33</td>
<td>13.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Q.9.2 - How many people do you know at work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of S</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of O</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>58.00</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>67.50</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>15.50</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>70.33</td>
<td>10.22</td>
<td>22.75</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>72.17</td>
<td>9.49</td>
<td>25.30</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>24.33</td>
<td>13.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Q.9.3 - How many people do you know in NOLA?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of S</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of O</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>66.40</td>
<td>8.63</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>12.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>71.88</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>24.23</td>
<td>13.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>24.33</td>
<td>13.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q.10.1 – How many people do you socialize with in your neighborhood?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of S</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of O</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>66.20</td>
<td>9.36</td>
<td>23.65</td>
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<td>1-5</td>
<td>69.45</td>
<td>9.31</td>
<td>23.10</td>
<td>14.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>75.40</td>
<td>9.40</td>
<td>27.40</td>
<td>11.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td><strong>79.19</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.97</strong></td>
<td><strong>25.75</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.44</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td><strong>71.43</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.51</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.33</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.10.2 – How many people do you socialize with at work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of S</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of O</th>
<th>Avg of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>64.83</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>20.17</td>
<td>13.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>71.44</td>
<td><strong>10.17</strong></td>
<td>23.94</td>
<td><strong>13.94</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>67.28</td>
<td>8.97</td>
<td>24.28</td>
<td>13.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td><strong>77.42</strong></td>
<td>9.90</td>
<td><strong>26.05</strong></td>
<td>13.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td><strong>71.43</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.51</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.33</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.10.3 – How many people do you socialize with in NOLA?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Average of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Average of Sum of S</th>
<th>Average of Sum of O</th>
<th>Average of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>61.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>65.67</td>
<td><strong>10.04</strong></td>
<td><strong>27.67</strong></td>
<td>11.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>70.62</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>24.08</td>
<td><strong>14.69</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td><strong>72.78</strong></td>
<td>9.48</td>
<td>24.15</td>
<td>13.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td><strong>71.43</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.51</strong></td>
<td><strong>24.33</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.11.1 – How many people would you be comfortable asking for a service in your neighborhood?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Average of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Average of Sum of S</th>
<th>Average of Sum of O</th>
<th>Average of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>63.71</td>
<td>9.25</td>
<td>22.88</td>
<td>12.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>72.42</td>
<td>9.68</td>
<td>24.70</td>
<td>13.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>24.67</td>
<td><strong>16.33</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td><strong>82.38</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.61</strong></td>
<td><strong>25.75</strong></td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Grand Total

|       | 71.43 | 9.51 | 24.33 | 13.69 |

### Q.11.2 – How many people would you be comfortable asking for service at work?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Average of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Average of Sum of S</th>
<th>Average of Sum of O</th>
<th>Average of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>61.83</td>
<td>9.35</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>12.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>70.25</td>
<td>9.40</td>
<td>24.54</td>
<td>13.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>70.70</td>
<td>10.67</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>14.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>75.86</td>
<td>9.12</td>
<td>24.81</td>
<td>14.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>24.33</td>
<td>13.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Q.11.3 – How many people would you comfortable asking for a service in NOLA?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of People</th>
<th>Average of Sum of Q</th>
<th>Average of Sum of S</th>
<th>Average of Sum of O</th>
<th>Average of Sum of E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>66.33</td>
<td>12.33</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>11.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>67.67</td>
<td>8.07</td>
<td>24.13</td>
<td>12.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>70.18</td>
<td>11.00</td>
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<td>14.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>74.09</td>
<td>9.40</td>
<td>24.94</td>
<td>14.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>24.33</td>
<td>13.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. In **EVERY** single table, the people with the largest networks had the highest QoL.
2. In all but one case (10.3 socialize in NOLA) the highest O scores were held by people whose networks were 6 or more. Four times (Know at work, socialize at work, service in neighborhood, service in NOLA) people with networks of 11+ had the highest O scores.
3. In all but one case (10.2 socialize at work) the highest E scores were held by people whose networks were 6 or more. Four times (Know in neighborhood, know in NOLA, socialize in neighborhood, and service at work) people with networks of 11+ had the highest E scores.
4. The people with networks of 11+ scored the highest S scores three times (know in NOLA, socialize in neighborhood, service in neighborhood). The people with networks of 6 or more scored the highest S score 5 times.

HOWEVER - the two highest S scores (10.69 in Q.9.1 – know in your neighborhood, and 12.33 in Q.11.3 – Services in NOLA) were held by people who said ZERO.
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RESEARCHER BIOGRAPHY

Andrew Ward grew up in Yemen, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Virginia. He attended Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, Virginia where he earned his B.A. in Religion in 2001. He then taught the History of English Literature at Polonia University in Częstochowa, Poland for three years while earning his M.Ed from Framingham State College’s European campus. He moved to New Orleans in 2004, graduated with his M.S. in International Development in 2006, and then started working as a tour guide in the French Quarter.

Along the way, Ward helped establish and direct several nonprofit organizations in the New Orleans area including Tres Doux Foundation, BFF Foundation, and Voices for International Business and Education, which operates the International High School of New Orleans. He is the founder and director of the Wahida Unity Project (which uses music and the arts to draw together conflicting groups), as well as the Entusi Music Festival (using large performances to attract people in rural Uganda to take part in public health initiatives). Ward has been honored as one of Gambit Weekly’s “40 Under 40” in 2011, and Mary Washington’s Outstanding Young Alumni in 2014. At the time of this defense, Ward works as an advocate and public policy manager for Odyssey House Louisiana, the largest substance abuse treatment center in the state. He lives in the 7th ward with a cat and two dogs. He still gives ghost tours of the French Quarter on occasion.