SUSTAINABLE TOURISM IN NEW ENGLAND GATEWAY CITIES
A CASE STUDY OF NEW BEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Urban Affairs and Public Policy

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This thesis utilizes New Bedford as a case study to present three methods of sustainable tourism development in New England Gateway Cities. Gateway Cities present a unique challenge when planning for tourism given that these places are associated with industry and large immigrant enclaves, which can be taken as either positive or negative characteristics. Tourism has characteristics that can be equally challenging in determining what is beneficial or harmful to a destination. A focus on tourism development that is sustainable, meaning having a positive impact on the present and future generations of the local population without harming local resources, whether cultural or environmental, is one way to encourage economic development through tourism without doing harm to the local people or environment. The three methods of sustainable tourism that are presented in this thesis are: incorporating more eras of a destination's history into their tourism narrative, developing a commitment to a local economy with a focus on locally owned and operated businesses and local food, and utilizing social media outlets for marketing purposes.
Chapter 1

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM & DEINDUSTRIALIZED NEW ENGLAND

This thesis will explore three methods of achieving sustainable local tourism in deindustrialized New England Gateway Cities. The three methods are: incorporating more eras of the city’s history into the tourist narrative, especially forgotten or hidden history, developing a local first economy with a commitment to local food and businesses, and utilizing social media outlets for marketing purposes. These methods will be explored within each chapter and will use New Bedford, Massachusetts as a case study.

New England’s Deindustrialized Gateway Cities

The American Industrial Revolution, which began in New England in the late eighteenth century, had a profound impact on the economy and the built environment of the region. While manufacturing, initially, ushered in an era of prosperity, as well as hoards of immigrant workers, it ultimately left many cities in New England economically depressed. Currently, former manufacturing centers are left dealing with a waivered tax base, abandoned or dilapidating mills and workers housing, and unpopular reputations.
These historic centers of manufacturing in New England played an important role in the economic success, not only of the region, but also in most other parts of the country. In 1969, Jane Jacobs recognized the importance of the work done in these mill cities:

In the nineteenth century, saws and axes made in New England cleared the forests of Ohio; New England ploughs broke the prairie sod, New England scales weighed wheat and meat in Texas; New England serge clothed businessmen in San Francisco; New England cutlery skinned hides to be tanned in Milwaukee and sliced apples to be dried in Missouri; New England whale oil lit lamps across the continent; New England blankets warmed children by night and New England textbooks preached at them by day; New England guns armed the troops; and New England dies, lathes, looms, forges, presses and screwdrivers outfitted factories far and wide.¹

These locations, to name only a few, include Woonsocket and Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Manchester, New Hampshire, Saco, Maine, Willimantic, Connecticut, Winooski, Vermont, and Uxbridge and Webster, Massachusetts.

Many, if not all, of New England’s deindustrialized cities are known as Gateway Cities. This means that they have historical connections to various industries, high numbers of immigrants, a lower class population, and economic struggles. The industries, which made these cities, initially, wealthy or famous, have all diminished in capacity or altogether. MassInc. is an independent organization, founded in 1996, which hopes to shape public policy in Massachusetts with solid research and data and

also works on research and policy implementation within the Gateway Cities. At present, this organization has named twenty-four Gateway Cities in Massachusetts. In 2007, eleven cities\(^2\) in the Commonwealth were noted as Gateway Cities and in 2010 thirteen more cities were added to the list. Although these might include the most well known cities, besides Boston, in Massachusetts – meaning that a non-New Engander might have heard of them – they also suffer the most from poor reputations and economic decline. MassInc. believes that these Gateway Cities have enormous untapped potential. In 2007, they began researching what each Gateway City’s potential is and what could possibly be done at a policy level to affect economic change.

Increasingly, these Gateway Cities are becoming a popular alternative to Boston for Massachusetts’ young, professional population. According to Sara Horan, a 2009 graduate of Assumption College and a current Worcester resident:

> I wouldn't really call Worcester *impoverished*, even though it does have that reputation amongst the big cities in Massachusetts, and, furthermore, New England. It does have its bad areas, like every city, but from what I've seen, from living here for five years, it is not exceptionally *impoverished*. In terms of being a *deindustrialized* city, I actually read an article somewhere that since cities like Boston and Providence are becoming pretty much saturated, certain industries -like the medical industry, for example- are moving west to cities like Worcester and Framingham. I think some of the draw of these cities is that they are not saturated, and since they are not as economically

\(^2\) These eleven Gateway Cities are: Brockton, Fall River, Fitchburg, Haverhill, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Pittsfield, Springfield, Worcester, and New Bedford. In 2010, the list was expanded to include: Barnstable, Chelsea, Chicopee, Everett, Leominster, Lynn, Malden, Methuen, Quincy, Revere, Salem, Taunton, and Westfield.
advanced, there is clearly room for growth and investment. Also, one reason that I moved to Worcester, over Boston, is that the cost of living is so much cheaper. I was able to buy a nice condo right out of college - I could have never done that in Boston. Also, I think a lot of people, like my dad who works in Boston, see commuting into Boston as a nightmare. Driving takes longer and parking is more expensive in Boston. I feel like people don't have as strong of an association with that in Worcester or Framingham. One of the reasons is that these cities are built differently. In Boston, every block is a city, whereas Worcester and Framingham have a more town-like street plan, with the exception of one downtown area. Additionally, Worcester has just as much of a rich history as cities like Boston and Providence, along with a lot of great museums – which, no one knows about unless you live here - and is culturally rich and diverse. Also, Worcester has ten colleges within something like an eight-mile radius, which is probably the second highest after Boston - this, plus the lower cost of living and central location, probably attracts potential college students like myself. And once you go to college here, you're more likely to get a job in the area upon graduation due to local job fairs and recruiting programs. This help builds up the young, productive, professional population.3

The multitude of deindustrialized New England Gateway Cities could benefit from an increased effort to promote tourism.

Tourism can be an effective way to promote the positive aspects of a place, while contributing to economic growth. According to the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s Cultural Heritage Tourism 2010 Fact Sheet:

Tourism is big business. In 2008, travel and tourism directly contributed $772.9 billion to the U.S. economy. Travel and tourism is one of America’s largest employers, directly employing more than 7.7

3 Sara Horan, interviewed by Carolyn Barry, February 1, 2011
million people and creating a payroll income of 194.1 billion, and $117.3 billion in tax revenues for federal, state and local governments.\textsuperscript{4}

Since tourism is such a large aspect of an economy, and plans for economic growth in an area, it has become tied to issues of sustainable economic development and sustainable tourism.\textsuperscript{5} Thus, a focus on sustainable tourism is vital for cities that are historic or for those that are in economic decline, in order to best retain their original character and to ensure that any economic growth is not fleeting.

It is important, when promoting tourism, that a place does not become sterile or manufactured; retention of unique characteristics is important, especially with historic cities. Aylin Orbasli, in \textit{Tourists in Historic Towns: Urban Conservation and Heritage Management}\textsuperscript{6} (2000) outlines the balancing act required between tourism and preservation in historic towns. Orbaşlı states that:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Cultural Tourism and Sustainable local Development} edited by Girard and Nijkamp in the preface. This book begins by stating that cultural tourism has been very beneficial for the destination’s economies. However, cultural tourism also has many negative effects, including lowering the quality of life for locals and the loss of a local identity as the place becomes inauthentic. Thus, the local population becomes unable to sustain the conditions that inspired tourism in the first place. The book utilizes case studies from North America and Europe.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Tourists in Historic Towns} was helpful in gaining an understanding of the balancing act required between tourism and preservation. In particular, the level of preservation work that would be needed to entice tourists but not turn the destination into a place that could be perceived to be inauthentic.
\end{quote}
Visiting historic towns is not about going to a museum or reliving history, and urban conservation is not about preserving the past as an archaeological ruin; it is about enhancing an area which has qualities built upon the past, as a contemporary living environment.\footnote{Aylin Orbasli, \textit{Tourists in Historic Towns Urban Conservation and Heritage Management} (New York, New York: E & FN Spon, 2000), 4.}

Furthermore, in Greg Richard’s book: \textit{Cultural tourism: global and local perspectives} (2007), he asks the question of whether or not it will make sense to travel in the future as every place could very well look exactly the same.\footnote{Greg Richards \textit{Cultural tourism: global and local perspectives} page 7. This book was pivotal in gaining an understanding of the, possibly, contentious relationship between tourists and locals. This book is what gave me the idea to define sustainable tourism in such a way that it would be completely about locals, rather than outside tourists. This book is broken into four sections. The first section discusses the tensions caused by globalization, especially in how the trend affects authenticity at a tourist destination. The second section discusses the various reasons local residents would want to encourage tourism. The third section deals with the relationship between tourists and locals and the fourth section discusses how to go about interpreting the authentic, so it does not dissipate. This last section was important in understanding the thin line between an authentic historic place and a tourist destination that could be defined as ‘placeless.’}

\textbf{Sustainable Tourism: History and Definition}

The sustainable tourism movement descends from theories of environmental sustainability and sustainable development and began to gain ground in the United States on the wave of the environmental conscious movement of the 1970s.

Sustainable development grew out of this dialogue with the publication of the
Brundtland Commission Report in 1987. Sustainable tourism follows out of these practices, but did not enter into mainstream discussion until 1992 with the publication of Agenda 21, which, among other things, discussed the negative effects of economic development. Difficulty has emerged within the field of sustainable tourism due to the fact that strict and universally accepted rules on what is, and what is not, sustainable are only just beginning to be shaped.

The roots of the sustainable development movement can be traced back to the emergence of the national environmental conscious. The emergence of *Silent Spring* (Carson, 1962), which focused on the negative effects of pesticide usage, encouraged both governments and people to seriously consider the importance of environmental protection. In rapid succession, a series of laws aimed at righting the wrongs of previous, and current, generations were approved. Included in these was the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970, which determines and enforces environmental standards and monitors activities of individuals and companies. Also, within this decade, the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts were passed. In the 1980s, the Superfund Law was adopted, which focused on offering incentives to clean up polluted sites. Despite progress, this era focused mainly on the environmental aspect of sustainability, rather than including the remaining two principles of the
“Three E’s”: economy and equity.⁹

While the sustainability movement began to take off in full force following the environmental consciousness movement of the 1970s, its application to development did not begin until the last half of the twentieth century. The concept became popular after the United Nation’s Brundtland Commission Report was published in 1987. This report, entitled Our Common Future, dealt with sustainable development and determined:

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts: (1) the concept of ‘needs’, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and (2) the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.¹⁰

The United Nations Committee responsible for the Brundtland Report urged businesses and governments to alter their actions for the benefit of the next generation.

The movement to define sustainable tourism really began after Agenda 21 had made linkages between the environment and economic development. Agenda 21 was the outcome of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and


Development, which took place in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.\textsuperscript{11} It is an exhaustive plan aimed at global, national, and local activities that have ramifications for the environment.\textsuperscript{12} However, Agenda 21 never defined sustainable development, but, rather, relied on the definition determined earlier in the Brundtland Report. Indeed, some people believe that the theory does not need to be defined because doing so will limit its possibilities and, yet, others believe that by not creating a strict definition anything could count as sustainable tourism and create barriers towards progress.

This lack of a universal definition, combined with the nature of tourist literature, made it difficult to find a good amount of \textit{basic} information on the history and theories of sustainable tourism. John Swarbrooke’s \textit{Sustainable Tourism Management} (1999) was one of the first books to try and address an actual definition of sustainable tourism, as well as an outline of the movement’s history. This book is supported by five principles throughout:

1. Sustainable tourism is not just about protecting the environment; it is also concerned with long-term economic viability and social justice.

2. Initiatives designed to achieve sustainable tourism bring benefits to some people and costs to others. It is thus a highly political, rather than just a technocratic, field.

\textsuperscript{11} This Earth Summit is unrivaled in United Nations conference history due to the number of attendees and the scope of concern in the topics covered -over 172 governments attended. It was embraced by over 178 governments and more recently reaffirmed at the 2002 Earth Summit in Johannesburg, South Africa.

3. Sustainable tourism cannot be separated from the wider debate about sustainable development in general.

4. There is a need for more critical evaluation of existing thinking and techniques in the area of sustainable tourism. There are too many ‘sacred cows’ that are not being challenged rigorously enough or often enough. For example, where is the evidence that small-scale tourism is inherently more sustainable than mass tourism, regardless of the nature of the environment in which it takes place?

5. Progress towards more sustainable forms of tourism will depend far more on the activities of the industry and the attitudes of tourists, than on the actions of public sector bodies.\textsuperscript{13}

While the majority of sustainable tourism literature was published from the mid-1990s to the present much of it utilizes case studies of exotic get-aways to depict what a sustainable tourism plan would resemble.

There have been many attempts at defining sustainable tourism. The United Nations World Tourism Organization provides multiple definitions. Firstly, they interpret sustainable tourism as “...tourism that leads to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems.”\textsuperscript{14} The second definition establishes sustainable tourism as:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{The United Nations World Tourism Organization}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{14} The Sustainable Tourism Gateway, \textit{What is Sustainable Tourism}, http://www.gdrc.org/uem/eco-tour/st-whatis.html
…tourism that meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. Rather than being a type of product, it is an ethos that underpins all tourism activities. As such, it is integral to all aspects of tourism development and management rather than being an add-on component.\textsuperscript{15}

This precisely follows the tenets of the Brundtland Commission Report.

Steps toward a more cohesive approach are just beginning. On September 9, 2009, the Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria merged with the Sustainable Tourism Stewardship Council to form the Tourism Sustainability Council (TSC). This organization recognizes that achieving true sustainability within tourism will require cooperative efforts at local, national, and global efforts. TSC states:

In an effort to come to a common understanding of sustainable tourism, the GSTC Partnership developed a set of baseline criteria organized around the four pillars of sustainable tourism: effective sustainability planning; maximizing social and economic benefits to the local community; reduction of negative impacts to cultural heritage; and reduction of negative impacts to environmental heritage…

Additionally, this criterion has the ability to be effective on a local level.\textsuperscript{16}

There are copious theories and definitions of sustainable tourism, all varying in their focus and in determining who should be the beneficiaries of tourism. Thus, I decided to form my own definition using nine definitions and the four Criteria from The Sustainable Tourism Gateway, \textit{What is Sustainable Tourism}, http://www.gdrc.org/uem/eco-tour/st-whatis.html

\textsuperscript{15} The Sustainable Tourism Gateway, \textit{What is Sustainable Tourism}, http://www.gdrc.org/uem/eco-tour/st-whatis.html

\textsuperscript{16} See Appendix for the full list of the TSC Criteria.
the definition of sustainable tourism, which will underpin each of the methods discussed in this thesis, is: *A tourism management plan is sustainable when it utilizes aspects of the host destination, including cultural, historical, social, and environmental resources, in such a way that benefits the local residents economically, equitably, and environmentally without diminishing or destroying these resources for future generations.* This definition follows the principles laid out in the Brundtland Report and the “3 E’s” of sustainability, but, unlike the majority of definitions, it puts the needs and wants of the local population ahead of those of potential tourists. In order to be truly sustainable in the long-term it is important that the local population benefits the most because they will utilize the social and cultural resources more often and for a longer period of time than out-of-town visitors.

**Three Methods of Sustainable Tourism**

The three methods to enhance sustainable tourism, which will be further explored in this thesis, are creating a varied historical narrative about the destination that will encourage repeat visitation, developing a local first economy that focuses on local and independently owned businesses and local foodways to strengthen the destinations economy and maintain their unique character, and, thirdly, to engage in a marketing strategy that utilizes social media outlets.
The local economy movement has recently started to gain ground in the fields of planning and economics. There have been a host of literature related to how focusing on the local can have a positive impact on the economy. However, books on the topic from the last four years have become increasingly popular and accessible to those without an economics background. Indeed, many have focused on a specific town to tell the story of a successful local economy. There are many organizations, including The National Trust for Historic Preservation Main Street Center, The Business Alliance for Local Living Economies (BALLE), The Institute for Local Self-Reliance, The Social Venture Network, and American Independent Business Alliance (AMIBA), among others, have provided information regarding the process of how to set up a local economy, as well as successful examples of towns, cities, and regions that have made a commitment to developing their local economy.

The local economy movement is usually broken down into different aspects of society. BALLE calls these “building blocks” and they can include anything ranging from local businesses to local food, sustainable agriculture, to transportation and arts and culture. The most useful literature, which was utilized in this thesis, that focuses on local or independent businesses include *The Small-Mart Revolution: How Local Businesses are Beating The Global Competition* (2007) by Michael Shuman\(^\text{17}\) and

\(^{17}\) *The Small-Mart Revolution* begins with the author’s personal choices when it comes to deciding between a chain store and a local business when shopping. It then
Small is possible: life in a local economy (2008) by Lyle Estill. The authors of these texts, while different in their focus, both believe that a focus on a local economy is truly more sustainable and, ultimately, most beneficial to local residents.

The local economy literature that was helpful in this thesis and focuses on local food systems include In Defense of Food: An Eater’s Manifesto (2008) by Michael Pollan, The Town That Food Saved: How One Community Found Vitality in Local Food (2009) by Ben Hewitt, and the cover article in the May/June 2010 edition of Main Street Now: The Journal of the National Trust Main Street Center by

going on to discuss the negative effects a giant company with many chains, such as Wal-mart or Target, can have versus the positive effects that buying local has on a town. This book was a good source for basic economic information relating to focusing on local businesses and products.

18 Small is possible focuses its story on Chatham County, North Carolina, which has created an environment and an economy that is solely focused on solving its problems locally. Chatham County has built a food co-op that is supplied by sustainable farms and prefers local or independent businesses, as opposed to national chains.

19 In Defense of Food was the starting point for further research in local living economies. It discusses ways that people can be empowered to reclaim their health and what it means to eat real food and, in turn, how that affects the environment and the economy.

20 The Town That Food Saved tells the story of Hardwick, Vermont, a typical out-of-luck rural town in New England who used their best asset – food – to turn their economic woes around. This, very interesting and inspirational story, is only just beginning and could serve as a framework for other similar towns in New England, as well as the country.
Dan Carmody, entitled *Beyond Farmer’s Markets: Building Local Food Systems.*

All these sources provide an argument around the belief that food can positively affect a community’s healthy, economy, and vitality. Thus, making a commitment to local foodways an important part of a tourism plan.

There have been books, articles, and reports written about the impact of social media on just about everything over the past few years. However, since social media is such a relatively new concept there is a lack of literature that clearly defines its history. Additionally, while information has been published that states how wonderful and useful social media is, it is also a very new tool, and thus we do not know what shape it will take in the near future. Also, similar to literature about local economics, much of the books are written by people in various, not necessarily related, fields, which gives viewpoints on the impact of social media from many different perspectives.

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21 *Beyond Farmer’s Markets* discussed how cities could create sustainable economic growth and a more health-conscious population by focusing on local food-ways using Detroit’s Eastern Market. This was a wonderful article to learn about how farmer’s markets can truly change the reputation, economy, and health of the residents of an area.

22 *American Media History* (2009) by Anthony R. Fellow is the best book to gain an understanding of the history of the Internet and social media. This book is broken down into chapters each of which focuses on a different aspect of media. I utilized the section of social media to learn about the history of its development.
The most helpful literature in understanding how social media is related to tourism and sustainability comes from a variety of sources that range from the travel industry itself, to writers with a professional background in media studies, to people merely interested in the revolutionary concept of social media marketing. These sources include: *The Travel Marketers Guide To Social Media & Social Networks: Sales & Marketing In A Wed 2.0 World*\(^{23}\) (2007) by Cindy Estis Green, *Socialnomics: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business*\(^{24}\) (2009) by Erik Qualman, *Twitter Power 2.0: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time*\(^{25}\) (2009) by Joel Comm, *The Sustainable Network: The Accidental Answer for a

\[^{23}\text{The Travel Marketers Guide To Social Media & Social Networks was published through the Foundation of the Hospitality Sales and Marketing Association International Foundation (HSMAI) and the Travel Industry of America. This report, although published in 2007, will be out-of-date quite soon because it discusses how social media, particularly user reviews, will, or is about to, dramatically change the travel industry. This has already happened. However, this was an incredibly useful source in understanding the connection between social media and tourism, as well as the history of this connection.}\]

\[^{24}\text{Socialnomics is one of the most popular, and important, books in its field. Unlike other authors on the topic, Qualman has a background in social marketing. This book was pivotal in understanding exactly how social media marketing works, especially from the business perspective. I learned that social media marketing was about building trust between a business and a client and that it was more about listening than selling.}\]

\[^{25}\text{Twitter Power transformed the way I looked at Twitter. In fact, I ended up setting up my own Twitter account after I finished reading it. Comm has a background in Internet business and marketing and uses his personal experiences with growing a business following through his Twitter account. This book explained, in an easy-to-understand way, the major impact Twitter can have on businesses.}\]
Troubled Planet26 (2009) by Sarah Sorensen, Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing without Organizations27 (2009) by Clay Shirky, and The Facebook Era28 (2009) by Clara Shih. All of these books, though different in their opinion of what the most effective social media outlet is or in what aspect of society it can be most useful for, all state very clearly that social media is a revolutionary invention and, if used appropriately, can be immensely beneficial for marketing purposes.

Case Study: New Bedford, Massachusetts

This thesis will examine an approach to sustainable local tourism in a deindustrialized New England city that includes an effective social media marketing

26 The Sustainable Network explains the history of the global network and how it can be harnessed for positive change. Sorensen explains the impact the Internet, more specifically social networking, can have on affecting change all over the world. This book was especially interesting in learning how charity organizations or small businesses can utilize social media for their benefit and, furthermore, how social networking is a highly sustainable practice.

27 Here Comes Everybody was one of the first books I consulted when trying to understand social media. Shirky explains how more connections can form at a faster-than-ever-before pace thanks to social media. This book effectively shows how revolutionary social networking is and it inspired me to contemplate how these outlets can be used in other forms, such as tourism.

28 The Facebook Era explains the immense impact Facebook, one of the most popular and successful social networks, can have on businesses. Shih utilizes case studies to explain the best methods of incorporating Facebook into a business. This book was necessary in order to understand how important Facebook was on more than just a socializing level.
campaign and a commitment to a local economy. The city that will be utilized as a case study for this research is New Bedford, Massachusetts. New Bedford is located on the south shore of Massachusetts, below the curve of Cape Cod and adjacent to the southeast border of Rhode Island. It is situated within Bristol County and is about 30 miles southeast of Providence, Rhode Island and 50 miles south of Boston, Massachusetts. The city is 24 square miles and, in 2000, its population was listed as 93,768 people. As of 1999, the median household income in the city was $27,569 compared to $50,502 for the state at large. Also that same year, 20.2 percent of New Bedford residents lived below the poverty level; this number was 9.3 percent in Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{29} Given New Bedford’s vibrant and extensive history and the makeup of its population, as well as its recent successes within its tourism industry, it will be an interesting case for sustainable local tourism.

Figure 1.1: New Bedford, Massachusetts. Source: MapQuest.com

Figure 1.2: New Bedford, Massachusetts. Source: MapQuest.com
Indeed, tourism has become an important part of New Bedford’s economy. According to the City of New Bedford’s Official Website:

Tourism is also a fast-growing segment of the local economy. New Bedford's rich history, its national park status and its authentic working waterfront draws increasing numbers of tourists annually. In addition, a continued increase in the number of galleries, museums, and cultural events is earning New Bedford recognition as "a city of art," attracting professional artists, art patrons and visitors of all interests drawn to the city's growing artistic vibrancy.\(^{30}\)

Furthermore, Mayor Scott W. Lang had this to say about the city’s potential and its problems:

‘I want [New Bedford] to be a destination not a pass through. I want [New Bedford] to be specifically a point on someone’s vacation itinerary that they spend a day or two in [New Bedford], go to the museums, enjoy the art culture and community, attend sporting events... We have everything in the world that people would want if we get it out and if we publicize it. The marketing committee here is obviously very important because I want people to understand that NB is not only a tourist destination, but [New Bedford] is built and set up to accommodate tourism...Our history itself will draw people to NB, our festivals are again a built in-crowd and then we have an interstate that takes literally millions of people back and forth right in front of [New Bedford]. Right now, it seems to me we do not give them in the way of publicity or outreach enough reason to stop and spend some time...’\(^{31}\)


The summit also determined that the four major goals in the city’s quest to encourage tourism were: marketing, visitor support, cleaning up the crime and grime, and asset development - meaning the revitalization of historic buildings and downtown storefronts.32

Throughout most of its history, New Bedford was a vibrant city that people wanted to live in and visit. It began as a small fishing village in the seventeenth century and grew to be the most famous, and prosperous, whaling city in the world throughout the nineteenth century. In the mid-nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, New Bedford became a center of textile manufacturing. This, however, changed during the twentieth century when mills closed or moved south, Vietnam era race riots brought drugs and violence into the city, and urban renewal destroyed neighborhoods and historic buildings and new infrastructure ripped through the heart of the city. Today, New Bedford has a very different reputation than it had a century ago. The city brings to mind crime, poverty, violence, unclean streets and neighborhoods, and any number of unsavory characteristics. Subsequently, it is not usually thought of at all in the mind of Massachusetts’ tourists, who would be more

likely to visit nearby Nantucket, Martha’s Vineyard, or Cape Cod as their vacation destination of choice.

In order to understand the present character of New Bedford, the mindset of its residents, and its reputation in the media, it was necessary to delve into the literature about the city. The historical literature, from the earliest settlement period through the middle of the twentieth century, that was central to gaining this understanding include: *The History of New Bedford, Bristol County, Massachusetts: including A History of the Old Township of Dartmouth and the Present Townships of Westport, Dartmouth, and Fairhaven, From Their Settlement to the Present Time*\(^33\) (1858) by Daniel Ricketson, *The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1620-1892*\(^34\) (1892) by Leonard Bolles Ellis, *The Decline Of A Cotton Textile City, A Study of New Bedford*\(^35\) (1944) by Seymour Louis Wolfbein. The more modern literature, 

\(^{33}\) *The History of New Bedford* was the very first history about the city to be published. When he was just seventeen years old, Ricketson began researching and writing, first, by compiling oral histories with some of the oldest residents of the city. Ricketson’s book is an invaluable source of information on New Bedford throughout all of its history, but especially the early decades.

\(^{34}\) *The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity* builds upon Ricketson’s history of the city. Ellis’ work was instrumental in gaining an understanding of the beginnings of the textile-manufacturing era in New Bedford, especially from a positive vantage point as he was writing during its golden years and not after its demise.

\(^{35}\) *The Decline Of A Cotton Textile City* was truly invaluable to me as I learned the inner workings of New Bedford’s textile history. It provides information on when each of the manufacturing companies was established and, eventually, closed. In addition, it provides a detailed discussion on the types of textiles that were produced at each stage.
which still focuses on historical content, that was central to understand New Bedford includes: The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape\textsuperscript{36} (2001) by Kingston Heath, The Fugitive’s Gibraltar, Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford\textsuperscript{37} (2001) by Kathryn Grover, and Not Just Anywhere: The Story of WHALE and the Rescue of New Bedford’s Waterfront Historic District (1995).\textsuperscript{38} Literature published about New Bedford tends to, generally, focus of New Bedford’s textile era. Finally, the numbers and percentages given in each of the charts was extremely helpful in getting a grasp on how vast the repercussions were when the mills closed.

36 Patina of Place was the first source I read about New Bedford for the purposes of this thesis. This book is an architectural account of New Bedford; focusing on the, largely ignored in academic and professional settings, triple-decker tenement buildings that proliferate the city. Until reading this book, I had no idea that these triple-deckers were unique to this region and, upon finishing this book, I feel strongly that study and appreciation of these structures needs to be increased within the field of vernacular architecture. This book is also a good source for basic history of New Bedford, especially the nuances of textile manufacturing, particularly workers housing. However, the most interesting section was where Heath recounts his personal connections to the city. He grew up in a Portuguese family in New Bedford and his stories about what it was like to grow up in such a family, in such a city, paralleled my mother’s family experience. This part of his book inspired me to look further into the literature on French Canadians in New Bedford, as well as to include a case study of my French Canadian family from New Bedford in this thesis.

37 The Fugitive’s Gibraltar is an excellent source when researching the history of African Americans in New Bedford. The book discusses the contributions that free African Americans and runaway slaves made to New Bedford, as well as the influential role the city had in aiding escaped slaves and the abolition movement from its early history towards the last half of the nineteenth century.

38 Not Just Anywhere is a priceless narrative of the inner-workings of the preservation movement in New Bedford, both the causes for and the people involved at every step.
on the whaling era, the negative results of deindustrialization, or the designation of the
New Bedford Whaling National Historic Park in 1996. *The Fugitives Gibraltar* is the
only book that dealt with abolition issues and *The Patina of Place* is the only book that
studied the vernacular architecture of the city. Similarly, the early biographies of the
city provide a solid base of information on Native Americans in the early years, yet no
histories since have discussed the modern relationship between New Bedford and
southeastern New England and Native Americans. Thus, the literature was extremely
helpful in that it was varied, in terms of topic and time period, but there were gaps.
The missing information includes literature about tourism in the city, sustainability,
and any, perhaps unique, marketing and economic strategies.

The latter half of the twentieth century has not been kind to New Bedford, as
media outlets have pursued any and all criminal related event in the city; further
damaging its reputation. However, the media has begun to cover the positive aspects
of the city and things are changing. Indeed, criminal activity is not as bad as other
nearby cities:

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This book was published a year prior to the dedication of the New Bedford Whaling
National Historic Park and was written to commemorate the hard work it took to
achieve this goal and to drum up support for the Park’s approval. The book was vital
to understanding the economics behind revitalizing a portion of a city, especially one
that had fallen into so much disrepair. Additionally, it showed that preservation does
not always have to be about the architecture or the economics of a building, but,
rather, the people that actually use the structures and how they fit into the day-to-day
Analysis of crime data reveal, however, that New Bedford’s crime rates are similar to, or less than, those of cities that are perceived as being much safer. Boston and Providence, for example, have significantly higher crime rates per capita. This data suggests that New Bedford may suffer less from crime and more from a public perception problem. This perception is, most likely, fueled in part by negative media coverage, the city’s rugged industrial waterfront and lingering vacant storefronts and mill buildings throughout the City. The recent opening of a police station downtown has been hailed as one recent, strategic initiative that will make the city feel safer.\(^{39}\)

New Bedford is making a concerted effort to clean up its streets and image, bring quality jobs to the city in the form of arts and healthcare industries, and promote downtown living, all in hopes of promoting city tourism.

In February 2007, the Brookings Institute’s Metropolitan Policy Program published a study that looked at various economic and demographic movements in New Bedford. There were ten major findings: (1) New Bedford is outperforming Greater Boston on job growth, (2) but since 1960, the city has lost over half its manufacturing, (3) more recently, New Bedford has lost some of its knowledge industry employment, (4) however, technology firms are beginning to locate there, (5) life of a city. Preservation in New Bedford was, and is, more about restoring the city’s beauty and making residents proud of their hometown than turning it into a museum.

nevertheless, New Bedford’s per capita income growth is relatively weak, (6) and only one in nine adults in the city holds a bachelor’s degree, (7) meanwhile, New Bedford’s population is decreasing, but at a slower rate than Greater Boston, (8) foreign-born residents continue to make up a significant share of the population, (9) housing prices in New Bedford are rapidly appreciating yet remain relatively affordable, and (10) moreover, housing unit production is quickly rising.40 These results are mixed and show that while New Bedford is moving towards positive economic development in the future, the city still retains negative aspects of its past.

Sustainable economic development is on the forefront of the minds of the New Bedford government and planners. According to the Master Plan for the city:

The mission of this effort is to generate a positive, practical, consistent message of sustainability through education, empowerment and example set by the City of New Bedford; to set forth actions that citizens, businesses, and government can take to restore the environment, increase economic opportunity and improve social equity. The goals as outlined in the Sustainability Task Force’s Sustaining New Bedford report include: ensure the availability of clean, renewable, inexpensive energy that is locally produced; ensure plentiful supplies of fresh water from protected watersheds; ensure the availability of fresh, healthy, locally produced food; ensure that neighborhoods are safe because neighbors care for each other; provide a transportation system that frees us from the monopoly of the automobile and offers abundant choice; and provide an educational

system that connects children to the world around them, to each other and to their future.\textsuperscript{41}

If New Bedford can be on the forefront of welcoming green industries, cleaning up its environment, pursuing a healthier population, or developing a sustainable tourism plan then it will become a cutting edge city, thus standing out as a unique tourist destination.

**Methodology**

The first step in undertaking a thesis on sustainable local tourism was to read the most important and most recent literature on the topic. This research led to websites, journals, and reports done by town planning departments, in addition to published books. I compiled a long list of the many definitions of sustainable tourism and ended up creating one that worked the best for a deindustrialized New England city with a not-so-great image and economic situation. This definition turned out to be:

\textit{A tourism management plan is sustainable when it utilizes aspects of the host destination, including cultural, historical, social, and environmental resources, in such a way that benefits the local residents economically, equitably, and environmentally without diminishing or destroying these resources for future generations}, and was applied throughout each chapter.

Dovetailing with creating a definition of sustainable tourism was crafting a definition of what is and is not *local*. First and foremost, local means the residents of New Bedford: the actual taxpayers of the city. Secondly, *local* can also mean regional. New Bedford is located on the south shore of Massachusetts, which is separated from the Metro-Boston area by the lack of effective public transportation. In addition to being located within Bristol County New Bedford is historically identified with the Dartmouth geographic region (also within Bristol County), which includes the towns of Westport, Fairhaven, Acushnet, and New Bedford. Outside of this immediate region, I would include eastern Rhode Island, and, further, parts of New England that are close enough to constitute a day trip. A focus on day-trippers is important because heritage tourism brings about unique issues concerning sustainability, especially when it comes to carrying capacity and protecting resources. Indeed:

> When a community’s heritage is the substance of what it offers visitors, protecting that heritage is essential. So a major challenge in cultural heritage tourism programs is ensuring that increased tourism does not destroy the very qualities that attract visitors in the first place.\(^{42}\)

By starting a commitment to sustainability through tourism development by focusing on day-trippers, New Bedford can maintain a proper level of carrying capacity to protect its physical and environmental resources.

After researching and reading about sustainable and local tourism and picking a city to focus on as a case study, it was necessary to understand all aspects of New Bedford history. Thus, I looked into the earliest histories of the city, studies of its textile era, and more recent publications that looked at its immigrant populations and vernacular architecture. After gaining an understanding of the major eras of the city’s history, as well as the more unique or forgotten about people and eras, I separated them into categories, such as abolition movements, Native Americans, and participation in regional and national conflicts. Throughout all my reading, I discovered that New Bedford has quite a remarkable history and there is so much more than whaling to share with its residents and other tourists.

Additionally, in trying to gain an understanding of New Bedford, I conducted an oral history with my Mémère (grandmother), Susanne Racicot (nee LaRue), to hear her perspective on growing up in New Bedford in a French Canadian immigrant family. Susanne is the daughter of a French Canadian immigrant and was born in New Bedford in 1927. She married Maurice Racicot, also the child of a French Canadian immigrant and born in New Bedford. They raised their four children: Constance (1953), Corinne (1954), who is also my mother, Julie (1955), and Phillip.

43 Mémère is the informal French word for grandmother, meaning grammy or gramma. The formal version is Grandmère. I will use Mémère throughout, rather than the English word, because that is what I call her and because it solidifies my attachment to my French Canadian heritage.
(1959), in the city. Susanne retains residency in the city, as do a handful of her sisters and other relatives. I also performed an oral history with my mother concerning her early years throughout college, when she finally moved out of New Bedford permanently. These oral histories, besides being interesting to me on a personal level, were vital in understanding what life was like in New Bedford during the last half of the twentieth century and what it was like to grow up in a French Canadian enclave.

Prior to being able to evaluate or make suggestions about the level of a local living economy in New Bedford, it was necessary to understand what their present commitment is to this notion. To begin, the city’s businesses, eateries, and farmer’s markets were determined to be either locally or independently owned, or not. Specifically, the businesses and eateries located within the downtown or the Whaling National Historic Park were of interest. This was for two reasons: (1) The downtown and National Park areas are the most tourist-friendly and marketed in the city and (2) the businesses and eateries in other parts of the city are, for the most part, chains. Next, charts were also made to study the farmer’s markets in the city. In this section, New Bedford’s farmer’s markets were compared to the other places in the state that had more than one market. This comparison was made between nineteen cities or towns, including New Bedford, and was based on population, median household income, and the total number of farmer’s markets, whether or not these markets accept vouchers from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and whether or not the markets have winter hours.

Determining the current level of usage of social media marketing by downtown and National Historic Parks sites was done by first examining New
Bedford’s online exposure. This was established by beginning with a standard Google search for “things to do in (New Bedford).” The websites that were garnered from this search were then combed through for tourist suggestions in the city. This led to a list of the most popular tourist attractions in New Bedford. In conjunction with this first step, the city’s downtown and National Historic Park area businesses, eateries, and attractions were assessed on their level of usage of social media, specifically the type of site and how many types used. These businesses, organizations, and other attractions were chosen largely by their inclusion in the 2010 Downtown New Bedford, Inc. brochure. This led to charts that examined the amount and type of social media sites used by each attraction, which gave a percentage on how many downtown and National Park attractions use some form of social media marketing. Lastly, the results from the first and second steps were examined to determine whether or not the popularity of attractions was connected to level of social media marketing.

Additionally, an interview was performed with Marco Montez, the owner of Travessia Winery in the downtown area, to understand why a New Bedford business owner would want to engage in social media marketing.

Outline of Chapter Content

As this thesis explores three different practices that could be utilized in creating a more sustainable tourism plan, while using New Bedford as a case study,
each chapter begins by defining the general and examining each related topic prior to reviewing how it relates to New Bedford. The second chapter in this thesis, entitled: *There is More than Whaling in the Whaling City*, explores the non-whaling related history of New Bedford and how it could be better utilized in the city’s tourist narrative. The first section gives a history of the city beginning with European exploration and contact with natives and going through the twentieth century culminating with the creation of the Whaling National Historic Park in 1996 and other tourism-related achievements. After the briefing of New Bedford’s history, possibilities for incorporating the unique, forgotten, or underappreciated moments or eras into the tourist narrative are explored. This section also includes comparisons to other Massachusetts’ cities.

The third chapter, entitled: *Local Economies, Sustainability, and Tourism*, examines what constitutes a local economy and how it relates to sustainability and tourism. It begins with an exploration of all the national organizations that work with towns and cities to develop a local economy or a unique Main Street. This section also includes examples from other Massachusetts’ cities, specifically Worcester. Next, it was determined that local or independently owned business markets and farmer’s markets would have a positive effect on tourism and economic sustainability, especially in New Bedford. Thus, these two aspects of a local economy were explored in terms of their relation to tourism and sustainability. Finally, New Bedford’s level of
commitment to a local living economy, and how it relates to tourism, in terms of businesses and farmer’s markets was evaluated.

The last chapter, *Social Media Marketing & Sustainable Tourism*, began with a definition and brief history of Web 2.0 and how it was transformed for marketing purposes, specifically in the hospitality and tourism industries. Lastly, an examination of New Bedford’s level of online exposure was explored, as well as looking at whether or not social media marketing has any correlation to popularity among the downtown and National Park businesses, eateries, and tourist attractions.
Chapter 2

THERE IS MORE THAN WHALING IN THE WHALING CITY

This chapter begins by exploring New Bedford’s history, with little emphasis on the whaling era and a greater emphasis on little known or underappreciated people and events. To follow this, a discussion of how the eras and themes of New Bedford’s history, that have been omitted or inadequately incorporated into the city’s current narrative, can be better utilized to create a more sustainable tourism industry.

New Bedford’s History

New Bedford’s past and present is dominated by its coveted orientation along the water. “Its location on the southeastern coast of Massachusetts anchors its economic, social, and historical identities to the sea.”44 The area is an enviable location for maritime activities due to its natural, and considerably deep, port along the Acushnet River, which flows into Buzzards Bay, the Vineyard Sound, and on to the Atlantic Ocean. Since the city’s earliest days, fishing, shipping, whaling, and all manner of activities related to the sea have been its economic focus.

The history of what would become New Bedford commences with the exploration of Cuttyhunk Island in 1602 by Bartholomew Gosnold and the crew of the Concord.\textsuperscript{45} This voyage is officially recognized as the first group of Englishmen to set foot in New England and also the first to establish a settlement in the region.\textsuperscript{46} While the expedition was ultimately deemed a failure due to inadequate provisions and hostile interactions with natives it was enough to inspire subsequent English explorers to settle in New England, particularly the Massachusetts area.\textsuperscript{47} The Mayflower sailed in 1620 and settled Plymouth, Salem was established in 1628, and Massachusetts Bay followed in 1630. Ultimately, Dartmouth, which originally included New Bedford and other south coast localities, was established through a purchase\textsuperscript{48} made from the

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\textsuperscript{45} Cuttyhunk Island is part of the Elizabeth Island chain and is situated fourteen miles off New Bedford’s coast in the Vineyard Sound.
\textsuperscript{48} New Bedford “was bought from the Indians for ‘thirty yards of cloth, 8 moose-skins, 15 axes, 15 hoes, 15 pair breeches, 8 blankets, 2 kettles, 1 clock, 2 pounds wampum, 8 pair of stockings, 8 pair shoes, 1 tin pot and 10 shillings in other comoditie.’” [State Street Trust Company, \textit{Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland and Scotland Connecting Links Between Cities and Towns of New England and Those of the Same Name} (New York: General Books LLS, 2010), 97.]
\end{flushright}
native sachems Massasoit and Wamsutta in 1652.\textsuperscript{49} It was officially incorporated as a town in 1664.

New Bedford would not become recognized as a separate geographic entity from Dartmouth until 1765, when “…Joseph Rotch, who had previously settled on the Island of Nantucket, came here with his energy, capital, and enterprise to establish himself in the whaling business. He found here upon his arrival a little hamlet…Under the impulse of these sturdy pioneers, Bedford village was founded and grew.”\textsuperscript{50} In this era, farming and fishing were common economic pursuits and the building up of the whaling industry was underway.

As previously stated, the land that comprises the Dartmouth area, in which New Bedford is located, was purchased from the Wampanoags in 1652. This transaction was made with Massasoit, leader of the Wampanoag Confederacy, and his eldest son, Wamsutta. Wamsutta was also responsible for selling segments of Wampanoag land to colonists not part of Plymouth Colony, particularly to Connecticut Colony; increasing tensions between the various New England colonies and Native American tribes. This action was just another catalyst on the long list of reasons why there was a growing distrust between the threatened native population.

\textsuperscript{49} Leonard Bolles Ellis, \textit{The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1620-1892} (Syracuse, New York: Mason Publication, 1892), 19.

\textsuperscript{50} Leonard Bolles Ellis, \textit{The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1620-1892} (Syracuse, New York: Mason Publication, 1892), 3.
and the growing-numbers of English colonists. Native and colonist relations had been deteriorating for decades and, eventually, ignited in King Philip’s War\textsuperscript{51} (1675-1676).

King Philip’s War (1675-1676) “was most disastrous to New England, and the energies of the colonists were crippled for many years.”\textsuperscript{52} The war set colonists and natives who had converted to Christianity against other native groups, in particular the Algonquins. It was officially triggered by a cattle-rustling incident near Seekonk, Massachusetts, but resulted in the most casualties of any war fought in this country.\textsuperscript{53} Despite this, it is relatively unknown outside of New England. The brutal actions taken by natives and colonists on both sides of the war are notorious and the level of destruction, in terms of number of lives lost and the monetary impact, was immense:

The human carnage of the Puritan-Algonquin war was horrendous: more than four thousand Indian deaths from battle, disease, and exposure; probably two thousand voluntary exiles from New England; and perhaps as many as one thousand sold into slavery. English losses were also high. Approximately one tenth of New England’s adult males died in combat; the total loss of Euroamerican lives…exceeded six

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{51} The naming of King Philip’s War can be attributed to the main native leader, and brother of Wamsutta, Metacomet, who was mockingly referred to as King Philip by the English.
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Leonard Bolles Ellis, \textit{The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1620-1892} (Syracuse, New York: Mason Publication, 1892), 30.
  \item \textsuperscript{53} Howard Mansfield, “The ghosts of forgotten battles: King Philip’s War and other little-known conflicts offer us an important lesson,” \textit{Boston Globe}, May 31, 2010
\end{itemize}
The Confederation of New England estimated the monetary loss at £100,000. Decades would pass before New England’s Euroamerican community recovered its material health and recouped its population; the native community never did.\(^{54}\)

Indeed, Dartmouth was even burned to the ground and its residents brutally massacred.\(^{55}\)

As King Phillip’s War devastated Bedford Village, so too did the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Both of these conflicts greatly disrupted the burgeoning whaling industry in New Bedford: vessels were sunk, trade routes were obstructed, and the number of available whalers was reduced as they enlisted as soldiers. The Dartmouth region, in particular, was uniquely immersed in the infamous Boston Tea Party (1773). Of the three vessels involved in the conflict, two, the *Dartmouth* and the *Beaver*, were built in Bedford Village and owned by the Rotch family – the founders of New Bedford’s whaling industry. Additionally, the first naval conflict of the Revolution occurred just off the coast of Fairhaven at Fort Phoenix,


\(^{55}\) “The portion of Dartmouth that suffered the most was that located about five miles southwest from New Bedford and called by the Indian name of Apponagansett, on the river still called by that name. At Russell’s Orchard, a short distance north of the bridge spanning the river, there stood on the east bank, Russell’s garrison house, into which the inhabitants of that section securely retired. This portion of the town is now known as South Dartmouth or Padanaram. The ruined cellars of the garrison were traceable a few years ago.” [George W. Ellis and John E. Morris, *King Phillip’s War* (Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning Inc., 2001), 74.]
which had the important position of protecting the inlet of the Acushnet River from British invasion. In 1815, after the Revolution and the War of 1812 had ended, fishing, shipping, and whaling activities were resumed. In the midst of these military conflicts and growth in the whaling industry, Bedford Village officially separated from Dartmouth and was recognized as an autonomous town in 1787.56

Baptists and Quakers originally settled New Bedford, thus fashioning a liberal attitude within the small village. However, the region was not exempt from participation in slavery, “long prior to the American Revolution, slaves were owned in Old Dartmouth and New Bedford, some of them held by wealthy Quakers...” However, when Vermont and Massachusetts became the first states to eradicate the practice of slavery, in 1777 and 178057, respectively, “…no slaves were known to be held by New England Friends” in the Dartmouth area.58 New Bedford, at the behest of its Quaker population, was one of the first areas in the United States to end slavery. It was also one of the first locales in the country to not only accept, but to actively aid, the black community in their quest for freedom on the Underground Railroad.


New Bedford’s commitment to black freedom continued after the end of slavery. In 1780, seven black New Bedford residents, including Paul Cuffe, Adventure Childe, Pero Coggleshall, Paul Cuve, Samuel Gray, Pero Howland, and Pero Russell, began a three-year revolt against paying their taxes, citing *no taxation without representation*, and petitioned the Massachusetts colony to allow blacks to vote. In 1783, as a result of their effort, the State rewrote their Constitution. Thus, Massachusetts, due to the actions of seven, black, New Bedford men, became the second state to allow blacks to vote, only behind New Jersey. However, New Jersey still maintained property qualifications for voters, so Massachusetts is truly the first state, without stipulations, to extend the vote. All this, almost one hundred years prior to the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which, in 1870, prohibited states from denying citizens the right to vote based on race, color, or previous condition as a slave.

New Bedford’s successful abolition campaign translated into significant involvement in the Underground Railroad. This involvement and success was enabled

59 Paul Cuffe is sometimes cited as the originator of black-nationalist movements in the United States, which would eventually come to include the Black Panthers and the Nation of Islam.

by: the religious history of the area, the whaling industry’s open hiring practices when it came to ethnicity, and the city’s location as a major port made it possible to escape slavery via water.61 Furthermore, the large numbers of people of color living in the city as whalers and craftsmen made it easier for runaway slaves to blend in with the population. As a result of these attributes:

…it is estimated that from 300 to 700 hundred fugitive slaves lived in New Bedford between the mid-1840s and 1860. In a city whose official population of color hovered around 1,000 people, the number of fugitive slaves in New Bedford was large even by the more conservative estimate.62

Thus, the mid-to late-nineteenth century in New Bedford is characterized by the city’s commitment to civil rights and involvement in the Underground Railroad.

New Bedford’s most famous connection to civil rights is probably that the city played host to Frederick Douglas for a few years starting in 1838. The Nathan and Polly Johnson House63, located at 21 Seventh Street, played an important role in

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63 The Nathan and Polly Johnson House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2000. The New Bedford Historic Society, a nonprofit organization founded in 1996, committed to researching and interpreting the history of people of
Frederick Douglass’ life. Originally, Frederick Douglass entered the city with the surname of “Johnson,” a name that was “assumed by nearly every slave who had arrived in New Bedford from Maryland.” However, his hosts, Nathan and Polly Johnson, wanted to avoid any further confusion and, therefore, encouraged him to change his name from Frederick Johnson to Frederick Douglass.

Frederick Douglass was quite enamored with New Bedford and his biography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, was set largely in the city. The impact that everyday life in the city had on Frederick Douglass is evident in his book:

No colored man is really free in a slaveholding state. He wears the badge of bondage while nominally free, and is often subjected to hardships to which the slave is a stranger; but here in New Bedford, it was my good fortune to see a pretty near approach to freedom on the part of the colored people. I was taken all aback when Mr. Johnson—who lost no time in making me acquainted with the fact—told me that there was nothing in the constitution of Massachusetts to prevent a colored man from holding any office in the state. There in New Bedford, the black man’s children—although anti-slavery was then far from popular—went to school side by side with the white children, and apparently without objection from any quarter. To make me at home, Mr. Johnson assured me that no slaveholder could take a slave from

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New Bedford; that there were men there who would lay down their lives, before such an outrage could be perpetuated.65

In addition to Paul Cuffee and Frederick Douglass, New Bedford, and its immediate region, is full of empowering stories of brave members of its black community, including Henry “Box” Brown66, Lewis Temple67, and Nathan and Polly Johnson.68

The American Civil War (1861-1865) overlaps with New Bedford’s involvement in the Underground Railroad, however both events relate to civil rights. At the time of the Civil War, the first national black regiment, the 54th, was organized with zest in New Bedford. New Bedford was centrally involved in the Great Stone Fleet (1861), which was a failed effort to blockade the harbors of Charleston and Savannah. The majority of ships utilized in this effort were from New Bedford:


66 Henry “box” Brown had himself mailed, literally in a box, to Philadelphia in order to escape slavery. After, he was sent on to Boston and New Bedford. He would eventually become a notable speaker on the topic of abolition.

67 Lewis Temple was a blacksmith in New Bedford and is responsible for inventing the toggling harpoon, which became an important and standard tool in American whaling.

68 Noted abolitionists in New Bedford. Housed many runaway slaves in their house at 21st Seventh Street.
twenty-four out of forty-five ships, to be precise.\textsuperscript{69}

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, New Bedford’s economy transitioned from relying on whaling to focusing on textile manufacturing. This change occurred much later than in other places in the Northeast. Indeed:

…New Bedford was in some respects different from most other New England places. For one thing, its economy remained based almost solely on maritime commerce when other cities in Massachusetts, even port cities, had turned to the production of shoes and textiles.\textsuperscript{70}

Textile manufacturing was slow to take off due to the uncertainty investors had in this new industry, as whaling had garnered them profits for over a century. The time period that New Bedford began to be involved in textile manufacturing, as well as the types of textiles produced, make the city unmatched within New England’s mill history.

New Bedford’s textile history can be broken up into two segments, which differ in amount of growth and type of products manufactured. The first era is from 1846 to 1896 and the second spans the time period 1901 to 1925. The first two mill operations

\textsuperscript{69} Leonard Bolles Ellis, \textit{The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1620-1892} (Syracuse, New York: Mason Publication, 1892), 325-350.

in the city, Wamsutta and The New Bedford Steam Company, were founded between 1840 and 1849, although the latter operation went out of business within a few years. Growth of textile manufacturing in the first era was initially slow due to the continued reliance on whaling. However, within nineteen years, between 1880 and 1899, fourteen mill organizations were assembled and had “...an original capitalization of over six million dollars.”\textsuperscript{71} The type of textiles produced during this first period included cloth, fine goods, and woven products.\textsuperscript{72} This growth was stalled when the national depression began in 1896.

By 1901, the city’s economy had recovered from the national economic crisis and the first half of the twentieth century would bring the greatest amount of growth to New Bedford, both in terms of population and economics.

The height of new incorporations was reached in the first decade of the present century [twentieth] when twelve new mills with an original capitalization of almost twelve million dollars began operations in New


Bedford. By 1910, the city had become the center of the manufacture of fine cotton goods in the United States.\textsuperscript{73}

The time period surrounding World War I was particularly prosperous for the New Bedford mills. At this time:

Despite the fact that it was a fine goods center, New Bedford benefitted from the rapidly expanding demand for tire yarn [for automobiles, which increased in production during the war] more than any other textile city. Although this yarn was a comparatively coarse product, the cotton used in its manufacture had to be combed for added strength. The combing process is associated with fine goods production, and it was in New Bedford that the equipment and experience for combing could be found…The other factor explaining New Bedford’s war prosperity lay in Government war orders for cotton textile goods. Throughout the war New Bedford mills were engaged in the production of airplane and cotton cloth, gas mask and bandage cloth and uniforms.\textsuperscript{74}

So, New Bedford operated both as a producer of fine fabrics and textiles, as well as of wartime goods, such as “…airplane and cotton cloth, gas mask and bandage cloth and


uniforms”\textsuperscript{75} and coarser materials and it was surpassing all its competitors in both matters.

Mill workers, many of them immigrants, rushed to New Bedford during both eras of textile manufacturing desirous of employment. “Between 1880 and 1910, New Bedford underwent a 300-percent increase in population (from 26,845 in 1880 to 96,652 in 1910)”\textsuperscript{76} Of particular importance to New England mills, and New Bedford, was the immigration of workers from Canada.

In the years 1863-65 the shortage of help was so great that resort was made to Canada to supply the deficiency, and the Canadian French were obtained as the substitutes. Large numbers were brought to the city, as well as to all parts of New England, and since that time a constant supply has continued from that source.\textsuperscript{77}

This was quite a change from previous immigration groups coming from Portugal, Cape Verde, the Azores, or African American emigrants from the South.


\textsuperscript{76} Kingston Wm. Heath, \textit{The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape} (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 45.

\textsuperscript{77} Leonard Bolles Ellis, \textit{The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1620-1892} (Syracuse, New York: Mason Publication, 1892), 460.
Thus, New Bedford’s identity was transformed from *The Whaling Capital of the World* to being known as the finest producer of cotton goods in the world. Indeed, notable people, both nationally and internationally, sought out New Bedford’s mills to produce fabric for them. One incident, occurring in 1876, brought the Vanderbilt’s to the city. A Mrs. Vanderbilt sent a sample of a fine “percall,” which was purchased in Paris, to the Wamsutta mills in New Bedford, where “…one might confidently expect it to be duplicated, for Wamsutta was particularly known for its excellent yarns and fine cottons.”

From this event onward, what could officially be called *percale* was judged against the fine fabric originally produced at Wamsutta Mills for the Vanderbilt’s and which, afterwards, would come to be desired by “housewives everywhere.”

Furthermore, rumor has it that even the Queen of England insisted on her linens being imported from no other location than New Bedford.

No other locale involved in textile manufacturing could compare to New Bedford at the turn of the twentieth century. Indeed, “it is safe to say that in point of architecture, construction, and equipment, as well as in the quality of their products,


these mills have no superior in this or any country."\textsuperscript{80} The history of the city’s development during this era is described in the Master Plan for New Bedford:

As with many other 19\textsuperscript{th} century industrial cities, the expansion of our industrial economy supported the growth of bustling “mixed-use” commercial corridors and centers (the South End, Downtown, Weld Square, and North End). These corridors were walkable, busy with street cars, and dominated by orderly rows of triple-deckers with access to entertainment venues and shopping establishments of all types that served the dense residential neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{81}

Indeed, New Bedford was a bustling, vibrant, and livable city during its industrial era. The manufacturing companies built complexes with multiple mill buildings and workers’ housing, which would forever change the look of the city. The textile industry required a building up of infrastructure and the physical landscape that was not obligatory for whaling, whose work was mainly done on or near the docks and at sea. The mills took over the landscape of the town, turning New Bedford from a bustling port surrounded by forests into a highly industrialized city.

New Bedford’s population increased drastically during its involvement with textile manufacturing. As depicted in the table below, rapid population growth in the

\textsuperscript{80} Leonard Bolles Ellis, \textit{The History of New Bedford and Its Vicinity, 1620-1892} (Syracuse, New York: Mason Publication, 1892), 453.

city began at the turn of the century and reached its height shortly prior to 1940. This trend suggests that textile manufacturing, rather than whaling, was truly the most transformative era of New Bedford’s history.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1790</th>
<th>1810</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>3313</td>
<td>5651</td>
<td>7952</td>
<td>16443</td>
<td>21320</td>
<td>40733</td>
<td>96652</td>
<td>112597</td>
<td>109189</td>
<td>101725</td>
<td>99745</td>
<td>91297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 New Bedford’s population from 1790-2010 in twenty year increments. Source: United States Census information.

New Bedford’s manufacturing industry brought wealth and glory back to the city, which was eradicated when the whaling industry ended. However, events in the early half of the twentieth century would quickly change these fortunes:

Throughout the nineteen twenties, as Southern cotton textile mills prevailed in the coarse goods market and were making steady inroads into the market for fine goods, the position of the New Bedford mills became inherently weak. The position of the New Bedford cotton textile mills was made even more critical in 1928 by the occurrence of the longest and severest strike in the city’s history. The strike was called in opposition to a 10 percent wage cut and lasted six months. The number of wage earners employed in New Bedford cotton mills in 1928 was half the number employed in 1927 and the amount of wages
paid to these employers was almost fifteen million dollars less than the wages paid in 1927.  

This turn of events signaled to many workers that it was time to leave New Bedford. The Great Depression caused the city to lose nearly two-thirds of the textile mills, thus, becoming a typical deindustrialized and depressed New England city.  

The post-deindustrialization era of New Bedford is generally characterized by urban renewal, the Vietnam-era race riots, and economic decline. However, the preservation movement in the city also began during this time period. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century and gaining momentum towards the very end of the century, preservation groups comprised of concerned and interested citizens got together to change the future of New Bedford. The book: Not Just Anywhere: The Story of WHALE and the Rescue of New Bedford’s Waterfront Historic District (1995), recounts the tale of the city’s preservation movement:

The story began in New Bedford’s Waterfront Historic District in the late 1950s when a handful of concerned people came together to ask a

82 Joel Comm, Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010), 11.

question with no easy answer: How can we save our city’s heritage from death by neglect and the tyranny of the bulldozer?84

While The Old Dartmouth Historic Society was founded in 1903 and created the New Bedford Whaling Museum in 1907, it was not until the Waterfront Historic Area League (W.H.A.LE), was established in 1962, that preservation of the downtown and, what would become, the Whaling National Historic Park began in earnest.

The preservation movement in New Bedford began as a backlash against the federal policy of urban renewal, which was particularly destructive in depressed cities, such as New Bedford. In the Winter 2005 edition of the National Park Service’s journal: Common Ground: Preserving Our Nation’s Heritage, in an article entitled: The City That Lit The World: Rekindling a Legacy at New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, Lisa Shugrue, WHALE’s current director stated:

‘In the early ‘70s, the league [WHALE] managed to stop a four-lane highway from slicing through the center of the historic district. Instead, it went through a traditional Cape Verdean neighborhood near the waterfront. We lost a whole piece of the city, and we lost a piece of ourselves.’85


The twentieth century was not kind to New Bedford – deindustrialization, race riots, and urban renewal, among other incidents – and concerned citizens and preservation groups began to work within the system for change. The destruction of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in 1974, the oldest active YMCA building in the world\textsuperscript{86}, got the attention of even more New Bedford citizens and gave greater voice to the cause of preservation in the city.\textsuperscript{87}

The downtown area of New Bedford was the location that the city and preservation groups decided, not only needed saving, but the area that they could have the most success at saving since it was a commercial area with historic ambiance. Susanne Racicot remembers what the downtown was like when she was growing up and after urban renewal:

> When I was 16 and 17 years old, downtown was perfect. Downtown was beautiful, but you couldn’t go down to the wharves, you could only go down two blocks – after two blocks it was tavern after tavern all filled with fishermen, so, you just didn’t go down there. But, up the street – you could go all the way up the street – it was beautiful. Everything was very, very nice and when you went into a store you were waited on… The downtown was so nice because all the stores had beautiful things – beautiful windows all dressed up and, as I say, people in the stores were always dressed up. There were two department stores where the UMASS fine arts building is now. There used to be the Star store, which is a department store that sold everything. There was a


\textsuperscript{87} It also triggered the creation of a Demolition Ordinance in New Bedford.
store that was owned by the Mahoney family. There was Cherry’s, there was Lorraine’s coffee shop. There were some specialty dress stores – Joanne’s, Pat McKenna’s. All of the buildings were occupied and all of them were kept up – it was just a different world….I would say twenty years before the National Park, so around 1976, the downtown was terrible. A terrible place. Urban renewal tried to remedy the downtown, which was dilapidated, but it didn’t have to be that way. We had some very poor leadership.\textsuperscript{88}

The preservation work that took place in New Bedford prior to the designation of the National Historic Park was unique in a few ways, both the manner of how the city acquired funding and in what they planned to do with it. At the urging of the various preservation groups within the city, New Bedford’s planning department requested a study of the downtown and, future, Whaling National Historic Park areas to determine what could, and should, be saved from demolition. This study resulted in the publication of “The Orange Book” in 1966. After this study, the city began to apply for urban renewal grants, a move, which some viewed as a stretch, as most federal funds were given for tearing down and starting over and not for preservation work. New Bedford also benefitted from the creation of the Community Development Act in 1974, which created Community Development Block Grants to aid struggling cities.\textsuperscript{89}

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\textsuperscript{88} Susanne Racicot, interviewed by Carolyn Barry, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 30 July 2010.
\end{flushright}

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The funding, once secured, would not be used for housing purposes, as was typical, but rather for a commercial and industrial space. George Perkins, a one-time member of the Museum Committee of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, the parent organization for the Whaling Museum, and a founding member of the Historic Area Commission, explains:

‘This was one of the first three attempts in the nation to preserve a commercial area. The others are Charleston and Savannah. We didn’t want to turn New Bedford’s Waterfront District into a big outdoor museum. We had no intention of displacing the fishing industry. They are our District. Our idea was to showcase a working waterfront. The businesses would stay. We just wanted to keep their buildings from falling down around them.’

The preservation groups, renewal enthusiasts, and New Bedford lovers tried every angle they could to secure federal funding for preservation projects in order to, eventually, acquire federal recognition as a state park. When this latter effort failed, they persevered on until things finally starting coming into place in the very end of the twentieth century.

Success was met in 1996 with the creation of the New Bedford National Historic Park. This effort was aided by the perseverance of Massachusetts’ members of the Senate and Congress, such as Ted Kennedy and Barney Frank. Many people view this designation as a turning point for New Bedford because the city’s heritage

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was recognized as having national importance by the highest level of government. There were many reasons that preservation groups strived to create the New Bedford Whaling National Historic Park: to inspire residents, to beautify the city and return it to what it once was, to save its physical history for the future, etc. However, the greatest reason might have been the potential for economic development through tourism.

New Bedford’s government and residents have long hoped that tourism might be the answer to its economic woes. In 1995, just prior to the creation of the National Historic Park, Therese Kelly, former Executive Director of WHALE, hoped for the possibilities the Park might bring in the future: “And imagine the thousands of tourists who would be attracted and their impact on the economy not only of New Bedford but all of southeastern Massachusetts!”

Tourism is increasingly becoming more important to New Bedford’s economy. Indeed, according to the Visitor Information Program study completed by Wheelwright Consultants for New Bedford:

…many people tend to think of the visitor service industry as being comprised of only lodging establishments, restaurants, travel companies, and some attractions, the fact of the matter is that the visitor service industry has roots that reach very deeply into the community.

There is not a business in the community that does not feel the effects of visitor dollars, or which does not miss them when they are gone.92

Thus, it is clear that tourism has been a central motivation in New Bedford’s preservation work. The city’s government officials, planning department, preservation groups, downtown businesses, and museums, right down to the city’s residents, all hope to some degree that the National Historic Park will have a positive effect on New Bedford’s economy and reputation.

Susanne Racicot remembers growing up and then raising her four children in a city past its prime:

At the time my children were growing up [1950s and 1960s], New Bedford was okay. It was only after the riots – we had riots in New Bedford – during the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War changed everything…But it was during the Vietnam War – during the 1960’s and 1970’s – well, there was a riot in New Bedford and it had to do with civil rights – which started coming in. Oh yah, there were a lot of conflicts here then. New Bedford started changing – changing for the worse. And they said during the riots in New Bedford that they sent a lot of people up from the South to instigate those riots…When the riots came, that was it, the Civil Rights movement, which of course, expanded to different cities – a great deal of riots in Boston – New Bedford got more violent and, of course, drugs came in.93

92 Wheelwright Consultants Amherst and Greenfield, MA, Visitor Information Program (New Bedford, MA, June 2001), 2.

93 Susanne Racicot, interviewed by Carolyn Barry, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 30 July 2010.
Corinne Racicot remembers her high school years [1968-1972] in New Bedford:

Once I started high school the boundaries of my neighborhood and relationship to the city changed considerably. Mémère and Pépère sent Connie, Julie, and I to Bishop Stang to pursue a solid, value-based, education in a safe environment. During these years, New Bedford High School was known as a terrible place – lots of dropouts, drugs, violence and racial problems. I felt afraid in certain parts of town. We stayed away from Kempton Street, as it was unsafe. New Bedford High was very run down. Even the middle schools had serious problems. I remember one story from a nearby middle school of a teacher who was locked in a closet in her classroom while a student set fire to a trashcan in her class… The ‘70’s were difficult years for all cities, as the economy took a nasty downturn for a long period of time. For a city like New Bedford, with a weak economic base to begin with and many troubled immigrants, this made for a worsening of New Bedford’s outlook. The city always felt like it was in major need of rehab and there really wasn’t any place for teenagers to go except hang out on street corners. That’s why [Bishop] Stang was good for us, as it gave us a home, a place to play sports, go to dances and football games and meet other kids interested in pursuing an education. I remember always feeling like I hoped I could get out to a nicer place to live after I finished college. I never felt bound to New Bedford. The nice parts of the city that I remember – the common park near our home on Chestnut Street that was always lit up at Christmas time, the beautiful old whaling homes on County Street that we walked past to go to the dentist, the beach at Fort Phoenix, and, of course, Johnnycake Hill with the Whaling Museum and Seaman’s Bethel. As kids, Mémère and Pépère took us to lots of museums and I always loved them. They really opened my eyes to a much bigger and finer world than what existed in New Bedford… I can’t say I appreciated the city in those years. In fact when some of my college friends visited me in New Bedford, I remember being embarrassed by the city and really had no place to take them. In fact if you were to ask me to take you on a tour
of New Bedford today my list would be very short. I don’t think my appreciation is perhaps as it should be.\textsuperscript{94}

Despite progress in the last two decades of the twentieth century, New Bedford still struggled with its image as a crime addled city. In particular, a horrific crime that has been glamorized by Hustler Magazine and cemented in Hollywood with \textit{The Accused}, from 1988 starring Jodie Foster. On March 6, 1983, a New Bedford resident walked into a local bar in the North End of the city and was brutally raped by six assailants.\textsuperscript{95} The title from an article published in \textit{Time Magazine} on March 5, 1984 says it all: “The Crime That Tarnished a Town: New Bedford’s gang-rape….” The incident solidified what people were already thinking about the city: violence, illegal immigrants who were possibly criminals, seedy locations, economically devastated, and, ultimately, not worth anyone’s time.

Partial blame for the incident was placed on Larry Flynt, owner of Hustler Magazine who, just three months prior, had released a pornographic movie entitled \textit{Dirty Pool}, which depicted a similar scene of a gang rape occurring on top of a pool table. Whether or not the suitable culprit was condemned is irrelevant, but Flynt did

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{94} Corinne Racicot, interviewed by Carolyn Barry, Franklin, Massachusetts, 17 September, 2010
\end{itemize}
not make his case, or New Bedford’s, any better. In the August 1983 issue of Hustler, Flynt responded to the accusations by printing a tourist postcard of the city with the words: “Greetings from New Bedford, Mass., The Gang-Rape Capital of America” printed on it.\textsuperscript{96} New Bedford has been fighting this reputation handed to it by a man, who probably has never set foot in the city, ever since. A string of violent and criminal occurrences took place in the decades following the highly publicized gang-rape, including a murderous rampage in a strip club in 2006, which ended in the killing of three people and a hatchet-wielding man terrorizing a gay bar, which culminated in a country-wide high-speed chase. Thus, the twentieth century closed with the attempt at increasing tourism to New Bedford producing mixed results. On the one hand, the Whaling National Historic Park was created, yet, on the other hand, New Bedford’s past is still affecting its reputation in the present.

**Incorporating Non-Whaling History Into The Tourism Narrative**

After looking through New Bedford’s history, it is clear that there is far more than whaling to pull from for tourism efforts. However, given its importance in the city’s history and economic prosperity, it is nonnegotiable that whaling should have a significant position within New Bedford’s tourism narrative and this interpretation is left up to the Whaling National Historic Park. The other aspects of the city, discussed

above, deserve to be more well known, both in the city and outside of it, for most of it has important regional, if not national, importance. This information could be shared in any number of ways including: informational signage, inclusion in school curriculum, local history days and events celebrating noted historical figures, and even just greater inclusion on the city’s website.

While history associated with violent conflicts is not the most positive type to interpret, New Bedford not only has notable connections to the wars that took place from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries, they are most certainly unique connections. Therefore, it is local history with national important and could be used for empowerment during school projects, for example, and incorporated into the tourist narrative. These unique historical connections include the ownership of ships utilized in the Boston Tea Party and the Great Stone Fleet. Furthermore, New Bedford is not the only place in southeastern New England that was involved in King Phillip’s War and it is not just New Bedford that has not put up physical reminders of the war for educational purposes. For example, a marker in Mendon, Massachusetts memorializes the Johnson family who were all murdered by natives during the war. Informational signposts are one way to incorporate this history into the tourism narrative. Additionally, the ruins of Fort Phoenix, the Revolutionary War and War of 1812 era fort along the Acushnet River, are now a popular beach destination. The area around the fort provides excellent signage about its importance in national events. This
is a positive combination of recreation and education.

While New Bedford residents “…have been happy to claim that Frederick Douglass made New Bedford his first home after escaping slavery in 1838, that Henry ‘Box’ Brown had been publicly feted on his arrival in 1849…”97 it has only been recently incorporated into the city’s narrative. The mandate to research and interpret Underground Railroad sites was only launched on states in 1998, “…which among other things charges the National Park Service with producing and distributing materials about the Underground Railroad and providing technical assistance to public and private entities interested in Underground Railroad sites and activities.”98 As a result, many of the original structures have been demolished and much of the history of the Underground Railroad and people of color in New Bedford has been relegated to memories and informational plaques.

Despite the demolishing of many related sites there are still copious Underground Railroad related locations in New Bedford. These include houses with hidden rooms and those that provided safe shelter for freedom seekers, notable


residents, literature written in and about the city during this period, and black ethnic neighborhoods. Indeed, “in his 1858 history of the city…New Bedford’s Daniel Ricketson even declared, ‘It is said that at one time in the early part of the present century there was hardly a house in the place which did not give shelter and succor to a fugitive slave.’” As with many houses in New England that were involved in the Underground Railroad, most New Bedford structures are privately owned, so tours and interpretive material would need to be approved at the behest of the property owner.

New Bedford’s involvement in the Underground Railroad is something that should be promoted more within tourism efforts in the city. Given the manageable size of the city and the multitude of associated sites, a walking or bicycle tour could be an effective method. Concord, Massachusetts located about twenty miles northwest of Boston has recently instated a similar program. Concord Bike Tours, in conjunction with the Drinking Gourd Project, a nonprofit group dedicated to researching and interpreting Underground Railroad sites within Concord, now offers a unique experience to local residents. Concord’s program, though new, has had positive results: “One of the first abolitionist bike tour groups included several children, and [the creator of the tour] was surprised at how engaged the children became in the story

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of Concord’s antislavery past.” It has also enlightened many residents to the town’s hidden history. A similar program instated in New Bedford could have many benefits including positive publicity, encouraging further research on Underground Railroad sites, enticing residents to see a different side of their city, and motivating them to an alternative form of transportation and exercise.

New Bedford has championed literary connections related to its whaling history. However, also in existence, are biographies related to the Underground Railroad and abolition movements that were written in or taken place in the city. The relationship between whaling and tourism was cemented as a result of the celebrated publication of *Moby Dick* in 1851. The book depicts New Bedford’s whaling industry at its peak and even cites actual buildings and landmarks, most notably: The Seamen’s Bethel.

New Bedford has promoted this connection to literary history with the Moby Dick Marathon, an event that includes a 24-hour reading of the tome. At this event “passages are read in Portuguese, Cape Verdean Creole, Inupiaq, and other languages


101 The Seaman’s Bethel is located on Johnnycake Hill and was built in 1832. It is still used for religious services. Melville referred to it as The Whaleman’s Chapel within *Moby Dick*. 

associated with whaling.” Readers and listeners rotate around various sites in the city that are mentioned in the story. This unique, and inclusive, approach to whaling history could be incorporated in other eras of the city’s history. For example, a selected reading of Frederick Douglass’ autobiography: My Bondage and My Freedom or from the Narrative of the life of Henry Box Brown, written by himself, both which include actual people and places from New Bedford, not to mention the copious excerpts from personal letters from noted abolitionists and other city residents. These are positive connections to events of national importance and should be utilized to interest as many locals and return visitors as possible.

While an effort to actively preserve the physical remnants of New Bedford’s whaling history has occurred for the last fifty years or so, physical associations with textile manufacturing have not been privy to the same level of care. The structures and history associated with New Bedford’s textile manufacturing era have been almost entirely ignored. The South End of the city, in particular, is largely made up of vacant or dilapidating and severely underutilized mill buildings dating to the early part of the twentieth century. The architecture constructed during this era is, not only

underappreciated, but it is unlike anything found outside the New England region. The triple-decker tenement buildings, associated with French Canadian textile workers, are not studied or recognized on the National Register as a significant segment of architectural history to the level that they could.\textsuperscript{103}

Furthermore, only in 2008, was a concerted effort made to assess New Bedford’s mill structures.\textsuperscript{104} In order to determine the remaining mills’ future potential for preservation and economic development, the New Bedford Historic Mill Inventory examined:

101 mill sites and structures…with two main objectives: identify mill sites that will provide the greatest redevelopment opportunities that are consistent with the City’s economic development strategies,

\textsuperscript{103} According to Kingston Heath, in 1989 Worcester, Massachusetts completed a National Register Multiple Property Nomination, which included 189 buildings. However, given the sheer amount of triple-deckers throughout New Bedford, most of which are still in use, a greater amount should be recognized as having national importance. This would help in protecting the property type from being demolished. [Kingston Wm. Heath, \textit{The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape} (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 213.]

\textsuperscript{104} The City of New Bedford Historic Mill Inventory, \textit{Executive Summary}, http://www.newbedford-ma.gov/Planning/NB_MillInventory08.pdf


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infrastructure needs, environmental and land use planning requirements; and identify mill structures that possess significant architectural or historical value and therefore reflect the unique character and identity of the community.\textsuperscript{105}

The findings of this study were published later in 2008, in the form of \textit{The City of New Bedford Historic Mill Inventory}. It was discovered that out of the 101 mill structures surveyed that 86 percent are currently occupied, though mostly for storage or warehouses, and that 14 percent are totally vacant. Additionally, it was determined that 44 percent of the remaining mills are “considered to have a high or very high historical or architectural significance,” which supports an argument for preservation.\textsuperscript{106}

Preservation and the adaptive reuse of mill buildings:

…is a critical redevelopment strategy for many communities across the Commonwealth like New Bedford. Since mill revitalization districts rely on existing infrastructure, fit into historic development patterns and neighborhoods, and do not stimulate sprawl on undeveloped land, reuse of these places clearly fits the goals of smart growth and sustainable development that we are striving towards.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{106} The City of New Bedford Historic Mill Inventory, \textit{Key Findings, Historical Significance}, http://www.newbedford-ma.gov/Planning/NB_MillInventory08.pdf

It would be a great detriment to the city, immigrant mill workers and their descendents, and New England’s contribution to the Industrial Revolution if these structures are further allowed to decay and, therefore, not live up to their tourism and economic potential.

It is a fact that not every one enjoys, appreciates, or participates in historic activities while traveling. New Bedford is of the unique position to have not only history from many different eras, representing many different types of people, but that, at present, it is truly a diverse city. As is the nature of a port city, New Bedford has seen many different types of people come and go. The city’s population in its early years was comprised mostly of Anglo-Europeans and Native Americans, whaling brought many Portuguese and residents of the Azorean Islands, and the textile era saw immigrants from French Canada and the Atlantic Islands flock to New Bedford. According to the New Bedford Master Plan: “While whaling and textiles no longer fuel an economy that drives the success and growth patterns of the city, our identity as a vibrant and ethnically diverse seaport community holds fast.”108 The city’s true strength lies in its diversity and the ethnic neighborhoods, annual festivals, and cuisines in existence. Promoting this level of diversity and enabling the different immigrant groups to preserve their language and customs could provide New Bedford

with a greater number of tourists.

The most well-known, and well-represented, immigrant group in New Bedford is the Portuguese, which, in 2000, constituted 38.6 percent of the city’s population. Other ethnic groups in New Bedford include: the French, excluding the Basques, who make up 9.1, 8.2 percent are Sub-Saharan African, 7.9 percent are Irish, and 5.9 percent are French Canadian.\footnote{109} This recent percentage of French Canadians is far diminished from the once high number of forty percent. In addition to these ethnic groups, Germans, English, Poles, Russians, Jews, Lebanese, Greeks, Norwegians, Czechoslovakians, Albanians, Italians, Guatemalans, Mayans, and others of Spanish speaking descent, are counted among New Bedford’s population.\footnote{110}

At present, New Bedford exceeds both state and national statistics for ethnic percentages. According to the 2000 Census, in the United States 11.1 percent, and in Massachusetts, 12.2 percent, of residents are foreign born. In New Bedford the number of foreign-born residents is at 19.6 percent. Census information from the same year shows that 17.9 percent and 18.7 percent of United States and Massachusetts

\footnote{109} United States Census Bureau, 2000, \textit{New Bedford Quick Facts}, \url{http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/25/2545000.html}

\footnote{110} City of New Bedford Official Website, \textit{Office of Tourism & Marketing, Our History/ History of New Bedford}, \url{http://www.newbedford-ma.gov/Tourism/OurHistory/Historyofnb.html}
residents, respectively, speak a language other than English at home. In New Bedford, this number is at 37.8 percent. Out of these numbers, a total of 7.7 percent, in Massachusetts, and 17.3 percent, in New Bedford, “speak English less than very well.” Susanne Racicot stated about the ethnic groups and their interest in New Bedford history:

You have to remember that we have a lot of immigrants in New Bedford and immigrants do not move from their territory, they stay very clannish, especially if they don’t know the language. I can tell you that when I volunteered at the Downtown Visitors Center I can’t remember one Spanish person coming to visit. Some, especially the Guatemalans, don’t speak English – don’t want to. You think they are going to go downtown and learn about whaling? I don’t think so! Although, it might not be advertised very much in the Spanish circles, I don’t know.

This presents concerns in registering resident’s level of interest, or ability, in partaking in heritage tourism activities in New Bedford. However, this could be turned into a positive by presenting a historic, and authentic, vibrant ethnic community to visitors.


112 Susanne volunteered at the Downtown Visitors Center from long prior to the creation of the National Park until 2006.

113 Susanne Racicot, interviewed by Carolyn Barry, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 30 July 2010.
The dominant narrative, in terms of ethnic groups and immigrants, that is told throughout many eras of New Bedford’s history is that related to the Portuguese, with African American history coming in second. The most ignored ethnic community in the city is the French Canadians. Perhaps, this is due to the abundance of Canadians throughout many industrial cities in New England or their transitory nature – they tended to follow the jobs from city to city. As can be seen in Figure 1, numbers of French Canadians, which include inhabitants of the Atlantic Islands, outnumbered immigrants of Portuguese descent, which includes people from the Azores, for many decades in the city. It is important for the French Canadian community in New Bedford to receive recognition of their contributions, especially as residents are removed further from the first generation of immigrants and their culture, language, and traditions become even more assimilated, and perhaps lost, in mainstream culture.
Table 2.2: Chart comparing immigration numbers of French Canadians and the Portuguese. Included in the French Canadian numbers is census information for the Atlantic Islands and included within the Portuguese numbers is census information for the Azorean Islands. This chart shows that French Canadians immigrated to New Bedford at a higher number than the Portuguese for a number of years, thus, their history should be appreciated at a similar level. Source: United States Census Records.

Residents of New Bedford share similar sentiments of this soon-to-be lost history. The Richelieu Club, formed in 1958 in New Bedford, attempts to reach out to any French-speaking immigrant or resident in the city, in order to encourage people to speak the language to prevent it from dying out. A South Coast Times article, dating to April 14, 2010, is entitled: Richelieu Club keeps French going in New Bedford and discusses the problem of keeping French alive in the city. In this article, Lynette Ouellette, vice president of the club, states: “Years ago, New Bedford was a French-
speaking city. Far fewer people speak French here today, so there is a need to find others who do.” 114 This is a noble effort to retain New Bedford’s ethnic neighborhoods and culture, in particular its French Canadian heritage.

However, it is not just the language and culture that is being lost: physical structures, as well as neighborhood centers, are being lost. In 2001, the Church of the Sacred Heart was demolished to make room for a parking lot. The structure was built in 1877 and was the oldest French Canadian Catholic Church in the region and the first built for French Canadian Catholics in New Bedford. 115 In 2010, St. Joseph and St. Thérèse, the historic elementary schools located in the North End neighborhood around Brooklawn Park, were closed. This was done in order to condense the number of Catholic elementary schools in the diocese; however, any new, or combined, school will not have a French Canadian legacy. “Generations of largely Franco-American students went to the closely knit school from the neighborhood…” 116 With the closing of these traditional French Canadian Catholic schools the French Canadian community


in New Bedford is losing even more of their heritage. At present, there are already plans to capitalize on New Bedford’s vibrant ethnic groups and businesses. An article in *The Standard Times* entitled “Grand Plans for the Ave.: The city wants to develop the neighborhood as an ‘international marketplace,’” discusses New Bedford’s goal of transforming the Upper Acushnet Avenue neighborhood into a distinct location that celebrates the city’s current immigrant groups. Already in existence along Acushnet Avenue are copious restaurants from many different ethnic backgrounds, including Greek, Portuguese, and African. Those in charge of the Upper Acushnet Avenue Planning Study state that they hope to secure funding for this project by 2011 by applying for Massachusetts infrastructure grants and construction should begin by 2012. Currently, the plans state that a grand gateway will be placed across the northern stretch of Route 18 to designate this neighborhood as an ‘international marketplace.’

Focusing on revitalizing the downtown, National Historical Park area, and other neighborhoods within the city *for* local residents could be a good marketing and

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117 For a greater discussion of French Canadians in New Bedford, as well as a look at how Susanne Racicot’s family fits into this narrative see Appendix __.

economic strategy. “Only tourism planning that directly benefits local interests and the local economy will serve the realistic continuation of heritage.”

New Bedford retains its historic character – its multitude of layered landscapes pose immense opportunities for interpretation of varied stories from many eras. It can provide the unexpected, and appreciated, sense of place that tourists may be looking for in the city.

The New Bedford Whaling National Historic Park has helped to change the city’s opinion of itself and how outsiders see it. However, visitors are mostly foreign, with a few from outside the city and even fewer from in-town. The Park Service hopes to correct this with some clever programming:

‘While tourists often come and visit New Bedford’s historical downtown area, few natives take the time to find out how interesting and exciting this area can be. For this reason, New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park has...[created] Hometown Tourist Week, offering free children’s activities, concerts, walking tours and more. Stop by the visitor center...Say —I’m a hometown tourist to the staff at the front desk and receive a free national park reusable tote bag.’

This is a vital marketing campaign as locals, more often than foreigners, will most likely frequent the downtown for historical and cultural purposes, as well as for eating

and shopping. If there is to be an effort to encourage local tourists to explore their city then the interpretation of New Bedford needs to include as many of the city’s contributors as possible.

Kingston Heath, who, in addition to writing an architectural history of the city, was raised in a Portuguese family in New Bedford, states: “I contend that the story of this leading whaling port and textile city should not be seen as ending with the eclipse of its two ‘golden ages.’”¹²¹ There is definitely more than whaling in The Whaling City and including more varied eras and ethnic groups within the tourist narrative could attract more locals, first- and second- generation immigrants, and return visitors to New Bedford.

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CHAPTER 3

LOCAL ECONOMIES, SUSTAINABILITY, AND TOURISM

Defining A Local Living Economy

The phrase ‘local living economy’ can be defined as a locality that attempts to strengthen and sustain its economy by focusing on local resources, such as produce and food, businesses, the environment, and so on in order to develop a vibrant community that is attentive to the well-being of its residents and environment. The Business Alliance for Local Living Economies (BALLE) states the important of local living economies:

When needs are met locally by locally owned enterprises, people have greater control over their lives, money is recycled in the community rather than leaking off into the global financial casino, jobs are more secure, economies are more stable, and there are the means and the incentives to protect the environment and to build the relationships of mutual trust and responsibility that are the foundation of community.\(^{122}\)

\(^{122}\) The Business Alliance for Local Living Economies, *Building Blocks, Economy, Local Living Economy*, http://www.livingeconomies.org/building-blocks/what-is-a-local-living-economy

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With this explanation it becomes important for localities to define what *local* means to them. Depending on location, wealth, population, and any number of factors, *local* could mean in-town, in-state, regional or even national products and businesses. A local approach to the economy can center on whatever is important to a particular locality, but in most places a commitment to locally owned and operated businesses and locally produced food are priorities because they can become the pillar of an area’s economy.

David Hess, author of *Localist Movements in A Global Economy*, states that the trend towards local economies has been growing. This is due to historical, and modern, urban trends, such as the de-industrialization of many American cities, particularly the Rust Belt, the construction of highways through center cities, suburbanization and the de-population of cities, and the recent economic recession. He feels that the local economy movement is an alternative to a capitalist method that, many feel, is not working as it has in the past. He goes on to state that there have been three economic phases in the United States that have led to the growth of interest in local economies. These are: (1) “smokestack chasing” – *state and local governments offer incentives to large, nonlocal businesses, usually manufacturers, to locate in their area, which led to regional competition and costly give-aways*, (2) *governments become interested in retaining present businesses and growing new ones*, and (3) *governments focus on clustering businesses to create regional advantages in specific*
fields (healthcare, technology, etc). The failure of American manufacturing has forced many cities to shrink, both in physicality and economic aspirations. American cities, particularly older manufacturing cities, have less capital, and sometimes appeal, to utilize in order to attract outside businesses and, thus, should focus on the resources available in their immediate surroundings and the needs and talents of their current population.123

It has been said countless times that in this era of globalization we need to Think Global and Act Local. “In fact, it was BALLE that coined the term ‘Think Local First.’”124 However, this does not necessarily mean that communities should be made up entirely of local businesses because that is not the point of the movement and, furthermore, it is not realistic or sustainable. Michael H. Shuman, author of The Small-Mart Revolution and director of research and economic development at BALLE, discusses the formation and purpose of local living economies, or The Small-Mart Revolution, in his book:

The Small-Mart Revolution is about much more than fighting chain stores….what…[the movement] is for is more important than what it’s against. [It] aims to improve the prosperity of every community, here and abroad, by maximizing opportunities for locally owned businesses.


And since ‘place-based’ businesses already make up more than half of a typical community’s economy, the Small-Mart Revolution, for the most part, means doing more of what we already know how to do pretty well. In that sense, it’s not terribly radical.125

Small, independent businesses already make up a large portion of American businesses and, furthermore, they receive more positive reviews from customers.126 So, Shuman argues that educating residents about the importance of thinking locally and why making an effort to shop at non-chains can make a difference in communities is central to creating local living and sustainable economies.

**National Organizations**

The concept of local living economies is put into practice by many national organizations, which play an important role in educating communities in methods of sustaining local economies and maintaining the sense of place in specific areas. There are five organizations, in particular, that have the greatest impact on persuading people and communities of the importance of local economies. These five organizations are: The Institute for Local Self-Reliance, in particular their program called The New Rules Project, The Social Venture Network, American Independent

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Business Alliance (AMIBA), The Business Alliance for Local Living Economies (BALLE), and The Main Street Program, which is part of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. All five of these organizations have many goals, motives, and methods in common, particularly in their commitment to local products and businesses, socially conscious motives, and striving towards vibrant business districts, communities, and regions. However, the two latter programs, BALLE and Main Streets, hold the most interest in creating a local living economy in New Bedford.

The Institute for Local Self-Reliance (ILSR) was created in 1974 and “…has been working to enable communities with tools to increase economic effectiveness, reduce wastes, decrease environmental impacts and provide for local ownership of the infrastructure and resources essential for community well-being.”

A sub-program of the ILSR, the New Rules Project, which was created in 1998, is particularly related to the two previously discussed organizations. This program collects information – local, state, and national – about communities who have enacted laws for and against creating locally focused, sustainable, and socially conscious economies. The New Rules Project is interested in creating new rules for communities to follow to create more sustainable and unique economies. There are three rules to follow in order to achieve this: (1) decisions made by those who feel the impact of those decisions, (2) communities accepting responsibility for the welfare of their

127 Institute for Local Self-Reliance, About Us, http://www.ilsr.org/about.html
members and for the next generation, and (3) households and communities possessing or owning sufficient productive capacity to generate real wealth. These are the basic tenets of sustainability as taken from The Brundtland Report, which states that the present generation should not do anything that could harm future generations.\textsuperscript{128} Essentially, this manner of thinking puts the power into the hands of local residents and empowers them to create a vibrant, livable community based on their entrepreneurialism.

The Social Venture Network (SVN) was founded in 1987 and has inspired the creation of a handful of other socially conscious business organizations, in particular BALLE. SVN “inspires a community of business and social leaders to build a just economy and sustainable planet.”\textsuperscript{129} They have five steps, not in any particular order, to reach this goal: (1) provide forums, conferences, and information, (2) share the best practices and resources to generate profits and serve the common good, (3) support diverse community leaders, (4) strive towards a vibrant community made up of deep and lasting friendships, and (5) support programs that support spiritual, professional, and personal development. These five initiatives can be thought of as both idealistic and realistic in terms of what they teach communities committed to


\textsuperscript{129} The Social Venture Network, \textit{About Us}, http://www.svn.org/index.cfm?pageid=551
their own local economy. They also form the base of other organizations that SVN has inspired.

The American Independent Business Alliance (AMIBA) was created in 1998 as a non-profit organization. Their raison d’être is to help communities create and maintain Independent Business Alliances that are committed to \textit{buy local} and \textit{buy independent} campaigns for community businesses. AMIBA began in Boulder, Colorado, unofficially, in 1997 as the first Independent Business Alliance in the country. The initiative began with two local businesses and within two years had expanded to include 150 community businesses—all interested in making profits in a socially conscious manner and making sure that residents knew that buying local affected the community differently than buying from chains. By 2001, AMIBA became a national organization.\footnote{American Independent Business Alliance, \textit{About}, http://amiba.net/find/massachusetts.html} At present, there is only one community in Massachusetts involved with AMIBA: the Concord Independent Business Alliance, which was started in 2008.\footnote{American Independent Business Alliance, \textit{Find a Local IBA}, http://amiba.net/find/massachusetts.html}

The Main Street Program was created in 1980 and believes that a community is only as strong as its core. Since its creation “…the Main Street movement has transformed the way communities think about the revitalization and
management of their downtowns and neighborhood commercial districts.”

To achieve this desired success the program uses the Four-Point Approach®, which includes: organization, promotion, design, and economic restructuring.

The Main Streets Program believes that downtowns are pivotal in creating a healthy, vibrant, and economically successful and sustainable community. A town or city’s main street has the ability to depict where a community is and where it has been; they are a place to learn about the history of an area, in terms of architecture, economics, and community pride. Thus, the success or failure of a main street or downtown can have a domino affect on everything from population, morale, historic preservation, reputation, wealth, crime, and so on.

The Main Street Program cites that downtowns are “…real places doing real work to revitalize their economies and preserve their future.” There are, at present, more than 1,200 state, regional, and local programs involved with Main Street. Overall, participation and concurrence with Main Streets program ensures a healthy and bustling downtown, which in turn encourages tourism. In Massachusetts there is a Boston Main Streets Coordinating Program, which includes programs in

\[132\] Main Street National Trust for Historic Preservation, *About Main Street*, http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/

\[133\] Main Street National Trust for Historic Preservation, *About Main Street*, http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/
eighteen other cities, all of which are in Boston or in the direct vicinity, such as Jamaica Plain, Dorchester, or Brighton.\textsuperscript{134}

The Business Alliance for Local Living Economies (BALLE) is different than the previously discussed organizations because their approach focuses on more than just businesses, but, rather, a wide array of the elements that help a community to function. BALLE was created in 2003 and has already captivated and inspired others in the same field. Doug Loescher, Director of the National Trust Main Street Center Director, had this to say about BALLE in the May/June 2010 edition of \textit{The Journal of the National Trust Main Street Center}: “Their local alliances of sustainable businesses, socially responsible investors, and leading-edge thinkers are just bursting at the seams with bold ideas, challenging economic theories, and entrepreneurial innovations.”\textsuperscript{135} The organization currently includes over 60 business networks and more than 20,000 entrepreneurs in Canada and the United States. At present, there are sixty-seven networks in twenty-eight states, including the District of Columbia, as well as four networks in three provinces in Canada. The tenets of a local living economy as promoted by BALLE dovetails with the promotion of tourism. As all aspects of an economy – the direct and indirect facets – can benefit from tourism and a

\textsuperscript{134} The National Trust Main Street Center, \textit{About Main Street, The Programs}, http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/the-programs/

\textsuperscript{135} Doug Loescher, “Learning from Detroit,” \textit{Main Street Now: The Journal of the National Trust Main Street Center}, May/June 2010, page 2.
locale with a sense of place, as desired by BALLE, can provide a visitor with a unique, and appreciated, experience.

There are currently five cities or regions that are involved within Massachusetts using the BALLE system of developing local living economies that respect the individual qualities of each locale. These include Greater Boston, Lower Cape Cod, Somerville, Pioneer Valley in Western Massachusetts, and Worcester. BALLE organizes its networks to fit each individual locale by assessing what they refer to as building blocks, which, they believe, are the basic pillars of each local economy. These building blocks include: sustainable agriculture, renewable energy, zero waste manufacturing, green building, independent retail, community capital, transportation, education, or whatever else is important to a community.

**Examples of Local Living Economies in New England**

This attitude of local first is a prominent trend in New England, where the practice of enacting stringent zoning laws in order to maintain the historical character of communities is hardly new. A New York Times article, entitled *Cape Cod Residents Keep the Chain Stores Out*, describes such an effort in Provincetown.

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136 Business Alliance for Local Living Economies, *BALLE Networks*, http://www.livingeconomies.org/netview

Massachusetts. Upon, what was perceived to be, an invasion by a family business with more than one location, residents rushed to find a way to preserve the town’s character. Provincetown resident, Barbara Rushmore, stated: “It occurred to me that, as bad as that is, imagine if we got a Burger King or McDonald’s?…Stores like that would threaten the many independently owned businesses in town…and compromise Provincetown’s small-town New England charm.” As a result of this desire to maintain the town’s unique character, an amendment to the town’s zoning, which soon after became law, discouraged chain stores.

Chain stores, as defined by Provincetown’s new zoning law, are “…one of 10 or more branches worldwide. In addition, a ‘formula business’ would have to meet at least three of several criteria, including having a standardized menu or array of merchandise, and requiring standardized uniforms or signage.” It can be argued that efforts, such as this, might reduce competition and economic opportunity in an area, particularly small towns or places without the hopes of attracting large corporations. However:

The fundamental challenge for communities struggling to revive their economies is not to destroy Walmart, because a Target or a Sears or a hundred other chains stand ready to take its place. The challenge is, instead to find ways to nurture competitive local alternatives to
Walmart that can revitalize our local economies and our communities.\textsuperscript{138}

This manner of thinking views local economies as actions taken by residents who are fiercely protective of what they love about where they live and being empowered to insulate the financial security of their own businesses and artisans.\textsuperscript{139}

There are five communities in Massachusetts that are involved in BALLE, one of which is the city of Worcester. The Worcester Local First network, established in 2007, focuses on fostering independently owned businesses in the city. They attempt to accomplish this through four initiatives: (1) \textit{Organizing a Worcester Local First campaign that raises the awareness of consumers, businesses, and government agencies regarding the benefits of purchasing from locally owned, independent businesses}, (2) \textit{bringing together locally owned, independent businesses for mutual benefit and networking opportunities}, (3) \textit{supporting Worcester ordinances, regulations and policies that promote locally owned, independent businesses}, and (4) \textit{collaborating with other organizations that promote and advance locally owned, independent businesses}. This approach is different from zoning regulation and other


legal tactics that some communities have utilized, in that it focuses on persuading people through education.\textsuperscript{140}

Probably the most famous example of a New England town that has benefitted from a local economy is Hardwick, Vermont. This small town has completely changed its economic outlook through a commitment to local agriculture. The town’s story was written about in the 2009 book: \textit{The Town That Food Saved: How One Community Found Vitality in Local Food}, written by Ben Hewitt:

Over the past three years, this little hard-luck burg with a median income 25 percent below the state average and an unemployment rate nearly 40 percent higher has embarked on a quest to create the most comprehensive, functional, and downright vibrant local food system in North America…[Hardwick] just might prove…that a healthy agriculture system can be the basis of communal strength, economic vitality, food security, and general resilience in uncertain times.\textsuperscript{141}

Local agriculture has brought more jobs, resources, new businesses, and a sense of hope to this small town. Ben Hewitt, the author of this book, believes that the steps that Hardwick residents took to revive their economy through local products can, and should, be attempted by towns and cities all over the county.

\textsuperscript{140} Worcester Local First, \textit{About Us}, http://www.worcesterlocalfirst.org/WLF/content/view/17/53/

\textsuperscript{141} Ben Hewitt, \textit{The Town That Food Saved: How One Community Found Vitality In Local Food} (New York, New York: Rodale, Inc., 2009)
New Bedford: Local and Independently Owned Businesses & Local Food and Farmers’ Markets

Inspired by other locales all over New England, as well as national organizations, New Bedford could transform itself into a local living economy. Taken from BALLE, the city’s building blocks might be comprised of local and independently owned businesses and local food. This next section explores local and independently owned businesses and farmer’s markets in New Bedford and how they could aid in developing a sustainable tourism plan for the city.

There are two opposing schools of thought on the topic of whether or not local businesses can make a difference in a community’s economy. The reasons against locally lived economies are that they hurt competition and big-box stores will, immediately, create more jobs and bigger profits for the area. However, according to Michael H. Shuman, author of The Small-Mart Revolution: How Local Businesses are Beating the Global Competition, locally owned and independent businesses are the better option. He gives his reasoning:

Sure, nearly all kinds of businesses offer a community the benefits of jobs, tax dollars, charitable contributions, and local economic stimulus…however, LOIS [local ownership and import substitution] firms deliver these benefits more reliably, more robustly, and more sustainably than the nonlocal alternatives do. That means our choices—
as consumers, investors, as entrepreneurs, as policymakers – can make a huge difference in how well our communities prosper.¹⁴²

So, therefore, a commitment to local and independent businesses will benefit a locale in the long run because businesses run by residents are more tied to the well being of the community and are less likely to outsource their production. It also creates a more vibrant, livable, community with, potentially, less commuting and a bigger focus on neighbors and neighborhoods.

Most, if not all, of New Bedford’s restaurants and businesses located within the Whaling National Historic Park and downtown area are locally owned. However, the same cannot be said for other sections of the city, where chains are more frequent. City officials have expressed a commitment to providing more job opportunities for its residents, particularly career opportunities. According to New Bedford’s Master Plan:

In the midst of the most challenging national economy since the Great Depression, in 2010 New Bedford leads in new growth among the 11 Gateway Cities in Commonwealth [see Figure 2]—creating nearly 2,000 permanent and construction jobs and capturing more than $340 million in private investment over the past five years. We have accomplished this by employing a balanced and aggressive strategy—led by the New Bedford Economic Development Council—to support existing business, attract emerging industries, communicate a positive

message, develop strategic sites, prepare a ready workforce, and capture long-term catalytic opportunities for growth. [my italics]  

New Bedford is not only a leading Gateway City in Massachusetts, but it “…is beginning to re-emerge as the metropolitan center for the southcoast.”  

To obtain this centrality in the region and to entice local and outside visitation, New Bedford, like so many coastal New England towns, needs to maintain its unique identity and rebuke offers from chain and big-box stores.

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While, according to the city’s Master Plan for New Bedford, supporting existing businesses, creating new opportunities for current residents, and providing an education—at all levels—to residents that prepares them for a career (hopefully in New Bedford) are all prominent goals, it has not been enough to keep people living and working within the city. Progressively, more and more workers are finding employment outside of the city:

In 1990, 35% of New Bedford residents worked outside of the city (15% in greater New Bedford, 19% outside greater New Bedford). In 2000, 50% of the city’s residents worked in another area. Census data show that most residents are commuting to areas beyond greater New Bedford (19% greater New Bedford, 31% outside greater New Bedford).\(^\text{145}\)

This trend does not bode well for the city’s economy. As Lyle Estill, author of *Small is possible: life in a local economy*, says: “Commuting is the death of community.” People are apt to spend money in the location of their work. When a locale becomes merely a bedroom community or, as in the case of New Bedford, a growing percentage work outside of the area the community, economy, and vibrancy is diminished.\(^\text{146}\)


\(^{146}\) Lyle Estill, *small is possible: life in a local economy* (Gabriola Island, British Columbia, Canada: New Society Publishers, 2008), 65 and 172.
While it is unfortunate that a growing percentage of residents are working further and further outside of the city, there are quite a few locally owned businesses in New Bedford. The top three largest private employers based in New Bedford are: Southcoast Hospital Group, which employs 3,853, Acushnet Manufacturing, with 2,300 people, and Joseph Abboud Manufacturing, with 580 people. All of these, except the hospital, which is state based, are local businesses. The top ten employers within New Bedford can be seen in the chart in Figure 3. Out of these ten, almost half are regionally based businesses. City planners hope to address these disparities with a commitment to existing businesses, but, perhaps, this can be better achieved by following methods similar to Provincetown, Nantucket, and other regional coastal areas and creating zoning laws to discourage chain businesses or big-box stores.147

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southcoast Hospital Group</td>
<td>3,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acushnet Company</td>
<td>2,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>City of New Bedford</td>
<td>2,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Market Basket</td>
<td>600¹</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Abboud Manufacturing</td>
<td>580</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polaroid Corporation</td>
<td>500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lifestream, Inc.</td>
<td>335</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFC Cable Systems</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tremblay’s Bus Company, LLC</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Orthopaedics, Inc.</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Local business owners are already embracing this local-economy mentality. Marco Montez, the owner of Travessia Winery in downtown New Bedford, has a commitment to creating an absolutely local product from start to finish. When asked why he chose to locate in downtown New Bedford, Marco responded with:

I decided that I wanted to launch my winery in an urban setting for a couple of different reasons. If I was going to be in an urban area, it was obvious to me that it had to be New Bedford because this is the city that welcomed me into America about twenty years ago. I also believe that the city, starting with its downtown area, has enormous potential, which is already manifesting itself in many ways.¹⁴⁸

As a wholly local enterprise, “Most of [Marco’s] business is done within Massachusetts with a few customers from Rhode Island and occasionally some from

New York.” Currently, Travessia Winery only ships online orders within Massachusetts.

Marco, aside from his devotion to his second home, has a deep commitment to utilizing local materials:

Real wine to me is a regional product; it is a reflection of where it is grown. So, by launching a winery in Massachusetts, I knew that I wanted to focus my efforts on making wine with locally grown grapes. The wines that I make with grapes from other regions are branded completely different because I want my customers to be fully aware that I do not consider them local products. As an added note, my personal view of a local product, be it food or wine, is that for it to be truly local it has to be grown locally, not simple produced locally. The problem is that usually consumers think of local as something that comes from local land and that’s often not the case. It’s perfectly acceptable to produce products locally with imported produce, but the local label or term should not be attached to it. This is obvious not “the law,” no organization has defined the true meaning of “local”, it’s simply my opinion and what I believe in.149

This makes, not only Marco’s winery unique, but also downtown New Bedford – one can only purchase that wine in one location. This approach to business can not only strengthen and sustain the economy, but it can become a marketable aspect of the city.

Locally owned and operated businesses are vital to New Bedford’s economy, tourism initiatives, the financial security of artists and food producers, and the quality of life for city residents. According to BALLE:

Compared to their national competitors independent businesses recycle more money back into the local economy and give greater support to a community’s nonprofit and civic needs. They are better positioned to respond to the special needs of the community, and they are more tied to the community’s future. Additionally, unlike a homogenized Anyplace, USA, a community with vibrant independent businesses retains its unique character as a great place to visit.\footnote{Business Alliance for Local Living Economies, \textit{Local First Campaigns}, http://www.livingeconomies.org/local-first}

The towns, cities, and regions within Massachusetts that are involved in BALLE all focus on \textit{building blocks} that address their community’s unique needs. While not involved with BALLE or the Main Street program, New Bedford, especially in their downtown and National Historic Park area, does have a high number of locally owned or independent businesses. New Bedford should follow the copious amount of New England towns that have used zoning or planning to ensure a commitment to local and independent businesses in order to preserve their unique character and benefit tourism.

In addition to a local economy focused on independent businesses, it would behoove New Bedford to have an equal commitment to local food produced by farmers, fishermen, and artisans in the area. Additionally, the city should also focus its efforts on creating a strong local food culture, which can have many benefits on a community’s economy and environment. So, what is local food? As defined by the National Sustainable Agriculture Information Service (ATTRA):
Local food is food that is grown within a reasonable distance from where it is eaten. Exactly how local food is defined is as varied as the consumers that buy it. The commonality amongst local food consumers is a commitment to purchase food that ensures social, economic, and environmental sustainability. Buying local food reduces the number of ‘food miles’ between farm and plate, and helps to keep agricultural profits in the local economy.\textsuperscript{151}

Given New Bedford’s coastal location, it is a prime source for fresh seafood, especially scallops. It is also located near many of the state’s famous cranberry bogs and producers. In addition, there are an abundance of farms in the southeast part of Massachusetts. The city, with the appropriate planning and marketing, could become the center of local produce in the southern part of New England.

One of the best outlets for selling or purchasing local food is the farmers’ market. According to Bill McKibben, author of \textit{Deep Economy: The wealth of communities and the durable future}:\textsuperscript{152}

\begin{quote}
A single farmers’ market, for instance, may not seem very important compared to a Wal-Mart, but farmers’ markets are the faster-growing part of our food economy. They’ve doubled in number and in sales and then doubled again in the last decade, suggesting new possibilities for everything from land use patterns to community identity.\textsuperscript{152}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{151} ATTRA –National Sustainable Agriculture Information Service, \textit{Local Food Systems}, http://attra.ncat.org/attra-pub/local_food/

Farmers’ markets also provide an opportunity for socialization between buyer and seller that could result in a long-term purchasing relationship. Additionally, supporting farmers’ markets means supporting local farmers and family farmers, which places agricultural land at a higher premium and less likely to be sold off to developers.

According to Steve Martinez, author of *Local Food Systems; Concepts, Impacts, and Issues*, local food can have a number of positive impacts on an area’s economy. Farmers’ markets selling local produce have the ability to “…stimulate additional business activity within the local economy by improving business skills and opportunities” as well as benefitting the health of local residents. Martinez states two, general, ways this latter outcome could occur: (1) *local markets offer food that is fresher, less processed, and more full of nutrients* and (2) *they could increase the amount of healthier foods in an area and make people more conscious of what they purchase and consume.*

A *Boston Globe* article, entitled “Growing Locally”, from February 22, 2009, states that there has been a surge in the availability of and interest in locally produced agriculture within Massachusetts. Scott Soares, the Assistant Agricultural Commissioner, states that this trend of looking inward, and focusing on what is available locally is a result of the national economic crisis. Whatever the reason,

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farmers and local economies are benefitting: “The demand for locally grown produce and the surge in agritourism has helped Massachusetts agriculture blossom this decade, with crop and livestock sales growing 27 percent from 2002 to 2007.”\textsuperscript{154} In the past five years, there has been a significant increase in the amount of farms and farmers in Massachusetts. According to a \textit{Boston Globe} article, from August 2, 2010, entitled “Farming surges in state with new crop of devotees”, both Tufts and Bristol Community College are now offering farming business classes at night to both newcomers and veterans in the field.\textsuperscript{155} Bristol Community College is located right in downtown New Bedford, thus giving the city even more of an opportunity to promote and benefit from locally produced food.

A commitment to farmers’ markets is important in creating a more healthy community, but a healthier population is also more sustainable. Obesity is highly unsustainable because the intense consumption of food and other resources cannot be sustained and creates an unbalanced distribution of resources in the world. In Massachusetts, 21 percent of residents are obese.\textsuperscript{156} Although, Massachusetts is


\textsuperscript{156} U.S. News Staff, “U.S. Obesity Rates by State: See the percentage of obese people –those having a body mass index of 30 or higher – in each state,” \textit{U.S. News}, August 10, 2010.
ranked 48 out of 50 for obesity rates in the country, it is a game the state should not want to play. A 2010 study, which utilized data from 2005, by UMASS Medical School and the State Department of Public Health found that there are 11 Massachusetts communities or city neighborhoods with 30 percent or higher of obese adults. In this study obesity was defined as having a body mass index greater than 30 kilograms per square meter. The highest rates of obesity were found in the urban areas, with the top three being: Mattapan (36.8), Roxbury (36.0), and New Bedford (33.1). While a reduction in the obesity rate will certainly require more public policy than the mere support of farmers’ markets, a commitment to fresh and local food, in order to reduce obesity, is a step in the right direction, especially for New Bedford.\footnote{Matt Carroll, “Snapshot: Obesity Levels Among Mass. Adults,” \textit{Boston.com}, May 6, 2010.}
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Figure 3.3: Massachusetts Farmers’ Markets with more than one location. Includes information on city population, median household income, total number of markets, how many of those markets accept SNAP, and how many markets hold winter hours. Source: http://www.mass.gov/agr/massgrown/

The current status of farmers’ markets in New Bedford is mixed when compared to the state at large. As of summer 2010, Massachusetts’ Farmers’ Market Directory listed a total of 203 different sites for markets. These are located within 163 individual towns or cities. There are nineteen communities that have more than one farmers market available for its residents. Of these nineteen communities, thirteen provide two locations for shopping, two have three farmers markets, two have five, one location has six, and one locality, Boston, which includes Dorchester and Jamaica Plain, provides fourteen different farmers’ markets for its residents. New Bedford currently holds markets at three separate locations: Brooklawn Park, Wings Court, and Clasky Common. These are all open on different days: Monday, Thursday, and Saturday, respectively, which provides variety. None of the city’s markets accept vouchers from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), nor do any hold winter hours (see Figure 4).

A Boston Globe article from June 23, 2010, entitled “Program makes local food more affordable”, discusses how the state has a growing interest in providing healthful foods to lower income residents. Part of this goal will be accomplished by
having farmers’ markets accept SNAP. This has been a problem because: “With electronic benefit cards replacing food stamps at a rapid pace, cash-only farmers’ markets have struggled to adapt to the new technology, and low-income residents have suffered as a result.”158 Making healthful food available to lower-income residents is an important part of a commitment to local food. Out of all the farmers’ markets in Massachusetts, only fifty-three accept SNAP – a mere 26 percent. Of the nineteen locations that have at least two farmers’ markets, ten accept SNAP in some capacity. The remaining nine towns or cities, including New Bedford, do not accept food stamps at their farmers’ markets. Perhaps, New Bedford farmer’s markets are not receiving enough traffic to make accepting SNAP cost effective, however, the people who are not buying at these markets are probably those who need to buy at places who do accept SNAP.

While the breakdown of the farmer’s market chart provides a glimpse into social equity issues relating to farmers’ markets and local food-ways, it is also connected to the creation of a sustainable economy. Supporting local agriculture means supporting local farmers, which means that more money is invested in regional businesses, therefore strengthening the economy. Additionally, it ensures that agricultural land is placed at a higher value, which reduces its risk of being sold off to

developers. This sort of behavior ensures that “…more…dollars…[remain] circulating in…local economy and [boosts] the area’s income, wealth and jobs.”\textsuperscript{159} It is a circle of investment with only local and regional players benefitting; nothing is outsourced and little, if any, money is sent to far away locations or countries to support their economy.

**Tourism**

The mission statements of both BALLE and The Main Street Program fit perfectly into the development of a sustainable tourism plan. BALLE’s mission statement is: “…to catalyze, strengthen and connect networks of locally owned independent businesses dedicated to building strong Local Living Economies.”\textsuperscript{160} While Main Street’s mission statement is:

…to empower people, organizations, and communities to achieve ongoing downtown and neighborhood district revitalization based upon the principles of self-determination, resource conservation, and incremental transformation represented through the comprehensive Main Street Four-Point Approach\textsuperscript{®}.\textsuperscript{161}


\textsuperscript{161} The National Trust Main Street Center, *About Main Street, The Center*, http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/
Main Streets and BALLE are aiding the local economies of towns, cities, and communities by focusing on what makes each unique and then using that to benefit residents. A plan for sustainable tourism requires that local residents, businesses, environmental issues, historical, cultural, and natural resources come prior to any national or international subject and that they are then used to entice visitors – both immediate residents and outsiders – to enjoy the uniqueness offered by the locale. This could not be done without a focus on a local living economy and a vibrant downtown or Main Street.

In the case of New Bedford, a commitment to local agriculture and independent retail could have a positive impact on the lives of residents, as well as the city’s tourism industry. “One way of thinking about ‘the local’…is to view it as a disappearing phenomenon as the world becomes more transnational, cosmopolitan, de-territorialized, and culturally homogenous.” 162 However, this manner of thinking does not dovetail well with tourism initiatives, which strive to create or maintain a sense of place. Tourism requires the uniqueness of a local to be sustained in the face of globalization. The potential vibrancy created by residents walking around downtown and frequenting local shops and eateries is absolutely necessary for a tourist destination. In New Bedford, the downtown area and the Whaling National Historic

Park are home to greater numbers of locally owned or independent businesses than all other parts of the city. This gives those areas an authentic feel for tourists because it creates a place to visit that is not like everywhere else: you can only visit that store or buy that product in one location.

The protective actions taken by various communities for the preservation of their town’s historic character, such as with Provincetown, are for the benefit of immediate residents themselves, yes, but also for tourists, as tourism can be a large, and important, sector of many economies. In New Bedford tourism has become a central and irrefutable part of their economy. In the Master Plan for the city, tourism, along with Marine Science Employment, is named as a prospective growth industry. Tourism has increased 67 percent in the south-coast region of Massachusetts between the years 2000 and 2004. In fact, much of what the city planners and officials do and hope to accomplish is largely for the benefit of tourism – beautifying the city (including Brownfield and Superfund sites and Acushnet River cleanup), expanding unique downtown shopping and eating options, historic preservation, and linking the city to Boston via rail. Creating a vibrant and unique downtown area can only increase visitorship from locals and out-of-town travelers and, perhaps, increase the ability of
the city to garner federal grants for historic preservation initiatives, as well as positive publicity.\textsuperscript{163}

This chapter has discussed how the existence of farmers’ markets and a commitment to locally produced food can positively benefit residents and a locale’s economy. But how does this relate to tourism? The Wings Court market is located directly downtown. Since it will most likely be New Bedford residents, as opposed to out-of-town visitors, shopping at this market, in particular, it creates the possibility for residents doing other shopping, eating, and exploring of the downtown itself. This gives the potential of more people spending extra time and, hopefully, extra money, downtown, which creates a livable and walk-able city with a stronger economic impact for the city.

Though southeastern Massachusetts is involved in agriculture, the area’s historical and greater economic pursuit lies with its maritime activities. Fishing is a historical, regional profession, that is often generational, and it is a vital part of the National Historic Park’s narrative about the history of the city. The downtown and National Historical Park area is within walking distance to the waterfront. While there is not fish market at, or near, the docks as can be seen in places such as New York City or Portland, Oregon, for distributors or even tourists, there are local eateries that

purchase the catch. Tourists know it is a fresh product; something that cannot be acquired in the same way somewhere else, even if the seafood is frozen or shipped. New Bedford should promote its aquaculture as a unique feature that cannot be found in any other location, and not even elsewhere in New England at the same level, for purposes of tourism.

There are a growing number of downtown eateries that make an attempt to purchase local products. According to the Southeastern Massachusetts Agricultural Partnership (SEMAP), Café Arpeggio, M+C Cafe, and Cambories all make “an effort to source fresh seasonal ingredients purchased directly from local farms and producers.” Having these area restaurants purchase local food could possibly strengthen New Bedford’s reputation as a fashionable place to eat for Locavore’s or foodies, in general.

Money generated within New Bedford by businesses owned or operated by city residents will stay within the city, only generating more sustained economic growth for the future. Tourists and residents, alike, are both attracted to unique, one-of-a-kind, locales. A destination or hometown with a sense of place, that is authentic, is desired over an area infested by big-box, chain stores. What sets New Bedford apart, in addition to its level of ethnic diversity and multiple eras of intriguing history, is that

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it is unique. The downtown, waterfront, and Historic Park areas have few, if any, chain restaurants and shops. It would be preferable for New Bedford to maintain this for multiple reasons. First, this distinct atmosphere is a pivotal factor in their tourism plan, and, second, local businesses, food, and products should be supported as they create a vibrant and sustainable economy. Additionally, by following the tenets of BALLE, Main Streets, the New Rules Project, and Buy Fresh, Buy Local Campaigns a stronger, more sustainable, economy for New Bedford residents can be created and a one-of-a-kind locale for tourists can be developed.

New Bedford is, perhaps, better equipped than any other locale in southeastern Massachusetts to transform itself into a mecca for local products, food, and business owners. Its location provides a bounty of seafood and the largely un-urbanized surrounding areas provides land for farms. Part of the city’s definition of itself for tourists is that in New Bedford one can experience the quaint feel of an old New England seaport with cobblestoned streets, shingle-worn houses, and salt-air blowing up from the docks. While this is an accurate description of what one can find in downtown New Bedford, the remainder of the tourist experience – the eating and shopping - should also fall into the category of authentic, and not because it is purposefully designed to be as such, but because laws and restrictions have been put in place to encourage local entrepreneurs and discourage chain stores. New Bedford’s businesses and eateries should be owned and operated by locals and, in addition,
produce from local farms and seafood from fishermen should be purchased for
distribution to in-town eateries as much as possible. Farmers’ markets that sell produce from local farmers and artisans should be as frequent and expansive as is possible, with access given to as wide a range of socioeconomic statuses as possible.

New Bedford, Massachusetts should become a locally lived economy that focuses on local, independent businesses and local food and products, not only to sustain the city’s economy, but to give the tourism industry an edge over competition. New Bedford, as stated in the city’s Master Plan, desires to “make tourism a growing part of the local economy…” by linking “…the downtown area and waterfront, historic resources, and the growing arts community.”\(^{165}\) A focus on a locally lived economy that centers on local or independently owned businesses and local food might help the city in achieving these tourism goals.

Chapter 4
SOCIAL MEDIA MARKETING AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Social media outlets are revolutionizing the way people manage their personal and professional relationships, do business, and even how traveling plans are arranged, among other activities. An unprecedented number of people are now utilizing social media sites and “as a business person, you need to be where your customers are, and increasingly, customers are spending time on Facebook.”166 This is important when it comes to tourism because rather than going to a travel agent, people either visit trusted and well-known social media sites to read what other visitors had to say about a certain city or activity or they start with a basic Google search.

It is clear that the way people interact with each other in a social and professional manner and how businesses advertise and make sales are changing due to rampant usage of social networking sites. The biggest issue that New Bedford is dealing when it comes to tourism is the negative connotation people have of the city. It is not a destination that regional residents consider. The points of interests for tourists in New Bedford—the museums, restaurants, and shops—should be actively engaged in

social media networks in order to develop deeper connections with current residents and frequent visitors, make new connections with potentially interested visitors, and to put out a positive message of the city to online users in order to counteract its negative reputation. The utilization of social media will have a positive impact on increasing visibility and creating sustained economic growth in New Bedford.

**History of Social Media**

The invention of the World Wide Web in 1990 revolutionized the way people communicate.\textsuperscript{167} Prior to the past decade or so, Internet usage has been characterized by Web 1.0, which is, essentially, static, html code; users can find and digest information, but lack the ability to contribute to content. There are many varying opinions on the definition of Web 2.0, but:

Most people agree that the term Web 2.0 entered the public domain following the first [Tim] O’Reilly Media Web 2.0 Conference in 2004. This is the only fact concerning Web 2.0 that is agreed upon…. In an attempt to add clarity to the debate, Tim O’Reilly produced the following definition: ‘Web 2.0 is the business revolution in the computer industry caused by the move to the internet as platform, and an attempt to understand the rules for success on that new platform.’\textsuperscript{168}


There is not one, set, agreed upon definition for Web 2.0, but essentially, this relatively new use of the Internet allows users to contribute to content, voice opinions, and review products; it puts people in control of their time and profile online.

Shortly after the creation and mass use of the World Wide Web, around 1995, a few websites, such as Classmates.com, Sixdegrees.com, and Friendster, started offering options for personal profile and ways to connect with friends.169 The current wave of social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, began their rise to popularity around 2005 -2007. Their potential for personal use was seen almost immediately, but utilizing these sites for business and tourism purposes is only a relatively recent phenomenon.

Connections, conversations, and opinion sharing characterize the move from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 and social networking sites. While this move has obviously changed the ways in which people correspond and stay in touch with people, it has also drastically changed how organizations and companies do business, especially in trying to entice consumers to their products or brand. “The Internet has revolutionized almost every facet of our business and personal lives…We are in the early stages of yet another far-reaching revolution. This revolution is being driven by people and enabled by social media.”170 Marketing and information gathering is no longer a top


170 Erik Qualman, Socialnomics: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2011), XVII.
down process, advertising is now focused on talking with potential customers rather than at them.

It is unwise for skeptics of social networking and, more importantly, social media marketing to think that because the platform is MySpace, Facebook, or YouTube that the only people to connect with or sell a product to are pimpled pre-teens lacking mobility or personal finances. People, who use social media either for personal, professional, or academic purposes are intelligent, generally well off financially, and accomplished. In fact, “...Twitter’s largest age demographic is 35-44 year-olds”\textsuperscript{171} and “...a full quarter of...users are high earners...”\textsuperscript{172} Facebook, for example, was created at Harvard and, originally, to be able to use it one had to be enrolled in college. Therefore, a large portion of its’ users are educated.\textsuperscript{173} These social media networks are “…attracting experts, too. You can see this most clearly on specialist sites like Flickr, a photosharing service...you can’t help but notice the number of professional photographers who use it.”\textsuperscript{174} Joining one or more social

\textsuperscript{171} Joel Comm, \textit{Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time} (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010), 6.

\textsuperscript{172} Joel Comm, \textit{Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time} (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010), 6.

\textsuperscript{173} Joel Comm, \textit{Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time} (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010), 5

\textsuperscript{174} Joel Comm, \textit{Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time} (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010), 6.
media network makes sense for businesses in order to connect with current and, potential, customers, as they are a viable way to increase visibility with little effort and no cost for the company.\textsuperscript{175}

To get an idea of how many people are using social networking sites, here is a portion of a chart from \textit{The Sustainable Enterprise Fieldbook: when it all comes together} by Jeana Wirtenberg, William G. Russell, and David Lipsky from 2009:

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\hline
Network & Total members & Noteworthy functionality \\
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Facebook & 40 million+ & Robust feature set and provides RSS feeds \\
MySpace & 200 million+ & Ease of use, broad functionality \\
YouTube & 100 million+ (users per month) & Video content \\
Second Life & 9 million+ & Rich 3D interface \\
Spoke & 13 million+ & Large-scale professional networking \\
LinkedIn & 35 million+ & Large-scale professional networking \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Section of the Social Networking Sites chart (Table 8.1) from \textit{The Sustainable Enterprise Fieldbook: when it all comes together} by Jeana Wirtenberg, William G. Russell, and David Lipsky, 2009, page 254.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{175} Joel Comm, \textit{Twitter Power: How to Dominate Your Market One Tweet at a Time} (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010), 7.
These numbers have, undoubtedly, grown exponentially since 2009. It is possible to reach far more potential customers via social networking sites than with the sole use of traditional marketing.

**Social Media and Tourism**

Social networking sites provide a valuable service on a personal level, as it enables us to stay in touch in a much more time efficient ways in comparison to the telephone or written mail. In addition, utilizing social media marketing can be beneficial for companies, both large and small, because it requires less time, money, and employees than traditional marketing and it enables the opinions of customers to be heard immediately. Social networking can also be applied to the tourism industry. The most important characteristic of social media as it applies to tourism is the power it gives to tourists. “Over times, technology is shifting from ‘command and control’ to distributed, engaging, and empowering to the individual.”176 The use of social media in tourism can have wide-ranging effects, from giving a tourist the power to write an honest review of an overrated restaurant or hotel to empowering local residents to share what is important about their hometown to entice tourists.

This sharing-of-opinions aspect of social media is one of its most revolutionary aspects, especially when it is connected with tourism. Instead of visiting a travel agent

and being told what should be done in a place or what the agent or location believe to be the most popular activities, potential tourists can visit social media sites and read what past visitors recommend. Additionally, power is given to the actual location, which becomes important for little known localities or places with poor reputations. By having control over their online persona, these places can develop and enhancing discussions with past and future visitors.

While consumer reviews have certainly captured the attention of travel marketers, it’s not just about consumers spouting the good and bad of their travel tales and travails. There is a much bigger story to tell. The highest and best use of social media - and the way in which a travel marketer can most effectively respond to consumer commentary on the well known review sites is to engage customers and prospects in conversations to understand their needs, to develop relationships and to interact with them before a purchase, during the purchase process, and after a purchase is made.177

Social networking has placed the power in the hands of tourists and tourist attractions and it can incite economic change if utilized to its highest potential.

The power to share opinions, both positive and negative, is inspiring and can make the traveler much more aware of their destination. In addition, these perceptions, concerns, and comments of tourists can have a deep impact on a destination or business. “The form of social media that can most inspire fear in the

hearts of travel suppliers, the consumer review, can be a potent tool marketers can leverage in their use of social media.”178 While word-of-mouth can lead to a better travel experience for both parties, a lack of a review or complete omission for a tourist destination on trip planning websites can be far worse than a negative review because a void leaves no space for the destinations or businesses to address concerns or to develop connections with potential visitors.

In his lecture, entitled “Objects, Engagement, and Web 2.0” delivered on June 10, 2010 at the Public Engagement in Material Cultural Institute, Mathieu Plourde made a case for utilizing social media networks for business. He stated that people are always going to be talking, but it’s the choice of the business or organization to decide whether or not, and in what capacity, they want to be involved in that conversation.179 People planning day trips are doing so with aid from user discussions on social media networks. While word of mouth is not a new trend in the research, or purchase, of a destination or product, it is now occurring at an extremely rapid pace.

It is evident that word of mouth communication has consistently played a role in how consumers make decisions, especially when travel is concerned. However, technology is advancing at light speed and it is now necessary to re-evaluate the way we approach travel marketing.


With customers increasingly relying on Internet-based social networking, or Web 2.0, to communicate in their daily lives, the travel industry is racing to grasp a better understanding of this channel and how to best incorporate it into future marketing endeavors… One thing is clear…opportunities within the Web 2.0 spectrum are proving to have a large impact on customer buying behavior…

Having tourist destinations and attractions—both the cities and their related restaurants and shopping - aware of, and active in, their persona on social networking sites can be a vital method of advertising, especially when it comes to places with a poor reputation because it also them to manage and control their character.

Social Media and Sustainability

Utilizing social media is not only a free and relatively easy method to employ in order to gain greater brand exposure and more visitors, it is also economically sustainable. “The reason why the use of social media and networks tends to resonate with marketers is that strategies of customer relationship management have frequently yielded greater and more sustainable sales.”

By marketing in multiple online locations and relying on your followers and friends to re-tweet or share your posts a business can make effective use of its time and money and get a greater return on its

effort. “We are already seeing the economic potential of social media in its ability to reduce inefficient marketing and middlemen.”\textsuperscript{182} This is especially salient for small businesses that, generally, do not have excesses of cash or employees.

In Sarah Sorensen’s book, \textit{The Sustainable Network}, she discusses how social networking is sustainable within four different areas of life: environmentally, economically, socially, and politically. Social networking is sustainable on an environmental level because, for example, it reduces the need for business associates to travel for work: a group meeting can be held on Skype or another online video service. It is sustainable from an economic perspective because it provides the resources and opportunities for smaller or independent businesses to create a clientele base without having the same materials of larger, more established, companies. The use of Web 2.0 for small, local businesses is a low-impact action that can yield desired results. From a social stance, for example, a charity can utilize social networking sites to raise awareness or funds for their cause in the most amount of time and utilizing the least amount of \textit{real} resources because the group would rely on word-of-mouth on

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\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{182} Erik Qualman, \textit{Socialnomics: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business} (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2011), xviii.
\end{flushright}
their chosen sites. In the political world, social networking can be viewed as sustainable because it can assist in creating platforms for issues or lesser-known politicians and users constantly demand greater transparency from current leaders through various social sites.183

**Social Media and New Bedford**

The City of New Bedford has been trying to increase their visibility within the region as a worthwhile destination complete with charming atmosphere and a unique history. This effort was rewarded with the designation of the New Bedford Whaling National Historic Park in 1996. The location of the Whaling National Historic Park, adjacent to the downtown area and the working waterfront, has been primed for tourism over the last few decades. The city has certainly made a resurgence from what it was less than two decades ago – still struggling with the affects of urban renewal policies, the Vietnam War era race riots, and deindustrialization. Preservation groups, particularly the Waterfront Historic Area League (W.H.A.LE), have worked tirelessly to rehabilitate what remained of New Bedford’s past and adaptively reuse the structures for economically viable purposes. Additionally, the organizations AHA! (Art, History, and Architecture!) and Downtown New Bedford Inc. have been active in trying to bring people back to the downtown area.

183 Sarah Sorensen, *The Sustainable Network: The Accidental Answer for a Troubled*
According to Susanne Racicot, a second generation French Canadian whose family immigrated from French Canada in the last part of the 19th century, the effort to revitalize New Bedford for tourism has: “mostly helped to change the opinion of residents. There is less negatively, more people appreciate what there is, but go outside the Dartmouth region and poof! people barely even know that we have a National Park now.” However, while the creation of the Historic Park was certainly a step in the right direction, it has not been enough to change the city’s poor reputation or to convince travelers, who come to southeastern Massachusetts either visit Cape Cod or go sailing around the Marion area, that New Bedford is worthy of their time and money.

New Bedford, the National Historic Park, and the associated businesses and organizations need to go where their customers are: on social networking sites. Appropriate and active use of social media by New Bedford businesses can help rectify New Bedford’s lack of exposure and negative reputation, which is perpetuated when businesses’ websites are out of date or suggestions for the city cannot be located or, worse, when there is no online content at all. Marco Montez, the owner of Travessia Winery, which opened downtown at the end of 2008, is an avid believer and

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Planet (Sebastopol, CA: O’Reilly Media, 2010), 16.
184 Susanne Racicot, interviewed by Carolyn Barry, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 30 July 2010.
user of social media for marketing his small business. When asked why he chose to utilize social media networks, Marco answered with:

Pretty simple. The younger generation of Americans consumes their information online, looks for opinions online, and to a certain extent make purchases online. So, it was obvious to me that as a small business I had to engage with this young generation where they hangout -online. I've made some business, gained brand visibility and even made some friends by being on Twitter and the other networks. The cost is zero in terms of money; all it takes is a bit of time.

Constant conversation on popular social media outlets about New Bedford destinations will yield better search results and keep the city in the forefront of tourists’ minds.

**Evaluation of New Bedford’s Online Exposure**

Between August 26, 2010 and September 10, 2010, I evaluated New Bedford’s level of exposure on trip planning websites and the amount of New Bedford based businesses that utilize social media to increase their customer base. The evaluation of New Bedford’s exposure on trip planning and travel websites will focus on the following categories of: historical, cultural, and leisure activities, and shopping, and food. New Bedford’s sustainable tourism should focus on supporting local businesses and products. Therefore, all tourist suggestions uncovered on travel websites must be

185 Marco Montez, interviewed by Carolyn Barry, 27 July 2010.
appropriate for day trips, so, hotels and any overnight accommodations will not be taken into account. Additionally, since the National Historic Park and downtown area have been primed for tourism development an analysis of New Bedford’s use of social media will focus on this geographical location. The decision for which sites to include in this boundary was partially aided by the 2010 Downtown New Bedford Inc. Guide & Map.

I began the evaluation with a Google search for “things to do in New Bedford.” I chose this method because it is a standard starting point for people planning a trip or simply doing basic fact-finding research. This Google search brought up a number of useful websites, however it was necessary to go through multiple pages of the given results to find all of the sources I ended up using for my evaluation. This is not a realistic action for a typical person who, generally, would not venture past the first page of results from a Google search. “People expect and demand easy access to their news; any hurdle, no matter how small, can kill potential distribution, eventual effectiveness, and ultimate viability.”186 Additionally, trip planners and researchers, alike, can have a lack of patience when it comes to inefficient, out-of-date, websites, which was an issue that was encountered when attempting to locate tourism information for New Bedford.

It was determined from the basic Google search that New Bedford’s web presence largely relies on information from ten websites. These are the websites, in order of those that offered the greatest amount of information and tips for New Bedford to the least amount: Yelp.com, Trip Advisor.com, Yahoo Travel (www.travel.yahoo.com), Massachusetts Vacation (www.massvacation.com), Southeastern Massachusetts Convention and Visitors Bureau (www.bristol-county.org), Virtual Tourist.com, Lonely Planet.com, Trazzler.com, short drives.com, and Visit New England’s “90 Things to do in Massachusetts” (www.visit-massachusetts.com).

Each of these ten websites offered a variety of suggestions for tourists, both in number and type of activity. This number was then reduced to show many suggestions fell within the stated geographical boundary of the downtown area and the National Historic Park. The decision for which sites and businesses to include within in the geographical boundary was determined by the 2010 Downtown New Bedford Inc. Guide & Map. Table 4.2 shows how many total suggestions from each of the websites there were for the entirety of New Bedford and the number of suggestions that fell within the geographical boundary. Additionally, percentages of the total number of suggestions that fell within with geographical boundary are given.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Website with Tourist Information</th>
<th>Total Number of Suggestions for New Bedford</th>
<th>Number of suggestions within boundary</th>
<th>Percentage of total suggestions that are within boundary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yelp.com</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trip Advisor</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahoo Travel</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Vacation</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeastern Massachusetts Convention and Visitors Bureau</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtual Tourist.com</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonely Planet.com</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trazzler.com</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short drives.com</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit New England’s “90 Things to do in Massachusetts”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Depicts the total number of tourist activities for each of the 10 websites that provide information throughout the entire City of New Bedford, as well as the number of suggestions that fall within the downtown and National Historic Park boundary and the percentage of the total suggestions.

The suggestions that fall within the stated geographical boundary were then organized into three categories: historical, cultural, and leisure, shopping, and food, in order to determine what were the most well-known or well-liked activities given for New Bedford. The decision for which sites and businesses to include within each of the categories was determined by the 2010 Downtown New Bedford Inc. Guide & Map. This is depicted in Table 4.3:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Website with Tourist Information</th>
<th>Historical, Cultural, and Leisure Activities</th>
<th>Shopping</th>
<th>Food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yelp</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trip Advisor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahoo Travel</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Vacation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeastern Massachusetts Convention and Visitors Bureau</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtual Tourist</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonely Planet</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trazzler</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short drives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit New England’s “90 Things to do in Massachusetts”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Depicts the number of suggestions from the 10 websites that are within the downtown and National Historic Park areas and, out of these, how many fall into the three categories of: *historical, cultural, and leisure*, and *shopping*, and *food*.
While tourist information and travel tips were garnered from ten websites, it was necessary to check multiple pages from the Google search to acquire these sources. Therefore, in general, New Bedford does not have a high level of exposure for tourists when compared to the Google results for other places. However, the information within Tables 4.2 and 4.3 tells us that when people search for “things to do in New Bedford” the most likely return they will receive is information on the National Historic Park or downtown area. Additionally, tips for tourists relating to *historical, cultural, and leisure* activities were the most popular. This is what the city was hoping would occur when they began actively preserving historic structures and writing narratives from their history for tourists.

The ten websites that offer tourist information for New Bedford also show what the most popular individual *historical, cultural, and leisure activities, shopping,* or *food* sites tend to be within the city. The results from information gathered from all of the ten websites on the most popular *historical, cultural, and leisure activities* can be seen in Table 4.4:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Historical/Cultural/Leisure Activity</th>
<th>Number of times mentioned from the ten tourist websites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Whaling Museum</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Art Museum</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buttonwood Park</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotch-Jones-Duff House and Garden Museum</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaman’s Bethel</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeiterion Theater</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Whaling National Historic Park</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery X</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artworks!</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Taber Park</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Fire Museum</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean Explorium</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown visitors center</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHA!</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooner Ernestina</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your Theater</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General architecture</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working waterfront</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.H.A.LE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer walking tour program</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whaleman’s Memorial</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford City Hall</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Free Public Library</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moby Dick Marathon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Moniz Gallery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowell’s Fine Art Gallery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Depicts the number of times individual Historical, Cultural, and Leisure Activities were mentioned on the ten tourist websites
The results from information gathered from all of the ten websites on the most popular places for *food* can be seen in Table 6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Food Place</th>
<th>Number of times mentioned from the ten tourist websites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Café Arpeggio</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freestone’s City Grille</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candleworks</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Problemo</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobblestone</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel’s Restaurant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterfront Grill</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cork Wine and Tapas Bar</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spicy Lime</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Café Balena</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination Soups</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catwalk Bar and Grill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunkin Donuts</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Bean</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick Pizzeria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Alley Ale House</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger Grill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-A-Roll</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: Depicts the number of times individual *Food* places were mentioned on the ten tourist websites.
The results from information gathered from all of the ten websites on the most popular shopping businesses can be seen in Table 4.6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Shopping Business</th>
<th>Number of times mentioned on the ten tourist websites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Travessia Winery</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford Merchant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Whale</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artificial Marketplace</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calico</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Antiques</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Crystal Garden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be Jeweled</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converse Photo Supply</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This and That</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6: Depicts the number of times individual Shopping businesses were mentioned on the ten tourist websites.

The information in Tables 4.4 - 4.6 shows what the most popular tourists sites, eateries, and shopping are in New Bedford’s National Historic Park and downtown area. However, for the purpose of this chapter, it is necessary to determine if there is a correlation between popularity of a tourist activity and the use of social media marketing.

**Evaluation of Tourist Attractions in New Bedford that Utilize Social Media**

As was discussed in earlier sections, utilizing social media for marketing purposes is increasingly becoming a popular, and effective manner, of maintaining relationships with current customers, as well as garnering the interest of, potential, new customers. Additionally, users of social media tend to, generally, be more educated and younger –precisely the type of customer many businesses in New
Bedford are interested in attracting. Therefore, it would be wise for New Bedford businesses, activities, and organizations be involved in social media marketing.

In this section, it was necessary to evaluate both the individual activities that were mentioned in some capacity on the ten tourist websites in the previous section, as well as the individual tourist attractions mentioned within the 2010 Downtown New Bedford, Inc brochure, which has a Facebook and Twitter page of its own. Both of these measures are important in order to determine what, if any, correlation there was between social media marketing and popularity and New Bedford’s current level of social networking usage.

In the previous section, as depicted in Tables 4-6, twenty-six Historical, Cultural, and Leisure activities, eighteen Food places, and ten shopping businesses were mentioned in some capacity on the ten tourist websites. Out of this total number of fifty-four individual tourist attractions, only 27.78 percent utilize some form of social networking. These attractions, and what type of social media they utilize, can be seen in Table 6. Essentially, Table 7 shows that every single one of the most popular tourist attractions in New Bedford that use some type of social networking site use either Facebook or Twitter and, in my cases, both. These are two of the most popular social networking sites in general and, clearly, a good place for businesses trying to attract customers and cities trying to attract tourists to have a presence.
Table 4.7: Depicts the individual tourist attractions that were mentioned in some capacity on the
ten tourist websites from the previous section that utilize some form of social media and the type of
social media they employ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Tourist Attraction</th>
<th>Facebook</th>
<th>Twitter</th>
<th>MySpace</th>
<th>blog</th>
<th>Flickr</th>
<th>YouTube</th>
<th>Delicious</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Whaling Museum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Art Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeiterion Theater</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artworks!</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHA!</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your Theater</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.H.A.L.E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowell’s Fine Art Gallery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cork Wine and Tapas Bar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Alley Ale House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger Grill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-A-Roll Sandwich Shop</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travessia Winery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calico</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The brochure for Downtown New Bedford Inc., which was utilized in the previous section, has a total of sixty-five activities, organizations, or businesses that fall under the three categories of historical, cultural, and leisure, shopping, and food. As can be seen in Table 8, twenty-one of these utilize some form of social media. So, in the downtown area 32.3 percent of the tourist attractions are actively engaging their
present, and hopefully future, customers through social media outlets. Out of this 32.3 percent, the most popular social media outlet was Facebook with a total of eighteen out the twenty-one tourist attractions utilizing the site, Twitter was used by ten attractions, next was MySpace with five, four maintained a blog, two utilized Flickr –a photosharing website, and, finally, only one attraction each used YouTube and Delicious, a social bookmarking site, to maintain and attract patrons. These results, again, show that Facebook and Twitter are important social networking sites for New Bedford and its tourist related businesses to have a presence on –they need to be where their customers are located.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Attraction</th>
<th>Facebook</th>
<th>Twitter</th>
<th>MySpace</th>
<th>blog</th>
<th>Flickr</th>
<th>YouTube</th>
<th>Delicious</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calico</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travessia Winery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHA!</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artworks!</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Preservation Society</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your Theater</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeiterion Theater</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Art Museum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Bedford Whaling Museum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowell's Fine Art</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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Table 4.8: Depicts what businesses and organizations within the 2010 Downtown New Bedford, Inc brochure that utilize social media and their social media of choice
An important source of information that did not come up in the basic Google search for “things to do in New Bedford” was the city’s website. An evaluation of this website as a source of information for tourism and not city-living data, such as days for trash pick-up and school closures during snow storms, produced mixed results. On the one hand it was a great location to read a thorough history of New Bedford, but on the other hand it appeared out-of-date, from a stylistic point-of-view, and besides reports for city-related research, such as the Historic Mill Inventory or Sustaining New Bedford, it provided very little outside links and no mentions of social networking tools the town uses to stay in touch with interested parties. However, while researching on social networking sites it was found that the City of New Bedford, and not organizations or businesses within the city, does not employ social networking sites.

A press release from June 18, 2009, found on the city’s website, for the New Bedford Master Plan, which was recently drafted for the first time in 30 years, states that the town was utilizing social networking sites to booster public support and interest. This press release declared “Assistant City Planner Jill Maclean said the City is seeking public input through both traditional [town meetings] and nontraditional methods.”

Furthermore, Jill Maclean, herself, said “we’ve made the Master Plan

website easy to use and easy to navigate” and there is “a section for the public to submit comments and ideas.”188 It was mentioned that the website for the Master Plan is utilizing Facebook and Twitter to garner input and support from New Bedford residents and to encourage residents to spread the word about the Master Plan. However, it does not seem that any of this came to fruition. A search for the New Bedford Master Plan on Facebook and Twitter yielded no results, except a link to the main website for the Plan. Additionally, this main website mentions nothing about social networking. While the press release sounded wonderful and hopeful, it might be worse to say that they were utilizing social media and then not to follow through and actually set up an account.

The evaluation of the rate of New Bedford’s tourist related businesses that utilize social media produced mixed results. Only 27.78 percent of the most popular individual attractions in the downtown and National Historic Park and, similarly, 32.3 percent of the attractions mentioned in the 2010 Downtown New Bedford, Inc brochure utilize some form of social media. However, there seems to be an interest in using more social networking sites to engage the public, as was seen in the, though failed, attempt by the Planning Department. Additionally, Marco Montez, owner of Travessia Winery, has expressed an interest and commitment to social media.

marketing and, so far, is present with the results of this use. New Bedford’s ability to advertise their city and, likewise, individual businesses proficiency in having an online presence both have a long way to go, but both seem to have an awareness of the usefulness of social media marketing for their cause.

**Conclusion**

New Bedford is lacking in their online exposure as a tourist destination and this could be improved through the use of social media outlets. The city could be more actively involved in regulating its online persona and, likewise, the tourist attractions in the city need to engage their current and future customers in the location where they are trying to locate information about the city—online. “If you nurture your relationships with your clients and really meet their needs at a higher level, you build long-lasting connections. Conversely, if you don’t grow your customers you go out of business.”

This type of thinking could go a long way in convincing people that New Bedford is a worthwhile location to shop, eat, and visit.

One can argue about the positive and negative social effects of social networking sites, but “the reality is that growth rates and adoption of the virtual world are soaring. Social networking is not just a trend but is increasingly part of our

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material world going forward.\textsuperscript{190} Just because it’s \textit{online} does not mean that it does not have serious correlations to everyday life and, in the case of depressed cities, such as New Bedford, it is a viable and valuable method of contributing positive information about the city in order to attract tourists and, therefore, booster their economy.

\textsuperscript{190} Sarah Sorensen, \textit{The Sustainable Network: The Accidental Answer for a Troubled Planet} (Sebastopol, CA: O’Reilly Media, 2010), 297.
Gateway Cities, all over Massachusetts and New England, struggle with developing a strong enough economic base to offset the negative effects that occurred due to deindustrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All of these places are trying to attract creative, educated, professional young people to vamp up their economy. Tourism should never be the central part of an economic revitalization scheme, especially a tourism plan that focuses on enticing far-away travelers to visit once, but it can assist in the process, especially if the immediate population is included in the development process. Tourism incorporates direct and indirect industries, which both count for economic growth. This means that money spent on a walking or bus tour and admission at an art or history museum, as well as money spent on food for lunch and a train or bus ride to get to the location all account for financial gain for the tourism destination. Thus, tourism really incorporates more aspects of an economy than merely the artistic or historic and, therefore, should be considered as a serious aspect of an economic development plan. Any tourism plan developed for a Gateway City should attempt to be as sustainable as possible, in order to create an economy that benefits the local population, environment, and resources for the longest period of time.
Gateway Cities are different than other cities, in terms of tourism, because they tend to have larger numbers of immigrants, both historic enclaves and newcomers, who may or may not speak English. Additionally, they have ties to historical eras that can be difficult to craft into a positive narrative as they usually deal with economic decline and environmental pollution due to the type of industry in a particular location. However, these immigrants and historical eras are related to one of most important time periods in American History: the Industrial Revolution, which was centered in New England’s Gateway Cities. Furthermore, immigrant enclaves should be looked at as positive as they bring diversity and uniqueness to a locale. Thus, the potential negatives can be used as a positive method of garnering tourism and permanent residents, if done in a well-planned and sustainable way.

There are copious sustainable tourism techniques, some of which are more effective than others. However, it is almost impossible to determine what will or will not be successful as it is measuring something in the future. The previous three chapters each focus on a different method of a sustainable tourism plan: incorporating more eras of history into a tourism narrative, developing a commitment to local businesses and food, and utilizing social media outlets for marketing purposes. While it is impossible to determine whether or not a true level of sustainable tourism will be reached utilizing these methods, it is important to take steps in the right direction. By focusing on the needs of the local population and utilizing the positives that a locale has to offer, repeat visitation, a stronger economy, and a liveable and vibrant environment might be able to be achieved.
The three methods of sustainable tourism explored in this thesis should not be approached as steps, but, rather, they are measures that all work together. In order to attract out-of-town tourists and locals to destinations within a Gateway City, there first needs to activities to offer people, however, marketing is an important aspect of garnering any kind of interest, from developers, as well as tourists. Thus, social media marketing, creating a diverse tourism narrative, embracing ethnic populations, and developing a local economy are each important in creating an attractive locale that is unique and sustainable. However, while each of these methods would work well together, they also offer different things to benefit Gateway Cities.

Incorporating more aspects of the city’s historic into its tourism narrative and public persona will empower more local residents about their hometown and have other tourists appreciate that the city has a diverse range of things to offer. In the minds of many people, New England’s Gateway Cities – Lowell, Manchester, Barre, etc – cannot compete with other places, in terms of jobs, institutions of education, and decent, modern places to live. Rather, an image of violent behavior, drug dealers, dirty streets, and underperforming school systems is what rests with people in the region because those are the stories that the media covers. However, getting a local population involved in the development of their own community could have a positive effect on Gateway Cities. Creating an environment where people can live and work and play in their own community is a vital aspect of a sustainable economy because local people will shop and eat at downtown businesses more frequently than out-of-towners. Furthermore, when locals are empowered and become proud of their home, they will want to share it with other people. This step has the potential to create a
sustainable economy via tourism and encourage more people to come check out what the city has to offer.

A focus on a local economy by developing a commitment to local and independently owned operated businesses and local food sources, through the expansion of farmer’s markets, will keep New Bedford and other Gateway Cities unique. This is a desirable quality for tourist destinations because places should try to offer people what they naturally or historically have in a way that no other place can. For example, tourists will travel to Boston to experience the food, history, and culture that are available in that city and unattainable elsewhere. In the same manner, Gateway Cities should market themselves to tourists as destinations where immigrant enclaves, industrial heritage, and other aspects of their culture can be experienced in a way unlike any other place. Furthermore, a focus on the local has the potential to strengthen these places economies and preserves their unique food culture; regional plants or cultural dishes are able to be shared rather than disappearing.

Utilizing social media outlets as a marketing platform will connect Gateway Cities to younger generations of potential tourists and residents. Additionally, by developing an online persona, these cities will be put in control of their own reputation. Gateway Cities often suffer from poor reputations as a result of deindustrialization and media coverage of negative events. However, increasingly, Gateway Cities, especially in Massachusetts, are becoming a less expensive option for younger people to relocate to work and live, as opposed to Boston. If these cities can control their image and connect on a modern level with these potential inhabitants and tourists then they could have a change to increase their tax base. Finally, new and
current generations of tourists do not use travel agents, thus, a destination without an active and captivating online profile is less likely to be considered as a place to live or visit than a city that is involved in an online community.

Gateway Cities present an interesting challenge to sustainable tourism development as they have a challenging recent history and large numbers of immigrants, which can be viewed as either positive or negative attributes. Tourism has the potential to alter the negative reputations of some New England Gateway Cities. Any tourism plan should focus on being as sustainable as possible so the local population can benefit, economically and otherwise, for as long into the future as possible. The three methods of sustainable tourism development, as presented in this thesis, are merely options and there are many other ways of creating a sustainable tourism plan, some more intensive than others. However, these three methods are a good start in encouraging tourists to visit or live in Gateway Cities.
Appendix

The Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria

1. Demonstrate effective sustainable management.
   - The company has implemented a long-term sustainability management system that is suitable to its reality and scale, and that considers environmental, sociocultural, quality, health, and safety issues.
   - The company is in compliance with all relevant international or local legislation and regulations (including, among others, health, safety, labor, and environmental aspects).
   - All personnel receive periodic training regarding their role in the management of environmental, sociocultural, health, and safety practices.
   - Customer satisfaction is measured and corrective action taken where appropriate.
   - Promotional materials are accurate and complete and do not promise more than can be delivered by the business.
   - Design and construction of buildings and infrastructure:
     - Comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements
     - Respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition;
     - Use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction
     - Provide access for persons with special needs
   - Information about and interpretation of the natural surroundings, local culture, and cultural heritage is provided to customers, as well as explaining appropriate behavior while visiting natural areas, living cultures, and cultural heritage sites.

2. Maximize social and economic benefits to the local community and minimize negative impacts
- The company actively supports initiatives for social and infrastructure community development including, among others, education, health, and sanitation.

- Local residents are employed, including in management positions. Training is offered as necessary.

- Local and fair-trade services and goods are purchased by the business, where available.

- The company offers the means for local small entrepreneurs to develop and sell sustainable products that are based on the area’s nature, history, and culture (including food and drink, crafts, performance arts, agricultural products, etc.).

- A code of conduct for activities in indigenous and local communities has been developed, with the consent of and in collaboration with the community.

- The company has implemented a policy against commercial exploitation, particularly of children and adolescents, including sexual exploitation.

- The company is equitable in hiring women and local minorities, including in management positions, while restraining child labor.

- The international or national legal protection of employees is respected, and employees are paid a living wage.

- The activities of the company do not jeopardize the provision of basic services, such as water, energy, or sanitation, to neighboring communities.

3. Maximize benefits to cultural heritage and minimize negative impacts.

- The company follows established guidelines or a code of behavior for visits to culturally or historically sensitive sites, in order to minimize visitor impact and maximize enjoyment.

- Historical and archeological artifacts are not sold, traded, or displayed,
except as permitted by law.

- The business contributes to the protection of local historical, archeological, culturally, and spiritually important properties and sites, and does not impede access to them by local residents.

- The business uses elements of local art, architecture, or cultural heritage in its operations, design, decoration, food, or shops, while respecting the intellectual property rights of local communities.

4. Maximize benefits to the environment and minimize negative impacts.

- Conserving resources
  o Purchasing policy favors environmentally friendly products for building materials, capital goods, food, and consumables.
  o The purchase of disposable and consumable goods is measured, and the business actively seeks ways to reduce their use.
  o Energy consumption should be measured, sources indicated, and measures to decrease overall consumption should be adopted, while encouraging the use of renewable energy.
  o Water consumption should be measured, sources indicated, and measures to decrease overall consumption should be adopted.

- Reducing pollution
  o Greenhouse gas emissions from all sources controlled by the business are measured, and procedures are implemented to reduce and offset them as a way to achieve climate neutrality.
  o Wastewater, including gray water, is treated effectively and reused where possible.
  o A solid waste management plan is implemented, with quantitative goals to minimize waste that is not reused or recycled.
  o The use of harmful substances, including pesticides, paints, swimming pool disinfectants, and cleaning materials, is minimized; substituted, when available, by innocuous products; and all chemical use is properly managed.
  o The business implements practices to reduce pollution from noise, light, runoff, erosion, ozone-depleting compounds, and air and soil contaminants.
- Conserving biodiversity, ecosystems, and landscapes
  - Wildlife species are only harvested from the wild, consumed, displayed, sold, or internationally traded, as part of a regulated activity that ensures that their utilization is sustainable.
  - No captive wildlife is held, except for properly regulated activities, and living specimens of protected wildlife species are only kept by those authorized and suitably equipped to house and care for them.
  - The business uses native species for landscaping and restoration, and takes measures to avoid the introduction of invasive alien species.
  - The business contributes to the support of biodiversity conservation, including supporting natural protected areas and areas of high biodiversity value
  - Interactions with wildlife must not produce adverse effects on the viability of populations in the wild; and any disturbance of natural ecosystems is minimized, rehabilitated, and there is a compensatory contribution to conservation management\textsuperscript{191}

\textsuperscript{191} 11 March 2011, Global Sustainable Tourism Criteria, \textit{About the Criteria}, http://www.sustainabletourismcriteria.org/index.php?option=com_content\&task=view\&id=58\&Itemid=188
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