Consumer Behavior and Commercial Linkages in a Waterfront Development and the Adjacent Downtown Establishments: Baltimore's Inner Harbor

by

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Urban Affairs and Planning

(ABSTRACT)

The current study examined the characteristics, consumer behavior, and trip patterns of Inner Harbor visitors. Respondents were interviewed at various times of the day to determine trip purpose, expenditures, and the extent of linkages between the waterfront development and districts in downtown Baltimore. Generally, visitors were tourists and downtown workers, who purchased food and spent less than $10. Females outspent males, and tourists living outside the Baltimore area outspent Baltimore city and metropolitan area residents. A comparison of single (visited the Inner Harbor only) and multiple trippers showed that a district's distance from the Inner Harbor influenced the amount of linkages between it and the waterfront. The extent of

linkages was small, largely consisting of trips made between workplaces and hotels and the Inner Harbor. Further, single trippers spent more than multiple trippers. Implications of the findings are discussed within the framework of planning policy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation to my chairman, Dr. James R. Bohland, for his guidance and time which directed me steadily toward my goal. His humor and encouragement never failed to alleviate the occasional frustrations. I am also grateful to my other committee members, Dr. Sara A. Rosenberry and Dr. John M. Levy, for their invaluable comments and constant support. Their advice throughout my course of study proved helpful as well as lasting.

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Lastly, I would like to express my appreciation to my parents, James and Audrey Chinn, to whom this work is dedicated. Their love, wisdom, and teachings have sustained me more than they can imagine. I cannot dream of more dedicated and unselfish parents. It is their aloha 'aina -- love of the land -- which influenced me in my decision to become a planner. Most important, their love has shown me that home is never too far away. Me ke aloha.

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INTRODUCTION

Much interest and many questions have arisen concerning the redevelopment of urban waterfronts and its effects on the economic and social structure of central cities. A number of economic questions revolve around the issue of whether waterfront redevelopment efforts affect the Central Business District (CBD). This economic "spillover" issue represents one of the policy/planning considerations in waterfront redevelopment. Large-scale development projects are rarely planned without consideration of their socio-economic effects. Planners and developers must consider the characteristics of people using a facility, the number of jobs created, and the income generated by the development. In the long run, these developments must be profitable, producing more revenue than the expense incurred in their construction and maintenance.

Linkages between a waterfront development and other areas of the city are keys to understanding the effects of waterfront developments on the CBD. A linkage is a physical flow or movement, which develops or complements exchanges between two phenomena or places. Thus, linkages represent functional ties between different geographic areas which have some degree of complementarity. The more numerous or stronger the functional ties, the greater the functional

linkages between areas. Where linkages are varied, strong, and enduring, the "separateness" or distinctiveness drawn between places is lost, and the two areas may become a single entity in itself at a different scale (Bohland, 1985; O'Connor & Maher, 1979).

Possible linkages between a waterfront and nearby CBD include the movements of people, goods, and capital. Capital and goods flow between establishments in waterfront developments and in other districts in the CBD as part of normal business activities. However, full integration does not exist until there is a regular and high volume flow of people between waterfront facilities and districts in other parts of the CBD. Tourists, city residents, and downtown workers may use facilities in a waterfront development project during a visit to the CBD for business purposes, to purchase goods and services (travel, insurance, consulting), or for recreation and entertainment.

The CBD is an excellent example of an area which, at one scale, is composed of discrete, special districts (eg. financial, retail, entertainment, or industrial), but which exists at a larger scale as a single, functionally integrated area. The question posed here is whether waterfront developments are sufficiently linked to other portions of the central city to be considered a part of the CBD, or whether these developments stand apart functionally as special districts in and of themselves.

It is the linkage between a waterfront development (Baltimore's Inner Harbor) and other CBD districts, represented by the movement of people, that is the focus of this study. Specifically, the movement of people involved in shopping between the Inner Harbor and five districts in Baltimore's CBD is analyzed to determine the extent and nature of consumer linkages between the areas.

Research Questions

This study supplements the existing literature on waterfronts with an exploratory analysis of consumer shopping behavior in Baltimore's Inner Harbor waterfront development and in adjacent CBD areas. Baltimore's Inner Harbor represents one of the larger and more successful waterfront projects; consequently, the results of this study will be useful to planners in other cities contemplating waterfront developments of a similar magnitude.

Two specific questions are addressed in the study. First, what are the characteristics of persons who visit a waterfront establishment? Specifically, what are the demographic characteristics of visitors to the Inner Harbor, what are their geographic origins, what types of goods are purchased in the waterfront area, and how much is spent? This question focuses on the general functions of the Inner Harbor. Second, to what extent do patrons who visit the retail/entertainment establishments within the waterfront area visit adjacent areas in the CBD as part of the same

trip? Specifically, are trips to a waterfront project's establishments part of a multi-trip pattern (including other downtown commercial areas), or do the majority of consumers confine their visit to establishments within the waterfront's agglomeration of businesses? What is the distribution of expenditures in and adjacent to the waterfront development? Who engages in this multi-trip behavior?

In conjunction with the research questions above, the following general hypothesis was formulated. While the waterfront development encourages subsequent projects and private investment in areas away from the waterfront area, the extent of the linkages within the retail sector of the two areas is minimal. The relatively low frequency of interaction is a result of the larger proportion of tourists attracted by waterfront marketplaces. Tourists, because of the recreational focus of their visit, do not frequent commercial establishments within the other areas of the CBD.

Waterfront Districts in the U.S.: Historical and Functional Aspects

A waterfront is the interface between land and water. Urban waterfronts historically have played an especially important role in the settlement of North America. Before the development of an integral rail system, the transport of

people and goods was based on water transportation. As a result, settlements located in protective harbors and along extensive inland waterway networks became major gateway cities with large port facilities and a growing urban population (Wrenn, Casazza, & Smart, 1983).

At the start of the 18th century, five Atlantic coast seaports provided the link between the New World and Europe: Boston, Newport, New Amsterdam (New York), Philadelphia, and Charles Town (Charleston, South Carolina). On the west coast, the development of San Francisco and San Diego exemplified the importance of waterfronts to the American economy (Wrenn et al., 1983).

The advent of the railroad had two important though conflicting effects on port cities. First, the railroad facilitated overland transport of goods to and from the ports which had good rail connections, thus increasing economic growth. Unlike canals and rivers, railroads were usable year-round. For those waterfront cities with major railroad connections, the number of warehouses continued to increase along the waterfront.

However, railroads also reduced the importance of inland water connections by expanding overland markets for previously unattainable resources. While innovative and more efficient methods of shipping increased the importance of waterfronts and ports in the 19th and early 20th centuries, new technologies in the post World War II era,

such as containerized shipping, hastened the demise of many waterfront functions by reducing the time and personnel required to load and unload a ship (Baltimore Department of Planning, 1985). The traditional break-bulk method of transporting cargo required loading and unloading individual packages in separate crates to and from ships, a process which took 12 days to load a 6000-ton ship. With containerization the same ship can be unloaded and goods placed on trucks or railroad cars for distribution to interior cities in one day (Wrenn et al., 1983). A port facility now needed fewer shipping berths and warehouses because of the ease and quickness of loading cargo, but more access space (30-50 acres to a berth).

The difficulty of increasing the area of the established, congested urban ports to the hundreds of acres needed to service the larger, modern container ships caused new port facilities to be developed at locations up river from the older locations since land was available at lower costs. The relocation of port activities left behind many of the outdated break-bulk finger piers, which fell into disrepair and became part of a growing area of decay along what had been a busy, viable area of the city. (Moss, 1976).

This change in port technology and subsequent relocation of facilities had serious implications for cities whose economic base had been built on a successful

waterfront and a shipping industry. As freight volumes declined, railroad yards were abandoned and the waterfront became a deserted and undesirable section of the downtown district (Wrenn et al., 1983). The decline led to abandoned waterfront land and warehouses on properties that at first appearance had little or no commercial appeal.

It was, of course, the old port facilities that became the focus of many waterfront redevelopment schemes. This redevelopment cannot be attributed solely to the availability of land along the waterfront, but must be interpreted in the context of other forces which were changing the locational aspect of commercial shopping within metropolitan areas.

Restructuring of Metropolitan Retail Areas

The creation and adoption of the suburban shopping center to meet the needs of the thousands of residents who fled to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s led to the decline in the activities of once-lively retail trade in central business districts across the United States. As the middle and upper-middle class residents left the city, major retailers relocated to shopping centers in pursuit of the suburban consumer. The inner city's ability to develop its comparative advantages were seriously hindered by the fiscal crisis cities faced because of tax losses that accompanied the suburban flight of people and activities.

With the growth of suburban retailing, the CBD became characterized by banking, office, and industrial functions, with some small-scale retailing remaining to support these activities (Bohland, 1985). However, as inner cities' fiscal, economic, and social problems increased, industries and offices began to locate to suburban sites.

The attraction that suburban shopping malls held for both shoppers and retailers included a climate-controlled environment, a fancy interior, and an abundance of free parking space, all situated in an accessible location. These attributes stood in stark contrast to the older retail sections found in most CBDs.

Faced with the major losses in revenues, people and economic activities in the 1950s, inner city coalitions of government and businesses instituted a variety of strategies aimed at revitalizing the CBD. Many of the various inner city redevelopment projects which took shape were funded by the federal government through its urban renewal program and the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration Grants. Initiated in 1949 and continuing until 1973, the urban renewal program channeled funds through federal agencies in the form of urban renewal grants. After 1973, cities with funds committed under this program continued to benefit from government grants. However, other cities' renewal programs were funded in part by Community Development Block Grants (administered by the

Department of Housing and Urban Development) and Urban Development Action Grants (after 1977) (Levy, 1985). In the 1970s the revitalization effort turned toward the defunct waterfronts as possible areas for commercial development. In 1978, the Office of Coastal Zone Management allocated over $800,000 to waterfront studies (Cowey & Rigby, 1979).

In a number of cities located on bays, rivers, or harbors government officials and business groups began to view their waterfront property as special places, amenable to multi-functional development. The success of early redevelopment projects, such as San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square, Boston's Faneuil Hall/Quincy Market, and Baltimore's Inner Harbor encouraged other port cities such as Norfolk, Virginia; and Tacoma, Washington, and river cities such as St. Louis, Missouri; Portland, Oregon; and Evansville, Indiana, to incorporate their waterfronts into urban redevelopment.

Design and Structure of Waterfront Development

Waterfront developments vary in size and function. Large projects typically are composed of a retail/ entertainment complex within an enclosed pavilion. A theme, such as a "festival marketplace," is commonly used to give the development identity and to improve its market attraction. Historical or landmark features such as Boston's Faneuil Hall or Baltimore's National Aquarium,

Science Museum, and U.S.F. Constellation, are used as magnets to attract visitors to the development.

The intent of waterfront development is not simply to renovate old, dilapidated port areas. Waterfront development is advocated because it is thought to cause additional private development to take place in areas adjacent to the waterfront project (cf. Kashdan, 1985; Steller, 1982; Fulton, 1985). It is the spillover effect of waterfront developments that has encouraged public and private groups to make large investments in CBD districts adjacent to the waterfront in order to benefit from the additional business resulting from redevelopment (Wrenn et al., 1983).

The findings of studies of eight downtown mall revitalization projects (Trenton, New Jersey; Baltimore, Maryland; Memphis, Tennessee; Portland, Oregon; Madison, Wisconsin; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Boston, Massachusetts) partially support the strong spillover effects of waterfront development (Weisbrod & Pollakowski, 1984). The study revealed that waterfront developments had insignificant impacts on the growth of **existing** establishments. However, positive effects on the entry rates of **new establishments** in the study areas were observed.

Literature on Waterfront Developments

The literature on waterfront developments has grown in response to the interest in the waterfront as an urban development component. Studies of waterfront developments cover a wide range of topics and projects. The administrative aspect of waterfront development, and guidelines, policies, and objectives for developers and public agencies have been the subject of numerous analyses (e.g., Armstrong, Johnson, Ciabattari & Stough, 1981; Benkendorf, 1981; Breen & Rigby, 1981; Hanna, Philipp, & Mullins, 1978). Historical and descriptive studies emphasizing design and development components of waterfronts are also common (Funke, 1970; McCalla, 1983; Polites, 1973; Steller, 1982; Wrenn et al., 1983). Some studies have presented comprehensive plans for waterfront developments (Collin, 1973; Knappen Tippetts Abbett Engineering Co., 1949), while others outlined fiscal possibilities of developing waterfronts (Freedman, 1982; Rick, 1964; Solzman, 1969). Studies on the continued use of the waterfront for industry dealt largely with the capacity for or upgrading of ports and industrial facilities (Wood, 1965).

Literature on Linkages

Although a considerable amount of literature on waterfront redevelopment exists, there are no known studies of the linkages between waterfront projects and other commercial areas of the city. The literature on linkages

mostly centers on the use of linkages in analyzing transportation systems or costs (Knight & Trygg, 1977; Alcaly, 1976), spatial structure (O'Connor & Maher, 1979), and commercial or industrial location (Goddard, 1970). For the most part, this literature does not deal with the theory of linkages, but uses the concept of linkages as a method of analyzing spatial relationships. However, one study states that a less self-contained region has greater interactions (linkages) with other areas. Further, the CBD is the least self-contained area because of its centrality, specialized occupations, and accessibility (O'Connor & Maher, 1979). In applying this concept more narrowly to a waterfront development, the less self-contained the development, the more linkages between this area and the rest of the CBD. In Baltimore's case, the Inner Harbor provides relatively few jobs. Instead of Harborplace, several high-rise office buildings could have been built. However, the retail-oriented Harborplace development encourages linkages between office workers in other districts by providing services that are found only at the Inner Harbor.

The importance of these linkages to planners and developers makes it necessary to analyze the type, extent, and effect of linkages between waterfront developments and adjacent commercial areas. Since this study focuses on the

commercial aspects of a waterfront development and CBD, retail linkages will be analyzed.

Additional Literature: Consumer Behavior

Before analyzing the retail linkages between the waterfront development and other areas of a CBD, some understanding of the factors influencing consumer travel behavior is necessary. Much of the existing literature on consumer travel behavior focuses on shopping trips and choice of retail facilities using spatial interaction models. A cross-sectional survey of consumers, carried out in 1969 for the Watford Town Centre in Hertfordshire, England showed that accessibility had the greatest influence on shopping behavior (Daws & Bruce, 1971). The importance of access as measured by distance is a recurring theme in the literature of retail trip behavior, and is commonly expressed in terms of spatial interaction models such as the gravity model. The significance of accessibility suggests that retail linkages between a waterfront development and the rest of the CBD will vary according to the distances between places.

The importance of distance should not be overemphasized, however, because the geography of shopping trips is more complex than any other trip purpose (work, school) due to the variability in shopping behavior within the week, the use of several centers, and the fluctuating shopping trip patterns over time (Daniel & Warnes, 1980).

Because of this complexity, one must be careful not to rely solely on proximity to explain consumer flows to waterfront developments.

Indication of this complexity is the study by O'Kelly of the linkages or interdependence between locations with respect to consumers. He presented three possibilities of interdependence: no interdependence, active interdependence, and passive interdependence. In active interdependence, location patterns of establishments may influence the cost and scale of other establishments. Passive interdependence between facilities refers to a situation where customers visit several stores during a trip. O'Kelly devised a model of retail size which showed that trip makers involved in multistop, multipurpose activities favored destinations that were close to other destinations (O'Kelly, 1983). The redevelopment of urban waterfronts located near the heart of downtown, such as Baltimore's, may build upon this conclusion. Revitalizing waterfronts near the CBD could increase multiple trips into decaying downtown districts by bringing people to a waterfront attraction, and leaving them to wander into adjacent commercial areas.

A study using consumer behavior for determining the distribution of shopping centers provides insights useful to the analysis of waterfront development consumer behavior (Lange, 1978). Lange dealt with the consumer's

choice between two shopping centers given two possible patterns of behavior: 1) all purchases are made at one center, and 2) all purchases are attempted at one center and unsuccessful purchase attempts are repeated at the other center. A model attempted to determine the amount of time needed for a successful shopping trip with respect to the two behavior patterns and incidents of "coupling" of goods (buying more than one type of good during a single shopping trip). Lange's approach and findings are useful in understanding consumer behavior in this study because the majority of Harborplace visitors do not appear to engage in single, purposeful shopping. Rather, they wander through pavilions, buying on impulse and comparing between shops.

Miller and O'Kelly (1983) examined shopping destination choice models using time series data, and presented an analysis of a two-week travel diary to explain destination choices for shopping trips. The study was confined to grocery trips, and ignored multipurpose, multistop trips. One of the study's conclusions was that the probability of visiting distant destinations increased if these centers had been previously visited. Recognizing that frequency of prior visits may influence shopping behavior, the proposed study included this variable in the analysis of data.

Studies have examined the effects of downtown revitalization by assessing growth in retail establishments and in retail sales in pedestrian malls. Stone and Surti

(1974), Herald et al. (1977), and Rubenstein (1980) reported changes in retail sales ranging from a 1.5 percent decline to a 30 percent increase in the first year after revitalization. If one substitutes urban waterfront revitalization projects for these malls, changes in retail sales of downtown commercial establishments may be evident.

METHOD

To answer the research question, retail trips to the Inner Harbor waterfront development were analyzed using a random sample of visitors to Baltimore's Inner Harbor during the month of May. Although the east coast abounds with examples of waterfront redevelopment projects, the age, scale, and location of Baltimore's Inner Harbor made it the most practical and feasible as a case study. The Inner Harbor can be considered a "grandfather" of waterfront projects on the east coast, and as such it certainly represents an outstanding example of design and of public-private partnerships in revitalization. The success of the development has meant that it has served as a model for subsequent developments in other cities (eg. Norfolk, Virginia). Consequently, findings from this study of the Inner Harbor will have widespread ramifications for other waterfront developments.

Interviews administered at the Inner Harbor were utilized to obtain information on visitors to the Inner Harbor during the week of the survey. Preliminary counts of visitors taken before the survey period helped determine the sample size and survey locations (Table 1, page 18). At the same time, a pre-test was administered to detect necessary revisions to the questionnaire. For the actual survey, a sample of 180 interviews was administered at three different

Table 1

Preliminary Count of Inner Harbor Visitors

	Location	
Time of Day	Light Street	Pratt Street
10 a.m.-12 p.m.	884	516
12-2 p.m.	1,626	960
4-6 p.m.	1,167	260
6-8 p.m.	912	456
Total	4,589	2,192

* Counts were taken on May 14 and May 22.

to times of the day in order to ensure that different consumer groups would be included in the study. The interview times were: 10 a.m. to 12 p.m., 12 p.m. to 2 p.m., and 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. The actual sample size was 178 because two surveys had to be discarded. The 6-8 p.m. time was disregarded due to the limited amount of linkages between the CBD and Inner Harbor after 6 p.m.

During the week of May 17-23, interviews were taken on Saturday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday to ensure representation of both weekend and weekday visitors. Figure 1, page 20, shows the two locations within the Inner Harbor which were selected for conducting the surveys. One location was at the large plaza between the Light and Pratt Street pavilions (Light Street location -- #1 on map). The second was between the Pratt Street pavilion and the World Trade Center (Pratt Street location -- #2 on map). One-hundred eleven visitors (about 62% of the sample) were interviewed near the Light Street pavilion which, according to the preliminary count of visitors, had the highest pedestrian traffic (Table 1, page 18).

In the interview, information on purpose of visit, purchases, amount spent, trips to the various areas within the central business district, age, gender, occupation, residence, mode of travel and parking distance from Harborplace (Inner Harbor Waterfront Survey, Appendix). Interviewees were shown the map on page 21 (Figure 2)

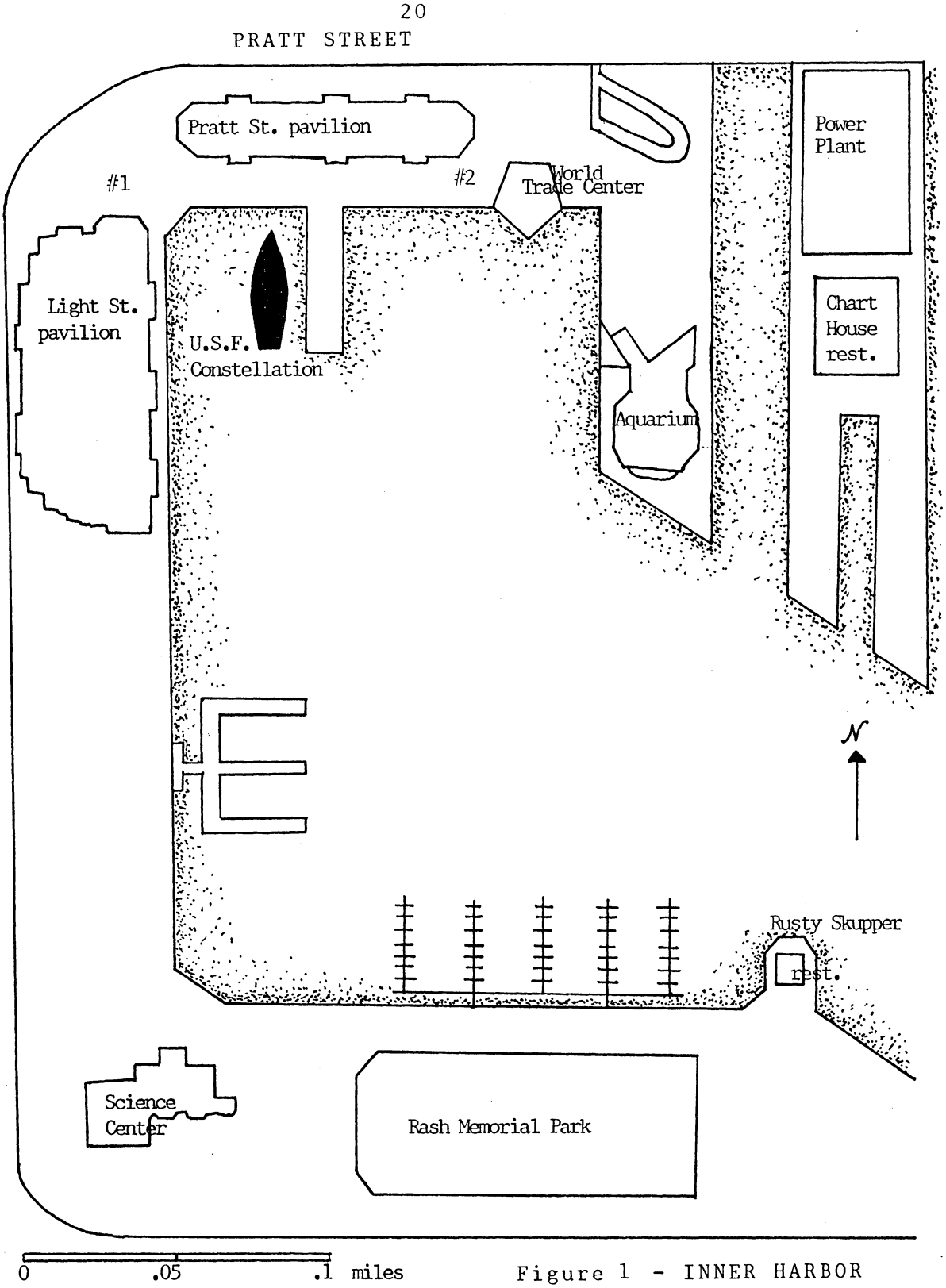
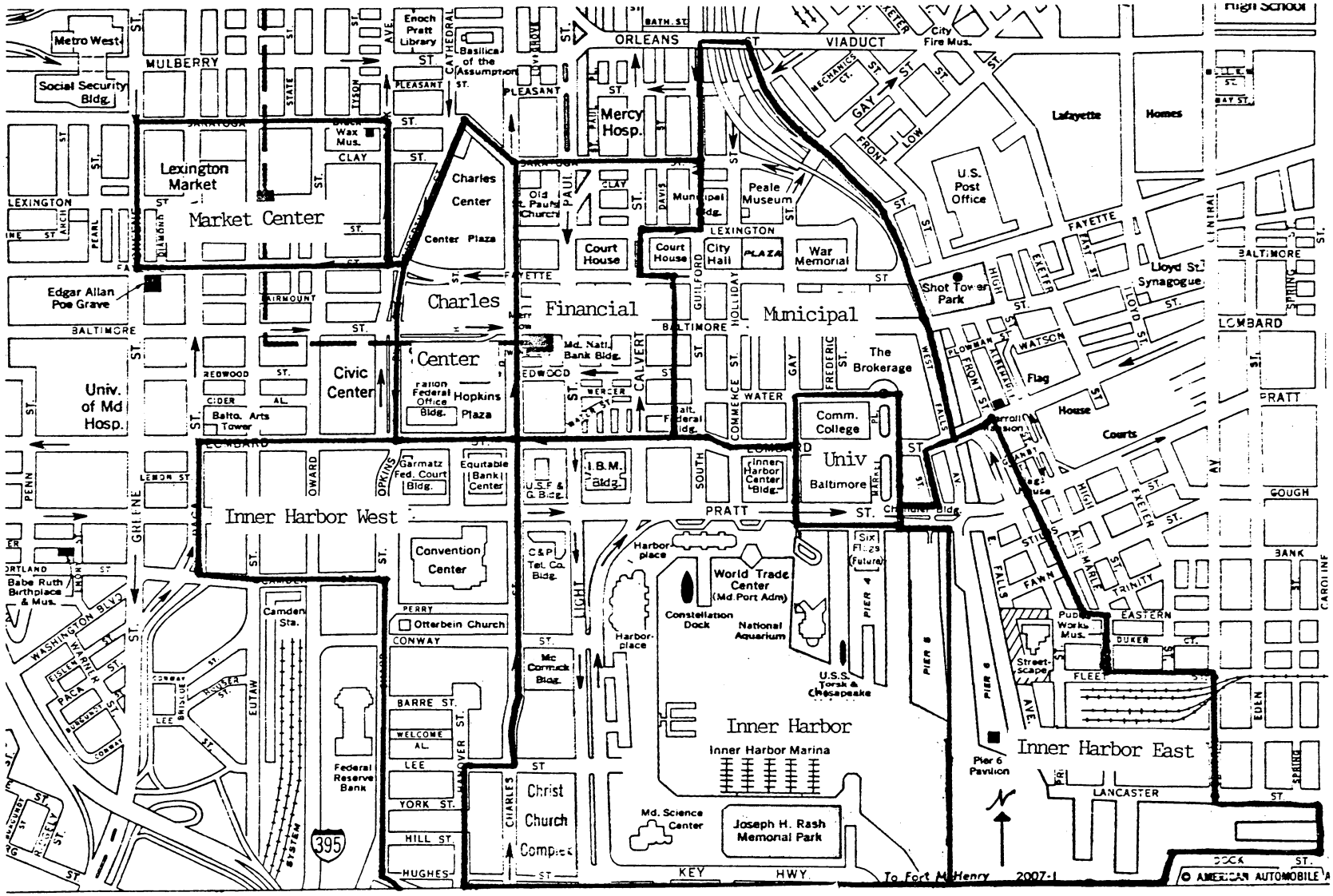


Figure 1 - INNER HARBOR



0 .1 .2 .3 miles

Figure 2 - STUDY AREA DISTRICTS

depicting the various study area districts to facilitate understanding of place terminology.

In selecting respondents, a "pseudo-random" procedure was used when possible. At first, every fifth person was selected for interviewing. However, the time constrained this procedure for stopping respondents. Instead, the surveyor attempted to obtain about one complete survey per five minutes after initial attempts at more random sampling on Saturday yielded several refusals. Overall, the refusal rate was approximated at 40%.

A disproportionately large number of males (103) were in the sample, possibly a result of suspicion of the surveyor by females. For example, more females than males who responded to the survey asked several questions before consenting to the interview. This bias could be a function of the interviewer's gender or the setting of the Inner Harbor within the large, urban Baltimore region.

Questionnaire Development

Questions included in the survey were designed to gather information responding to the two research questions. General questions such as age, place of residence, occupation, and work location for downtown workers were used to observe characteristics of both Inner Harbor visitors and persons making multiple trips. Tourists answered additional items on the questionnaire concerning length of stay in Baltimore, accommodations (hotel,

friends), and whether these accommodations were within walking distance to the Inner Harbor. In the survey's Inner Harbor section, visitors stated their trip purposes, goods purchased, and the total amount spent that day at the Inner Harbor.

Responses to the survey's questions on trip purpose/activities were grouped into non-mutually exclusive categories -- shopping/dining, recreation (defined as sightseeing and entertainment), and work/business -- as visitors often had more than one reason for being at the Inner Harbor. Interviewees' answers to questions on the types of purchases were categorized as: food, clothing/apparel, Inner Harbor/Baltimore souvenirs, entertainment (including admission to Inner Harbor sights), household furnishings, toys/games, and books/magazines. As with trip purpose, type of purpose answers were not mutually exclusive.

Place of residence was classified as Baltimore City, Baltimore Metropolitan Area (excluding Baltimore City), or outside Baltimore. The Baltimore Metro Area included Baltimore, Howard, Harford, Carroll, and Anne Arundel counties (Figure 3, page 24).

A question about the frequency of visits to the Inner Harbor was included to account for patterns in the survey responses which might result from habitual vs. infrequent visits.

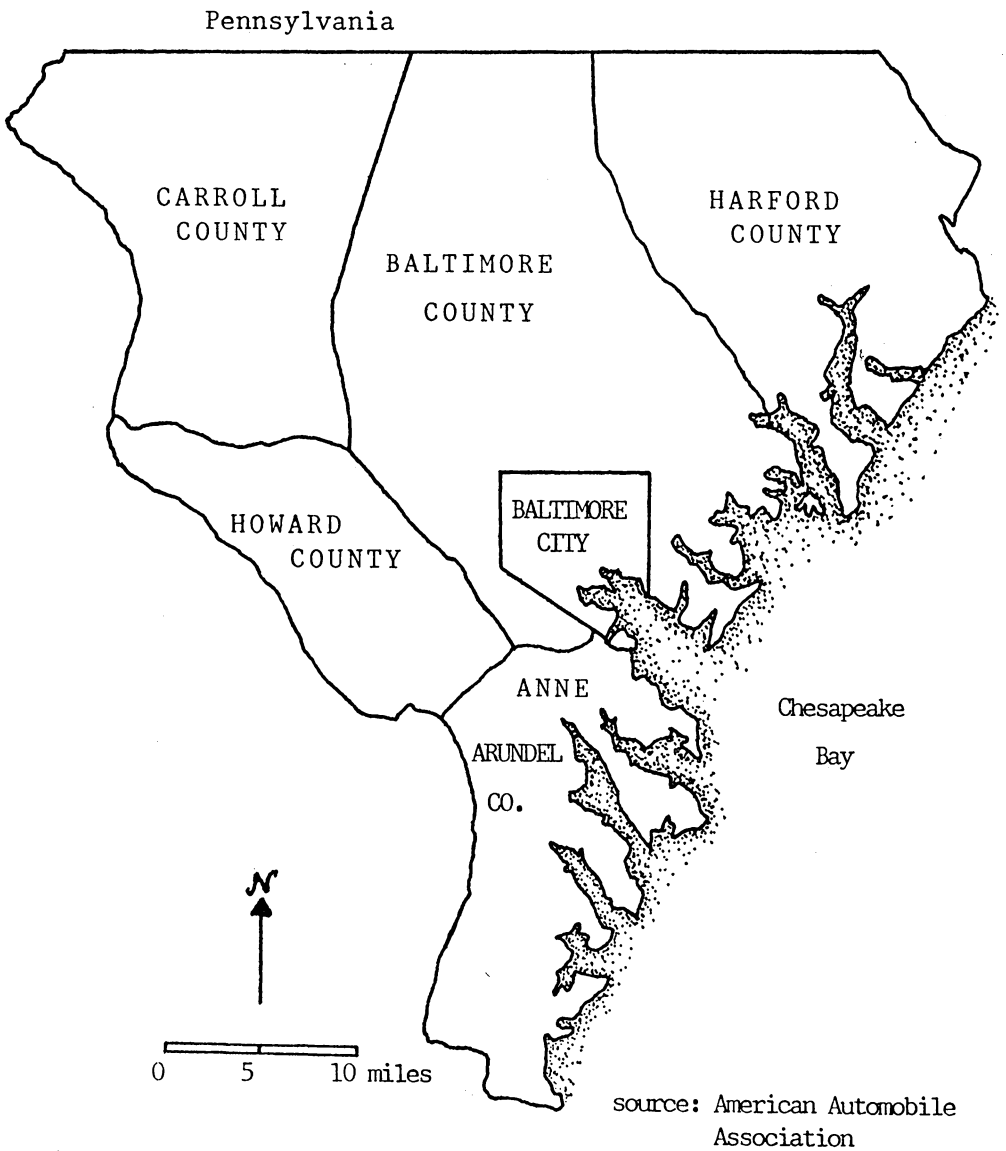


Figure 3 - BALTIMORE CITY AND METROPOLITAN AREA

Another section of the survey focused on multiple trip patterns. Visitors were asked whether they stopped in any other study area districts, their trip purposes, and the amount spent in each district visited. The respondents also gave information on the mode of travel to the Inner Harbor and the parking distance. These items were used to see whether mobility and access were factors in multiple trip patterns.

Analysis

Because of the nature of the information gathered by the survey (eg. goods purchased, places visited, amount spent, characteristics of shoppers), analysis of the data consisted of frequencies, crosstabs, and comparisons of mean scores. In some cases, patrons' responses were combined to form indicators.

Baltimore's Inner Harbor & Study Area

The Inner Harbor represents one of several ports along the extensive Chesapeake Bay. The Harbor's importance stems from both its location near the CBD and the recent facelift it has undergone.

The 20-year revitalization of Baltimore's Inner Harbor set architectural and economic precedents for other cities contemplating redevelopment programs. While the Inner Harbor Project represents only a portion of the Downtown plan for redevelopment, it has been a catalyst for

interest and investment in adjacent central business districts currently undergoing or slated for redevelopment.

Baltimore's origin can be traced to 1729, with the Maryland legislature's designation of a survey and laying out of a town on "the north side of Patapsco River." The commissioners in charge of surveying traced an irregular 60-acre tract which today would include most of the Charles Center, the financial district, the court house, City Hall, and the Custom House.

Baltimore's location proved ideal for the overseas trade of locally-grown wheat, flour and preserved meats and fish. The forest resources of this early town fueled the shipbuilding and maritime crafts industries (The U.S. Frigate Constellation, presently docked at the Inner Harbor, was launched in 1797). Other small crafts and trades flourished in the town.

Baltimore's economy boomed at the end of the Revolutionary War, with the removal of trade barriers against America. The invention of the steamboat, and its first use in Baltimore in 1813, attracted boats from other ports of the East coast and stimulated trade. With Baltimore as the region's entry port, the oyster and produce trade expanded.

Access to the fertile farmlands to the west, however, remained limited until the proposed 400-mile railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio River. The first terminus of the B &

O Railroad was at Pratt and Light Streets, near the steamboat docks.

After World War II, Baltimore had become a bulk cargo port serving large industries. But fierce competition from Norfolk and other eastern ports caused the city's older piers and warehouses to fall into disrepair. These included most of the major port facilities, owned by the railroads which were experiencing financial problems (Baltimore Department of Planning, 1985). The Inner Harbor, although characterized by obsolete wharves, wholesale produce markets, railroad yards, and polluted water, showed signs of potential redevelopment because of its accessibility and proximity to the central business district.

In the late 1950s, the city and downtown business community made cooperative efforts to begin downtown revitalization with the construction of the Charles Center, a 33-acre mixed-use project in the center of the business district.

In 1964, the city adopted a 30-year plan for redevelopment of the 250-acre Inner Harbor area. The plan included such elements as new residences, social and cultural facilities, and major hotel and office buildings. Under the guidance of the Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management Corporation, a private, non-profit organization which coordinates governmental, business, and developer interests and activities, $55 million of public funds were

used to acquire, clear and prepare the land for development. The following goals, developed in 1964 for the Inner Harbor Project, provided a framework for future development:

1) Turn the harbor basin into the major downtown open space.
2) Maximize access to and use of the water.
3) Build on Charles Center and the strong element of downtown.
4) Use public investment to change the environment and stimulate maximum private investment.
5) Provide for unique regional activities appropriate to the harbor area.
6) Increase intensity of use to achieve the financial goal of having the new uses support all city costs of renewal and maximize tax returns to the city.
7) Develop the best possible compromise between expressway needs and the optimum design of the harbor and surrounding area.
8) Use renewal ... as a positive force for eliminating blight, uneconomic and obsolete uses, and for protecting positive elements.
9) Strengthen the visual connections between the harbor and downtown.
10) Create traffic-free, quiet precincts by separating pedestrian and street traffic.

11) Provide a policy framework for strengthening downtown (B.O. Bonnell, personal communication, April 25, 1986).

In 1979, the first structure in the Inner Harbor Project area, the $40 million Convention Center appeared. This was followed by the $20 million Harborplace in 1980, and the city-financed $21 million National Aquarium and the $40 million Hyatt Regency Baltimore Hotel in 1981 (Wrenn et al., 1983). In 1985, nine new hotels opened in or near downtown Baltimore (Kelly, 1985). Future investments include more hotels, office buildings and residences.

The primary study area, defined by Baltimore City as the Inner Harbor Project I, is bounded by Lombard Street to the north; Charles Street to the west; Key Highway to the south; and Pier 4 to the east. This district, shown in Figure 1, page 20, is widely-advertised as the "Inner Harbor." It contains a variety of uses: office space, retail, hotels, residential, a science museum, aquarium, a renovated power plant which serves as an entertainment facility run by Six Flags Corporation, and restaurants (Baltimore City Neighborhood Progress Administration/DHCD, Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management, Inc., 1985a).

Harborplace, the festival marketplace created by developer James Rouse, consists of two pavilions: Light Street and Pratt Street. The Light Street pavilion functions largely as a collection of food stalls,

restaurants, and gourmet shops, but also houses a few gift shops. The Pratt Street pavilion consists of specialty shops selling art, toys, jewelry, clothing, and other goods.

Five districts in Baltimore's CBD constitute other major commercial areas which it was believed could form potential shopping linkages with the Inner Harbor (Figure 2, page 21). These districts were defined by Wallace, Roberts and Todd, the planning firm hired by the City and the private sector in the late 1950s to produce a master plan for the renewal of the central business district. The planners proposed an incremental renewal for the 300 acres to avoid large disruptions in the CBD functions. District boundaries were determined by economic, planning and architectural criteria to insure that the renewal of each district would be feasible -- both financially and architecturally. In addition, the size of a district had to be small enough to allow project completion within a short period of time.

Existing structures in the Financial and Municipal districts were in fairly usable condition and seemed compatible with the new uses proposed in the redevelopment plans. The Inner Harbor Project I, Inner Harbor West, Inner Harbor East, and the Community College districts, however, required extensive land clearance because of the obsolete uses and poor condition of the buildings.

The Inner Harbor West, defined by Lombard Street on the north; Charles Street to the east; Hughes Street to the south; and Paca, Camden, and Sharp Streets to the west, is characterized largely by office buildings and high- and low-rise housing for low- and moderate-income dwellers (Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management, Inc., 1985a.) The Baltimore Convention Center and a few hotels are also situated in this district, but the area has relatively few retail establishments.

The Inner Harbor East, known for its Little Italy neighborhoods, attracts visitors seeking Italian cuisine and other restaurant fare. Although Wallace, Roberts and Todd have placed the World Trade Center, the National Aquarium, and Power Plant in this district, this study includes these three structures in the Inner Harbor Project I district. The buildings appear to be functionally linked to Harborplace because of their location within the Inner Harbor and their connection to the pavilions by a walkway.

The Municipal District contains local government offices; the Brokerage, a development with 290,000 square feet of office and retail space; and the Fish Market, which consists of a restaurant and other activities (Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management, Inc., 1985a). Defining this district are Orleans Street Viaduct to the north, the Financial District to the west, Lombard and Water Streets to the south, and the Fallsway to the east.

The Financial District, characterized largely by office buildings, is bounded by Saratoga Street to the north, Charles Street on the west, Lombard Street on the south, and the Municipal Center to the east (Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management, Inc., 1985a).

The Charles Center district represents a 33-acre mixed-use project in the heart of the CBD. Saratoga Street on the north, Charles Street on the east, Lombard Street on the south, and Hopkins Place and Liberty Street on the west define the boundaries of this district. The Charles Center contains office and retail space, apartments, a hotel, theater, and other urban amenities (Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management, Inc., 1985b).

The last district, Market Center, is not a district defined by the City, but is included in this study because of its large-scale retail activities within a reasonable distance of the Inner Harbor Project I area. The historic Lexington Market, the oldest "continuously operated" market in the United States, was built in 1782. Once the hub of sea, land, and rail trade in Baltimore, the Market continues to offer fresh produce as well as meats, seafood, baked goods, and imported foods. Additional items within this complex include restaurant services, flowers, apparel and others. This Market Center district also includes hotels, office space, the Hecht Company department store, and residences (Market Center Development Corporation, 1984).

Located a couple of blocks from Charles Center, this district is bounded by Saratoga, Park, Fayette, and Greene Streets. While this area has changed in its focus from retail to office functions, it still contains a more concentrated commercial retail activity than the other districts, with the exception of the Inner Harbor.

RESULTS

The analysis is reported in two parts. First, an analysis of Inner Harbor visitors and the use pattern are given. Second, an analysis of multitrip patterns of Inner Harbor patrons is reported. The first section responds to the first research question by profiling visitors to the Inner Harbor and by describing their general attributes, activities, types of purchases, and amounts spent. The second part addresses the second research question by comparing single and multiple destination visitors with respect to characteristics and spending patterns. All responses (e.g. amounts spent, districts visited) pertain to activities made by the 178 respondents interviewed over the course of the four interview dates.

Inner Harbor Visitors

Characteristics

While a diverse group of people was interviewed at the Inner Harbor, some dominant patterns emerged regarding their attributes.

1) The Inner Harbor attracts primarily young adults (26-35 years) and middle age patrons (46-55 years). Relatively small numbers of children (less than 16 years) and the elderly (over 65 years) visit on a

regular basis. The rest of the age groups had fairly even percentages of visitors (Table 2, page 36). The age distribution was not surprising given the facilities and activities in the Inner Harbor that attract the young adult.

2) The majority (56.2%) of Inner Harbor visitors were from outside the Baltimore Metropolitan Area. In contrast, only 25.3 percent of respondents lived in Baltimore city, and 18.5 percent resided in the Baltimore Metropolitan area (excluding Baltimore city). Although "tourists" represented the largest group of respondents, their relative importance diminished somewhat when Baltimore city and metro area residents were combined to account for 43.8 percent of the total number of respondents. Since a large number of metro area residents work downtown, it is not unreasonable to group them with city residents for some analyses. Nevertheless, tourists still are the majority, with most visiting the Inner Harbor for the first time (Table 3, page 37).

3) Only about a quarter (27.0%) of respondents worked downtown (the other 73.0% consisted of tourists or shoppers who lived in the city or metro area but did not work in the CBD). Most of the downtown employees (65.9%) worked at the Inner Harbor, while 12.2 percent were employed in the Municipal district, 9.8 percent

Table 2

Ages of Inner Harbor Visitors

Age	Frequency	Percent of Total
<16	6	3.4
16-25	25	14.1
26-35	50	28.2
36-45	24	13.6
46-55	39	22.0
56-65	20	11.3
>65	13	7.3
	177*	100.0

* One person did not report age.

Table 3

Crosstab of Frequency of Visit

and Residence of Respondent

Number of Times	Place of Residence: Baltimore City	Baltimore Metro Area*	Outside Baltimore
Daily	21	9	4
	(50.0%)	(28.1%)	(4.0%)
At least once/month	16	13	6
	(38.1%)	(40.6%)	(6.1%)
Few times/year or more	5	8	15
	(11.9%)	(25.0%)	(15.2%)
Once a year	0	2	31
	(0.0%)	(6.3%)	(31.3%)
First time	0	0	43
	(0.0%)	(0.0%)	(43.4%)
	42	32	99
	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

* Includes Baltimore, Howard, Harford, Carroll, and Anne Arundel counties.

** $\chi^2 = 108.92$, significant at 0.0 (df = 8).

worked in the Financial district, and 4.9 percent had jobs at the Charles Center.

Consumer Behavior

Activities

An analysis of the types of activities revealed that shopping and/or dining and recreation were reasons given most frequently by respondents for trip purpose. A considerably smaller percentage of visitors came to the Inner Harbor for work or business (Table 4, page 39) than for other purposes. All three of these activity categories had significant variations in responses according to age, gender, time of day, and residence. (As stated in the Methodology section, activity categories are not mutually exclusive).

An examination of the shopping and/or dining trip purpose revealed the following observations:

1) The 36-45 year old age group showed the largest percentage of shoppers and diners, with 87.0 and 80.0, respectively.
2) Despite the larger number of males interviewed, a larger percentage of females (80.8 percent) than males (61.2 percent) came to the Inner Harbor to shop and/or dine (Table 5, page 40).
3) The early afternoon time frame (12-2 p.m.) had a slightly larger percentage of shoppers/diners (73.5%) than at other times of the day, reflecting the greater

Table 4

Trip Purposes of Inner Harbor Visitors

Trip Purpose	Frequency*	Percent of All Patrons
Shop/dine	122	69.3
Sightsee	114	64.0
Work/business	42	23.6
Other	11	13.5

* Respondents could designate more than one trip purpose. Therefore, groups are not mutually exclusive.

Table 5

Crosstab of Inner Harbor Shopping/Dining Activities and Gender

	Gender	
Purpose of Trip	Female	Male
Shopping/dining	59	63
	(80.8%)	(61.2%)
Other	14	40
	(19.2%)	(38.8%)
	73	103
	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

* χ^2= 6.86, significant at .0088 (df = 1).

number of downtown workers visiting the Inner Harbor for lunch.

4) Respondents from outside the Baltimore city and metro area reported the highest percentage of shoppers/diners (68.9%).
5) The majority of CBD employees visited the Inner Harbor to shop and/or eat. Half of these workers represented Inner Harbor workers, and 20.8 percent worked in the Financial district.

When recreational visits were examined, the following observations were evident:

1) Percentages of recreational visits increased with the age of Inner Harbor patrons. Percentages of persons at the Inner Harbor for recreation ranged from 48.0 percent for 16-25 year olds to 92.3 percent for those over 65.
2) Recreational visits largely occurred in the late afternoon (4-6 p.m.) when the percentage of recreational visits reached 71.2.
3) Tourists reported an extremely high percentage of recreational visits to the Inner Harbor, which is not surprising considering the numerous sightseeing opportunities in this district (Table 6, page 42).
4) Few downtown workers made recreational trips to the Inner Harbor.

Table 6

Crosstab of Inner Harbor Sightseeing/Entertainment (recreation) and Residence of Visitors

Purpose of Trip	Place of Residence: Baltimore City	Baltimore Metro Area*	Outside Baltimore
Recreation	19	10	85
	(42.2%)	(30.3%)	(85.0%)
Other	26	23	15
	(57.8%)	(69.7%)	(15.0%)
	45	33	100
	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

* Includes Baltimore, Howard, Harford, Carroll & Anne Arundel counties.

** χ^2 = 44.69, significant at .00 (df = 2).

A study of the 23.7 percent of respondents who were at the Inner Harbor to work or conduct business revealed that, as expected, the visitor's residence influenced work or business activities in the Inner Harbor. Only 10.0 percent of people living outside the city and metro area came to the Inner Harbor for work or business. Time of day, age, and gender were not associated with work or business trips.

Expenditure Patterns

Analyses were run to determine the pattern of expenditures at the Inner Harbor. Most patrons (45.8%) spent between $1-10, while 21.4 percent reported spending between $11-25. Other spending percentages are reported in Table 7, page 44. Further examination of the amount spent at the Inner Harbor showed significant variations in responses according to age, gender, downtown workers, and residence. The following observations were made:

1) Middle age respondents (46-55 years) spent more money at the Inner Harbor than other age groups, averaging $22.04. Respondents age 36-45 years averaged $20.44. Teenagers (less than 25 years) and young adults (26-35 years) had similar spending averages -- $18.02 and $18.96, respectively. Elderly visitors (over 55 years) averaged $11.26 (Table 8, page 45).
2) An analysis examining the amount spent at the Inner Harbor by gender showed that females spent nearly twice as much money as did males for all age groups. This

Table 7

Range of Expenditures by Inner Harbor Visitors

Amount Spent ($)	Frequency	Percent of Spenders
1-10	60	46.9
11-25	28	21.9
26-50	19	14.8
>50	21	16.4
	128*	100.0

* The other 50 patrons either did not spend money or did not know how much they spent.

Table 8

Average Amount Spent by Inner Harbor Visitors as a Function of Age

Age (in years)	Dollars
<25	18.02
26-35	18.96
36-45	20.44
46-55	22.04
>55	11.26

observation was made despite the larger number of males interviewed. In addition, a higher percentage of males spent money in the lower ranges, whereas a greater percentage of females spent money in the higher spending ranges (with the exception of the $26-50 range) (Table 9, page 47). Males accounted for 65.0 percent of those who spent between $1-10, while females represented 71.4 percent of the "over $50" spenders.

3) Dividing visitors into two groups, downtown workers and non-downtown workers (tourists, persons employed elsewhere, unemployed visitors, and children), the former group accounted for a smaller portion of the dollars spent at the Inner Harbor than the latter.

4) Interviewees living outside Baltimore city and metro area account for most of the spending at the Inner Harbor. City residents constituted a smaller percentage of the high spenders at the Inner Harbor. For all three residence categories, the highest percentage of visitors spent between $1-10 (Table 10, page 48).

Purchases

The purchases of respondents were classified into food, clothing/apparel, Inner Harbor/Baltimore souvenirs, entertainment, household furnishings, toys/games, and books/magazines. Again, responses are not mutually exclusive, since patrons bought items from more than one classification.

Table 9

Crosstab of Amount Spent and Gender of Respondents

Amount Spent ($)	Gender: Male	Gender: Female
0	3	0
	(4.1%)	(0.0%)
1-10	39	21
	(53.4%)	(36.2%)
11-25	13	15
	(17.8%)	(25.9%)
26-50	12	7
	(16.4%)	(12.1%)
>50	6	15
	(8.2%)	(25.9%)
Total	73	58
	* (99.9%)	(100.1%)

* Percentages over and under 100 are due to rounding of numbers.

** χ^2 = 12.16, significant at .02 (df = 4).

Table 10

Crosstab of Amount Spent at the Inner Harbor and the Residence of Respondents

Amount Spent ($)	Residence: Baltimore City	Residence: Baltimore Metro Area*	Residence: Outside Baltimore (city & metro)
0	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.8%)	2 (2.4%)
1-10	21 (77.8%)	15 (71.4%)	24 (28.9%)
11-25	4 (14.8%)	2 (9.5%)	22 (26.5%)
26-50	2 (7.4%)	1 (4.8%)	16 (19.3%)
>50	0 (0.0%)	2 (9.5%)	19 (22.9%)
Total	27 (100%)	21 (100%)	83 (100%)

* Includes Baltimore, Howard, Carroll, Harford, & Anne Arundel counties.

** χ^2 = 29.27, significant at .00 (df = 8).

Food was the most common purchase by Inner Harbor patrons, with 72.5 percent eating a meal or snack. A smaller percentage (23.2%) spent money for entertainment and sightseeing, while 18.3 percent bought Inner Harbor/Baltimore souvenirs, 13.5 percent purchased clothing or apparel, 6.2 percent bought books or magazines, 5.6 percent bought toys or games, and 2.3 percent purchased household furnishings (Table 11, page 50). The popularity of food and entertainment/ sightseeing purchases is not surprising considering the exotic array of establishments in the Light Street pavilion and the presence of tourist attractions at the Inner Harbor.

Further analysis of food purchases showed significant variations in responses with respect to age, interview time, and residence. The salient results were:

1) 26-35 year olds accounted for the largest percentage of food purchases (29.7%), which was noticeably higher than other age groups.
2) The highest percentage of food purchases occurred between 4-6 p.m. (76.3%) and 12-2 p.m. (75.5%), corresponding to dinner and lunch times.
3) People living outside Baltimore city and metro area (tourists) accounted for the largest percentage of food purchases with 83.0 percent. The percentage of

Table 11

Purchases Made at the Inner Harbor

Type of Purchase	Frequency*	Percent of Total
Food	129	72.5
Sightseeing (admission)	41	23.2
Souvenirs	32	18.3
Clothing/apparel	23	13.5
Books/magazines	11	6.2
Toys/games	10	5.6
Home furnishings	4	2.3
Other	5	2.8

* Respondents could designate more than one purchase. Therefore, groups are not mutually exclusive.

Baltimore metro area and city residents dining at the Inner Harbor amounted to 63.6 percent and 55.6 percent, respectively.

Clothing or apparel purchases were influenced by the age, gender, residence and workplace of the respondent. The highest percentage of patrons buying clothes (26.1%) were people age 16-35 years. Despite the smaller number of female respondents, a larger percentage of females (24.3%) than males (5.9%) bought apparel. Overall, females accounted for 73.9 percent of the clothing purchases.

The incidence of clothing expenditures increased with residential distance from the Inner Harbor, with tourists making the majority of the purchases (73.9%). Although the percentages of clothing purchases were small, 18.3 percent of tourists, 15.2 percent of metro area residents, and 2.2 percent of city dwellers bought apparel.

The results show that downtown workers do not shop for clothes at the Inner Harbor. Only one downtown employee reported an apparel purchase.

As expected, sightseeing and souvenir purchases were made largely by tourists.

Overall, the Inner Harbor attracts tourists and downtown workers, and young adults and middle-age visitors. The predominant activities cited by visitors were shopping/dining and recreation, with more females than males involved in

shopping/dining. Tourists and persons in the older age groups made up the majority of recreational visitors. Analyses revealed that most patrons spent between $1-10 at the Inner Harbor, while females, middle age respondents, and tourists spent more than other groups. Food represented the most common purchase. For the most part, the Inner Harbor functions both as a tourist attraction and as a lunchtime/ recreational center for downtown workers and Baltimore area residents.

Multiple Trips Made by Inner Harbor Visitors

The previous section responded to the research question concerning characteristics and activities of Inner Harbor patrons, the amount they spent, and goods purchased. This section addresses the second question regarding the type and extent of linkages between the Inner Harbor and other districts in downtown Baltimore. In addition, the characteristics, activities, and expenditures of single- and multiple-destination visitors are compared.

Districts Visited

Of the 178 persons interviewed, 61 or 34.4 percent said that they visited (or planned to visit) other locations in the CBD, while 62.4 percent, did not intend to visit other downtown locales. A count of visitors to the six other downtown districts within the study area revealed that the

majority of multiple trippers interviewed over the four survey days visited the Inner Harbor West. Table 12, page 54, presents the percentages (because some respondents made more than one stop in the CBD, the categories are not mutually exclusive).

Most respondents (25.3%) made only one stop in downtown Baltimore beside the Inner Harbor district. Six patrons (3.4%) visited two other districts, and one person (0.6%) stopped in three districts (Table 13, page 55).

The distance between a worker's office or a tourist's hotel influenced the extent of linkages. As seen in Figure 4, page 56, districts adjacent to the Inner Harbor show a larger volume of visitors. The exceptions are University and Inner Harbor East districts which have no hotels and few offices.

Profile of Multiple Trippers

Inner Harbor visitors who engaged in multiple trip activities exhibited certain characteristics:

1) The percentage of multiple trippers had a non-linear distribution with age peaking for 36-45 year olds (37.5%), and decreasing with older respondents.
2) Baltimore city/metro area respondents made more multiple trips than did tourists. This finding is consistent with the fact that many of the Baltimore city and metro area respondents work in the CBD.

Table 12

Number of Visitors in Study Area Districts

District	Number*	Percentage of All Respondents
Inner Harbor	178	100.0
Inner Harbor West	21	12.3
Inner Harbor East	2	1.2
Municipal	6	3.5
Financial	13	7.6
Charles Center	12	7.1
Market Center	6	3.5

* Visits to districts are not mutually exclusive.

Table 13

Number of Persons Making Multiple Trips

Number of Stops in CBD	Number of Visitors	Percentage
0*	126	70.8
1	45	25.3
2	6	3.4
3	1	0.6
Total	178	100.1**

* Single trip (visited Inner Harbor only).

** Percentage over 100 is due to rounding of numbers.

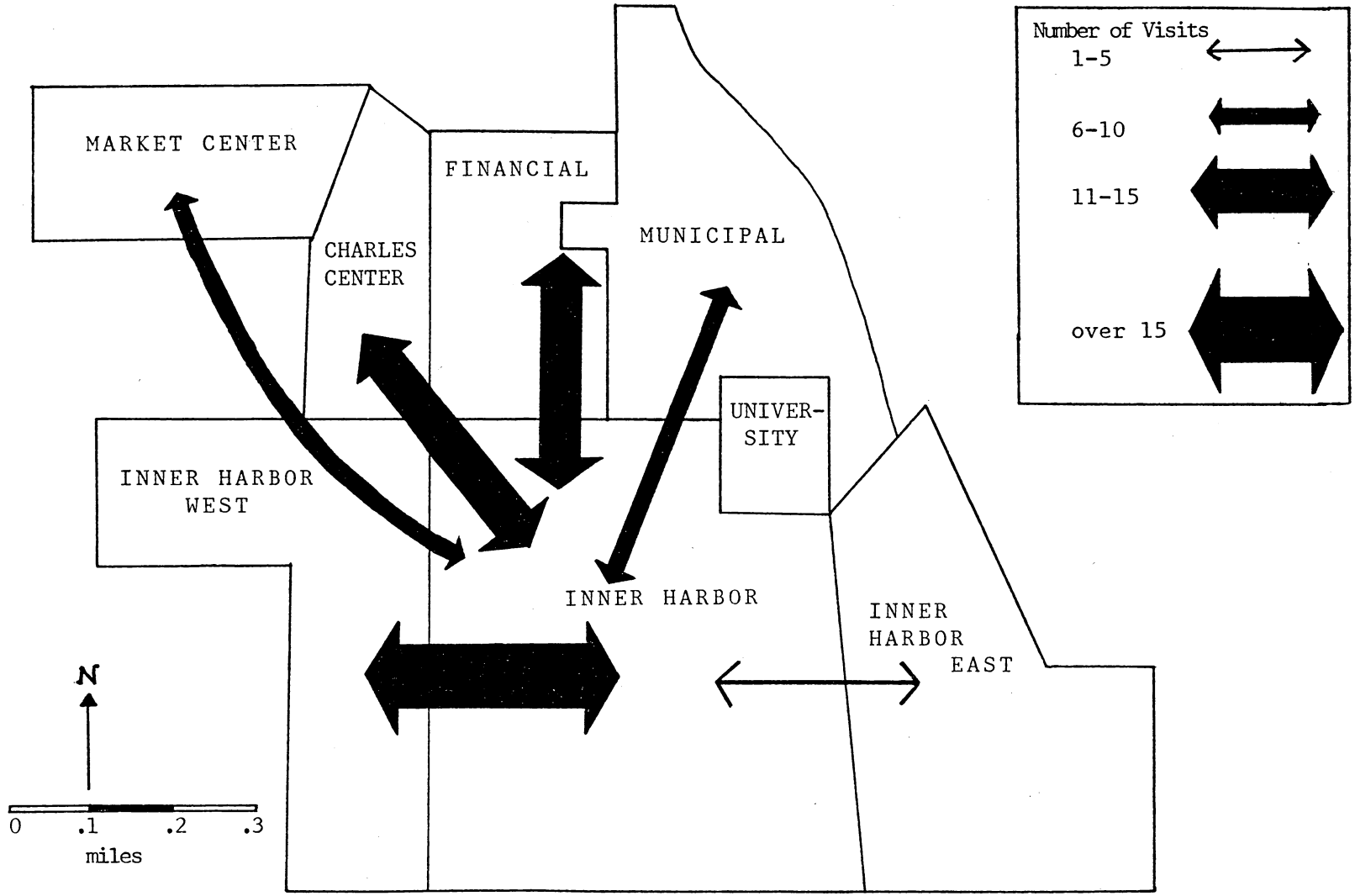


Figure 4 - NUMBER OF VISITS TO STUDY AREA DISTRICTS MADE BY INNER HARBOR VISITORS

3) While a large percentage of respondents interviewed between 12-2 p.m. (37.1%) and 10 a.m.-12 p.m. (30.6%) made multiple trips, a smaller percentage of respondents (18.6%) surveyed between 4-6 p.m. (18.6%) made multiple trips.

4) A large percentage of tourists whose hotel was within walking distance of the Inner Harbor (94.1%) visited a third area beside the Inner Harbor and the district where they stayed.

5) Respondents who relied on cars for travel to the Inner Harbor reported more multiple stops (30.0%) than those who walked (5.7%) or who used public transportation or taxis (16.7%) (Table 14, page 58).

Consumer Behavior

Trip Purpose

The majority of multi-trip visitors (81.0%) reported that their purpose for visiting the Inner Harbor West was related to their living arrangements (lodging or residential). A smaller percentage of patrons (23.8%) reported convention participation as a purpose for their visit.

Of those who stopped in the Financial and Municipal districts, more indicated that their purpose was work- or business-related than any other single trip purpose. (23.1% and 83.3%, respectively). Of Charles Center visitors, a slightly higher percentage stayed or lived (2.8%) than

Table 14

Crosstab of Multiple Trips and Means of Travel

Number of Stops in CBD*	Means of Travel: Car	Bus/Metro/Taxi	Walk	Other
1	7 (70.0%)	5 (83.3%)	32 (91.4%)	1 (100%)
2	3 (30.0%)	1 (16.7%)	2 (5.7%)	0 (0%)
3	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)
Total	10 ** (100%)	6 (100%)	35 (100.1%)	1 (100%)

* Number of districts visited in addition to the Inner Harbor.

** Percentages over 100 are due to rounding of numbers.

worked or conducted business (2.2%) in this district.

Most of the Inner Harbor patrons who stopped at the Market Center district reported shopping and/or dining as a trip purpose (83.3%), while 33.3 percent reported sightseeing.

Expenditure Patterns

The total respondents surveyed spent approximately $3,593 in all downtown districts (including the Inner Harbor). At the Inner Harbor alone $3,311 (92.2%) was spent (Table 15, page 60).

District Comparison. Despite the Inner Harbor's major share of the expenditures, the Market Center's "dollars spent per capita" ($18.83) was larger than the Inner Harbor's ($18.60). The per capita figures of the remaining districts were much lower (Table 15, page 60). The Market Center still retains its retail attraction in the CBD, as it was second to the Inner Harbor in dollars spent by visitors.

Single vs. Multiple Trippers

Respondents who visited only the Inner Harbor district differed from multiple-destination visitors with respect to age, residence, and time of day. The following salient points were evident:

1) Visitors age 25 years and less and 56 years and older were likely to be single trippers (74.2% and 75.8%, respectively). In contrast, middle age patrons (34-45 years) made more multiple trips (37.5%) than any other age group (Table 16, page 61).

Table 15

Total Amount Spent by District

District	Dollars	Percentage	$/person
Inner Harbor	3,311	92.2	18.60
Inner Harbor West	74	2.1	3.52
Inner Harbor East	0.0	0.0	0.0
Municipal	75	2.1	12.50
Financial	15	0.4	1.15
Charles Center	5	0.1	0.42
Market Center	113	3.1	18.83
Total	3,593	100	

Table 16

Crosstab of Single and Multiple Trips and the Age of Respondents

	Age (in years)				
Trip	>25	26-35	36-45	46-55	>56
Single*	23	35	15	27	25
	(74.2)**	(70.0)	(62.5)	(69.2)	(75.8)
Multiple	8	15	9	12	8
	(25.8)	(30.0)	(37.5)	(30.8)	(24.2)
Total	31	50	24	39	33
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

* Trips to the Inner Harbor district only.

** Numbers in parentheses represent column percentages.

2) Higher percentages of Baltimore City and metro area residents (32.1%) than tourists (27.0%) made multiple trips. This finding is consistent with the large numbers of workers who visit the Inner Harbor for lunch (Table 17, page 63).

3) The 12-2 p.m. had the largest percentage of multiple trippers (37.1%) followed by the 10 a.m.-12 p.m. and 4-6 p.m. times. This finding is not surprising given the large lunch crowd which frequents the Inner Harbor. The majority of visitors between 4-6 p.m. (81.4%) made single trips (Table 18, page 64).

Consumer Behavior

Trip Purpose

There were few differences between single- and multiple-destination visitors with respect to Inner Harbor trip purpose. However, lower percentages of multiple trippers than single trippers visited the Inner Harbor for recreation, shopping/dining, and work/business (Table 19, page 65).

Expenditure Patterns

Inner Harbor. Analyses revealed that single trippers spent higher average amounts at the Inner Harbor ($20.87) than did multiple trippers ($11.85). In addition were the following differences between single and multiple tripper responses as a function of age and gender:

Table 17

Crosstab of Single and Multiple Trips and Place of Residence of Respondents

Trips	Place of Residence: Baltimore City and Metro Area*	Place of Residence: Outside Baltimore City and Metro Area
Single**	53 (67.9%)	73 (73.0%)
Multiple	25 (32.1%)	27 (27.0%)
Total	78 (100%)	100 (100%)

* Includes Baltimore, Howard, Carroll, Harford, and Anne Arundel counties.

** Trips to the Inner Harbor district only.

Table 18

Crosstab of Single and Multiple Trips and the Time of Interview

	Time		
Trips	10 a.m.-12 p.m.	12-2 p.m.	4-6 p.m.
Single*	34	44	48
	(69.4%)	(62.9%)	(81.4%)
Multiple	15	26	11
	(30.6%)	(37.1%)	(18.6%)
Total	49	70	59
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)

* Trips to the Inner Harbor district only.

Table 19

Inner Harbor Trip Purpose

as a Function of Trip Type

	Type of Trip	
Trip Purpose	Single*	Multiple
Shopping/dining	89	33
	(71.2%)	(64.7%)**
Work/business	33	9
	(26.2%)	(17.3%)
Sightseeing	85	29
	(67.5%)	(55.8%)

* Single trippers visited only the Inner Harbor.

** Percentages represent the percentage of persons who reported the specific trip purpose. Since categories are not mutually exclusive, percentages do not add up to 100.

1) Among single trippers, the highest average amounts were spent by respondents age 26-55 years. In contrast, of those making multiple trips, teenagers and middle age patrons (46 years and older) had the highest average amounts spent at the Inner Harbor (Table 20, page 67).
2) The overall finding of single trippers spending more than multiple trippers was apparent for both males and females (Table 21, page 68).
3) Single trippers spent more than multiple trippers at each level of residence (Table 22, page 69).

Downtown Baltimore (including Inner Harbor). People making single or multiple trips in the Inner Harbor and in downtown Baltimore were also compared by the total amount spent in all 7 study area districts. As with Inner Harbor averages, single trippers spent more than multiple trippers. Further analyses revealed the following differences between single and multiple trip respondents as a function of age, gender and residence:

1) Single trippers between 26-55 years spent the highest total amounts in the CBD. Alternately, multiple trippers 25 years and younger spent the highest amounts (Table 23, page 70).
2) Single trippers spent slightly more money than multiple trippers for both males and females (Table 24, page 71).

Table 20

Average Amount Spent at the Inner Harbor as a Function of Trip Type and Age

Age (in years)*	Mean ($)	
	Single**	Multiple
<25	18.61	16.31
26-35	23.90	7.43
36-45	28.47	7.05
46-55	24.76	15.92
>55	10.08	14.94

* Visitors in the <16 and 16-25 year age group were combined, and visitors 56-65 and >65 were combined to create age groups with more equal frequencies.

** Single trippers visited only the Inner Harbor.

Table 21

Average Amount Spent at the Inner Harbor as a Function of Trip Type and Gender

	Mean ($)	
	Type of Trip	
Gender	Single*	Multiple
Female	26.90	18.50
Male	15.39	9.15
All respondents	20.87	11.85

* Single trippers visited only the Inner Harbor.

Table 22

Average Amount Spent at the Inner Harbor as a Function of Trip Type and Residence

	Mean ($)	
	Type of Trip	
Place of Residence	Single*	Multiple
Baltimore City	6.94	4.38
Baltimore Metro Area**	10.83	6.99
Outside Baltimore (city & metro area)	29.55	26.20
All respondents	20.87	11.85

* Single trippers visited only the Inner Harbor.

** Includes Baltimore, Howard, Harford, Carroll, and Anne Arundel counties.

Table 23

Average Amount Spent in Downtown Baltimore* as a Function of Trip Type and Age

	Mean ($)	
	Type of Trip	
Age (in years)	Single**	Multiple
<25	18.61	28.31
26-35	24.84	14.67
36-45	28.47	8.28
46-55	24.76	18.92
>55	10.08	15.63

* Downtown Baltimore represents the seven study area districts, including the Inner Harbor.

** Single trippers visited only the Inner Harbor.

Table 24

Average Amount Spent in Downtown Baltimore*
as a Function of Trip Type and Gender

	Mean ($)	
	Types of Trips	
Gender	Single**	Multiple
Female	27.45	25.73
Male	15.39	13.16
All respondents	21.13	16.79

* Downtown Baltimore represents the seven study area districts, including the Inner Harbor.

** Single trippers visited only the Inner Harbor.

3) The effect that single trippers spent more than multiple trippers in the CBD was evident for metro area residents and for persons living outside the Baltimore area. However, city dwellers making multiple trips spent more on the average than their single trip counterparts (Table 25, page 73).

In general, about one-third of the visitors made multiple trips, with the majority visiting the Inner Harbor West district. Proximity was a key factor in the extent of linkages between the CBD and the Inner Harbor. Overall, multiple trippers lived in the Baltimore city/metro area, and were interviewed between 10 a.m.- 2 p.m., times corresponding to the influx of the lunch crowd. Although the Inner Harbor accounted for the majority of expenditures made in downtown Baltimore, some retail activity occurred in the Market district. For the most part, single trippers spent more than multiple trippers, and multiple tripper females spent more than males both in the Inner Harbor and in the CBD as a whole.

Table 25

Average Amount Spent in Downtown Baltimore*
as a Function of Trip Type and Residence

	Mean ($)	
	Type of Trip	
Place of Residence	Single*	Multiple
Baltimore City	6.94	10.42
Baltimore Metro Area**	10.83	5.75
Outside Baltimore (city & metro area)	30.00	23.72
All respondents	21.13	16.79

* Single trippers visited only the Inner Harbor.

** Includes Baltimore, Howard, Harford, Carroll, and Anne Arundel counties.

DISCUSSION

Baltimore's Inner Harbor development has enlivened the CBD's waterfront with the aid of two main groups of visitors -- tourists and downtown workers.

Tourists/Downtown Workers

Tourists not only represent the majority of visitors, but also account for most of the shoppers, diners, and sightseers in the Inner Harbor. The variety of specialty shops in Harborplace and the diverse sights and restaurants make this development attractive to tourists. The proximity of Baltimore to other populous states (Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey) draws large numbers of tourists making one-half to one-day visits. In addition, the new convention center and numerous hotels located in districts adjacent to the Inner Harbor encourage longer stays by tourists.

The influx of visitors between 12-2 p.m. coincides with the lunch break of downtown workers. The expanse of open space, variety of food establishments, and the chaotic "marketplace" atmosphere account for the popularity of the Inner Harbor with downtown workers. This group greatly influences spending patterns in this district, despite the fact that the majority do little or no shopping in Harborplace during their visit and spend less than $10 on lunch. The influence of downtown workers on spending patterns occurs on a daily basis since visits are regular.

In addition, the small amount spent for lunch each day contributes to an aggregate food purchase figure which, without downtown workers' lunch purchases, would be much lower. The tendency toward limited spending in Inner Harbor by downtown workers possibly results from perceptions that prices are inflated for tourists and that the stores sell more luxury items than necessary goods. Therefore, expenses are kept to a minimum.

Related to the observation that downtown workers mainly visit the Inner Harbor for lunch is the notion that food is the most popular purchase in this district. Again, the diverse selection of menus and the "festival" quality of the pavilions create a unique dining atmosphere.

Gender

Gender also influenced spending patterns in the Inner Harbor, as females played a larger role than males in spending. Although this behavior may be representative of shopping behavior for the general population, it is probably more a function of the focus of Harborplace shops. There were several shops selling only female apparel, but few exclusively-male apparel shops. Thus, the abundance of female clothing establishments in the two pavilions, an observation made by a male visitor, could account for the higher amounts spent by females.

Linkages

Although the extent of linkages between the Inner Harbor and downtown Baltimore is small, important implications for policy emerged. The type of linkage observed in Baltimore's CBD is fairly simple, consisting of one trip made between the Inner Harbor and an employee's workplace or a tourist's hotel. However, the trips made by employees (or tourists) often are quite regular, occurring on a daily basis as office workers buy lunch and tourists dine or sightsee at the Inner Harbor. Despite the simplicity of this linkage (often only two districts visited), its regularity produces a "clientele" of Inner Harbor visitors.

A possible explanation for the effect of distance on the number of linkages is that few people drive between downtown locations to avoid having to re-park their cars. Since most people reported walking to the Inner Harbor, there are time constraints for office workers on lunch breaks and for tourists visiting Baltimore for one day. Tourists staying in hotels often drive to museums outside the study area and confine their activities in the CBD to the Inner Harbor and Inner Harbor West districts.

The effect of geographic distance on the number of linkages cannot be overlooked, since districts closer to the Inner Harbor exhibited a higher number of linkages than other districts. Thus, accessibility, proximity, and

the absence of barriers are keys in encouraging multiple trip patterns involving linkages between a waterfront development and the adjacent districts in the CBD.

Implications for Policy and Decisionmaking

The Inner Harbor development remains a special place with a variety of sights and sounds which appeal to the senses. Despite the diverse groups of people who visit the Inner Harbor, Baltimore city and metro area residents continue to regard this waterfront development as a tourist attraction accompanied by high prices. Consequently, planners seeking to stimulate their downtown areas through large-scale projects similar to the Inner Harbor's must predict which persons and/or groups (tourists, downtown workers) will frequent the development. Planners must also determine the establishments and method by which to attract these people. One might think that Harborplace's many exclusive shops would attract persons with higher incomes. However, several unemployed and elderly visitors (seemingly with little income) were present at the Inner Harbor to relax and to watch the street entertainers.

While a successful development is meant to attract a wide variety of people, planners may not be able to include all the establishments necessary to meet everyone's needs. For example, a department store might increase the average amount spent by residents at the Inner Harbor, but might

also compete with the specialty stores. Also, it may not conform to the festival marketplace atmosphere of Harborplace.

Baltimore's Inner Harbor and Boston's Quincy Market are prime examples of successful waterfront redevelopment projects, attracting both tourists and residents with their festival marketplace concept. However, the danger of the widespread success of this theme lies in its overuse by planners to revitalize waterfront areas. Planners should study the characteristics unique to a particular waterfront and its surrounding community, and incorporate these findings into the resulting design and intent of the redevelopment project.

Successful waterfront projects may be undermining one of their vital purposes. Not every development directly seeks to encourage linkages between the project and the areas adjacent to the waterfront. However, the influx of new establishments following the completion of a redevelopment project results from merchants' assumptions that persons visiting the waterfront will frequent their establishments. Profitable waterfront developments which become tourist attractions often offer sufficient shopping and entertainment to occupy visitors and thus prevent them from exploring neighboring areas. However, it should be noted that, without the development, the present magnitude of workers and tourists might not exist downtown. A great

advantage of a waterfront development, as exhibited by the Inner Harbor, is that the development may draw much of its crowd from out-of-state residents -- often an objective of many cities.

It is beyond the scope of this study to address the magnitude of sales generated by a waterfront development as a method of evaluating the spillover effects of a project. However, despite other complementary methods of assessing these spillover effects, sales figures will continue to retain their importance. The concept of assessing linkages between the waterfront development and the CBD does not replace, but supplements existing project evaluation methods.

Baltimore's Inner Harbor West district presents one way of encouraging multiple trips. By situating the hotel district clearly within walking distance of the Inner Harbor, planners may have given the tourist confidence as a downtown pedestrian. This confidence, in turn, might result in the exploration of other downtown districts by tourists staying in a hotel.

Since the findings indicate that Inner Harbor visitors with more mobile means of transportation (i.e. cars) made more multiple trips than those respondents with less mobility, planners may want to provide adequate downtown parking. CBDs are typically viewed as congested areas with a shortage of parking -- a characteristic which makes

suburban shopping centers attractive. By ensuring extensive, affordable and visible parking downtown, planners may be able to encourage waterfront visitors to shop in other downtown districts.

One last consideration for planners is the need to refrain from depending solely on a waterfront redevelopment project to turn around a stagnant CBD economy. Because such projects involve large amounts of capital, not meeting this ambitious goal could be costly. Rather, the combination of feasible waterfront and downtown redevelopment projects and sound planning principles would increase the likelihood of stimulating economic development in the CBD.

The findings in this study are useful in policy development and in project evaluation. Although consumer shopping behavior represents only one of several important linkages between the downtown and the waterfront, it can serve as a partial indicator of the economic potential of an inner city having undergone a waterfront development project. Most cities with sufficient funding eagerly embark on redevelopment projects mainly to increase the inner city tax base and to enhance the appearance of deteriorating waterfronts and adjacent downtown areas. However, although redevelopment efforts remedy the blighted waterfronts of many cities, they are not necessarily a panacea. The financial success of waterfront redevelopment projects has been proven in many instances, but dollar figures can be

misleading. The success of a waterfront project cannot be based solely on figures spent at the waterfront establishments if the project's intent is to create linkages and to integrate activities between the redevelopment and the adjacent establishments.

The impacts and range of influence (spillover effects) of any economic development project constitute a concern of planners and entrepreneurs, who may come to see that consumer linkages are, indeed, factors to consider in policy- and decision-making.

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APPENDIX - INNER HARBOR WATERFRONT SURVEY

Inner Harbor Waterfront Survey

cols. 1-3 Number _____

S _____

col 4

1. Day of week

1 = Monday
2 = Tuesday
3 = Wednesday
4 = Thursday
5 = Friday
6 = Saturday

col 5

2. Time of day

1 = 10am-12pm
2 = 12pm-2pm
3 = 4pm-6pm

col 6

3. Weather conditions

1 = sunny
2 = partly cloudy
3 = cloudy
4 = rainy

col 7

4. Location of interview

1 = Light St pavilion
2 = Pratt St. pavilion

Comments/Problems:

Data entered
Date _____

Hello, I'm a graduate student and I'm doing a survey on shopping in downtown Baltimore for my thesis. May I have about 3 minutes of your time? (If they say "no," thank them)

col 8

5. Where do you live?

1 = Baltimore city
2 = Baltimore Metropolitan Area
3 = other Maryland cities or counties
4 = Washington, D.C./Nova
5 = outside Maryland

IF THEY LIVE IN BALTIMORE CITY OR IN THE BALTIMORE METROPOLITAN AREA, ASK THE NEXT QUESTION, #6.

IF THEY LIVE OUTSIDE OF THE CITY AND THE METRO AREA, SKIP QUESTIONS #6 AND #7 AND GO TO QUESTION #8.

col 9

6. Do you work in Downtown Baltimore?

1 = yes
2 = no

IF THEY ANSWERED "YES," GO TO QUESTION #7.

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO", SKIP QUESTION #7 AND GO TO #8.

col 10

7. In what part of Downtown Baltimore do you work? (show map)

1 = Inner Harbor
2 = Inner Harbor West
3 = Inner Harbor East
4 = Municipal District
5 = Financial District
6 = Charles Center
7 = University District
8 = Market Center
9 = other

col 11

8. Did you come downtown today specifically to visit ... (read responses)
   1 = the Inner Harbor?
   2 = or some other part of downtown?

col 12

9. How long do you plan to stay in Baltimore?
   1 = 1/2 day
   2 = 1 day
   3 = 2-3 days
   4 = 4-6 days
   5 = one week or longer

IF THEY RESPONDED "1/2" OR "1 DAY," SKIP QUESTIONS #10 AND #11, AND GO TO #12.

col 13

10. During your visit to Baltimore, where are you staying?
   1 = hotel/motel
   2 = friends/relatives
   3 = bed & breakfast
   4 = other

IF THEY RESPONDED "HOTEL/MOTEL" GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #11. IF THEY RESPONDED "FRIENDS/RELATIVES" OR "OTHER," GO TO #12.

col 14

11. Is your hotel or motel within the walking distance of the waterfront area? (show map)
   1 = yes
   2 = no
   3 = don't know

SKIP QUESTION #12 IF THEY SAID THAT THEY WORK HERE AND GO TO QUESTION #13.

cols 15 - 20

12. What are the purposes of your visit to the Inner Harbor?

   col 15 - to sightsee/relax
   1=yes 2=no 3=DK

   col 16 - to shop
   1=yes 2=no 3=NA/DK

   col 17 - to eat/dine
   1=yes 2=no 3=NA/DK

   col 18 - to work
   1=yes 2=no 3=NA/DK

col 19 - business
1=yes 2=no 3=NA/DK

col 20 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=NA/DK

col 21

13. How often do you visit the Inner Harbor?

1 = daily
2 = weekly
3 = monthly
4 = several times a year
5 = a few times a year
6 = once a year or less
7 = first time
9 = no answer/don't know

col 22

14. Have you or will you purchase any goods or services in the Inner Harbor today (lunch, shop, sightseeing)?

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = don't know

IF THEY RESPONDED "YES," GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #15.

IF THEY RESPONDED "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW," SKIP QUESTIONS #15 AND #16 AND GO TO QUESTION #17.

cols 23 - 32

15. Which of the following types of purchases have you made or will you make today in the Inner Harbor?

col 23 - food/dining
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 24 - clothing/apparel
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 25 - Inner Harbor/ Baltimore souvenirs
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 26 - entertainment/ museum/aquarium
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 27 - household furnishings
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 28 - toys/games
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 29 - art
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 30 - books/magazines
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 31 - professional services
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 32 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

col 33

17. What is the total amount you expect to spend in the Inner Harbor today (to the nearest $)?

1 = nothing
2 = $1 - $10
3 = $11 - $25
4 = $26 - $50
5 = $51 - $75
6 = $76 - $100
7 = more than $100
9 = don't know/no answer

col 34

18. Did you or will you visit any other part of the downtown today (Lexington Market, Little Italy, hotels, Financial district)?

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = DK

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW," SKIP QUESTIONS #19 THRU #36 AND GO TO QUESTION #37.

col 35

19. Have you or will you visit the Inner Harbor West area today? (show map)

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = don't know

IF THEY ANSWERED "YES," GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #20.

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW," SKIP QUESTIONS #20 & #21 AND GO TO QUESTION #22.

cols 36 - 44

20. What are (were) the the purposes of your visit to the Inner Harbor West?

col 36 - reside/staying there
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 37 - business
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 38 - work place
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 39 - convention
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 40 - visit friends or relatives
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 41 - shopping
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 42 - eat/dine
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 43 - entertainment/ sightsee
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 44 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

IF THEY ANSWERED "SHOPPING, DINING OR ENTERTAINMENT" GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #21.

IF THEY DID NOT ANSWER AS NOTED ABOVE, SKIP QUESTION #21 AND GO TO QUESTION #22.

col 45

21. What is the total amount you expect to spend in the Inner Harbor West today (to the nearest $)?

1 = nothing
2 = $1 - $10
3 = $11 - $25
4 = $25 - $50
5 = $51 - $75
6 = $76 - $100
7 = over $100
9 = don't know/no answer

col 46

22. Have you or will you visit the Inner Harbor East area (Little Italy) today? (show map)

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = don't know

IF THEY ANSWERED "YES," GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #23.

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW," SKIP QUESTIONS #23 & #24 AND GO TO QUESTION #25.

cols 47 - 55

23. What are (were) the the purposes of your visit to the Inner Harbor East?

col 47 - reside/staying there
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 48 - business
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 49 - work place
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 50 - convention
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 51 - visit friends or relatives
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 52 - shopping
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 53 - eat/dine
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 54 - entertainment/ sightsee
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 55 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

IF THEY ANSWERED "SHOPPING, DINING OR ENTERTAINMENT" GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #24.

IF THEY DID NOT ANSWER AS NOTED ABOVE, SKIP QUESTION #24 AND GO TO QUESTION #25.

col 56

24. What is the total amount that you expect to spend in the Inner Harbor East today (to the nearest $)?

1 = nothing
2 = $1 - $10
3 = $11 - $25
4 = $26 - $50
5 = $51 - $75
6 = $76 - $100
7 = over $100
9 = don't know/no answer

col 57

25. Have you or will you visit the Financial District today? (show map)

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = don't know

IF THEY ANSWERED "YES," GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #26.

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW," SKIP QUESTIONS #26 AND #27, AND GO TO QUESTION #28.

cols 58 - 66

26. What are (were) the the purposes of your visit to the Financial District?

col 58 - reside/staying there
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 59 - business
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 60 - work place
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 61 - convention
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 62 - visit friends or relatives
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 63 - shopping
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 64 - eat/dine
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 65 - entertainment/ sightsee
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 66 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=DK

IF THEY ANSWERED "SHOPPING, DINING OR ENTERTAINMENT" GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #27.

IF THEY DID NOT ANSWER AS NOTED ABOVE, SKIP QUESTION #27 AND GO TO QUESTION #28.

col 67

27. What is the total amount that you expect to spend in the Financial District today (to the nearest $)?

1 = nothing
2 = $1 - $10
3 = $11 - $25
4 = $26 - $50
5 = $51 - $75
6 = $76 - $100
7 = over $100
9 = don't know/no answer

col 68

28. Have you or will you visit the Charles Center District today? (show map)

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = don't know

IF THEY ANSWERED "YES," GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #29.

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO" "DON'T KNOW", SKIP QUESTIONS #29 and #30, AND GO TO QUESTION #31.

cols 69 - 77

29. What are (were) the the purposes of your visit to the Charles Center District?

col 69 - reside/staying there
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 70 - business
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 71 - work place
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 72 - convention
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 73 - visit friends or relatives
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 74 - shopping
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 75 - eat/dine
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 76 - entertainment/
sightsee
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 77 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

IF THEY ANSWERED "SHOPPING, DINING OR ENTERTAINMENT" GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #30.

IF THEY DID NOT ANSWER AS NOTED ABOVE, SKIP QUESTION #30 AND GO TO QUESTION #31.

col 78

30. What is the total amount that you expect to spend in the Charles Center District today (to the nearest $)?

1 = nothing
2 = $1 - $10
3 = $11 - $25
4 = $26 - $50
5 = $51 - $75
6 = $76 - $100
7 = over $100
9 = don't know/no answer

col 79

31. Have you or will you visit the Market Center District today? (show map)

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = don't know

IF THEY ANSWERED "YES," GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #32.

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW", SKIP QUESTIONS #32 & #33, AND GO TO QUESTION #34.

cols 80 - 88

32. What are (were) the the purposes of your visit to the Market Center District?

col 80 - reside/staying there
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 81 - business
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 82 - work place
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 83 - convention
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 84 - visit friends or relatives
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 85 - shopping
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 86 - eat/dine
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 87 - entertainment/ sightsee
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 88 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

IF THEY ANSWERED "SHOPPING, DINING OR ENTERTAINMENT" GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #33.

IF THEY DID NOT ANSWER AS NOTED ABOVE, SKIP QUESTION #33 AND GO TO QUESTION #34.

col 89

33. What is the total amount that you expect to spend in the Market Center District today (to the nearest $)?

1 = nothing
2 = $1 - $10
3 = $11 - $25
4 = $26 - $50
5 = $51 - $75
6 = $76 - $100
7 = over $100
9 = don't know/no answer

col 90

34. Have you or will you visit the Municipal District today? (show map)

1 = yes
2 = no
9 = don't know

IF THEY ANSWERED "YES," GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #35.

IF THEY ANSWERED "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW", SKIP QUESTIONS #35 AND #36, AND GO TO QUESTION #37.

cols 91 - 99

35. What are (were) the the purposes of your visit to the Municipal District?

col 91 - reside/staying there
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 92 - business
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 93 - work place
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 94 - convention
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 95 - visit friends or relatives
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 96 - shopping
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 97 - eat/dine
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 98 - entertainment/ sightsee
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

col 99 - other
1=yes 2=no 3=NA

IF THEY ANSWERED "SHOPPING, DINING OR ENTERTAINMENT" GO TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #36.

IF THEY DID NOT ANSWER AS NOTED ABOVE, SKIP QUESTION #36 AND GO TO QUESTION #37.

col 100

36. What is the total amount that you expect to spend in the Municipal District today (to the nearest $)?

1 = nothing
2 = $1 - $10
3 = $11 - $25
4 = $26 - $50
5 = $51 - $75
6 = $76 - $100
7 = over $100
9 = don't know/no answer

col 101

37. What means of travel did you use to get to Harborplace?

1 = car
2 = bus
3 = metro
4 = taxi
5 = walk
6 = bike
7 = other
9 = DK/NA

IF THEY ANSWERED "CAR," ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, #38.

col 102

38. How far away did you park?

1 = 1 to 4 blocks
2 = 5 to 8 blocks
3 = more than 8 blocks
4 = dropped off
9 = don't know

cols 103 + 104

39. What is your occupation?

_____
(specify)

col 105

40. In what of the following age group categories do you fit?

1 = less than 16 years
2 = 16 to 25 years
3 = 26 to 35 years
4 = 36 to 45 years
5 = 46 to 55 years
6 = 56 to 65
7 = over 65
9 = no answer

That was the last question of the survey. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

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