Sociocultural, Economic and Political Factors Shaping the U.S. Tourism Workforce: A Case Study of New Orleans, Louisiana, USA

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ABSTRACT

Informed by critical race theory and critiques of neoliberal capitalist tourism development, this case study explores the ways in which sociocultural, economic and political factors shape the tourism workforce and the lived experience of tourism workers. It is driven by the following overarching question: How do sociocultural, economic and political factors affect tourism workers in New Orleans? And three sub-questions: 1) How have historic sociocultural, economic and political institutions shaped the structure of tourism workforce in the United States? 2) How has the discourse used directly following Hurricane Katrina shaped the position of workers within the New Orleans tourism complex? 3) How does the tourism workforce engage with and experience the storied landscape of tourism?

Using participant observation as one of my primary methods of data collection I spent 128 hours in the site (New Orleans), conducted semi-structured and unstructured, collected news articles and other media sources, and analyzed artifacts. To understand New Orleans as a tourism destination, I thoroughly documented the economic strength of tourism in the city, residents’ dependence on tourism for employment, and its historical existence. Moving beyond this description I conducted a more intensive analysis to identify the most salient mechanisms to uncover how race has played an integral role in shaping tourism development in New Orleans including: the tourism narrative, the invisibility of the workforce, power discourses of opportunity, safety and identity, and storytelling. A discussion around these mechanisms illuminates how tourism development, and the discourse around it, can exclude from input those whom the
industry relies upon most heavily: the workers. It also however, provides examples of alternative ways in which such persons can resist such structures (e.g. entrepreneurialism, organized labor). Since the reproduction and perpetuation of tourism narratives in tourism destinations often cause the identities of marginalized populations within the destination to be suppressed, or at least monitored, methods employed in this research provide a necessary avenue for expressing lived experiences of those marginalized in pursuit of transforming dominant ways of thinking about the tourism workforce.

This study found that the segmentation of the U.S. labor market through racialized, ethnic and gendered ideologies and policies at the start of the labor movement in the late 19th and early 20th century played an important role in structuring the tourism workforce and its social and economic valuation that continues today. In addition, the use of hypercapitalist strategies such as disaster capitalism exacerbates such valuations using discourse rooted in safety, opportunity and discourse, which often celebrates the product of tourism labor while excluding the workers themselves from taking part in or realizing the benefits of tourism development. In New Orleans, these factors worked together to produce feelings of disdain not necessarily toward tourism within the city, but the master tourism narratives rooted in racist, sexist and classist ideologies that perpetuate historical and cultural invisibility of culture bearers and tourism workers. The counter-narratives developed in this study provide an interpretation for mending the chasm created and maintained by sociocultural, economic and political factors that resides between the positive aspects of tourism development and those who sustain it.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents.

From accepting random pay-phone calls from Greyhound bus stations, to flying out West within a few days’ notice, to supporting a myriad of new ‘Life Plans’, your unwavering support provided the grounding needed to continue moving forward when—at times—it felt like standing still. It is through your support that I have been able to channel the unsettlement I have always felt within into the passion I carry with me toward my research, and toward the belief that everyone has the right to be treated with dignity and respect.

My upbringing in our small, rural town, the first to earn a PhD in our extended family, and the long journey it took me from starting undergrad to finishing this dissertation made me stand apart from many in my cohort. It is exactly this, however, that I credit to taking the path I did in finishing this dissertation. Rather than pursue a PhD for any external validation, as you have been supportive whether I was slinging gravel to get by in the off-season in West Virginia or embarking on this degree, I feel a connection and a calling to the path that follows the completion of this dissertation.

Looking back 18 years after beginning my journey into higher education to the 18 years I spent plotting to begin that part of my life, it becomes clear how afternoons spent at the Carrollton Farmers’ Elevator, the daily Happy Hour at Grandpa Bus and Grandma Millie’s, accompanying mom to college classes on my school sick days, Saturdays spent with cousins putting fliers on cars for Grandpa Harry’s School Board run, and having a neighbor call to thank me for making sure I took the time to exercise my right to vote created the foundation upon which this dissertation is written.

For that, I also dedicate this to everyone involved in these experiences, which provided a constant stream of transformative stories that my young ears had the privilege of hearing.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When embarking on writing a dissertation, we are told of the cold mornings we will have to drag ourselves in front of our computers and keep writing; even on days we would rather be doing anything else in the world. This is true. We are told of the loneliness we will feel because even though others are also writing a dissertation, no one understands in-depth what you are writing about. This is also true. What is often left out is that you will find yourself crying in public on more than one occasion, you will reach dark places with loved ones that you never thought you’d get to, you will at times think so low of yourself that it doesn’t matter what someone says to make you feel better ‘they just don’t get it’. This is why the journey of a dissertation should never be a solo journey.

Thankfully, I had an extraordinary group of people that got me through each of these times, and for that, I must take a moment to give them the praise and thanks they deserve.

First, and foremost, I must give thanks to my husband, Phil Dudley. You uprooted yourself to follow me to the small town of Clemson with nothing but support. You listened to far too many conversations about dissertations, paradigms, EDGE, conferences, I could go on and on. I don’t know if I can ever repay the sacrifices you made or the support you provided in this process, but I do know I could not have done it without you. For that I am forever grateful.

The next round of thanks goes to my friends/colleagues at Clemson. To Jess, our coffee breaks and (more frequently) nights solving the world’s problems at Nick’s, Backstreets or Amici was instrumental in getting me through this process. Especially this final year, your work ethic helped to keep me accountable in getting myself in front of that computer time and time again. Although we were a floor apart, we really were in it together. I know you’ll go on to do great things in Kansas.

To Kat and Dev (aka Debbie), I hope every PhD student has a support group like we had with 7:00am reminders that ‘You got this girl’, for no apparent reason. You both, along with Jess, have been on the receiving end of the aforementioned crying in public without batting an eye of judgement. I felt we all got to know each other well enough to know when it was time for tough love, time for support, time for humor, or just time to go home. And for that friendship I am grateful. – Love, Barb.

To Alex, you were there for me at a time when this dissertation was the last thing on my mind. Without your support and advice…well, it all worked out didn’t it. To all the others that I don’t have the space to thank individually, know that I cherish the conversations we had and the support we were all able to provide one another. I hope we continue to do so.

I must also give a sincere thanks to everyone on my committee. My advisor, Dr. Bill Norman provided me the space to pursue a research project I felt passionate about. Without such a path, I fear I may not have had the drive to finish. With that, I must also thank Dr. Greg Ramshaw for being the one who inspired me to take this path. When I
came to him with an idea for a consumer behavior project, he asked whether that was something I was truly passionate about. It was after this conversation, I decided to explore the tourism workforce. That’s right Bill, I kept it a secret all these years, but you can thank Ramshaw for planting the seed.

Thank you also to my committee members Dr. Billy Terry and committee co-chair Dr. Lauren Duffy for both providing invaluable feedback and a welcoming environment to ask questions, voice concerns, or just vent. Billy, you were an escape from the Lehotsky Hall when I needed fresh perspective and I enjoyed the talks we had over lunches and cocktails. I hope to continue them at future conferences. Duffy, I truly believe this dissertation would not be what it is today without your support. As I clean out my office and see the transformation of this research from the early days to what it is today, I can’t believe the amount of time you sat listening to new directions and ideas. At times it was frustrating because I wanted nothing more than one of those times for you to just tell me what to do. But I realize now, that the frustrating struggle was purposeful and the small nudges you provided gave me the confidence to push forward into—at times—uncomfortable territory that I would have otherwise not ventured. I hope you continue to challenge me as we both move forward in the field.

Finally, I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to the New Orleanians who were willing to share their daily lives with me, those working the front lines of the tourism industry, and those engaged in getting those workers the social and economic value they deserve.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Growing up, the annual summer vacation trip did not exist in my household. Summers were spent playing basketball at the park in my small town in rural Illinois, going to the swimming pool, or simply walking around town with friends. Each year the local grocery store held a coloring contest awarding tickets to Six Flags Over Mid-America in St. Louis to winners; a prize I somehow captured once. If you have ever seen my artistic abilities, you would understand why ‘somehow’ is included in that statement. There was no beach, no cabin in the woods, and as I write this, I have still never been to Disney World. I say this not in search of pity—although if it moves someone to fund an all-expense paid vacation for me, I will gladly accept—but rather as a foundation in shaping my relationship with travel and tourism, and the way in which my research lens is colored by my personal experiences.

Upon entering college, I discovered one way to interact with tourism destinations, or check off the proverbial ‘bucket list’, was by working in them. The summer after my freshman year in undergraduate studies at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, Illinois, I began my first season at Yellowstone National Park working for the concessionaire Xanterra as a cook in Canyon Village. That first season led to two more seasons at Canyon Village working as a waitress and bartender while in school and another season doing the same at Death Valley National Park. I continued this trend even after securing my undergraduate degree in journalism, working in places like West Virginia where I guided customers down class V rapids on the New and Gauley rivers,
working at golf courses in Billings, Montana and Nashville, Tennessee, and several other restaurants and hotels as I moved across 10 different states in as many years. As such, my experience with tourism has been overwhelmingly through working with tourists by manning frontline positions rather than being one or studying the field as a researcher. This included navigating the complex economic and social dynamics that accompany working in the industry including, but not limited to, job satisfaction, working in extraordinary locations, bouts of homelessness, community support, on-the-job violence and sexual harassment, job mobility, death as a consequence of the job (e.g. whitewater rafting), death as a consequence of the lifestyle accompanying the job (e.g. drug overdose, suicide), friendships, and marriage.

As I introduce my work on this project, it would be remiss to claim these experiences do not inform my research lens. As researchers, we all bring subjectivities to our work, the question then becomes how much do you, the reader, need to know about the complexities of my subjectivity? The answer is not definitive as qualitative research is a process as much as a product, wherein the researcher plays a central role in the process (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008). Thus, as any reader moves through each chapter of this dissertation, he or she may notice the co-mingling of several subjectivities at once. At this time, however, I will take a moment to discuss the major subjectivities constant throughout.

The destination in which two studies within this dissertation is conducted is New Orleans, Louisiana, USA. The first time I traveled to New Orleans was in 2001. I was 19 years old, and going to visit my brother who, at the time, was an instructor at the
University of New Orleans. He’d gone to New Orleans to pursue his MFA in poetry. That first trip, I would say I experienced New Orleans similar to most other first-time visitors; overwhelmed by the new sights and sounds I hadn’t been exposed to thus far in my midwestern upbringing. I took part in a jazz funeral led by the Storyville Stompers for Jim Monaghan, a well-known owner of several bars throughout the French Quarter. At the end, I knelt on a bar stool trying to catch a glimpse of the action in Molly’s where his ashes were placed above the cash register, and his friends served drinks and gave toasts in black suits and top-hats. I followed my brother into a crowded, intimate bar on Frenchman Street (which no longer exists) to watch Kermit Ruffins perform. We walked through the cemeteries looking for the oldest graves we could find, and we played pool at his neighborhood bars; bars 18 years later, we still go to and where many of the staff call me by name when we show up. But with each passing year, and each visit, I became more disenchanted by the growing distance between the perception of New Orleans and the day to day realities of the people I interacted with. In respect for the privacy of those of whom I am thinking, I will not go into detail as to what this entails exactly. Instead, I will simply say that even before beginning my doctoral studies, New Orleans was the first destination where I began to question how tourism narratives perpetuate and exacerbate the social ills hidden within a destination.

The subjectivities developed through my time visiting New Orleans needed to be recognized as well as the fact that the resident population of New Orleans is 60% Black or African American, with 25% living in poverty (as compared to 12% in the U.S. as a whole; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). Throughout the research process, attributes such as
being a white, heterosexual, middle-class, college-educated woman contributed to my subjectivities beyond the work and travel experiences described above. I was not subject to the racial disparities underpinning much of New Orleans’ history. I also no longer relied solely on tourism-reliant jobs to pay my bills. I did not come into daily contact with the failing sewage and road infrastructure that plagues many areas throughout the city. Even though I was there to gain the perspective of the workers and residents, I was not one of them. I was first a tourist, but also a researcher. Therefore, while the answers to the questions regarding my subjectivities are not clear, I believe this—the beginning—is as good of a place as any to start deconstructing the way in which these subjectivities both motivate and influence my work.

What you have by now—hopefully—noticed is that I do not subscribe to the idea of a ‘disembodied intellect’ (Friedrichs, 1981) or what Geertz (1988) referred to as ‘author-evacuated’ texts (also see Feighery, 2006). DeVault (1995) suggests “autobiographical impulse seems common among working-class academics, women, and those from other groups underrepresented in the profession” (p. 226). As someone who checks two of those boxes, I concur with DeVault in that ‘outsiders’ such as myself are more likely to tell compelling personal stories, shifting the emphasis of research to view participants as ‘subjects of communication’ rather than as ‘objects of information’, in pursuit of more equitable representation. As such, I am very much present in the writing of this dissertation as I work to provide ethical and equitable representations of the tourism workers who trusted me enough to share their experiences.
I am also guided by a response Dr. Kakali Bhattacharya once gave to the question of how we know this research is the truth and not just our own bias:

I’m not chasing truth. Everybody has an agenda…NSF has an agenda; all our research has an agenda. Nothing is value neutral. I’m not giving you the truth…I’m writing these narratives because they do not currently exist…If I do not write these narratives no one else will write these narratives. Whether or not you believe these narratives is up to you. I cannot make anyone believe what I write. What I can do is show the due diligence, the ethical responsibilities and the sensibilities that inform this. Then it’s up to you whether you want to believe it as truth, but I’m not moving toward truth. I’m moving toward documenting social history as it’s happening and recording narratives as they’re happening, not chasing a finite truth…Who’s truth is being privileged? We know whose usually is and so I’m trying to make sure others’ ‘truths’ are heard (Bhattacharya, 2018, 28:16).

Fourteen years after that first summer in Yellowstone, I began my doctoral studies concentrating on travel and tourism at Clemson University. As my research interests unfolded, I found that what I knew of the industry, and the concerns I had with what I experienced, were not well addressed in the literature. The narratives of those I had worked with were missing. Their ‘truths’ rendered invisible. Thus, the focus of my research became figuring out a way in which to bring such narratives closer to the forefront of how we view both the positive and negative aspects of tourism, particularly in relation to the tourism workforce.

My continued education has afforded me the opportunity to engage with theories and literature that both confirm and challenge the ways I know and understand tourism and more broadly, the world. At the center of this research is a convergence of my situated self as a former tourism worker, my interests in labor and race within the tourism workforce, and my goals as an advocate for equal access to fair and decent work. I adopt
the definition of fair and decent work as that set forth by the International Labour Organization, which defines it as such:

Opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men (Decent work, n.d., para 1).

Understanding this convergence may help the reader to know more about myself as the research instrument, and ultimately this work.

As a new researcher in the field, I was unsure of how to proceed in maintaining the passion ignited by the idea of working for social justice and changing the lives of marginalized populations within tourism-reliant areas, while contributing to the scholarship of the academic field. To clarify, the work I refer to in tourism destinations\(^1\) is the low-pay, low-skill and/or low-esteem jobs that make up many opportunities in travel destinations globally. Such jobs have also been labeled ‘dirty work’ (Camp, 2011; Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007), which in its broadest sense refers to, “any job that is viewed as physically, socially, or morally foul” (Mathe & Scott-Halsell, 2012, p.355). Unsure of my abilities, but determined to try, I began reading literature that focused not simply on how to make the positive aspects of tourism even better, but those that were willing to expose the contrasting “ugliness-beauty, pain-pleasure, toil-relaxation, poverty-luxury; fear-comfort, hate-love, sacredness-profanity, and despair-hope” (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011, p. 957) that exists within tourism worlds.

\(^1\) A critical mass of development that satisfies traveler objectives, which offers a tourist the opportunity of taking advantage of a variety of attractions and services (Gunn, 1997). Many scholars consider it a fundamental unit of analysis for understanding of the whole tourism phenomenon, even if difficult to define precisely and problematic as a concept (Framke, 2002).
Beyond that, I immersed myself in literature stressing the imperative of acknowledging tourism’s location within the neoliberal ideological and economic system (see Bianchi, 2009, 2018; Britton, 1991; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Ladkin, 2011; Mosedale, 2011, 2016).

Through the literature and my personal motivations, I developed my desire to critically explore the historical, social, cultural, and economic issues affecting the 8.6 million U.S. tourism workers (U.S. Travel Association, 2018). The choice to focus this research on the context of the U.S. is a deliberate choice. While tourism workforce issues are a global phenomenon, the scarce amount of research focused on the workforce becomes even more scarce when looking at it in the context of the U.S.

To provide examples of the scarcity of tourism workforce research globally, a recent systematic review of the top four tourism journals and top four hospitality journals, as determined by impact factor, from 2005 to 2014 (n=6,449) revealed that only 2% of the articles in the tourism journals (n=4,004) and 15% of the articles in the hospitality journals (n=2,445) were dedicated to the workforce (Baum, Kralj, Robinson, & Solnet, 2016). Within the workforce articles, the researchers found the majority of articles had either an individual focus (e.g. worker attitudes or commitment to organization) or an organizational focus (e.g. recruiting and retaining employees or employee). The few articles that focus specifically on the working conditions of employees such as an exploration of decent work in the South African tourism industry (De Beer, Rogerson, & Rogerson, 2014), and the influence of work and leisure on work modes at a luxury resort in Hawaii (Adler & Adler, 1999) do not make the connection of the empirical data to a
wider social, cultural, economic or political consideration. This paucity subsequently masks the influence of various countries’ differing labor structures tourism work and the workforce.

In the U.S., employment and labor laws are the main anchors of the employment relationship, but for many of those laws – the minimum wage, health and safety regulations, and the right to organize – standards have either stagnated or weakened over the past thirty to forty years (Bernhardt, 2012). As a result, outdated loopholes continue to exclude low-wage workers from legal protection, and it is more difficult to hold employers accountable for working conditions, labor rights, livable wages, etc. This has led some researchers to call for the need to address job quality rather than job quantity within the U.S. (Karjanen, 2016), as those working in the industry have already begun to do.

For instance, among hotel employees, housekeepers and room service staff are among the most vulnerable as they must not only enter guest rooms alone, the nature of the work can be physically strenuous and lead to injuries. Beginning in June 2018, Marriott workers in cities across the U.S. such as Boston, San Diego, and Seattle, organized protests demanding safer working conditions, a livable wage, and more protection against sexual harassment and violence; the latter including the distribution of panic buttons that will provide hotel security with the workers’ exact location should they need it (Koerner, 2018; Shoot, 2018). Similarly, employees of Walt Disney Company have held several protests at Disney World in Florida and Disneyland in California, demanding higher wages (Eidelson & Palmeri, 2018). After almost a year of intense
negotiations, it was announced in August 2018 that the 38,000 employees at Disney represented by the Service Trades Council Union will receive a contract that will raise wages to $15.00 per hour by the year 2021 (Wattles, 2018). While this reflects a ‘win’ for the employees at Disney, this level of organized activity is often not available to many of the workers within the travel and tourism industry in the U.S.

Outside of basic labor force structures that have created a cycle of low pay and few benefits among tourism jobs (see Riley, 2004), there are also the impacts of external factors (e.g., economic crises, natural disasters) that intensify pressure on the workforce. For example, there has been an increase in natural disasters throughout the U.S., with September 2017 being one of the most active hurricane seasons in the Atlantic Ocean on record (Donegan, 2017). When disasters strike in tourism areas, those employed in the tourism industry are some of the most vulnerable to the effects of external events and can also face the longest path to recovery. Yet, are often neglected. As Goldberg (2018) states:

Natural disasters are often referred to as ‘great equalizers’ because they don’t discern between rich and poor victims. But low-income people can’t prepare for a hit the way well-off people can, which means they’re far more likely to have their lives uprooted (para. 5).

This was recently illustrated during a press conference that preceded the 2018 landfall of Hurricane Florence with South Carolina Governor Henry McMaster. Upon being asked about concerns for hourly tourism workers struggling to find ways to comply with the mandatory evacuation and facing the loss of at least a week’s worth of wages, McMaster indicated that “most of us are just happy to live in South Carolina and we think it’s the
best place to be,” avoiding the provision of any real solutions for those sustaining South Carolina’s major tourism destinations along the coast (The County Channel, 2018).

All of this is not to say tourism development is inherently negative. In less developed, often peripheral, regions of a country where alternative development opportunities are more limited, tourism can have a significant impact on household incomes and government revenue (Archer, Cooper, & Ruhanen, 2005). In addition, the infrastructure created to accommodate tourism is available for the use of the local people; in many countries, highways and airfields originally created for tourism development, provide access to wider markets for locally produced goods (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2012). From a political standpoint, domestic tourism can act as an integrating force strengthening national sentiment. In more developed countries such as the U.S., visits to national historical monuments, battlefields, cultural icons can strengthen unity and understanding of the past (Archer, et al., 2005). Also, tourists are attracted to areas of high scenic beauty, and areas with abundant and interesting wildlife. Money spent by tourists in these regions can be used to conserve and improve the natural and manmade heritage (Archer, et al., 2005).

In addition, Scheyvens (1999, 2002) identified four dimensions in which tourism development has the ability to empower communities economically, psychologically, socially, and politically. These have been further supported by Boley and Mcgehee (2014), Boley, Mcgehee, Perdue & Long (2014), and Cole (2006). Dangi and Jamal (2016) summarized research exploring the ways in which tourism is successful in facilitating such empowerment, which is presented in Table 1.
Table 1. Critical success factors (CSFs) for community-based tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions of community empowerment</th>
<th>Elements of community success factors (CSF)</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic empowerment</td>
<td>1. <strong>Income and employment</strong> 1.1 Economic benefits 1.2 Local ownership of businesses, small and medium business enterprises (SMEs) 1.3 Providing financial services/funds to SMEs 1.4 Management of external/internal financial resources 1.5 Vision, goals, strategies, marketing/networking (integrated planning) 1.6 Capacity building, training and entrepreneurship/skills development 1.7 Equal distribution of land among residents/equity</td>
<td>Scheyevens (1999, 2002); Mataritta-Cascante (2010); Manyara &amp; Jones (2007); Vajirakachorn (2011); Poitras &amp; Getz (2006); Sharpley (2007); Brodhag (2009); Lucchetti &amp; Font (2013); Ashley, Roe, &amp; Goodwin (2001).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological empowerment</td>
<td>2. <strong>Community pride and self-esteem</strong> 2.1 Participation, involvement, collaboration 2.2 Educational activities (to identify self needs), having knowledge/information 2.3 Tourist/resident satisfaction</td>
<td>Jamal &amp; Getz (1995); Jamal &amp; Stronza (2009); Mbaiwa &amp; Sronza (2010); Cole (2006); Scheyevens (1999, 2002); Vajirakachorn (2011); Brodhag (2009); Boley, Megehee Perdue, &amp; Long (2014); Arnstein (1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social empowerment</td>
<td>3 <strong>Community cohesion</strong> 3.1 Participation, involvement, collaboration 3.2 Community cohesion/networking, sense of community 3.3 Interaction among stakeholders 3.4 Quality of life 3.5 Respect for local culture and tradition 3.6 Tourism resource conservation</td>
<td>Tosun (2000); Simmons (1994); Li (2004); Cole (2006); Scheyevens (1999, 2002); Manyara &amp; Jones (2007); Vajirakachorn (2011); Billington, Carter &amp; Kayamba (2008); Brodhag (2009); Russell (2000); Butler, Curran, &amp; O’Gorman (2013); Lucchetti &amp; Font (2013); Boley, Megehee Perdue, &amp; Long (2014); Ashley, Roe, &amp; Goodwin (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. <strong>Other components/elements</strong>* 5.1 Environmental protection and management 5.2 Infrastructure development 5.3 Flagship attraction 5.4 Tourists-residents emotional solidarity</td>
<td>Billington, Carter &amp; Kayamba (2008); Poitras &amp; Getz (2006); Sharpley (2007); Woosnam, Norman &amp; Ying, (2009); Woosnam &amp; Norman, (2010).</td>
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Source: Dangi & Jamal (2016, p.11). * Not covered in four dimensions
The potential for tourism to create so much good for many and yet potential harm for others is why I am moved to study it as a cultural context, woven with practices, products, and discourses that can be both empowering and destructive. The size of the U.S. tourism workforce is vast, and the opportunity to explore its complexities in a more comprehensive manner is both intriguing and exciting. I believe that if scholars understand more about what is often referred to as the ‘backbone of the industry’ by those outside the academy, and its inescapable ties to structural hierarchies of class, race and gender identities that shape who works and who plays in tourism destinations, we can begin to liberate those oppressed by ideologies that perpetuate dirty work and who performs it in tourism destinations. Although I argue for research that creates change, this is not to be confused as argument for a monolithic political agenda. The aim of this research rather is to present an opportunity to critically explore a highly under-represented, yet important aspect of tourism, to advance and apply theory to our dynamic and fluid field of study while providing an avenue for the narratives of those who live daily within the system to be heard.

This qualitative research work is thus a process, aligning with Denzin and Giardina’s (2010) position in that it is not solely about a “method” or “technique,” but rather making the world visible in ways that implement the goals of social justice and radical, progressive democracy (p. 14). Beyond simply an avoidance of contributing further to the marginalization of vulnerable populations, Denzin and Giardina (2010) suggest that as global citizens, qualitative researchers are called to develop research questions and utilize methodologies in ways that resist injustice while celebrating
freedom and full, inclusive, participatory democracy. Qualitative social research advances human rights and affirms human dignity by seeking and telling the truth about what people do in their everyday lives and about what their actions mean to them. As such, the primary obligation of this dissertation is to provide a better understanding and raise awareness as to the way those who work within tourism-dependent jobs navigate their presence in the world; therefore, human experience is the centerpiece.

As such, this research is based upon a critical theoretical foundation, which explores the world in which things happen, in which people live, work, love, laugh, and cry. It is a different research undertaking from approaches that “objectify people and events, and slot them into theoretical categories to arrive at explanation” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 17). It is rooted in a belief that people and events are tied together in ways that make sense of such abstractions as power, knowledge, capitalism, patriarchy, race, the economy, the state, policy, culture and so on. The next section explains why it is both important and necessary to examine the ways in which sociocultural, economic and political factors shape and perpetuate inequities within tourism work through a critical theory lens and qualitative methodology that incorporates the voice of those individuals working in the tourism industry. Ultimately, I argue through a postmodern lens for a knowledge born from everyday experiences of those living through, and against, some of the structures of power within tourism destinations.

**Critical Theory Lens**

The social sciences...should be used to improve quality of life...for the oppressed, marginalized, stigmatized and ignored...and to bring about healing, reconciliation and restoration between the researcher and the researched (p. 725).

The above quote is not to imply that all qualitative research must be critical or action oriented, but rather as the foundation on which this dissertation and my epistemological views are rooted. As a tourism researcher, I have chosen to use my dissertation research as an attempt to improve the quality of life and provide an avenue for the voices of those who are at times oppressed, marginalized, stigmatized and ignored within tourism development. Inquiry that aspires to the name “critical” must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within the society (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008). It is concerned with “issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy; matters of race, class and gender; ideologies; discourses; education; religion and other social institutions and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008, p. 407). Research thus becomes a transformative endeavor unembarrassed by the label political and unafraid to embrace emancipatory consciousness (Grinberg, 2003; Horn, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008). It is a first step toward forms of political action that can redress injustices unmasked through this dissertation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008).

**Ontological and epistemological foundation**

As a critical researcher my work aims to create change, to the benefit of those oppressed by power. Ontologically, I believe in the notion that human nature operates in a world that is based on the struggle for power. This leads to interactions of privilege and oppression that can be based on race or ethnicity, socioeconomic class, gender, mental or
physical abilities, or sexual preference (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Kilgore, 2001).

Epistemologically, my research is driven by the study of social structures, freedom and oppression, and power and control. As such, the following basic assumption as outlined by Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg (2011) are accepted:

- Thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted;
- Facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription;
- The relationship between concept and object between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption;
- Language is central to the formation of subjectivity (conscious and unconscious awareness);
- Certain groups in any society are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable;
- Oppression has many faces, and focusing on only one at the expense of others (e.g. class oppression versus racism) often elides the interconnections among them; and finally
- Mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of systems of class, race, and gender oppression (see also De Lissovoy & McLaren, 2003; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008).

I believe that the knowledge that is produced through my research can change existing oppressive structures and remove oppression through empowerment (Merriam, 1991). The change or empowerment that is sought in this research does not necessarily have to result in wide sweeping changes (although welcome) but rather provide alternative perspectives through the lived experiences of those in oppressive situations to change how people think about certain phenomenon, in this research the tourism workforce specifically, and serve as an examination of human existence within it that has otherwise been lacking in tourism research (Creswell, 2007).
While this research does share tenets with social justice research, research situated within a critical theory paradigm is not automatically interchangeable with that of social justice. Social justice, as defined by Angrosino (2005), is the “obligation of all people to apply moral principles to the systems and institutions of society; individuals and groups who seek social justice should take an active interest in necessary social and economic reforms” (p.739). As such, a major difference between social justice work and critical theory is the movement of the fruits of the research beyond traditional academic outlets to advocate for the marginalized populations with whom we work (Kincheloe et al., 2011). Rose (2015) reminds us that if we are to truly partake in social justice research, we must reflect on who is benefitting from it. While the aims of my research include a transformation of thought regarding the tourism workforce, it is likely only myself at this point in the development of my research line who will directly benefit from this dissertation. This is in the form of being awarded my doctoral degree, and the publications that will result from this research, in turn helping to further my career. As I continue the pursuit of connecting my passion for access to fair and decent work and the tourism workforce, I hope to develop my role as an activist to further my understanding in ways to move the processes and outcomes of my scholarship beyond academic discourse to benefit the communities treated unfairly through tourism development; specifically, the workforce (Johnson & Parry, 2015).

While as a researcher, I reside within a critical theory paradigm, no researcher can be a stranger to a different paradigm. I do believe in the value of both quantitative and qualitative post-positivist research, and its ability to render complex aspects of human
beings researchable while seeking causation, prediction and explanation in the patterns and regularities of life (Bronowski, 2011; Guba, 1990). Indeed, the findings are often foundational for situating critical research studies.

**Critiques of critical theory.** Critical theory is not without its own critique. Some argue that although emancipation is a goal of critical research, it is not guaranteed. Instead, the change in the participants’ lives may be negligible or non-existent (Scotland, 2012). As such, it creates a negative outcome when it is discovered that change may not be possible after participants become critically aware of their situation. In addition, Larsen and Wright (1993) provide an in-depth critique of Murray and Ozanne’s (1991) attempt to introduce critical theory into consumer research. Murray and Ozanne argued the necessity for the adoption of critical theory within consumer research to better equip researchers to investigate broader issues of societal welfare pertaining to the field. Two major critiques to this suggestion provided by Larsen and Wright (1993) are the notion that the use of critical theory positions the researcher as the possessing superior moral understanding, and the notion of historic totality (Larsen & Wright, 1993). I am in agreement with the first critique in that as critical researchers, we must remain diligent in centering the people and the issues we interact with and whose lives we strive to improve. This can be accomplished through practice such as the use of participatory research methods in which the participants in the study play an active role in determining research questions, methods, collecting data, analyzing and disseminating the data, changing the researcher’s role to that of facilitator rather than a researcher-subject relationship (see Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, 2013; Markey, Halseth, & Mason, 2010; Stewart &
Draper, 2009). In addition, we must actively think about the way in which we write and disseminate research to not further exacerbate the social issues we aim to curtail, or as Larsen and Wright warn, progress a political agenda for that sake alone. We must remain vigilant in not relying solely on our own values, especially when working with participants and phenomena that are understudied. It is through the research process we are also exploring the vulnerabilities of our participants and ourselves, thus ever changing and growing (Singh, 2015). To assume to “know” these intricacies from the beginning based on a political agenda or set of values risks further marginalization or exploitation.

The second critique is also significant, yet I challenge both their interpretation of Murray and Ozanne’s (1991) explanation of critical theory and the example they choose to demonstrate their critique. Larsen and Wright’s (1993) second critique is that of the implausibility of grasping historical totality in even relatively small groups. To begin, the ability to fully understand the historic reasoning for each stakeholder’s actions is certainly beyond a single study (as Murray and Ozanne also concede), and in most instances beyond a dissertation or extended research line. The example however, provided by Larsen and Wright is that of Murray and Ozanne’s ethical questioning of marketing firms advertising sugar-laden cereal during children’s programs. In this example, Murray and Ozanne assert that “the manufacturers of sugared foods have created a social production process that serves their interests but not the interests of parents and children” (p. 134). Larsen and Wright argue that this is a one-sided argument, missing the due diligence into the reason behind why these companies are motivated to sell one kind of cereal rather than another. A reason suggested by Larsen and Wright
(1993) being that the companies are motivated by the “eating pleasure of their customers, the children, i.e. by the children’s self-defined interests” (p. 442). In the interest of “moving as much product as possible, they capitalize on children’s natural taste for sweets” (p. 442). And while a nutritionist might not agree with the choices made by these children, parents at least play some role in purchasing the cereal, “casting their dollar votes for sugared rather than un-sugared cereal” (p. 442).

Larsen and Wright’s (1993) argument in fact delivers an ideal example of how to explain the development of a research study guided by a critical lens. In their critique, it seems their interpretation of Murray and Ozanne’s (1991) explanation of critical theory is that to question and identify a problem, is to suggest the totality of the situation the problem is rooted in is inherently wrong. Moreover, it implies the people making the decisions are doing so with malicious intent. On the contrary, in this example, the social problem identified is children eating too much sugar. If one were to follow the steps laid out by Murray and Ozanne (1991) for conducting a critical theory research project, the next step would be to historically examine social structures that could lead to this. This might include an exploration into the discursive power that shapes the relationships and confrontations at the lower levels of society including shifts in societal norms such as the need for both parents working out of the home, leaving children to be at home alone more and watch more television, or confusion about the amount of sugar we should ingest (Foucault, 1978).

The latter suggestion then leads to the next step in which we explore contradictions between the intersubjective understanding and the objective social
conditions. In other words, it is objectively known that children today eat more sugar than is needed, why do parents think that is? Why do children, teachers, nutritionists, etc. think that is? This step is then followed by the awareness step, which is discussing alternative ways of seeing the situation with those involved. Maybe one of the parents suggests that they work multiple jobs, so their child is often at home alone. When they find time to go to the grocery story, the child begs for the sugary cereal they have seen on television, and too tired to argue or feelings of guilt for leaving the child home alone motivates the parent to “cast their dollar vote” for the sugar-filled cereal (Larsen & Wright, 1993). As part of the praxis step, which is to participate in a theoretically grounded program of action to change social conditions, the researchers and participants suggest removing advertising for sugar-filled cereal from children’s programming may help to mitigate the problem. Thus, the need for understanding the marketing principles behind why a company may or may not choose to advertise during a particular television show is not pertinent to the social issue identified at the outset of the project. But it can be part of a possible solution.

Policies, regulations, traditions, business strategies, and other actions that work toward or reflect the status quo can all be harmful to varying populations in varying ways. Unmasking those harms does not necessarily entail demonizing the totality of the situation or the people who put them into practice. As critical theorists, we aim to unmask the inequalities that exist to help improve the lives of those who may be overlooked in the development of said policies, regulations and traditions.
A relevant example of this that is briefly referred to in the next chapter is that of the policies put forth in New Deal era by President Franklin D. Roosevelt beginning in 1933. While it is true, the policies helped to build the middle class, it also drew literal red lines around Black and Brown communities and allowed white Americans to have access to things such as home loans and education that others did not have access to. This accelerated many parts of an already wide racial wealth gap that continues to persist today. Those who acknowledge these inequities do not dismiss the positive aspects that came out of the policies such as Social Security or unemployment benefits, nor do they label President Roosevelt a racist. Yet, through exploring the injustices we have come to recognize within the policies, it is not erroneous to point out they were indeed economically racist policies. As such, Larsen and Wright (1993) provide valid critiques that as a critical researcher, I must keep in mind to remain true to the axiological and epistemological assumptions used to guide my research, which are that human life is worth living, but can also be improved, and one way to make change in the world is through critique. Change is possible through generating knowledge that is forward-looking, imaginative, critical and unmasking, and practical (Murray & Ozanne, 1991). As Belk (1987) said,

In a world so full of wondrous things, both natural and humanly created, there is much to engage us…In a world so sharply delineated between the consumption of haves and have-nots, there is much to concern us. And in a world so full of high-level consumption, but so empty of human fulfillment, there is much to challenge us (p. 1).

The Need for Tourism Workforce Research
I will take this opportunity to remind the reader that while the information presented to this point, and will be presented throughout the following chapters, may seem somewhat ‘total’ where seemingly all things related to the tourism workforce and/or tourism development result in oppression, this dissertation does not attempt to address tourism as a whole. It is rather through a critical lens from the perspective of the tourism worker in a neoliberal tourism development context. As such, the aim of this dissertation is not to demonize tourism development, as the dynamics I highlight are largely general to neoliberal development, but to confront the overarching processes that underly it. In doing this, the questions of power, inequality and oppression remain key. Echoing Bhattacharya (2018), in this dissertation I am not chasing a finite truth that will provide finite and generalizable answers as to the tourism workers position within tourism development. I am merely attempting to provide through due diligence and ethical responsibilities as a researcher an avenue for the experiences and counternarratives of the tourism workers to be heard (Bhattacharya, 2018).

It is also imperative at this juncture to define two terms in order to understand their contextual position throughout this research.

**Tourism development.** This dissertation follows Devine and Ojeda’s (2017) use of the term “tourism development” rather than “tourism industry” or simply “tourism”. The reason for tourism development is that it refers to “an ongoing process, rather than a singular event (the visit), or a person (the tourist)” (p. 607). This dissertation also explores both the long-term processes of sociocultural, economic and political structures and the “mundane ways tourism affects people’s daily lives and livelihoods” (p. 607)
rather than analyzing tourism as different types of tourism (e.g. cultural, dark tourism, etc.) or grounded in the tourist experience. When including the term ‘development’ I am not referring to the process of economic development as measured by per capita incomes or gross domestic product, nor sustainable development, but rather the intertwined processes of neoliberal economic and ideological policies—including the implied positivity present in the discourse surrounding tourism development—and the uneven expansion of capitalist development within tourism destinations (see Devine & Ojeda, 2017).

The tourism workforce. For this dissertation, I adopt the Baum et al. (2016) holistic notion of the tourism workforce that extends beyond traditional human resource management definitions. Specifically, workforce is operationalized as:

…the disparate ‘component parts’ of the tourism workforce or employment domain, to include, inter alia, the industry’s labor process; human capital policy and planning and labor markets; industrial and employee relations; education, training and the development of talent; service delivery; organizational and occupational cultures, and many others—under the unifying nomenclature of ‘workforce’ (Baum et al., 2016, p. 2).

Jobs that are also commonly referred to as service-sector or hospitality are also encompassed by this definition as “all tourists must sleep somewhere, and all tourists must eat…workers who provide these hospitality services are as much a part of the tourism workforce as are the workers at other tourism products” (Baum et al., 2016, p. 4). The following chapters provide the theoretical groundings and frameworks used to guide this research.
Problem Statement

Employment and job creation have long been central to the rationale of increasing tourism promotion and development (Mosedale, 2011). In most reports of economic impact, number of jobs created is a marker of success. However, although still relatively rare, research exploring the quality of such jobs shows the majority can be classified as low-wage, precarious or dirty (Baum et al., 2016; Camp, 2011, Chun, 2009; Duffy, 2007; Glenn, 1992; Terry, 2018). There remains ample need and opportunity for exploring the connection of what contributes to the perpetuation of this in U.S. tourism development within the context of wider, sociocultural, economic and political structures, as this perspective remains primarily missing from tourism debates (Bianchi, 2009, 2017; Ladkin, 2011; Bramwell & Lane, 2011).

Those in favor of using job numbers as a measurement of impact often maintain that residents welcome any jobs; no matter the quality. Yet, rights activists believe it is often used to take advantage of a community’s financial vulnerability, labeling it predatory or exploitative and insisting that because most menial jobs—or dirty work—are held by minorities, it could be labeled outright racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Again, this is not to say the people who determine job numbers or even those who utilize them are racist, but rather the practice of relying solely on job numbers as a measurement can, in certain contexts, be considered a racist practice. An exploration into the tourism workforce within tourism development that delves beyond job numbers is critical to unraveling how race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality have continued to shape who does the dirty work in the U.S. tourism economy (Camp, 2011).
Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the sociocultural, economic and political factors influencing the structure of the tourism workforce, the role they play in structuring the discourse that shapes tourism development in New Orleans, and the lived experiences of those working in the tourism industry in New Orleans. It is rooted in the acknowledgement that people and events are tied together in ways that make sense of such abstractions as power, knowledge, capitalism, patriarchy, race, the economy, the state, policy, culture and so on, laying the foundation for ways to explore the complexities of the tourism workforce and work toward social change.
Research Questions

This dissertation revolves around addressing four research questions. The overarching research question guiding this work is:

- How do sociocultural, economic and political factors affect tourism workers in New Orleans?

Three subsequent questions emerge that reflect the articles of the dissertation and potential stand-alone manuscripts. These are:

- How has historical sociocultural, economic and political institutions shaped the structure of the tourism workforce in the United States?

- How has the discourse used directly after Hurricane Katrina shaped tourism workers’ position within the New Orleans tourism complex?\(^2\)

- How does the tourism workforce engage with and experience the storied landscape of tourism in New Orleans?
  - How are lived experiences vocalized through storytelling?
  - How do tourism workers’ stories counter dominant stories?

\(^2\) The term tourism complex as used in this dissertation refers to the complexity of the tourism product or commodity. It is not a discrete item but a complex process in which the ‘product’ on offer is generally a diverse constellation of entities including even such intangible background elements as the overall ambiance of the location (Briassoulis, 2002; Buscher & Fletcher, 2017). In practice, this comes down to the governance and management of tourism infrastructure, the circulation of tourist bodies, different political economies of expectation in a suite of environmental, social, political, economic and historical contexts that together enable the circulation of tourism capital (Richter, 1989).
Dissertation Structure

Article One (Chapter Four) of this dissertation is a conceptual paper discussing scholarship from the last century-and-a-half that contributes to the understanding of the ways in which sociocultural, economic and political factors (e.g. racial ideology, immigration policy, trade unions) have shaped the tourism workforce in the U.S. Beginning with an exploration of early travel in the U.S., this paper explores both the concept of invisibility of the tourism workforces as well as the historical role of race, ethnicity and gender in structuring today’s workforce.

Guided by the first sub-research question: How has sociocultural, economic and political institutions shaped the structure of tourism workforce in the United States? This article begins with the acknowledgment that while tourism does include higher-paying jobs in finance, business, and government subsectors, low-wage work is a significant component of the jobs that make up the industry (Beddoe, 2004; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016; Burns, 1993; International Labor Organization, 2001; Lee & Kang, 1998; Radivan & Lucas 1997; Wood 1992). In addition, the primary workforce consists of racial and ethnic minorities as well as women. Therefore, this article is also driven by the questions of how or why did this structuring of the workforce begin? How is it perpetuated? And who determines it? As a critical inquiry into the development of the tourism workforce in the U.S., this paper serves as a foundational framework for future research that interrogates the questions raised, looking at how this may affect both the workers and the destinations.
Article Two (Chapter Five) of this dissertation seeks to gain understanding as to how the New Orleans’ tourism complex evolved through the days and years after Hurricane Katrina to its current state. Guided by the research question: How has the discourse used directly after Hurricane Katrina shaped tourism workers’ position within the New Orleans tourism complex, this research explores the way in which tourism discourse is intertwined with sociopolitical factors and addresses two issues: (a) the influence of tourism discourse on the lived experiences of socially marginalized residents of New Orleans, and (b) instances of social justice/injustice and/or increased/decreased opportunities within the tourism complex for socially marginalized residents of New Orleans as related to the discourse.

The methodology used in this study is situational analysis (SA), which through the use of mapping, provides ways of understanding discourse through inductively analyzing the content found in the data while using supplementary qualitative research approaches to facilitate the hybridity of methods. The data that informed the development of the maps in this research includes 122 newspaper articles collected through Nola.com, which serves as the online curator of New Orleans newspaper The Times Picayune. The time period designated to include articles was September 2005 to November 2018, beginning days after Hurricane Katrina and progressing to the current tourism complex.

Article search results were generated using combinations of the following keywords in conjunction with the terms New Orleans and Tourism: safety, tourist, surveillance, employees, workers, workforce, and rebuild. The search terms for the articles were informed through ongoing analysis of data collected using participant
observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and archival/artifact collection. In addition to the supplemental data, the integration of my personal and professional experiences gained through ongoing interaction with the New Orleans tourism complex was included and supported within SA methodology.

The maps developed through SA serve as critical methodological tools to uncover a range of positions, allowing us to decide which “stories to tell” (Clarke, 2005, p. 111) to dismantle and unveil possibilities for resistance to oppressive social circumstances. This study serves as an example of how SA can be used for critical purposes to examine complex situations such as that of the tourism complex in New Orleans, and circumstances which are constantly changing, messy, and political (Perez & Cannella, 2013).

Finally, Article Three (Chapter Six) explores the lived experiences of tourism workers in New Orleans illustrating instances of social justice/injustice and/or increased/decreased opportunities. Using CRT as a theoretical lens, this study acknowledges the experiential knowledge of people of color as credible, highly valuable, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in all its facets (Carrasco, 1996). Using counter-storytelling, this research presents three vignettes. The vignettes are developed as counter-narratives to three examples of ‘One time in New Orleans’ stories featured on GoNola.com, which is the New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation website. The stories are provided by tourists and tourism promoters alike.

Upon analyzing 44 ‘One time in New Orleans’ stories featured on the website from September 1, 2018 to October 1, 2018, themes emerged through the use of open
coding. The data used to inform the counter-narrative vignettes included 128 hours of participant observation that took place beginning in May 2018, continuing through December 2018 primarily in the French Quarter, but also including additional neighborhoods such as the Treme and Bywater. Unstructured or informal conversational interviews were utilized as a natural extension of participant observation, relying on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of interaction (Patton, 2002), and six semi-structured interviews. In addition, a variety of archival/artifact sources were also used such as city tourism and local business brochures, City Council meeting minutes, museum exhibits such as the Hurricane Katrina exhibit and the ‘Undesign the Redline’ local exhibit.

This article provides an example of the ways in which counter-narratives are important and central to understanding the nature of reality. The counter-narratives developed in this study provided a space to share experiences in ways that have not necessarily been told (Milner & Howard, 2013), and how in tourism destinations, counter-narratives can allow researchers and participants to study and name a reality that may be inconsistent with tourism narratives, or what might be considered the norm or pervasive (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Together, the three articles work to answer the overarching question: How do sociocultural, economic and political factors affect tourism workers in New Orleans using a case study methodology (see Figure 1.1).
Figure 1.1. A visualization of the dissertation structure.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

In a passage written in 1933, George Orwell provided us with one of the first
descriptions of life working in a hotel. The passage not only describes the work of the
plonguer (i.e. dishwasher), but begs the question of why such a life exists:

When one comes to think of it, it is strange that thousands of people in a great,
modern city should spend their waking hours swabbing dishes in hot dens
underground. The question I am raising is why this life goes on—what purpose it
serves, and who wants it to continue, and why I am not taking a more rebellious
attitude. I am trying to consider the social significance of the plongeur’s life. I
think I should start by saying that the plongeur is one of the slaves of the modern
world. He is no freer than if he were bought and sold. His work is servile and
without art; he is paid just enough to keep him alive; his only holiday is the sack
(Orwell, 1933, p. 122).

The early works of Boorstin (1964/2012), MacCannell (1973), Turner and Ash
(1975), and Cohen (1971), while not specifically related to the workforce as is the above-
mentioned passage, laid the foundations of the field, situating tourism within the social
context. Throughout the 40 plus years that have passed since those foundational works
were published, however, more emphasis has been placed on pragmatic research aimed
toward addressing practitioner needs, or the “managerial gaze” (Airey, Tribe,
Benckendorff, & Xiao, 2015, p. 147), rather than situating tourism within the social
context it inevitably shapes and is shaped by (see also Baum et al., 2016; Ballantyne,
Packer & Axelsen, 2009). Of specific interest to me is that since the writing of Orwell’s
passage, there has been a scarce amount of research dedicated to critically exploring one
of the largest components of tourism: the workforce (for examples see Wood, 1998,
(2011) findings of an investigation into why tourism labor is still a relatively scarce area of research, there are no clear insights. However, a lack of reliable employment data, problems of definition and the cost of empirical data collection are all prime suspects (Ladkin, 2011). In addition, Veijola (2009) suggests widening the approach of labor research proves challenging and requires a broadening and diversification of discourses, topics and the imagined audience. For instance, approaching tourism through the study of work may prove uncomfortable to some, causing the avoidance of tackling the subject (Ladkin, 2011; Veijola, 2009). It is a goal of this dissertation to add to the widening of looking at the tourism workforce through the lens of critical race theory (CRT), and its relationship with the concepts of discursive power, invisible work, and neoliberal tourism development (Figure 2.1).
Critical Race Theory

As I became more acquainted with the complexities of the tourism workforce through both reviewing the literature and conducting field work, I realized that this work must utilize a theoretical grounding that puts race and ethnicity at the forefront, as race and ethnicity are embedded in the history of tourism in the U.S. (Thomas, 2014). From tour narratives, to websites, to travel brochures, to opportunities for business ownership and work, race, as Dyer (1997) argues, is never not at play; even when it appears to be absent.

Situated within a postmodernist lens, CRT first appeared in the 1970s as lawyers, activists and legal scholars across the country realized the advances of the civil rights era of the 1960s had stalled, and in many respects, were being rolled back (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). It builds on the insights of two previous movements, critical legal studies and radical feminism, as well as certain European philosophers and theorists such as Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). It is also grounded in the American radical traditions exemplified by such figures as Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Cesar Chavez, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Black Power and Chicano movements of the sixties and early seventies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

CRT pioneers and subsequent scholars (Bell, 1988, 1992; Russell, 1992; Delgado, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Taylor, Gillborn, and Ladson-Billings, 2009) situate their research foundationally upon the idea that race and racism are prevalent and permanent rather than a marginal factor in defining and explaining the lived experiences
of individuals. Therefore, racism looks ordinary and natural. Yet, race is a social construct “linked to relations of power and processes of struggle” (Frankenberg, 1997, p. 11) with fluid, decentered social meanings that are continually shaped by political pressures (Calmore, 1992). Going through relentless, deconstruction and reconstruction (Hayman, 1995), race, like other aspects of identity, is indeed a sociopolitical construction (Parker & Lynn, 2002).

With roots in African American, Latinx, and Native American critical social thought, CRT was born out of a need for people of color to begin to move discussions of race and racism from the realm of the experiential to ideological, and to contrast the color-blind model which limits understanding of how racism exists within hegemonic power structures in the U.S. (Johnson & Parry, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Tate, 1997). As such, CRT suggests the following propositions:

1. **Racism is ordinary; the usual way society does business**

   CRT starts with the premise that race and racism are endemic to and permanent in U.S. society (Bell, 1992; Russell, 1992) and that racism intersects with forms of subordination based on gender, class, sexuality, language, culture, and immigrant status (Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1991; Espinoza & Harris, 1998). Yet, racism is difficult to address because it is not acknowledged. Many people would like to argue that racism is declining in the U.S., but rather it is hidden behind color-blind tropes or “formal” conceptions of equality that can remedy only the most blatant forms of discrimination such as mortgage redlining or refusal to hire a qualified Black applicant over an unqualified white applicant (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p.7). This understanding of
racism does not address the common, everyday experiences of most people of color in the U.S., including the non-blatant ways in which racism remains through alternative mechanisms such as the public-school or private prison system.

2. **Racism serves important purposes, both psychic and material, for the dominant group.**

   Sometimes referred to as *interest convergence* or *material determinism*, this tenet argues that racism improves the lives of both white elites through material gains, and the white working class through psychically superiority. This leaves little room for interest in changing the political and societal structure to serve more minority groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). It is argued that some of the gains made through the civil rights movement, continuing through today, result more from the self-interest of white elites than from a desire to help Black people (Bell, 1976, 1980; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

   For example, Bell (1980) hypothesized what Dudziak (2000) later confirmed through analysis of foreign press reports and letters from U.S. ambassadors abroad, that the landmark Brown v. Board of Education (1954, 1955) case was driven not by the desire to converge the interests of whites and Blacks, but to improve the U.S. image in the eyes of Lesser Economically Developed Countries as the country fought for the loyalties of the mostly Black, Brown or Asian uncommitted nations in the heat of the Cold War (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

   CRT challenges claims of objectivity, race-neutrality, meritocracy, color blindness, and equal opportunity, claiming that these stances mask the divisiveness and problems associated with power and privilege of dominant groups (see Bell, 1987; Delgado, 2003; Solórzano, 1997).
3. *Race is a social construction of society; categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient.*

CRT’s social and racial justice research agenda exposes the ‘interest convergence’ of civil rights gains (Bell, 1980, 2004; Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Taylor, 2000), and works toward the elimination of racism, sexism, and poverty (Freire, 1970, 1973; Lawson, 1995; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

Dominant society places different stereotypes on different racial groups at different times, depending on the current state and shifting needs of society, such as the labor market. For example, Delgado and Stefancic (2017) suggest “at one period…society may have had little use for Black workers, but much need for Mexican or Japanese workers. At another time, the Japanese…may have been in intense disfavor and removed to war location camps, while society cultivated other groups of color for jobs” (p. 10).

4. *No one person has a single, unitary identity such as “Black” or “white.”*

Though society may want us to identify singularly as one race, our identities move beyond the color of our skin. For example, an “African-American” woman may be the product of a Black father and a white mother, a lesbian, a Muslim, and a Democrat. Because of her mixed background, should she be considered Black or white? Everyone, no matter their race, has overlapping, and possibly diverging, identities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). CRT extends beyond disciplinary boundaries to analyze race and racism within the context of other domains such as sociology, women’s studies, ethnic studies, history, and psychology. The utility of the interdisciplinary perspective allows a more
comprehensive and multifaceted examination of how race, racism, and racial (in)equity manifest.

5. The unique voices of people of color are critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about race.

CRT recognizes the experiential knowledge of people of color as credible, highly valuable, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in all its facets (Carrasco, 1996). It explicitly solicits, analyzes, and listens to the lived experiences of people of color through counter-storytelling methods such as family histories, parables, testimonials, and chronicles (see Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Delgado, 1989; Espinoza, 1990; Love, 2004; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, 2006).

CRT seeks to expose the historical, ideological, psychological, and social contexts in which racism has been declared virtually eradicated (Parker & Lynn, 2002). In building on this, this dissertation argues that tourism narratives often help to mask racial inequities rooted within policies or ideological racial hierarchies, creating patterns of power and privilege within the destination (see Bell, 1987; Delgado, 2003; Solorazano, 1997). In this dissertation, CRT provides the theoretical grounding in each study to help expose and explain dominant discourses critical to understanding the invisibility of workers, their place within an urban tourism complex, and the lived experiences of such workers.

While there has been an increase in the use of CRT in tourism research including as a way in which to reveal racialized power relations in tourism organizations (Hylton &
Chakrabarty, 2011), exploring historical representations of enslaved persons at tourist plantations (Montes & Butler, 2008), disaster vulnerability (Bolin & Kurtz, 2017; ), sports, in regard to Olympic games development (Hylton & Morpeth, 2012), and analysis of Black travelers’ travel experiences via Twitter (Dillette, Benjamin, & Carpenter, 2018), there is continued need for theoretical and methodological centering of race, and the experiences of racialized ‘Others’ in tourism research. The site selected to conduct this research—New Orleans, Louisiana—is an astute example due to the centrality of racial hierarchies that have shaped the destination, and the unique circumstances that have befall the city in recent years.

**Tourism development in New Orleans**

While tourism has always played a role in New Orleans’ economy, it was during the immediate post-World War II years that New Orleans city officials and elites began developing strategies to increase tourism to the city on the levels with which we see today (Gotham, 2005). Unlike other cities, New Orleans cultivated tourism at the expense of other economic and commercial development, with the city being transformed in the latter half of the 20th century by a “touristic culture” (Thomas, 2014, p. 2). This meant New Orleans economic, political, cultural, and social institutions and practices became dependent on and defined by the tourism industry (Thomas, 2014). By 1977, only 11% of the labor force was employed in manufacturing, which placed the city among the lowest in industrial employment in the nation (Gotham, 2005).
The city’s precarious location on the Gulf Coast, which contributes to a scarcity of habitable land has historically resulted in a diverse population to live and work in close proximity to one another. Thomas (2014) argues, however, that the absence of a geographical racial segregation did not translate into social integrations, “as the systems of slavery and Jim Crow segregation entrenched racial and class inequalities” (p. 17).

Figure 2.2. Photo of the remnants of the sign that once read “New Orleans Exchange” on the side of the Omni Hotel in New Orleans\(^3\). December 18, 2018.

Throughout the 20\(^{th}\) century, new technologies that facilitated the drainage of former back swamps, marshes, and other environmentally vulnerable lands, white flight, gentrification, programs of urban renewal, economic downturns, and the displacement of the poor and working-class from tourist and commercial districts resulted in a residential pattern that more closely mirrored and perpetuated the city’s racial and class divides (Thomas, 2014). In the final decades of the 20\(^{th}\) century, disproportionate rates of poverty

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\(^3\) Numerous 19th-century travelers who frequented New Orleans for business and pleasure described the slave auction block in St. Louis Hotel. Sensationalism aside, visitors recorded their surprise at the grandeur and spectacle of the Hotel’s exchange area, which functioned as a sort of auction theater compared to the clandestine, modest showrooms of most other Southern cities’ slave markets. Today the Omni Royal Orleans Hotel stands on the site of the former exchange where so many families were separated and lives changed (Todd, Mason, & O’Dwyer, 2019, para 1).
and unemployment for Black New Orleanians, white persons desertion of the public-
school system, the new pattern of residential segregation that concentrated poor Black
residents in public housing projects and other isolated ghettos made New Orleans more
geographically, economically, educationally, and politically segregated than in any other
time in its history (Thomas, 2014).

It was during this time, the city dedicated more and more resources into the tourist
districts. This included the building of a domed stadium, a festival mall, a convention
center, new office towers in the central business district, a major theme park and a World
War II museum (Gotham, 2005). The city also staged many mega-events including the
1984 World’s Fair, periodic Super Bowls and Sugar Bowls, the NCAA basketball
tournaments, the Jazz and Heritage Festival and the Essence Festival (Gotham, 2005).
The 1990s brought the legalization of gaming into Louisiana, which allowed for the
building of Harrah’s Casino, as well as the creation of the New Orleans Tourism
Marketing Corporation (Gotham, 2005). Throughout this time, tourism promoters and
city elites were also developing a predominant tourism narrative that exalts the city’s
European heritage and diminishes and distorts African-American history and culture
(Thomas, 2014).

In an analysis of websites, promotional literature, tourist magazines, and images
from the late 20th and 21st centuries, Thomas (2014) found that the New Orleans
predominant tourism narrative alternated between constructions of old world old South
memories. According to Thomas, this included an almost exclusive emphasis on New
Orleans colonial European heritage and its antebellum charm, which obscured any
remnants of slavery, agency and group solidarity of Africans and African-Americans, and the civil rights battles that continued through the years leading up to Hurricane Katrina.

Pre-Katrina tourist literature maintained New Orleans as a timeless, insulated space of exoticism, decadence, mystery and magic. Thomas (2014) found the image of New Orleans in the 21st century differed very little from the mythologized South that had attracted northern tourists in the decades following the Civil War. She argued,

> Pre-Katrina white tourists, like their postbellum predecessors, sought in New Orleans and escape from class uncertainties and racial problems and the promise of established tradition, romantic history, and social stability seemingly lacking from their own lives (p.33).

*Figure 2.3.* Interpretive plaque designating the location of the former slave exchange at the St. Louis Hotel. December 18, 2018.

**Hurricane Katrina and tourism narratives**
The aftermath of Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees in August 2005, unmasked the inequities present behind the tourism narratives on a global stage. As some say, it did in a day what aggressive zoning policies and developers hope to accomplish in a decade (Klein, 2007). It sent the poor packing, created a space for redevelopment, grants, contracts, and a city desperate enough to hand over city governments to corporate control (Klein, 2007).

Promotional narratives that invite tourists to consume or gaze on Black culture without the acknowledgement of an exploitative slave system or persistent legacy of racial and class inequality, allowed tourists and the rest of the world to become acquainted with the representation of Blackness that leaves the actual Black New Orleans invisible (Thomas, 2014). In the days following Hurricane Katrina, this paradox was exposed to the world. Media outlets reported news of human suffering compounded by a slow-to-react U.S. government, and images of people stranded on rooftops or wading through chest-deep floodwaters. These images, as well as stories from inside a shelter of last resort—the Superdome—sparked national discussions about race, class, gender, age disparities; the role of government, and the viability of local culture (Greening, 2006). The New Orleans tourism industry was forced to contend with the city’s Black past and future, and past and potential tourists were introduced to the Black New Orleans that existed outside tourist zones (Thomas, 2014).

While such images and stories were beamed into homes across the globe, showcasing the result of decades of systematic neglect of non-tourist sections of the city, the media also served as a Foucauldian “power-sustaining machine…by means of an
omnipresent and omniscient power…that played a primary role in determining what characterized, what belonged to, and what happened to individuals” (Foucault, 1995, p. 197, as cited in Greening, 2011). In the days following Katrina, fact-checking became optional as journalists reported horrific scenes from the Superdome as well as stories of looters and “thugs” taking over the city; all of which were later determined mischaracterizations of actual events (see Dyson, 2006; Greening, 2011; Golberg, 2007). By the time factual accounts began to appear, the narrative of stranded New Orleanians had been set. News stories had vilified Blackness rather than attribute crimes that did happen to a few individuals, equating darkness to criminality, and hurricane victims were termed refugees (rather than U.S. citizens). In the notion of Gupta and Ferguson’s (1997) understanding of place or place making and Sontag’s (2004) exotic “placeness” through which images show a suffering that is outrageous and unjust, yet understood to be the sort of thing that happens in such places, audiences were exposed to “a conceptional revision of America—one that identifies the Black urban poor as a contemporary surveyed colonial subject” (Greening, 2011, p. 20).

Whether through a musician themed Habitat for Humanity in the Upper Ninth Ward, Brad Pitt’s Make it Right Foundation, or the privatization of public services and greater government reliance on private corporations to deliver resources and speed post-disaster recovery, residents were viewed as in need of outside assistance. In a variety of economic sectors, post-Katrina New Orleans had become a litmus test for urban revitalization (see Gotham, 2009; Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Peck, 2006; Thomas, 2014). Using disaster relief and recovery as the legitimating discourse, city, state, and
national officials rapidly modified public policy rules, regulations and procedures, and new entities were reestablished in an increasingly privatized system (Perez & Cannella, 2013).

Many of the policies introduced during this time continue to have negative effects on the tourism workforce while at the same time boosting tourism development. While the circumstances to get to the current state of New Orleans tourism development are unique, the power structures present within tourism development and the effects on the tourism workforce, are not. Rather the city serves as an accentuated example due to the longevity of tourism development, the economic size of the industry within the city and the massive neoliberal urban development opportunity presented by Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees. Tourism development is comprised of many complexities, the tourism workforce being but one. The complexity however, should not deter us from attempting to understand the interlocking oppressions facing tourism workers. As New Orleans Mayor Latoya Cantrell said in the 2015 City Council hearing to ban smoking in the city:

...we have to continue to change for the better, to meet the needs of our people and also, we cannot exclude the most vulnerable. It’s been off the backs of these people that this city thrives, but more importantly, the state of Louisiana. So today is a good day, and we’re doing the right thing for the right reasons.

In the chapters that follow I move between the national and the local: from up-close details of the intimacies of people's lives in New Orleans, to the macro scales of economic policies, and structures of power. However, before beginning this work it is important to discuss three frameworks underlying each study within this dissertation: discursive power, invisible work, and neoliberalism. I will also take this moment to
acknowledge that the interdisciplinary nature of tourism does lend itself to an exploration of concepts and critiques that can also be found outside of the field of tourism (Andrews, 2005; Camp, 2011). As a tourism researcher, however, the primary aim of this dissertation is to explore them within the context of tourism. First, I will discuss the complex concepts of discourse and discursive power.

**Discursive Power**

In discussing discourse, I evoke Foucault’s concept of discourse which refers to networks of texts, documents, practices, disciplines, and institutions, which together function as matrices in the production of certain objects and forms of knowledge (Foucault, 1995). As such, discursive practices are a “set of tacit rules that regulate what can and cannot be said, who can speak with the blessings of authority and who must listen, whose social constructions are valid and whose are erroneous and unimportant” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008, p. 412). Together these networks produce norms through which power is exercised by “correcting” individuals that deviate from those norms, not only through force, but by defining what is correct behavior (Foucault, 1995). It thus produces categories of knowledge such as deviance, madness and inferiority, and regulates these objects of knowledge through inclusion, limitation, or elimination. As discussed in more detail in Chapter Three in a situational analysis of tourism in New Orleans, this can appear in many forms in tourism development from the displacement of persons or activities that threaten the sanitized narrative of tourist spaces (e.g. homeless, minorities, red-light districts) (see Duggan, 2012; Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Ioannides
& Petridou, 2016; Olssen, 1996) to the literal surveillance of residents and workers as recently proposed by the City of New Orleans.

Separate from the coercive power of the law, Foucault’s discursive power is infused with the following characteristics: (a) it is not something that can be seized, wielded, exercised or forfeited, (b) it is not merely prohibitive, but productive, (c) it does not simply negate, but constructs “truth” through discourse, and (d) it is not the product of “binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled,” (Foucault, 1978, p. 95). Rather it is the product of a myriad of relationships and confrontations that take place at a lower level of society in small groups, families and institutions (Foucault, 1978). Operating at a distance, the power that categorizes certain behaviors as delinquent, and thus normalizing their suppression, constitutes what Foucault referred to as governmentality (Foucault, 1991). Governmentality posits that the systematic construction and exercise of power and knowledge is internalized by those over whom power is being exerted. People are not born subjects of this understanding, but rather become them while being classified in innumerable ways, which contribute to their social integration, even if they are simultaneously marginalized in many cases (Schecter, 2010).

The idea is that people will mostly ‘do as they should,’ not necessarily because of the physical force the government may bring to bear on them, but because what they ‘ought’ to do is constantly being informed and reinforced through the workings of discursive power. People are not necessarily aware that their behavior is influenced through discourse, therefore coercive force is not imperative to determining and dictating proper behavior (Foucault, 1978). One way in which we see this come to fruition is
through tourism promotional campaigns aimed at residents as discussed in Gotham’s (2007b) Selling New Orleans to New Orleans. Such campaigns provide residents a roadmap for maintaining the tourism narrative and rationale for overlooking day to day discrepancies in pursuit of continuing tourism development. For instance, by the early 20th century, printed tourism guides included brief, one-line statements of ‘facts’ about New Orleans. Statements included such ‘facts’ as New Orleans:

‘Is the greatest oyster market in the world’; ‘Is a city of homes and handsome residences’; ‘Has scores of beautiful parks and lakeside resorts …’; ‘The restaurants of New Orleans are noted for having the finest cooking in the world’; ‘All-Year Round Playground’; ‘Historically the most interesting city in America, with the Creole Quarter of French and Spanish romance, and the American Quarter of a modern metropolis’ (Gotham, 2007b, p. 328).

In reality, such urban ‘facts’ were spurious pieces about local circumstances invented to focus public attention on New Orleans (Gotham, 2007b). According to Gotham (2007b), this was not only used to attract tourists, but to unite the community around an ‘authentic’ image of the city while “elevating and legitimizing the emerging tourism and advertising industries as authoritative claims-makers, purveyors of truth about cities, and interpreters of authenticity” (p. 328). Thus, if you are not fully in-line with tourism development in the city, you are against the city.

It is of my epistemological belief that language is not neutral and objective, but rather constructs descriptions of the ‘real world’ using discourse as a form of regulation and domination (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2008). In this research, under the assumption that power discourses undermine the multiple meanings of language, explorations into hegemonic/ideologic messaging surrounding tourism workers and marginalized
populations within tourism destinations are present in each of the three articles in this
dissertation.

**Invisible Work**

Tourism jobs have been classified as low wage, low skill (see Baum, 2018; De Beer, Rogerson, & Rogerson, 2014; Ladkin, 2011; Robinson, 2013; Shaw & Williams, 1994; Wood, 1997) dirty work (see Camp, 2011; Duffy, 2007; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011) and precarious (see Ainsworth & Purss, 2009; Kalleberg, 2009; OnsOyen, Mykletun, & Steiro, 2009; Terry, 2016), among other terms. An underlying thread amongst these categorizations is the invisibility of the workers themselves. The invisibility of these workers serves as an odd paradox to such a human-centered industry yet has been present since the early beginnings of tourism in the U.S. (Andrews, 2005).

In a review of the literature on the concept of invisible work, Hatton (2017) found no single definition of invisible work but concluded it may involve being physically out of sight, ignored or overlooked, socially marginalized, economically and/or culturally devalued, legally unprotected and unregulated or a combination of such characteristics. As such, she defines invisible work as labor that is economically devalued through three interconnecting mechanisms –cultural, legal and spatial– which operate in different ways and to different degrees.

Sociocultural mechanisms of invisibility are in effect when labor is devalued by hegemonic cultural ideologies (i.e. gender, race, class, ability, sexuality, age), for instance in domestic work, blue collar work or emotional work (Hatton, 2017). Sociolegal mechanisms are in operation when labor is devalued because it is excluded
from legal definitions of ‘employment,’ for instance in sex work (Hatton, 2017). Finally, sociospatial mechanisms are in effect when labor is devalued because it is physically segregated from a culturally defined worksite (Hatton, 2017). Examples of this in tourism include working in outdoor destinations such as river or mountain guides. Depending on the mechanism at work, invisible labor may be only one aspect of a job or its totality; it may be criminalized or culturally expected. Despite this diversity, “all of these mechanisms obscure the fact that work is being performed and thereby contribute to its economic devaluation” (Hatton, 2017, p. 337).

Instances of the invisibility of workers within tourism in the U.S. date back to tourism packages to the West in the 1870s. Andrews (2005) found workers made their way into earlier reports of tourists in the height of Pike’s Peak Gold Rush of 1858 and 1859. By the 1870s however, railroads had begun to make travel a more leisurely process and physical labor no longer embodied the national manifest destiny of the western lands (Andrews, 2005). Instead:

Casual encounters between tourists and workers became even less likely after railroads and their subsidiaries established hotels and eating houses. Small armies of maids, waiters, cooks, and porters scurried about, catering to tourists' every need and desire. Yet if those workers did their jobs properly, tourists scarcely noticed them. Just so did the travel industry surround bourgeois travelers with the sort of labor they were least likely to consider work: the household work of women and the menial labor of racialized others (Andrews, 2005, p. 848).

Larger than being ‘seen’ in the literal sense, the figurative blindness toward certain types of work performed devalues the very worth of such work, subsequently devaluing those who perform the work.
Since early rail travel, tourism has continued to rely on a level of invisibility of its workforce creating a paradox of a human-centered yet invisible workforce. While not widely documented within the field of tourism, the sociocultural, economic and political factors (e.g. immigration policy, trade unions, racism) used to render workers invisible have been explored in destinations such as Colorado (Andrews, 2005), Niagara Falls (Wurst, 2011), Palm Springs, Florida (Lozano, 2017), Los Angeles, California (Camp, 2011), and New Orleans (Demovic, 2016). Chapter Two of this dissertation provides an extensive review of the literature exploring the progression of the concept of invisibility within the tourism workforce, and the ways it has influenced the contemporary structure.

Neoliberalism

Urban redevelopment strategies centralizing tourism development, which gained momentum by the 1980s as a way to revitalize inner cities, also contributed to the invisibility of those working in the industry. Neoliberal ideology and policy rose to prominence during this time as a major policy, regulatory and ideological framework (Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Mosedale, 2011, 2016). While an in-depth explanation of the complexities of neoliberalism is beyond the scope of this dissertation, a brief explanation of neoliberalism, and tourism’s role within it is outlined below.

Many ailing cities throughout the U.S. turned to visitor-oriented projects in the 1980s and 1990s as revitalization strategies, which led to somewhat standardized visitor attractions. This was partly enacted through a form of governance aligning with neoliberal political ideology that advocates market-based solutions to social problems.
This includes incentive-driven private sector involvement and a reliance on the “human nature” (Olssen, 1996, p. 340) of individuals to remain socially responsible, self-motivated individuals, and local governments adopting a revanchist role aimed at disciplining persons or activities that threatened such ideals (e.g. homeless, minorities, red-light districts) (see Duggan, 2012; Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Olssen, 1996).

Neoliberalism is an “amorphous political-economic phenomenon” (Peck, 2004, p. 394), yet it can be analyzed as distinct neoliberal projects, discourses and practices as it is spatiotemporally specific, embedded in a geographic, political, social and economic context (Larner, 2003; Mosedale, 2016). Thus, the label of ‘neoliberalism’ can often obscure the complex and varied processes of localized neoliberal projects. Instead, Larner (2003) argues, we must pay attention to the different variants, the hybrid nature of contemporary policies and programs and the contradictory aspects of neoliberal techniques and spaces (Larner, 2003) while at the same time recognizing these neoliberal variants are part of wider global discourses (Mosedale, 2016). As many cities throughout the U.S. turned to tourism to redevelop abandoned cores, hypercapitalist conditions⁴, including practices such as disaster capitalism in the U.S. and globally, have created

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⁴ The primary method for generating wealth in the U.S. economy has shifted from the marketing of goods created by the conversion of physical resources to the commodification of cultural human experience (Rifkin, 2000). The economy absorbs culture, as the bonds that hold society together become entirely commercial. The hegemonic hold on contemporary democratic societies exhibited by large corporations, so much so that corporate identities have been granted access to laws that are most often associated with individual human rights, resulting in a type of super entity with greater rights than individual people (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Chomsky, 1999; Horwitz, 1999). Further, global or ‘transnational’ corporations are no longer limited by national boundaries, laws, or local concerns as claims are made that they have grown beyond national interests (Korten, 2001).
neoliberal conditions that reinterpret notions of public space in pursuit of profit (see Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Klein, 2007; Mosedale, 2016; Perez & Cannella, 2013).

**Capitalism and tourism**

In discussing localized neoliberal projects, Bianchi (2018) warns of separating them as something engineered by elites, decoupled from capitalist social relations and class forces. While tourism has been a form of capitalism for some time now (see Britton, 1991), its analysis in this respect remains underdeveloped (Bianchi, 2009). Neoliberal mechanisms of privatization, marketization, commodification and deregulation are often used in tourism development to affix monetary value to *in situ* consumption of tourist destinations driving market incentive for more development (Fletcher, 2011). When evoking phrases such as disaster capitalism, neoliberal development does not work as its own interest, but rather with the power relations inherent in capitalist production. Van Apeldoorn and Overbeek (2012) go so far as to describe neoliberalism as “a political project aimed to restore capitalist class power in the aftermath of the economic and social crises of the 1970s” (p. 4).

Capitalism requires expansion to survive, and tourism provide a number of ‘fixes’ (e.g. spatial or temporal) to provide new opportunity for capitalist opportunities (Fletcher, 2011; Harvey, 1989). Harvey’s (1989) ‘spatial fix’ entails exporting excess capital to a new geographical location where it can be reinvested in novel development, whereas a ‘temporal fix’ involves displacing excess capital into future return, either by investing in development that will realize profit down the road or speeding up the return of profit. One way in which Harvey suggests accomplishing the latter is rather than selling a
durable good, develop a transient event that is instantaneously consumed, reducing turnover time to a minimum. The example he uses for this is a whitewater rafting trip. In connecting this with tourism destination chosen for this research, the disaster resulting from Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees created a spatial fix by opening up new opportunities for tourism development throughout the city by quite literally wiping away sections of the city; and a temporal fix when tourism products such as tours of devastated areas were being sold directly after the disaster while more durable goods were being rebuilt.

In sum, neoliberalism is not a shift in the market economy, but rather a framework of ideologies and policies that shape development within the current system of capitalist production. That said, neoliberalism has played an important role in tourism development as well as shaping the discourse determining who is and who is not valued in that development.

**Neoliberalism and tourism**

The late 1970s and 1980s saw indiscriminate investments in mega-projects such as convention centers and sports arenas (Ioannides & Peritrou, 2016). At this time the public sector assumed the role of facilitator—by establishing public-private partnerships—thus sidestepping traditional regulatory instruments and citizen participation (Ioannides & Peritrou, 2016). During what is labeled the roll-out phase of neoliberalism in the 1990s, the private sector’s role became far clearer while the public sector entered its revanchist period (Ioannides & Peritrou, 2016; MacLeod, 2002; Smith, 1998). Driven by efforts to enhance the quality of life of both visitors and residents in
places such as New York City’s Times Square, Boston’s Faneuil Hall, or Baltimore’s Harborplace, the revanchist period consisted of disciplining the elements perceived as harmful to the new image put forth by the destination (i.e. the homeless, workers, immigrants, people of color, and unwanted land uses like red light districts) (Ioannides & Peritrou, 2016).

Taking reference from the right-wing “revanchist” populist movement, which throughout the last three decades of the 19th century reacted violently against the relative liberalism of the Second Empire and the socialism of the Paris Commune (MacLeod, 2002), Smith (1996) outlined similarities between the original revanchists and the politics of urban tourism development. This included the mixture of military tactics with moral discourses about public order in the streets (Smith, 1998). Revanchism today represents a reaction against the basic assumption of liberal urban policies such as the government bearing some responsibility for ensuring a decent minimum daily life (i.e. food, shelter, dignity) for everyone (Smith, 1998).

In his research exploring the transition of New York City under Mayor Rudy Giuliani in the 1990s, Smith (1998) suggests reactions are manifested today through the roll out of neoliberal development policies which refer to “the purposeful construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance, and regulatory relations” (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 37). This involves socially interventionist policies such as “anti-panhandling” ordinances, drug laws, and welfare to work programs that seek to discipline, criminalize, and control poor and marginalized groups, who experienced the brunt of the effects created by roll out neoliberalism (Peck & Tickell,
According to Smith (1998), support for such policies is primarily held by those from the white-middle class who see the aforementioned groups as taking over a city that was rightfully theirs (Smith, 1998). The rolling back of the social state and the roll out of the penal state has been argued as the greatest political transformation of the post-civil rights era in America, remaking the “country’s stratification, cities, and civic culture, and…recasting the very character of ‘Blackness’ itself (Wacquant, 2010, p. 74).

Exploring neoliberal tourism development through revanchism aides in addressing the actions rather than the symptoms we often explore in research such as displacement and marginalization. For instance, access to affordable housing and reliable transportation to work in tourist areas is an issue in tourism destinations throughout the U.S. Rather than look ahistorically at the symptom of affordable housing shortages, it is important to look at historical examples such as the rise of landlord brutality paralleled with the rise of roll out neoliberal development in Brooklyn in the 1990s (Smith, 1998). In one instance, a Brooklyn landlord was charged with implementing a “campaign of terror” to clear the building for highly profitable development. The landlord was accused not only of burning his own building down to clear the tenants, but also injecting one tenant with a drug overdose (Smith, 1998). Similar to the unmasking attempted by this dissertation, the above example exposes a very visible hand in displacing residents in pursuit of more profitable development opportunities.

Tourism literature that provides an exploration into the phenomenon of tourism as a tool for transformation and development in postindustrial areas combined with a critique of neoliberalism is scarce (Hall & Page, 2012). Exceptions include Hall’s (2006)
discussion on the inner linkages of visitor oriented mega events, Bramwell and Lane’s (2011) exploration of sustainable tourism in the UK, Turkey and on the Mediterranean islands of Malta, Bianchi’s (2004) analysis of the politics of tourism planning introduced by the regional government in the Spanish Canary Islands, and Gotham’s (2002) examination of the marketization of local festivals and celebrations. In addition, Clark (2004), Gottdiener (2001) and Lloyd (2005) explored the broad sociocultural transformations that spearheaded the movement toward themed and regulated spaces characterized by liminality, staging and fantasy consistent with tourist sites (see also Gotham, 2007a). Most studies however, fall short of accounting for the “contextual embeddedness of neoliberal restructuring projects insofar as they have been produced with the national, regional and local context defined by the legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 351).

Neoliberalism is enacted, (re)produced and transformed into everyday practices by individuals and institutions (Mosedale, 2011). Analysis of such practices offer the opportunity for interpretation of wider socioeconomic processes (Jones & Murphy, 2010) and the materiality of the world through the creation, reproduction and unfolding of material social relations (Smith & Stenning, 2006). This provides a multi-scaler outlook beyond the State-market binary (Bianchi, 2017; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Mosedale, 2014). The situational analysis outlined in Chapter 3 serves as an example of a way in which to analyze the complex relationships within a localized neoliberal tourism project.

*Neoliberal Discourse*
Neoliberalism is a politically imposed discourse, meaning it constitutes the hegemonic discourse of Western nation states (Olssen & Peters, 2005). For Foucault (1991), neoliberalism represents an art of government or form of political reason with the ideology behind neoliberalism containing a deliberate discourse used to address the issues of today. At this point, such ideals have become so internalized they are accepted and disseminated with limited critical questioning; to some extent even undetected. It should not be assumed that people are aware of the ideological dimensions of their own work (Roper, Ganesh, & Inkson, 2010). We live within the neoliberal world and according to Saunders (2007), for the most part don’t think twice about challenging the system, as we have come to believe it is our only possible world.

Gramsci (1971, 2005) was concerned with power and the ability of the ruling class to dominate the lower class and maintain control. Beyond political and economic power, the ruling class also employ the use of cultural power to indoctrinate their dominant views, accomplishing what Gramsci called the hegemonic project. The ruling class’s ideas and beliefs thus become ‘common sense’ values for everyone (Saunders, 2007). The resulting hegemony⁵ removes the idea of change and power of constructing alternate realities, and instead leads the lower classes to measure their own worth against what it good for the ruling class. One of the difficulties of being among the ‘lower class’ regarding power is that creating hegemony is not a conscious conspiracy, but often a hidden, nonlinear process that we come to unknowingly adapt to and perpetuate making it

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⁵ The domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class who manipulate the culture of that society—the beliefs, explanations, perceptions, and values—so that their imposed, ruling-class worldview becomes the accepted cultural norm (Gramsci, 1971).
difficult to identify in the early stages, but immensely powerful and quite clear in the end. Apple (2004) describes neoliberalism today as a commanding hegemony that has “saturated our consciousness, so that the educational, economic and social world we see and interact with, and the commonsense interpretations we put on it becomes…the only world” (p. 4).

When exploring tourism narratives, it is important to consider such discourse as although a market that functions under a neoliberal ideology claims to separate factors of cultural identity from the economy, it relies heavily on modernist assumptions to establish hierarchies of race, class, gender, and sexuality in order to uphold privilege for those in power (most often those who are white, middle class, male, and heterosexual (Duggan, 2003). Diverse cultural experience, identity, and privilege for particular groups are certainly not separate from the economy and ‘realities’ are constituted of a number of different elements such as objects, discourse, practices, feelings, aesthetics etc., and mutual constituted by discourse, material goods, social practices and political economic structures (see Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Mosedale, 2016, Perez & Canella, 2011b). This dissertation explores such elements in the context of tourism narratives and tourism workers in New Orleans, Louisiana.
CHAPTER THREE
A CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

To explore the research questions outlined above, this dissertation utilizes a qualitative, case study approach following Yin (2014). Yin defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clear” (Yin, 2014, p. 16). Within Yin’s definition of a case study, he categorizes case studies as explanatory, exploratory, or descriptive and differentiates between single, holistic and multi-case studies. Explanatory case studies are used to answer questions seeking to explain presumed causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for survey or experimental strategies, while exploratory case studies are used to explore situations where an intervention has no clear, single set of outcomes (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The descriptive case study is often used to describe a phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Once researchers choose the “type” of case study, they must decide whether to conduct a single or multiple case study. While both are particularly useful in understanding the “how” or “why,” a single case study enables researchers to explore a single case in-depth allowing us to better understand the complexities of the phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008). As such, this dissertation follows Yin’s (2014) exploratory, single case study approach.

While I believe this is an ideal methodological approach to explore the sociocultural, economic and political factors affecting the tourism workforce within New Orleans, case study as a methodology is not without critique. Some scholars argue a case
study approach is too narrowly focused to provide generalizations across populations or that researchers risk oversimplifying the data (Patton, 2002). In response, Bailey (2007) argues case studies are meant to help provide a baseline understanding of a phenomenon rather than draw conclusions among different studies. As for case study as a methodology, Stake (2005) states it is not a methodology, but rather a choice of what is to be studied. In contrast, Creswell (2007) argues it is a “methodology, a type of design in qualitative research, or an object of study, as well as a product of the inquiry” (p. 73).

The utilization of a case study in this research aligns with that of Creswell and is driven by the agreement with Denzin and Giardina (2010) in the idea that when attempting to explore a phenomenon from the perspective of the workers, it is imperative to employ a methodology that does not further exacerbate vulnerability or marginalization. As such, methods for this dissertation include participant observation, informal and in-depth interviews, and artifact collection. Unlike much of the existing research on the tourism workforce, this study attempts to bring the views of workers into the analysis and discussion of their situatedness within the industry.

Site Selection

New Orleans is the largest city and metro area of Louisiana. The entire city of New Orleans falls within Orleans Parish [County], and as of 2017 was home to approximately 390,000 residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). The city is split into 73 official neighborhoods (see Figure 3.1). Although still predominately Black (59%), the city’s Black population was greatly affected by Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees in 2005. This is a major contributor to there being 91,274 fewer Black residents in
2017 than 2000 compared to only 7,945 fewer white residents, which represent approximately 30% of the city’s residents (Plyer, 2015). Meanwhile, the number of Hispanics grew by 7,498, now making up just over 5% of the population. The city faces high levels of poverty with a median income of $36,999 compared to the U.S. median income of $60,336 (Plyer, 2015). Many attribute this low income to the city’s reliance on tourism, and the low-wage jobs that accompany the industry (Habans & Plyer, 2019).

Tourism and New Orleans

Tourism is a primary job creator and economic driver in New Orleans but has also been the focus of increasing scrutiny (Habans & Plyer, 2019). Whether it be workers protesting for healthcare coverage or plans to publicly subsidize a new hotel at the foot of Convention Center Boulevard, New Orleanians have argued for decades that tourism capitalizes on New Orleans’ culture but does little to benefit those who create that culture (Habans & Plyer, 2019). Using Harvard University’s industry cluster of “Hospitality and Tourism”, The Data Center in New Orleans shows this tourist-serving cluster maintained 15,458 jobs in the city in 2017 (Habans & Plyer, 2019). The bulk of the cluster’s jobs are the 11,647 jobs in the 161 hotels in New Orleans (Figure 3.2). The hotel workforce is 57% African American, 29% white, and 9% Hispanic, with 60% of workers 35 years of age or older (Figure 3.3; Habans & Plyer, 2019). While the hotel industry offers jobs at a wide range of wage levels, three-fourths of New Orleans’ hotel workers had median hourly earnings of under $15 in 2017, with Black and Hispanic workers representing a disproportionate number of the individuals filling these jobs (see Figure 3.3; Habans & Plyer, 2019).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>NEW ORLEANS</strong></th>
<th><strong>JOBS, 2017</strong></th>
<th><strong>ESTABLISHMENTS, 2017</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HOSPITALITY AND TOURISM</strong></td>
<td>15,458</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels (except Casino Hotels) and Motels</td>
<td>9,514</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casino Hotels</td>
<td>2,134</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoos and Botanical Gardens</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racetracks</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenic and Sightseeing Transportation, Water</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Other Amusement and Recreation Industries</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Spectator Sports</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Dealers</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenic and Sightseeing Transportation, Land</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention and Visitors Bureaus</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marinas</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour Operators</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Other Travel Arrangement and Reservation Services</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed-and-Breakfast Inns</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rooming and Boarding Houses, Dormitories, and Workers’ Camps</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel Agencies</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Gambling Industries</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV (Recreational Vehicle) Parks and Campgrounds</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Sites</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Teams and Clubs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational Goods Rental</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amusement Arcades</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 3.2. Number of New Orleans “Hospitality and Tourism” cluster job (2017). Reprinted from Benchmarking New Orleans’ tourism economy: Hotel and full-service restaurant jobs, by The Data Center, Data ran Q1 2018.*
Habans and Plyer (2019) argue that lower wages should also be understood in the context of the current cost of living in New Orleans. For instance, housing in the New Orleans area has become more expensive post-Katrina. The median rent in metro New Orleans rose 18% from $788 in 2004 (in 2016 dollars) to $931 in 2016 (Habans & Plyer, 2019). Rent now makes up to 40% of the basic cost of living in New Orleans (see Figure 4). Workers in New Orleans “Hospitality and Tourism” cluster are more likely to be “housing-cost-burdened” than other renters in New Orleans (see Figure 3.4), with eight of the top ten occupations in New Orleans’ hotels providing too low an income to afford the fair market rent for an efficiency apartment in the metro area.
(Habans & Plyer, 2019). The full-service restaurant employment breakdown is quite similar to the hotel workers (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4).

![Figure 3.4](image)

**Figure 3.4.** Affordable rent by top 10 occupations in “Hospitality and Tourism” cluster, New Orleans; Fair market rent, metro New Orleans, 2017. Reprinted from Benchmarking New Orleans’ tourism economy: Hotel and full-service restaurant jobs, by The Data Center, Data ran Q1 2018.

The reliance on tourism as an economic driver and job creator is not the only thing that makes the city unique when it comes to tourism development. As the most incarcerated city, in the most incarcerated state in the U.S., where as of 2016, Black men were 50% more likely than white men to be arrested (Wilson, McKinney, Laisne, Yazbek, & Varnado, 2016), and the city’s police task force under a federal consent decree for violations such as patterns of stops, searches and arrests that violate the Fourth Amendment, racial and ethnic profiling, and LGBTQ discrimination (U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2011), New Orleans has a history rendering marginalized residents—primarily Black residents—invisible, yet monitored (Long, 2007; Perez & Cannella, 2011b; Thomas, 2014). The invisibility of New Orleans’ Black population has been largely facilitated through the city’s promotion of and dependence on its tourism industry (Gotham, 2005, 2007a; Greening, 2011; Thomas, 2014).
Gaining entry

After deciding upon New Orleans as the site for my exploratory case study, I was faced with the challenge of gaining access. Quickly, I learned that gaining access is not a one-time event, but an on-going process that is never fully realized. Taking the advice of Fetterman (1989), I used a current member of the culture to introduce me to the site. That person happened to be my brother who has lived in New Orleans for over 20 years. When I first chose New Orleans, I asked him to introduce me to people who work in the tourism industry. He introduced me to a woman who has worked in the French Quarter as a bartender for many years. After speaking with her about the project, she gave me the names and phone numbers of several others who work in various positions such as a tarot card reader, a Ghost Tour business owner, a bus driver, bartenders, and hotel workers. On my initial data-focused trip to New Orleans in June 2018, I set up times to speak with them. This occurred primarily at their places of work where they introduced me to others working with them or suggested places to go or people to talk to. It was in fact during this first visit someone pointed me to the New Orleans Musicians Clinic and the Music and Culture Coalition of New Orleans.

After making these initial connections, I established a presence in Jackson Square as I spent over 128 hours in the area and surrounding areas of the French Quarter in a series of trips from May 2018 through December 2018. I would often run into those I had met as they passed through the square, and it was in those instances I was informed of upcoming events that might be of use to my research such as City Council meetings addressing short term rental policies in the city, protests or rallies held by various worker
groups, and ‘industry night’ happy hours. Through attending such events during each trip, I began to gain the trust of those working in the industry.

Also, after reading Davis (1997) and Condit, Parrott and Harris’s (2002) suggestion that an interviewer’s race influences respondents’ willingness to speak openly about personal experiences, I chose to invite a Black female friend, Bre, to accompany me on one of my trips. Bre did not served as someone I could have conversations with to reflect on what we’d heard that day as well as someone to aid in creating a more relaxed and unassessed environment when striking up conversations specifically with Black women (hooks, 2014). The decision to invite Bre draws from Edwards (1990) call to consider the relationship between a white woman interviewing Black women, which is a relationship Lawrence (2004) argues is structured in racism. Also, from Reissman’s (1987) warning that sex alone is “not enough to create shared understandings” (p. 173). I realize that read simply, this may appear to reinforce subscription to a Black/white racial binary wherein the color of one’s skin determines the level of ‘authentic’ information gleaned from participants (for critiques see Nayak, 2006; Song & Parker, 1995). In contrast, rather than Bre taking on the role of researcher, she helped in the management of my presented identity\(^6\) and initial entry and connections forged with gatekeepers or prominent Black women in the community (see Berg, 2001; Tewksbury & Gagne, 1997). One example of how this occurred is upon entering the Community Book Center in New Orleans. When Bre and I walked in, we introduced ourselves, that we were from South

\(^6\) Identities and appearances are always socially constructed, and the process of interpretation and reaction to appearances occurs, anyway. Because the investigator is necessarily going to be interpreted, it behooves the research process for the investigator to consider carefully his or her self-presentation and maximize its potential to garner entree and facilitate rapport and trust (Tewksbury & Gagne, 1997, p. 144).
Carolina, and that I was there doing research on tourism. The initial response from one of the women was: “What plantation are you from? We’re from the rice plantations down here. You too over in South Carolina right?”

The exchange between Bre and the women about history, family and culture that followed allowed for an eventual richer conversation about tourism in the city than the conversations I’d had on previous trips, which often consisted of me trying to explain I was not with the city’s tourism promoters. In most of the interactions on the trip with Bre, similar chain of events happened in which the women began by speaking primarily to her (even when I was the one who’d asked the question), and then eventually inviting me into the conversation. Bre thus helped to bridge social and cultural differences, where I would otherwise remain only as close as the empathetic outsider (Tewskbury & Gagne, 1997).

As it is a primary goal of this dissertation to provide an avenue for participants’ stories to be heard, it would not be fitting for me to introduce Bre to you, the reader. So here is Bre, and her experience with this research, in her own words:

***

As a friend of Kate and Phil, and a person who loves to travel, Kate asked if I would go on this trip with her. By doing her on the ground, hands on research we got good feedback and gained good knowledge to help her with her research and helped me understand the tourism industry on that level in a different way. I was excited when she asked me to go with her as I was excited to learn something new. I enjoyed learning her concerns and cares for the industry and to watch her do her research because she cares so much. This was a great opportunity to learn more about New Orleans, the people of the
city, and the talent and the workers of the city. As we traveled through New Orleans many things ran through my mind that I was able to share with her to contribute to her research. Some questions I found myself asking were:

*What is it about this life people want it to live? Did they feel they were being treated fairly? How does one go about their day today not knowing if they are going to make money as street performers on any given day or not? How are taxes and revenues distributed and calculated? How do they eat on the days they don't make any money?*

*How can we help? How can Kate help? Do they need help?*

Through all of these questions, all of our experiences, we were able to answer some of these questions and see there were some things you can help, and some things you can't. But most of all there are issues in the tourism industry and seeing it up close and personal was an eye opener. I was glad I was able to accompany Kate and her research, and the many conversations we had with some really nice New Orleans natives. They were very open and very receptive of me and Katie. They wanted her to know their stories, their pain, their griefs and their accomplishments.

One conversation that I remember mostly, was with a manager at a hotel in downtown New Orleans. She was expressing her need to work two jobs. She told us how she left one hotel chain to work for this one and how she's climbed the chain faster there than she ever thought she would. She then went on to tell us how she was affected by Katrina and really opened up and gave us huge insight on how people are working, living, and making it in New Orleans.
Other conversations that really stood out to me was with a few fortune tellers down in the French Quarter. They all had a different story, they all had a different view of their laws, they all had a different appeal to their booth...they all were vocal. But the one fortune teller that I chose to tell my fortune and let Kate observe was different. She said nothing I expected her to say. She lived on the other side of the French Quarter. She had been working as a street performer for over 10 years and loved it. She made enough money to not have to work another job. And she really enjoys doing what she’s doing. She told us some of the history of New Orleans through her eyes and had a wealth of knowledge about the area, the street performers, what their concerns and struggles were and what can be done to make the industry better. She gave us good insight and was very helpful to knowing the ins and outs of being a street performer.

We concluded our trip with a behind-the-scenes tour of a neighborhood and area at night in New Orleans with one of the kings of Mardi Gras. It was an interesting interaction that gave great insight into the everyday people of New Orleans, not just the tourism that you see on TV and in the French Quarter. New Orleans is just like any other city, but yet has so much more to offer street performers and service industry workers because it is a nonstop travel destination. Mostly it is full of life in and outside of the French Quarter.

After my trip with Kate, I felt like there could be more to help the tourism industry there; to make sure it can be all of what it could be to the people there, and the people coming in. I hope and pray the conversations we had were helpful to Kate.
Working as your assistant in gathering this information was a pleasure and I wish her and those in the industry we spoke to all the best.

***

Although in many ways I was “successful” at gaining access to the workers, there were also ways in which I was denied access. That is the nature of field research. Although I had people willing to talk to me, and attended several events, I never had an “all access” pass to information. For example, the contempt from many of the workers stems from the idea that they sustain the industry but see nothing in exchange for it. As such, I was told on three separate occasions that if I had no money to give them, they had no desire to provide me their “intellectual property.” I found it odd that all three used the same term, but nonetheless, I was viewed as another person trying to get something for free from them. In an attempt to overcome that, I then tried to offer a small compensation for certain groups I was having a hard time gaining access to. To that attempt, I received this email response:

While it was nice for you to reach out to those of involved in the culture. Please be mindful that a 20.00 gift card for one's intellectual property is tantamount to us being ignored by the tourism industry.
I don't believe that your offer was not intended to be condescending.

And that was the last time I offered money.

I realize that the ways in which I have been privileged to information and the ways in which I have been denied access to information shape my understanding and ability to articulate a “complete” rendering of working in the tourism industry in New Orleans. Therefore, it remains my goal throughout the dissertation to articulate how my
role as both a participant and a researcher (a role that has proven difficult to maintain) has
shaped and continues to influence the processes and products of this study.

**Data Collection Processes**

The following section details the multiple strategies I used to collect data and how
that data collection evolved over the course of the study.

**Data collection time-frame**

Data collection and preliminary analysis began in May 2018, and I continued data
collection until December 2018, a period of eight months.

**Participant observation**

Participant observation is one of the primary methods used in my collection of
data. According to Spradley (1980), the participant observer comes to a social situation
both to participate in activities appropriate to the culture and to observe the people,
activities, and context of the social situation. For me, immersion in tourist areas of New
Orleans (e.g. the French Quarter) was necessary to see, hear, and experience reality
similar to that of my participants.

Therefore, this method posed a dual purpose for my data collection, as I had to
balance being both an insider and outsider in the cultural context of tourism in New
Orleans. On the one hand, I had to participate in the everyday experiences of the French
Quarter to see what goes on in the context and to immerse myself in the culture. On the
other hand, I had to document and describe the context as an observer, attempting to
understand, question, and critique the interactions among tourists, workers and other
actors moving about the area (e.g. police). In essence, as a researcher, I had to be able to
alternate between the insider/outsider subjective positions, and be an insider and outsider simultaneously (Spradley, 1980), a difficult balance for any researcher to maintain.

Since participant observation required an immersion in the site, I knew the duration and frequency of my visits was important. Although I was unable to remain in the city for the extended periods of time, I planned my visits over the course of the eight months to spend as much time in varying parts of the day as well as days of the week. The French Quarter is very different at 7:00am, as street cleaners roar down the roads and trucks delivering alcohol, milk and other supplies to the businesses in the Quarter jockey for delivery positions, then at 11:00pm on Bourbon Street. After leaving the field, I used Excel to chart my observations according to the date, time I arrived, time I departed, amount of time spent in the site, who if anyone accompanied me to the site (see Appendix A). I also used the information in this spreadsheet to identify gaps or disparities in my observation times and dates to ensure good observation sampling according to the time of day, day of the week, and time of the year.

Though systematically structuring my time in New Orleans was important, the actual documentation of what was happening was most critical. I wanted to document my observations, encounters, and interactions in a rigorous and systematic way. My goal was to create a written record of my observations, experiences, feelings, reactions, and reflections, which would serve as a primary data source. Moreover, while there is no "one way" to create or maintain this written record, I took the advice of more experienced fieldworkers (e.g. Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) by expanding jottings taken in the field into fieldnotes and maintaining a research journal.
Equipped with a pen and notebook, I took written jottings of observations during my time. Although it was foreseeably impossible for me to capture everything that was said or done in the site, I did jot key words, phrases, and ideas to remind me of important events or to stimulate my memory of specific instances. As suggested by Emerson et al. (2011) and following Merriam’s (1998) defining characteristics of a qualitative case study, I focused my jottings on scenes and interactions, thick characterizations (not generalizations) of participants, concrete details about actions and talk, sensory details about the scene, and impressions or feelings about the significance of events.

Then, immediately after leaving the field each night, or on some occasions first thing the next morning, I would transform my jottings into expanded fieldnotes. As I expanded each jotting, I created a more comprehensive, complex, and detailed account of what I witnessed. These expanded fieldnotes serve as the written record of what I have seen, heard, and experienced. The following is an example of how a jotting taken in the field is transformed into a more comprehensive fieldnote: On July 8, 2018, at 2:45pm, I wrote, “older band, man dancing” in my notebook. That jotting was expanded later that day at a coffee house into:

The band consisted of two trombone players, two trumpeters, a bass drummer and a tuba player. Each man Black, wearing shorts and t-shirts, and each sweating in the afternoon heat and humidity. As they performed, another Black man danced to the music. He was older and missing his teeth. He was welcomed by the band. Was he a friend? Was he connected to them somehow? Did he do this with each band who played at this spot? Watching their interaction throughout the day, I concluded it was somewhat all the above. The man wore black faded jeans that stayed up around his thin waist by the grace of god and the help of a tightly synched belt, which we only glimpsed as he raised his hands to tap the air to the scream of the trombones, which lifted his well-worn white t-shirt. When he stopped to rest, he’d sit on one of several benches behind where the bands played.
All of them—the benches, the bands, the man—were in the promenade between St. Louis Cathedral and St. Anthony’s Garden.

My research journal also documents the more personal experiences, ideas, mistakes, dilemmas, epiphanies, reactions, and thinking that I have done during my time studying New Orleans. For example, as I spoke with two women who worked in a hotel, somehow the conversation turned to each of their experiences with Hurricane Katrina. This happened with no prompting from myself or my friend who was with me at the time. They both however, went into very detailed accounts of their experiences. This was captured in my journal the following way:

[my thoughts] They opened up about such an intimate story and time in their life without any real prompting from us. They knew I was there studying tourism and the workforce, but none of my questions asked specifically about their experience with Katrina. Is it a testament to how raw and traumatized many in the city are even 13 years after the levees failed? Could it be that the city was so quick to change the narrative to cleaned up and open for business that no one was able to really tell their story? And now, here were two people that sat and joked like friends rather than tourists and they felt the need to tell their real story of Katrina? Perhaps this is a different paper or at least something I must continue to consider.

Also included in my research journal but more difficult to share in the body of this text are physical renderings of what I saw, business cards from people I met, napkins with new insights scrawled across the front, as well as other pieces of writing that ultimately advance my understanding of what is going on in the French Quarter in New Orleans.

**Interviewing**

The qualitative interview is one tool used to capture the multitude of views and perspectives of participants in our complex social world. The qualitative interview is a purposeful conversation that takes place to gather descriptions of an interviewee’s reality.
Thus, qualitative interviewing becomes much more than a typical communicative interaction as it centers on careful questioning and listening in relation to the interviewer’s topic of interest (Kvale, 1996; Marshal & Rossman, 1999). Indeed, my use of interviews in this study provided an opportunity to learn about what I could not see or readily understand, and to explore alternate understandings and/or explanations of what I thought I already knew (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

Though qualitative interviewing is one of the most common methods used in qualitative research, few texts focus on the specifics of its practice. On the contrary, there seems to be a consensus that qualitative interviewing should materialize in a way that is most useful to addressing the goals of the research (Kvale, 1996). Therefore, recognizing the importance interviews would play in my study, I spent a considerable amount of time thinking carefully about how each interview would be influenced by my theoretical interests, my researcher subjectivity, and the type of information I wanted to collect. In addition, I also needed to ensure the participants’ well-being and consider the politics of representing the participants’ perspectives (Holloway & Jefferson, 1997; Kvale, 1996). For the purposes of my study, I used both unstructured or informal interviews, and semi-structured interviews to derive the meanings that people make working in tourism jobs in New Orleans and their unique experiences.

**Informal or unstructured interviews.** Informal interviews are an ethnographic method which involves a “series of friendly conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist informants to respond as informants” (Spradley, 2016, p. 58). The informal interviews were an extension of the participant observation
and were an important piece to this research, which followed Kvale’s (1996) suggestion that qualitative interviewing should materialize in a way that is most useful to addressing the goals of the research. The unstructured interview process is intended to make the interviewee feel relaxed and unassessed (Qu & Dumay, 2011). This was important for this research as Davis (1997) and Condit, Parrott and Harris (2002) point out, an interviewer’s race has an effect on respondents’ willingness to speak openly about personal experiences. In considering my theoretical framework, researcher subjectivities as a white, middle class, college educated woman, and the type of information I wanted to collect, I realized structured interviews alone would not provide the information I was seeking, which was lived experiences of tourism workers—a population that in New Orleans is predominantly Black.

Instead, I followed methods grounded in Afrocentric and Womenist epistemologies, and CRT centering around dialogue, storytelling, and participatory witnessing (Banks-Wallace, 2000; Collins, 2000; Taylor, 1998; Wilson & Washington, 2007). Storytelling for instance, promotes the type of dialogue that is rooted in oral African tradition and Black culture, and is especially important to knowledge development and research with Black women (Banks-Wallace, 1998). Rather than a detached observer, my role was reconceptualized to participant witness (Taylor, 1999) through which I placed myself in the participants’ world, centering and validating their experiences according to their own standards (Wilson & Washington, 2007).

An example of this in practice happened at the Community Book Center, a Black cultural hub in the city for over 35 years. Bre was accompanying me on this trip, and she
and I struck up a conversation with the three women inside. It remained casual as the two of us wandered through the stacks of books. They yelled questions to us, and we yelled some back. Eventually, we went to where they were sitting. At first most of their questions, and responses to my questions, were directed only toward my friend. I mainly listened, speaking only when asked a question directly or to ask clarifying questions. Eventually, we were both offered a chair. One of the women looked at me and said “See, this is what we do. We sit and talk.” My friend and I sat listening to stories about crossing Canal Street as children in the 1950s to pick up live chickens for dinner, thoughts on the current education system, New Year’s resolutions to work out, and anything else that came up. As time went on, I was able to interject questions about their thoughts on topics such as short-term rentals, on tourists coming farther into their neighborhood, and the effects of tourism on their culture. Rather than try to formalize the interactions using a recording device, the conversations became part of my fieldnotes that were written as soon as possible after the encounter.

The informal interviews offered an opportunity to gather important perspectives about the culture of New Orleans from the point of view of those living and working there (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). The use of informal interviews offered me the on-going interaction necessary to verify my observations and understand the experiences of those living and working in tourism in New Orleans.

**Semi-structured interviews.** In addition to conducting informal interviews, I also conducted semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are the most common of all qualitative research methods and are guided by identified themes in a consistent and
systematic manner yet allowing space for probing to elicit more elaborate responses (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). I used my research questions and theoretical base to create the interview guide that would outline the topics of discussion for the semi-structured interview (Appendix C). This interview guide, though extensive at its inception, grew and changed with the study as I began to focus on topics of relevance and identified issues for additional exploration. Beginning in May 2018 and ending in December 2018, I conducted six semi-structured interviews. In every case, I secured the participant's name and phone number or e-mail address either through an acquaintance or internet search, and then contacted the individual to set up an interview. After we decided on a convenient date and time, I asked each participant to select a location for our interview based on suitability. Most of the interviews occurred at the participant’s place of work, although one was conducted over the phone.

At the beginning of each interview I explained in detail the purpose of my study, assured the participants of confidentiality, and immediately assigned a pseudonym to be used throughout the remainder of the study. Each interview lasted between one and three hours and was audio-recorded with the permission of the participant. I also took notes during each interview including commentary on facial expressions, voice inflections, sarcasm, gestures, and the contextual details of the interview such as the date, time, place, and mood. All my semi-structured interviews were successful at achieving a conversational quality and the interview guide seemed to serve only as a prompt or checklist to ensure that we covered all the material. At the conclusion of each interview I asked participants if I could contact them in the future to verify the accuracy of my notes,
to clarify their meanings, and to respond to my analysis, interpretations, and/or representation. I also asked if they would be willing to participate in a second interview if necessary, or if they would be willing to have follow-up discussions. All of my participants indicated that they would be happy to assist me in any way they could. All the semi-structured interviews for this study were transcribed verbatim by me, listening closely for repetitive topics, interesting stories, similarities, and contradictions.

**Semi-structured interview sampling.** The selection of my sample for the semi-structured interviews was never fully realized until my data collection was almost complete. Denzin (1978) argued that in qualitative research the sampling should be based on a sound, conceptualized organization that guides the researcher to situations where rich data are likely to appear. Thus, researchers must first select a site and then determine who will be studied. Using purposeful sampling, I began organizing my interview schedule by consciously selecting participants based on their potential for offering insight and/or expanding on information I had been gathering through my participant observations. Fetterman (1989) suggested that good judgment is the most appropriate way to select interview participants, arguing that it allows the researcher to seek out the most appropriate members of a culture or sub-culture to serve as informants for the given research questions. These judgments, according to Creswell (2007), are grounded in a researcher's evolving understanding of the culture, the culture's demographics, and the diverse behaviors witnessed in the culture.

Using this rationale, I spaced my interviews out over my various trips to New Orleans, so that as I identified salient topics I could select individuals who could provide
the most useful information relevant to each topic. In reflection on my process, I can see how my sample was generated in two stages: 1) exploration and 2) investigation/confirmation. My first three semi-structured interview participants were selected as I searched to identify salient themes. I chose each of them because they were identified or self-identified as knowledgeable tourism workers or advocates for the workforce, representing two non-profits in the city as well as an owner-operator of a tour company. My final three interview participants were chosen based on my assessment of their ability to provide general insight about tourism development in New Orleans, specific knowledge surrounding a theme or themes, and more insight into one or more of the categories of diversity I found relevant to my study. This diversity was based primarily on race and participation in the culture and included an owner-operator of a tour company specifically focused on Black culture, a regional development executive, and a leader in the New Orleans Black community.

**Artifacts and archival data**

Over the course of my time in New Orleans I collected a variety of materials, or artifacts. Marshal and Rossman (1999) indicated that artifact analysis gives the researcher more of an insider’s view of the culture, aiding the researcher in systematic and direct classification of data, verifying participants’ statements surrounding the culture, and facilitating an understanding of established relationships. Therefore, in addition to the primary data collection methods I have discussed above, I also used artifact collection to supplement my participant observations and interviews, allowing me to trace or substantiate stories, rituals, myths, and/or cultural themes (Creswell, 2007).
The Ninth Ward:
A Profile of Black Homeownership

As with most cities original foundings, the physical settlement of these cities was dictated by how the land was valued by those who held the economic power to own property. Being below sea level, high ground was highly valuable and the natural levees defined where the wealthy had settled. Free people of color and immigrants moved into the Ninth Ward seeking to benefit off the city’s commercial opportunities at the risk of being downriver, flood-prone, and lacking infrastructure like drainage systems.

The desegregation battle of Orleans Parish exposed the dividing lines in the community. Whereas Black residents realized they needed to lead the efforts to desegregate and have fair access to neighborhood assets, White residents began to see it otherwise. The Ninth Ward experienced continued White Flight in this era, as White residents were still moving into St. Bernard Parish and other areas being opened by the draining of the swamp. This is documented in the statistics that twice as many federally-backed loans went to suburban homes than ones in New Orleans.

When Hurricane Betsy swept into New Orleans in September 1965, there was damage and human suffering that would not felt again until Katrina. As the hurricane’s storm surges inundated Lake Pontchartrain, the levees began to fail. Gentilly, Upper Ninth Ward, Lower Ninth Ward, and nearby communities were flooded. Betsy was a symbolic moment: it motivated White Flight even quicker from the area, it exposed the city’s apathy towards the neighborhood as the storm caused minimal damage in the rest of the city, and the lack of attention and support towards repairs showed that the elites looked down on them. Federal disaster relief was provided; however, much of the city’s poor didn’t qualify and no aid was furnished on those who did not qualify. Civic activism persisted well beyond the 60’s into the 00’s, as the only way the Ninth Ward could achieve tangible results for their area was through solidarity and activism after seeing how the government neglected them in the past.

Figure 3.5. Image from the “Undesign the Redline” exhibit. December 18, 2018.

7 The interactive “Undesign the Redline” exhibit examines redlining’s effect on New Orleans. Its timelines, maps, and placards emphasize past and present events ranging from housing segregation to Hurricane Katrina and the federal levee failures, which resulted in the displacement of many black New Orleanians (Wilkinson, 2018, para 5).
I collected as much physical evidence as possible during my time in the field. The types of physical evidence included photographs, brochures, advertisements, news articles and information from a traveling exhibit titles ‘Undesign the Redline’ (Figure 3.5), as well as the Hurricane Katrina (see Figures 3.6-3.7) exhibit located in Jackson Square.

*Figure 3.6.* Image of examples of Mardi Gras costumes depicting difficulties for some residents following the disaster at the Hurricane Katrina exhibit. December 18, 2018.
Figure 3.7. Image of a display of clothes found in the flooding following Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees at the Hurricane Katrina exhibit. December 18, 2018.
One hundred twenty-two newspaper articles were collected from the NOLA.com website, which is the online curator for the Times Picayune, New Orleans’ primary newspaper in November 2018. The timeframe for the articles used spanned September 2005 to November 2018 to account for the time directly following the landfall of Hurricane Katrina and failure of the levees in August 2005 to the end of my data collection process. The search terms used to find the articles included New Orleans and Tourism: safety, tourist, surveillance, employees, workers, workforce, and rebuild, and were developed from the primary data. In addition, 44 blog posts depicting the tourism promotional theme of ‘One time, in New Orleans’ were collected from the New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation website. The blogs were collected in December 2018 and were published online from September 1, 2018 to October 1, 2018. Together, these artifacts provided me with information including interactions among tourists and workers, community thoughts toward tourism, planned tourism development, and provided some concrete examples of how tourism narratives permeate the city.

**Trustworthiness and Representation**

Understanding that writing is both a process and product is pretty straightforward; however, I must also realize that my writing is political and may have both intended and unintended results (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Wolf, 1992). Therefore, it remained critical for me to understand the complexity surrounding the lives of those living and working in the tourism industry in New Orleans and the responsibility/obligation I face in representing their lives in writing. I must also be willing to discuss how my critical stance and researcher biases open up and/or shut down possibilities for fully understanding the
participants of my study and their larger social issues. “Whether we are talking about non-exploitative methodology in field research or authority in writing…we are talking about power—who has it, how it is used, for what purposes” (Wolf, 1992, p. 133).

Realizing that the personal is truly instrumental in qualitative inquiry, I have used writing not only to share “the data” but also to demonstrate the reflexivity required in my research.

**Maintaining reflexivity.** Reflexivity is certainly not a new idea in qualitative inquiry. It requires researchers to subjectively situate their own experiences and emotions relevant to the way in which they are shaped by and shape the experience under investigation. Marcus (1998) described reflexivity as a self-critique and personal quest for subjective knowledge avoiding self-indulgence, narcissism, and egocentrism. Reflexivity has been established as an essential feature of qualitative inquiry, pushing researchers to be introspective, collaborative, and political. I have found it most useful to achieve these objectives in and through my writing. By self-consciously and reflexively stating assumptions and structural positions, I have discovered deeper insights into the social world I have participated in while substantiating how that knowledge emerged. By being reflexive I emphasize that my position as researcher is of critical importance. It allows me the opportunity to openly discuss my own identity or identities in relation to my political and intellectual work by documenting my epiphanies, struggles, decisions, dilemmas, and mistakes.

**Recognizing subjectivity.** In qualitative research, the researcher serves as the research instrument. Consequently, all descriptions, analysis, and interpretations are
created by or filtered through the investigator. As I approached this study, I realized that I carried certain subjective assumptions and expectations. Although it was not my goal to eliminate or even reduce those assumptions and/or expectations, it was my goal to recognize their influence and as Lather (1994) suggested, to “foreground the tensions involved in speaking with rather than to/for marginalized groups” (p. 107). Therefore, in my efforts to de-center myself as the conveyer of “truth” I used a variety of mechanisms to ensure trustworthiness (i.e. validity, reliability, and credibility) in my data and my representation of those data.

To begin, I utilized multiple data point to triangulate my findings ensuring my conclusions were not systematically biased or limited (Maxwell, 1996). In addition, I used member checks with key informants and research participants, and peer debriefing to assist me in these endeavors. I utilized member checks to encourage my research participants to elaborate on important ideas, verify patterns I uncovered in my data, clarify the understandings that emerged from my data, and address gaps, inconsistencies or questions. Member checks would often happen during casual conversations where I might share some of my thinking and invite the participant’s response. These conversations were also transferred to my field log, where I maintained constant accounting of what was said in the conversations as well as my reflections on them.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORICAL STRUCTURING OF THE U.S. TOURISM WORKFORCE:

A CRITICAL REVIEW

This place is like linoleum, there’s layers and layers underneath that got us here. You got to start pulling back the layers if you want to know how this place is like it is (personal communication, December 13, 2018).

Abstract

Although tourism jobs have been acknowledged as being low-wage, low-quality, and at times even dangerous, investigations have yet to look at the historical development of such characteristics. Using the concepts of invisible work and strategic alterity, this article offers a framework for the analysis of the ideas and institutions that have shaped the tourism workforce in the U.S. since the late 19th century. The examples provided here focus on the ways that different markers of identity have characterized tourism workers providing the low-wage or non-wage labor in the industry. The ideological arguments justifying the differential power in the U.S. labor market are examined within the context of the U.S. with suggestions for more critical, work-centered approaches to exploring the current tourism workforce.

Keywords: tourism workforce; labor; strategic alterity; invisible work; USA
Introduction

The tourism industry is a major industry in the United States (U.S.) supporting 15.7 million jobs, bringing in $3 billion a day by resident and international travelers, and $170.9 billion in tax revenue in 2018 (US Travel Association, 2019). While job creation and numbers inform decisions made by governments, politicians, and other policy makers regarding tourism development, research focused solely on such continues to ignore the quality of the jobs as well as who makes up the workforce. Jobs created by tourism development are consistently, throughout the U.S. and globally, low-wage, precarious work. Precarious work is described in general terms as work that is uncertain, unpredictable, and risky from the point of view of the worker (Kalleberg, 2009). It is important to acknowledge that, in the U.S., a low-wage labor force did not simply come into existence, rather it had to be actively created and reproduced. Historical and structural conditions have shaped how, and under what conditions, the ongoing concentration of racial minorities, immigrants, and women, is facilitated in lower-tier forms of service work (Chun, 2009). Yet, in an industry of this magnitude that continues to rely heavily on human interaction, little is known about the individuals who sustain the industry daily (Marcouiller & Xia, 2008).

This article discusses scholarship from the last century-and-a-half that contributes to the understanding of the ways in which sociocultural, economic and political structures (e.g. racial ideology, immigration policy, trade unions) have shaped the tourism workforce in the U.S. It examines what appear to be the most relevant trends regarding the structuring of the tourism workforce that are consistently absent from tourism
research and is intended as a framework for investigation and discussion. It should be noted that this is a survey of the relatively small body of existing literature on the development of the tourism workforce in the U.S. and includes a discussion of articles from a broad disciplinary spectrum of academic journals. That is, there is scarce work that has explored this. Speaking in tendencies, not absolutes, this article aims to map the research that currently exists and make note of research gaps that need to be filled to establish appropriate and effective policies and programs concerning those working in the tourism industry.

Through the acknowledgement of the prevalence of exploitative working conditions throughout U.S. tourism destinations, as well as the concentration of marginalized populations (e.g. racial minorities, immigrants, women) in the workforce, the questions unfold into, how or why did this structuring of the workforce begin? How is it perpetuated? And who determines it? Often when we ask these questions, we tend to do so rhetorically, assuming that, if we were to get the answers, the practical uses to which they could be put are unclear. But the questions remain.

Following Hatton’s (2017) definition of invisible work, wherein labor is economically devalued through three interconnecting mechanisms: cultural, legal and spatial, this article uses a critical theoretical lens to explore the ways in which these mechanisms have worked together to shape the structure of today’s tourism workforce. It begins with an historical exploration of early travel in the U.S. (Andrews, 2005) and the ways in which race, ethnicity and gender have shaped the U.S. labor structure overall (for a brief overview and timeline of racial/ethnic policy and ideology in the early
development of the U.S., see Appendix E). It then goes on to explore women’s role in tourism work, discussing the movement of domestic work into institutionalized service work (Duffy, 2007; Glenn, 1992), as well as forms of sex work in New Orleans (Demovic, 2016; Foster, 1990) and a U.S. Chinatown in San Francisco (Light, 1974). While gender does not exist outside race and ethnicity, the next sections focus more broadly on the history of race and ethnicity within the tourism workforce. It looks first at the use of tourism work to maintain racial hierarchy in the U.S. South under Jim Crow laws with Lozano’s (2018) discussion of the Afromobile in Palm Springs, Florida, and Camp’s (2011) use of archeological methods to explore the marginalization of tourism workers in the development of a Southern California tourism destination. The article concludes with a discussion of the ways in which the historical structures used to render workers invisible can be seen in today’s tourism workforce and steps we can take to begin to make visible some of the negative aspects of the workforce to enable the tourism industry’s largest asset access to the positive benefits the industry is capable of providing.

U.S. tourism workforce

While the tourism industry includes higher-paying jobs in finance, business, and government subsectors, low-wage work reflects a significant number of the jobs that make up the industry (Beddoe, 2004; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistic, 2016; Burns, 1993; International Labor Organization, 2001; Lee & Kang, 1998; Radivan & Lucas 1997; Wood 1992). Low-wage workers are defined in terms of their proximity to the government’s official poverty line, which is the minimum income thought to be necessary to satisfy basic needs (measured in terms of food subsistence), after accounting
for family size (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016). In addition to low income, much of the
tourism workforce is made up of what is labeled contingent work (Ainsworth & Purss,
2009; Arnold & Bongiovi, 2012; Kalleberg, 2009). Contingent work is defined as “any
job in which an individual does not have an explicit or implicit contract for long-term
employment or one in which the minimum hours worked can vary in a nonsystematic
manner” (Polivka & Nardone 1989, p. 11). The notion of contingent work is related to
short-term, unstable employment, and was first coined in 1985 at a conference on
employment security by economist Audrey Freedman. She used it to refer to work
arrangements that were conditional on employers’ needs for labor and thus lacked an
attachment between employer and worker (Freedman, 1996). In the U.S., contingent
work is prevalent throughout what is categorized as the service industry (Bureau of Labor
Statistics, 2016; Kalleberg, 2009; Wagenaar et al., 2012).

The service industry encompasses services to both businesses and final consumers
through activities such as retail and wholesale sales, transportation and distribution,
entertainment, restaurants, and tourism (Hoekstra, 2015); service-based jobs that have
also been historically reserved for women, minorities, young and old (Chun, 2009; Duffy,
2007; Glenn, 1992). For the remainder of this article, service work and tourism work will
be used interchangeably as the literature discussed consists of work that is encompassed
by the service industry broadly and tourism specifically (Torpey, 2015). For instance, in a
report by Torpey (2015), the projected largest occupations within the Hospitality and
Tourism cluster from 2012 to 2022 were food preparation and serving workers, waiters
and waitresses, janitors and cleaners, maids and housekeepers, and restaurant cook; all
which had a median annual wage of $18,330, which categorizes them into low-wage service positions.

Researchers have begun to explore working conditions within tourism work highlighting the low-pay, or exploitative nature of the positions (see Beddoe, 2004; Burns, 1993; International Labor Organization, 2001; Lee & Kang, 1998; Radivan & Lucas, 1997; Wood, 2000; Ainsworth & Purss, 2009; Onsøyen, Mykletun, & Steiro, 2009; Baum, 2007, 2015). The majority of research, however, remains focused around the complications with determining true economic impact or employment creation (Leiper, 1999). It is driven by interests in implications for tourism development, primarily seeking to appeal to stakeholders representing the business side rather than the employee perspective (Baum & Szivas, 2008). As such, the workforce has been rendered invisible in both tourism scholarship and tourism development.

Early U.S. history

Much historical interest in tourism focuses on when and how the middle- and upper-classes vacationed (see Aron, 1999; Brown, 1995; Jasen, 1991; Lofgren, 1999; Sears, 1998; Shaffer, 2001; Sterngass, 2001; Urry, 1990; Withey, 1997). As Wurst (2011) points out, in this literature on early tourism development, we read about topics such as the tourist gaze and the creation of a consumer-oriented culture, yet there is scarcely a mention of hotel, resort, or restaurant employees (Cocks, 2001). This helps to mask the fact that the leisure, travel, and pleasure-seeking of the middle and upper classes was made possible by the labor provided by an army of workers (Sinclair, 1997). The tendency of many scholars to ignore these workers makes their labor seem to spring out
of nowhere, like a mystery, to fulfill desires of the travelers (Wurst, 2011). When workers are present in research, it is primarily through a managerial emphasis aimed toward addressing practitioner needs, or the “managerial gaze” (Airey, et al., 2015, p. 147), not recognizing workers as diverse individuals but as commodities to improve upon in pursuit of developing the most profitable product. Andrews (2005) argues:

> From the Grand Canyon to Grand Cayman, Taos to Tahiti, Alaska to Acapulco, tourists and the travel industries that forge their fantasies and respond to their desires perpetuate the same endless, endlessly paradoxical quest to overlook the work and workers on which their collective enterprise inevitably depends (p. 859).

Some argue the concealment of working bodies (Andrews, 2005), and the institutions that shaped who performs tourism work in the U.S. is founded upon the assumption that tourism workforce development takes place in non-racialized spaces and outside of racialized histories (Kothari, 2006). In alignment with White’s argument that “the silence on ‘race’ has been a determining silence, which both masks and marks its significance in tourism in the U.S.” (2002, p. 407), this article suggests the complex societal, economic and cultural factors of the tourism workforce has a contribution to make to wider societal debates (Ladkin, 2011). For instance, in the U.S., race and immigration status as well as gender and class are salient characteristics of the low-paid, service workforce (Chun, 2009). Examining the historic materialization of inequality, which refers to the transformation of ideas, values, myths, and the like, into a physical reality that helped shape the structure of the workforce in the U.S., adds to our understanding of the development of the tourism workforce as well as how such historic
formations perpetuate the present-day marginalization of tourism workers (Camp, 2011; DeMarrais, Castillo, & Earle, 1996).

**Stratified workforce**

Understanding stratification within the U.S. labor system must begin with an acknowledgement of ongoing inequities in the country between racial and ethnic majority and minority, men and women, rich and poor (Massey, 2007). In their development of labor market segmentation theory, Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973) argued political and economic forces within American capitalism gave rise to and perpetuated segmented labor markets, suggesting it incorrect to view the sources of segmented markets as external to the economic system. They define labor market segmentation as:

The historical process whereby political-economic forces encourage the division of the labor market into separate submarkets, or segments, distinguished by different labor market characteristics and behavioral rules. Segmented labor markets are thus the outcome of a segmentation process (Reich et al., 1973, p. 359).

Labor segmentation theory suggests marginal groups often act as a structural safety valve for the labor market, facilitating the mobilization or demobilization of this group of workers in line with fluctuating demand requirements (Peck, 1996). Migrant workers are one such group. Nations will often incorporate specific immigration policy based on the needs of workers in seasonal positions such as agriculture, construction or tourism. The policies allow cheap labor during times of increased need and when they are no longer needed, policies can be enacted to either have the workers leave the country or relegated into the informal sector until they are needed again (Bauder, 2006). Thus, not only is the social space of the labor market divided into submarkets, but also the rules
governing the behavior of labor market actors differ from one segment of the labor market to the next.

Institutional changes addressing working conditions, as well as access to certain jobs, remain embedded in the social structure of the country, which itself is riddled with categorical inequalities based on race, class, and gender (Massey, 2007). This article examines the extent to which levels of hierarchy within the U.S. have been justified and sustained over time through discursive constructions of an uncivilized ‘Other’ against a civilized white ‘self’ (see Fanon, 1986; Sherwood, 1999). Also, how such constructions have traveled into tourism and the tourism workforce in the U.S., asking can the structure of the tourism workforce possibly be separated from a history that produced race, ethnicity, and gender as a marker of inferiority (Grovogui, 2001)?

**Strategic alterity.** *Alterity* refers to the positioning of a group or individual as distinct from—or ‘Other’ to—a culturally dominant orientation; which is often strategically used to configure power relations in specific contexts (Kingsolver, 2007). Thus, *strategic alterity* refers to the “practice of shifting *between* strategic assertions of inclusion and exclusion for the purposes of both devaluing a group of people and of masking that very process of devalorization” (Kingsolver, 2001, p. 110). Integrally related to capitalist logic to justify one group making a profit through exploiting the labor of another group (see Ribeiro, 1995; Wolf, 1997), alterity is active and strategic. While free market—currently neoliberal—capitalist logic and practice employs the language of freedom, the free market is not necessarily open to all with equal opportunities for participation: tourism developers, for example, are able to be free marketeers, but tourism
workers facilitate that market engagement through their low-wage labor contributions. Alterity thus, shifts from one rationale for inequality to another at social and economic moments in pursuit of increased profit. The following sections explore the ways strategic alterity marking tourism workers as a naturalized low-wage or non-wage workforce has shifted, and continues to shift, from enslaved workers to women to racialized workers to immigrants.

The strategic alterity of capitalist logic and practice works by cutting off people from each other, reducing identities and thus reducing the possibility of comparing experiences (Kingsolver, 2007). It works by masking the shared experiences of those described as either in competition for the same few resources and/or morally inferior and superior as human beings, or at least market citizens (see Brodkin, 2000; Buck, 2001; Kingsolver, 2007). When looking at tourism, to ignore the workforce is to also discount the realities of workers, which is to ignore a racial, ethnic and gendered past that determined the segmentation of the labor market. The complex dynamics of the workforce cannot be reduced to aggregate numbers, but rather the combined outcome of many causal processes (Peck, 1996).

Race, ethnicity, and gender are socially constructed categories, which are also fluid, historical, and situationally dependent (Le Espiritu, 1992; Glenn, 1999; Mullings, 2014; Omi & Winant, 1994). The socially constructed meanings attached to each provide legitimizing ideologies to subordinate certain men and women within the U.S. For instance, stereotypes within the dominant culture of Black men include the idea of the ‘hypersexualized Black man’ who is a potential threat to white women, which became a
justification for lynching (Davis, 1981; Mowatt, 2012). In contrast, popular ideologies have oftentimes desexualized or feminized Asian men, legitimizing the occupational segregation of Asian men into positions such as houseboy (Glenn, 1992). The construction of race, ethnicity, and gender is often obscured, but no less potent, for members of the dominant social categories (e.g. white, middle- upper-class, men or women). Cultural forms embedded within labor—"the patriarchal conceit of overlooking women's work, the middle-class conventions of landscape painting that long denied the presence of work and workers, the revulsion from labor that Ralph Waldo Emerson believed to be characteristically American” (Andrews, 2005, p.840)—begs the question of whose interest does the invisibility of the workforce serve?

**Cultural landscapes.** While some early travelers embraced the developing industrial technology at the turn of the twentieth century, others specifically sought out landscapes they believed to be pure and unaltered, allowing them to escape the complexities of modern life. Landscapes however, are not static, but rather best understood as:

A kind of produced, lived and represented space constructed out of the struggles, compromises, and temporarily settled relations of competing and cooperating social actors: it is both a thing (or suite of things)...and a social process, at once solidly material and ever changing (Mitchell, 1996, p. 30).

As Duncan and Duncan (2003) argue, in focusing on the aesthetics of landscapes, humans are blinded to the various exclusionary practices inherent in their creation. Some of the earliest instances where we begin to see this practice in tourism is in travel to the expanding western region of the U.S. in the mid/late 19th century (Andrews, 2005). Early travelers viewed the region as a realm of pristine nature inhabited only by shiftless
"savages", “mongrel fur traders”, and primitive "Mexican" peasants (Andrews, 2005, p. 842). The excitement of the gold rush and mining operations represented American expansion and progress, causing early tourists to celebrate the human work they viewed through the windows of their passing railway cars; more precisely, the work performed by white males (Andrews, 2005). As Andrews points out, no tour of Colorado was complete without a visit to the mining regions. At the time, tourists treated human work—particularly white men’s work in the mines, farms and ranches—as one of the most notable features of the Colorado landscape. The labor epitomized the confluence of divine spirit and human industry (Andrews, 2005). Conversely, non-white groups constituted the ‘Others’ against whose behavior tourists gauged the virtue of the white men's conquest and consolidation. So-called Mexicans—a group consisting almost entirely of American citizens born in New Mexico or Colorado—served as one foil in this racialized and gendered discourse of labor with white tourists developing structures of contempt toward their lifestyle, labeling them “ignorant and debased to a shameful degree” (Andrews, 2005, p. 845).

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 ended the Mexican-American War and ceded to the U.S. the present states of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California, along with parts of Utah, Colorado, and Nevada. With its signing, some fifty thousand Mexicans suddenly became U.S. citizens (Jaffe, Cullen, & Boswell, 1980); with the stroke of a pen, they were transformed from being a majority in their own country to a minority in an alien land (MacLachlan & Beezley, 2003). The bulk of these new U.S. citizens lived in New Mexico and Texas, and the latter, being a slave state, quickly
relegated Mexican Americans to the wrong side of the color line: they were not enslaved like African Americans, but they certainly were not accorded the rights and privileges of white Europeans (Gutierrez, 1995).

By the end of the nineteenth century, no matter their physical location within the U.S., Mexicans had been transformed socially and economically into a subordinate stratum of people subject to widespread discrimination and systematic exclusion (Grebler, Moore, & Guzman, 1970). Through a variety of categorical mechanisms—some legal and some not so legal—Mexicans were systematically disenfranchised of their property and liberties and turned into a racialized source of cheap labor for white persons (de León 1993; Zamora 1993). This is indicated by the Senate Dillingham Commission report of 1911, which described Mexicans as “notoriously indolent and unprogressive in all matters of education and culture” and doing dirty jobs fit only for “the lowest grade of non-assimilable native-born races,” though their “usefulness is … much impaired by [their] lack of ambition and [their] proneness to the constant use of intoxicating liquor” (U.S. Immigration Commission 1911, p. 59, 94, 110 as cited in Massey, 2007, p. 118).

Another group ‘Othered’ during this time was that of the Chinese. On May 6, 1882, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act (Lee, 2002). The law prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers for a period of ten years and barred all Chinese immigrants from naturalized citizenship (Lee, 2002). This was strongly supported and spearheaded by the labor movement. For instance, at the founding convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions the prior year in 1881, it was resolved that the presence of the Chinese, and the competition with free
white labor, is “one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted” (Archer, 2007, p. 54). The outcome urged the absolute necessity of legislation to prohibit their immigration (Archer, 2007). The Chinese that were already living in the country were squeezed from their remaining niches in the general labor market, leading to economic motive for trying to turn a profit from tourists (Light, 1974). Thus, as the country was transitioning from an agrarian to industrial society, strategic alterity played a role in determining what work was valued, who performed it, and how we came to view the landscape.

To address the role of the landscape uncritically serves to ‘naturalize’ the inequities present among them (Duncan & Duncan, 2001; Smith, 1984). For instance, to travel to see pure and unaltered landscape required a willful desire to ignore the small armies of maids, waiters, cooks, and porters that catered to tourists’ every need and desire (Andrews, 2005). Contrary to the work of white men that represented man’s conquest of the rugged landscape, travelers were surrounded by the sort of labor they were least likely to consider work: the household work of women and the menial labor of racialized others (Andrews, 2005).

This enacted two of the three mechanisms Hatton (2017) suggests render work invisible: sociocultural and sociospatial. Regarding the former, as Glenn (1992) discusses, non-nuturant reproductive work (e.g. cooking and cleaning) has been the ‘natural’ work of women provided in the home and thus not ‘work’ by what we as a country had come to define it. This is in connection with the sociospatial mechanisms in that if the actions carried out in a home or during our leisure time is not ‘work’, the
actions performed by the tourism workforce are also not recognized as such. As time passed, leisure travel evolved, and cognitive patterns strengthened, such labor became easier to be overlooked, and the people who earned their living through it ever easier to marginalize. The next two sections will provide an exploration into the tourism workforce to unmask how race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality have continued to shape who does the dirty work in the U.S. tourism economy (Ashforth, et al., 2007; Camp, 2011).

**Women in tourism work**

Dirty work in its broadest sense refers to, “any job that is viewed as physically, socially, or morally foul” (Mathe & Scott-Halsell, 2012, p.355). Reproductive work that goes beyond taking care of children such as cleaning, laundry, and food preparation and service both inside the house and in public institutions is also encompassed within dirty work (Glenn, 1992). The interdependence of one person relying on another to support a higher standard of living for another is more evident in the domestic work setting where there is often a direct one to one contact between those serving and those being served (Glenn, 1992). In institutional service work the relationship between those who do the dirty work and those who benefit from it is mediated and buffered by institutional structures, so the dependence of one for maintaining a high standard of living is not as apparent (e.g. hotel room cleaners, ‘back of the house’ positions). Nonetheless, interdependence exists, even if those benefitting do not come into actual contact with those performing the work (Glenn, 1992).
In previous centuries racial-ethnic minority women were disproportionately represented as domestic servants, maintaining the home and performing the dirty work while their white employers served as housewives and hostesses (Glenn, 1992). As such tasks have moved outside the household within publicly organized institutions, these same women continue to perform this work (e.g. food preparation, room cleaning) that are relied heavily on in tourism (Duffy, 2007; Glenn, 1992, 2000; Hatton, 2017). Roberts (1997) describes this racialized hierarchy within reproductive labor as the division between "spiritual" work associated with white women and "menial" work associated with racial-ethnic minority women.

As service work moved outside the home into institutional service jobs, the dominant ideology likely upheld by both the oppressors as well as the oppressed, remained throughout the U.S. that minority women (e.g. Black, Latina, Japanese) were particularly suited for service (Katzman, 1978; Glenn, 1992). These racial justifications ranged from the argument that Black and Mexican women were incapable of governing their own lives and thus dependent on whites, to the argument that Asian servants were naturally quiet, subordinate, and accustomed to a lower standard of living (Glenn, 1992). Whatever the specific content of the racial characterizations, it defined the proper place of these groups as in service: they belonged there, just as it was the dominant group's place to be served (Glenn, 1992). Racial ideology was critical in explaining why women of color were suited for degrading work (Duffy, 2007; Glenn, 1992; Hatton, 2017).

There is relatively little research specifically exploring women in U.S. tourism work beyond servitude and service discussed above. The exception being in the role of
prostitution or sex work. Within that role, the women are described as anything from tricksters and criminals to commodified souvenirs for tourists to collect; rarely, if ever, are they referred to as tourism workers contributing to the overall tourism economy. As Donlon and Argusa (2003) point out when discussing sex work, “motel operators…are generally enthusiastic toward the sex tourism industry because of the positive impact it has on profitability…However, it is a type of business few wish to publicize” (p. 93). It is perhaps this logic that lead academics to not “see” many of these workers within a destination (Demovic, 2016). Examples discussed next concern various forms of sex work in New Orleans including the evolution of B-girls, the historic vice district Storyville, and its effects on the development of modern-day Bourbon Street, and the role of women in the development San Francisco’s Chinatown.

**New Orleans Vice.** A B-girl—short for bar girl—is a woman employed by a bar, nightclub, etc. to act as a companion to male customers while inducing them to buy drinks (Demovic, 2016). The B-girl in New Orleans has been an integral part of the ambiance of French Quarter life in the past and is a part of tourists’ experience of Bourbon Street today (Demovic, 2016). The historically deep links between travel to New Orleans and the city’s sexual economy began with the historic but short-lived legal red-light district of Storyville, located at the end of early passenger train lines just outside of the French Quarter (Long, 2005). B-drinking existed as a part of the saloons in and around brothels of Storyville between 1898 and 1917. Rose (1978) writes,

In the saloons they had these girls, too, mostly a lot tougher. They’d be what you call today, “B-girls.” If you weren’t marked (with a flower or a feather) one of these girls would come up to the bar and ask you if you’d like to go sit in a booth with her and buy her a drink. If you did, she’d have her drink with you, probably
hers would have hardly any alcohol in it, and she’d try to get you to take her either to a house or sometimes upstairs in the cabaret (p. 162).

Informal job descriptions of New Orleans B-girls are embedded in many forms of otherwise legal employment such as waitressing or exotic dance but include an expectation to solicit customers for drinks. In some instances, this is in pursuit of making the bar more money via liquor sales, while other times it was in pursuit of side-profits to supplement otherwise low-incomes earned working in the tourist districts (Demovic, 2016). The prototype of a clever, hustling B-girl is a part of New Orleans historic past; she is a playful criminal, viewed as a typical way tourists, soldiers, and other travelers might engage with vice (Demovic, 2016). According to Demovic, successful B-girls performed emotional, and sometimes sexual, labor in such a way that the guest felt temporarily pulled into the “back” scenes of tourism.

Tourist interactions with B-girls have become a critical component of Bourbon Street. As Demovic (2016) says, “a good sport who is navigating the touristscape of the French Quarter and Bourbon Street needs a B-girl, just as much as he needs to drink a Hurricane and don a set of (seasonal or not) Mardi Gras beads” (p. 346). While these women play an integral role in the touristscape, a term Williams (2013) defines as the parts of the city where the tourism industry is the focal point, and the people who are encompassed in those places, the discourse surrounding them throughout the years has served to minimize their power within the industry.

B-girls are categorized as sex workers although the dismay with their actions is primarily rooted in not performing sexual acts. Instead, there is an implied promise of sex in return for buying additional drinks, which helped earn them the label of criminal or
trickster. In addition, descriptions of “stripers, with their particolored sequined Brazilian slings and bulging saline bags” who “slithers across the stage’s worn linoleum on her belly like a reptile” (Donlon & Agrusa, 2003, p. 122) portray an object or animal rather than tourism workers who are definitional of the New Orleans’ touristscape, which is rooted in sex and vice. These descriptions justify—from the perspective of lawmakers and tourism promoters—the need to legislate these “loose” or “immoral” women whose sexuality is out of control (Demovic, 2016). The laws often counteract the potential for collective action of these women, who as a group could serve as powerful stakeholders who might question the poor working conditions and unequal income distribution in the industry (Demovic, 2016).

In New Orleans, B-girls got their start in the vice district of Storyville, which came to be around the turn of the century as a legalized district where “never before or since in the United States has unrestrained sexual activity flourished so unashamedly. It was a veritable Mecca of whores” (Hinriques, 1963 as cited in Foster, 1990, p. 387). Located to the north of the French Quarter, the area became a legalized vice district in 1898, and was home to a dozen or so blocks and a conglomeration of prostitutes of different ages, nationalities, and races (Foster, 1990). It was also home to many of the musicians credited with creating New Orleans jazz such as Jelly Roll Morton, and Louis Armstrong, who wrote in his biography of his time growing up and playing at clubs in Storyville as his mother worked among the brothels (Armstrong, 1986). It is important to note that Storyville provided employment opportunity for many New Orleanians who would have otherwise not been able to secure work.
There were at least two thousand prostitutes working in Storyville at any given time (Foster, 1990). It is estimated that between 10 and 15 million dollars were spent in the red-light district each year, making prostitution within the district so popular it was given its own directory called *The Blue Book* (Rose, 1978). *The Blue Book* provided tourists with advertisements and listings of prostitutes promising plenty of drinks and pleasure with “jolly good girls” and “beautiful women who know how to entertain properly and cleverly” (Rose, 1978, p. 140-141). At this time, womanhood was viewed as a symbol of purity and virtue, while sexual behavior was “vital to men’s mental and physical health” (Fishbien, 1980, p. 23). Thus, prostitution was deemed necessary for men to protect their wives against deviant sexual desires (Foster, 1990). Social prejudices determined that once a woman fell into such work, they were regarded as evil, tainted, and a threat to common morals; condemned to their lifestyle and never allowed to return to a decent occupation (Foster, 1990). Prostitutes often created a world of lies and dreams and unrealistic hopes in attempt to shrug off the present and deal with the harsh realities of the profession (Foster, 1990). But still, many suffered from depression and suicide brought on by the business. As Foster shares, “referring to depressed prostitutes, one madam said, ‘A lot crack up and go low down blue, and some even take the deep six [suicide]. I never knew an always cheerful, golden hearted, always laughing whore ” (p. 393). Instead, the women had become to know their place in the labor force and did what they could to continue.

Storyville was shut down by city and state officials in 1917 with only a few remnants of the area remaining. The legacy of prostitution, gambling and vice however,
remains in touristic forms primarily in the French Quarter, and specifically on Bourbon Street. Bourbon Street is symbolic of the former vice district of Storyville and is a representation of some of the complex traditions of New Orleans culture, specifically Mardi Gras, legal street drinking, and public sexuality (Vesey & Dimanche, 2003). The growth of tourism in the area however, has prompted local police to remove street prostitutes, pimps, vagabonds or wandering artists who may approach tourists, to allow for vice-like entertainment (Vesey & Dimanche, 2003). This includes 24/7 drinking in the streets, pornography shops, and women dressed in strip-tease outfits in doorways of adult clubs. Bourbon street has a romantic air harkening back to Storyville, but with rules and laws that prohibit truly experiencing Storyville. Because, as Vesey and Dimanche (2003) point out, Storyville is not something tourists would wish to truly experience with the disease and the swamp-like conditions of New Orleans at the turn of the century. Rather, the contemporary image and myth of Storyville contribute to the reputation that in New Orleans anything goes. And with phrases such as ‘Sin! Sex! And Scandal!’ or ‘New Orleans is a Woman (and they don’t call her the Big Easy for Nothin’’)!’ the value put on the work done by women providing the experiences sought out by tourists remains invisible (Foster, 1990).

**Development of Chinatowns.** By the 1890s, middle-class white Americans had begun to tour Chinatowns to get a first-hand glimpse of the filth and depravity that they had heard existed in the area (Light, 1974). The tourists arrived at a time when the American Chinese, driven out of the labor force by discrimination, were searching for alternative means of livelihood. The ensuing development of a restaurant-based tourist
industry in Chinatowns across the U.S. laid the foundation for the areas we now recognize as such (Light, 1974). The foundations of this industry however, were built upon yet another vice district that attracted primarily white male tourists. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, white men of the laboring class were regular clients of the brothel, gambling joints, and opium dens which flourished in major American Chinatowns (Light, 1974). Of course, these illegal institutions catered to Chinese as well as to whites, but there seems no doubt that the dollars of white visitors enabled American Chinatowns to support many more brothels, opium dens, and gambling halls than would have been possible solely based on Chinese patronage (Light, 1974).

By 1885, there were approximately 70 brothels in San Francisco’s Chinatown (Lyman, 1974). The participation of whites in Chinatown prostitution was more extensive than their participation in gambling. The Chinese underworld operated numerous bordellos in which both Chinese and non-Chinese prostitutes serviced Chinese and whites alike, yet a San Francisco police officer’s testimony stated that most of the Chinese houses of prostitution were patronized by whites, by young men and old alike (Light, 1974). To attract white customers, Chinatown prostitutes relied upon special advantages: of these the most important was the cheapness of their offers. In Chinatown a “miner or roustabout could obtain for four bits sexual gratification that would cost dollar elsewhere” (Light, 1974, p. 370). Moreover, some white visitors felt free to engage "sing-song" girls in aberrant sexual practices which they would have blushed even to mention to the most jaded of white prostitutes (Light, 1974, p. 371).
Notably, many Chinatown brothels in San Francisco were owned by white city officials. The politicians took shares of proceeds from the vice within the Chinese quarter in return for guaranteed security; something that was also in the politicians’ best interest due to the number of white men frequenting the areas (Light, 1974). Yet, many vice resorts remained Chinese-owned, which ironically provided the anti-Chinese movement in California with an effective propaganda line. Like the supposed immoral women working in Storyville or as B-girls in New Orleans, white patronage of Chinatown brothels proved the Chinese were a menace to Christian civilization because of their corrupting influence upon white men’s morals (Farwell, 1885 as cited in Light, 1974).

The slow transition to the Chinatowns we have become familiar with came during the 1920s as middle-class white tourists became interested in witnessing the vice and blight of the areas, but from a secure distance. As gangs and vice resort owners developed tours throughout the areas to see scripted fights and debauchery, many began developing additional offerings for tourists wanting to see a ‘real’ Chinatown (Light, 1974). While these areas have turned toward more of a restaurant-based industry, Chinese men and women remain within the service sector (Duffy, 2007; Glenn, 1992).

In each example, similar to women in servitude and service work discussed at the beginning of this section, there is a connection among who performs the dirty work involved with service or tourism work. Beyond cooking, cleaning or laundering either inside the house or in the public arena, tourist destinations also provided an avenue to take the sexual burden off ‘pure’ white woman. Instead, the roles were relegated to those who fell outside this societal norm in some way (e.g. race, ethnicity, sexuality, lifestyle)
(see Enloe, 2014; Kinnaird & Hall, 1994; Meisch, 1995; Moore, 1995; Senftleben, 1986); a trend that can be found in tourism destinations throughout the U.S. today.

While racial-ethnic minority women were once the dominant share of this workforce, Duffy (2007) found that the shift from servitude to service work resulted in a fairly dramatic increase in the proportion of the low tier work found in the service industry being performed by racial-ethnic minority men as well as women. According to Glenn (1992), despite differences in the composition of the populations and the mix of industries throughout the U.S., important similarities can be seen across situations such as Mexicans in the Southwest, African Americans in the South, and Japanese people in northern California and Hawaii. Each group was placed in a separate legal category from whites, which excluded from rights and protections accorded full citizens. This severely limited their ability to organize, compete for non-service jobs, and acquire capital (Glenn, 1985).

Race, ethnicity and the tourism workforce

David Katzman (1978) notes that:

ethnic stereotyping was the stock in trade of all employers of servants, and it is difficult at times to figure out whether Blacks and immigrants were held in contempt because they were servants or whether urban servants were denigrated because servants were Blacks and immigrants (p. 221).

Du Bois argued that once slavery was addressed in comprehensive terms, in world-historical terms, its true nature was revealed (Glenn, 1992). Beneath its appearance as a "feudal agrarianism" lay the real relation of slavery to the emergence of modern capitalism (Robinson, 1983, p. 200). As America was a critical subsector of this developing system, the conflicts between American creed and reality, the contradictions
of American society, the distortions of its social structures and political institutions ensued from its dependence on slavery (Robinson, 1983). Slavery, then, was not an historical aberration, it was not a "mistake" in an otherwise bourgeois democratic age (Robinson, 1983, p. 200); it was, and its imprints on inequities among sociocultural, economic and political intuitions continue to be, systemic. At the same time, faced with violence and coercion, Black people came to “know their place” in the southern social order and adapted to it in ways that reinforced their subjugation (Massey, 2007). Despite the passage of federal legislation to outlaw discrimination based on race, along with the implementation of affirmative action policies to overcome the legacy of exclusion, racial stratification has proved remarkably tenacious and the Black-white income gap has hardly changed in the U.S. (Massey, 2007).

While the prevalence of slavery in the South quite clearly demarcated a racially split labor market (Bonacich, 1975), the northern picture is more complicated (Bonacich, 1976). The U.S. labor movement was taking shape in the years directly following the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877) after the U.S. Civil War, a time when Jim Crow laws governed the southern states and well entrenched racial hostilities were present throughout the U.S. Jim Crow laws were developed and enforced to continue the marginalization of Black Americans who had been granted legal freedom with the passing of the 13th Amendment (Bonacich, 1976). During this time, many formerly enslaved Black persons moved from U.S. South to the North and Midwest to escape the violence and segregation under Jim Crow laws, with approximately 500,000 making the move during World War I seeking wartime factory opportunities. Even in the North, Black
workers encountered violence at the hands of white workers who resented competition for jobs and Black economic success (Bonacich, 1976).

As such, Black and white persons doing the same work in the same plant were rarely paid different wages. Instead, a wage differential appeared in two more disguised forms. First, as in the South, one finds racial segregation by job title, with ‘Black’ jobs generally paying less (e.g. porters, railway workers, domestic servants) (Bonacich, 1976). White labor severely restricted alternatives for Black labor by maintaining control over important lines of work through the use of unions (Bonacich, 1976). At beginning of the labor movement in the U.S., the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was formally against the exclusion of Black workers, refusing to allow unions that excluded them to affiliate with it (Archer, 2007). AFL president Samuel Gompers rebuked several unions for racial discrimination in the early 1890s (Archer, 2007).

On the ground, however, the AFL soon came to accommodate the heightened racial hostilities emerging in the 1890s. As Archer (2007) shares, the AFL’s attitudes toward the machinist union provides a telling example. In 1890, the AFL refused to admit this union because it’s Constitution explicitly excluded Black workers. But in 1895 the machinists were admitted in a compromise that allowed them to continue to exclude Black workers in practice, so long as there is no mention of this fact in the Constitution (Archer, 2007). As shown with this example, the segregation of the Black unionist or their exclusion from the labor market altogether became the norm.

Low unionization rates among Black workers meant they could be used by employers to cut costs. This was achieved both by avoiding demands for improved wages
and work conditions, and by avoiding the costs of labor conflict itself. Union policies frequently meant that Black workers had no alternative but to turn to strike-breaking as the only means of entering white-dominated lines of work (Archer, 1997, 2010). Sometimes even strike-breaking did not secure long-term employment as white workers roared back, anxious to see them dismissed. The antagonism of the labor movement to Black workers further weakened the latter's position in the labor market (Bonacich, 1976). Black workers were instead relegated to service positions that paid lower wages and offered less job security. These positions within tourism destinations were also sometimes used as a direct mechanism to maintain the racial hierarchy in the country between white leisure travelers and those who served them. An example of this is the phenomenon of ‘Afromobiling’ in Palm Springs, Florida.

Afromobile. In Lozano’s (2017) exploration of the phenomenon of ‘Afromobiling’ in Palm Beach, Florida beginning in the 1890s, we see clearly the role of tourism in enacting racial hierarchy and controlled Black mobility in the pursuit of white leisure. The ‘Afromobile’ (Figure 4.1) was a “wicker wheelchair fitted for one or two passengers and attached to a bicycle in the rear that was pedaled by a male African American hotel employee” (Lozano, 2017, p. 805). According to Lozano, the Afromobile epitomized south Florida’s promise of conspicuous exotic leisure associated with the Orient and the tropics, including Anglo-American ideas about the tropics as a realm of racial primitivism and luxuriant leisure, without having to leave the country.
During the Reconstruction Era in the South, the U.S. North and West was experiencing an era of rapid economic growth through the expansion of industrialization (Zinn, 2015). The timeframe bore witness to exponential growth in wealth for middle- and upper-class white Americans and businesses, while at the same time widening the gap of inequality throughout the country between the aforementioned and the lower- or working class, and racial and ethnic minorities (Zinn, 2015). This era was later termed the Gilded Age in Mark Twain and Charles Dudley’s 1873 novel, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*, which satirized an era of serious social problems masked by a thin gold gilding (Zinn, 2015). During the Gilded Age, elite Americans desired “antimodern” experiences (Lears, 1994). Like the leisure travelers touring the landscape of Colorado, upper-class Americans vacationing in Palm Springs craved an alternative to “over-civilized” modernity (Lozano, 2017, p. 808). The answer was direct contact with nature combined
with observations of or interactions with nonwhite “tropical races” (regarded by many
whites as more “primitive” and therefore relatively untouched by modernity’s

Although the use of Afromobiles in a southern state such as Florida reflects a
tourism industry that was racially and economically structured under Jim Crow laws,
West (2003) warns of centralizing the South as the sole stage of America’s racial drama.
Palm Beach was founded by northern money and primarily frequented by northern
guests, causing Lozano to argue Afromobiling is best understood as an American, rather
than strictly southern tourism phenomenon. The Afromobile reflected white American
fantasies and anxieties about race and mobility that transcended regions (Lozano, 2017).

Yet, Florida was indeed no exception to the white supremacist tide present in the
South that worked relentlessly and violently to reestablish racial hierarchy after
Reconstruction. This involved interlinked processes of Black disfranchisement and the
segregation of the races in public spaces, both designed to constrain the freedom and
power of those who had realized a dramatic increase of each in the decade after
emancipation (Foner, 1988). Tourism development within the state occurred alongside
the Democratic Party of that time’s, rule that prioritized Jim Crow as fundamental in the
state’s social and economic progress (Ortiz, 2006). As luxurious hotels were developed
up and down the state’s coasts, “they depended upon African American labor—as
waiters, porters, barbers, railroad workers, and domestic servants as well as Afromobile
drivers—while seeking always to ensure segregation in housing, public spaces, and jobs”
(Lozano, 2017, p. 812).
Nonwhite workers in tourism destinations were not there solely because they were excluded from alternative lines of work, but rather as part of the tourist experience itself. Quotes from tourists and journalists shared by Lozano (2017) include:

*To roll gently along these fragrant and shaded trails and byways in a luxurious wheel chair propelled from the rear by a white-clad darky on a bicycle...is infinitely more delicious than to speed in an automobile along these smooth highways (p. 828).*

*Behind each of these chairs is a stalwart darkey [sic] on a wheel, who earns his dollar a day by the sweat of his brow (p. 826).*

*Here is mounted your dusky chauffeur who pedals and perspires while you jog easily along your way...the motor with a smiling charcoal face was as firmly entrenched in the native geography as are the stucco bungalows of Spanish design and the royal palm trees (p. 831).*

While this may seem an example from a past time, we also know that once learned, ideologies do not simply disappear. Racial schemas honed over generations tend to persist in the minds of adults and get passed on to children in conscious and unconscious ways (Massey, 2007). Another place we see such racial ideologies play out is in our view of musicians of primarily Black music genres and our fetishization of poverty when it comes to those creating the music.

**Blues and jazz music.** We see this fetishization in instances such as the disdain toward Memphis blues musicians who play regular ‘gigs’ on Beale Street rather than in backwood ‘Juke Joints’ (Ryan, 2011). Ryan (2011) suggests the cries of inauthenticity—made primarily by white critics—are rooted in a fetishization of poverty and suffering that accompanies blues music. Because musicians’ work is often enjoyed as it is consumed, it is often thought of as fun or a party with each performance, rather than accept the work musicians do as work or a profession. This helps to serve as a way to
legitimize paying less for it. Yet in an exchange with a musician in Memphis, when Grazian (2004) asked him if he had had fun during the night’s performance, the musician laughed, “Having fun? Shit man…it’s not about having fun. It’s about *makin’ money*…Hell, then you can go out and buy your own fun” (p. 151 as cited in Ryan, 2011, p. 498).

Regis and Walton (2008) found a similar sentiment in New Orleans in which the decoupling of musical authenticity and labor has led to situations in which it is used as an excuse to pay musicians less. They point out that organizers of the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, while touting the authenticity of second-line groups, pay the performers a paltry amount compared to the pay of headlining musicians, usually rock and pop stars (Regis & Walton, 2008). They argue the very “heritage” that makes the festival different from other music festivals (and draws hundreds of thousands of attendees each year) is worth the least to those who create and perpetuate the festival’s authenticity discourse (Regis & Walton, 2008).

The day to day realities of musicians, who, quite literally provide the soundtrack to many tourism destinations, are rendered invisible through all three mechanisms of invisible work. Socioculturally, we come believe that the music is not ‘authentic’ if someone does not suffer in the same sense as the lyrics imply, sociospatially, we see only the fruition of the work in an entertaining atmosphere, not recognizing the toil that went into creating it off-stage. As discussed above there is also the want for the space where the work is performed to match the music being performed, such as playing in backwood juke joints. Finally, sociolegal mechanisms work with the prior two in the sense that the
wages musicians receive through ‘gigging’ are not legally guaranteed through a traditional employee/employer relationship with venues, and many rely solely on tips from the crowd for an income. In addition, many cities and destinations throughout the U.S. implement anti-panhandling laws, through which street performers are not legally able to ask for tips for the work they perform. Often their attempts to make money are at the whim of constantly changing permitting systems (see Strachan, 2019; What we do, n.d.) thus creating the notion of musicians often residing ‘outside the law’; their work not recognized as such, but rather as a form of resistance.

Contrary to the paradox of the Black workers described above whose work was visible while the value placed upon it invisible, other racial-ethnic minorities have a history of being rendered quite literally invisible to tourists as discussed in Camp’s (2011) exploration of workers in California’s most popular tourist site at the turn of the 20th century. Like Black workers pushed to the margins of the labor market, men of other ethnicities were also forced to look elsewhere for work. Through varying levels of exclusion, many racial-ethnic minority men were relegated to service positions often dominated by women. For instance, in places such as California and Hawaii, with their large populations of male Asian immigrants, most domestic servants were men. Chinese houseboys and cooks were familiar figures in late nineteenth-century San Francisco; so too were Japanese men in early twentieth-century Honolulu (Katzman, 1978; Lind, 1951). Camp (2011) discusses the possible ways in which these individuals were able to remain invisible in plain sight.
Mount Lowe Resort and Railway. Camp (2011) traced the historical marginalization of tourism workers in Southern California through the development of Mount Lowe Resort and Railway from 1893 to 1936. During that time, it was California’s most popular tourist site (Camp, 2009). Hundreds, possibly thousands, of employees worked at the site between 1893 and 1936 cleaning hotel rooms, cooking, building and repairing the resort’s railway that took tourists up to one of the resort’s four hotels from downtown Los Angeles, and constructing the hotels’ numerous attractions. Yet, these individuals are absent from literature, local historians’ accounts and signage relating to the site (Camp, 2011).

An explanation for this presented by Camp is that aligned with the sociocultural, economic and political structures already discussed, the development of tourism itself in the U.S. perpetuated the notion of racial ‘Otherness’; of ethnographic others at World’s Fairs, theme parks, and resorts that exoticized and spread notions of primitive nonwhite persons. This was central to the creation of a white American identity, with tourist sites offering up a lesson in racial hierarchy that placed whiteness on the top of the evolutionary scale (see also Benedict, 1983; DeLyser, 2003; Deverell, 2004; Dilworth, 2001; Parezo & Troutman, 2001; Rodriguez, 2001; Rothman, 1998; Rydell, 1984; Shaffer, 2001; Wrobel, 2002). The workers hired at Mount Lowe Resort and Railway reflected these politics of race, class, sex, and nationality in early twentieth-century Los Angeles (Camp, 2011).

One specific example to illustrate this were the Mexican immigrants who were hired around 1910 to repair the aging railway among other positions at the Mount Lowe
Resort and Railway. This was in direct response to immigration restrictions put on other marginalized immigrant groups who previously worked the positions (Camp, 2011). The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the 1907–08 Gentlemen’s Agreement with Japan, and the Immigration Acts of 1917, 1921, and 1924 substantially limited European and Asian immigration into the U.S. (Ngai, 2004; Sánchez, 1993) and led to a reliance upon Mexican laborers (Camp, 2011). The workers were placed on the undesirable, and some argued, uninhabitable landscape of Echo Mountain. They resided in section houses, which consisted of two rooms that housed eight workers and their families (Camp, 2011). The railway cars carrying tourists passed directly above the section houses, rendering the daily life of the workers invisible, including a cesspool and pig pen within feet of the housing. The resort’s housekeeping staff was also transported in railway cars during the daytime to clean rooms while tourists were out and about to avoid any face to face contact; a practice maintained today. Camp posits that seeing the workers up close and personal would force tourists to acknowledge the impact of their trip on the daily lives of the workers (see also Chang, 2016; Ehrenreich & Hochsild, 2002; Enloe, 2014).

The Mount Lowe Resort and Railroad was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1993. In conducting her research, Camp questioned local why the workers who made the site function smoothly on a daily basis were not represented in any of the historical signage or literature. Many local historians responded that this aspect of Mount Lowe’s history had simply never come up. In a more extreme instance, members of the public wishing to keep the history of labor relations at Mount Lowe invisible, destroyed archaeological equipment being used at the site to uncover the
history of those workers (Camp, 2011). A reflection, according to Camp, of tourism boosters in Los Angeles striving to keep its present and past working populations invisible.

**Tourism workers today**

When exploring the contemporary U.S. tourism workforce, it becomes apparent that similar sociocultural, economic and political factors continue to shape who performs the work in tourism destinations and for whom the work is being performed. The latter refers to the lingering barriers for Black travelers in the U.S., which is beyond the scope of this article. For a deeper discussion see Duffy, Pinckney, Benjamin, and Mowatt (2018) and Dillette, Benjamin and Carpenter (2018).

What has evolved, however, is that workers have become more vocal in speaking out about the conditions under which they work. For instance, in May 2018, workers staged a demonstration at a tourism board meeting in New Orleans calling for a free health care clinic for industry workers (Stromquist, 2018). In September 2018, 2,000 hotel employees picketed the streets of Waikiki demanding better wages, with organizers arguing, “They’re not taking the workers seriously…They’re making millions of money and they’re offering the workers cents” (Davis, 2018, para 3). And beginning in June 2018, U.S. Marriott workers in cities across the U.S. such as Boston, San Diego, and Seattle, protested workplace sexual harassment, violence, low pay, job insecurity and injuries (Koerner, 2018; Shoot, 2018; Stinson, 2018). The examples continue to grow. Camp (2011) argues these campaigns are “in reaction to nearly 100 years of efforts by travel and tourism industries to keep certain types of workers invisible from the people
who rely on them most: tourists” (p. 280). The invisibility of the contribution of the workers is at the core of many protests or calls for change, the common thread being the devaluation of the work done by the workers.

Like tourism workers themselves, this evolving shift did not come out of nowhere. Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, intensified globalization, including competition for low-wage labor, transnational capital mobility and financial liberalization, and a State regime that favors organized capital over organized labor has contributed to the decline in the traditional manufacturing-based unionization of the labor movement (Chun, 2009; Peck, 2004; Peck & Tickell, 2002). With unions slowly losing the power they once wielded over the more lucrative blue-collar jobs in the U.S., the ranks were opened to more vulnerable segments of the labor market. This included racial and ethnic minority men and women working in low-wage service positions that were once thought unable to organize.

A pivotal campaign in the labor movement for service and tourism workers in the U.S. was the 1985 “Justice for Janitors” (JforJ) campaign led by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). The campaign rendered the injustice of poverty wages and social inequality both intimate and public, refashioning the identity of janitors from one of the most undervalued and demeaned segments of society into the “moral center” of the most rapidly growing union in the U.S. (Chun, 2009, p. 2). In several ‘in your face’ publicity stunts, the workers and organizers made themselves, and their plight, known in the daylight (Waldinger, 1996). As one worker stated: “It’s fine for us to come in at night
and clean their buildings, but they didn’t want to look us in the face during the daytime” (Waldinger, et al., 1996, p. 13). In other acts to gain public attention, the demonstrators

…brought huge boxes of carnations, thousands of them, and we passed them out as sort of token of appreciation from janitors to secretaries. We said, “There’s been five demonstrations, it’s probably very difficult for you, but we ask for your support as we fight for our rights.” And it turned out to have a positive impact, because you know, here are these people that make nothing, that come in and clean up every night, and they’re giving us flowers! What are we doing for them? (Waldinger et al., 1996, p. 13).

The strategies proved successful, with the union gaining the recognition and contracts they were fighting for.

From the launch of JforJ until 2009, 100,000 new janitors as well as many other low-paid service workers joined the SEIU ranks, and today it has a roster of two million members (Chun, 2009; SEIU, n.d.). Among others, SEIU and UNITE HERE, a union representing workers throughout the U.S. and Canada who work in the hotel, gaming, food service, airport, laundry and transportation industries, represent workers in major U.S. tourism destinations such as Disneyworld, and have implemented new organizational strategies that have renewed the role of labor as a dynamic social movement (Chun, 2009; SEIU, n.d.; UNITE HERE!, 2019).

Recognizing the importance of bringing forth the visibility of workers historically pushed to the margins of the labor movement, contemporary strategies include mobilizing the broader public to understand the significance of the symbolic as a key site of contestation (Chun, 2009). In other words, what the devaluation of the work of these workers means on a broader societal scale. As highlighted in the literature discussed in this article, the fight against economic injustice is inextricable from a conception of
justice rooted in the sociocultural, economic or political. The overlapping nature of such injustices is particularly salient for workers in the tourism industry, who have historically been situated at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy. Challenging economic and social marginalization often entails overcoming “institutionalized patterns of cultural value that constitute some actors as inferior, excluded, wholly other or simply invisible,” thus intertwining what Nancy Fraser (1995) calls “struggles for recognition” with “struggles for redistribution” (p. 70–71). While tourism scholars have highlighted the exploitative nature of many tourism positions (see Beddoe, 2004; Burns, 1993; International Labor Organization, 2001; Lee & Kang, 1998; Radivan & Lucas, 1997; Wood, 2000; Ainsworth & Purss, 2009; Onsøyen, Mykletun, & Steiro, 2009; Baum, 2007, 2015), we often stop short at asking ourselves why this is the case. Like the contemporary strategies implemented by organized labor in the U.S., it is no longer sufficient to point out that something needs to be done, but rather what is to be done.

**Conclusion**

This critical exploration of the history of the development of the tourism workforce in the U.S. unmasksthe ways in which the low-wage workforce was systematically created and continues to be reproduced (Chun, 2009). There are many ways in which those providing the labor in tourism are, and have been, marked as ‘others’, but seeing the process within a historical frame can be useful for working to recognize and address the inequities associated with tourism development (Kingsolver, 2007). The literature discussed (and the examples of B-girls to Afromobiles), highlights the gap between the sociocultural, economic and political factors perpetuating a racial,
While a critical historical analysis of the development of the U.S. tourism workforce begins to unearth the answers to the questions raised above, the challenge becomes picking up the gems we learn from the past and carrying them forward in our hopeful attempts to improve the industry (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011; Quarcoo, 1972). This research supports Veijola’s (2010) call to researchers to become comfortable with being uncomfortable. To begin to critically look at the tourism workforce from both a historical and work/labor centered approach to recognize and mitigate the oppressions that the tourism industry may be—knowingly or unknowingly—perpetuating. Thus, the next questions raised by the examples of tourism workers today, speaking out against working conditions, is what is our role in providing visibility to an historically invisible workforce? As researchers, we must not only ask questions that explore the political economic factors as suggested by Bianchi (2009), but also employ methodologies that center the voices and experiences of the employees themselves to unmask the hidden aspects of one of the largest components of the industry.
This research is focused only on the development of the U.S. tourism workforce, and therefore cannot be generalizable to other countries, as labor policy as well as racial, ethnic and gender ideologies vary from country to country. In addition, the number of articles discussed was relatively small. Unfortunately, this reflects the number of academic articles published on the topic. That is not to say the stories and examples do not exist, as many reading this presumably have a wealth of additional anecdotal evidence. Thus, it remains our challenge to continue to work to ensure tourism workers can reposition their invisible plight from the back of the house into the forefront of labor reconfiguration in the U.S.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCURSIVE POWER IN TOURISM: A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF TOURISM DISCOURSE IN POST-KATRINA NEW ORLEANS

Abstract

Urban improvement strategies have long included removing individuals and land uses perceived as harmful to the city’s new vision, including the homeless, minorities, and red-light districts ignoring the role each of these play in the overall tourism product. Hypercapitalism in the United States and globally have created neoliberal conditions that reinterpret notions of public space in pursuit of profit. Tourism destinations are not immune to such conditions, but instead are often a central driver in urban redevelopment projects. In this research, the critical qualitative method of situational analysis combined with theoretical perspective critical race theory provide a methodological tool to examine a broad range of complex conditions rooted in disaster capitalism that have shaped the discourse surrounding post-Katrina New Orleans tourism complex. Suggestions for using situational analysis to create new imaginaries for critical qualitative inquiry into tourism workers within a destination are provided.

Keywords: disaster capitalism; tourism; situational analysis; New Orleans; critical race theory
Introduction

Three weeks after Hurricane Katrina struck the Gulf Coast of the U.S. the morning of August 29, 2005, Louisiana Lieutenant Governor Mitch Landrieu stood among tourism leaders from across the state of Louisiana and national tourism executives at the Shaw Center for the Arts in Baton Rouge; each donning a sticker that read, *New Orleans Louisiana Rebirth: Restoring the Soul of America* (Mowbray, 2005). Landrieu vowed to rebuild the tourism industry stating, “we have to rebuild the metropolitan area of the city of New Orleans because this area is the soul of America” (Mowbray, 2005, para 2). While Landrieu and other tourism promoters developed plans for a national and international advertising and public relations campaign to restore the image of New Orleans in Baton Rouge (Mowbray, 2005), 80 miles away amphibious military vehicles were combing through still flooded streets in some of the poorest areas of New Orleans (Gillam & Sullivan, 2005).

Many of the areas were home to the very residents on whose talents and labor New Orleans’ tourism industry was built. For instance, the Iberville Projects sat two blocks away from the French Quarter and Canal Street. When the levees failed after Hurricane Katrina made landfall causing massive flooding, the housing project had 673 occupied apartments. The majority were home to residents who walked daily to work in one of the French Quarter’s many restaurants and hotels (Long, 2007). When the flooding began, many did not have the means to evacuate, so instead waded through the waters to the Superdome or the Convention Center to await rescue (Long, 2007). The pressing concern this created for the city’s tourism promoters however, was that visions of the
realities of systemic racial and class inequality represented in these areas and throughout
the city posed a threat to the tourism narrative. A narrative historically rooted in the myth
of racial exoticism and postmodern racial colorblindness (Thomas, 2014). As such, with
tourism serving as one of the city’s most lucrative industries, through all the media
representations and narratives of hurricane victims, “the crime that the [Black] poor of
New Orleans [were] most guilty of [was] making themselves so damn visible” (Long,
2007).

Unlike tourists in a destination, residents are locked into everyday local struggles
and conflicts, shared experiences of the mundane and commonplace, and traditions that
give meaning to their lives as members of a community (Gotham, 2007a). We often
ignore the reality that “the ‘freedom’ to consume [tourist products, destinations, etc.]
only comes at the expense of someone else’s welfare, whether through the
appropriation/privatization of public lands for tourism development, the displacement of
peasant populations, resources degradation, or the intensified commodification of labor
power and/or exploitative working practices” (Bianchi, 2009, p. 495). Britton’s (1991)
seminal work argued the need to recognize the capitalist nature of tourism development,
exploring its role in capital accumulation, and while there have been scholars take up the
call (see Bianchi, 2009, 2018; Friedman, Bustad, & Andrews, 2012; Harvey, 1989, 2000,
2001; Higgins- Desbiolles, 2006, 2008; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Mosedale, 2016),
there remains a relucancy to recognize the importance within tourism scholarship.
Emphasis remains rather, on consumptive aspects of tourism rather than productive
(Bianchi, 2009; Judd, 2006).
The argument of this research is not that studies of consumption are unimportant, but rather aligns with Bianchi (2009) and Perrons (1999) in that we must recognize “one person’s consumption is another person’s production” (Perrons, 1999, p. 2). This research uses situational analysis (SA), a critical perspective and practice designed by Clarke (2003, 2005, 2007a, 2007b) that is embedded in grounded theory and engages with postructuralism and feminism (Perez & Canella, 2013). It is utilized to examine the ways in which the discourse used directly after Hurricane Katrina and subsequent flooding continue to shape the tourism complex in contemporary New Orleans, Louisiana, USA through the lens of critical race theory (CRT). The term tourism complex is defined to the complex process through which the ‘product’ on offer is generally a diverse constellation of entities (Briassoulis, 2002; Buscher & Fletcher, 2017). In practice, this includes the governance and management of tourism infrastructure, the circulation of tourist bodies, and different political economies of expectation in a suite of environmental, social, political, economic and historical contexts that together enable the circulation of tourism capital (Richter, 1989).

There were three primary reasons for choosing New Orleans to explore the way in which discourse shapes the tourism complex. For one, Hurricane Katrina and the subsequent failure of the levees presented a unique situation which provided in a day what aggressive zoning policies and tourism developers hope to accomplish in a decade (Klein, 2007); an opening for new development opportunities. The aftermath provided a blank slate to introduce discourse that would interpret all human endeavor from a market perspective, redeploy resources from the public to the private and allow for practices such
as disaster capitalism, defined as “orchestrated raids on the public sphere in the wake of catastrophic events, combined with the treatment of disasters as exciting market opportunities” (Klein, 2007, p. 6) to guide reconstruction.

Next, local, state and national tourism boosters and executives played a major role in rebuilding the city. Reports show the industry has grown back into an $8.7 billion industry as of 2017, supporting over 80,000 jobs (New Orleans & Company, 2018). What makes New Orleans unique however, is that no other major destination city in the U.S. devotes a smaller share of its hotel taxes to local government (BGR, 2019). According to a 2019 report by the Bureau of Governmental Research (BGR), tourism-related entities (e.g. marketing corporations) receive 75.5% or $150.9 million of hotel tax revenue, while the remaining 24.5% or $48.9 million went to public services such as city government, transportation and education. In comparison, the national average of hotel tax allocation to public services is 65% across tourism destinations (BGR, 2019). This helps to position tourism promoters and leaders in New Orleans as powerful economic and political influencers.

The final reason for choosing New Orleans is the scale at which race, and racism has historically existed within the hegemonic power structures of the city, including, and often perpetuated by tourism narratives (Gotham, 2002, 2005, 2007a; Long, 2007; Thomas, 2014). Both resident and visitor perceptions of the city have largely been filtered through a tourism narrative that perpetuates the “paradoxical construction of Blackness that acknowledges and celebrates Black cultural contributions while simultaneously insisting on Black social and cultural inferiority” (Thomas, 2014, p. 7).
This narrative aided disaster capitalism practices (see Klein, 2007) that took place immediately following Hurricane Katrina by swiftly implementing campaigns to counter media images portraying the result of years of chronic poverty, strained race relations, and intense inequalities with narratives of urgency, safety, resiliency and harmony (Comfort, 2006; Burns & Thomas, 2006; Dreier, 2006). The narrative continues to allow the city to profit from sanitized portrayals of its history masking the unpleasant inner workings and complicated racial histories that underpin the city’s popular image.

The overarching objective of this research is to explore the relationship between tourism promotion and the discourse used in the days following Hurricane Katrina, how it continues to shape the current tourism complex in New Orleans, and the representation of marginalized communities in New Orleans within the discourse. In doing so, CRT is used to view the way in which cultural and sociopolitical factors such as race, economic policy and ideology, and tourism development are represented in the discourse. Using SA, this research uses textual mapping to contextualize the situation within New Orleans by simultaneously analyzing the elements (both human and nonhuman) surrounding, producing and affecting discourses, texts, symbolic interpretations of the nonhuman, histories and power (Clarke, 2005).

**Situational analysis**

Developed by Clarke (2003, 2005), SA is an approach to qualitative analysis that shares many epistemological roots to the Straussian constructivist grounded theory (GT) tradition. Instead of centering basic social processes however, the focus is on the situation as the key unit of analysis (Clarke, Friese, & Washburn, 2018). This separation
came as a result of Clarke’s disagreement with the tendency of GT research to ignore the situatedness and social relations of the phenomena under study. This includes the “specification, re-representation, and subsequent examination of the most salient elements in that situation and their relations (Clarke, 2005, p. 29). That is, rather than view social organization as external and/or standing above and apart from social actors, it is complex, processual, dynamic, and more importantly, inside the situation itself (see Clarke 2005; Hall & McGinty, 2002). Situational analysis allows us to map and analyze such elements as well as structural and power elements.

With the mapping of structural and power elements in the forefront of SA, one can see the influence of Foucauldian discourse analysis within the method. Indeed, the study of discourse is central to SA, the inclusion of which Clarke suggests pushes GT around the post-modern turn separating SA from a GT approach. With that, SA is not separate from discourse analysis, but rather discourse analysis is but a part of the relational analyses, assemblages and connections displayed through situational mapping. Maps which can simultaneously address actors in action and reflection and discursive constructions of human and nonhuman actors and positions and their implications (Clarke, 2005).

SA has not been used specifically in tourism studies, however discourse analysis is gathering pace. Since the seminal paper by Thurot and Thurot (1983) on the discourse of tourism marketing, subsequent work has focused on marketing and tourist behavior (Dann, 1996; Pennington & Thomsen, 2010), the representation of race, ethnicity and gender (Buzinde, Santos, & Smith, 2006; Martin, 2004; McNiel, Harris, & Fondren,
framing national identity (Edensor, 1997; Girardell, 2004). As a methodological approach to grounded theory moving from social process/action to social ecology/situation “grounding the analysis deeply and explicitly in the broader situation of inquiry” (Clarke, 2005, p.2), SA provides the next step in locating such discourses within a specific political, economic or social situation.

To consider the breadth of issues surrounding the situation found within the disaster capitalism environment in post-Katrina New Orleans, this research uses three maps: (a) messy situational maps, which allow for the examination of all the discourses related to the situation including those produced by individuals, groups, and institutions; (b) ordered situational maps, which frame and organize the discourses that emerge from messy maps; and (c) social worlds/arenas maps, which analyze the strategic organization of individuals, groups and institutions in relation to the structures of power present in the situation (Clarke, 2003, 2005; Gagnon, Jacob, & Holmes, 2010; Perez & Cannella, 2013). The disaster experienced in New Orleans provided a unique opportunity for the implementation of disaster capitalism strategies within the tourism complex, as such, they must be present when contextualizing the situation. The following section provides a brief discussion of disaster capitalism.

**Disaster capitalism**

Researchers have argued that disasters are a product of organizational, institutional and societal factors that contribute to system failure and expose different segments of society to unequal consequences of risks; they can also reinforce existing...
socioeconomic inequalities and establish a pattern of chronic negative effects to individuals and families (see Freudenburg, 1997; Erickson, 1976; Picou & Marshall, 2007; Picou, Marshall & Gill, 2004; Perez & Cannella, 2010; Tierney, 2007). As such, moments of crisis can also present opportunities to experiment with contradictory and often unpopular forms of governance, and to do so with less public scrutiny and challenge (Klein, 2007).

With the relatively recent acceptance of social constructivist theories into disaster inquiry, there has been an influx in exploration into natural disasters as socially constructed phenomena (Dynes, 2000; Spector & Kitsuse, 1977) and an openness to strategic development pursuits such as disaster capitalism. Disaster capitalism includes the notion that catastrophic events are foreseeable and strategically devised to allow for corporate profiteering at the time of disaster and during the recovery efforts that follow (Perez & Cannella, 2013). These practices are primarily “embedded within discourses of emergency, rescue, and liberation, as well as currently accepted capitalist discourses of competition, accountability, and responsibility” (Perez & Cannella, 2011b, p. 48). As a growing global phenomenon, Saltman (2007) suggests “this movement also needs to be understood in relation to the broader political, ideological, and cultural formations most prevalent at the moment—namely, neoliberalism and neoconservatism (p. 3). Bianchi’s (2009) use of Harvey’s (2006) outline of four principle mechanisms of neoliberalism—privatization, financial innovation; the orchestration of crises and evaluations; and, state distributions from labor to capital—to explore out the displacement of coastal
populations in Sri Lanka following the 2004 tsunami to make way for new luxury resorts provides one such example.

The policy decisions put forth under disaster capitalism impact the amount of relief given to particular regions after a catastrophic event, or in some cases, gives financial opportunity to large corporations (Davis, 1998; Green, 2005). In a comparative analysis of the September 11, 2001 (9/11) terror attacks on New York City and Hurricane Katrina, Gotham and Greenberg (2008) found that the response to these two disasters, particularly in the reconstruction phase, did in fact represent a significant shift in disaster response. Prior to 9/11, a combination of direct outlay to populations in need and incentives to spur reinvestment was used. In the cases of 9/11 and post-Katrina New Orleans, however, they saw a shift to the use of tax breaks and private sector subsidies to channel federal aid (Gotham & Greenberg, 2008). According to the authors, this shift has played a major role in shaping the long-term priorities of recovery for both New York and New Orleans.

When exploring the practice of disaster capitalism in tourism destinations, it is important to consider the discourse invoked and the effects of the community as a whole. Although a market that functions under a neoliberal ideology claims to separate factors of cultural identity from the economy, it relies heavily on modernist assumptions to establish hierarchies of race, class, gender, and sexuality to uphold privilege for those in power (Duggan, 2012). CRT scholars posit the social construction of race as one of the most powerful fictions framing American society (Price, 2010). This is noted by Richard Ford (1992), who sees “the deployment of race as a (perhaps the) regulatory fiction in
late capitalist America” (p. 117, emphasis in original), and by Roberto Rodriguez-Morazzani (1998), who notes that “while ‘race’ might be a fiction, it is a fiction that informs and organizes the actions of people and the structures of power’ (p. 143). Within the New Orleans’ tourism complex, everyday practices, experiences, and interactions are infused with racial ideologies (Dreier, 2006; Thomas, 2014).

**Theoretical paradigm**

CRT is situated foundationally upon the idea that race and racism are prevalent and permanent rather than a marginal factor in defining and explaining the lived experiences of individuals; in other words, racism looks ordinary and natural (Bell, 1988, 1992; Russell, 1992; Delgado, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Taylor, Gillborn, and Ladson-Billings, 2009). Yet race has fluid, decentered social meanings that are continually shaped by political pressures (Calmore, 1992). Going through “relentless, deconstruction and reconstruction” (Hayman, 1995, p. 70), race, like other aspects of identity, is indeed a sociopolitical construction (Parker & Lynn, 2002). As Dyer (1997) argues, “race is not the only factor governing…people [who] everywhere struggle to overcome the prejudices and barriers of race, but it is never not a factor, never not in play” (p. 9). CRT seeks to expose the historical, ideological, psychological, and social contexts in which racism has been declared virtually eradicated (Parker & Lynn, 2002). In this study, CRT is used to help expose and explain, dominant discourses critical to understanding, analyzing and learning about race within urban tourism neoliberal projects in New Orleans.
Structures of power are not only reproduced through a set of discursive elements (language in text or spoken and other practices of representation such as picture, videos, art, performances, etc.), they regulate alternative discourses to remain the dominant discourse, and create the social norms that determine which discourses are deemed acceptable in society (Foucault, 1975/1995). As such, through SA and CRT this research is designed to (a) illustrate the discursive complexities found within New Orleans’ tourism complex as they change, become stable, and create patterns and positions, (b) reveal hegemonic discourse within tourism narratives regarding New Orleans’ marginalized populations, and marginalized perspectives, and (c) empirically decenter “the knowing subject” (Clarke, 2005, p. xxix; Perez & Cannella, 2013).

Methodology

Through the use of mapping, SA provides ways of understanding discourse through inductively analyzing the content found in the data while using supplementary qualitative research approaches to facilitate the hybridity of methods. The data that informed the development of the maps in this research includes 122 newspaper articles collected through Nola.com, which serves as the online curator of New Orleans newspaper The Times Picayune. The time designated to include articles was September 2005 to November 2018, beginning days after Hurricane Katrina and progressing to the current tourism complex. Article search results were generated using combinations of the following keywords in conjunction with the terms New Orleans and Tourism: safety, tourist, surveillance, employees, workers, workforce, and rebuild. The search terms for the articles were informed through ongoing analysis of data collected using participant
observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and archival/artifact collection. In addition to the supplemental data described below, the integration of the researcher’s personal and professional experiences gained through ongoing interaction with the New Orleans tourism complex was included and supported within SA methodology.

Beginning in May 2018 and continuing through December 2018, 128 hours of participant observation was conducted throughout the French Quarter in New Orleans. Unstructured or informal conversational interviews were utilized as a natural extension of participant observation, relying on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of interaction (Patton, 2002). Although the interviews were not structured around a predefined theoretical framework or research questions, they were not random nor nondirective. The research purpose was kept in mind and guided the general scope of the issues discussed in the interviews (Fife, 2005; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). In addition, six semi-structured interviews were conducted with leaders from local non-profits focused on musician medical and legal assistance, a New Orleans regional development executive, a former Mardi Gras/Second Line ‘King of Treme’, and two local tour guides. A variety of archival/artifact sources were also used such as city tourism and local business brochures, City Council meeting minutes, museum exhibits such as the Hurricane Katrina exhibit and the ‘Undesign the Redline’ local exhibit.

Data analysis

SA requires that all data sources, both major and supplementary, be utilized simultaneously to address the objectives of the study as all are related and impact the overall understanding of the situation. As data were collected, messy, ordered, and social
spheres/power arenas maps were created resulting in new constructions of data (as the body of maps) and continued analysis and revision (Perez & Cannella, 2011a). Although CRT was used as a theoretical framework as a means of understanding the phenomenon at large, CRT does not prescribe specific themes to “fit” the data (Dillette, Benjamin, & Carpenter, 2018). Instead, it provided a context that aided in the analytic process. Below is a brief description of the analytic process for each map.

**Messy situational maps.** SA involves a large amount of information that cannot all be specifically shown on maps to represent the “whole” of a particular circumstance.

Following Perez and Cannella (2011a), inductive analysis using “constant comparison” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 335) facilitated map construction by determining which discursive themes were pertinent to the situation. The following is a description of how a messy map was constructed and information from the map coded for analysis using:

- The researcher first immersed herself in the content of the articles retrieved, beginning with articles immediately following Hurricane Katrina.

- Emerging discourse themes were placed in an informal fashion on the messy map. As the ongoing analysis used in SA results in several versions of maps, each map was numbered (e.g. Figure 1-A). The 1 representing the first group of maps, and the A representing the first map in the series of a group.

- NVivo software was used to organize the data creating a ‘code’ for each theme listed on the messy map and ‘nodes’ to store representative data from the articles under each respective theme.
- Reflexive journaling was used to account for (a) reactions to the data, (b) reflections upon the way in which discourses were constructed/represented when viewed through the lens of CRT, and (c) issues with, reaction to, and/or changes in methodology.

- After rereading a set of data used to create an initial messy map and revisiting the information in each ‘node’, the data was analyzed by revising the messy map to show possible shifts in the focus of the discourses relating to the text.

Analysis was “saturated” (Clarke, 2005, p.108) when all possibilities for composure of the messy map and multiple readings of supplementary sources had taken place (Perez & Cannella, 2011a).

**Ordered situational maps.** The ordered maps served as tools to organize, structure, and provide further detail of the content from the messy maps (Perez & Cannella, 2011a). This research followed Clarke’s (2005) categories in creating the ordered maps (e.g. *Sociocultural/Symbolic Elements* and *Political/Economic Elements*). As the elements from the messy maps were revisited, descriptions of issues became more specific. Developing the ordered maps served as a form of analysis by aiding in: (1) framing the issues/actors/actants impacting the situation; (2) examining the social relationships and interactions found in the discourses; and (3) beginning the process of identifying possible constructs of “power/knowledge, ideologies, and control” (Clarke, 2005, p. 155).

**Social spheres/power arenas maps.** The social spheres/power arenas maps represent the “collective commitments, relations, and sites of action” (Clarke, 2005, p.
86). They illuminate power and the way in which people organize rather than the discourses themselves (Clarke, 2005; Perez & Cannella, 2011a). Again, through constant comparison, the focus and appearance of these maps continuously shifted as the discourses were analyzed and the previously mentioned maps evolved, helping to determine overlap, individuals absent from the discourse, and which stories to tell or give focus (Clarke, 2005; Perez & Cannella, 2011a).

**Findings**

The social spheres/power arenas maps revealed three power arenas within the New Orleans tourism complex: (1) safety discourses; (2) opportunity discourses; and (3) identity discourses. Functioning within the intersection of these power arenas are four dominant discursive social spheres: (1) hegemonic: residents as criminals/scammers; (2) interpersonal: state partnerships with private tourism entities; (3) structural: city government unable to manage revenue; and (4) disciplinary: private French Quarter police/surveillance task force. The ways in which each of these affect the human and nonhuman elements within the New Orleans tourism complex will be discussed, but first an overview of the results of both the messy and ordered situational maps, and their contribution to the contextualization of the *situation*.

**Messy situational maps**

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 represent the final versions of the messy maps developed in the research. Figure 5.1 demonstrates discourses used to represent *institutions/technologies* (Clarke, 2005; Perez & Cannella, 2013) present within the *situation*, while Figure 5.2 represents *rhetoric* (Clarke, 2005; Perez & Cannella, 2013)
performed in the reestablishment of tourism development post-Katrina, which revolved heavily around the centrality of tourism to the security (e.g. economic, physical, cultural) of the city.

Figure 5.1. Messy situational map: Institutions/technologies. Note. Adapted from Clarke, A.E. (2005), p. 95.
The *institutions/technologies* messy map (Figure 5.1) serves as an illustration of the use of SA to integrate the researcher’s personal concerns for interpersonal power relations and an awareness of public discourse. For instance, one theme included on the map is “privately funded French Quarter Task Force.” In a city with crime throughout, not solely or even primarily in tourist areas, this sets a notion that individuals and groups are placed in positions in which they are expected to accept (and privilege) views of who is and who is not valued within certain areas.

The inclusion of discursive practices that privilege private disciplinary forces is representative of data drawn from specific locations like the media that serve as technologies to create and maintain the conditions necessary (and support) for market-based management approaches. For illustration, in an interview with The Lens, a New
Orleans nonprofit, nonpartisan newsroom, Stephen Perry, president and CEO of New Orleans & Co., discussed the possibility of diverting a larger percentage of tourism revenue to city management:

The city's poor performance in administering basic government services -- like drainage, trash collection and public safety -- shows that officials couldn't effectively manage more money if they got it…We sit and look at this (proposal) and we're truly incredulous because the argument is (to take money) from a high-performing, organically created private sector enterprise…to give it to the people who have been managing the Sewage & Water Board, who have been the steward of everything from flooding and drainage management, who have given us the modern-day NOPD (Adelson, 2018, p. 2-3).

This narrative put forth in the media by a tourism promotion leader attempts to legitimate a need for unquestioned “high-performing…private sector enterprise” considering the circumstances of the current state of the city’s infrastructure. Looking specifically at the topic of “public safety,” mentioned by Perry, in January 2013 New Orleans provided a private technology company, Palantir, access to millions of searchable public records, court filings, licenses, addresses, phone numbers, and social media data as well as city criminal and non-criminal data for the creation of a crime forecasting software (Winston, 2018). Neither the residents of New Orleans nor city council members whose job it is to oversee the use of municipal data were aware of Palantir’s access to the data (Winston, 2018).

The deal was brokered by James Carville, a Democratic Party power broker, resident of New Orleans and paid advisor to Palantir, and then-Mayor Landrieu. When asked how the deal came about with Palantir’s CEO, Carville described the interaction:

I said, we have a really horrific crime rate in New Orleans…And so he came down and met with our mayor… they both had the same reaction as to the utter immorality of young people killing other young people and society not doing
anything about it. And we were able to, at no cost to the city, start integrating data and predict and intervene as to where these conflicts were going to be arising (Winston, 2018, p. 5).

In the name of public safety, the private surveillance program was implemented without public notice due to its establishment as a philanthropic relationship with the city through Landrieu’s NOLA for Life program; which also kept it off public record leaving questions about basic functioning, risk for bias, and overall propriety unanswered (Winston, 2018).

Carville also evoked the discursive theme of “constructions of race, class, gender, sexuality” to justify the need to introduce a private entity by describing the city’s youth as immoral criminals. At the time of his statement in 2016, 73% of the New Orleans’ youth (ages 0-19) population was Black (Perry, 2016). Additionally, 43.8% were living below the poverty level compared to 21.7% for the United States overall (Perry, 2016). The dominant population when discussing the “youth” of New Orleans was thus poor and Black. Without acknowledging the ways in which such discourse may perpetuate the delineation of who is to be protected (e.g. the tourists, tourism industry) from whom (e.g. Black residents, inept city-management), we risk limiting our understanding of racism that exists within hegemonic power structures in the U.S., including New Orleans’ tourism complex.

The second messy map (see Figure 5.2) illustrates the use of SA to examine the neoliberal rhetoric dominating public conversations. For example, the theme “tourism workers as separate from residents” follows the neoliberal technological discourse that
separates humans from work. In several instances, tourism workers are talked about as separate from residents:

People working in tourism want the same things for the city as residents and officials…Because they [tourists] come in town, spend this money, we are able to have bigger festivals, more festivals, that we get to enjoy…The volume of visitors allows residents to enjoy amenities, such as a vast selection of restaurants, on a level commensurate with much larger cities (Waller, 2014, p. 3-6).

Three-fourths of New Orleans’ hotel industry employment is in occupations that had median hourly earnings under $15 in 2017, with Black and Hispanic workers making up 81% of those earning a median of $10.60 per hour (Habans & Plyer, 2018). In addition, in 2017, the median wage for the 5,720 waiters and waitresses working in New Orleans’ full-service restaurants was $9.57 per hour including tips (Habans & Plyer, 2018). The second largest job category in New Orleans’ full-service restaurants are cooks who earn $11.23 per hour and food preparation workers who earn a median of $9.39 per hour (Habans & Plyer, 2018). While 55% of the waiters and waitresses are white, 56% of cooks and 44% of food preparation workers are Black; the highest paid occupations disproportionately filled by white workers (Habans & Plyer, 2018). The income disparity often leaves the predominantly Black or Hispanic workers out of the collective ‘we’ of residents who get to enjoy the tourism amenities.

**Ordered situational maps**

Discourses and themes that emerged from the messy maps were framed, organized and specifically illustrated using ordered situational maps (Clarke, 2005). Creation of the first ordered map (Figure 5.3) compared the discursive constructions of human elements in the situation. For instance, examining key human actors such as
Stephen Perry and residents simultaneously and the way in which they are discursively constructed—Perry that of a paternal watchdog over the city’s greatest resource and the latter as ‘scammers’ and ‘criminals’—provide distinct insight into the ways in which to begin to piece together individual and institutional roles in this research. Identifying both specific and collective actors become important details to consider as SA further unfolds (Perez & Cannella, 2013).

| Individual Human Elements/Actors (key individuals and significant people in the situation) |
| Tourism boosters – Stephen Perry, President & CEO of New Orleans & Co.; Mitch Landrieu (Lt. Governor then New Orleans mayor); Mayor Latoya Cantrell |
| Residents  | Tourism Workers  | Tourists |

| Collective Human Elements/Actors (particular groups; specific organizations) |
| Tourism boosters – Visit New Orleans; New Orleans & Co.; New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corp.; New Orleans Multicultural Tourism Network |
| City Government  | Police |
| Worker organizations (e.g. New Orleans Hospitality Workers’ Alliance; New Orleans Workers’ Center for Racial Justice; New Orleans Workers’ Group; UNITE Here; New Orleans Music and Culture Coalition) |

| Discursive Constructions of Individual and/or Collective Human Actors (as found in the situation) |
| Stephen Perry as paternalistic |
| Residents as scammers, pickpockets, criminals and unable to comprehend the degree to which tourism carries the city |
| Distinction between ‘residents’ and ‘tourism workers’ |
| City leaders as incompetent; responsible for the failing infrastructure |
| Tourism industry (boosters both individually and collectively) as creating jobs and revenue; deserve responsibility for allocating funds |
| Police as racially disparate  | NOHSEP as being exceptionally aggressive |

*Figure 5.3. Ordered situational map. Individual and collective actors. Rhetoric and institutional/technological constructions used for systematic representations. Note. Adapted from Clarke, A.E. (2005), p. 97.*
The next ordered map (Figure 5.4) addresses nonhuman actants/elements and the ways in which they are discursively constructed in dominant discourses. In this research, they include the tourism narrative, which helped shape dominant discourse around race, class and gender. Additionally, the element of the city’s reputation and viability as a tourism destination is enhanced simultaneously through discourse surrounding the actants of leisure activities (e.g. drugs, drinking, sex) and surveillance technology and/or safety precautions. The final ordered map (Figure 5.5) demonstrates concerns for intersecting oppressions infused with questions of exclusion, addressing the marginalized/invisible perspectives/knowledges placed outside the dominant discourse. These are made more visible in the following social worlds/arenas maps.
Nonhuman Elements/Actants (technologies, material infrastructures, specialized information and/or knowledges, material “things”)

Natural and man-made disasters (Katrina, BP Oil Spill, The Great Recession) Crime

Surveillance technology (cameras, monitoring center)

The city (appearance/reputation/infrastructure) Tourism narrative (branding)

Job numbers Tourism revenue

Leisure activities (e.g. drugs, drinking, sex) The media

Discursive Construction of Nonhuman Actants (as found in the situation)

Reinforcement of exceptionalism (i.e. The Soul of America, job numbers created by tourism top in the country, record-breaking revenue markers)

The Big Easy’s “freewheeling spirit” “Do whatcha wanna”

Opportunity for a fresh start and to “clean-up” the city.

Disasters as funding sources (e.g. BP oil spill funding promotional campaigns)

Surveillance technology as proactive; a way to deter violence before it erupts

Political/Economic Elements – The state; local/regional/global order; political parties; politicized issues

Emphasis on private enterprise Short-term rental policy

Affordable housing National influx of immigration detention

Louisiana Senate voted down measure to raise minimum wage above $7.25/hour and $2.13/hour in tipped positions

Lt. Governor is over the state’s tourism industry. Tourism boosters have larger voice concerning city policy than elected city officials.

Major issues/Debates

Housing Commodification of culture

Related discourses (Historical, Narrative, and/or Visual): (normal expectations of actors, actants and/or other specified elements, moral/ethical elements, media, popular culture discourses, situation-specific discourses)

Gumbo pot analogy Happy servitude

Distinctive from other parts of the South Discourses on individualism

Discourses on lifestyle

Figure 5.4. Ordered situational map: Nonhuman actants. Rhetoric and institutional/technological constructions used for systematic representations. Note. Adapted from Clarke, A.E. (2005), p. 97.
What/Who are Excluded from Dominant Discourses (as found in the situation)

Tourism worker (i.e., service, culture bearers, musicians) viewpoints; viewpoints of Black communities; viewpoints of the city's youth; viewpoints of incarcerated individuals; viewpoints of immigrants (documented and undocumented)

Critical views of the New Orleans tourism industry

Concerns with a market-based system of development – focusing primarily on increasing revenue; creating the best ‘product’ to be consumed by tourists perpetuating the racial and class divide in the city

Sociocultural/Symbolic Elements (religious, racial, sexual, gendered, ethnic, national, logos, icons, other visual and/or aural symbols)

Constructions of race, class, and sexuality

Racial – Tourism promotional leadership predominantly Caucasian; tourism business owners predominantly Caucasian; tourism workers and residents are majority Black.

Class – Public transportation is underfunded as cost of housing rises. Harder for low-income residents to get to and from work in the French Quarter

Sexual – All discourses heteronormative

Culture of permissiveness; Let the good times roll

Temporal Elements: U.S. National Historical Frame (historical, seasonal, crisis, and/or trajectory aspects)

Community demographics before Hurricane Katrina

Racial segmentation before Hurricane Katrina

Intersecting Oppressive Elements (either explicitly part of dominant discourses or marginalized discourses that systematically represent tourism workers and Black residents)

Displacing residents in neighborhoods surrounding the French Quarter while packaging 'authentic culture' cultivated in them as tourism products

Rhetoric of community input

Job creation and revenue often shown to be inflated

In a city plagued with high crime rates, discourse ensuring tourist safety remains top priority

Lingering discourse of residents needing to be saved by outside organizations and tourist dollars

Figure 5.5. Ordered situational map: Perspectives excluded from the dominant. Rhetoric and institutional/technological constructions used for systematic representations. Note. Adapted from Clarke, A.E. (2005), p. 97.
Social worlds/arenas maps

Social worlds are constructed in others’ discourses as well as producing their own. An illustrative example is the social world of tourism in New Orleans. Tourism workers are both physically present in the social world of tourism in New Orleans and discursively constructed by tourism narratives, the media and others creating this social world. That is, tourism workers are reconstituted by the tourism industry in New Orleans (a social world), which itself has two competing paradigms (two main segments of that world) and two different discursive constructions of tourism workers (one originating in each segment). In one construction, tourism workers embody the culture of ‘Le Bon Temps Roule’ or ‘Let the Good Times Roll’ inviting tourists to visit and do the same. In the second construction, tourism workers as residents are deemed a threat to tourist safety, as an unclean entity needed to be removed from tourist areas and/or disciplined subjects (Foucault, 1975/1995; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Mosedale, 2016). In neither of these constructions from the two different social worlds segments are the tourism workers reconstituted on their own terms or in their own interests, nor are their heterogeneities and individual variations taken into adequate account. Both workers’ own voices and differences among them are suppressed in favor of advancing the discursive constructions/ideologies of the social world’s two segments.

Arenas are the field of action and interaction among a variety of collective entities, a discursive site in often complicated ways (Clarke, 1991). Furthermore, because perspectives and commitments differ, arenas are usually sites of contestation and controversy, especially good for analyzing both heterogeneous perspectives/positions on
key elements and to see power in action. If one seeks to understand a social world, one must understand all the arenas in which that world participates, the other worlds in those arenas, and the related discourses, as these are all mutually influential/constitutive of that world (Clarke, 2005).

One of the benefits of a flexible methodology such as SA is the ability to adapt the map making process to the context of a particular situation. Similar to the work by Perez and Cannella (2013), this research is concerned about intersection of oppressions in the New Orleans tourism complex, therefore the social worlds/arenas map was reconceptualized as a social spheres/power arenas map (Figure 5.6). The concept of social spheres directly interacting with power arenas better suited the analysis of rhetoric and institutions that discursively created the current tourism complex in New Orleans. Further, the CRT lens made possible the consideration of neoliberal technologies as systematically infused within racialized structural, disciplinary, interpersonal, and hegemonic power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Reconceptualizing the design of the social spheres/power arenas map helped to account for the complexity of power relations functioning within the situation (Perez & Cannella, 2013).
Figure 5.6. Social spheres/power arenas map. Relationships between power arenas that support social spheres and the construction of exclusions. Note. Adapted from Clarke, A.E. (2005), p. 195.

The largest outer circle on the map (Figure 5.6) illustrates the sphere that encompasses the dominant discourses in the situation. The power arenas of “Safety Discourse,” “Opportunity Discourse,” and “Identity Discourse” represent dominant discourses that influence the tourism complex. The marginalized social spheres are illustrated with smaller circles outside the dominant discourse sphere, and are reflective of the five elements guiding CRT scholarship including: (a) the centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination; (b) the challenge to
dominant ideology; (c) the commitment to social justice; (d) the centrality of experiential knowledge; and (e) the transdisciplinary perspective (Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2000). As discussed, although separated in the discourse, tourism workers are also residents, the majority either Black or Hispanic creating multiple layers of subordination within the tourism complex. In addition, perspectives originating from the lived experiences of these residents are rarely taken into consideration, nor are those advocating on behalf of them. As a fluid and unfixed construct, this map reveals connections and helps to make sense of them. Relationships may be between larger structures present in a contemporary circumstance (e.g. disaster capitalism) and the dominant and marginalized social spheres functioning within, being produced by, and interacting with complex power systems (Perez & Cannella, 2013), but can also change with each unique tourism destination.

**Discussion**

The social spheres/power arenas map presents the *situation* of the New Orleans tourism complex. Below is a discussion of ways in which each power arena was used in the days following the storm, how it continues to shape the tourism complex, and the representation of marginalized communities within the *situation*.

**Safety discourse**

“In saying that they’re doing this for the city, they’re leaving out key parts of the city... We don’t feel safer with these cameras. People are losing their partners, living without their husbands after they’re deported. What happens to these kids if their mother is deported too? I fear for my family, for my friends” (Stein, 2018, p. 4).
In January 2017, New Orleans’ then-Mayor Mitch Landrieu introduced a $40 million public safety plan that included a city ordinance requiring the installation of 250 surveillance cameras in 20 target areas throughout the city (City of New Orleans, 2017). All of which were to feed directly into a centralized command center manned by the New Orleans Police Department and the New Orleans Office of Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness (Adelson, 2018; City of New Orleans, 2017; Stein, 2018). The plan was presented as bold actions to “greatly enhance the city’s ability to deter, detect, and prosecute crime” (City of New Orleans, 2017, p. 3), yet residents—particularly those who work in the city’s tourism industry, Black communities, and undocumented immigrants—had concerns with the notion of being constantly under surveillance (Stein, 2018; Woodward, 2018). This was in part due to the notion that crime had long been an issue in the city, however, the plan was not introduced until a high profile shooting that occurred on the (in)famous Bourbon Street made national and international headlines (Adelson & Williams, 2017; Larino, 2016; Stein, 2018). The actions more closely mirrored revanchist strategies used in places such as New York City’s Lower East Side and Times Square (Smith, 1998), that focused on disciplining persons or activities that threatened the perception of the clean and sanitized tourist zone (e.g. homeless, minorities, red-light districts) (Duggan, 2012; Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Olssen, 1996).

Revanchism derives from the French word *revanche*, literally meaning revenge (MacLeod, 2002). Smith’s (1996) original urban development revanchist thesis emerged from his analysis of the gentrification of Manhattan’s Lower East Side and the repressive
policing practices deployed to “take back” Tompkins Square Park, which was deemed to have been stolen from gentrifiers and the wider public by the homeless and other victims of real-estate development (MacLeod, 2002).

Gentrification in New Orleans increased drastically post-Katrina. During redevelopment, tourist zones spread beyond well-established tourist zones such as the French Quarter; in some cases, turning disaster into spectacle through tours of areas hardest hit such as the ninth ward (Robbie, 2008). As residents are being displaced to further regions of the city such as New Orleans East, the line deepens as to who is accepted in what spaces. Like the opportunity created by the disaster following Hurricane Katrina, the shooting on Bourbon Street provided opportunity to reimplement the discourse of urgency and safety to justify swift implementation of increased police discipline.

**Identity discourse**

“They made us look like criminals, like we were doing something wrong. It’s just what we had to do” [referring to media images of looting during the flooding after Hurricane Katrina] (personal communication, December 13, 2018).

Though it was not a disaster that affected only Black residents, the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina galvanized racial disparities in the retelling of horror stories from within the Superdome with media surveillance serving to affirm a neoliberal, bootstrapping ideology proclaiming that New Orleans’ largely Black population brought on their own suffering (Greening, 2011). Journalists disproportionately reported stories of rampant looting in New Orleans which, according to Dyson (2006), were often narrowly framed as “the rioting of thugs and not largely the survival activity of folk abandoned by
their government, [raising] once again the specter, splashed across national television, of Blacks out of control” (p. 114). By the time factual accounts began to appear, the narrative of stranded New Orleans residents had been set. News stories had vilified Blackness rather than attribute the crimes that did occur to a few individuals, equating darkness to criminality, terming hurricane victims as refugees (rather than U.S. citizens). Analysis of such discourse as well as acknowledgement of missing discourses (i.e. counternarratives of media representations), help to refute the tendency to construct conditions that support overgeneralizations and directly challenge notions of normality (Clarke, 2005; Foucault, 1965, 1975/1995; Perez & Cannella, 2013).

New Orleans has a history of perpetuating the paradox of rendering marginalized residents—primarily Black residents—invisible, yet monitored (Long, 2007; Perez & Cannella, 2013; Thomas, 2014). The invisibility of New Orleans’ Black population has partly been facilitated through the city’s promotion of and dependence on its tourism industry (Gotham, 2005, 2007a; Greening, 2011; Thomas, 2014). Narratives invite tourists to consume or gaze on Black culture without the acknowledgement of an historical, exploitative slave system or persistent legacy of racial and class inequality. This allows tourists and the rest of the world to become acquainted with the representation of Blackness that leaves the actual Black New Orleans invisible (Thomas, 2014). When the levees failed after Hurricane Katrina, this paradox was exposed to the world. Media outlets reported stories of human suffering images of people stranded on rooftops or wading through chest-deep floodwaters (Greening, 2011). These images sparked national discussions about race, class, gender, age disparities; the role of
government, and the viability of local culture (Greening, 2011). The New Orleans tourism industry was forced to contend with the city’s Black past and future, and past and potential tourists were introduced to the Black New Orleans that existed outside tourist zones (Thomas, 2014).

While such images and stories were beamed into homes across the globe showcasing the result of decades of systematic neglect of non-tourist sections of the city, the media also served as a Foucauldian “power-sustaining machine…by means of an omnipresent and omniscient power…that played a primary role in determining what characterized, what belonged to, and what happened to individuals” (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 197, as cited in Greening, 2011). Race’s regulatory and normalizing functions within the New Orleans tourism complex take it from mere story to powerful, encompassing social formation (Price, 2010).

Opportunity discourse

“They take things like a Second Line and package it as a tourism product. The tourists and the CVB don’t acknowledge that it is a cultural tradition, and that it is slowly chipping away at the community, spiritual and cultural identity of the city” (E. Ellestad, personal communication, August 3, 2018).

In a variety of economic sectors, post-Katrina New Orleans became a litmus test for urban revitalization (Gotham, 2009; Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Peck, 2006; Thomas, 2014), and a laboratory for a variety of hypercapitalist, neoliberal conditions in areas such as education and housing (Klein, 2007; Long, 2007; Perez & Cannella, 2013). Using disaster relief and recovery as the legitimating discourse, city, state, and national
officials rapidly modified public policy rules, regulations and procedures, and new entities were reestablished in an increasingly privatized system (Perez & Cannella, 2013).

Research has shown these market-driven socio-spatial transformations aggravated inequalities and impeded community recovery efforts (Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Zadrozny, Ramgopal, & Amiri, 2018). Yet, these findings have been largely overshadowed by narratives of American resilience and rebirth and a “richer, whiter, emptier” New Orleans spearheaded by the city’s tourism promoters (Thomas, 2014, p. 162). The emphasis on tourism to rebuild the city as promised by Landrieu, combined with disaster capitalist strategies has led to a redistribution of resources to tourist zones and initiatives, designating certain segments of society and communities as dangerous or disaster zones (Gotham, 2007a; Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Plyer, 2015; Thomas, 2014). Although it has been 14 years since the storm and flooding, and the city has since been through a global economic crisis in 2008 and the BP oil spill in 2010, manifestations of the initial reconstruction of tourism through the language of “open for business” and “tourist safety” remain present in development initiatives such as the surveillance plan and police command center. Much of the impetus for the development of tourism in post-Katrina New Orleans involved planning for branded and standardized entertainment experiences, such as the hiring of a marketing firm to seek corporate sponsors for future Mardi Gras celebrations, commodified and privatized spaces to maximize consumption such as a proposed twenty-acre performance arts park to be anchored by a new National Jazz Center in downtown New Orleans (Mowbray, Krupa, & Thomas, 2006), and a strong desire to increase the value of corporate brands such as Harrah’s Casino plan to
launch a major expansion of its 450-room hotel (Gotham, 2007a; Gotham & Greenberg, 2008; Thomas, 2014). Tourism professionals began implementing new urban rebranding campaigns to present an image of “authentic” New Orleans as clearly demarcated, disconnected, and segregated from flooded neighborhoods. Promotional efforts depicted the French Quarter and other tourist spaces as sealed enclaves that are safe and crime free (Gotham, 2007a; Judd, 2004; Thomas, 2014), which have had continued effects on those who live and work in tourist areas.

Analysis of such practices offer the opportunity to for interpretation of wider socioeconomic processes (Jones & Murphy, 2010) and the materiality of the world through the creation, reproduction and unfolding of material social relations (Smith & Stenning, 2006). This can provide a multi-scale outlook (Bianchi, 2017; Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Mosedale, 2014) allowing exploration into the outcomes of tourism development on populations rendered invisible, either literally through revanchist forces or a figurative lack of input in the process. The SA used in this research serves as an example of a way in which to analyze the complex relationships within a localized neoliberal tourism complex.

Conclusion

The objective of this research was to explore the relationship between tourism promotion and the discourse used in the days following Hurricane Katrina, how it continues to shape the current tourism complex in New Orleans, and the representation of marginalized communities in New Orleans within the discourse. Through situational mapping used in SA, this research was able to portray the ways in which discourses
become stable, creating patterns and positions in a complex phenomenon such as tourism. Instead of addressing inequalities exposed by the storm and subsequent flooding, tourism leaders and promoters invoked disaster capitalism strategies utilizing discourses of urgency and safety, and discursively constructing racial identities to introduce new development opportunities—opportunities that continue to marginalize those most affected by the disaster, favoring instead tourism development and growth.

This research serves as an example of how SA can be used for critical purposes to examine complex situations such as that of the tourism complex in New Orleans, and circumstances which are constantly changing, messy, and political (Perez & Cannella, 2013). The maps developed through SA serve as critical methodological tools to uncover a range of positions, allowing us to decide which “stories to tell” (Clarke, 2005, p. 111) to dismantle and unveil possibilities for resistance to oppressive social circumstances.

This study, though it is novel in its approach, is not without limitations. SA is an analytic approach rather than representational. While both are qualitative research approaches, they are deeply different. Representation primarily centers on the lived experiences of individuals while analysis centers on “pulling apart” processes of social phenomena—action (Clarke, Friese, & Washburn 2017, p. 140). Through the analysis of social spheres, SA helps theorize social action at the collective level, however it does not center on generating rich ethnography, institutional or other data. Also, it does not explicitly target understanding long-term politico-economic and related change (Clarke et al., 2017). Furthermore, this article is U.S.-centric, in that the analysis is framed within CRT and U.S. economic policy and ideology. The map-making methods used in SA are
not meant to be replicated verbatim, but rather adapt to the situation presented in each study. Therefore, caution must be taken when attempting to transfer concepts such as neoliberal technologies across situations.

Future studies stemming from this research include comparisons between the results from this study and another tourism destination. Findings of which can inform social sustainability studies in locating areas for improvement, in turn contributing to the viability of the destination beyond economic or environmental perspectives. Additionally, as stated above, SA helps us determine which stories to tell. The results of this research reveal an opportunity to tell the unheard stories, or in alignment with CRT, counternarratives to the dominant tourism narrative, including the experiences of marginalized communities in New Orleans.
CHAPTER SIX

“THEY WANT TO DRESS UP EVERYTHING TO THE TOURISTS, BUT THIS IS REAL. THIS IS RAW”: COUNTER-STORYTELLING IN TOURISM

Abstract

This article explores the experiences of tourism workers in New Orleans, Louisiana using critical race theory. Critical race theory is concerned with disrupting, exposing, challenging and changing racist ideologies and policies that work to subordinate and disenfranchise certain groups of people. It utilizes counter-storytelling to legitimize the voices and experiences of people of color and draws on these knowledges in efforts to eradicate forms of social oppression. Drawing on the work of Solórzano and Yosso (2002), I use narratives and stories told by those who have been “othered” through New Orleans’ tourism development to create three counter-narrative vignettes to prominent tourism narratives. The resulting counter-narratives unveiled structures and practices which prevent certain groups from participating as legitimate, equal, contributors to tourism development. The findings suggest additional ways in which counter-stories can be transformative in unmasking inequities within tourism destinations.

Keywords: counter-storytelling; critical race theory; tourism; New Orleans
“I’m Mervin Lewis. I’m a cancer survivor.”

Through the screen on my laptop, I watched Mr. Mervin Lewis make his way toward the podium moving at more than a shuffle yet not full steps, in the New Orleans City Council chambers. It had been four years since he stood there making his case to council members to enforce a smoking ban in New Orleans. I was pointed to the recording of the City Council meeting by someone I’d spoken with about the tourism workforce in New Orleans.

Mr. Lewis was the last to speak that day, after a list of representatives both supporting and opposing a proposed smoking ban had a chance to make their case. The likes of which included tourism and service industry promoters, business owners, doctors, representatives from the Center for Disease Control, and residents.

The seven-person council had heard scientific evidence supporting the ban from several perspectives, but also argument outlining the potential economic impact.

The votes remained divided.

If action were to be taken, those in favor of the ban needed to make apparent the necessity over the potential threat to tourism; the economic driver of the city.

“Born and raised 3 blocks from the Mississippi River,” musician Paul Sanchez introduced himself confidently, standing at the podium facing the members of city council. His black, button up shirt fit snug against his body, unbuttoned to the middle of his chest revealing weathered skin, patches of slightly curled, light colored chest hair and not one, but two necklaces. One hugged his neck tightly, the emerald-looking gem that hung from the thick rope moving up and down as he talked. The other followed the opening of his shirt. It had thick beads of multiple shapes traversing a brown and white color scheme. From it an oversized key dangled, resting on the black button-up. The kind of key to unlock a nineteenth century jail cell, or a young girl’s jewelry box. The key we imagine when someone tells us to picture a key yet hasn’t been functional in our lifetime. Over the black, button-up shirt, he wore a black suit jacket. The clothes paired nicely against his tan skin and salt and pepper receding hair. He stood in front of the podium, his hands clasped behind his back, sometimes in his pockets, sometimes punctuating his sentences. He did not need the support of the podium.

He told the council of his stories traveling the world as a musician. He’d watched cities such as Paris and New York, once just as smoky as New Orleans, transform to non-smoking cities.
“We are a decade late to a conversation that’s already been had,” he said. He asked the council to think about the future of the children in the choir who sang at the beginning of the meeting. “The next John Boutte is in that choir” he said. “He or she shouldn’t have to have their voices choked by singing in smoky venues.”

He finished by reminding the council of the luxury of clean air they were currently enjoying due to rules against smoking in council chambers.

Sitting in the audience, watching this man make a case for them, were service industry employees. They held blue signs with white lettering that read #SmokefreeNola.

Even more though, were outside.

Outside, the workers held signs asking to stop the ban. They had been bussed in by their companies in the French Quarter and were told that if you don’t come with us and fight against this, you’ll be fired.

Bethany Bultman, President and Director of the New Orleans Musicians Clinic & Assistance Foundation (NOMAF), which provides access to comprehensive wellness education and preventive healthcare, mental health and social services to more than 2,500 local musicians and culture bearers (New Orleans Musicians Clinic); and also, a major supporter of the ban told me of her experience while sitting inside the chamber.

“While we were sitting in the city council meeting, we were getting texts from people standing outside holding signs that were against us saying “we have to do this, or those assholes will fire us. Please keep fighting for us. They’re killing us.”

Harrah’s Casino, which opened in New Orleans in 1999, far from a cultural icon in the city’s 300-year history, was a primary opponent of the ban. They were unique however, in that they were also one of the few companies in the service industry to offer their employees healthcare.

Bultman couldn’t understand these seemingly conflicting positions until she started hearing patients’ experiences. Employees’ access to healthcare also allowed for Harrah’s to have access to see the amount of claims being charged against its health insurance plan8, allowing them to monitor and take preventative action before being held accountable for consequences of the working conditions found within the casino.

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8 Employers are allowed to monitor health insurance utilization. That means an employer can see the amount of claims being charged against its health insurance plan. Insurance companies can share both aggregate charges for the entire workforce as well as claims per employee. In this way, an employer can know that an employee has been receiving a larger than normal amount of health care -- but not the details involved, including the names of providers and facilities (Feigenbaum, 2017, para 3; see also U.S. Department of Labor Employee Benefits Security Administration, 2017).
Mr. Mervin Lewis was one of those people.

His slowed steps toward the podium defied the confidence he attempted to convey as he allowed someone to assist him with walking yet refused to hold onto them.

According to Bultman, Mr. Lewis had wanted to tell his story at each of the prior city council meetings on the topic but was always too sick to attend. This however, was the final hearing.

Mr. Lewis wore an oversized grey suit that shimmered with the light from the television cameras positioned between he and the council members.

Under his suit jacket, he wore a white cotton polo shirt. Two of the three buttons were buttoned, the open top button allowing for the collar to spread across the lapels of his jacket. The left side of the collar lay flat with only a slight curve at the tip, as collars of polo shirts tend to do over time. The right side was more disheveled. Almost the entire thing was flipped up as though having been given a final tug before he stepped forward. His short black hair was frosted with flecks of grey, his broad, dark forehead showing lines of age. His black goatee was trimmed and featured one spot of grey in the bottom right corner.

When he reached the podium, he squared up to the council and rested his white sheet of paper on the small wooden square in front him.

“I’m Mervin Lewis, I’m a cancer survivor” [someone stepped in to adjust the microphone up to his mouth] he says again, “I’m a cancer survivor. I am an employee. I was an employee of Harrah’s Casino. Worked there for 15 years. Come February 14 of this year, [this meeting was actually January 22 of 2015 so it would have been the prior year] they diagnosed me with cancer of the lungs. They found out that 1/3 of my lungs, the cancer had to come out.”

Mr. Lewis’s accent did not drip with the New Orleans drawl as did that of the prior man. Instead, the tempo varied haphazardly from fast to slow, sometimes running together, sometimes taking more effort, sometimes words were missed completely.

The first words of his declaration thundered out of his mouth. I’m Mervin Lewis, I’m a cancer survivor. As he continued, the words slowly lost power.

“Get closer to the mic please” one of the council members said.

Someone again adjusted his microphone.

He began again.
“On the 14th of February of this year, they discovered I had cancer. They removed the cancer. One-third of my lungs were taken out. While I was in the hospital. My employer. Told me. I was abandoned my job.”

With each punctuation he took a brief moment for a breath.

Before continuing, he tilted his head. A brief, faint smile pulled the corners of his mouth as he audibly breathed through the second part, “while laying in the bed.”

Council woman Cantrell took an opportunity to clarify. “You were working for Harrah’s you said?”

“For 15 years. They won.”

He paused again, grabbing the top edges of the podium in front of him.

“They tell me…I was trying to get workman comp. They tell me that’s not a workman injury. So they call some other people in, a third party, and they side with them and tell me it’s my own personal injury.”

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While never fully defined, discourse about New Orleans’ “soul” is regularly evoked. Shaped primarily through tourism narratives, it is often used to influence policy and development to maintain a New Orleans steeped in a continuing legacy of systemic racism, cultural, gender, and economic conflict; and divisions and contests over power that have characterized New Orleans from its inception (Thomas, 2014).

It was again evoked in the discussions surrounding the smoking ban.

In his closing remarks, a councilman addressed this familiar trope.

*What I want to say about the smoking ban, is I don’t think that smoking inside of bars is at the heart of the culture of New Orleans. I don’t think exposing our friends and relatives to second hand smoke is a part of New Orleans culture. I don’t think that musicians being forced to play in smoky bars and getting cancer is a part of our culture. That being said, in the months and years ahead I will be keenly aware of how our actions and votes up here affect the true elements of our culture. Whether we’re talking about music, sometimes loud music, crawfish boils, Mardi Gras, to-go cups, drinking outdoors, Second Line Parades, Mardi Gras Indians, street performers, artists, we will be very sensitive to what is the heart of New Orleans.*

*Today we are taking a step in the right direction, but I will always fight for what I believe is the soul of New Orleans, and as we progress we must also preserve*
that. But what’s more important than soul or culture, is life. And Mr. Mervin Lewis struggling to get to that microphone and leaving out the fact that he was not a smoker in his entire life and those 15 years of working in a smoky place caused him to lose part of his lung, that is what we must preserve, that is a life we must preserve.

Mr. Lewis in fact never mentioned that day that he was not, and had never been, a smoker. He simply followed up his statement about being told it was his own personal injury with, “So I wish you could all stop the smoking for some other people, the dealers, so that they won’t have the same thing that I have.”

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One time, in New Orleans, the New Orleans City Council voted unanimously in favor of banning smoking in bars, restaurants and casinos throughout the city.

**Introduction**

On September 5, 2017, the New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation unveiled the campaign to be used to lead up to the city’s 2018 Tricentennial: *One time, in New Orleans…* (LaRose, 2017). With a focus on collecting stories rather than things, the president of the corporation explained the campaign was an attempt to attract “experiential visitors”; those not looking to sit by the pool with a book (Brasted, 2017; LaRose, 2017). The kickoff video featured a man outside the World War II Museum in New Orleans telling stories to an audience in the street as jazz music played and images were projected on the building behind him. It begins with stories such as the “military coming to town to build ships to win the war.” The music then picks up tempo moving to images of Louis Armstrong and Mardi Gras, to the first Saints football game back in the Superdome after Hurricane Katrina and ending with saying the city’s story is a mix of stories, strung together like Mardi Gras beads or a rosary (GoNola, 2017). While the city’s 300-year history is indeed ripe with stories, the hashtag #OneTimeinNewOrleans
was taken over on social media within the first 24 hours of the introduction of the campaign with posts and tweets from residents that centered around ‘authentic’ New Orleans, although presumably not in the same sense tourism officials had in mind:

"One time in New Orleans, my bed fell through the floor of my rotting FQ apt. And as the maintenance guy fixed it, he fell through the wall."

"#OneTimeInNewOrleans I got a parking ticket on which the meter maid wrote 'no parking except Sunday,' And it was on Sunday."

"#OneTimeInNewOrleans, the pumps actually worked."

What Mr. Lewis’s story, the One time, in New Orleans ... tourism marketing campaign, and the cooptation of it by residents have in common is the recognition of the importance of storytelling. Humans are naturally oriented to storytelling (McAdams, 1993), and we establish both order and social connections through the sharing of stories. According to Connelly and Clandinin, (2006):

People shape their daily lives by stories of who they, and others are, as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story...is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful (p. 479).

Storytelling is a social act in which identities are established and maintained, our lives and perceptions of reality are structured, and as we see in the case of Mr. Lewis, stories have the ability to change perceptions and influence policy. In tourism research, we are rarely introduced to the perspective of those who work in the industry. Rather the dominant narrative is situated from a promotional or managerial point of view. As such, Mr. Lewis’s story is what is termed a counter-story, or one that goes against the dominant narrative. Counter-stories can serve an equally important
destructive function (Delgado, 1989; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). They can show that what we believe may be self-serving, or negatively impact someone else (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). They can show us the way out of the trap of unjustified exclusion. They can help us understand when it is time to reallocate power. They can be the other half—the destructive half—of the creative interaction (Delgado, 1989).

The interaction between narratives, tourists and place is well documented (see Chronis, 2005, 2008; Knudsen & Greer, 2008; Rickly, 2008; Rickly-Boyd, 2010; McCabe & Stokoe, 2004) however, the counter-narratives or counter-stories of those who work in the tourism industry (and subsequently live in the destination) have not received the same level of attention (see Veijola, 2010; Minca, 2010). Thus, this research explores the following questions: (a) How does the tourism workforce engage with and experience the storied landscape of tourism?; (b) How are lived experiences vocalized in their own storytelling?; and (c) How do tourism workers’ stories counter dominant stories? The tourism destination chosen for this research is New Orleans, Louisiana, USA. New Orleans has a long history of tourism as a major economic driver, and through travel writings, postcards, photographs, storytelling, and so on, the destination is clearly (re)presented, (re)produced, and (re)created through narrative (Cary, 2004).

**Storytelling in tourism**

Tourism destinations are brimming with stories. As Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen, and Urry (2004) suggest, destinations “are not only, or even primarily, visited for their immanent attributes, but also and more centrally, to be woven into the web of stories and narratives people produce when they sustain and construct their social
identities” (p. 10). Instead of belonging to the experience, tourists belong to the narrative (Cary, 2004); and so too does the tourist narrative belong to the larger, autobiographical narrative as a convergence of connected, yet distinct episodes of life experience (McAdams, 1993; Rickly-Boyd, 2010). The (re)telling and therefore (re)interpretation of these narratives over time (re)inforces a sense of place attachment to the city (Cary, 2004). Regardless of how ‘true’ or ‘false’ these narratives might be, it is these narratives with which tourists engage (Crang, 1994; DeLyser, 1999; Chronis, 2005). Bruner (1994) argues, as opposed to absolute authenticity, it is an attachment to place that tourists seek.

**Race and storytelling**

Counter-stories are a tent of critical race theory (CRT) and allow researchers and participants to study and name a reality inconsistent with what might be considered the norm or pervasive otherwise (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Critical race theorists are concerned with disrupting, exposing, challenging and changing racist ideologies and policies that work to subordinate and disenfranchise certain groups of people while maintaining the status quo (Milner & Howard, 2013). This work shares three aims of CRT: (a) presenting storytelling and narratives as valid approaches through which to examine race and racism in society; (b) recognizing that race is a political, social, and cultural construct; and (c) drawing important relationships between race and other axes of domination (Parker & Lynn, 2002).

Tate (1994) referenced CRT as a framework associated with critiquing stock racial narratives while interjecting voice scholarship and analytic narratives as a means to
build theory and inform practice. Drawing mostly from legal scholarship, Tate (1994) maintained that voice scholarship allows “people of color in our society [to] speak with experiential knowledge that is framed by racism…scholars use parables, chronicles, stories, counter-stories, poetry, fiction, and revisionist histories to illustrate the irony and contradictions of certain policies” (p. 248). It challenges the accepted practices of conventional scholarship by representing the views of “outsiders” (e.g. women, people of color, people living in poverty, LGBTQ, indigenous people) who have suffered historical under-representation and silencing in conventional scholarship (Austin, 1993). In building on this, this research argues that tourism narratives often help to mask racial inequities rooted within policies or ideological racial hierarchies, creating patterns of power and privilege within the destination (see Bell, 1987; Delgado, 2003; Solorazano, 1997).

**Storytelling as research**

Prior studies have examined the way in which tourism workers use storytelling to manage the emotional labor inherent in many positions such as adventure guides (see Dudenhoffer & Dormann, 2015; Hochschild, 1979; Mathisen, 2019, Wang & Groth, 2014). In these instances, storytelling by the workers helps to process their emotions by making connections with the emotions they express outwardly to guests and the emotions they’re feeling inside, which can enhance their well-being (McLean & Pasupathi, 2011). The telling of a story can provide a shared understanding between the teller and the listener, opening up the storyteller’s world of interpreted experiences and what is valued and important in life (Bruner, 1991; Frijda, 1999; Lazarus, 2006).
CRT names and identifies the origins of racial inequities (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). In examining the origins, critical race methodology suggests that racist action or discourse is often well disguised in the rhetoric of shared ‘normative’ values and ‘neutral’ principles and practices (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993). Solórzano and Yosso (2002) argue that “methodologies that dismiss or decenter racism and its intersections with other forms of subordination omit and distort the experiences of those whose lives are daily affected by racism—those at the bottom of society’s well” (p.31-32). In other words, discursively downplaying the permeability of racial ideology and racism in U.S. tourism destinations helps to perpetuate dominant stories about the insignificance of race and the notion that racism is something in the past (Delgado, 1989; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Through the use of counter-storytelling, those living the consequential subjugation from such dominant stories and ‘neutral’ principles and practices provide insight into alternative ways of experiencing the world.

**Counter-storytelling.** Solórzano and Yosso (2002) define counter-storytelling as “a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e. those on the margins of society)” (p. 32). They can open new windows into reality, inviting the reader to suspend judgment, listen for the point or message, and then decide what measure of truth they contain (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Counter-stories can shatter complacency, challenge the dominant discourse on race, and further the struggle for racial reform. Through challenging the dominant ideology, centralizing experiential knowledge and naming one’s own reality, communities of color are empowered to tell a story often much different than perpetuated through dominant tourism narratives.
narratives need to be told to understand racial hierarchy and inequities within tourism destinations, yet are often dismissed, trivialized, or misrepresented (Milner & Howard, 2013). This is apparent in the swiftness with which Louisiana and New Orleans tourism promoters worked to mask the counter-images revealing years of systemic racial and class inequities after Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees in August 2005 (Thomas, 2014).

Stories told from marginalized perspectives are more critical than traditional narratives allowing a complex picture of the oppressed storyteller to emerge while challenging and exposing the hierarchical and patriarchal order that exist within tourism institutions and pervade the larger society (Milner & Howard, 2013; Montoya, 1995). Within all the stories that make up New Orleans’ 300-year history, there are numerous unheard counter-stories among the histories and lives of people of color. The use of storytelling and counter-storytelling these experiences can help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance.

**Types of storytelling and counter-storytelling.** Storytelling has a rich and continuing tradition. As Delgado (1989) argues, “oppressed groups have known instinctively that stories are an essential tool to their own survival and liberation” (p. 2436). Critical race scholars continue in this tradition and have practiced counter-storytelling in at least three general forms (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

- **Personal stories or narratives.** Personal stories or narratives recount an individual’s experiences with various forms of racism and sexism. Often, these
personal counter-stories are autobiographical reflections of the author within the context of a larger sociopolitical critique (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

- **Other people’s stories or narratives.** A narrative that tells another person’s story can reveal experiences with and responses to racism and sexism as told in a third person voice. This type of counter-narrative usually offers biographical analysis of the experiences of a person of color, again in relation to U.S. institutions and in a sociohistorical context (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

- **Composite stories or narratives.** Composite stories and narratives draw on various forms of data to recount the racialized, sexualized, and classed experiences of people of color. Such counter-stories may offer both biographical and autobiographical analyses because the authors create composite characters and place them in social, historical, and political situations to discuss racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of subordination (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

This research utilizes composite stories or narratives, as they incorporate the data described below as well as analyses of my own experiences, as a white researcher, in juxtaposition with the stories told to me, and my observations. In addition, the stories are situated within historical, social and political situations. For instance, the story told at the beginning of this work, of Mr. Mervin Lewis’s experience working in a smoke-filled casino, was not Mr. Lewis’s individual story, but rather my story of Mr. Lewis’s situatedness within the social context of the proposed smoking ban for the city. In his personal telling of his story, he showed, as Derrick Bell, Bruno Bettelheim, and others show, stories can shatter complacency and challenge the status quo. My retelling of his
story situates it in the broader issue of the imbalance of the value placed on the tourism workforce versus the wants of tourists and provides a tangible example of how one story can create change. Thus, while some forms of counter-storytelling recognize that people by nature lead storied lives and tell stories of those lives, there is also room for researchers to describe such lives, collect and tell stories of them (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Milner & Howard, 2013).

Methods

Using counter-storytelling, this research presents three vignettes. The vignettes are developed as counter-narratives to three examples of ‘One time, in New Orleans’ stories featured on GoNola.com, which is the New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation website. The stories are provided by tourists and tourism promoters alike. The stories used to develop themes representative of dominant narratives were collected from September 1, 2018 to October 1, 2018, resulting in 44 ‘One time, in New Orleans’ stories. Themes emerged through the use of open coding, which consisted of writing words or short phrases in the margins, regardless of whether I thought the code might be later useful. Several rounds of open coding allowed me to create and apply abstract categories to the data and use those categories to compare, contrast, complexify, sort, reduce, and refine emergent patterns, key events, and cultural signifiers until deciding on the three themes most pertinent to this research. Although open coding and analytical memoing generated an overwhelming number of interesting avenues for exploration of the ‘One time in New Orleans’ stories, I used my research questions to direct my focus
toward those avenues that were most salient to the purposes of this research: authenticity, cultural invisibility and historical invisibility.

**Authenticity**

The concept of authenticity has undergone several definitional revisions in tourism literature since MacCannell (1973, 1976) first introduced it to sociological studies of tourist motivations and experiences. The way in which the term is used as a theme in this research is that of the constructivist definition whereas the construction of traditions or origins involves power and hence, a social process (Wang, 1999). In Bruner’s (1994) words, “no longer is authenticity a property inherent in an object, forever fixed in time; it is seen as a struggle, a social process, in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation” (p. 408). Authenticity in this research is recognized as a label attached to various parts of a destination in terms of stereotyped images and expectations, primarily shaped by tourism promoters (Wang, 1999).

**Cultural invisibility**

Cultural invisibility refers to the failure of cultural representations to capture the distinctive experiences of marginalized populations (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). When making sense of other people and ourselves, including human behavior and experiences, we rely on cultural representations and narratives as interpretive tools. In tourism destinations, the tourism narrative often creates a ‘culture’ that is not reflective of what it is like to live and work in the destination.

**Historic invisibility**
Historic invisibility concerns the marginalization of certain experiences in historical narratives (Crenshaw 1991). In this research, it represents the choices made as to which historical narratives are told within the overarching tourism narratives. Quite often, it is the historical narratives of persons of color or those with intersecting subordinations (e.g. LGBTQ women) whose experiences tend to be deemphasized or misrepresented in the mainstream narrative (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Such historical invisibility occurs for both representations of groups and individual historic figures.

**Data Collection**

The data used to inform the counter-narrative vignettes included 128 hours of participant observation that took place beginning in May 2018, continuing through December 2018 primarily in New Orleans’ French Quarter (Figure 6.1), but also in additional neighborhoods such as the Treme (Figure 6.2) and Bywater/Marigny (Figure 6.3) neighborhoods. Unstructured or informal conversational interviews were utilized as a natural extension of participant observation, relying on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of interaction (Patton, 2002). In addition, semi-structured interviews help to inform the development of the vignettes as well as a variety of archival/artifact sources such as city tourism and local business brochures, City Council meeting minutes and recordings, and museum exhibits such as the Hurricane Katrina exhibit and the ‘Undesign the Redline’ local exhibit. In each of the vignettes, the names of the persons spoken to have been changed or withheld to protect the privacy of the
individuals. Finally, I added my own academic and personal experiences related to the concepts and ideas.


Findings

As this research explores specifically tourism narratives, the emergent themes are represented and encapsulated by New Orleans slogans; not all of which were developed by tourism promoters but used in tourism promotion nonetheless: *Follow Your Nola* (Authenticity), *The City that Care Forgot* (Cultural Invisibility), *The Birthplace of Jazz* (Historical Invisibility). The next section includes a brief description of the way in which each slogan is described within the tourism narrative, the ‘One time in New Orleans’ dominant story representative of each theme found on GoNola.com, and a counter-narrative developed through the data. The three pairs are then followed by a discussion of
the ways in which counter-stories offer new insight into tourism destinations. The juxtaposed stories invite readers to suspend judgement while remaining open to having their assumptions challenged, their complacency jarred, and test each story against his or her own version of reality (Delgado, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

**Follow Your NOLA**

The experiential discoverer is the kind of person who wants suggestions as far as where to go, landmarks, can’t-miss-attractions, parks, areas. They’re interested in seeing all that, but then going beyond. They’ll go to a place like Carmo, because they heard there’s this amazing sandwich called the Rico, and then they’ll talk to people there and say, “I was thinking of seeing some live music tonight, where should I go?” They want an anchor point that lets them follow a trail of breadcrumbs in whichever direction interests them most…the idea is that it’s this insider voice – a cool friend who knows the city you’re about to visit, who you’re going to e-mail and say, “Alright, where do I need to go? What do I need to see? Point me in the right direction.” It doesn’t feel like a tourism department is talking to you (NewsCred, 2015, para 9).

**Narrative**

**One time in New Orleans, the DDD saved downtown New Orleans.** When you think of downtown New Orleans, you likely think of the bright lights of Canal Street or the many-windowed business-y buildings towering over the sidewalks. It’s that, yes, and it’s also an oh-so-walkable 1.2 square miles of 11 neighborhoods whose names you’ll hear dropped—the CBD, the Warehouse District, the Arts District, to name a few—in reference to any number of hip restaurants, bars, retail, or music venues.

The Downtown Development District (DDD) went about their work very intentionally, shyng away from anything considered to be a silver bullet or a quick fix. For 44 years now, the team has taken the long view, working to develop partnerships and relationships with business and building owners. They move building by building to make sure the look, feel, and vibe stay consistent to the overall mission of cultivating economic development, advocating for the future, and promoting a lively downtown. They’ve also developed public safety programs like enhanced policing, private security details, and the Public Safety Rangers. Free SafeWalks are offered to and from downtown office buildings, hotels, restaurants, and bars. The Clean Team keeps the downtown spaces among the cleanest in the city—from paint jobs to pressure washing to litter removal. It’s a lot of little things that add up to one very big thing: how downtown feels. Something as simple as the number of sidewalk cafés, for example, can tell an important story. People don’t sit outside when it’s dirty or they feel unsafe or are uncomfortable. In the last few
decades, downtown New Orleans has gone from 3 to 60 sidewalk cafés. For those involved in urban development, this kind of information is like a canary in a coal mine. And in this case, it’s a very good sign for downtown—it’s one of the places we all really like to be.

Come September, the DDD will honor six downtown organizations with their annual Downtown NOLA Awards. From turning a historic building into a multivendor food hall (Auction House Market) to maintaining a successful high-tech life science business (InnoGenomics) to reinvigorating a historic jazz club (Little Gem Saloon) to making information accessible (New Orleans Public Library) to showcasing the work of black artists (Stella Jones Gallery) to instituting a bike share program (Blue Bikes NOLA), these groups have unique focuses, but their sense of history, innovation, culture, and community embody the present and future of downtown New Orleans (Mills, 2018).

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Counter-narrative

One time in New Orleans, Blue Bikes showed up in the hood. Bre and I met H.K. outside the Nora Navra Library on St. Bernard Ave. in the Seventh Ward slightly before 11:00pm. The building was dark, and all was quiet around us as we waited; a distinct contrast to the days and nights we’d spent in the French Quarter. I leaned against a white guardrail looking around and across to the fenced in greenspace in front of us on the right and shadowed building to the left. Bre and discussed what we thought the building we were standing in front of was. It appeared recently built, the architecture more modern than most buildings in New Orleans, and it was missing the layers of dirt and grime that blanket most structures throughout the city. In addition, the entire side of the building we were standing at was windows. Seeing the structure again later, and in the light of day, I learned had I simply turned around I would have seen the sign for Nora Navra Library. It turns out Bre and I were right in our assumption that the building was new. As we stood waiting for H.K. on that December evening, the building had opened only four months prior in August. Previously, the library had served the people of the Seventh Ward continuously for 69 years until it was destroyed by the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees, which subsequently caused the London Avenue Canal to breach catastrophically on both sides, flooding the majority of the Ward.

H.K. walked up a few minutes after 11:00pm. All we knew about him prior to meeting was he was a former Second Line Kings of TREME, which had somehow formed a vision in my head of who I expected to show up; apparently in Bre’s as well. I can’t pinpoint what that vision was, but it was not the young man who walked up to us with grey sweatpants and a maroon dry-wick, long sleeved athletic shirt that lay tight to his thin, long torso. When he first got there, he sat on the concrete slab next to the guardrail with us, his legs kicking at the bricks going over the pleasantries of asking where we were from and what we were doing in New Orleans.
Once the pleasantries were out of the way, H.K. began telling us about the neighborhood we were in, his long arms stretched pointing up and down the streets as he talked. Four blocks from where we were sitting, was the now closed Circle Food Store on the corner of St. Bernard and Clairborne.

Incorporated in 1938, the store was the first Black owned and operated grocery store in New Orleans. It had remained a pillar of the community – both economically and socially—until Hurricane Katrina. Those, like myself, who did not grow up in New Orleans or frequent The Circle Food Store, are more likely familiar with it as one of the iconic images used by the media in the days following Katrina and the levee failures. The image of water in the streets, rising halfway to the top of the white arches that surround the store, and Black residents walking out of the store and into the flooded streets, water up to their chests, holding food and whatever other supplies could be salvaged from the one-stop shop.

H.K. brought up the image as he told us about the store, “They tried to make us look like criminals, like we were doing something wrong. It’s just what we had to do.”

We stepped down from the library onto the sidewalk and began walking down the unlit streets toward an empty plot of land. H.K. pointed out a building back over our left shoulder as we kept walking. There was a man sleeping on the concrete outside the front door of the building. “See that, there’s no reason that should be happening out here in this neighborhood. There should be a way to make sure that doesn’t happen. But there’s not, there’s nothing here.”

As we walked, I asked what H.K. thought of the monuments recently being taken down in the city.

“I don’t really care about the monuments and taking them down Do you know how long it took and the number of people to take down the Lee statue? Do you know how many people are talking about what it represented? Right. I could have suggested a thousand other things for them to do with the money it took to take it down.”

We turned the corner and walked past the Autocrat Social & Pleasure Club.

“The band we’re going to see right now, they used to play here. It had more space. But the city came in and took it over too. Shut it down. So now they play down here.”

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9 A statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee was the fourth and final statue taken down in New Orleans in reaction to the racially motivated shooting at a Charleston, SC church that resulted in nine deaths. In contrast to the prior three, which were removed in the middle of the night after contractors responsible for the removal received death threats, statue was removed in the daylight. The busy traffic circle—Lee Circle—that encompassed the statue was shut down at 5:00pm on May 19, 2017, and the removal attracted a crowd of approximately 100 people (Simon & Almasy, 2017).
The Autocrat Social & Pleasure Club was officially chartered in 1924, although its roots go as far back as 1909 as a way for Black men to avert harassment from the police while entertaining themselves outside. The club served as a community hub for civic and political issues, civil rights meetings in the 1960s, and as a site for social entertainment before being shut down (Autocrat Pleasure and Social Club, n.d.).

As we got closer to Celebration Hall, the at times eerily quiet night was replaced by the sounds of [musical] horns, talking and laughing. Cars were parked in the median as well as the grassy lot behind a building adorned halfway up with bricks before leading into white siding up to the peaked roof. A black truck was parked directly in front of the door and was blaring music as there were as many people outside talking, grilling, socializing as there were inside dancing to the music of the TBC Brass Band.

H.K. shook hands and greeted friends as we walked through the crowd before stopping to lean on a car so he could tell us more about where we were before going inside. While we stood there, a friend of H.K.’s walked up and asked Bre and I if we’d like any spinach dip. He and H.K. went on to tell us he made flavored spinach dip, his company, called Dip Wit It, featured 10 flavors of spinach dip. I chose the smoked brisket while Bre went with the hot and spicy.

Once we were finished, H.K. led us to the front door where he stopped and stood with his legs slightly apart, his arms out, raised to shoulder level. A man standing in front of him outlined his body with a black wand before they greeted each other with a hand shake, and H.K. kept walking. I started to follow suit, but the man just shook his head and signaled me inside.

Inside, for the first time, I felt the color of my skin. I physically felt it as we made our way across the wooden floor. H.K. quickly found a chair at a plastic table where two women he knew were sitting. Bre and I were left standing. The eight members of the band and their instruments crammed into a space meant for half the people a few feet from us. The tiny dancefloor packed. The entire place sweating and moving together. The only other white person in the bar was a saxophone player in the band. As I stood there, not dancing, I was an outsider. I thought about the Blue Bike docking station H.K. had pointed out in front of the closed down Circle Food Store, and what he thought of them being installed.

“What anybody in the hood going to do with some Blue Bikes? No, they aren’t here for us.”

I stood among the Seventh Ward community, a community who’d faced devastation together, systemic racism, poverty, and crime together; a community who’d rebuilt together, who celebrated their culture together, who came out every Wednesday night at
Celebration Hall to socialize together, and I couldn’t help but think as they watched me as I moved throughout the bar, was I a Blue Bike? Was I the first sign of more white tourists to come. Did I represent enhanced policing, private security details, and the Public Safety Rangers coming to ‘clean up’ the community to make way for sidewalk cafes?

Eventually H.K. walked us to the front of The Circle Food store to wait for an Uber. After eight years of raising funding for repairs after the storm, the store had opened again in January 2014. But as of November 2018, the store once again lay dormant. In front of the boarded windows, with the 2:00am moonlight casting a faint glow over the empty street, we stood next to the Blue Bike docking station.

With one leg on the ground and the other half-cocked onto the docking station, H.K. stared out into the street and said, “They say Whole Foods is looking to buy this building. It used to be owned by Black folks, but nobody in this neighborhood can afford to open it back up. Once Whole Foods comes in, you know this neighborhood is gone.”

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The City that Care Forgot

The City That Care Forgot is often credited to the 1938 *New Orleans City Guide* wherein it is connected with the city’s fame for pleasure seeking. Research proves, however, that the name was in wide circulation 25 years earlier, occurring most regularly in relation to Mardi Gras. In 1913, anticipating Mardi Gras, a journalist wrote, ‘the Louisiana metropolis has been called…‘The City That Care Forgot’…and today every aspect will justify that description’ (The Bridgeport Evening Farmer, 1913, as cited in Vargas, 2015).

Narrative

**One time in New Orleans, a host of characters showed me the way.** The people in this city make it different. And as I found during my recent trip to New Orleans, the faces of its inhabitants tell three hundred years of them [stories].

I suppose it’s what happens when you live in a place so soaked in spirit, enthusiasm, and adventure.

On one corner, a magician performs tricks under moonlight.

On another, Ms. Janice makes sure you don’t go to bed hungry (or wake up hungry the next day for that matter).
A few short miles away, alligators pose for pictures and chase marshmallows from the back of airboats.

Everything here is a beautiful contradiction.

I felt entranced by the colors of New Orleans. Simple things like doors and walls are made more interesting – even when none of them should work together. It’s vibrant and unique.

All providing an evocative backdrop for a portrait series (13th Witness, 2017).

**Counter-narrative**

**One time in New Orleans, tourism workers played a game of Russian Roulette.** I stood next to the corner of Decatur and St. Ann facing the famous Café Du Monde. Barb had one hand gripping her horse’s bridle while she talked to me about working as a carriage driver in New Orleans.

Barb looked to be in her 40s, her navy-blue sweater had flecks of hay in the sleeves, and the slight rasp to her voice matched her weathered skin and course, dirty blond hair that she kept loose, coming almost to her shoulders. According to Barb, you can make the most money in the quarter doing carriage rides making tips on top of commission. The catch, “You get paid for how hard you work.”

I can attest for that as Barb actively tried to get me to take a ride each time I’d passed her that morning.

“It’s like playing a game of Russian Roulette. There’s seasonality that comes with it. And they tell us where we can and can’t park and give us tickets if we stop in the wrong place.”

Barb stopped to point to a carriage pulling up at the back of the line, his back wheel still touching a piece of the crosswalk. “See that guy right there? He could get a ticket for that. It’s just up to how the police feel that day if they’re going to give you a ticket.”

Barb went on to tell me of a time when she received a ticket.

“I was driving my carriage in from where we keep them a few blocks away from here and got a ticket for unsafe driving. They couldn’t even say what it was, but I was probably making traffic go slower than he liked that day. So I had to lose a day’s work and go down and pay my ticket.” I asked how much the ticket was, “It’s supposed to be $50.00 for a first offense, and then go up from there. Mine was $100 though for the first one. It’s not like you can fight it. They’re going to win even if we could afford an attorney to help.”
Later that day, on the other side of Jackson Square, I sat talking with Lucy, a card reader. She looked to be in her early 30s, with blonde hair tied back by a black headband. Bright red lipstick accentuated her slightly stained teeth. When I asked her about her work, she responded, “It really is like gambling with your life. You don’t know how much money you’ll make from one month to the next, so you have to try to plan accordingly.”

At one point, Lucy lived in the French Quarter, but as prices rose, she, and many others in the industry, have moved across the river. She now takes an Uber to and from work every day, which costs $10-$16 one way.

Card readers fall under the same regulatory rules as other street performers. According to Lucy, this means they are not allowed to set prices. If you’re caught setting a price the fine is $1,000-$2,000, and you lose your right to work in the area, which is also first come, first serve.

“I haven’t seen it first hand, but I’ve heard stories about the police coming and tearing down tables.” When I told her the woman at the other end of the street told me an exact price, she said “She knows she’s not supposed to do that. We can say a range, but not a price. It’s not worth it to break the rules.”

As brass bands played on either side of us, tourists huddled in front of St. Louis Cathedral watching while older Black men and gutter punks sat on park benches watching the bands from behind. Lucy told me the French Quarter is where you want to be, as far as money, if you work in the industry. She’d worked in several establishments throughout the Quarter. But it comes at a cost.

“They treat you like you should be thankful you have a job in the French Quarter. I had a boss cuss me out over the phone once. They treat you bad and then fire you for the smallest mistakes because they know they can replace you. It really made me feel like leaving the city at one point.”

The same sentiment was repeated by several people I spoke with. A woman who worked 13 years at a popular bar in the French Quarter told me, “that’s definitely a mindset down there. They’ll fire you for the smallest things, and they know they don’t have to pay you well.”

On the way back to my hotel, we stopped in at a hotel bar. Two women in their 30s were working. Being the only ones there, they both stood and joked with us, telling stories and talking about working there. “I don’t like this new GM. He’s only been here for about three months, but you know he’s the type that sits in his office all day and doesn’t come out and talk to anyone. When he does, it’s like, when you going back to your office.”
Jessica was the operations manager. She had blonde hair that was styled into an updo, which she joked the whole time she was going to sneak out and get fixed. When the bartender, Shay, teased her that she was going to leave New Orleans to follow the last GM to Nashville, Jessica leaned over the same side of the bar as us, looked over and smiled before replying “Girl I wish…no, I wouldn’t leave New Orleans, well I don’t know, maybe,” then slapped the bar as she laughed at the thought.

She explained, “The last GM was great. He was young, probably my age, probably around 33. [Looks at me] Don’t take this the wrong way or anything, we love our white folks, but there’s just not many brothers in his position in this industry, especially not here. It was a nice change, he was young, Black, just killing it. But he went back to Nashville.”

Jessica had worked in several other hotels throughout the city in various positions. She joked about how much she disliked it. She disliked the people who came in, “they think they’re staying at the Waldorf or something, the things they demand and get mad about. And we’re just supposed to smile and say of course miss we’ll take care of that.”

She joked again that she’s looking for another job, but after recognizing the city does not offer many outside tourism, she stood up and took her hands off the bar, saying much more soberly than in the previous conversations, “hospitality jobs you know, they take over your whole life. I work at least 50 hours a week, but you know, you got to to make any money.”

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**The Birthplace of Jazz**

The most likely explanation is some New Orleans cats took the music they heard at home, in church and in barrooms, put it all together, and created a new sound. A wild, jubilant music. A music that makes you feel free and easy. Makes you feel alive. Makes you want to get up and dance. And dance we did and always will to the birth of American music (“The Birthplace of Jazz”, 2019, para 2).

**Narrative**

**One time in New Orleans, Bo pulled Shorty on stage.** He could still move, all those years later. Bo Diddley, a little softer in the gut, a crowd of thousands swelling before him, May 4, 1990. The annual New Orleans Jazz Fest. He was 61. It had been forever since Bo – part of that Chuck Berry and Little Richard holy trinity – helped morph blues into rock and roll with a tight, syncopated lick. The “Diddley Beat.” Buddy Holly ripped him off. The Rolling Stones, too. And Elvis –don’t start with Elvis.
On this day, Bo ruled the Fair Grounds stage. Its speakers amplified the foundation of rock and roll. He wore his felt hat with a big medallion that caught the setting sun. A turbo 5-speed guitar in hand. Glasses, amber-tinted and oversized. A goatee flecked with gray. Three decades of driving rhythm and unbridled energy sweat through his pores. In the crowd, a four-year-old called Trombone Shorty, holding a trombone so much bigger than him it made him lean to one side, was starting a legend of his own. Trombone Shorty (born Troy Andrews) had music in his blood. His grandfather was R&B’s Jessie Hill. His older brother is trumpeter James Andrews.

Shorty was already a local prodigy. He marched through the streets of Tremé with musicians twice his height and ten times his age regularly. Today, he played in a parade with his brother by his side. James’ fingers twostepped the keys. Shorty’s moved the slides, as far as he could at least. Revelers danced and waved handkerchiefs. “Where y’at? Where y’at?” A chant rang out.

On the sidelines, people danced history through the Calinda, the Bamboula. And then someone, in the celebratory chaos Jazz Fest inspired, lifted Shorty up, trombone and all. Hundreds of hands passed him overhead and towards Bo until he arrived, shell-shocked, on stage. The passing years have taken Bo with them, but Trombone Shorty plays on. He tours the globe, makes records, but always comes home. You can find him playing in town, often with his band Orleans Avenue in tow. The Trombone Shorty Academy teaches local high school students jazz, brass, and R&B. And he, in a Hollywood ending, now annually closes out Jazz Fest’s biggest stage on its final day (Bahn, 2017).

**Counter-narrative**

**One time in New Orleans, a group of people raised money to bring musicians back to the city.** I met M.I. on an overcast, Thursday afternoon under the entryway arch of Louis Armstrong Park, which bears its namesake—Armstrong—in big block letters.

Born in Copenhagen, Denmark, M.I. moved to the city eight years prior to us meeting. Her father was a jazz musician, thus she grew up around many of the greats including Ertha Kitt, Nina Simone, and yes, Louis Armstrong. She even showed me a picture she has of Armstrong holding her as a baby.

On my way to meet her, I had to make a stop at the restroom. If you’ve been to New Orleans, you know the easiest way to do this is to pop into a bar restroom and grab a beer for the road. When I showed up, beer in hand, to meet M.I., her poise and slow, purposeful way of speaking immediately made me feel like a teenager.

“Sorry about the beer,” I said, “I had to go to the restroom.”
“Not a problem at all,” she said slowly, the faint accent from her Danish upbringing surrounding the words, a slight gap in her front teeth showing as she smiled with thick, red painted lips, “welcome to New Orleans.”

As we stood at the gate of Armstrong Park, which encompasses the ground that was once Congo Square, a space where enslaved people gathered throughout the 19th century, she turned to me and said, “I want you to know this is not to bring about feelings of guilt or expect you to take responsibility for what you’re about to hear.”

M.I. and I moved slowly through the park, stopping for prayer and to give offerings, primarily she talking, and me listening to the history she told of the ground we were on as well as the city.

When we got to the Louis Armstrong statue, her stories became more jovial. Louis Armstrong is of course a jazz icon the world over, but the city of New Orleans has embraced him fully as their son, naming many places and icons in the city after him. It was not always however, such a warm relationship. Growing up poor in early 1900s New Orleans, Armstrong’s mother often had to turn to prostitution to make ends meet, while he himself spent stints at the Colored Waif’s Home for Boys for things such as shooting a pistol into the air on New Year’s Eve. It was during this time it is said he was given his first cornet and began busking on street corners and marching in parades.

Armstrong also famously boycotted his home city from 1956 until the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 for the banning of integrated bands in the city. But M.I. had a few more stories about that to tell. After posing for a picture in front of his statue with the picture of him holding her, she told me the story she’d been told of how rather than Armstrong alone boycotting the city, the state of Louisiana boycotted him.

She told of how at a show, he attempted to get a beer, but was told he couldn’t because Black people weren’t allowed at the bar. When he refused to back down, as that was the single clause in his contract, police arrested him. When the club owner heard of the arrest, he sent a cooler of beer to the back, where Armstrong was forced to enter and exit due to segregation laws. And so, the story is told, Armstrong grabbed a beer and popped the cap with the handcuff around his wrist before vowing never to return to the city.

While telling the story M.I. smiled, looking up at the statue as though rehashing an old story with a friend. When she was finished, she looked down, then back up at me, shrugged, and said, “the state of Louisiana kicked him out and then called him up a few years ago from the grave to ask him if it was okay to name the whole city after him I guess.”

The paradox of providing the music and culture for the city while not being valued for such contributions did not die with Armstrong. According to C.C. with the Music and
Culture Coalition of New Orleans (MCCNO), today musicians in the city make around $18,000 annually.

When Hurricane Katrina hit, and the levees failed, many of the city’s musicians lived in some of the hardest hit areas; many forced to evacuate to neighboring states. With hardly any money to finance coming back to the city, and often no place to come to, many found it hard to make it back. Recognizing the need for musicians in building back the city’s tourism industry, but also in the morale of the residents, B.B., the executive director of the New Orleans Musicians Free Clinic, and others started a gig fund.

“We had them playing at airports, shelters, etc. just so they could get $100 in their pockets...these people are the backbone of the industry and the economy of the state. If there are no musicians and no food, there would be no New Orleans.”

More recently, a common question across the city is where is the money going? According to B.B, “It sure as hell isn’t going to the workers.”

Echoing this sentiment, C.C. claims “Good musicians don’t stay in this town anymore. Once they get good enough they move on because the bars won’t pay them, and they won’t play for tips only. I mean, that’s a problem, that good musicians are leaving.”

“At this point, I don’t see a way out of it. I mean, where do you even start,” asked B.B. “Is it they can’t afford a place to stay, is it they have to work 2-3 jobs so they don’t have time for healthcare?”

According to B.B., out of the 2500 patients seen at the Musicians Free Medical Clinic, 83% are treated for more than one chronic condition. “There becomes a since of hopelessness where suicide looks like the only option for ending the cycle.”

C.C. and I spoke more while sitting at a wooden table in the upstairs hallway at the Dryades Market, both of us drinking from our paper coffee cups, our words echoing off the concrete floors and exposed ceiling. He explained to me, “The CVB is selling the musicians as a commodity, but the people never see any of that money.”

His organization recently put together a ‘Good Visitor’s Guide to New Orleans,’ (Figure 6.4) where they received input and exact wording from musicians and tourism workers to explain to tourists how to be a good tourist without infringing on the culture of the city. It featured such things as an outline of who, when, and how much to tip, and what you should do if you see a Second Line Parade coming by.

Once it was finished, C.C. and others asked the CVB to help distribute the pamphlet in hotels throughout the city. The CVB agreed. That is until the MCCNO helped to organize
a campaign against the city’s proposed safety and surveillance plan. A plan that would place many of the city’s tourism workers, musicians and culture bearers under constant surveillance. Within an hour of the news story about the Second Line protest of the plan coordinated by the MCCNO, the CVB backed out of the partnership. “And the really strange part was they also asked for each of our board of director’s political affiliations,” C.C. said with a somewhat of a chuckle, his voice noticeably higher as he asked, “I mean, why does someone need to know that information?”

When asked about the future of musicians in the city—could there be another story of Bo inviting Shorty on stage—C.C. explained, “The city keeps creating reactive policies. Instead of improving the French Quarter, they’re policing it. Instead of making space for older bands to take and mentor the ‘bucket boys’ they keep finding new ways to chase them another street over…there isn’t a single musician, street performer, server, bartender, on the [tourism marketing] board. When they don’t have a voice, how can their needs be taken into consideration?

Figure 6.4. The good visitor’s guide to New Orleans. The music and culture coalition of New Orleans. (n.d.). The good visitor’s guide to New Orleans. [Brochure]. New Orleans, LA.

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Discussion

Early work by Sorkin (1992) expressed concern that the growth of tourism, and the related spread of theme-park characteristics to cities, was eroding distinctions between tourism and other aspects of urban culture (see also Gotham, 2007a). Urban tourism development has continued to expand and increase tourist bubbles (Judd, 2004), pushing marginalized communities further toward the margins (Ioannides & Petridou, 2016). Judd (1999) defines tourist bubbles as physical spaces in urban centers with somewhat standardized convention facilities, historic districts, waterfront redevelopments, and theatre districts; or as in the Follow Your Nola dominant narrative, “sidewalk cafes”. Judd argues “tourist bubbles create islands of affluence that are sharply differentiated and segregated from the surrounding urban landscape” (p. 53).

This research illustrates how counter-storytelling can serve as a mechanism for challenging dominant narratives in tourism destinations; In the above contrasting ‘One time, in New Orleans’ stories, the three themes of authenticity, cultural invisibility and historical invisibility emerge in the space provided between the narrative and counter-narrative.

Authenticity (Follow Your NOLA)

The first ‘One time, in New Orleans’ story focuses on the positive aspects of growth and development within the city; constructing a new authentic New Orleans downtown. From the perspective of the New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation, the first story represents the narrative collectively formed and told about New Orleans by tourism promoters; the city is safe, growing and open for business (Gotham, 2007a;
The story presents a picture of the city; an account that justifies continued growth and development of tourist spaces, where anything that threatens the ‘cleanliness’ of the area is promptly disposed of (Mosedale, 2016). Regarding authenticity, they “move building by building to make sure the look, feel, and vibe stay consistent to the overall mission of cultivating economic development” constructing together, with the people who occupy the cleaned-out spaces, an ‘authentic’ New Orleans free of crime or cares. In justifying power washing away all that is unclean in the area, they focus on how one feels in the area; measuring success by the number of places available to sit outside. What resides in the silent cracks of the story is that to experience this vibe conducive to economic development, the day to day realities of New Orleans—the layer of grime held on the sides of buildings by the thick humidity covering the city, panhandlers, ‘dirty’ occupants—must be cleaned out.

The dominant fact about this story is its seeming neutrality. The story comforts and soothes not only potential tourists looking for information about the city, but also certain residents. Tourists are drawn to the novelty of a strange place from within the security of the familiar environment (Cohen, 1972), moving from one tourist bubble to another (Law, 1994). The story acknowledges the city’s ongoing attempts to overcome tourists’ safety reservations through “developed public safety programs like enhanced policing, private security details, and the Public Safety Rangers” (Mills, 2018, para 6). As urban tourism development creates more tourist bubbles, it continues to shrink the residential areas that once lay in the periphery. This provides even more opportunity for packaged tourism pursuits within a controlled, familiar environment while concurrently
displacing residents (Ioannides & Petridou, 2016; Mosedale, 2016). By ending the story with various ways the downtown is being developed: turning a historic building into a multivendor food hall (Auction House Market); maintaining a successful high-tech life science business (InnoGenomics); reinvigorating a historic jazz club (Little Gem Saloon); making information accessible (New Orleans Public Library); showcasing the work of Black artists (Stella Jones Gallery); instituting a bike share program (Blue Bikes NOLA), it seems as though there is something for everyone (Mills, 2018). All you must do is “Follow Your NOLA”. Yet, stories depicting what this development looks and feels like from the perspectives the marginalized communities are rarely heard.

The counter-narrative unmasks how such development appears from the perspective of marginalized communities within New Orleans. The narrative created through my experiences with H.K., and the stories he told is quite different from the narrative told by tourism promoters. This narrative shows, among other things, how different “neutrality” can feel from the perspective of an outsider. The irony is not lost in referring to H.K. and the people of the Seventh Ward as ‘outsiders’ in the city they were born and raised, and whom many provide the sights and sounds that attract millions of tourists each year. Rather, the counter-narrative emphasizes certain facts, sequences, tones of voice, and body language that is often ‘outside’ of the dominant story. It also infers different intentions, attitudes, and states of mind on the part of tourism promoters and developers in the city. Although not completely condemnatory, the counter-narrative is not so generous to the thought of tourism development. Indeed, H.K. directly addresses the Blue Bikes boasted about in the dominant narrative, which presents the idea that their
emergence in the city holds more significance than simply as objects. They represent
growth and development for some, and destruction and displacement for others.
Throughout his stories, H.K. presented a clear indication of the perception as to who the
development was for, while at the same time pointing out aspects of what he considered
‘authentic’ New Orleans, which more and more were being shut down or taken over to
create more space for tourism development.

Cultural invisibility (The City that Care Forgot)

The ‘One time, in New Orleans’ story representative of the theme of cultural
invisibility showcases the paradox commonly used in the New Orleans dominant tourism
narrative. This being that it is the people who make New Orleans unique, however, they
are merely a backdrop to the experience. The relatively short story depicting this author’s
experience is representative of Urry’s (2002) definition of the tourist gaze. Although
there have been several critiques of the narrow perspective of Urry’s definition, for
instance Perkins and Thorns (2001) argue the need for a focus on the concept of the
tourist performance; about tourists ‘doing’ rather than simply ‘seeing’ or ‘gazing’. In
addition, Thrift (1999) suggested that tourists want contact with their surroundings that
goes beyond the visual realms as suggested by Urry. Franklin and Crang (2001) point out
that tourists, “are seeking to be doing something in the places they visit rather than being
endlessly spectatorially passive” (p. 13). Yet, in this passage, the author focuses solely on
the visual. This begins with “the faces” telling the stories, before moving on to describing
the sights—whether human, animal or object—as an evocative backdrop. The single
variation to this is a reference to eating, yet this line too is missing a connection to the
“spirit, enthusiasm, and adventure” referenced at the opening. Instead, the story matches the visual expectations built up by promotional materials such as brochures and advertisements with representational images of New Orleans constructed for the tourist (Bryman, 1999; Urry, 2002).

Part of this construction includes maintaining the narrative of a city where there are no worries; or as the tagline states, ‘The City that Care Forgot’. This aids in perpetuating cultural invisibility in that the ‘culture’ created through dominant narratives often masks the experiences of those who live and work in a tourism destination. As we see in the counter-narrative, the daily realities of the magician standing under the streetlight or Ms. Janice, as described in the dominant story, are far from carefree and more complex than an “evocative backdrop for a portrait series.” This provides an example of the way in which counter-storytelling can move us beyond the perspective of the ‘gaze’ or ‘authentic experiences’ to understand the contradictory forces at play that allow for the mobility and freedom for some while causing immobility and impoverishment for others within tourism destinations.

**Historical invisibility (The Birthplace of Jazz)**

As showcased by the New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation’s description of the development of jazz music, the city’s tourism narratives are rooted in the myth of historical racial exoticism and postmodern racial colorblindness (Thomas, 2014). Drawing from spiritual and Black connotations metaphorically tied to the tourism conception of Blackness—rhythm, improvisation, authenticity, cultural creativity, and spirituality, the ‘One time, in New Orleans’ story that represents the dominant narrative
regarding historical invisibility provides a vivid image of the city’s musical roots (Thomas, 2014). In the creation of a quite literal image of the passage of tradition from one generation to the next, the author evokes a scene of a city coming together to lift up its musicians. However, the recent question raised by Doug MacCash on NOLA.com (2019), “Was the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival ever really a jazz festival,” also begs the question as to who was in the audience that lifted Shorty up to the stage?

As shown in the counter-narrative, although left out of the tourism promoters’ description of the development of jazz music as well as the dominant story, race and racism are inextricably tied to the history of jazz music and jazz musicians. From the early arrest of the city’s most revered jazz son whose name is now branded throughout the city, to the displacement of musicians from the neighborhoods in which now commodified Second Line parades served as opportunity to re-claim the streets and create joyful experiences in the city’s most blighted neighborhoods (Regis, 2001), there has been a long history of the desire for the city’s musicians to be heard but not seen. In his counter-story of the daily life of the city’s musicians, C.C. explains for every Trombone Shorty, and his Hollywood ending, there are countless young Black men pounding on upside down white buckets for tips spending their days getting run-off—or arrested—by police.

Rather than racial exoticism or colorblindness, Thomas (2014) argues New Orleans’ modern tourism narratives serve to maintain the historically paradoxical construction of Blackness that celebrates the cultural contributions while insisting on Black social and cultural inferiority; narratives that serve as a “reflection of the Jim Crow
society in which it emerged” (p. 2). The counter-narrative allows us insight into how this manifests into the daily lives of today’s musicians.

The counter-narratives presented resemble a post-humanist philosophy of viewing tourism development. Rather than a docile entity, tourism within the city works as an agentic being, as a process of entanglement in which the two agents—New Orleanians and tourism—are mutually co-constituted (Rosiek, 2019). In none of the counter-stories did someone say the city should not embrace tourism as an economic option. Rather we hear the ways in which the industry continuously shapes and transforms ‘norms’ within the city, and the ways in which the workers attempt to resist, as well as conform, to those norms. For instance, when Mr. Mervin Lewis asks only for a workplace free of smoke, or Lucy describes moving to New Orleans East and taking an Uber to work; or when Jessica describes the life of the thousands of tourism workers within the city when she reminds us: “you know you got to to make any money.” We also hear in H.K’s counter-narrative of people attempting to acquire their own piece of the tourism pie in entrepreneurial pursuits such as the founder of Dip Wit It.

Yet, with each concession to tourism development, the workers find another alteration beyond their control. Whether it is short-term rentals encroaching on neighborhoods that lie in what was traditionally outside tourist areas, or the transformation of Frenchman Street from offering 5-6 paid gigs a week for musicians to the new Bourbon Street where, as C.C. puts it, “taking shots is the main focus”; the workers must continue to change and adapt their lives around it.
Such adaptations however, often come at the cost of well-being through access to livable wages, healthcare and community safety nets, until, as B.B. explains, there becomes no foreseeable way to improve one’s situation among tourism and the city. H.K.’s defeated prophication of Whole Foods coming to the neighborhood that December evening under the moonlight in front of the Circle Food Store reminds us, that “tourism worlds are worlds of ugliness-beauty, pain-pleasure, toil-relaxation, poverty-luxury; fear-comfort, hate-love, sacredness-profanity, and despair-hope” (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic 2011, p. 957). The dominant stories related to New Orleans are rife with the latter of each pair, thus this research serves as a counter-balance for understanding the effects of tourism development as well as ways in which marginalized populations are left out of the dominant narrative.

**Conclusion**

Stories humanize us. They emphasize our differences in ways that can ultimately bring us closer together. As showcased in each counter-narrative in this work, they allow us to see how tourism development and promotion looks through someone else’s eyes. Telling stories invests text with feeling and gives voice to those who are taught to conceal emotions that do not conform to the sanitized tourist/worker interactions. The use of CRT and storytelling methods used in this research confirms that we must investigate tourism workers’ experiences with, and responses to, narratives concealing racism, sexism, and classism in tourism destinations as valid, appropriate, and necessary forms of data (Clandinin, 2006; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). CRT in tourism scholarship offers a way to understand the experiences of marginalized populations living and working in tourism.
destinations. Such methods generate knowledge by looking to those who have been epistemologically marginalized, silenced, and disempowered (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Often, such marginalization is justified through research that decenters and even dismisses marginalized populations.

Stories help marginalized groups, in part, through their effect on those in power. Most oppression does not seem like oppression to those perpetrating it; rather dominant groups justify and rationalize it through stock explanations, constructing reality in ways favorable to it (Delgado, 1989). Counter-stories can destroy such rationalizations, but the destruction they produce must be voluntary, a type of willing death. Because of the power-imbalance infused within tourism destinations in the U.S., wherein tourism developers and promoters control the reins of power, reform must include them. Their complacency—born of comforting stories—is a major stumbling block to progress. Counter-stories can jar such complacency, enabling the listener and teller to build a world richer than either could make alone (Delgado, 1989). In documenting the voices of tourism workers, this work tells their stories through an emotional exploration of the “fears, ills, ugliness and exploitation” that reside within tourism destinations, as emancipation cannot proceed without a deeper understanding of the experiences that reveal its necessity (Pritchard et al., 2011, p. 957; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Moving forward, we must continually ask, “Whose stories are privileged in tourism destinations and whose stories are distorted and silenced?” Further, “What are the experiences and responses of those whose stories are often distorted and silenced?” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).
CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

This case study grew from a need to extend research exploring marginalized populations within the tourism workforce toward the examination of individual identities and the connection with the macro-structures that perpetuate and foster inequality (Baum, et al., 2016; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Veijola, 2010) (see Figure 7.1). Informed by CRT and the concept of invisible work, in an effort to better understand experiences of tourism workers, I designed and conducted this case study in one of the most visible and accessible tourism destinations in the United States, New Orleans, Louisiana. Tourism has been a driving economic force in New Orleans for almost its entire 300-year history. It has served as an entertainment hub, providing a cultural environment where release and enjoyment—in all the varietal forms one could want—occurred away from responsibilities of everyday life. Yet, for thousands of New Orleanians, it is everyday life. Unlike tourists, residents and workers are rooted in the day to day realities of a tourism dominated city.

I explored the effects of sociocultural, economic and political factors on the tourism workforce, and how workers confront and negotiate hegemonic narratives shaped by tourism promotion. New Orleans, known for its 24-hour nightlife, music, food and festivals, provided an interesting context from which to examine this convergence due in part to the city’s reliance on tourism as an economic driver, residents’ reliance on the industry for jobs and the history of race within the city. It also provided a unique setting in that I was able to explore a mature tourism destination that had to make relatively
recent choices in rebuilding both the city and tourism after Hurricane Katrina and the failure of the levees in August 2005. My work was guided by the overarching question: How do sociocultural, economic and political factors affect tourism workers in New Orleans? As well as three subsequent questions: 1) How has sociocultural, economic and political institutions shaped the structure of the tourism workforce in the U.S.? 2) How has the discourse used directly after Hurricane Katrina shaped tourism workers’ position within the New Orleans tourism complex? 3) How does the tourism workforce engage with and experience the storied landscape of tourism? In addition, the final question has two sub-questions: How are lived experiences vocalized through storytelling? And how do tourism workers’ stories counter dominant stories?

A review of the literature reveals a growth over equity approach to tourism development (Schilcher, 2007). Tourism enterprises engage in a tourism first approach that is in favor of business growth and profits rather than living wage incomes and a tax
base to support social services (Scheyvens, 2011). This leaves labor measures to take an ‘add-on’ quality, encompassing the broad language of human rights and international labor agreements, which often entails little more than implementing codes of conduct that often fail to protect the workers from poor working conditions (Herrmann, 2004). A poignant argument from Minca (2010) reminds us that people working in the ‘backstage’ of tourism destinations are ‘real’ people, and while their faces are smiling, their backs are sweating.

The findings of Article One (Chapter Four) in this dissertation reveal that the development of the tourism workforce relied on a paradox of workers performing work that is completed best when no one acknowledges the workers’ existence. This, while living in a country that required their existence to maintain definitional control of dominant ideologies. These dominant ideologies allowed primarily white men to retain control by reinforcing the binary structures that value white labor over non-white labor and masculine work over feminine work; and link those binaries together inextricably. Acknowledgement of the everyday lives and experiences of tourism workers unmasks the ways in which they have been categorically situated into an identity category that serves as a mechanism for both their oppression and the dominance and superiority of [white] men’s work as determined in the early development of labor structure in the U.S.

The social and political mechanisms used to determine the racial, ethnic and gendered constellation of certain industries point to a need for a worker-centered approach to studying labor within the tourism industry rather than through the lens of the current issues that dominate the academic subfield of tourism work and employment such
as staff turnover, hotel work and management, seasonal work, recruitment, attitudes of employees and quality of service work (Baum, 2006; Baum, et al., 2016). Such issues are primarily discussed from the management perspective, which includes the quality or quantity of the labor force as part of a successful tourism industry (Veijola, 2010).

Camp’s (2011) argument that the development of tourism in the U.S. helped to create a notion of racial otherness, “offering a lesson in racial hierarchy” (p. 281), is supported by several authors (see Benedict, 1983; DeLyser, 2003; Deverell, 2004; Dilworth, 2001; Parezo & Troutman, 2001; Rodriguez, 2001; Rothman, 1998; Rydell, 1984; Shaffer, 2001; Wrobel, 2002), however there is a noticeable absence of research among tourism scholars critically examining how this translates to who performs the work in tourism and why. When tourism workers have been examined, their identities and experiences within the industry have been either “written out” (Dann, 1999, p. 160) or assumed to be the same or similar. This blending of non-dominant populations highlights oppression and marginalization as the groups’ common characteristics, but also creates a framework that overlooks other interesting aspects of their differences.

This research highlights the gap between the sociocultural, economic and political factors perpetuating a racial, ethnic and gendered hierarchy within the workforce, and the overwhelmingly homogenized approach to tourism workforce research. It argues the need for more research to critically look at the tourism workforce from both a historical and work/labor centered approach to recognize and mitigate the oppressions that the tourism industry may be—knowingly or unknowingly—perpetuating. Future research must not only ask questions that explore the political economic factors as suggested by Bianchi
(2009), but also employ methodologies that center the voices and experiences of the employees themselves to unmask the hidden aspects of one of the largest components of the industry. The next study in this dissertation did just that in utilizing a critical situational analysis of the tourism complex in New Orleans; providing an exploration into ways in which the marginalization of those who make up the tourism workforce manifests in tourism development processes.

Article Two (Chapter Five) explored the ways in which master-narratives were reinforced and redeveloped in post-Katrina New Orleans, and the role they played in discursively shaping the city’s tourism complex. Part of this included unmasking whose perspective is valued in tourism development within the city, and whose was kept out of the dominant social sphere. The power arenas that emerged—safety discourse, identity discourse, opportunity discourse—provided an understanding of how workers are rendered invisible through tourism narratives.

In addition, the mapping used in SA provided insight into the ways in which discourses become stable, creating patterns and positions in a complex phenomenon such as tourism. Instead of addressing inequalities exposed by the storm and subsequent flooding, tourism leaders and promoters invoked disaster capitalism strategies utilizing discourses of urgency and safety, and discursively constructing racial identities to introduce new development opportunities. Opportunities that continue to marginalize those most affected by the disaster, favoring instead tourism development and growth. This research showcases the importance of looking critically at the dominant tourism
discourses, into the effects on the lives and ways of being/thinking of people who have been traditionally marginalized within the city.

Through exploration of master discourse both well-documented in research focused on the tourism industry in New Orleans, as well as those deeply woven into the social fabric about tourism workers, this research provides a map as to how certain populations’ voices and perspectives are left out of the dominant tourism narratives while at the same time providing the services and culture that maintains the industry. The findings showcase the need for hearing the voices of those outside the dominant sphere surrounding the New Orleans tourism complex and the ways in which their stories are similar to or counter the dominant narratives; examining how this affects their lived experiences. The next study in this dissertation attempts to do that by countering narratives constructed by tourism promoters and perpetuated by tourists, and stories told by those who live and work in New Orleans.

Article Three (Chapter Six) builds upon the work of article two in deconstructing the discourse surrounding the tourism complex in New Orleans through the CRT tenet of counter-storytelling. According to Tate (1997), master narratives are stories told at a societal level that “legitimate [the dominant culture’s] power and position” (p. 216), while subjugating marginalized communities by perpetuating stereotypes about these communities. These stories are shared through various institutions such as the media, education and government, and seep into the subconscious of marginalized communities to the extent that they are reproduced by marginalized communities themselves. Master narratives share a dialectic relationship with counter-narratives. Similar to slave
narratives (Burns, 2006; Cassuto, 1996), counter-narratives are crafted first to expose forms of oppression and individuals/communities who perpetuate that oppression. This research sought to explore the counter-narratives provided by those same residents and tourism workers whose contributions are present within the tourism narratives while at the same time, their lived experiences rendered invisible.

Countering three ‘One time, in New Orleans’ stories that are representative of the dominant tourism narrative in New Orleans with counter-narratives developed through interviews—semi-structured and unstructured—participant observation, and archival data, this research illustrates how counter-storytelling can serve as a mechanism for challenging dominant narratives in tourism destinations.

In each set of counter-stories, the three themes of authenticity, cultural invisibility and historical invisibility emerged. As for authenticity, the counter-stories revealed a desire for tourists to know the ‘real’ story of New Orleans. When speaking with New Orleanians, there was not a disdain for tourism in the city, but rather their role within it. H.K. for example, expressed this in his desire to share the ‘real’ story with others in a hope that more awareness of the reality of life for some in New Orleans would make tourists more interested in supporting the Black residents. He then, consistently countered his desire to inform more tourists with his frustration with the current tourism development practices. This counter-narrative to the ‘authentic’ tourism narrative in New Orleans also manifests itself in the community attempting to find ways to promote Black-owned businesses. Such businesses and attractions are left out of the city’s dominant tourism promotion, therefore one way in which they have attempted to counter this is by
creating a “A Guide for Black Tourists in New Orleans” (Figure 7.2) featuring Black-owned businesses throughout the city. Unable to get the city’s tourism promotors to disseminate the guide, they rely on the businesses and people to get it into circulation. In addition, like Dip Wit It, the company mentioned in one of the counter narratives in this research, many New Orleanians turn to entrepreneurial pursuits in attempt to get a share of the tourism revenue that they are otherwise not privy to.

The deliberate efforts of Black New Orleanians to counter both their cultural and historical invisibility within the tourism complex contrast with perceptions of being characterized in a way that perpetuates their subjugation. The following quotes provide insight into how the structure of the workforce, as discussed in article one, combines with tourism narratives that create cultural and historical invisibility, which create negative views of tourism.

“They make us look like fools running around. Like somebody needs to come in and save us. This is our culture, this is what we do and what you use to make money.”

“Tourism is fine until they make a mockery of it [culture]. They want our culture, they don’t want our people.”

“They kept us in the kitchen, what were we supposed to do, stand up to the white man and say no? The white people are the master. What are we going to do, stand up to them? Then what happens?”

“They [tourism promoters] come in here saying can we get your input. You don’t want my input ‘cause I never see any output from it do I.”

The research questions driving each of the three studies in this dissertation work together to answer the overarching question of this case study: What are the sociocultural, economic and political factors that shape the tourism workforce?
In article one, we see that a U.S. tourism workforce consisting primarily of women and racial and ethnic minorities, was developed through systematic exclusion of such populations from other forms of work, and through the three mechanisms of invisible work, has been socially and economically devalued. We begin to see how such mechanisms play a role in the discursive construction of the workers’ and their place in the tourism complex in New Orleans in article two. And finally, in article three we learn how the sociocultural, economic and political factors shaping the workforce converge to create lived experiences that are far removed from the representations in dominant tourism narratives.

This research addresses the dominant culture that exists in the U.S tourism workforce. That the realities in which all members of U.S. society live are constructed by the dominant culture as a means for maintaining power, and that institutions such as education and the legal system utilize sorting mechanisms to keep certain communities in lower, labor-intensive social positions and occupations. In a capitalist society, these mechanisms ensure that marginalized communities reproduce social structures that keep them at the lower levels of U.S. socio-economic hierarchies, while supporting the dominant culture’s power and position. U.S. society is built upon a hierarchical structure that privileges particular knowledge over other forms of knowledge and skills.

In this case, certain communities are (mis)led to believe that cultural capital can be obtained through hard work and education, but rather, it is a tool utilized by white middle- and upper-class communities to access more valued jobs and decipher complexities within educational structures. The capital held by the participants of this
study was, in large part, based on community cultural wealth, which are the assets or capital found within the Black community in New Orleans. Although co-opted into the tourism narrative, it is the lived experiences of these communities that are seldom recognized or valued by the dominant culture.

At a time when there is rising animosity toward tourism in destinations globally, and businesses are closing their doors in mature tourism destinations such as Charleston, South Carolina because they cannot get enough workers (Phillips, 2019), it is time to put more focus on understanding how practices within the industry affect its largest asset: the workers. This case study adds to the small, yet growing body of literature that centers the lived experience of the workers.

**Contributions to the Literature**

The study introduced an approach to exploring the dirty work that exists within the tourism industry, who primarily does such work, and how that affects their lived experiences within tourism destinations. By reviewing the literature, reflecting on personal experiences, and listening to those who chose to share their stories with me, the findings from this study provide a deeper, more contextualized understanding of marginalization in U.S. tourism destinations.

Through an historical analysis of the racialization of the labor movement in the U.S., exploration of social worlds and the discursive ways in which hypercapitalist, neoliberal tourism development perpetuates the separation of labor from the body of those who work in tourism, and the juxtaposition of tourism narratives and lived experiences of workers, this study carved new territory conveying the processes that
structure hidden inequities in tourism destinations. This new territory opens doors to a number of contributions to the existing literature that helped shape this research. For example, the invisibility and hypervisibility paradox of tourism workers, and the historical policies and ideologies that perpetuate racial-ethnically and gendered structuring of the workforce further expand the existing literature on precarious work in the U.S. In addition, to my knowledge, this is the first study to develop counter-narratives to tourism narratives used in tourism destinations that are not only from the perspective of those relegated beyond the bounds of the tourism complex, but that also centers race through the lens of CRT.

It is innovative in its use of SA to discover and map the way in which discourse is used to harden such boundaries. Certain aspects of tourism development—such as the workforce—have remained understudied due to such restraints as definitional complexities. Rather than turn away, SA places enhanced emphasis on the very messy and complex nature of social life through theories of assemblages, actor-networks, and scapes, which foreground many facets of a situation and are brought together through SA (Clarke, Friese, & Washburn, 2017). Using post-Katrina New Orleans, this study maps the way in which wider macro-economic and political forces work together to perpetuate marginalization of certain populations within a tourism destination while profiting from the increased commodification of the labor of such populations.

This study challenged master narratives in tourism research that perpetuate a positive, homogenous view of job creation in tourism. It also illustrates how counter-narratives can be used to unmask the forms of oppression and exploitation within
destinations, with the goal of transforming assumptions and beliefs about those working in the industry. I see potential for this work to contribute to understanding the need for looking at the connection between macro-economic and political forces, the historical racial, ethnic and gendered structuring of the tourism workforce and today’s workforce. In addition, I believe this study showcases the value in critically exploring tourism job creation and development through the use of storytelling and methodologies such as SA by providing alternative ways of understanding such a large and integral aspect of tourism—the workforce.

**Future research**

Additional studies should analyze how such transformations can be used as resistance against dominant power structures in U.S. tourism destinations. In addition, they can explore how resistance is perceived by those working in the industry, whether complacency or social reproduction occurs within these communities, and why this may be. Although systems of oppression may not be dismantled, empowering tourism workers to continue in their resistance is necessary to decrease the invisibility that is a foundation of the workforce, while increasing the value put on the work done to sustain tourism destinations. Specifically, I believe this research can facilitate:

- **Acknowledgement and reinforcement of worth of tourism workers.** Dominant discourses separating workers from the community prevail in many tourism destinations. As was found in this study, this perpetuates workers’ place in the margins of destinations. In several of my conversations with workers, the sentiment was not a hatred or dislike for the industry. Rather, many thoroughly
enjoyed the work they did—as did I when I worked in the industry—and were displeased by the lack of acknowledgement of the importance of their contributions to the industry. This research can amplify worker voices and open dialogue in effort to better value and listen to all involved in tourism development. Further, this work aims to unmask and bolster discussions toward long-overlooked effects of negative aspects of tourism work such as low-pay, job insecurity and overall social devaluation of the work. Future questions include:

○ What are actual and perceived barriers to entering discussions surrounding tourism development?

○ What are the structural constraints to access capital for minority-owned business development in tourism destinations?
  ▪ What alternative approaches can be used to gain access?
  ▪ How can these approaches challenge current macro-economic and political forces structuring tourism development?

• Reducing silences, exposing erasures, and hearing stories of hope for change.

This study is only a snapshot of how silences around race, ethnicity, and gender have shaped and continue to shape the economic and social valuation of tourism work and workers. Through textual and visual mapping, this research aims to raise consciousness of colorblindness among tourism researchers and practitioners, and other oppressive structures that maintain stratification, in pursuit of disrupting the processes that feminize and racialize poverty and social inequity in tourism destinations. Tourism workers are also often generational
community-members who have informed opinions that should be respected and listened to in a variety of ways including: consequences of cultural commodification on community well-being, distribution of tourism revenue, and discussions of employee relations as well as community-tourist relations. Future questions include:

- How does storytelling reaffirm solidarity with individuals with similar experiences in tourism destinations?
  - How does this positively or negatively affect workers’ connection with tourism development?
- How can exposing the politics of a racially, ethnically, and gendered workforce enhance agency in a stratified system?

**Limitations and Reflections**

The original limitations of the study were that this was a case study that involved one U.S. tourism destination, New Orleans. Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg, (1991) suggested that a case study is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed. While the results are not generalizable, reflecting on the discourse and counter-narratives, the reader can draw her or his own conclusions about tourism work and workers in other destinations. This study was designed to highlight the details of a lived experience from the viewpoint of those who lived it.

In article one, I conclude that we often ask questions such as how or why the invisibility or exploitation of the tourism workforce began, how it is perpetuated, and who determines it, we do so rhetorically, assuming that if we were to get the answers, the
practical uses to which they could be put are unclear. And that the product I put forth also
did not provide directions for such practical uses. Such is true for the other two articles as
well. The reason for this was not that the ‘data’ had returned ‘insignificant’ results to
report, but rather that I struggle to situate myself as the all-knowing researcher saying
what is to be done. Like Larsen and Wright’s (1993) critique of critical theorists, I
challenge the notion of possessing the superior moral understanding of how to explicate
what people’s lived experiences mean for pragmatic action. As Lather (2007) states,
I trouble the ethics of reducing the fear, pain, joy, and urgency of people’s lives to
analytic categories. Exploring the textual possibilities for telling stories that
situate researchers not so much as experts ‘saying what things mean’ in terms of
‘data,’ the researcher is situated as witness giving testimony to the lives of others (p. 41).

In line with the methods grounded Afrocentric and womanist epistemology, my
role was reconceptualized to participant witness (Taylor, 1999) in order to be privileged
with gaining the information that was shared with me. Now, as I move forward and
reflect on the stories told to me, I wonder what is it that provides me the privilege of
determining what this means should be done.

To implicate that myself, as a researcher, can determine where to begin, takes my
thoughts back to the email I received that compared a one-time compensation to the years
of being ignored by the tourism industry. And the accusation of condescension. While the
receipt of that email caused an initial cocktail of emotions including embarrassment,
anger, defensiveness, and eventually empathy, it was a formative instance in this research
project. I had taken two trips to New Orleans before I received it, and I admit the trips
taken afterward were conducted differently. Although we can say we are critical researchers and desire to work with marginalized communities rather than study them while we sit in our classrooms and defend our proposals, I believe we need to be openly critiqued by those communities in order to truly reflect on our actions.

After the email, I reflected on the ways in which I had been approaching potential partners and participants. How I’d carried myself as I walked through Jackson Square and the French Quarter, and the way in which I carried out my participant observations. It was after that reflection I truly realized how privileged I was to not think my skin color, the clothes I wore, or how I spoke played a role in how I was perceived as I walked the Quarter. By other tourists, locals, police, bartenders, gutter punks, musicians, etc. And how much information I was provided access to.

It was after this that I invited my friend Bre, to accompany me on my next trip. I explained to Bre why I had asked her to accompany me, and she told me she understood, and that yes, it was probably going to be more affective in gaining access to certain areas than trying to go alone. When speaking with people such as M.I. in Armstrong park, I remained quiet while Bre and M.I. connected over the stories that live within that park. I did not follow an interview script as the information gained from M.I., and later the women at the Community Book Center, was beyond what I would have known to ask or the scope of a “tourism” research study, but yet inextricably enmeshed.

Allowing myself to be uncomfortable at the Community Book Center, singing BabaYo around the tree in Armstrong park through which visitors speak with their ancestors, or the bar in the Seventh Ward, bearing witness to experiences rather than
trying to guide an interaction opened both a world of information that simply being a researcher did not privilege me to, and a closer realization of an equal interaction.

After G.J. asked me to sit and talk with them in the Community Book Center, we sat for several hours. Sometimes talking, and sometimes sitting in silence reflecting on what had just been said. When it was time to leave, it was raining out. At five foot two inches, I am a short woman, yet I was taller than G.J. In a plain beige sweatshirt and grey stocking cap that she wore to fend off the December New Orleans chill, she grabbed an umbrella, put her arm around me and walked me to the Uber outside. Later that day, as M.I. dropped Bre and I off in the middle of an intersection, we stood outside the car and embraced for several moments. When she backed away she smiled and said, “I can feel your heart.”

It is these two interactions that make me hesitant to take what I was trusted with and boil it down to a few pragmatic options of what we, as an industry and an academy, should do with the information. Offering a ‘solution’ does two detrimental things: 1) It necessarily excludes other possible solutions, ideas, or practices; and 2) It resituates the power dynamic, creating a new power imbalance (Spencer, 2014). Instead, we should constantly work to destabilize and question that which is privileged. According to Airey et al. (2015), the prominent idea of the gaze in tourism is closely associated with the Foucauldian notion of discourse. Usher and Edwards (1994) describe discourses as “regimes of truth,” giving as examples “medicine, psychiatry, and other forms of disciplinary knowledge” (p. 85). Discourses are important because they are difficult to detect, every day, powerful linguistic conventions that define and confine the limits of the
sayable (Foucault, 1974). Within discourses, certain statements and speech patterns and moves become sanctioned as valuable while others are marginalized and excluded. Discourses thereby establish boundaries of what can and cannot be said (often tacitly) and through this process of sanctioning and denial, exercise power toward a particular end. The managerial discourse of quality that permeates tourism scholarship similarly creates an including and excluding regime. It provides and sanctions the rules for what counts as quality and what does not, offering an authoritative voice about quality whilst marginalizing and silencing alternative versions (Airey et al., 2015).

As Parry and Johnson (2007) remind us, deep and complex experiences such as tourism should be understood through more than one voice. As conclusions are often presented monolithically, it is important to critically reflect upon how we are packaging our participants (and/or subverting packaging) by the ways in which we choose to represent them. In refusing to provide conclusions in the form of prescription, solution, or implication for practice, we are shifting the relationship between researcher and reader as well as giving up some of our power and control over how our research will be read and used. The space is left for others to not only speak, but for tension and differences to be acknowledged, celebrated and interpreted by the readers, providing space for formations and reformations of acts of resistance toward the oppressions that reside within tourism narratives and destinations that have been unmasked by this research (Richardson, 2003). The readers must also be willing to move beyond the myth of literal representations, where ‘the real’ is transparent, stable, and just like the representations (Britzman, 2000). Instead, remain cognizant of the continuation of the story beyond the page.
Thus, the effective dissemination of this work beyond through a published dissertation, is not to find a way to get the stories back to the workers in New Orleans, these experiences are all too common and understood among the workers themselves as evident in the recent retaliation of tourism workers across the country. Instead, in my position as a researcher, it remains my responsibility to challenge the dominant narrative and/or invisibility of the tourism workforce within the academy as well as develop my research into publications for mainstream media outlets to provide opportunities for the voices of the workers to be heard by more people. The transformative ability of having these stories heard—as showcased by Mr. Mervin Lewis’s story—will ideally lead to more visibility of the sweating backs behind the smiling faces within tourism destinations.

In today’s climate of supposed ‘woke’ individuals, we must remain even more diligent in recognizing our own privilege, and the ways in which our actions perpetuate oppression rather than mitigate it. As I reflect on my time in New Orleans, and my role moving forward, I recognize the transformative possibility of storytelling on both myself and others. Therefore, rather than ending this dissertation with a ‘solution’, I provide one last story. The story of how ‘One time, in New Orleans, I was a fool…’
EPILOGUE

One time in New Orleans…

I turned the corner of Decatur and St. Peter walking toward Toulouse. It was an afternoon in July so there weren’t the swarms of people found walking the French Quarter during other times of the year, but there was a mixture of young families and older people still out taking in the sights around Jackson Square and groups of people gearing up for the traditional let’s go to another city to get hammered experience.

I was feeling quite proud of myself. I wasn’t like these people. Tourists. I was here doing research.

Around the corner I’d been taking notes as two brass bands took turns playing for crowds in front of St. Louis Cathedral. Between them sat three ‘bucket boys’ who jumped in whenever there was a long enough break for the drumming of their white, five-gallon upside-down buckets to be heard. Their mom watched from a nearby lamppost.

The first of the bands I watched appeared to be the older of the two, I guessed forties or more. As they played on the uneven, 300 year-old brick street—something I’d learned the day before from the musicians free medical clinic is a hazard of the job for musicians and street performers as the constant marching and walking on such roads causes a number of foot problems, prompting the Parading Feet initiative—a three legged stool supporting a
black, plastic pot adorned with purple, yellow and green feathers sat between the musicians and the crowd of people who’d gathered to watch.

The band consisted of two trombone players, two trumpeters, a bass drummer and a tuba player. Each man black, wearing shorts and t-shirts, and each sweating in the afternoon heat and humidity. As they performed, another black man danced to the music. He was older and missing his teeth. He was welcomed by the band. Was he a friend? Was he connected to them somehow? Did he do this with each band who played this at this spot? Watching their interaction throughout the day, I concluded it was somewhat all the above. The man wore black faded jeans that stayed up around his thin waist by the grace of god and the help of a tightly synched belt, which we only glimpsed as he raised his hands to tap the air to the scream of the trombones, and lifted his well-worn white t-shirt. When he stopped to rest, he’d sit on one of several benches behind where the bands played. All of them—the benches, the bands, the man—were in the promenade between St. Louis Cathedral and St. Anthony’s Garden.

The people watching the bands did not sit on the benches. Instead, they stood watching up off the road, close to the doors of the cathedral watching the band. Many through video on their phones.

The people three steps below on the uneven road played music, sat waiting at a table for someone to sit down and have their fortune read, set up carts and hung their artwork on the wrought iron fence behind them, or sat on benches.

Other than some gutter punks and the older Black men, there was a man dressed in nice shorts, the kind you might see men wearing adorned with a white belt and polo shirt as they ask for the television to be turned to the golf tournament at the bar. He was leaned back with his head on the bench sleeping. Not laid across as though he was using it as a bed. He was better than that. Instead, he more resembled my dad every time he chose to go to the mall with me, my mom and my sister, promptly pointing to the first rose colored padded bench he saw as we walked in saying, ‘that’s where I’ll be’. Family time at its finest.

Back to the brass bands, the bucket boys, the tourists, and me.

Two women were now dancing in front of one of the bands. They were older, probably in their 50’s, and dressed how some might describe as eccentric. I guess eccentric isn’t the word, but they were not in freshly pressed khaki capris, white bobbi socks, white sneakers, and a muted pastel cotton short sleeve shirt that most other women their age were wearing. Instead one had a form fitting blue, sleeveless dress, and dyed red hair that was thin enough to see the inch of dark grey coming through. The other wore a teal hat. Sort of like a cowboy had, but the sides didn’t curl up. Unlike other passers-by who would do sort of a walk-dance with one hand in the air, the other holding a drink, turning and laughing toward each other, the two women stayed and danced. They danced with the man in the loose jeans, they danced with the trumpet player as he walked out to them. They kissed him on the cheek and hugged him. They pulled out a white handkerchief and
waved it around. Eventually they began to grow their own crowd. They were a spectacle to behold. Didn’t they know the band was just for show? Clap politely at the end of the song, but don’t linger too long. And for god’s sake don’t interact with them, let alone KISS them.

They put money in the purple, yellow, and green feathered tip jar, kissed the band again, and then walked the tip jar around the crowd. Did I mention the women were white? They were. A few people threw some money in, a few stayed behind their phones getting a real, authentic New Orleans souvenir.

The rest of the people stayed in place and smiled and laughed along with the women not giving money, and careful not to move enough that someone might mistake it for dancing.

Hoping to feed off the excitement of the ladies, one of the trumpet players, seemingly a leader in the band, began interacting with people as they walked by. As this began to happen, the crowd thinned as people scurried away from the possibility of being brought off the steps and onto the street. Two attractive girls in their 20’s paused to take video. One made the mistake of stepping onto the street to have her friend take her picture with the band in the background. The trumpet player walked over and began dancing with her, taking her hand and leading her to where the older ladies were dancing. Being good sports, the two girls followed, both laughing, the one taking the photo prior now videoing the girl being lead. They stayed for a few seconds, the one posing for pictures again, and then moved on.

After seeing the trauma the girls went through, the rest of the crowd dispersed…besides of course the dancing ladies. The trumpet player went back to trying to draw in people passing by, but apparently the stunt he just pulled with the two girls was too fresh in people’s minds. A father, inspired by the girls’ original intent, positioned his daughter a safe distance away from the band while still keeping them as a backdrop. The girl posed in the way 11-year-olds know how to do these days—hand on the hip, knee bent, chin down, shoulders back—dad snapped a pic and they were on their way.

There was eventually a lull in the groups of people walking by, so the trumpet player abandoned his efforts of pulling more people in and walked back to the band and the dancing ladies. Remember the dancing ladies? The ladies danced the band through one more song until their break where they talked with them some more before moving on.

By this point, the band at the other end of the square had begun to play. They were younger, many looking as though they were still in their twenties. They weren’t as interactive with the crowd, standing farther back and never walking out into the walkway. The people liked this. A much larger crowd formed, still careful to keep a safe distance between the performers and audience however, we couldn’t have another incident like the one down the block. The younger band also didn’t have an ornate a tip jar. Rather they had three cardboard boxes with TIPS written on them and sat them closer to the audience.
than the band. It was a good strategy as the second band received more than double the number of people placing money in the tip jar during their session than the first band.

Above the groups of people watching, surveillance cameras pointed at the bands, the sidewalks, and the tourists watching. They also pointed at the young man who had wedged his torso into the middle of the anti-homeless bars on a bench between two street artists and lie sleeping with his neck resting on one bar, his head hanging down grazing the bench, and his feet kicked up on the back of the bench. They also pointed at the middle-aged man in white cargo shorts and a store-bought Pink Floyd t-shirt who stopped to take a picture of him.

The cameras are remnants of the $40 million plan put forth by the city in 2017 to set up surveillance cameras throughout the French Quarter and in every drinking establishment throughout the city. Cameras that, on top of increased police presence in the Quarter in a city where the urban jail incarceration rate is almost double the national average, with black men 50% more likely than white men to be arrested; many arrested on ‘low risk’ crimes, would feed straight to the police station. The ordinance was eventually blocked after a Second Line parade lead by city musicians, street performers, and other tourism workers who opposed being under constant surveillance, marched to City Hall. A win for the workers, yet the cameras remain.

After the brass bands took a break and the ‘bucket boys’ were trying their hand at gathering a crowd, I continued walking. I walked past a magician, and an artist who’d gained the attention of three police officers seemingly questioning permitting papers.

Eventually I walked back to where this story began, at the corner of Decatur and St. Peter. As I walked down the street, I heard the sound of tapping. As I got closer, I saw three young men up against a building tap-dancing as people walked by. Their brown, shirtless bodies were tight and strong, their gym shorts baggy. They each had a brown box in front of them, similar to the second brass band, yet they were more forward with the people passing by. As I walked passed them, there was a family—mom, dad, and two pre-teen girls—walking in front of me. The young men asked for money while they danced, and the family sped up their pace and tried to ignore them.

“Oh we’ve got a strong man here,” they yelled, “look at this big strong man walking. I wish I was big and strong like him.”

I was able to ride the wake behind the family, while judging the actions of the family and the reaction of the young men. Can you believe them, I felt we nodded to each other. After I passed them, I came to a Wal-Greens on the corner. I was out of cash so I decided to stop in and get a pack of gum and some cash back.

When I walk back by them I thought, I’ll be sure to give them a tip. I’ll make up for that asshole who kept walking. After all, we got each other.
Before going back, I noticed across the street there was another group of young men doing the same thing. The two groups at times would play off each other, calling out across the street.

Next to the group across the street, two older women, think back to the freshly pressed khaki description above, walked out and paused as they walked out the door of a CVS. That’s right, there is a CVS across from a Wal-greens on the corner of Decatur and Wilkinson in the French Quarter in New Orleans. You’re welcome for the tip.

Back to the young men. One of them walked up behind the women and started tapping and clapping. The sun glistened off the sweat on his back, and he clapped louder and danced closer. The ladies went on talking as though they heard nothing, careful to keep their backs to him. Turn around and at least acknowledge him, I thought to myself. He finally gave up.

As I started back down the street, I had a $5.00 bill in my hand ready to give it out. I was the only one on the sidewalk at that time, so the attention was on me. “Hey beautiful,” they yelled, one of them picking up his box for me to place my money into it, so I proudly dropped my bill into it. Before the bill had left my hand, the other three grabbed their boxes and circled around me. “Please, something for everyone, don’t just give it to him, please.” I was surprised by the reaction. I’m not sure what reaction I was expecting. Actually, I am sure, but that’s too embarrassing to say out loud. What actually happened in my reaction to them was I blurted out “I’m sorry, I’m sorry, that’s all I have.”

That was a lie.

One time in New Orleans I caused a fight on the street among friends because I thought a book of notes and a $5.00 bill showed I understood 300 years of being the object of the tourist gaze. Of being the object of surveillance and police enforcement while at the same time remaining invisible when it comes to housing, business ownership, education, or the redistribution of tourism revenue. That I was sensitive to the power dynamics at play when the tourist dollar is in charge. One time in New Orleans, I was a fool.
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APPENDICES
### Appendix A

#### Research Time Log

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<th>METHOD</th>
<th>DAY OF WEEK</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>BEGIN TIME</th>
<th>END TIME</th>
<th>TIME SPENT</th>
<th>GUESTS</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
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<td>1/15/2019</td>
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<td>3:10pm</td>
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<td>None</td>
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<td>11:00am</td>
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<td>1:30pm</td>
<td>2:00pm</td>
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<td>F/W</td>
<td>Provided vehicle to contact when in town</td>
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<td>F/W</td>
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#### Notes:

- Several informal interactions throughout trip.
- No concrete field notes.
Appendix B

New Orleans Neighborhood Map

Figure B. Map of New Orleans’ 73 official city neighborhoods. Reprinted from New Orleans City Planning Commission. NOLA.com. Retrieved from https://www.nola.com/300/article_f8caed36-45e2-534e-9534-dec74620778b.html
Appendix C

Interview Guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How do sociocultural, economic and political factors affect tourism workers in New Orleans?

- How has historical sociocultural, economic and political institutions shaped the structure of the tourism workforce in the United States?
- How has the discourse used directly after Hurricane Katrina shaped tourism workers’ position within the New Orleans tourism complex?
- How does the tourism workforce engage with and experience the storied landscape of tourism in New Orleans?
  - How are lived experiences vocalized through storytelling?
  - How do tourism workers’ stories counter dominant stories?

INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS

Demographic Information

Tell me a little about yourself? How would you describe yourself to someone whom you have never met? Possible info:

- Age
- Race
- Family
- Where you live in the city
- Where are you originally from?

- Self-identified SES
- Occupation
- Hobbies/Interests

Participant’s role and perceptions of NOLA tourism

What are your thoughts about tourism in NOLA?

What is it like working in tourism in NOLA? When did you first start working in the industry?

What are the benefits of tourism in the city? Are there any negative aspects? If so what?

How do you think they could be improved?
What are your most positive experiences with tourism in the city? What are the most negative?

Has the city changed since Hurricane Katrina? How so?

What role do you think tourism played in those changes?

What is the culture of New Orleans?

How do you see that culture reflected in New Orleans tourism?

What are things about New Orleans you wish tourists were more aware of?

How would you feel if tourism was no longer a major industry in New Orleans?

Would you leave the industry if another option presented itself? Why or why not?

What comments or other things should I know that we have not yet addressed in this interview?
## Appendix D

### Institutional Review Board (IRB) Application

**IRB Exempt Review Application**

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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>B</td>
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### 1. Developmental Approval:
Enter the IRB protocol number if developmental approval was granted for this research study (temporary approval granted by the IRB for funded projects).

n/a

### 2. Research Title:
Through their eyes: A look into the experience of tourism workers using Photovoice

Enter title used on consent document(s), if different from research title:

If class project, include course number and title:

### 3. Principal Investigator (PI):
The PI must be a member of the Clemson faculty or staff. Graduate students may not be the PI if they are conducting the study for their thesis or dissertation. The PI must have completed IRB approved **human research protections training**. Training will be verified by IRB staff before approval is granted.

Name: Dr. William C. Norman

Department: PRTM

E-mail: wnorman@clemson.edu

Campus address: 275B Lehotsky Hall

Phone: 864-657-3582

Fax:

### 4. Co-Investigator(s):
Co-investigators not affiliated with Clemson University need IRB review at their home institution. IRB training recommended for co-investigators involved with exempt studies but not required for IRB approval.

Name: Katie Dudley

Department: PRTM

E-mail: kdudley@clemson.edu

Phone: 618-954-8257

<table>
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<th>Undergraduate student</th>
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Name:

E-mail:

Department:

Phone:

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<th>Undergraduate student</th>
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</table>
5. Research Team Roles: Describe team member’s role on the study, indicating which team member will be responsible for recruiting, obtaining informed consent, and/or collecting data.

Description: Dr. Norman is the PI for the research and will oversee all research efforts, including data collection, analysis and reporting. Katie Dudley is a graduate student. She will also be responsible for data collection, analysis, and reporting.

6. E-mail Communications: Enter the name and e-mail address for co-investigator or administrative staff to be copied on all e-mail communications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name: Katie Dudley</th>
<th>E-mail: <a href="mailto:kdudley@g.clemson.edu">kdudley@g.clemson.edu</a></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name:</td>
<td>E-mail:</td>
</tr>
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</table>

7. Study Purpose: Describe the purpose of the study using lay language and avoiding technical terms. IRB members not familiar with the area of research must understand the nature of the research.

Description: The purpose of the proposed research is to gather information that will provide a deeper understanding of the experiences of those working in non-managerial front-line tourism positions in the travel, tourism, and hospitality industry (e.g., hotels, restaurants, tour operators, and other tourism-related businesses) in coastal tourism destinations in the Southeast. The study will also assess the value of using Photovoice methodology in understanding issues facing the workforce. Specifically, we want to understand issues related to job security, job precariousness, and how that translates to lived experiences of travel, tourism and hospitality workers.

8. Benefits and Sharing of Results: Describe the potential benefit(s) to the participants and/or society that may be reasonably expected as a result from this study.

Description: The study will focus on three elements: 1) collecting baseline data on the experiences of those working in non-managerial front-line tourism positions in the travel, tourism, and hospitality industry (e.g., hotels, restaurants, tour operators, and other tourism-related businesses) in coastal tourism destinations in the Southeast. 2) identifying positive and negative themes affecting tourism workers. 3) uncovering paths to creating positive change. As such, this work has the potential to improve our understanding of issues facing the tourism workforce, so that we can move towards creating policy or programs to aid in improving the livelihood of tourism workers.

Upon conclusion of the study, describe how results will be shared (e.g., academic publication, evaluation report to funder, conference presentation)?

Description: The results will be shared via academic publication, academic conference presentations, and through a community display of the photographs. The display of the photographs will be voluntary and is addressed in the participant consent forms.

9. Anticipated Dates or Research: Enter anticipated start date (may not be prior to IRB approval; may be “upon IRB approval”): upon IRB approval.

Anticipated completion date, include time needed for analysis of individually identifiable data: 04/30/2019
10. Funding Source: Check all that apply.

☐ Submitted for internal funding
☐ Internally funded
☐ Submitted for external funding
  Funding source, if applicable (Do not use initials): _____
  Proposal number (PPN) for the Office of Sponsored Programs: _____
  Name of PI on Funding Proposal: _____
☐ Externally funded
  Funding source, if applicable (Do not use initials): _____
  Proposal number (PPN) for the Office of Sponsored Programs: _____
  Name of PI on Funding Proposal: _____
☐ Intend to seek funding: From whom? _____
☐ Not funded

11. Support provided by Creative Inquiry Initiative: ☐ Yes ☐ No

12. Other IRB Approvals:

Was this research study approved or is it currently being reviewed by another IRB? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If YES, enter name of institution: _____ Determination Date: _____

What was their determination? ☐ Approved ☐ Disapproved ☐ Pending

Include determination notice/letter with IRB packet.

13. Exempt Review Categories: The Code of Federal Regulations, 45 CFR 46.101, permits research activities in the following six categories to be exempted. Check the relevant exemption category/categories for your study.

The Federal Office of Human Research Protections has developed Decision Charts to assist with determining whether a particular study falls within one of exemption categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Research Activities Exempt from Continuing Review</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☐ B1. Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. research on regular and special education instructional strategies, OR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTE: Survey and interview procedures with minors are exemptible if the activities fall within this category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☑ B2. Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, UNLESS:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. the information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human participants can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the participants; AND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. any disclosure of the human participants’ responses outside the research could reasonably place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the participants’ financial standing, employability, or reputation.

NOTE: Survey and interview techniques which include minors are not exempt. Observation of the public behavior of minors, if the researcher is not a participant, is exempt.

☐ B3. Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under Category B2, if:
   a. the human participants are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office, or
   b. federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.

☐ B4. Research, involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that participants cannot be identified directly or through identifiers linked to the participants.

☐ B5. NOTE: Please contact the IRB office before selecting this category since use of this exemption must be initiated by the agency head of the federal funder.
   Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of appropriate Federal Department or Agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine:
   a. public benefit or service programs; or
   b. procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; or
   c. possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or
   d. possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.

☐ B6. Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies,
   a. if wholesome foods without additives are consumed, OR
   b. if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

14. If you selected **Exempt Category B4**, complete questions a through g below:
   a. Provide a detailed description of the data or specimens and what information will be used. _____
   b. What is the source of the data or specimens? _____
   c. Are the data or specimens publicly available without restriction or password? (That is, can the general public obtain the data or specimens? Data are not considered publicly available if access is limited to researchers.)
      Yes ☐ No ☐
      *If yes, please contact the IRB staff for consultation. You may not be conducting research involving human subjects as defined in the federal regulations governing research involving human subjects (45 CFR 46.102).*
   d. If the data or specimens are not publicly available, how are you obtaining permission to access these or to use them for research purposes? _____

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Please attach a copy of the correspondence or agreement granting you permission.

e. How will you receive the data or specimens (e.g., electronic file, access to hard copy records at record-holder’s institution, test tube)?

f. How are the data or specimens identified when they are made available to you?
   1) Direct Identifier (e.g., subject name, address, social security number).
      a) Will you record any direct identifiers that are available to you? Yes* No
      b) Will you have access to the data from home or office? Yes* No
   2) Indirect Identifier (e.g., an assigned code that could be used by the investigator or the source providing the data or specimens to identify a subject, such as a pathology tracking number or a tracking code used by the source).
      a) Will you or a team member have access to the data set code key? Yes* No
      If you will receive data with indirect identifiers only, please contact the IRB staff for consultation.
      You may not be conducting research involving human subjects as defined in the federal regulations governing research involving human subjects (45 CFR 46.102).
   3) No Identifier (i.e., neither the researcher nor the source providing the data or specimens can identify a subject based upon information provided with the data or specimens).
      If it will be impossible for anyone to identify subjects based upon information provided with the data or specimens, you will not be conducting research involving human subjects as defined in the federal regulations governing research involving human subjects (45 CFR 46). Please contact the IRB staff for confirmation.

   *Your research does not qualify for exemption from IRB review under Exempt Category B4.

   SKIP TO QUESTION 21 if you are only applying for exemption under Exempt Category B4.

15. Study Sample: (Groups specifically targeted for study)
   Describe the participants you plan to recruit and the criteria used in the selection process. Describe any inclusion or exclusion criteria.

   Description: Participants will be those who are 18 years of age and older and work in non-managerial frontline tourism positions in the travel, tourism, and hospitality industry (e.g., hotels, restaurants, tour operators, and other tourism-related businesses) in coastal tourism destinations in the Southeast. The sampling will start with purposeful sampling using US census data as well as local contacts and agencies to reach out to participants and make placement of recruitment flyers. The strategy for the purposeful sampling will be guided by the aim of maximum variation sampling, meaning developing discussion groups that consist of participants as different as possible using dimensions such as job title or function, time within the industry, age, gender, race, and nationality. If the participant pool needs to be diversified at any time, the researcher may ask for additional recommendations from participants employing a snowball sampling procedure. Potential participants will be asked to fill out an application and undergo an initial interview (see Appendix A) to gauge commitment to the project.

Age range of participants: 18+  Projected number of participants: 30
Study sample includes (check all that apply):

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☐ Employees  ☐ Students  ☐ Minors (under 18)1
☐ Pregnant women1  ☐ Fetuses/neonates1  ☐ Educationally/economically disadvantaged1
☐ Minors who are wards of the state, or any other agency, institution, or entity1
☐ Individuals who are incarcerated2
☐ Persons incompetent to give valid consent1
☐ DoD personnel  ☐ Other-specify: _____

1 State necessity for this type of participant: _____
2 Research involving prisoners (incarcerated individuals) requires full board review. Please submit the Full Board Review Application and a Prisoner Research Addendum.

16. Study Locations: Check all that apply.
☐ Clemson University  ☐ Other University/College _____
☐ School System/Individual Schools _____  ☐ Other — specify Coastal tourism destinations in the U.S. Southeast

You may need school/district permission if participants will be recruited or data will be obtained through schools. Permission may be necessary for sites not affiliated with Clemson University. Contact appropriate office/department and keep documentation on file.

17. Recruitment Procedures: Describe how prospective participants will be contacted/recruited for the study and how contact information will be obtained, include a copy of the recruitment materials in the packet (e.g., advertisements, flyers, oral and/or telephone scripts, cover letters, or follow-up reminders). Participants may not be contacted prior to IRB review.

Description: Participation is voluntary and subjects will not be coerced in any way. The participants will be determined through personal contacts and recruitment flyers placed in public spaces (see Appendix B).

18. Participant Incentives: Will participants receive any incentive or compensation for participating in the study? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If YES, check all that apply and provide requested information.
☐ Course/extra credit for students (an equivalent alternative to research participation must be provided and described in your informed consent document(s)).
☐ Gift(s) - describe gift(s) [include value and when gift(s) will be given]: _____
☐ Monetary incentive(s) - describe incentive(s) [include value and when incentive(s) will be given]: _____

19. Informed Consent: Describe the informed consent process, include who will obtain consent, when, and how this will be done. Provide a copy of the participants’ and/or guardian’s informed consent document(s): information letter, online script, and/or oral script.

Description: Individuals will be approached in person or by phone and asked to sign a written consent form (see Appendix C). If by phone, a written information sheet will be provided via email, and if in-person, hard copies of the information will be provided. Due to the power, ethics and legal issues that can accompany photovoice projects, participants will also be asked to sign a photovoice ethics agreement form (see Appendix D). Participants will also be required to obtain consent from any persons whose face is apparent in the photographs (see Appendix E).
Will you use concealment (incomplete disclosure) or deception in this study?  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
If YES, describe concealment or deception and provide rationale below. See guidance regarding Research Involving Deception or Concealment and provide a copy of the debriefing form.
Description:  ____

20. Methods and Procedures:
   a. What data will you collect? Submit copy of data collection instruments/tools for review (i.e., surveys, interview questions).
      Data will be collected using a community-based participatory research approach rooted in group discussion. Because group discussions are conversational and interactive, it is impossible to provide the exact wording of all potential questions, especially probing questions that occur in situ. However, Sample agendas of each session are attached (see Appendix F) as well as a modified process of "SHOWED" that will be used to ignite discussions around photographs taken by participants (see Appendix G). The structure and content of the proposed guidelines are informed by previous literature written on the topics of the tourism workforce, and participatory action research (specifically photovoice). Additionally, a field log will be kept by the researchers that will include observational data.

   b. How will you collect the data?
      ☐ In-person contact  ☐ Telephone
      ☐ E-Mail  ☐ Mail
      ☐ Online/website  ☐ Other - specify ____

   c. Will you audio/video record or photograph participants?  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
      If YES, check all that apply:  ☐ Audio  ☐ Video  ☐ Photographs
      If YES, will you use audio, video, or photographs in presentations, publications, and/or training materials?  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
      Refer to guidance on audio/video and/or photography for more information and what is required in the informed consent document or script.

   d. Describe, in detail, your data collection methods and procedures. Describe how data will be obtained and provide information on what sessions will be audio/video recorded and/or photographed.
      Subjects will be asked to voluntarily participate in a photovoice project. Attached is detailed information concerning training that participants will receive about 1) the types of photographs they should take (as well as the types of photos to avoid), 2) the procedures they should follow when taking pictures of others, including obtaining signed permission, 3) instructions participants will be given concerning ethical considerations and respect for the privacy of others, and 4) instructions participants will receive concerning their own personal safety.
There will be five group sessions in total, one for an introduction to the project (see attached), and four dedicated to discussing photographs. Each session will be facilitated by Katie Dudley and will last approximately two hours. Participants are expected to attend each session, however, they are free to leave the project at any time for any reason.

Group sessions will be audio recorded and then transcribed; neither recordings nor transcripts will contain any information allowing identification of individual participants.

e. What is the total time (minutes, hours, days) that each participant will spend in the entire study, include follow-up sessions?

Initial interview: 30 minutes
Group discussions (5) - 10 hours over a six week period

21. Data Management Plan: Describe what identifiable data you will obtain from the participants and who will have access to the identifiable data. What security measures will you take to protect the confidentiality of the information obtained? Where will the data be stored and how will it be secured? How will identifiers be maintained and when will you destroy the identifiers (i.e., names, audio/video recordings, photographs)?

Description: All data collected in this study is confidential. The digital recordings as well as the electronic data files will be kept on password protected personal computers. The audiotapes will be used purely for research purposes and will only be accessed by the researchers. Once the data is transcribed, the audio recordings will be destroyed immediately. The text data will be kept until the research is expected to be completed in 2019. Participants will be asked what level of confidentiality they would like in regard to the photographs taken (see attached).

22. Conflict of Interest Statement/Financial Disclosure:

Could the results of the study provide an actual or potential financial gain to you, a member of your family, or any of the co-investigators, or give the appearance of a potential conflict of interest (COI)? Refer to Conflict of Interest policy for more information.

☐ No.
☐ Yes

If YES, indicate the status of the COI and/or financial disclosure:
☐ On file with COI office  ☐ Will be submitted to COI office

23. PI Verification:

☐ I am the PI and have reviewed the IRB research protocol packet (application, recruitment materials, informed consent materials, and data collection instruments/tools). I request review of this research protocol by Clemson University’s IRB.

The PI should submit the complete packet to IRB@clemson.edu. Receipt of the application electronically from the PI will qualify the application as a signed electronic submission.
Submission Instructions and IRB Review Process: There is no deadline for submitting exempt applications for review. Complete Exempt packets are processed as received. Approval is usually granted within 14 days of receipt of the application. It is recommended that you submit your IRB application at least a month before your anticipated start date.

International research - please note that the approval of international research may require additional time due to requirements in other countries, negotiation of Individual Investigator Agreements, arranging appropriate local context reviews, and geographical and communication constraints. It is recommended you submit your IRB application at least three months prior to your anticipated study start date. More information on local context reviews is available on our FAQ webpage, http://www.clemson.edu/research/compliance/irb-faq.html.
# Appendix E

## A timeline of Development of the U.S. Workforce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>The Naturalization Act of 1790 allows any free White person of “good character,” who has been living in the U.S. for two years or more to apply for citizenship. Without citizenship, nonwhite residents are denied basic constitutional protections, including the right to vote, own property, or testify in court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Peace is re-established between the U.S. and Britain after the War of 1812. Immigration from Western Europe turns from a trickle into a gush, which causes a shift in the demographics of the U.S. This first major wave of immigration lasts until the Civil War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>Congress passes Civilization Act of 1819 to assimilate Native Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Congress passes Indian Removal Act, legalized removal of all Native Americans east of the Mississippi to lands west of the river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-1838</td>
<td>Trail of Tears. As part of Andrew Jackson’s Indian removal policy, the Cherokee nation was forced to give up its lands east of the Mississippi River and to migrate to an area in present-day Oklahoma. Over 4,000 out of 15,000 of the Cherokee died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo cedes Mexican territory in Southwest to the U.S. The treaty promises to protect the land, language, and culture of Mexicans living in the ceded territory. In reality, Congress refuses to pass Article X, which stipulated the protection of the ancestral lands of Mexican people. Instead, Congress requires them to prove, in U.S. courts, speaking English, with U.S. lawyers, that they have legitimate titles to their lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>America’s first anti-immigration political party, the Know-Nothing Party forms as a backlash to the increasing number of German and Irish immigrants settling in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>The California legislature passes the Foreign Miners Tax, which requires Chinese and Latin American gold miners to pay a special tax on their holdings, a tax not required of European American miners. Congress passes the Fugitive Slave Law allowing federal marshals to capture runaway slaves and enlist the assistance of other Whites; also makes it possible for a Black person to be captured as a slave solely on the sworn statement of a White person with no right to challenge the claim in court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Dred Scott v. Sanford endorses southern views on race when Dred Scott, an enslaved man who followed his owner to a free state, sued for his freedom. The Supreme Court ruled that Scott was still a slave. The work of White men is romanticized in tales of westward expansion by leisure travelers, while the work of those providing service for such travelers remain invisible (Andrews, 2005).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>U.S. population totals 31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin become President and Vice President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-1864</td>
<td>Emancipation Proclamation is signed by Lincoln, freeing the enslaved people in the Confederate states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Civil War ends. Four million enslaved Black people are freed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13th Amendment bans slavery in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharecropping becomes institutionalized in the South.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Black Codes:** Restrictive laws designed to limit the freedom of African Americans and ensure their availability as a cheap labor force after slavery was abolished during the Civil War. For instance, Mississippi’s law required Black persons to have written evidence of employment for the coming year each January; if they left before the end of the contract, they would be forced to forfeit earlier wages and were subject to arrest. In South Carolina, a law prohibited Black persons from holding any occupation other than farmer or servant unless they paid an annual tax of $10 to $100 (Black Codes, 2018).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Result/Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867-1868</td>
<td>Reconstruction Acts are passed by Congress.</td>
<td>The Freedman’s Bureau publishes regular reports of mob violence and intimidation in the South.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14th Amendment grants citizenship to African Americans and guarantees “equal protection of the laws” to all U.S. citizens.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reconstruction:** The Union victory in the Civil War in 1865 may have given some 4 million slaves their freedom, but the process of rebuilding the South during the Reconstruction period (1865-1877) introduced a new set of significant challenges. Under the administration of President Andrew Johnson in 1865 and 1866, the former Confederate states were required to uphold the abolition of slavery, swear loyalty to the Union and pay off their war debt. Beyond those limitations, the states and their ruling class—traditionally dominated by White planters—were given a relatively free hand in rebuilding their own governments. White southerners showed a steadfast commitment to ensuring their supremacy and the survival of plantation agriculture in the postwar years. Support for Reconstruction policies waned after the early
### 1870s

Undermined by the violence of White supremacist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan (Black Codes, 2018).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Naturalization Act of 1870 revises Naturalization Act of 1790 and the 14th Amendment so that naturalization is limited to White persons and persons of African descent, effectively excluding Chinese and other Asian immigrants from naturalization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Slaughterhouse Cases: U.S. Supreme Court rules that the 14th Amendment guarantee of “equal protection of the laws” extends only to federal civil rights, thus removing southern states from the duty to protect the civil rights of African Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td><strong>Civil Rights Act</strong> is passed by Congress granting equal rights to Black citizens in public accommodations and jury duty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Jim Crow legislation to segregate public transportation is passed in Tennessee, as well as vagrancy law and a contract labor law to assert more control over Black labor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Reconstruction ends with Hayes-Tilden Compromise. Union troops end the occupation of the former Confederacy and their protection of Southern Black citizens. Whites soon regain political control and eradicate Black involvement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>U.S. Supreme Court rules Chinese individuals are ineligible for naturalized citizenship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>America begins a rapid period of industrialization and urbanization causing a second immigration boom. The majority are from Southern, Eastern and Central Europe, including 4 million Italians and 2 million Jews. Many of them settle in major U.S. cities and work in factories. Many domestic servants in California are Asian men (Katzman, 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Expansion of Jim Crow: Tennessee amends its earlier Jim Crow law to mandate separate train cars for Black passengers. Florida, Mississippi, and Texas pass similar laws later in the decade. More southern states follow in the 1890s and 1900s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>The Chinese Exclusion Act passes, which bars Chinese immigrants from entering the U.S. in reaction to a steady flow of Chinese workers immigrating to the U.S. The 1882 Act is the first in U.S. history to place broad restrictions on certain immigrant groups. American Chinatowns gain notoriety as vice resorts attracting White miners or ‘roustabouts’ to take part in gambling, drugs and prostitution (Light, 1974, p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Civil Rights cases: U.S. Supreme Court rules that Congress can regulate only state action regarding racial discrimination, not private action (i.e. the 14th Amendment does not empower Congress to ban racial discrimination in public facilities, as they are privately owned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Disenfranchisement begins with the “Mississippi Plan.” To minimize the number of Black voters, Mississippi institutes a literacy test, a poll tax, and the &quot;grandfather clause.&quot; By 1910, most southern states pass similar laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Ellis Island, the U.S.’s first immigration station, opens in New York Harbor. More than 12 million immigrants would enter the U.S. through Ellis Island between 1892 and 1954.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Plessy v. Ferguson. U.S. Supreme Court upholds Jim Crow segregation laws, declaring that “separate but equal” facilities do not violate the 14th Amendment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Race riot in Wilmington, North Carolina sees the worst mob violence against Black persons since Reconstruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Chinese immigration made permanently illegal; Chinese population sharply declines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>The U.S. and Japan sign the Gentlemen’s Agreement amid prejudices in California that an influx of Japanese workers would cost white workers farming jobs and depress wages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Baltimore passes first city ordinance to segregate neighborhoods, specifying the boundaries of Black and White sections. Many southern states and cities pass similar laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Angel Island opens, billed as the “Ellis Island of the West,” but used primarily as a detention center to control the flow of Asian immigrants (primarily Chinese) into the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>A fire broke out in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory, killing 146 mostly immigrant women and girls. The tragedy exposed unsafe working conditions endured by newly arrived European immigrants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Senate Dillingham Commission report of 1911 describes Mexicans as notoriously indolent and unprogressive in all matters of education and culture...fit only for jobs reserved for the lowest grade of non-assimilable native-born races.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914-1918</td>
<td>Approximately 500,000 African Americans moved from the rural South to the North and Midwest as wartime employment in factories peaked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914-1918</td>
<td>Even in the North, Black workers encountered violence at the hands of White workers, who resented competition for jobs and Black economic success. Segregation and discrimination in housing, education and jobs was pervasive in the North as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>The Immigration Act of 1917, known as the Asian Barred Zone Act, establishes a literacy requirement for immigrants entering the country and halts immigration from most Asian countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>40 Black people and 8 White people were killed in race riots in East St. Louis, Illinois, sparked by White resentment of Black workers in wartime jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Red Summer. Race riots broke out in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and throughout the South, triggered by large-scale migration North, and Black employment opportunity during the war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>To this point, Asian men serve as most domestic servants or ‘houseboys’ in Hawaii (Lind, 1951).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Tulsa, Oklahoma race riots. White residents killed at least 300 Black residents and...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>The Immigration Act of 1924 limits the number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. yearly through nationality quotas. Three countries, Great Britain, Ireland and Germany account for 70% of all available visas. The Act completely excludes immigrants from Asia, aside from the Philippines, then an American colony. Illegal immigration increases. The U.S. Border Patrol is established to crack down on illegal immigrants crossing the Mexican and Canadian borders into the U.S. Many of these early border crossers were Chinese and other Asian immigrants, who had been barred from entering legally.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>The Tydings-McDuffie Act grants independence to the Philippines and limits its Filipino immigration to 50 persons per year. The act specifies that in 1946, when independence is complete, all Filipinos will be excluded under the provisions of the Oriental Exclusion Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>The National Labor Relations Act (the Wagner Act) legalizes the right to organize and create unions but excludes farm workers and domestic workers, most of whom are Chicano/a, Asian, and African American.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Labor shortages during World War II prompt the U.S. and Mexico to form the Bracero Program, which allowed Mexican agricultural workers to enter the U.S. temporarily. Workers were later sent home without the promised pay due to them. FDR signs Executive Order 9066, ordering the evacuation and mass incarceration of 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast, most of whom are U.S. citizens or documented immigrants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>White mobs in Los Angeles attack young Mexicans leading to the famous Zoot Suit riots. White mobs in Detroit murder 34 African Americans. Congress lifts the ban on Chinese immigration and Chinese people are permitted to become naturalized citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Court ends <em>de jure</em> segregation in California in <em>Mendez v. Westminster</em>, finding that Mexican American children were segregated based on their “Latinized” appearance and district boundaries manipulated to ensure that Mexican American children attended separate schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>The McCarran-Walter Act formally ends the exclusion of Asian immigrants to the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service sets up Operation Wetback to round up and deport “illegal” Mexicans living in the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Fourteen-year-old Emmett Till is kidnapped, brutally beaten, shot and killed for allegedly whistling at a White woman. Two White men arrested for the murder are acquitted by an all-White jury and boast about the murder in a <em>Look</em> magazine interview. Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat at the front of the “colored” section to a White passenger and is arrested. In response the Montgomery bus boycott begins and lasts over a year until the busses are desegregated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Four Black students begin a sit-in at a Woolworth’s lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. Six months later the same four students are served. Student sit-ins continue throughout the South and succeed in desegregating swimming pools, parks, theatres, libraries, and other public facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Approximately 250,000 people take part in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964, outlawing discrimination in jobs and public accommodations based on race, color, religion, or national origin and providing the federal government with the power to enforce desegregation. Title VII of the Act establishes the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to help prevent workplace discrimination. Three civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman are murdered by Klansmen in Mississippi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Mexican American labor leader, Cesar Chavez, organizes the United Farm Workers to strike to change the terrible working conditions of migrant workers. Immigration and Naturalization Act — Immigration reform law repeals national origins quotas, impacting peoples of Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Immediate family members of U.S. citizens are exempt from quotas. This immigration act contributed to the changing demographics of the immigrant population and, also to the increasing racial, ethnic, and religious diversity of the U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Martin Luther King, Jr. is murdered by racist James Earl Ray. African Americans riot in 168 towns and cities President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1968, also known as the Fair Housing Act, outlawing discrimination in financing, sale and rental of housing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Unemployed auto workers in Detroit, blaming the Japanese for the loss of their jobs, murder Vincent Chin, a Chinese American mistaken for Japanese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>The Immigration Reform and Control Act criminalizes the employment of undocumented workers; establishes one-year amnesty for undocumented workers living in the U.S. since 1982; and mandates intensification of the Border Patrol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure E. A brief timeline of political and racial policy and ideology shaping the U.S. workforce through the Civil Rights era. Adapted from M. Adams, L.A. Bell, & P. Griffin (2007); Library of Congress (n.d.); History (2019).*
Appendix F

Sample of Initial Iterations of Messy Maps

Figure F. First Messy Map. Human and non-human actants involved in discursively shaping the tourism complex in New Orleans.