

LOCATION ANALYSIS OF THE NEW ORLEANS SUPERDOME

A detailed presentation of the site selection process employed in determining the present location of the Superdome.

by Max J. Derbes, Jr., CRE

Between 1966 and 1968, a study and decision making process took place to find a location for the Louisiana Stadium & Exposition District's (LSED) Superdome. A corner of the Central Business District was finally chosen, and now after ten years of operation, the impact of this decision can be assessed as to the wisdom of the choice.

Much of the information leading to the final selection was based on a progress report entitled "Evaluation of Stadium Sites" dated August 21, 1967 by Booz-Allen & Hamilton, Inc., Management Consultants. This oversimplified document obviously was intended for quick digestion by the commissioners. Nonetheless, the information presented gave the facts and reasoning.

Site Selection Criteria

The study's objective was to review the locations proposed for the domed stadium; identify the site which best satisfied the requirements of a multi-use facility and rank the three most desirable. The report actually pinpointed the final choice, Site Number 3.

The stadium was to be about one-third larger than the Houston Astrodome, hold a minimum of 70,000 for football games and be completed for the 1972 football season. The final building seats 72,675 for regular football (76,791 for expanded football), but it was not finished until the 1975 football season. Court proceedings questioning the project and its location delayed the completion.

Highways

One overall criterion was for the site to be compatible with the known development plans for the metropolitan area and have convenient and rapid access to or be

within one-half mile of major highways. Some suggested suburban sites were rejected because they were over one mile from a major highway. Sites eventually were evaluated using traffic dispersal time based upon 50% of the traffic capacity of egress routes. The other 50% of capacity was presumed to be taken up by nonstadium related traffic.

Parking

If the site selected was to be in the central area, it must be capable of providing space to park 5,000 cars. If it was in a suburban location, there must be space for 20,000 cars. The final design of the stadium included two parking ramps each capable of handling 2,500 cars and located on either end of the stadium. As a result of this difference in parking requirements, the minimum size of the central area site was 20-acres (final site had



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52-acres) and the suburban site would need about 150-200 acres.

Flooding

Not all suburban sites were acceptable due to the possibility of flooding. Rainwater would have to be pumped out of the entire area and some low sections did not have sufficient capacity to drain off the water in sufficient time to prevent street flooding that would impede automotive ingress and egress. Suburban sites in the flight paths of the New Orleans International Airport (Moisant Field) also were not eligible.

Public Transportation

Additionally, adequate public transportation was to be made available to the selected site. While few suburban areas had adequate transportation, most of the central area sites were well served. As a matter of fact, the majority of bus and streetcar routes were designed to take people to and from the CBD, particularly Canal Street, the principle retail street.

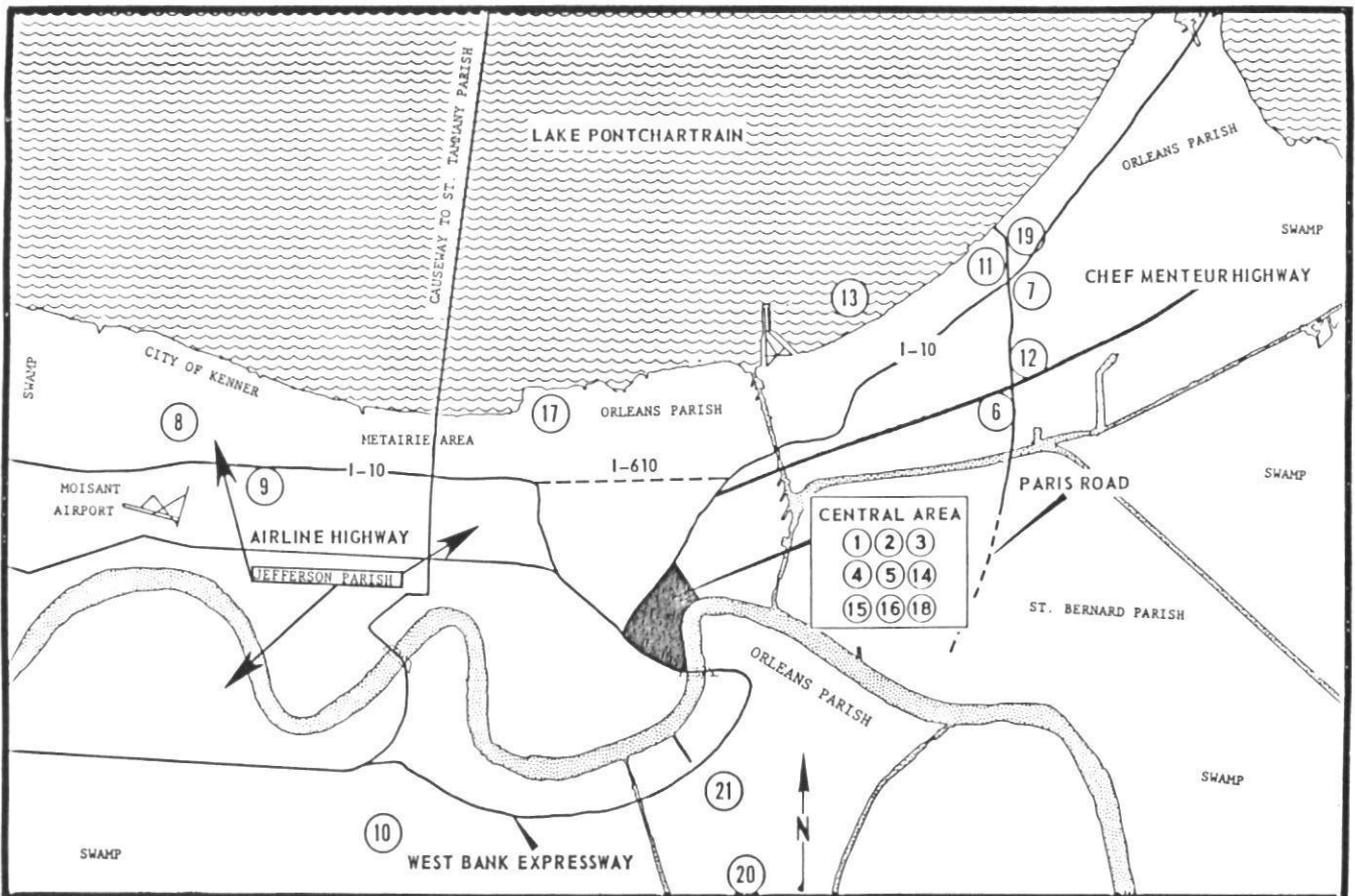
Estimated Revenues

Sites also were evaluated based on the estimated revenues from the multi-purpose use of the facility. Because it was expected that trade shows would be an important source of use-days (and revenue), the anticipated trade show income would be affected by proximity of proposed sites to hotels, restaurants and other city attractions such as the French Quarter. The net revenues of the project also would be affected by the cost of acquiring the various sites, although this proved to be the least important factor because of its relative cost to the rest of the entire project (less than 11%).

Ownership of the various sites, the time needed for acquisition, preparation of each site for the stadium and parking facilities were considered. If a proposed site lacked utilities or presented a utility impediment (such as a telephone exchange which would be costly to relocate), it was automatically rejected. If there was to be a considerable interruption to either commercial activity or a number of home dwellers, this was given serious consideration.

EXHIBIT 1

Potential Superdome Sites Studied



Rails

Interestingly, proximity to rail service was considered important. People are housed in rail cars for significant stadium events and can be transported to the stadium. The possibility of interurban use of the rails at some time in the distant future also was considered, but not specifically mentioned in the report.

Adjacent Properties

What effect would the construction of a facility of this size have on the adjacent properties and on the "normal" activity in the immediate vicinity? What might be the eventual economic activity of a facility of this magnitude on the immediate and surrounding area? While it took some time to materialize, the eventual changes in land use in the adjacent area were significant, but the cause of such change was not attributable solely to the stadium.

Identification Of Potential Sites

Potential sites were suggested long before the consultants came into the picture. Due to the composition of the LSED that included elected officials and politically minded people, every potential site was considered (see Exhibit 1). On an overall basis, the sites were in four locations: 1. CBD, 2. Eastern New Orleans, 3. Metairie/Kenner to the west and proximate to the airport, and 4. across the Mississippi River on the west bank. Site Number 17 in the lakefront area of New Orleans would require displacing 300 families and even then the land area was too small.

Basically, of course, there were two types of sites: CBD and suburban. Orleans and Jefferson Parishes are the two parishes (counties) involved even though the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of Metropolitan New Orleans consists of four parishes. St. Bernard Parish is in the southeast portion of the city, and the populated area of this parish is located mainly on the high land adjacent to the Mississippi River accessible only by two slow traffic arteries into the city. The remainder of this parish was tree swamp and salt water marsh.

St. Tammany Parish is north of Lake Pontchartrain and was super-suburban to the city's main population at that time. The St. Tammany Parish area might have equated to the Pontiac Silverdome in remoteness but lacked the proximate population or the diversity of road access of the Detroit area stadium.

As a consequence, no sites in either of these two other parishes (counties) were considered. The 1967 estimate of population in St. Bernard Parish was about 37,000 and in St. Tammany Parish about 43,500.

As of 1967, the major population of the two parish areas was about 925,000 with about 600,000 on the east bank in Orleans Parish and 175,000 on the east bank in Jefferson Parish. The rest of the population, about 150,000, was located on the west bank across from the CBD. Most of this west bank development then was up and down the river from the bridge five miles on each side. A large

percentage of those employed worked either in the CBD, French Quarter or along the riverfront corridors on both sides of the CBD, which contained both port facilities and industrial activity.

For two years newspapers carried on a lively debate about the stadium location. Local politicians, particularly in Jefferson Parish, argued for a stadium in the residential suburb since it would be closer to the airport and the state capital in Baton Rouge (70 miles to the northwest). Eastern New Orleans advocates said costs would be lower and the location would be the most proximate to the east-west portion of the interstate highway.

Process Of Elimination—Suburban Sites

All sites except four in the CBD were eliminated for one of the following reasons: they suffered from the limited east-west traffic movers; the lack of good public transportation; a limited number of hotels, motels, restaurant facilities, etc.; and the distance efficiency for movement of people. There was no question that the CBD was the most convenient in terms of distances traveled.

The most seriously considered suburban site was the defunct Jefferson Downs Racetrack (Site Number 9) which was south of Interstate 10, seven miles from the CBD and five miles from the airport.

The main problem with Site Number 9 was the traffic which would have to proceed from the east to the stadium on Interstate 10, the only easy access road from the city itself. Secondly, the site was not proximate to enough quality hospitality facilities, and finally, it lacked good public transportation. The true measure of each site was dispersal time and for Site Number 9, this was calculated at 1 ¼ hours which was probably optimistic. Site Number 9 was 165-acres and would have cost an estimated \$7,325,000.

Reasons For Elimination Of The Suburban Sites

Road Access measured in time required to clear the site for the various locations was estimated to be:

Suburban New Orleans -	
Orleans Parish	2.0 to 3.5 hours
Jefferson Parish - East Bank	3.5 to 4.0 hours
Jefferson Parish - West Bank	1.7 to 2.3 hours
Central Business District	0.5 to 1.0 hours

Dispersal hours were most significant in measuring the sites desirability. The comparative traffic situation, based upon alternate ingress and egress traffic arteries, ranked first in criteria although hospitality facilities and public transportation were also significant with rail access also considered. Cost comparison of the sites was not significant in the final decision.

Public Transportation—Busing showed a marked difference with the CBD having 10-12 bus routes and 450 buses while Jefferson Parish East Bank had but one bus route and 33 buses, of which 28 were required for normal service. There would have been some possibility of improved service to the stadium if built in Jefferson

Parish, but the route possibilities were limited to two on all sites.

Hotels and Motels within one mile had the following number of rooms in 1967

Suburban New Orleans	250 rooms
Jefferson Parish - East Bank	900 rooms
Jefferson Parish - West Bank	200 rooms
Central Business District	6,500 rooms

The above picture has changed dramatically since that time principally due to the 1985 World's Fair. In 1985 there are 3,500 rooms in suburban New Orleans; 4,500 in Jefferson Parish on the east bank and 1,500 on the west bank; and the CBD has over 16,000.

As a practical matter, only the CBD sites had access to rail service since all suburban sites would have required extension of rail from one-half to three miles at considerable cost plus disruption of the environment along the route of extension. Additionally, only Site Number 3 had rail staging tracks in existence which could house both coach and sleeping cars within walking distance (0.2 miles).

The best sites usually cost more and certainly this was true of the CBD sites which were estimated to cost from \$10 MM to \$14 MM while the sites in suburban New Orleans were under \$7 MM; those in Jefferson Parish-East Bank were \$7 MM-\$9 MM and Jefferson Parish-West Bank was \$3 MM to \$4 MM. The actual cost of land and land clearance for Site Number 3 turned out to be \$13,989,277 and contained 52-acres. The site costs could have run higher had the LSED decided to acquire an additional ten-acres on the CBD or river side of the Superdome which now houses the Hyatt Regency Hotel and numerous high-rise office buildings and parking garages.

CBD Sites

Although the CBD sites were the most expensive, they also were estimated by Gulf South Research Institute to be capable of producing at least \$800,000 more revenue than any suburban site based upon 118 event days. The current number of (1984) use-days is 318; so the projected revenue differential was conservative. The data clearly indicated what the report concluded: "In sum-

EXHIBIT 2

New Orleans Business District Map (1965)



mary, the most desirable sites are in the CBD."

It is likely that CBD sites are more advantageous in most municipalities. Only the Houston Astrodome, Seattle Kingdome and the Pontiac Silverdome are in suburban locations while the New Orleans Superdome, Vancouver B.C. Place, Minneapolis Metrodome, Indianapolis Hoosierdome and the Syracuse Carrierdome all are located in close proximity to or in the CBD. The New Orleans street pattern, public transportation orientation and the existence of numerous hotels and parking facilities in the CBD, along with the proximity of the Union Passenger Railroad Terminal, made the CBD not only desirable but a must location. The limited ingress and egress roads in the suburbs made the other locations impractical.

Selection Of The Three CBD Sites

The CBD of the city is divided into two different environments: 1. the Business District and 2. the French Quarter, which extends from the Mississippi River to North Rampart Street and from one block northeast of Canal Street to Esplanade Avenue. On Exhibit 2, the French Quarter is identified as going all the way to Canal Street, but in fact it is one block removed. No consideration at all was given to the French Quarter since it is fully developed with historic buildings controlled by the Vieux Carre Commission. The Business District was divided into functional use areas which were identifiable, but not clearly defined (see Exhibit 2).

CBD Sites Automatically Eliminated

The number of sites inputted into the consultant's study would indicate an intent to cover every conceivable potential site (see Exhibit 3). The reasoning for the "automatic" elimination of specific locations was as follows: *Site Number 2* was bounded by Loyola Avenue, Gravier, O'Keefe and Poydras Streets which would be the Canal Street side of Poydras and the river side of Loyola Avenue. This area contained old houses converted into cheap shops or apartments, parking lots and small industrials. This site would have been more proximate to the parking facilities in the CBD but the cost of the land would have been higher per unit. The consultants decided that the total area (nine-acres) was too small for the facility.

Site Number 4: This area was near to *Site Number 3* but uptown of Poydras Street and ranged from Loyola Avenue to Carondelet and from Poydras to Julia Street. This was eliminated based upon major and highly expensive utility relocations including South Central Bell Telephone's main exchange for the area.

Site Number 5 was actually not in the CBD but rather uptown of the Mississippi Bridge Approach (U.S. Highway 90) and would extend from St. Charles Avenue to Simon Bolivar Boulevard, and from Clio to Euterpe Streets. Not only was this area highly populated, but it also contained significant access roads to the CBD and a very expensive 15' boxed canal on Melpomene Street.



March 2, 1975

These underground canals collect the rain runoff and transport the water to pumping stations. They are expensive to build and relocate.

Site Number 15 also was not in the CBD but rather the lake side of the French Quarter. Its boundaries were North Claiborne Avenue, Esplanade Avenue, North Rampart and St. Phillip Streets. (Note that the streets which have the same name and cross Canal Street are called South on the uptown side of Canal Street and North on the downtown side of Canal Street. What makes New Orleans directions so interesting is that rather than use "north" or "south" for directions, the locals refer to the downriver direction as "downtown" and the upriver direction as "uptown". Also, instead of giving the compass direction to other streets, the directions are identified as "riverside" or "lakeside".)

Site Number 16 was along the riverfront over existing rail tracks between Poydras and St. Joseph Streets and between Delta Street and the waterfront. The proposal was to use an air rights development. This plan was eliminated due to the potential time delay of construction. While not mentioned in the brief report, there is no question that the dispersal time of this site would have been high due to the traffic congestion of traversing the CBD. *Site Number 3* is at the outer extreme of the CBD, while the riverfront is at the inner extreme.

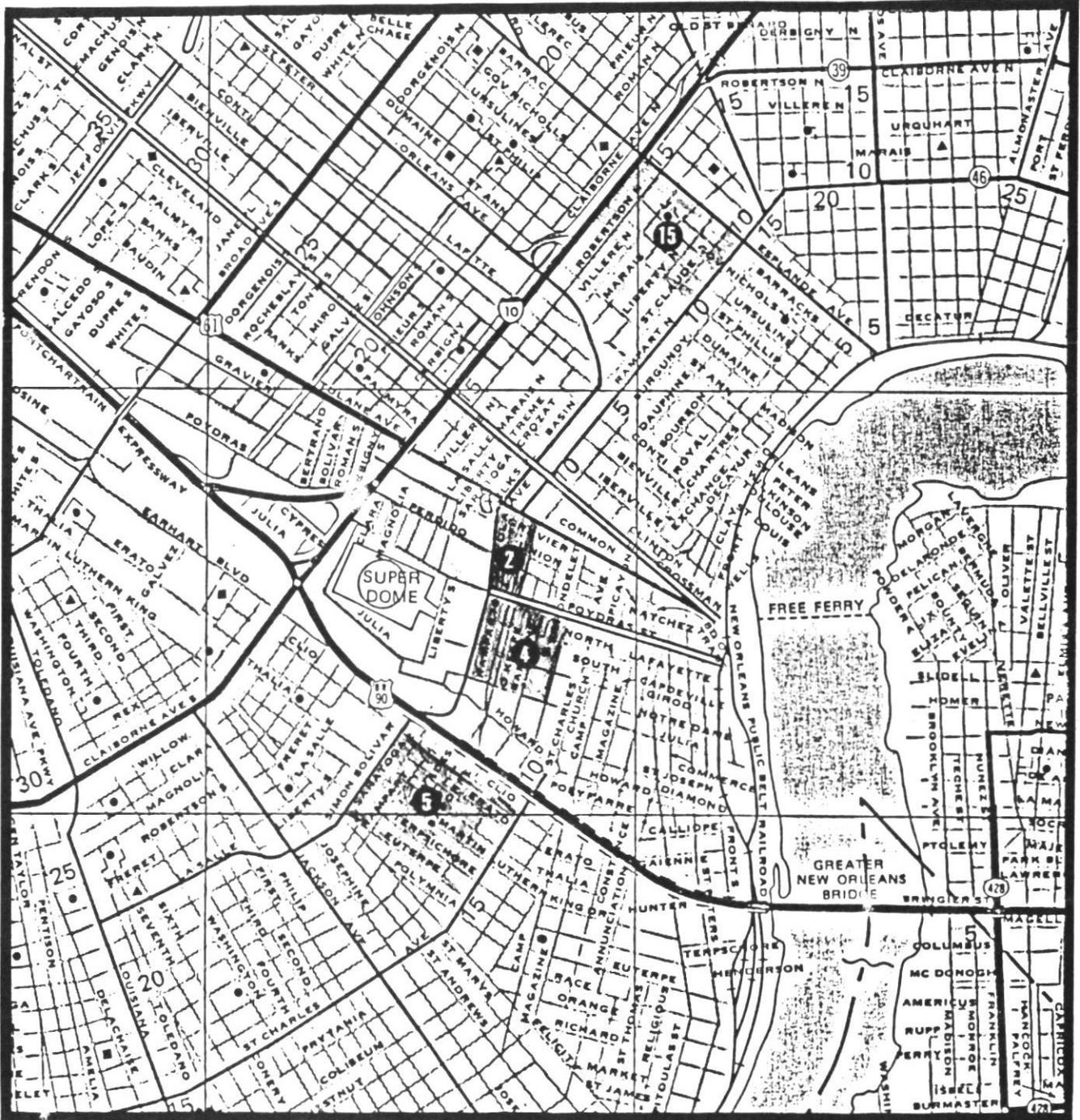
The Four Remaining CBD Sites

The original intent of the report was to identify the *three* sites which were most acceptable. After elimination of all of the suburban locations and *Sites Numbers 2, 4, 5, 15 and 16* (above), there were *four* remaining (see Exhibit 4). The estimated costs of the sites, along with utility and street improvement costs, were as follows:

Site Number 1:
St. Joseph, Constance, Fulton, Poydras and Lafayette Streets. \$10.7 MM

EXHIBIT 3

CBD Sites Eliminated



Site Number 3:
Loyola, Poydras, Claiborne and Julia Streets \$12.6 MM
(later ten-acres fronting on Loyola Avenue were eliminated as a cost savings)

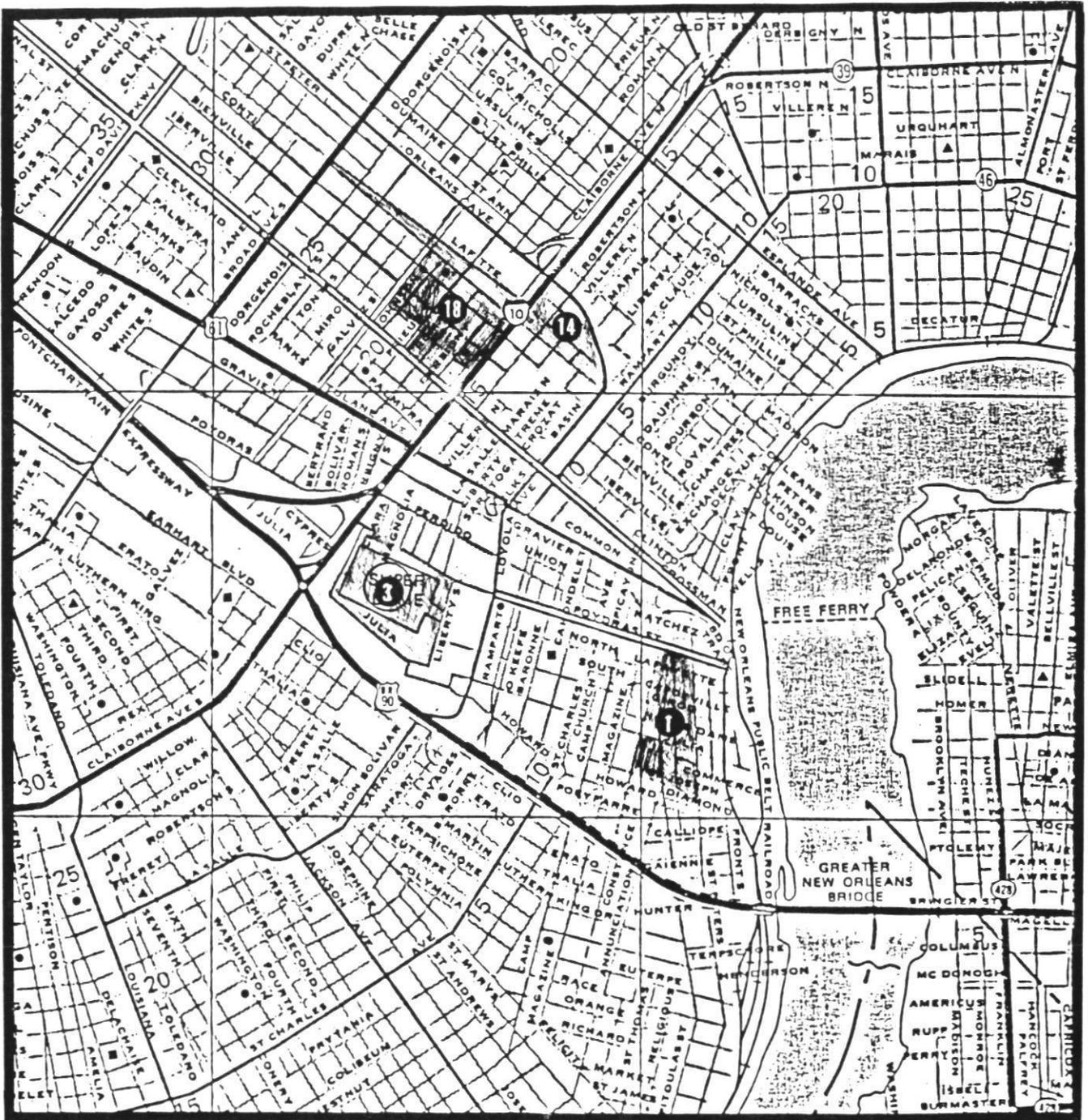
Site Number 14:
Claiborne, Orleans, Orleans-Basin Connection, Basin &

St. Louis Streets. \$10.8 MM

Site Number 18:
St. Louis, Orleans-Basin Connection, Lafitte, N. Broad, N. Galvez, Iberville, Canal, N. Roman Streets and N. Claiborne Avenue \$14.1 MM

EXHIBIT 4

Final Four CBD Sites Selected



Site Number 1 had an estimated 80 owners with no residential family involvement while Site Number 18 had an estimated 230 owners with over 400 families. Additionally, Site Number 18 had a city incinerator to relocate which would have delayed the project. Site Number 14 had a public housing project with 40 fami-

lies and was mostly industrial, railroad and some cheap commercial. Site Number 3 had almost no families and ownership was mostly two railroads.

Decision Factors Of The Four CBD Sites

While the dispersal time estimated for Site Number 1

EXHIBIT 5

Appendix A (4)
Site Number Three Information Sheet

Location:	Central Business District
Boundaries:	Federal Building, Loyola, Poydras, Claiborne, and Julia Streets
Size:	66-acres
Ownership:	Mainly Illinois Central Railroad, Louisiana and Arkansas Railroad, and various governmental agencies.
Access by Car:	The site can be cleared in one hour. Traffic dispersal in all directions. Direct ramp access to Pontchartrain Expressway is possible. For details of access roads see table in Site #1.
Access by Bus and Rail:	N.O.P.S.— 10 routes within five blocks. Service to Jefferson and St. Bernard Parishes available. Union Passenger Terminal within 300 yards of site with direct rail extension possible.
Parking Facilities:	Over 14,000 central area spaces available. On-site parking facility cost approximately \$10 million.
Proximity to Hotels:	6,500 hotel rooms are within walking distance.
Acquisition and Site Clearance:	Estimated total cost \$23.1 million. There are few structures on the site.
Probability of Acquisition Delay:	Low. The two railroads own the majority of the site, and virtually no family relocation is involved.
Compatibility With Environment:	The site is adjacent to the Federal and City Hall office complexes, and is currently used as a rail freight terminal.

Summary of Estimated Costs:	(Dollars in Thousands)	
Acquisition (30 acres)	\$10,000	- (\$21 million
Utilities Removal	1,350	for total acreage)
Site Preparation	500	
Street Improvements	680	
Total	<u>\$12,530</u>	

was one hour, this does not take into account the potential impact of traffic from the facility on normal traffic in the CBD. Site Number 1 was closest to the parking facilities and hotels in the CBD; however, it contained buildings which were considered historic. Had this site been selected, it likely would have put tremendous pressure on CBD traffic at times. Also, there would have been an impact on land values and land uses because the taking of 47-acres of land would have eliminated over 60 useful three-and-four-story buildings.

For each site not “automatically eliminated”, such as Site Numbers 2, 4, 5, 15 and 16, the consultants composed a Site Information sheet. Such a sheet for Site Number 3 (Exhibit 5) is enclosed for illustrative purposes.

Site Number 3 consisted of liquor warehouses, meat packers, railroad warehouses, small industries, railroad tracks and the ICRR hospital. The ICRR was a respected member of the economic community, and up until 1960 did not want their real estate disturbed.

Because trucking was eating into the profits of the operating railroads, these large landowners did an about face with regard to assets which could be converted into

returns far greater than the capitalized worth of their operating revenues from freight. Besides, the freight did not go away, it merely moved further out to the Elmwood Industrial Park in Jefferson Parish also owned by the ICRR.

If the stadium was built on the acreage on the lake side of LaSalle Street, then the ten-acres between LaSalle and Loyola on Poydras Street, also owned by ICRR, would have been available for high-rise development (which did happen with the Hyatt Hotel and oil company related buildings).

Of all the sites with substantial improvements, Site Number 3 had the most obsolete improvements with no potential of rehabilitation. The density of improvements also was the least. Site Number 14, near the Municipal Auditorium, had similar improvements and railroad tracks (Southern Railroad), but contained part of a housing project.

New Orleans lies north of a crescent in the Mississippi River (thus the city is called “The Crescent City”) with the CBD and French Quarter at the eastern or downriver portion of the crescent. The Interstate 10 system generally runs east-west across the top of the crescent parallel to

EXHIBIT 8

Louisiana Stadium & Exposition District Budget As Adjusted

Item	Budget As Adjusted
REVENUES:	
Bond Proceeds	\$137,750,000
Hotel Occupancy Tax (Net)	12,031,553
Investment Earnings	13,287,479
Rental Revenues	102,812
Refund on Poydras St. Paving	140,000
Other Revenues	1,471
TOTAL ANTICIPATED REVENUES	\$163,313,315
EXPENDITURES:	
Site Acquisition	\$ 11,270,163
Prime Construction	101,914,949
Television System	1,259,013
Landscaping	217,761
Graphics	277,346
Seats	2,317,912
Turf	183,842
Moveable Furnishings	1,907,400
Sports Equipment	150,000
Demolition	473,184
Highway Rework	78,923
G.S.A. Relocation	192,433
Traffic Signals	100,000
Telescoping Stands	185,031
Utilities Relocations	1,974,547
Builders Risk Insurance	820,833
Testing Laboratory Fees	984,660
Architect-Engineers Fees	9,750,150
SUBTOTAL	\$134,058,174
Contingencies	1,476,475
TOTAL CONSTRUCTION COSTS	\$135,534,649
OTHER COSTS:	
Debt Service-Interest	\$ 23,100,362
Working Capital Fund	500,000
Administrative Costs	4,178,304
TOTAL OTHER COSTS	\$ 27,778,666
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$163,313,315

Source: *Louisiana Superdome "Newest Wonder of the World"*, by Andrew Chafin, 1975.

Lake Pontchartrain except that there is a part which dips down into the eastern side of the crescent, i.e. in a south-east direction, then goes northeast back up to Eastern New Orleans. This triangle is identified as Interstate 10 in the south "V" and is called Interstate 610 as it proceeds east-west through the middle of the city (see Exhibit 6).

Site Number 3 is actually at the very bottom of this "V" with numerous interchanges to feed traffic to and from both the northwest and the northeast. While about 35% of the population was to the northwest and west and only about 20% is to the northeast, about 15% of the traffic could be dispersed on local roads to the uptown section (areas along the riverfront and in the university section) and about 20% of the traffic could be sent across the river or downtown. Although the areas are not well defined and overlap, there were literally five directions for dispersal: west-35%, east-20%, uptown-15%,

downtown-3% and west bank-17%. Suburban sites had no such diversity of egress routes.

Site Number 1 would have required travel out Poydras Street or up St. Charles Avenue to the interchanges. Site Numbers 14 and 18 would have required local traffic back to the heart of the CBD for most interstate traffic. It is possible that the favorable orientation of Site Number 3 to these interchanges could reduce dispersal time from 15 to 30 minutes over the three CBD sites. This is not to mention the minimal amount of disruption of ordinary traffic of Site Number 3 as compared with other CBD sites.

Final Decision

Site Number 3 was chosen as the lesser of evils. Site Number 1 was badly located in terms of traffic and the possible effect on CBD movement in addition to being improved with potentially historic structures.

Site Number 14 contained residential housing and was not as well located in relation to the ingress and egress highway interchanges. Site Number 18 had numerous small owners, houses and apartments, and was not as well located with regard to interchanges.

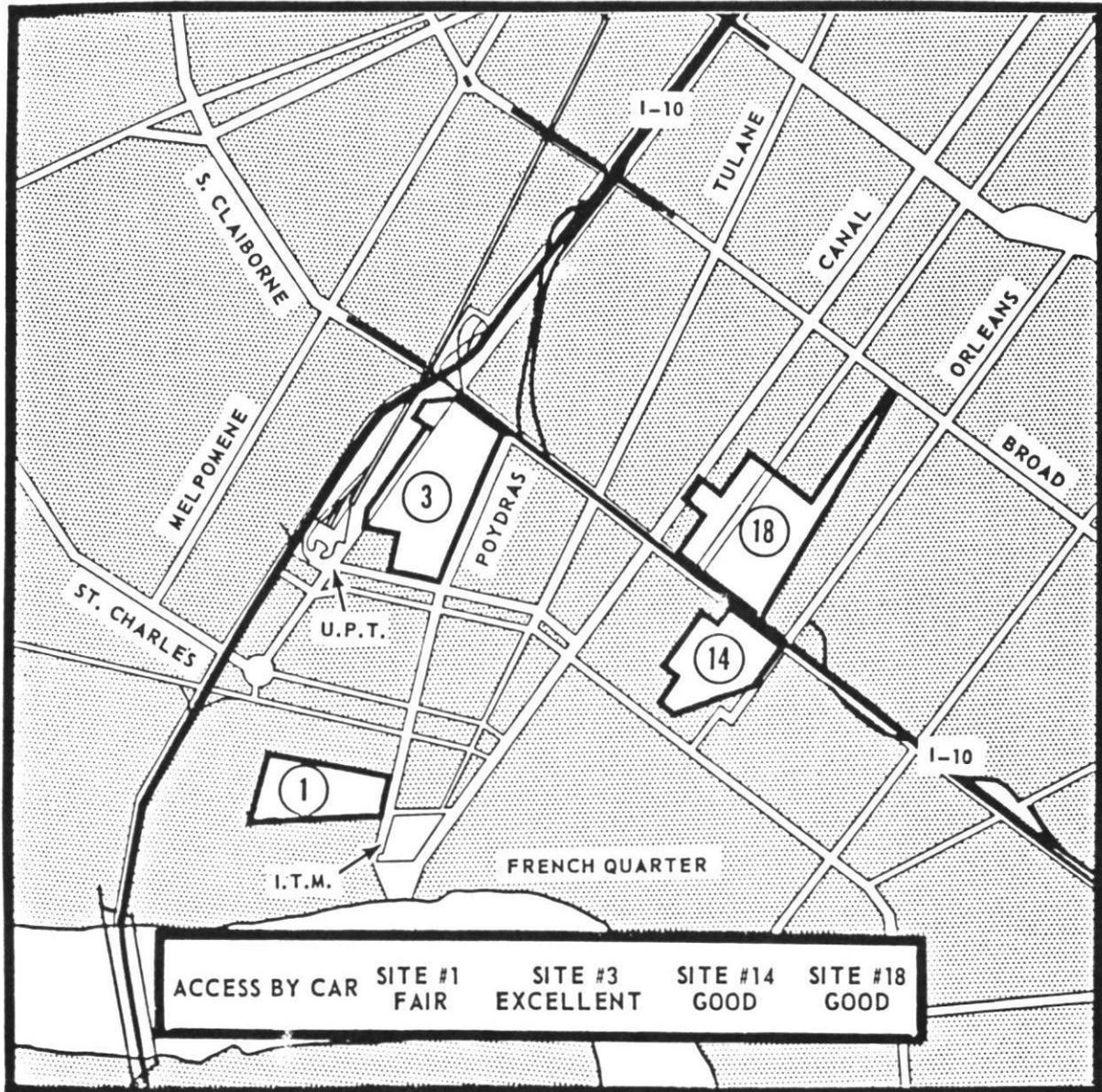
The ownership of the lands involved in Site Number 3 was the ICRR and the Louisiana and Arkansas Railroad, plus some small landowners. Most improvements were obsolete and could be replaced in better locations. The old railroad brick warehouses were an eyesore to the CBD. Using this site destroyed the least amount of economic wealth while replacing misplaced land uses with a stadium that would add considerable economic benefit to the total area, especially the CBD. Poydras Street on the lake side (the Park Avenue of the future) would get a very desirable anchor on its northwest or lake end. Nestled in the far corner of the CBD, this was the ideal spot for the Superdome.

Ten Years Later

The wisdom of the decision to place the stadium on Site Number 3 is more apparent now than it was at the time.



May 31, 1985

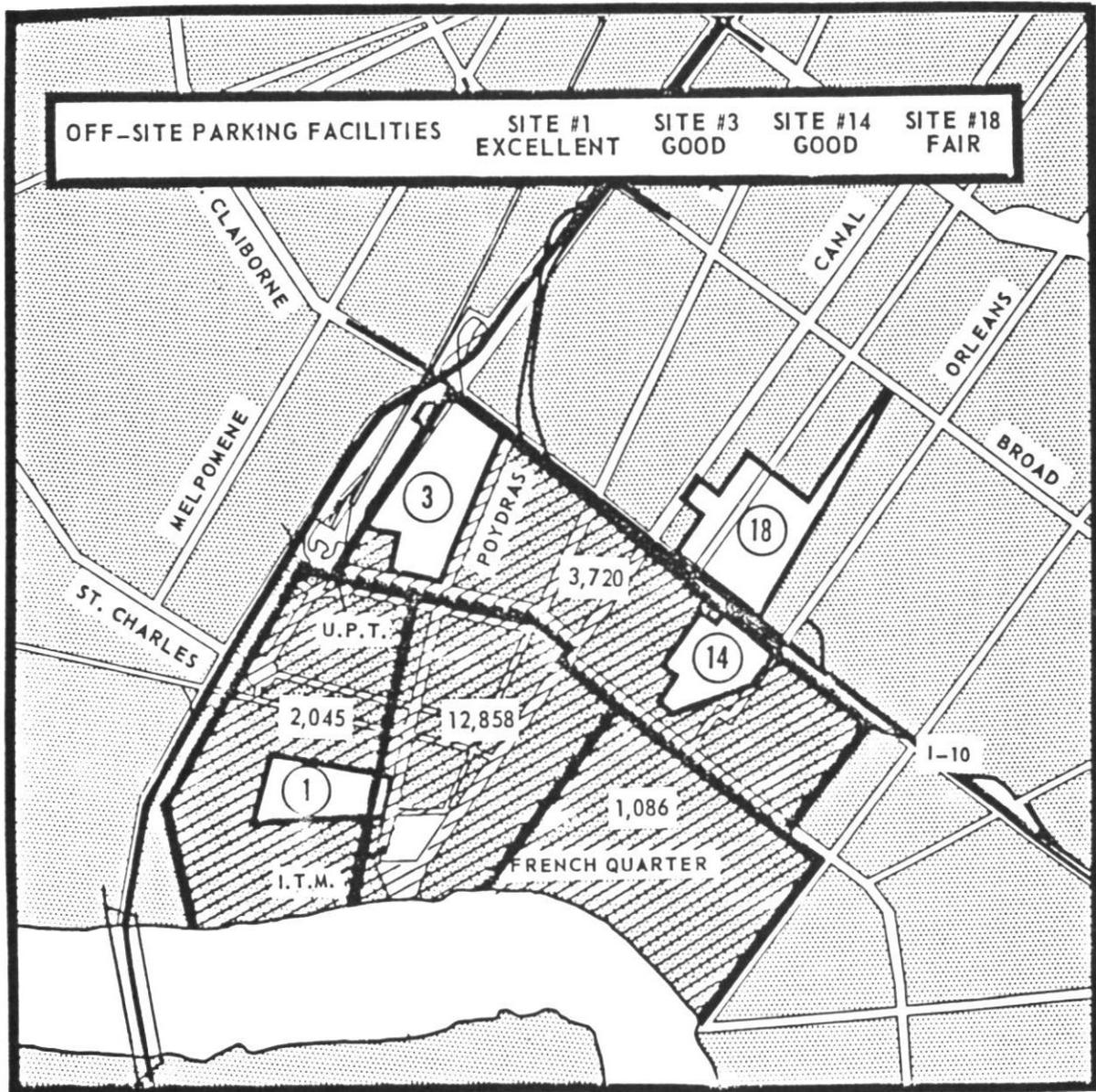


First and foremost, the fillup and the dispersal works better than expected. Many people come early and eat in the French Quarter or elsewhere in the CBD and leisurely walk to the event. Visitors walk over to this structure from their CBD hotels to take the "tour". The design of the structure allows for maximum people movement out after a big event, and the neighborhood is a vast improvement over the eyesore it replaced.

At the time of the facility's construction there was considerable speculation on what would happen to the lands in the immediate vicinity. Soon after the site was chosen the Hyatt Regency Hotel, a major convention facility, was constructed on Loyola Avenue. There was a "shopping mall" in front of the hotel itself (i.e. on the

river side) and a ramp from the hotel directly to the Superdome entrance level. Everyone believed that this would signal numerous other developments. The properties on Poydras Street from South Claiborne Avenue to LaSalle Street and directly across from the Superdome, certainly would be developed with hospitality facilities. However, this did not occur and the shopping mall was less than successful.

A joint venture group consisting of the ICRR, an insurance company and some risk capital developers, began developing the ten-acres fronting on Loyola Avenue at Poydras Street, or rather that part of the ten-acres not occupied by the Hyatt Regency Hotel. This group started with one high-rise on Poydras and this was followed by



other buildings and parking garages so that most of this area today is developed with offices (see Exhibit 7). None of this relates directly to the Superdome (except Hyatt), but it is doubtful that these structures would have been placed in this area had the old industries and railroad warehouses remained. The Superdome made a pleasant environment that *allowed* for development.

Other developers started building high-rise office buildings on the lake side of LaSalle Street across from City Hall, and now there are three such buildings. It is interesting that studies of the impact of the Superdome on the CBD give credit to the stadium for these structures however, if the old industries had remained, these buildings would have been located elsewhere due to the poor

neighborhood environment, but they still would have been built in the CBD.

Nothing happened for some time across Loyola Avenue, the more proximate location to the already developed CBD inner core. If the Superdome was to attract development, this is where it should have happened. Not until almost nine years after the start of construction of the Superdome was anything substantial placed on Loyola. Just recently, the Energy Center, another high-rise office building, was completed at Loyola Avenue and Poydras. Here again, this is the result of the Hyatt and the other office buildings (all occupied principally by oil companies) rather than the Superdome itself, although the structure cleaned up the neighborhood by removing the

old industrial buildings. It also made Poydras Street more desirable.

Interestingly, after ten years of operation, there is not one improvement which is directly related to the Superdome except the Hyatt Regency.

The University of New Orleans study of the economic benefits of the Superdome after 10 years by Dr. Wade R. Ragas, Jr. and Dr. Ivan J. Miestchovich, Jr. indicates that the office buildings in the vicinity of the Superdome benefited from the Superdome parking garages. The buildings on the lake side of Loyola Avenue required one parking space for each 1,200 square feet of office building in the zoning ordinance and this is approximately what was built; however, Drs. Ragas and Miestchovich contended that this was not sufficient parking. The proximity of the Superdome parking garages saved the buildings' developers about \$20 million. This, they contend, was an economic benefit in that it saved the construction of the added spaces needed to make the

buildings feasible. In any other location, these parking spaces would have had to been added.

General Impact Of The Superdome

Each year the Superdome has a big operating deficit since the taxes generated by the visitors to Superdome events cannot be directly identified or used to offset the book deficit of the operation (see Exhibit 8). However, the economic contribution of this structure is tremendous and it pushed tourism to the top of the list of economic contributors to the economy of the New Orleans area. Without the Superdome, New Orleans would probably not have been host to Super Bowls, the National Basketball Association Jazz franchise for four years, the NCAA basketball championship in 1987 or numerous trade shows and conventions. A recent report by the University of New Orleans Division of Business Administration indicates that in the ten years since it opened, the Superdome has generated \$2.68 billion in state tax revenue, visitor spending and CBD development.

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