

ABSTRACT

MARVILL, CATHERINE LEIGH. Creating an arts destination: The community development process in Waynesville, North Carolina. (Under the direction of Karla Henderson, Ph.D.)

Rural towns throughout America often embark on community development as a means of social and economic renewal. Many of these towns use tourism as a tool for community development. The purpose of this investigation was to understand how a community develops into an arts destination. With its Appalachian heritage and traditional mountain culture, tourism was a natural avenue for community leaders in Waynesville, North Carolina to initiate. The investigation included a case study methodology and relied on multiple sources of evidence including direct observations, personal and focus group interviews, and historical documents and records.

Guided by grounded theory, seven critical elements of community development emerged from the data. The seven critical elements were: downtown revitalization, heritage incorporation, tourism development, public-private partnerships, collaborative leadership, community buy-in, and the value of arts. Citizen participation encompassed all elements and was critical to the success of Waynesville's community development.

Community development in Waynesville resulted in both a stronger and more diverse economy and created a sense of cohesiveness and pride in its citizens. The results reinforced community development and tourism development literature and provided insight into the emerging research that introduces the role of art in tourism development. Findings from the study support the value of integrating culture and arts into community and tourism development initiatives. Through telling this story other small towns can learn from Waynesville's holistic and citizen-based approach to community development.

CREATING AN ARTS DESTINATION: THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PROCESS IN WAYNESVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

by
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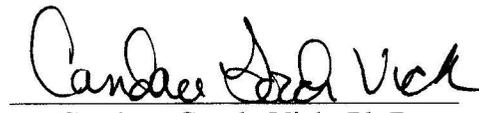
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BIOGRAPHY

Catherine Marvill, better known as Cate, is a native resident of Raleigh, North Carolina. She earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Theatre from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Shortly after graduation she moved to New York City where she worked to live for five years. Cate returned to Raleigh in 2004 to pursue a Master of Science in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management at North Carolina State University. Cate believes humans benefit from having arts in their lives. Her appreciation and respect for all art forms, which led her interest in this research project, was nurtured early on by her parents, who first ensured that the arts were part of her life and then supported her own endeavors in the arts.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century the perception of community is fragmented. Some people define community by geography, yet many people cross those lines for work or recreation. Others may define community by social associations such as ethnic or cultural ties. Many people strongly feel that they belong to a community, whether it is a city block or a suburban neighborhood, while others do not see their role in community. Regardless of how it is defined, communities exist. At the heart of each community are its citizens.

The investigation described in this paper emerged from my interest in two areas: community and the arts. Communities are important to society. No matter how communities are defined or interpreted, communities impact human life. Among many things, a strong community can preserve heritage, educate and protect its citizens, provide economic opportunities, and cultivate social relationships. The arts are also important to society. The arts have always been a part of my life, whether it was as an audience member, an admirer, or as a performer. I believe that the arts are inherently valuable to human life.

My initial interest in community and the arts led me to consider the role of arts in community development and its role in tourism development planning. I wanted to understand how communities that had economic and social problems developed into self-sustaining and attractive destinations for both citizens and visitors by using the arts. In other words, how does a community become an arts destination? To answer this question, I examined the community of Waynesville, North Carolina.

Purpose Statement

Tourism is one of North Carolina's largest industries. In 2004, domestic travelers spent \$13.2 billion across the state, a 4.9% increase from the previous year. Domestic tourism expenditures directly support over 180,000 jobs for North Carolina residents and approximately 49 million visitors traveled to North Carolina (2004 Economic Impact of Tourism, n.d.).

In many small towns in rural America tourism is considered an important tool for economic and community development. Towns, especially those with strong roots, frequently seek to increase visitation by developing existing heritage resources. The Travel Industry of America and Smithsonian magazine named North Carolina as one of the top ten states for cultural and heritage tourism in 2003. North Carolina is rich in many different cultures. Waynesville, in particular, with its historical ties to Appalachian heritage and mountain culture has actively sought to become a primary arts destination in the state.

Small towns throughout the United States are working to renew economic vitality as well as increase community participation and pride. As with many rural towns in North Carolina, Waynesville has felt the loss of traditional industry in the area. In response to economic decline, a community interest in tourism began to grow. The community recognized that for tourism to be a driving economic force in Waynesville, downtown revitalization and other community development efforts needed to take place. Community leaders also recognized early that the region's heritage could play a key role in the efforts.

For this investigation I examined community development theory, tourism development literature, and the role of arts in tourism development along with case study research

involving interviews with civic leaders, public officials, business owners, local artists, and long-time residents. An examination of policy changes and historical documents also contributed. I hope this paper will serve other rural communities rich in culture as a strategy to assess long-term and collaborative development.

Statement of Problem

Community development in rural towns aims to improve economic conditions as well as create a cohesive and active citizenship. Understanding how citizens perceive the development of their community and how they perceive their own involvement in development is fundamental to continued successful development projects. Understanding the long-term process of how a community undertakes the large effort of development is just as important. Development is dynamic, continuous, and occurs from different directions. This case study will holistically analyze the community development efforts of Waynesville over the past 20 years by identifying the elements that were most influential in its arts destination status.

Research Question

Because of my interest in research that supports the proposition that arts are important to communities, I chose to examine a town in North Carolina that integrated the arts into its overall community development plan. My research question asked: how do communities develop into an arts destination?

Definitions

Several working definitions guided the research collection and data analysis process. The definitions were also used to provide interview and focus group participants with a framework for the discussion.

Community Development- A group of people in a community reaching a decision to initiate a social action process to change their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation (Christenson & Robinson, 1980a).

Art- All forms of expressions of creativity, such as theatre, handmade crafts, cultural displays, and dance and music performances (Jackson & Herranz, 2002; Kay, 2000).

Arts Destination- While no true definition exists for an arts destination, for use in this research I defined an arts destination through the following parameters: community arts assets are identified, an active arts council exists, local businesses are arts based, community programs emphasize a variety of art expressions such as music, theatre and visual arts exist, and the arts are promoted as part of the tourism effort.

Heritage Tourism- Tourism centered on what citizens have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings to art works to beautiful scenery (Yale, 1997 as cited in Garrod & Fyall, 2001).

Delimitations

Case study research is limited to the one town of Waynesville, NC. Waynesville was worthy of a case study based on several criteria. These criteria were chosen because they were presumed to be indicators of a town that (1) had undergone community development, (2) was a tourism destination, and (3) had strong cultural ties. The criteria included:

- Tourism revenues make a significant contribution to the local economy.
- The town participated in a community development program, the NC Main Street program.
- The cultural and natural resources were an identifiable tourism draw.
- The town had an active community development organization.
- The town had many arts offerings including galleries, cultural festivals and events, and a community theatre.

About Waynesville, North Carolina

The town of Waynesville, incorporated in 1871, serves as the county seat of Haywood County. The county is in the western region of North Carolina. Asheville, North Carolina's largest western city, lies 26 miles directly to the east of Waynesville. The Blue Ridge Parkway runs along the southern border of the county and the Great Smoky Mountains and Pisgah National Forest border the north.

The population has grown from 6,758 in 1990 to 9,232 in 2000, after the towns of adjacent Hazelwood and Waynesville merged into one community in 1995 (Waynesville North Carolina Demographic Information, n.d.). Waynesville has continued to grow to a population of 9,538 in 2005 (Historic Waynesville, 2004).

Manufacturing and tourism are Haywood County's major industries, followed by agriculture and the service industry (Waynesville North Carolina Demographic Information, n.d.). In the last twenty years tourism has evolved into a dominant industry. Revenues from tourism in the county have increased from \$55.13 million in 1990 to 98.13 million in 2004 (Haywood County Statistics, n.d.).

As with many small towns, downtown Waynesville is the center of the community. Many of its community development initiatives have focused on downtown revitalization, but the impacts of development have affected the entire town. For example, the vacancy rate in the downtown district was at 23%, which included nearly one-fourth of the buildings, in 1985. Today the downtown vacancy rate is at 3%, leading to an increase in sales and property tax income for the town (*Downtown Waynesville: 20 Years of Partnership*, 2005). Development in the arts is also evident. Studios and galleries have filled those vacant buildings and downtown is host to traditional mountain street dances and cultural events.

I found that many factors contributed to this story of community development in Waynesville. Waynesville's development into an arts destination has been a collaborative effort dependent on participation from the town's citizens. Details of these identified factors can be found in the results section of this document.

The next chapter will present a review of community development and tourism literature as it pertains to my research topic. The examination will focus on the history of community development, citizen participation in community development and tourism development, rural tourism development, and the emerging role of heritage and the arts in the tourism field.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Waynesville, North Carolina embarked upon community development to halt a declining economy and to empower citizens in response to a changing industry. One main goal of the town's community development efforts was tourism development. Tourism is a community development tool used by many rural communities to promote economic diversification while still preserving a small town feeling among citizens (McCool & Martin, 1994). Community leaders supported both community development and tourism development simultaneously. They realized one could not progress without the other. Community leaders also realized that citizen participation in the process was imperative to successful community development.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore community development literature as it relates to the community development process that occurred in Waynesville, North Carolina. Community development is a broad field of study. The term community development came into popular use in the United States after World War II (Christenson & Robinson, 1980). Because the field is so broad, the term can imply any of the varied segments of community development such as health initiatives, community and religious organizations, social services, urban planning and design, short-term community projects, or housing projects. To investigate how communities develop into an arts destination, I review the literature in four sections. I first give a history of community development in America as a discipline followed by an examination of citizen participation in community development and tourism development. Next, I introduce rural tourism development literature as it relates to

community development. Last, I examine the emerging role of heritage and art in tourism development research.

The History of Community Development

Community development is a relatively young field. Community development as it is understood now did not emerge until the twentieth century, though it always has been part of American culture (Phifer, 1980). Communities began to take shape after the first European settlement in Jamestown, Virginia. Settlers organized around these burgeoning communities and worked together to make improvements.

Community development formally emerged from two major forces: community organization and economic development (Sanders, 1958). Community organization emerged in America after World War I and became more common after World War II as activities turned from wartime efforts to more social actions. The term community organization referred to programs that tried to mobilize community resources and social relationships. At the same time, economic development efforts in communities were seen mainly through efforts to bring new industry to communities and were concerned with increasing productivity and efficiency. Community development evolved from these community programs that sought to “improve the decision-making process of the community as well as the quality of life” (Christenson & Robinson, 1980, p. 13). Though unlike those programs, community development is holistic and goes beyond short-term or short-lived efforts (Phifer, 1980).

Early pioneers of the field (e.g., Biddle & Biddle, 1965; Cary, 1970; Sanders, 1958) contributed a base for future community development researchers and practitioners as well as

a foundation for community development theory. One of the main objectives for these authors was to provide readers with an orientation to community life as a social system and to encourage social action among both researchers and citizens for social improvement. In the late 1970s and early 1980s researchers addressed the practice and methods of community development for professionals and the need for theory building (Blakely, 1979a; Chekki, 1979a; Christenson & Robinson, 1980a).

Phifer (1980) cited Frank Farrington's 1915 *Community Development: Making the Small Town a Better Place to Live and a Better Place in Which to Do Business* as one of the first books on community development published in the United States. However, the author believed community development as a discipline probably began in academic institutions. William Biddle at Earlham College in Indiana was credited with producing some of the first work in 1947.

President Theodore Roosevelt's 1908 Country Life Commission recommended that land-grant colleges take a more active role in the life of rural Americans (Phifer, 1980). From this recommendation the Cooperative Extension Service was established. Cooperative Extension was a great influence on the community development discipline as its workers helped mainly rural communities identify their needs and develop programs to meet those needs.

These early pioneers and their successors offered many definitions and descriptions of community development. Christenson and Robinson (1980a), in *Community Development in America* provided a number of definitions from community development literature. This

study on the community development process in Waynesville, North Carolina used a working definition of community development written by Christenson and Robinson:

(1) a group of people (2) in a community (3) reaching a decision (4) to initiate a social action process (i.e. planned intervention) (5) to change (6) their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation (p. 12).

Blakey (1979b) considered community development an emerging field. He thought while it was not yet a discipline it was certainly a movement. Blakey gave several common traits of community development that serve as “general underpinnings” for the field:

1. It is an applied behavioral science.
2. It is value centered and normative.
3. It is optimistic and humanistic.
4. It is oriented toward social/economic goals and uses anticipatory research strategies.
5. It is concerned with the total human climate or milieu.
6. It stresses the use of intervention through group and collective situations.
7. It is aimed at participation in its broadest sense.
8. It is concerned with the development of humanistic inter- and intra-personal skills.
9. It views the community as a holistic and integrated network or system.
10. It is concerned with the ongoing management of change (p. 16).

Similarly, Cary (1970) identified six elements of community development:

1. The community is the unit of action

2. Local initiative and leadership
3. Heedful use of local and outside resources
4. Inclusive participation
5. Organized comprehensive approach
6. Democratic, rational, task accomplishment

Chekki's (1979a) *Community Development* examined the fundamental principles of community development as a process of planned change. One of Chekki's aims was to clarify the nature and problems of community development so people involved in policy-making and planning would have the necessary information to make decisions. Chekki (1979b) warned that community development "will not magically transmute our present into a Utopian future. Nor is it a panacea for society's ills. It is but one means of initiating change" (p. 7). Along with initiating change, community development should initiate, give direction to, and sustain community action.

Community development researchers agreed that the nature of communities were universally dynamic. Chekki said, "[Communities] undergo a continuous process of alteration, adjustment, adaptation and reorganization. As in all systems, change- whether natural or planned- is essential to the community if it is to endure and develop" (1979b, p. 6).

One theoretical approach to community development is that community development is a process (Chekki, 1979b). Much of the early community development literature touched on this "process" of community development. Chekki cited Sanders (1970) work in examining process and suggested that change happened in a series of stages that ultimately cultivated community self-determination. This community self-determination allowed

members to collaborate to define their common needs, develop a plan or plans that would satisfy those needs, and then apply those plans.

In *The Community Development Process: The Rediscovery of Local Initiative*, Biddle and Biddle (1965) contributed to this theoretical base. They noted that process “refers to a progression of events that is planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively choose” (p. 79). Process was not necessarily about the events that occurred, but about the social changes and growth in community groups or individuals.

Chekki (1979b) added to the theoretical approach of community as a process. He emphasized that “community development as a process is a systematic approach to change in which each of the phases of the process may be sufficiently defined and measured in accordance with specific criteria” (p. 14). For example change in what he considered essential factors such as community decision-making and participation among community members could be operationalized and quantified.

Cary’s (1970) work also emphasized that community development was a process and believed that much of the community development literature supported this theory. Cary (1979) wrote that he was concerned with the state of community development theory. He thought that in a field such as community development, theory and practice should come together. Without a theoretical base, the process of community development could not be entirely effectual.

Early research provided a foundation for future and more specific research in the community development discipline. Through identifying common elements of community development researchers defined and described the process. One of the early definitions of

community development written by Christenson and Robinson (1980) was used in this study. Community development was defined as a group of people in a community reaching a decision to initiate a social action process to change their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation. The definition provided a means to help interview participants understand how I approached the subject in my investigation of Waynesville. Researchers also provided a theoretical base for community development as a process that involves citizens.

Citizen Participation in Community and Tourism Development

Process does not hinge on a succession of events, but on the growth of the participants who contribute and initiate change in their community (Cary, 1970).

Community development literature described the fundamental need for participation. Citizen participation must be strong enough to initiate action.

Central to the community development philosophy is the development of competence so a community can confront its own problems (Chekki, 1979b). Guided by Cary's six elements of community development, Chekki said that people "will be more supportive of, and committed to, courses of action which they have had a voice in shaping, community development can be an effectual, dynamic approach to societal change" (p. 18).

Littrell (1980) alluded to the element of participation in his discussion of self-help. Self-help was a basic approach in the theory and practice of community development. It assumes that people can come together and work together to improve their situation.

Participation for the sake of participation is not the goal of community development (Blakely, 1979b). Blakely said, "There is no magic about people entering into group

situations” (p. 20). Participation in community development must be meaningful. Cary (1979) supported this credo of community development. To say that people in a community should participate in the process is not enough. The opportunity for participation must be there. To meet the capacities and interests of the largest audience of citizens, the opportunity to participate should be available “at different levels, in different ways, and over varying periods of time” (Cary, p. 170).

Participation was part of community development research, but not until the 1990s was the need for citizen participation in tourism development investigated. Much of the tourism development literature (e.g., Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; MacDonald & Jolliffe, 2003; Timothy & Tosun, 2003) cited Murphy (1985) with first emphasizing the need to get residents involved in the tourism development process.

Reid, Mair, and Taylor (2000) suggested that the community development approach was absent from tourism development until the 1990s because the need for tourism planning was often unrecognized until development began to negatively effect residents. Involving the community in tourism development increased “the quality of planning” and reduced the “likelihood of conflict” (Aas et al., 2005, p. 33). The first step in community-based tourism planning should be “establishing mechanisms for dialogue, participation and decision-making”(Reid et al., p. 21).

The concept of community collaboration, which included citizen participation, also began to be discussed in community development literature related to tourism (Aas et al., 2005; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Keogh, 1990; Murphy, 1985; Timothy & Tosun, 2003). Jamal and Getz said that while interorganizational collaboration had been addressed by several

research disciplines, the application of collaboration to tourism development had not been clearly investigated. Collaboration was “a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain” (Gray, 1989, p. 227). Stakeholders in the tourism industry were anyone who was negatively or positively impacted by development (Aas et al.). Stakeholders included community citizens and organizations, public and private sectors, tourism cooperation’s, and businesses.

From Gray’s (1989) definition of collaboration and through examination of literature, Jamal and Getz (1995) proposed a working definition of collaboration in relation to tourism development:

Collaboration for community-based tourism planning is a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain (p. 188).

Collaboration allowed tourism development to incorporate the diverse views found in communities. Collaboration should ensure that no community organization, cooperate entity, or individual has total control over the destination’s development process (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Citizen participation in the collaboration process has to be active so that tourism planning and development can be adjusted as the “economic, social, and environmental perceptions change within the community” (p. 195). This adjustment is especially true in destination communities that experience fast growth.

Reid, Mair, and George (2004) warned that the rapid growth of tourism could change the dynamics of a community. Small towns in particular risk losing their historic character if

they are dominated by the tourism enterprise. The authors said that while there was growing support for community-based approaches to tourism planning, no tools were available for involving the community in a meaningful way. Reid, Fuller, Haywood and Bryden (1993, cited in Reid et al., 2004), built a tourism planning process model to show how communities establish tourism. See Figure 1.

Based on this work, Reid et al. (2004) developed the Community Tourism Self-Assessment Instrument (CTAI). This tool was “designed to measure residents’ feelings about, and readiness for, tourism in their locales as well as to generate dialogue about development” (p. 626). They found that upon completion of the questionnaire, participants more readily understood the need for community-based tourism development, but they also began to realize the potential negative impacts.



Source: Reid, Fuller, Haywood and Bryden (1993)

Figure 1. Community Tourism Development Planning

Before embarking on tourism development, a number of researchers (e.g., Gill & Williams, 1994; Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 2000; Reid et al., 2004; Reid et al., 2000; Timothy & Tosun, 2003) found developing mechanisms to include all segments of the population in dialogue about the process to be critical. Timothy and Tosun discovered potential problems in participatory development. The first problem was that of representation. Community participants needed to be a broad and adequate representation of the entire population. Another issue was the degree to which participants were involved in open and meaningful dialogue. Third, consensus from community participants in the planning process was of concern. Timothy and Tosun stressed that while consensus was not essential, participants needed to be aware that stalemates may lead to important issues going unresolved. A fourth potential problem was the power differential between stakeholders. Collaborative and community-based planning was best achieved when power was evenly spread among stakeholders.

In their study of a tourism project in Brazil, Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (2000) investigated the problem of representation in community-based tourism development. The researchers wanted to know if the stakeholders who participated in the tourism planning process adequately represented the stakeholders affected by development. Participation by multiple stakeholders can offer different interests and perspectives and lead to more sustainable development. The range of stakeholders should be sufficiently broad to voice concerns about the various issues in sustainable development, which are social, cultural, environmental, economic, and political. They found that although a broad array of stakeholders were included, there were gaps in representation. They also found that while no

affected stakeholders should be excluded, the number of stakeholders collaborating must be manageable. Manageable numbers were necessary for a productive dialogue and to build trust and consensus.

Another hindrance to citizen participation is a lack of understanding among residents about tourism (Timothy & Tosun, 2003). This lack of understanding was especially true in international markets. Residents may not identify with a foreigner's desire to visit a rural community. Aas et al. (2005) also found in their examination of a stakeholder project in Laos that the right to participate does not always equal the capacity to participate.

As the importance of community participation in tourism development was understood, other concepts such as community attitudes and perceptions towards tourism and community attachment emerged (e.g., Mason & Cheyne, 2000; McCool & Martin, 1994; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Williams & Lawson, 2001). While it was beyond the scope of this review, these studies indicated that resident perceptions and opinions on tourism varied greatly and were important for successful tourism planning.

Rural Tourism Development

Tourism was recognized as an industry in the 1960s (Getz, 1986). In explaining the nature of tourism, Murphy (1985) cited Georgoulas's definition that tourism is an industry that occurs at destination areas. This definition introduces two key aspects of a destination area: it must contain "features that attract" and it must appeal to "non-local visitors" (p. 7). Murphy also said that tourism is a resource industry and dependent on "nature's endowment and society's heritage" (p. 12). The tourism industry has been divided into many segments.

For use in this paper three identified segments of the industry are rural tourism, heritage tourism, and cultural tourism.

Tourism development is a local issue possessing high visibility and impact (Murphy, 1985). Since tourism development involves developing attractions, promotions, tourism infrastructure, services, and hospitality among residents, almost all community residents have experienced the ramifications of tourism development (Murphy, 1985; Wilson, Fesenmaier, Fesenmaier, & Van Es, 2001). Tourism develops “incrementally with one business building on another, or one successful event, such as a festival, inspiring the creation of similar undertakings” (Reid et al., 2004, p. 624).

Many rural communities undertook tourism development as means of economic development and diversification (e.g., Davis & Morais, 2004; Gunn, 2002; Mair, Reid, & George, 2005; McCool & Martin, 1994; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Reid et al., 2000). McCool and Martin suggested that rural tourism development should address the economic, social, cultural, recreational, and other benefits of tourism that will enhance the resident’s quality of life.

As rural communities embark on tourism development as a means for growth, citizens need to understand their community identity and power (Mair et al., 2005). Mair et al. created a manual for communities because they believed comprehensive community-based planning approaches could assist newly emerging tourism communities. The exercises and activities included in the manual were designed to help communities develop a vision for tourism through encouraging open dialogue and creating an atmosphere of trust and to develop tourism development strategies such as creating a community assets inventory.

Wilson et al. (2001) suggested ten factors or conditions for successful tourism development in rural areas:

1. A complete tourism package
2. Good community leadership
3. Support and participation of local government
4. Sufficient funds for tourism development
5. Strategic planning
6. Coordination and cooperation between businesspersons and local leadership
7. Coordination and cooperation between rural tourism entrepreneurs
8. Information and technical assistance for tourism development and promotion
9. Good convention and visitors bureaus
10. Widespread community support for tourism

Reid et al.'s (2000) investigation of four rural Canadian communities found that tourism planning was the solution to problems in tourism development and frustration among members. They believed that much of tourism development in rural areas generally occurred without participation of local residents and that the development of tourism destinations has been driven entrepreneurially.

Reid et al. (2000) agreed that without tourism planning that included participation from residents, tensions would arise in the community as some citizens benefited from tourism while others did not. From their study, they recommended three pre-tourism planning steps: create capacity for stakeholder participation, build community trust and ownership, and

ensure open dialogue and information. Without these, residents would be dissatisfied and their attitudes can reduce the appeal of the area.

Researchers also acknowledged the negative and positive consequences of tourism development in small towns (Davis & Morais, 2004). One warning was that an extremely fast pace of tourism development caused community attitudes towards tourism to decline over time. Davis and Morais called it a “boomtown-style” of tourism development where large corporate tourism operation transforms small towns. Residents in this situation were likely to perceive a lack of benefits.

Often, rural towns allow development to happen without much input because tourism was viewed as a necessity component of generating economic development (Reid et al., 2000). Communities need to balance between tourists’ needs and tourism development and the needs of the residents and their every-day living condition. Research found that minor irritants could be accepted if major issues such as traffic and parking were properly addressed.

Maintaining a balance between the needs of tourists and residents is important especially in destination towns (Gill & Williams, 1994). Participants need to include permanent residents, seasonal residents, and second homeowners. Many mountain communities, for example, have “compromised the needs of the resident community to achieve tourism development goals (p. 218). Leaving residents out of the planning process would most likely have negative repercussions.

Lewis and Delisle (2004) noted that though there had been much written about tourism in rural communities, a lack of understanding exists about the concept. They attempted to add to

the theory of rural development, by declaring that tourism development in rural communities was a “self-development project” (p. 158). They explained self-development as communities undertaking tourism to increase economic growth by using local resources. Rural towns also sought to increase visitation by developing existing heritage resources (Davis & Morais, 2004).

Heritage Tourism

The National Trust for Historic Preservation (Heritage Tourism, n.d.) defined heritage tourism as traveling to experience the places, artifacts, and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present. It includes cultural, historic, and natural resources. Although a relatively new phenomenon, Garrod and Fayall (2000) said that the heritage sector represent a highly significant component of tourism in many developed economies. As the heritage industry grew, researchers have differentiated between cultural, natural, and built elements (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003).

There had been some debate over the understanding of heritage tourism since the phenomenon began in the 1990s (Garrod & Fayall, 2001; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2001; Poria et al., 2003). Poria et al. (2003) argued that literature includes two main approaches to the phenomenon of heritage tourism. The most common approach is to regard it as tourism in places categorized as heritage or historic places such that museums presenting history were considered part of heritage tourism. The second approach emphasizes that that the contents of a place are linked to the phenomenon such that any activities featuring history is heritage tourism. Poria et al. (2003) noted that their definition differed from Yale’s more common approach is “tourism centered on what we have inherited, which can mean anything from

historic buildings, to art works, to beautiful scenery” (p. 248). Yale’s approach to heritage tourism includes all who visit, while Poria et al.’s approach only includes tourists who are motivated by the heritage attributes of the site and consider the site to be part of their own heritage.

Instead of the before mentioned approaches, Poria et al. (2001) suggested that heritage tourism was a phenomenon based on the motivations and perceptions of the tourist, rather than on site attributes. Garrod and Fayall (2001) felt this definition was too narrow. Regardless of the definition given, Garrod and Fayall believed there was too much focus on definitions in the literature. Instead they suggested researchers move beyond definitions and look at the practice of sustainable tourism in the context of the heritage sector.

Garrod and Fayall (2000) also were surprised that so little academic attention has been paid to exploring the relationship between heritage tourism and sustainability because the two concepts evidently share a common theme. The shared theme is of generational tourism. Both heritage tourism and sustainable tourism aim to let future generations inherit a community’s resources, whether those resources are cultural or natural.

Heritage tourism provides economic opportunities for destinations rich in culture, but as Garrod and Fayall discovered, development also threatens cultural and environmental heritage resources (Aas et al., 2005). To have a symbiotic relationship between heritage and tourism it was most important to involve all stakeholders in the development of the cultural resource. Collaboration could help interested parties reach common ground so that tourism was developed in a way that preserved local resources and was economically beneficial to all community residents.

Another challenge Aas et al. (2005) found in their examination of a stakeholder project in Laos was in communities trying to find a balance between conservation and the use of the heritage site for tourism. Continual use of a site endangers the resource. One solution was to develop tourist activities that generate income for heritage conservation, including upkeep and management of the site. From these early investigations of the concept of heritage tourism, further research emerged investigating the motivations of heritage tourists (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2004; Poria, Reichel, & Biran, 2006), the aspect of personal connection to heritage tourism (Timothy, 1997), and the potential for new partnerships (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; Tinsley & Lynch, 2001).

MacDonald and Jolliffe (2003) further segmented rural tourism to include cultural rural tourism. As culture and heritage were part of rural areas local resources, they integrated the concept of culture and rural tourism. Previous literature provided a concept of culture in tourism that included family patterns, folklore, social customs, museums, monuments, historical structures, and landmarks. The authors used a proposal that rural tourism includes activities and interests in nature, adventure, education, arts, and heritage. MacDonald and Jolliffe said tourists visit these rural areas to be informed about the culture and to experience folklore, customs, natural landscapes, and historical landmarks.

Through their research of cultural rural tourism planning, MacDonald and Jolliffe (2003) made three observations:

1. Rural communities used cultural resources such as farming or art to provide a potential short and long-term economic tool for rural communities.

2. Cultural tourism identified distinct rural communities as destinations for education, entertainment, and enrichment for tourists.
3. Partnerships and networking were important to achieve community goals in developing cultural rural tourism.

These findings aligned with the concept of cultural tourism. Tourism literature identifies cultural tourism activities that use such cultural heritage assets as “archeological sites, museums, castles, palaces, historical buildings, famous buildings, ruins, art, sculpture, crafts, galleries, festivals, events, music and dance, folk arts, theatre...” as well as primitive cultures, ethnic communities, churches, and other representations of a people’s culture (McKercher & du Cros, 2002, p. 5).

Rural tourism, heritage tourism, and cultural tourism were segments that emerged from the tourism industry. The role of art in community development and tourism planning was mostly uninvestigated in the literature. In the last decade, however, the arts have been considered as its own individual segment and as part of the cultural tourism segment.

The Role of the Arts

The arts are an identified element of cultural tourism. McKercher and du Cros (2002) listed the many activities included in the cultural tourism realm. Passive activities such as viewing art or sculptures or an audience member viewing theatre or dance were included as were active activities such as participating in a folk dance or a community arts project.

The arts, both visual and performing, provide tourists with a range of cultural exhibitions and events (Smith, 2003). While the relationship between the arts and cultural tourism was evident, Smith said the disconnect in the relationship was due to a lack of

communication between the two sectors. Arts organizations were unaware of tourism trends and marketing practices and the tourism industry failed to understand the needs of art organizations. Smith found that this misunderstanding had begun to clear up as the two sectors investigated the benefits of collaboration. Tourism generated revenue for the arts by generating ticket sales and attendance figures as well as broadening the market for the arts and increasing publicity. Tourism organizations viewed the arts as a way to boost the cultural tourism product.

The arts as attractions were particularly a draw for tourists in large cities. With their traditional roots, however, local events and community festivals have also attracted national and international audiences (Smith, 2003). Community development and tourism development literature investigated the role of the arts in small communities.

The discussion of the role of art in community development and tourism planning literature emerged in the 1990s (Phillips, 2004). However, the appearance of art in community development dates back to the 1890s with the City Beautiful Movement that integrated public art, public parks, and attractive architecture in public buildings. When the movement ended, the willingness to incorporate art in development projects was lost until about a hundred years later.

Art in community and tourism development are generally investigated within four themes. Research surrounded defining the arts, the importance of participation in arts-based programs, arts impact in communities, and the challenge of evaluating the role of art in community development.

The term art means different things to different people (Kay, 2000). Art can be defined narrowly as in fine or institutionalized art or it can be defined broadly as in all creative expressions (Jackson & Herranz, 2002; Kay, 2000). For the use my investigation on Waynesville, a definition of art was given to participants based on Kay's and Jackson and Herranz's research. Participants were asked to think of art as any expression of creativity in hopes that it would prompt them to recall the wide variety of arts and cultural events, programs and displays in their community.

Some literature has contributed to the definition and inclusion of arts and culture in community development and how to measure the role of culture at the community level (e.g., Jackson & Herranz, 2002; Kay, 2000; Phillips, 2004). Jackson and Herranz emphasized the importance of a broad definition of arts. Through field research and a review of the literature, they said that most data collection practices were based on narrow definitions of art and cultural activities. They found many "less institutionalized ways that communities experience arts, culture, and creativity" and often included the cultural and artistic expressions of ethnic, racial, age, and special interest groups (p. 14).

Kay (2000) also found that part of the problem in understanding the role of art in community development and revitalization was because of the misunderstandings that come from the varied definitions of art. To some people the term art conjured up thoughts of high art found in museums or opera houses. The term could also be defined as "active expressions of creativity using a practical skill to produce artifacts that can be appreciated" (p. 421). Participant's misinterpretation of the word in research studies led to confusion over their perception of what role and use art really had in communities.

The arts are community assets (Phillips, 2004). Phillips used McKnight's definition that community assets are the "gifts, skills and capacities of individuals, associations and institutions within a community" (p. 113) to suggest that if community development is about building on assets, then art-based community development is possible. Communities also develop their arts-based resources to attract tourists. The types of "tourist venues" based on art can be diverse and includes the development of museums, murals, craft exhibits, and art galleries (Phillips, 2004, p. 117). Communities that have integrated the arts into their overall community development strategy had a strong conviction that the arts were key to revitalizing.

Even when the community was home to artisans, the inclusion of arts-based programs in development can be challenging. Phillips (2004) presented five considerations for communities interested in arts-based development:

- General support for the arts from citizens and government officials is vital.
- Communities should seek out untapped resources such as vacant retail spaces and school auditoriums.
- The arts should be integrated with community development benefits such as bringing art to public schools or placing art in public spaces.
- Resources should be maximized through community sharing of resources and facilities.
- A flexible approach to arts support should be adapted such as providing business assistance to arts entrepreneurs.

These considerations focused on the need for collaboration and participation between stakeholders in a community.

As with the community development field as a whole, the literature on art in community development emphasized that participation was key to effective arts programming. Because the community arts programs were often based on a community's culture and heritage, participants need to be part of the development process (Phillips, 2004). Participation reduced conflict between culture, community, and identity. It also allowed for sharing culture and encouraged personal development and social cohesion (Carey & Sutton, 2004).

Participatory arts projects are one tool that community development workers can use to engage local people (Kay, 2000). Kay's research of four community's arts-based projects found that the arts could:

- increase individual's personal development by helping their confidence, skills and motivation;
- assist in social development as participants can form new relationships and become interested in new topics;
- improve local image as participants felt more positive about their community; and
- help participants feel better and healthier.

Benefits were seen most often when a community feels ownership over the art projects.

They were then perceived as belonging to the community.

Carey and Sutton (2004) also found in their evaluation of a community arts project in a disadvantaged area of Liverpool, England that for art to be an effective element of

community development there needed to be high community participation potential. The researchers added to this claim by saying art projects were only of value to a community if they were sustainable. It was important that participants benefited from arts projects even after the project was finished. Sustainability could be accomplished by choosing projects that allowed for the development of a variety of skills. Sustainable art projects provide physical changes to the environment as well as skill development and a stronger sense of commitment to the community.

With participation as a vital component of arts-based programs, researchers found there were positive impacts on communities. Arts inclusion in community development efforts had direct and indirect impacts. Directly, art and arts-based programs had a positive economic impact to communities, including sales from performances or goods, new employment opportunities, and public revenues, as well as attracting tourists and the tourist dollar (Jackson & Herranz, 2002; Kay, 2000; Matarasso, 1997; Phillips, 2004). Indirect effects focused on attracting additional growth and development due to the improvement in amenities and aesthetics, which enhanced a communities overall image. The arts also indirectly affected quality of life issues, increased citizen participation, leading to renewed commitment and pride in the community.

Cultural and arts programs need to be valued for both their direct and indirect impact on communities. Cultural projects are valuable beyond direct economic impact (Strom, 2002). While economic development is part of community development, it is not the only criterion (McGehee & Meares, 1998). Arts development resulted in improved quality of life, skills development, and community solidarity. Among many things, Kay's (2000) research

also established that arts projects can be used in training and employment, are good at encouraging economic investment, and can be used in community development through cultivating active citizenship and increased involvement in other community-based projects.

Matarasso (1997) found that participation in the arts improved self-confidence and self-identity. Participation and the social interaction that comes from group arts programs contributed community cohesiveness and empowerment. Participatory arts projects also celebrated local identity and image. The author found that although the economic importance of the arts had been increasingly accepted, only considering their financial impact produces a “distorted picture of their actual value to society” (p. 13). There is a wider range of economic benefits through their associated social impacts.

In a study of three craft cooperatives in the Appalachia region, McGehee and Meares (1998) found that each of the cooperatives, in connection to their goals contributed in varying ways to community development. One cooperative, whose main focus was community building and heritage preservation, offered local crafts workshops and outreach activities. Another cooperative interested in being an economic stimulus for the community focused on skills development workshops and stocked their store with high quality and expensive goods. The cooperative leaders for Fern Co-op, the later cooperative, found that they also served as a role model in the community. After its establishment, other service businesses opened such as restaurants and outdoor recreation shops. Revitalization efforts complimented each other as well. When the Fern Co-op painted their storefront, other businesses followed.

The Urban Institute’s Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project (ACIP) published “Culture Counts in Communities: A Framework for Measurement”

(Jackson & Herranz, 2002). The researchers attempted to add to the systematic framework for the role of integrating arts, culture, and creativity into quality of life measures by contributing qualitative descriptions for conceptualization and theory building and quantitative descriptions for comparable measurement and indicator development.

The ACIP research (Jackson & Herranz, 2002) found that participation in arts, culture, and creativity contributed directly or indirectly to:

- supporting civic participation and social capital;
- catalyzing economic development;
- improving the built environment;
- promoting stewardship of place;
- augmenting public safety;
- preserving cultural heritage;
- bridging cultural/ethnic/racial boundaries;
- transmitting cultural values and history; and
- creating group memory and group identity.

Though research suggested that art did have positive impacts on communities, as with the ACIP case, researchers experienced difficulties in adequately evaluating and measuring these claims (Jackson & Herranz, 2002; Kay, 2000; Matarrasso, 1996; 1997; Newman, Curtis, & Stephens, 2003). Funders or potential funders of arts investments in community development were increasingly expecting a “quid pro quo” (Newman et al.). Community development programs that utilize the arts were expected to show investors that the arts will add measurable value with social gain.

Art administrators and institutions need to show funders that their contributions to the city are an investment. However, studies on arts organizations economic impact are often questioned on their economic merit (Strom, 2002). Matarrasso (1996) also agreed that the arts have suffered from the difficulty in quantifying and expressing their value. Financial growth is not the only measure of public good. Comedia, a research-based company in the United Kingdom, produced a series of papers that worked towards developing a methodology for assessing the social impact of the arts (Matarrasso, 1996; 1997). Through case study investigations and field research, Comedia aimed to propose a working methodology for other researchers.

Matarrasso (1996) evaluated the issues that arise from trying to assess the social value of the arts. He suggested a cyclical five-stage process to develop projects and to also determine their impact:

1. The planning stage includes establishing a partnership between stakeholders and identifying the problem or need or aspiration to be addressed.
2. A set of indicators should be created by developing objectives and a strategy to meet those objectives.
3. The execution stage should be carried out once everyone involved in the project understands what is being done, why it is being done, and how it will be assessed.
4. Assessment of the project should be made upon completion by comparing the outcome evidence with the chosen indicators.
5. Reporting of the assessments should close the project and provides evidence for future development.

Matarrasso suggested community developers follow this process. Reporting contributes to the creation of a base of accepted evaluation methods.

Jackson and Herranz (2002) said there were two main theoretical and methodological challenges in trying to capture the impact of arts, creativity, and culture in communities. The first was using definitions that were either too narrow to capture what researchers need to look for in communities or too broad for policy use. The second problem was in trying to establish simple causal relationships between two complex phenomena.

Newman et al. (2003) suggested another reason evaluation was difficult was that artists and evaluators may approach programs differently. Artists may resist quantification of the effects of art while the job of evaluators is to persist. The authors referenced Moriarty who warned against the evaluation approach that tells artists that for art to have validity, information has to be translated into numbers. Artists' experiences should not necessarily have to be justified by its contribution to other fields of learning such as arts impact in education or on the basis of positively effecting broad social problems such as a reduction in crime. However, if these claims were made then publicly funded arts programs should be subjected to robust evaluation.

The role that the arts play in community development and revitalization has to be valued by policy makers and community development practitioners. Only through adequate and relevant evaluation can the value of art be recognized (Kay, 2000). Matarrasso (1996) agreed that evaluation was important to the arts not only because funders require it, but also because it was important for policies and planning decisions were made. Communities

wanting to include the arts in their tourism development and community develop planning are often dependent upon policies and would benefit from an accepted evaluation method.

Summary

Much has been written about the broad fields of community development and tourism. To provide a framework to investigate how Waynesville developed into an arts destination, I reviewed the literature in four sections. I first presented a history of community development, followed by an examination of citizen participation in community development. I then introduced rural tourism development literature as it related to community development, and followed with an examination of heritage tourism and the role of art in community development and tourism planning.

In the next chapter I discuss my research methods. Included in my research methods is a description of research design, sample selection methods, data collection methods, and data analysis procedures.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

The purpose of this investigation was to understand how Waynesville, North Carolina, developed into an arts destination. The investigation was approached as a single case study of Waynesville's community development process from 1985 to 2005. While a multiple case study comparing the process of development within several North Carolina communities may have been ideal, a single case study design was appropriate for this situation. Few examples of this level of development in terms of economic growth, added infrastructure, and cultural offerings can be found in rural North Carolina towns.

A case study "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2003b, p. 13). For Waynesville, I examined the contextual conditions surrounding the twenty-year development process including political climate, leadership roles, and active organizations in the town. By approaching the case with the intention of providing a complete description of the phenomenon of community development, I was able to cover the "scope and depth" (Yin, 2003a, p. 23) of the case.

Research design was guided by grounded theory under a community development framework. The use of grounded theory allows for the theory to emerge out of the data (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The process of grounded theory guides the researcher to examine all of the possible "avenues to understanding" (p. 6). The nature of the case study encourages respondents to give facts as well as their opinions about certain occurrences (Yin, 2003b). Research participants provided information not only about how the community

development process began and progressed, but also how the heritage and culture of the region fit into the development process.

Research was collected with the intention of providing a description of the community development process from North Carolina community leaders and the residents of Waynesville who worked together to initiate a change for economic improvement and community cohesiveness. This chapter will describe data collection, the interview process, secondary and other sources, the sample, and data analysis methods.

Data Collection

Case study inquiries rely on multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2003b). Data collection procedures are not “routinized.” However, evidence is typically collected from documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artifacts (p. 57). To address the research question, I chose to collect individual and community data through:

- direct observations,
- personal and focus group interviews, and
- historical documents and records.

Prior to beginning formal data collection, I submitted my study methods to North Carolina State University’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Use of Human Subjects in Research. The submission was approved.

Personal interviews were conducted at three different times. My first contact with residents was through an informal visit. The second contact included a round of formal interviews of eleven participants with nine residing in Waynesville and two who were

not Waynesville residents. The third time I conducted more formal interviews with Waynesville residents who were recommended by first round interview participants.

Initial Data Collection

The data collection process began with my first trip to Waynesville. The visit served four purposes: to pilot test interview questions, to gather a base history of the town, to identify potential research participants, and to make direct observations on the physical layout of the town and downtown district.

During the first visit I met with three community leaders: a downtown business owner (gallery owner #1), the Executive Director of the Downtown Waynesville Association, and the Director of Cooperative Extension for Haywood County. The participants were chosen to start the research process because of their professional title and subsequently, the assumption that they had a role in the community development process. These informal interviews also provided suggestions for additional case study participants.

Two of the initial three community leaders were chosen for more formal interviews later. The Director of Cooperative Extension in Haywood County was not included in further interviews because he was new to the position and region. He did, however, provide information about other participants to contact.

Interview Process

Interview participants were chosen because they had knowledge of the various elements that contributed to the development process. I identified the elements of development as an increase in the number of residents and visitors, improved or expanded infrastructure, a feeling of a cohesive community, and economic development. I chose the

elements from an initial review of the community development literature prior to the interview process. A detailed review of community development and tourism literature can be found in the previous chapter.

The number of interviewees allowed for a comparison of viewpoints. Research participants were chosen with my initial expectation that they would contribute by providing knowledge on how the development process was initiated, what kind of initiatives had to occur for growth, how the town grew or changed over a period of town, who participated most in the process, what kind of events attracted tourists and new residents, how long-time residents reacted or contributed to the town's change, what policies or laws contributed to progress, and why art was a focus in the development process.

For the first round of interviews, case study participants were chosen through identification of professional title or by the recommendation of other Waynesville residents I spoke with informally during my first visit. Through these eleven interviews, five other participants were identified for a second round of interviews.

Focus group participants were selected through two methods. All participants were mentioned in the collective one-on-one interviews and were also identified as downtown business owners. Because 40% of retail businesses in the downtown district were art galleries, their input added to the investigation of the role of art in the community development process.

All case study participants were contacted through a letter (see Appendix A) requesting their participation in either an hour-long one-on-one interview or focus group. A follow up phone call or email was made to set the interview time. Each one-on-one

interview participant contacted agreed to participate in the study. Two business owners who were asked to take part in the focus group did not participate. One person declined and the second person agreed to participate but couldn't due to inclement weather on the scheduled day.

At the start of each interview two definitions were given by the researcher to provide a frame for the discussion. Community development was defined as a group of people in a community reaching a decision to initiate a social action process to change their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation (Christenson & Robinson, 1980). To get the participants thinking about the various forms of art, art was defined as encompassing all forms of expressions of creativity (Jackson & Herranz, 2002; Kay, 2000).

All participants signed an approved IRB consent form before the interview began with a special note given that because of the nature of the study complete confidentiality could not be ensured. To provide contextuality it was important to identify title of interviewees with their comments. A copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix B. Interviews and focus groups were recorded and then transcribed verbatim. At the completion of the study, recordings and transcripts were to be destroyed.

Both one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions were guided by a list of questions. The questions were used to prompt an open discussion between the interviewer and the interviewee and between focus group participants. The guiding interview questions are listed below:

1. When did the community development process begin in Waynesville?
2. What was your role in the community development process?

3. What role did the involvement of residents play in community development?
4. What role did the government and non-profit sectors and media play in community development?
5. What events or occurrences have influenced the growth of tourism in Waynesville?
6. Are there particular people that you associate with the growth or direction of the tourism industry in Waynesville?
7. What role did art play in the revitalization?
8. How is art of value to the town?
9. How did art come to be the target in development?
10. What is the culture and heritage of Waynesville? How would residents describe the culture and heritage of Waynesville?
11. How is the art a reflection of the culture and heritage of Waynesville (western NC)?
12. Why is this reflection important to residents?
13. How has the “art destination” image led to an increase in tourism and other community development projects?

Two interview questions changed over the course of data collection. I found that when asked, “How is art a reflection of the culture and heritage of Waynesville?” participants also answered the next question about the importance of this reflection, so it was not necessary to separately ask question #12. The last question was also adapted in the interview process. In addition to asking how the art destination image led to an increase in tourism and other community development projects, I added the question, “Do you think that Waynesville is an arts destination?” This question provided more information about resident view of the town

and how they perceived others viewed the town. A majority of participants agreed that the town was an arts destination. Whether they agreed that Waynesville was an arts destination or not, all participants were able to provide opinions on how and why tourism had increased.

Given that each participant came to the interview with different information, probes for the questions varied. Question number #5 was always asked with a probe. The probe asked participants to think of any new laws or policies, business openings, social trends (people moving in or out of the town) that may have greatly influenced the growth of tourism in Waynesville. Participants were able to answer most of the questions without the use of probes. If participants were unable to answer a question it was most often because they felt they could not answer the question or that they felt they did not have the “right” information to answer the question. If this concern was expressed, I reminded them that they need only answer from their perspective or from their knowledge. They almost always were able to provide some information.

Other Data Collection

Beyond interviews, other sources of qualitative evidence were collected. The documents were used to corroborate information given during personal interviews (Yin, 2003b). Several methods were used to choose significant documents. I performed searches on the Internet using keywords related to Waynesville and its history and reviewed the official town of Waynesville web page. I also used information from the web pages of Waynesville’s non-profit organizations such as Downtown Waynesville Association and Haywood Arts Regional Theatre to support interview findings. I also reviewed articles from *The Mountaineer* and *Smoky Mountain News*. These two newspapers provide archived news

stories on their online web pages. Articles were reviewed by keyword searches related to Waynesville, downtown development, community development, recreational activities, tourism, and the arts.

Interview participants provided reports and town records such as Waynesville's Main Street Resource Team Report (1985), the Town of Waynesville Land Use Development Plan (2001), and lists of development committees. Promotional materials, guidebooks, and historical books were gathered through many sources from the Haywood County Tourism Development Authority, the Haywood County Public Library, the library at NCSU, recommendations by interview participants, and from community development organizations in the region.

Coincidentally, this year the downtown district of Waynesville celebrated twenty years of progress by among other things distributing an archival publication entitled *Downtown Waynesville: 20 Years of Partnership* (2005). The publication's intention was to tell residents and visitors the story of what happened in their town. The publication provided corroboration for evidence collected from interview participants.

Sample Selection

One-on-one interviews were conducted with ten men and six women who were involved in the community development process in Waynesville. I also had informal conversations and email correspondence with three women.

In the result chapter participants will be referred to by the first title given below. A distinction was made between native residents and long-time residents. As with many mountain towns in western North Carolina, Waynesville culture distinguishes between these

two groups, often called the “from here” and the “not from here.” Further distinctions are made between how many generations someone is native. During changes in a community this difference is illuminated and often causes conflict between the two types of residents.

The following is a description of first round interview participants.

- Director, NC Main Street
- Heritage Tourism Officer for Western North Carolina
- Gallery owner #1- Participant also serves on the HandMade in America Board of Directors and has served on the Downtown Waynesville Association Board of Directors in the past.
- Gallery owner #2- Participant is also an artist.
- Current Executive Director, Downtown Waynesville Association- Prior to becoming Executive Director in 1988, participant served on the Downtown Waynesville Steering Committee, was an incorporation member of the Downtown Waynesville Association, and was the former President of the Haywood County Arts Council.
- Former Community Planner for the NC Division of Community Assistance
- Public Works Director, Town of Waynesville
- Town Manager, Town of Waynesville
- Town Planner, Town of Waynesville
- Current Executive Director, Haywood County Arts Council
- Current Executive Director, Haywood County Tourism Development Authority (TDA)

The following is a list of second round interview participants.

- Resident #1- Participant is a native of Haywood County and served on the Downtown Waynesville Steering Committee, was an incorporation member of the Downtown Waynesville Association and served on the Downtown Waynesville Association Board of Directors. This participant also owned property in downtown Waynesville.
- Executive Director, Haywood Arts Regional Theatre (HART)
- Resident #2- Participant is a long-time resident of Waynesville and has served on town committees and on the Downtown Waynesville Association Board of Directors.
- Resident #3- Participant is a native of Haywood County and previously served as Executive Director of the Haywood County Arts Council and Executive Director of Folkmoot USA. Participant also served on the Downtown Waynesville Steering Committee and was an incorporation member of the Downtown Waynesville Association.
- Resident #4- Participant is a native of Haywood County and previously served on the Downtown Waynesville Association Board of Directors

The focus group was made up of four women who owned or co-owned four art galleries in the downtown district. The focus group participants were also artists in fields ranging from ironworks to pottery to sketching. Throughout the study they will be collectively referred to as focus group participants or individually referred to as:

- Gallery owner #3
- Gallery owner #4
- Gallery owner #5
- Gallery owner #6

Informal conversations occurred with the Executive Director of HandMade in America and the Town Clerk for the Town of Waynesville. From these in-person conversations and email correspondence notes were taken and added to research data. An informal conversation with the Executive Director of HandMade in America contributed to the discussion of the role of art in community development and the Town Clerk helped to corroborate statements and clarify town policies cited by interview participants.

Data Analysis

Grounded theory allows analysis to begin as soon as data collection begins (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). While data collection is somewhat standardized, analysis right from the beginning is necessary. The information gained from early analysis is then used to direct the next interview so that all significant aspects of the investigation can be considered. Grounded theory “seeks not only to uncover relevant conditions, but also to determine how the actors respond to changing conditions and to the consequences of their actions” (p. 5). In other words, grounded theory allows for explanation as well as description and it is the responsibility of the researcher to reveal this relationship.

Corbin and Strauss (1990) emphasized that grounded theory has specific procedures for data collection and analysis. The following is a list of procedures and canons.

1. Data collection and analysis are interrelated processes.
2. Concepts are the basic units of analysis.
3. Categories must be developed and related.
4. Sampling in grounded theory proceeds in theoretical grounds.
5. Analysis makes use of constant comparisons.

6. Patterns and variations must be accounted for.
7. Process must be built into the theory.
8. Writing theoretical memos is an integral part of doing grounded theory.
9. Hypothesis about relationships among categories should be developed and verified as much as possible during the research process.
10. Grounded theorists need not work alone.
11. Broader structural conditions must be analyzed, however microscopic the research.

The first step in data analysis was to simply read the interview and focus group transcripts several times. As themes emerged I began open coding. Each source, whether interviews, observations, or sources such as newspapers and historical documents can be coded in the same way (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Open coding allowed for similar events, actions, and interactions to be grouped together to form categories and subcategories.

The second step was to use axial coding to further develop the identified categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Axial coding involved relating the categories to their subcategories to further test their relationships against the data. This allowed me to look for indications of the categories while continuing to collect and analyze data. Once an indication of a category is made in the data, the conditions, context, actions and interactions, and consequences of the identified category should be analyzed.

Several categories emerged from my collected data. Once the categories were identified and the conditions in which they took place were understood, I undertook selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In selective coding all categories are unified around a core category, which represents the “central phenomenon of the study” (p. 14).

At the start of data collection I expected the development process to be linear and that investigating the process would emerge as a timeline. I assumed that each step in the process was dependent on the last step. As the interviews continued, my thinking changed. While something of a timeline could be created, I found that the development process did not necessarily depend on previous occurrences. Instead, I found that many aspects of community development, although sometimes occurring simultaneously, most importantly needed to occur collectively.

Through the creation of a model, I identified seven critical elements of community development that contributed to the overall development process in Waynesville. These elements and an account of the conditions, context, and actions that took place and their interactions with each other are presented in the results and discussion chapters of this paper.

Summary

In this chapter I described the methods used to describe and explain how Waynesville with participation from its residents developed into an arts destination. Data collection, sample selection, the interview process, and data analysis were conducted under grounded theory. Grounded theory allowed analysis to begin at the start of data collection (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Through the use of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding, seven categories or as I have labeled them, seven critical elements were identified. The elements surrounded the core category of participation as guided by grounded theory.

In the next chapter I present the results of my research. The results are organized by the seven identified categories.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of my research. Data was collected to answer the research question of how did Waynesville develop into an arts destination? Results are from the personal interviews and a focus group, described in the previous chapter, with historical documents and records providing corroborative and supplemental support. Participants in this chapter are referred to by the titles given in the Methods Chapter of this document.

Seven critical elements of Waynesville's community development evolution into an arts destination were identified. As these elements emerged during data analysis, I constructed a conceptual model to help group data by common themes. I recognized that each identified element was not exclusively exclusive and overlap existed across the elements. A drawing of the model is found in Figure 2.

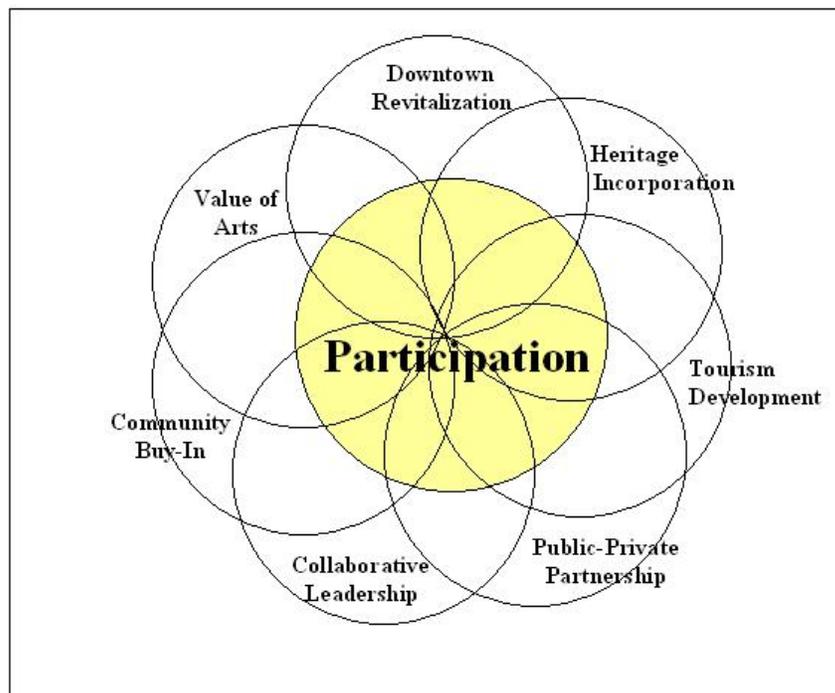


Figure 2. Seven Elements of Community Development

The seven critical elements were: downtown revitalization, heritage incorporation, tourism development, public-private partnerships, collaborative leadership, community buy-in, and the value of arts. All elements were interrelated, built on each other, and depended on each other for success. Contained within all of the elements was the concept of citizen participation. Participation was key to the establishment of each element and effectively tied the elements together.

To begin, I give a chronological history of community development in Waynesville to provide a framework for the seven critical elements. The seven elements will be presented following the history.

Community Development History

Signs of economic problems in Waynesville were seen in the late 1970s and early 1980s. During that time a majority of Waynesville and Haywood County citizens were employed by manufacturing companies. As companies began to modernize their factories, they cut employees. Though they were modernizing, the largest manufacturing companies in the area (i.e., Champion Paper, Dayco and AC Lawrence Tannery) were having economic problems and lay-offs continued. As one interview participant said, “The security of what had been began to shake.” By 1986, AC Lawrence had closed and Dayco, a rubber plant employing approximately 1000 people, was having serious problems. In 1997 Dayco closed and one year later the Champion Paper mill in Waynesville closed.

Faced with a changing industry, concerned citizens began to look towards other means of economic production. Leaders in Waynesville began to explore community development and the prospect of cultivating a tourism industry.

In 1985, a small group of community leaders comprised of business owners, native residents, and public sector employees began discussing the condition of downtown Waynesville. They were concerned by the number of vacant stores lining Main Street and by the increasing number of strip malls and “big box” stores such as K-Mart and Wal-Mart being built in outlying areas of Waynesville and neighboring communities. Their discussion led them to North Carolina’s Division of Community Assistance and consequently, the North Carolina Main Street program. After meeting with community development planners in the Asheville Regional Office of the Division of Community Assistance, the group put together a Downtown Waynesville Steering Committee of approximately ten people to help advance their goals.

The Main Street program in North Carolina is administered by the North Carolina Main Street Center in the Department of Commerce, Division of Community Assistance. The program began in 1980 under the National Main Street Center when North Carolina was one of six states chosen to first demonstrate the program (Main Street Program, n.d.). The program utilizes an approach developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation that focuses on four tenets of community development: organization, design, promotion, and economic restructuring. In addition to renovating buildings and creating a visually pleasing downtown, the program aims to improve economic management and support public participation.

Instead of applying for the Main Street program and then bringing in a resource team to evaluate Waynesville as most Main Street towns, the steering committee chose to bring in their own resource team first. Resource teams are typically made up of four representatives

including one experienced professional for each of the four tenants. Waynesville further modified the Main Street approach to fit its goals by inviting the Director of Development at the Mint Museum in Charlotte to serve as a fifth representative and evaluate the role of arts downtown. Simply bringing the resource team to town for three days sparked enthusiasm among residents. Waynesville was formally accepted to participate in the NC Main Street program in 1986.

Participation in the NC Main Street revitalization process acted as a jump-start to Waynesville's community development process. The Downtown Waynesville Association (DWA) was incorporated just prior to enrollment. Its role was to direct Waynesville through the Main Street program, to oversee future downtown initiatives, and to promote tourism. The DWA took on many development programs since being incorporated. In 2005 the DWA celebrated its 20th anniversary. Since being incorporated the DWA has received two NC Main Street Financial Incentive Fund grants that generated over \$1.5 million in private investment (*Downtown Waynesville 20 Years of Partnership*, 2005).

At the same time the DWA was established, a Municipal Service District was created to tax those properties within the designated area. This tax helped to fund revitalization efforts and promote new and developing projects that focused on bringing people into Waynesville and downtown. The DWA has been a driving force in motivating residents and business owners and in promoting Waynesville's assets.

Downtown Revitalization

The element of downtown revitalization was a critical first step in the community development process in Waynesville. Initial concern about the depressed physical and

economic state of Waynesville led community leaders to focus on the downtown area. Most of the efforts downtown surrounded NC Main Street objectives, although later the needs of residents and goals of community leaders led to other downtown initiatives. The Executive Director of the DWA said, “Downtown is the heart of the community.”

The resource team brought in 1985 to evaluate the Waynesville community affirmed the leaders’ commitment to focus on downtown. One resource team member reported that a town was unique because of its downtown and not the strip centers (Resource Team Report, 1985). They reported to the Downtown Waynesville Steering Committee that the town was “not as bad as some people fear, but not as good as a lot of people think” (p. 5). Citizens were not confident in downtown and were certainly not investing in it.

A former Community Planner for the state who worked with Waynesville at the time emphasized that downtown revitalization was a comprehensive process. He stressed that community revitalization was not a single shot issue. Waynesville had to look at improving building façades and streetscapes, attracting new businesses, and generating enthusiasm among citizens.

Several aspects factored into Waynesville’s downtown development and success. Undoubtedly, the NC Main Street program participation had the largest effect on downtown revitalization, but aspects such as creating a unique atmosphere, providing adequate infrastructure, beautification, and making necessary zoning law changes also played a role. These five aspects of downtown revitalization surfaced during interviews.

NC Main Street participation

Almost all interview participants pointed to Waynesville's participation in the Main Street program as the first organized development effort. Upon entering the program the DWA was provided with a range of services from the NC Main Street Center. The center provided: program guidance including assistance in organization and board training and the development of a towns goals and objectives, technical assistance including market analysis and real estate development, training, networking opportunities, and advocacy (Main Street Center Services, n.d.).

The Executive Director of DWA said that unlike most Main Street cities, “[DWA staff] were responsible for all of downtown activity including infrastructure, design, maintaining renovation and finances, and promotions.” Even after many projects were completed and Waynesville was recognized as a successfully revitalized town, the DWA continued to be involved in the Main Street program and served as consultant to other communities in North Carolina. The Town Manager credited the program with helping the community maintain its focus. Resident #4 believed the program, which required planning ahead and creating a strategy, leaked over to other things. It had an effect on rezoning and a new development plan for Waynesville.

Unique Atmosphere

Prior to the participation in the NC Main Street program, small and somewhat unsuccessful revitalization efforts took place downtown. In 1965, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) initiated a program called Townlift and provided small seed grants in its service region (Downtown Waynesville 20 years of Partnership, 2005). The Townlift

program was controversial. Many participants thought the TVA tried to solve the problem of declining downtowns by completing a few simple renewal projects like putting in brick sidewalks and installing identical canopies over all the storefronts. Citizens disliked the program because it made all downtowns look the same.

Community leaders were pleased with the goals set by the Main Street program. Resident #1 said, “We maintained the historic and individuality of the town rather than making it all look like some place in Georgia.” Additionally the program worked with downtowns to develop business structures that would work in their individual community. The Main Street program taught communities that promoting quality design, opening new businesses, and developing tourism programs that highlighted the uniqueness of the town would make development successful. Development would not be successful if it was aimed at trying to compete with “big box” retailers and strip centers.

The Town Planner also credited the historic preservation committee with preserving unique qualities of the town. Though the town did not own all of the historic buildings in town, they intervened in renovations to preserve some of past quality workmanship. These historic buildings were part of what made Waynesville feel different from other small towns.

Infrastructure

Imperative to downtown revitalization was planning for infrastructure that would enhance downtown. Infrastructure refers to facilities and services needed for the functioning of a community. Many basic infrastructure needs were already present in downtown Waynesville. Infrastructure such as water lines, roads, buildings, public bathrooms, and

banks were installed prior to revitalization. Community leaders focused on improving and adding to existing infrastructure.

With the support of the town, the DWA brought in a landscape architect to begin a streetscape project. The streetscape project enhanced infrastructure on Main Street. Through its goals, sidewalks were extended building on previous laid brick, trees were planted along the sidewalk, and street benches were installed. The project took two years from beginning to end. The DWA designed and made cures of the proposed streetscapes so property owners could see what was going on and “put their two cents in.” The design was adjusted a few times before the town agreed to it, but in the end they had both the property owners and the town’s support.

The downtown district lacked a variety of goods and services when revitalization began. Community leaders realized that to improve the image and appeal of downtown, infrastructure needed to go beyond the basics. Several respondents thought the new restaurants and coffee shops, venues featuring music, and art galleries were all key to a viable downtown.

Beautification

The DWA first completed a number of small primarily visual projects because they wanted to first make changes to the things that attracted people’s eyes. They replaced dented and chipped pyramid style trashcans with attractive locally designed trashcans, which were paid for by the town. They hired a local artist to design banners for a seasonal banner program, bought large planters for the sidewalks, and created a color committee. With these changes, people began to take pride in the community. The Executive Director of the DWA

explained, “What happens in this process is that people, once you start doing these little changes, start seeing [the town] differently and the [residents] start seeing themselves differently.”

As encouraged by the resource team, the DWA persuaded most property owners to invest in their buildings by removing false fronts that consisted of aluminum and wood so that the original building facades on Main Street could be restored. They also recommended general maintenance on loose bricks, peeling paint, and broken windows and encouraged owners to fix second floor windows that were often painted over or blocked by boxes inside. When these small problems were added up, it led people to have a negative image of downtown (Resource Team Report, 1985).

Through the years the town and DWA made a number of incremental changes to the town that increased its attractiveness. Early on the town adopted a sign ordinance that restricted the size, height, design, and placement of signs and prohibited off-premise signs. In 2000, the partners put in pedestrian level decorative street lamps with underground electricity. The town also planned for open space throughout Waynesville, provided landscaping throughout the town, and redesigned Main Street to discourage heavy automobile and truck traffic.

To extend downtown sidewalks, community leaders had to convince merchants that the possibility of losing some of the parking spaces in front of their business was beneficial in the long run. In the end, however, the streetscape sidewalk plan actually increased parking spaces downtown. As development increased, parking needs increased further, causing more controversy. In an effort to develop a much needed but rather large parking lot, a vacant

building was demolished. Some considered it a historical building, while others said it was dilapidated and beyond repair. Several interview participants said that the town, DWA, and citizens were eventually able to come to terms with their disagreements. The sidewalks were more pedestrian friendly, visually pleasing, and allowed space for other streetscape projects like tree planting and adding benches.

When the DWA discussed new gateways into town, controversy again erupted. Many community leaders fought hard for a large landscaped roundabout on the Old Asheville Highway to serve as a gateway into Waynesville. Some citizens, most of whom were native residents by many generations, were not interested in paying for a roundabout in Waynesville. Leaders, however, refused to give up on this project. The roundabout project was completed and leaders were proud of this attractive entrance into town.

Resident #4 praised the quality of the downtown architecture and design. He said, “The simple small town character has been helpful to [resident’s] sense of place and why they like this town.” Learning how to create an attractive place was a new challenge to town officials and community leaders. The Public Works Director said, “You go to Georgia Tech to learn how to make streets that you can drive fast on. Nobody teaches you how to make things beautiful.” The town and DWA aimed to create points of interest for residents and visitors. They learned that to get people to park their cars and out on the sidewalk there had to be points of interest, whether it was through architecture, distinctive brickwork, a beautiful storefront or window, or even people sitting on the sidewalk and in cafes.

Zoning

Several zoning laws had to be changed to create the downtown that community leaders envisioned. The most important zoning issues were residential mixed-use buildings, the Central Business District, and new buildings.

Community leaders wanted to create a downtown where people could live and work, but realized that in 1985 when most people were building new homes in the suburbs, the idea of living downtown was a foreign concept. They recruited businesses that wanted retail on the main floor and living quarters upstairs. They found that it was primarily artists who sought mixed used space. Their idea was that artists could create a gallery and studio on the first floor and live upstairs. The second floors of most buildings downtown were vacant, so this increased the value of the building. Zoning was changed to provide building owners and tenants more flexibility.

The idea to combine retail and residential use was forward thinking by community leaders. Since that movement began, several artists have bought buildings downtown. Gallery owner #1 was one of several artists and gallery owners who moved to Waynesville for precisely that reason. She said, “We were able to purchase this building and do what we wanted to do here, which was live, work, and have a retail space all in the same space.”

Other zoning laws were established to control the appearance, pedestrian friendly, and small town atmosphere the community leaders and citizens valued. The town designated a central business district and historic district to help manage development. From this need, the Town of Waynesville Planning Department also wrote a Land Development Plan in 2001. The plan, which contained input from citizens and community groups and their community

values, was written to manage development related to land use, environmental protection, and infrastructure planning into the year 2020.

Though most citizens preferred strict zoning, some people in Waynesville thought the zoning laws were too strict, particularly the laws effecting Russ Avenue, a street off of Main Street. Russ Avenue was considered the “fast food strip.” If someone wanted to build there, the parking had to be in the rear of the building and the building had to be close to the sidewalk. These building laws were implemented to create more of a small town feeling even on adjacent streets and even with fast-food chain restaurants like McDonalds.

Art

Two community leaders and interview participants were supporters of the Haywood County Arts Council. One served as its President and one as its Executive Director. The Arts Council contributed greatly to the initial development movement by providing meeting space and administrative functions. Because community leaders thought involving arts in the downtown development plan was imperative, they generated data and collected information on the importance of the arts in economic development to act as support for their goals.

Waynesville was determined to show the NC Main Street Center that art was a big part of the culture of Waynesville and should be a big part of its future. The Director of the NC Main Street said Waynesville educated the NC Main Street employees throughout their revitalization process. They were able to educate the NC Main Street center because Waynesville’s leaders had a strong background in the arts and because they were the first in North Carolina to bring in a fifth resource team member who focused on the role of arts in

development. The Director of the NC Main Street said, “Since [Waynesville] we have been more conscious [about art] in other communities.”

The Community Planner believed that the arts brought a different group of people to the revitalization process. He said:

There is an awareness of design, awareness of culture, of the idea of why is the streetscape important, why are the facades of buildings important. The arts community gets it. And a building facade is not just the nuts and bolts and colors and the materials, it is the idea of the appreciation for it.

Art has bled into the town’s development plan, its unique atmosphere, its beautiful appearance, and its zoning laws. One participant believed art became a part of the appearance and attractiveness of the town. He said, “It gives you a feeling that this is downtown Waynesville and it makes you want to come back.” Resident #4 agreed that all of these aspects led to a new downtown. He thought that the reason for going downtown in Waynesville had changed. Where it used to be a place for buying clothes and groceries, it is now a place to be entertained, to eat out, buy a gift at a gallery, or entertain guests.

Downtown revitalization projects were influenced by the culture and heritage of Waynesville. Several interview participants said it was the adherence to the heritage that contributed to success of revitalization.

Heritage Incorporation

Because of its proximity to the Great Smoky Mountains and Appalachia, Waynesville heritage is rooted in tourism and mountain culture and traditions. In turn, the community development process was rooted in this heritage. Leaders looked to the heritage of the town

to support plans that would encourage tourism and cultivate the traditions of arts and crafts. The Executive Director of the DWA felt that part of Waynesville's tradition was the intermingling of outside cultures and educated people with local people "who were also intelligent and saw opportunities" in the tourism industry.

The concept of tourism in Waynesville was not new. Historically, the town has been a tourist destination. Traveling to Waynesville became more common and easier when the Western North Carolina Railroad reached the town in 1884 (Van Noppen & Van Noppen, 1973). A large hotel had been built in 1879, one-half mile from the town in White Sulphur Springs. More hotels joined that one and those, along with the inns and rooming houses that lined Main Street during that time made Waynesville a famous resort.

Interview participants who grew up in the area have been told about or even witnessed the horse drawn buggies that would meet the train to take visitors to their destinations. Evidence of the horse drawn buggies set to meet visitors at the train depot can be seen in the photos lining the wall at a local bakery downtown. Gallery owner #1, who is not native, likes to remind native residents who may not be supportive of tourism efforts that Waynesville has been a tourism town "perhaps since its founding."

Participants most often noted that visitors came from the lowlands of North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina to escape the heat in the summer. They also came for their health. People thought the summer air was bad in the lowlands and came to avoid malaria.

The Public Works Director for the town said Waynesville "has always been a summer, seasonal population." The train no longer runs in Waynesville and the rooming houses and big hotels on Main Street burned down in the 1960s. However people still came

for cooler weather in the summer months and the tourist market has expanded to include second home residents.

Tourism in Waynesville was also due to its western North Carolina location and the natural resources found in the county. Haywood County borders the Great Smoky Mountain National Park. For most of its history, Waynesville was known for serving as the “Gateway to the Smokies.” Two participants noted that this notoriety changed somewhat when traffic patterns changed. The I-40 bypass built in 1968 allowed travelers to enter the park from other locations (Van Noppen & Van Noppen, 1973). Another enticement for tourists is Waynesville’s position in the southern Appalachian Mountains with the Blue Ridge Parkway running along the counties southern border.

Waynesville has a long history of dance, music, and craftwork, which often originated out of necessity because of the town’s geographical isolated beginning. All of the interview and focus group participants credited the mountain culture for cultivating traditional artisans. Most respondents felt that arts and crafts were inherent to mountain life in North Carolina. The Executive Director of the Haywood County Tourism Development Authority and county native said, “Mountain people have always been artisans.”

The artists and gallery owners who participated in the focus group agreed that the craft tradition was born out of necessity because there was not a nearby store to buy the things that they needed and because of their modest financial means. Gallery owner #4 said, “They had to use everything they had.” Residents of the mountains learned to use clay that they found in the ground to make pots. They made their own furniture and they made quilts out of old clothing. Gallery owner #2, who is also an artist, believed “Many of the old-timers

wouldn't see it as craft because they were just doing what they had to do just to get by and have the things they needed to live.”

Gallery owner #1 said that the establishment of two professional craft schools in the area, John C. Campbell Folk School and Penland School of Crafts, was recognition of a talent pool in the area. John C. Campbell Folk School first offered classes in 1927 on subjects that included, agricultural science, history, forestry, music, woodcarving, and weaving (Van Noppen & Van Noppen, 1973). The Penland School of Crafts developed out of Penland Weavers, which was founded in 1923 by a teacher at an Episcopalian school. The teacher provided looms and materials to support the income of local women (About Penland, n.d.).

One participant who grew up near Penland School of Crafts described how these types of schools developed. Wealthy groups would come from the Northeast particularly through religious organizations to educate what they considered “poor mountain kids.” Those who came down to teach found that one way to involve the mountain people was to bring back traditional crafts like weaving, woodworking, metalsmithing, and jewelry. This method was a way to involve the community and to “get the kids to learn how to set a table and play the piano and do all those things these outsiders thought were important culturally.” Residents were also taught how to read and write. One focus group participant credited these schools with bringing crafts to the forefront.

Waynesville's tie to Cherokee land also contributed to the heritage of arts and crafts as well. The Cherokee boundary lies approximately 35 minutes away from Waynesville. One participant considered the Native Americans very craft oriented people who produced

pottery and leather and woven goods. Gallery owner #3 said many artists in the area reflect on Native American traditions.

Along with visual arts, Waynesville has a history of music and dance. The Heritage Tourism Officer for Western North Carolina said, “Waynesville and Haywood County was a stronghold for traditional music and traditional dance.” When asked about the culture and heritage of Waynesville, a majority of interview and focus group participants mentioned mountain dance and music as an integral part of their past. One participant talked about what life was like growing up in Haywood County. Each weekend they would “visit a different house and there would be a lot of musicians and dancing.” She continued, “That was our entertainment. We didn’t have a lot of things.” Therefore, just as downtown revitalization projects considered the heritage and culture of Waynesville, the heritage of tourism and arts and crafts greatly influenced tourism development planning in Waynesville.

Tourism Development

When economic problems in the manufacturing industry surfaced in the mid-1980s, community leaders in Waynesville, looked towards community development and tourism as an answer. Even as community leaders pushed towards the NC Main Street program goals, they planned for tourism development. Tourism development hinged on incorporating the heritage of Waynesville and a creating a viable downtown.

Because Waynesville had a history in tourism it was a likely choice to follow. Most people seemed to understand that town was going to have to move forward to avoid significant economic and cultural problems. Native resident #2 and community leader said it

was not difficult getting people on board. She said, “[Waynesville] was pretty much at a crossroads and I think people realized that.”

Tourism became the main economy not only for Waynesville but western North Carolina as a whole. Regionally, there was a momentum to seize cultural heritage as a venue for smart community development and economic development in relation to tourism. Community leaders in Waynesville recognized that the town was part of a rich cultural mountain region and it could be used to support a waning economy. A Town Planner for Waynesville explained, “That is something we have in North Carolina that we can’t export to Asia or India.”

Downtown revitalization was necessary for tourism planning. Community leaders realized it was key to make downtown an attractive and inviting place. Part of that process was completing beautification projects and adding infrastructure such as parking, restaurants, and interesting retail stores. Another part was planning for events and festivals to take place downtown and created a sense of excitement and community about the town.

Nearly all of the interview participants credited the DWA above all other organizations with attracting tourists. A few interview participants voiced their disappointment in the Haywood County Tourism Development Authority. They felt the assets in Waynesville, especially arts-based events and attractions, were not being adequately touted. Those participants took the responsibility of promoting themselves as a destination for visitors.

Participants were mixed in their view of how native residents responded to tourism development. Many interview participants claimed that the new residents as well as tourists

supported the new art galleries and restaurants in Waynesville. Participants said that because the stores are filled with art, decorations, and house wares, and not items for everyday use, natives think downtown is only for the tourists. Focus group participants said that the native residents were not typically the ones to be excited about downtown. They remembered quite a few people who had lived in Waynesville their whole lives coming to their shops and proclaiming they had never before been downtown to shop or eat or spend time.

Other participants did not agree with this argument. The Town Manager said that without the support of local residents downtown stores would never survive during the off-season. Furthermore, without strong residential support in the beginning, tourism initiatives would never have gotten off the ground. This disagreement was an example of the misunderstandings that often occurred between natives and long-time residents.

As downtown revitalization efforts began, so did new tourism initiatives. Tourism in Waynesville focused on festivals and events and the promotion of an arts identity.

Festivals and events

The development of annual events and arts programs were central to Waynesville's tourism development planning. Most of Waynesville area events were centered on culture, heritage, or the arts. As the DWA grew, it was responsible for promoting these free events, some of which had begun even before the big push for community development and downtown revitalization.

A local artist, gallery owner #4, created Church Street Arts and Crafts Show in Waynesville in 1983. She did not charge the twenty-seven exhibitors booth fees the first year because she figured "no one knew where we were." Concern disappeared by the next year

when sixty exhibitors applied and the show had to be moved from a parking lot onto Main Street. The show grew from 27 exhibitors to 60 exhibitors in one year and eventually reached a high of 125 artists before being scaled back. The show also changed from representing mainly local artists to regional artists. Participants cited the show as one of first and monumental events in Waynesville's tourism plan.

Folkmoot USA was a source of pride for each of the interview participants. Waynesville resident, Dr. Clinton Border, established Folkmoot in 1984. He believed that the heritage of western North Carolina made it a good place to host an international dance and music festival (*A Dream Realized*, n.d.). Interview participants were proud to say that Folkmoot had the notoriety of being North Carolina's international folk festival and it was only one of a few activities of its type in the United States. Since its inception, one hundred countries had been represented and over 200 groups have visited Waynesville. The Southeast Tourism Society recognized Folkmoot as a Top 20 Event in the Southeast for the past 16 years.

Riding on the success of Folkmoot, the Haywood County Arts Council and Folkmoot USA, both of which operated out of Waynesville, joined forces and developed International Festival Day two years later. The annual one-day festival took place on Main Street during the two week Folkmoot event. It combined the handmade craft with the cultural arts by inviting the international dancers and musicians from Folkmoot to perform. Several participants thought that International Festival Day allowed residents to learn about different cultures, to be entertained, to be educated, and to bring in a new type of tourist. The

Executive Director of the DWA said that Church Street Arts and Crafts Show and International Festival Day drew over 20,000 to 25,000 people to the community.

In addition to these large festivals, the DWA promoted a number of smaller festivals. The Apple Harvest was developed 18 years ago and presented live mountain music and dance, craft demonstrations, and apple based food. Additionally, the town successfully presented a Christmas Parade and Tailgate Farmers Market. Held in nearby Lake Junaluska, but still a large regional draw, the Smoky Mountain Folk Festival was credited by several participants with bringing visitors interested in culture and heritage to the area.

The Town of Waynesville, the DWA, and The Smoky Mountain Folk Festival have sponsored mountain street dances in front of the Haywood County Courthouse in Waynesville every other Friday night during the summer months since 1990. The events presented live mountain music and dance demonstrations and instructions. Resident #4, who had a personal heritage in mountain music and clogging, resurrected these traditional dances. He said, “They are public dances which means you join in the circle. It is a great metaphor. The big round Appalachian dance truly is the institution of hospitality that our region is the cauldron for.” Another resident believed that street dances are a major draw because people want to experience the local flavor.

Resident #3 said that when Waynesville capitalized on its traditional dance and music, it let people know that this was why they should come to visit. She believed that arts are a mechanism for tourism and encouraged residents to take pride in their heritage and town.

Art programs

Many of the festivals in Waynesville centered on arts and culture, but Waynesville also developed stand alone art programs. Waynesville cultivated arts programs that encompassed many areas of art: cultural arts and crafts, fine arts, performing arts, and imported arts. The Town Manager said that with Waynesville's large population of native artists, "It was only natural to pick something local that would be an attraction to get people to come see."

The StreetScapes program was designed to bring outdoor art sculptures to Waynesville. In an effort to create public art and another point of interest for visitors, the StreetScapes committee solicited sculptures to display artwork throughout downtown. At the end of the year, the sculptures could be purchased by the town, purchased by private citizens, or returned to the artists. After five years, the committee decided to end the program because they no longer wanted to display art that did not reflect the culture and history of Waynesville. The original committee evolved into Waynesville Public Art Committee in an effort to revamp the program. One interview participant said that with help from North Carolina Arts Council they hoped to create a permanent public art trail based on social, historic, cultural, and environmental characteristics of Waynesville.

Almost all participants cited the Haywood Arts Regional Theatre as the most active performing arts facility in the region. Approximately ten shows are presented each year in its main stage and studio space. Visitors came for its award winning performances, but also for the number of performing art events the facility hosted such as Folkmoot events, and the

Smoky Mountain Band Concert. The Executive Director of HART said, “[HART] gives people a reason to come here and spend the night.”

Several participants pointed to another unique arts experience for visitors and residence. Once a year the Atlanta Ballet held their annual retreat in Waynesville. The dancers and staff stayed in community homes, provided in-school programs, conducted master classes, presented open rehearsals and in two gala performances. A focus group participant considered this partnership huge for a small mountain town like Waynesville. Several interview participants said it gave visitors to the western North Carolina region and residents an opportunity to experience a high caliber of dance.

After a community arts leader and gallery owner designed a map and brochure featuring the many galleries in downtown Waynesville, the Waynesville Gallery Association, a membership driven organization formally organized. Gallery owner #1 said the members realized that collectively they could do more to promote themselves than individually. The fifteen member Waynesville Gallery Association and the DWA created Art After Dark in 2004. Art After Dark events took place on the first Friday of every month during the months of May to December. During Art After Dark galleries stayed open late and offered artist demonstrations, receptions with food and drink, and music. Gallery owner #2 said that the events had greatly influenced tourism. From watching foot traffic in and out of her store over the last two years she learned that “people were coming out specifically for that first Friday.” The event brought in so many visitors that neighboring retail stores that did not have an arts focus began to feature artists at their stores.

Another output from the gallery owners is the studio effect visitors could experience. Downtown revitalization efforts fostered the growth of artists in the area, many of whom had studios attached to their galleries. During the annual Downtown Studio and Gallery Tour, which began in 1995, visitors could view artists at work and speak with them about their work. This tour was one of the first efforts established by the gallery owners at the same time the first map and brochure were distributed.

Part of Waynesville's tourism development was to ensure that visitors experience authentic craft, culture, music, and dance. The Heritage Tourism Officer for western North Carolina said that promotion and development is an "intricate dance." She said, "...you have to get the word out so you can reap the economic benefits, but you don't want to distort or exploit to take away that authenticity or the rich cultural experience either."

Community leaders in Waynesville had honed in on the benefit of offering visitors a blend of new and old arts. In a town where residents are known as the "from here" and "not from here," leaders have realized that it was best to unite the imported contemporary arts with the traditional arts. The Executive Director of HandMade in America applauded this approach. Towns that only focused on one genre of art tended to struggle economically.

Three interview participants credited the mountain climate and environment as the primary attraction for visitors. They believed all other planning evolved with that initial attraction. While the mountains and natural resources of western North Carolina were certainly a draw from which to move tourism forward, most participants thought it was the heritage, the events, and the art offerings with a mountain backdrop that made Waynesville a tourism destination.

A majority of residents felt the attractions of Waynesville could not be separated. They thought tourists came to the town for many reasons: for an experience with nature, to relax, to participate in outdoor activities, to have a unique experience at a festival, or to encounter arts. Waynesville's community development had centered on cultivating tourism through all of these means, but cultural festivals and art programs provided a strong incentive for tourists to visit.

These strong tourism initiatives developed for Waynesville were one result of a collaborative effort between the public and private sectors. This partnership continued throughout the development process.

Public-Private Partnership

The partnership that developed between the public and private sectors in Waynesville was key to the community development process. The public sector includes national and local government and government owned firms, while private sectors are for-profit businesses. The Executive Director of the DWA said, "From the very beginning it was a public-private partnership." One of the first steps community leaders took in the downtown revitalization process was inviting the resource team, at a cost of \$3,000, to evaluate the Waynesville community. Community leaders raised \$1,500 from the merchants and property owners downtown and the town matched the \$1,500. The partnership developed out of concern for the state of downtown in the 1980s, especially by those who had investments in downtown. The Executive Director of the DWA believed "town leaders were also concerned" because they had "a major investment in downtown."

The Executive Director of DWA praised the current Town Manager for the success of downtown revitalization projects and particularly Waynesville's participation in the NC Main Street program. The Town Manager was a supporter from the beginning. He had lived in other communities that had participated in the Main Street program and understood its value. The Executive Director of the DWA has "an excellent working relationship with the town." The Executive Director said, "Public-private partnership is key. Its key because you cover all segments of community- politically, economically, and so forth."

The Town Manager credited the county commissioners. The county commissioners gave money towards projects designed to rehabilitate downtown infrastructure such as a street light program and parking. According to the Town Manager, when plans for a new courthouse were being discussed there was "a lot of pressure on them to build a new courthouse in the downtown because that is a location that people orient towards." Commissioners originally wanted to build it in a suburban area away from downtown. The courthouse ended up being built downtown after the town contributed 2.5 million dollars to the building of a new parking deck (Johnson, 2002).

Alternately, several interview participants felt that while the partnership between the town and private sectors had been successful, the county government had eschewed its role in the partnership. Gallery owner #1 emphasized that the county needs to "come to terms with planning development" because its involvement in the development process has been "by exception rather than forethought." The town, however, has reached out to the county. When the county needed a brick sidewalk constructed in front of the new justice center in town and the construction bids came in too high, the town offered help. The town's

bricklaying crew volunteered to lay the sidewalk if the county could supply the materials (*Downtown Waynesville: 20 Years of Partnership*, 2005).

Citizens also recognized the importance of the public-private partnership. One long time resident and community leader felt Waynesville “has been lucky to get the right elected officials in each election.” She continued, “Had we not gotten the right majority in office, it could have gone in another direction.” Another interview participant believed that without public interest, the government probably would not have shown as much interest.

The Public Works Director for the town said revitalization was “all about the street, making it more friendly, getting people out of the cars and get onto the street.” Achieving this revitalization took a partnership. He said, “If you have a bad street, owners aren’t going to fix their buildings up until you fix the street.” Revitalization projects were successful because the town and the DWA, along with businesses, property owners and, citizens of Waynesville worked together. The Executive Director of the DWA said, “You have to realize you need to have the public support when it comes to infrastructure and streets, recreation, etc.” The installation of new decorative street lamps costing \$2,500 each was one result of the partnership. A native resident (#1) and property owner recalled, “property owners, businesses, and interested citizens paid for the fixtures and the town put them in.”

The public-private partnership led to the creation of tax policies to support revitalization efforts. A Community Development Planner for the state at the time advised community leaders in Waynesville that self-taxing was one way to help fund the many revitalization efforts needed for a viable downtown. The Executive Director of the DWA agreed that the only way to revitalize downtown was to have a stable budget. Community

leaders pushed for the designation of a Municipal Service District in which property within that designated area would be levied an additional tax. However, they knew it would be a “tough sell.” With help from the steering committee, leaders visited each business and property owner in the designated district. By using examples from other revitalized towns in North Carolina, they showed property owners that in the long run property values increased because of this tax and eventually they could get more equity and raise rents on their properties.

The Municipal Service District went into effect in 1985 and imposed an additional property tax on property in the downtown district. The Town Manager explained that the tax rate for the town was \$.43 per \$100 valuation and the downtown businesses charged “themselves an additional \$.26 above [the] regular property tax rate.” When the service tax first went into effect the district tax was \$.30 per \$100 valuation. The tax was collected by the town and then turned over to the DWA to pay the salary of the Executive Director and for the coordination of the festivals, fairs, and the promotions that go on in downtown. The creation of the Municipal Service District was credited by a majority of the respondents as a driving force in the sustainability of the DWA and consequently, the downtown area.

In addition to the creation of the Municipal Service District, at the same time the town agreed to provide \$10,000 annually and office space to the DWA. With this agreement, the town and each property owner were now invested.

The partnerships created were due to community leaders in Waynesville taking initiative. Strong leadership also was imperative to successful community development.

Leadership

Two forms of leadership emerged during Waynesville's community development process, collaborative leadership and an individualistic based leadership. It took many people from many different sectors of the community to implement development and change in Waynesville including directors of nonprofit organizations, property and business owners, elected officials, and concerned citizens. However, one leader also stood out as a principal driver in the process.

Individual leadership

Each interview and focus group participant cited the Downtown Waynesville Association and its current Executive Director, Ron Huelster, as instrumental to the community development process. In 1985 when much of the movement began, Huelster was president of the Haywood County Arts Council. Huelster gathered the stakeholders who began discussing concerns about the town. He continued the process by introducing them to the NC Main Street program and creating a steering committee. Resident #3, who was one of the original stakeholders involved, said, "Ron initiated it. He had the vision. He had the background. He just stepped in." She continued by saying had it not been for Huelster, the town would not have known about the program so early on and might never have learned about it.

Another native resident and steering committee member praised Huelster, who has a background in urban development and urban planning. He said:

Ron is a jewel and if he hadn't decided to settle here just because he liked it, we never would have been able to have anybody of that caliber as director. I don't know if you

know his credentials but he is way above what you would normally get on the commercial market, in his expertise and education.

An editor, publisher, and owner of *Smoky Mountain News*, a regional weekly newspaper wrote, “Ron’s best talent, perhaps, is his ability to stay in the background, suggesting change and letting others take credit. I’ve watched him do it with several different organizations and individuals” (McLeod, 2005). A former Community Development Planner for the state who worked directly with Huelster on the NC Main Street program said, “Ron will try to pass it off, saying, it was this person [or] it was that person, but Ron Huelster is the underpinning of Waynesville revitalization.” Though he was the underpinning of the movement, he was noted for putting together a good team and it was the organizational leadership of the team together that made the process work.

Huelster had the experience in community development to know that community buy-in and collaboration was imperative to success. He emphasized that it was a collaborative effort between many important leaders. Waynesville’s development was due to the resolution, motivation, and work of many people.

Collaborative Leadership

Although all of the interview participants pointed to Huelster as vital to the development process, the participants revealed a number of significant leaders who through collaboration initiated and sustained the community development process.

Even before visible movement began, community residents stepped forward. The publisher of the local newspaper, *The Mountaineer*, at the time played an important role by putting together an insert the history of the town and about the Main Street program. The

publication was inserted in the newspaper before the resource team arrived to arouse people to begin thinking about downtown and revitalization.

All of the original stakeholders later became part of the Waynesville Main Street Steering Committee and undertook many projects. To get support for Waynesville's revitalization, members had to first attract the attention of community residents, sell them on the NC Main Street program and Municipal Service District, and finally get community buy-in.

The DWA Board of Directors and the first Executive Director of the DWA sustained the momentum after formally enrolling in the NC Main Street program. Together they tried to keep vacancies in downtown buildings low. Three years after Waynesville enrolled in the NC Main Street program rumors surfaced that Belk's department store was going to move from downtown to a strip mall. With the towns support, DWA board members including a local architect, presented design proposals for Belk's desired expansion to the Vice President of the Belk's Corporation. Though their effort to persuade them to stay downtown was not successful, the incident was significant. It marked a time when the town began to support proactive measures to revitalize the waning downtown.

The DWA recruited John and Faye Cooper and their company, Mast General Store. When the retail store filled a large vacant building in 1991, it confirmed to many participants that Waynesville's revitalization was successful. The Former Community Development Planner for NC said attracting Mast General Store "was a coup." The store filled a large vacant building and hired several employees. Three main reasons were given for attracting the store to downtown Waynesville: the DWA approached the owners, a large building that

fit their motif was available, and DWA made sure the owners were aware of Waynesville's ongoing streetscape project. The Executive Director of DWA admitted that all of it was "carefully cultivated." In DWA's publication, *Downtown Waynesville: 20 Years of Partnership*, Cooper said, "[DWA was] recruiting to make downtown better, not just for their profit but for the profit of the community" (2005, p. 11).

Numerous community leaders advocated for the role art played in the community development process. Natives of Waynesville and Haywood County have worked to preserve and promote their heritage. One native resident supported the revival of traditional dance and music by organizing the Mountain Street Dances. These dances took place every other Friday in summer months since 1990. As noted earlier, another local artist and focus group participant created The Church Street Arts and Crafts Show in 1984, before revitalization efforts began.

The artists and gallery owners who set up business in Waynesville over the years took many important leadership roles. One of the first gallery owners in Waynesville was credited with creating the first brochure and gallery show to promote art in Waynesville. The show was set up for a month at an inn on the edge of town to increase sales. After the first show, another artist, gallery owner #5, was both inspired by the brochure and impressed with the number of working studios downtown. She thought it would be beneficial to have a map and brochure to distribute to let people know that Waynesville had "this unique feature." As stated in the Tourism Development section of this chapter, in 1995 she designed a map and brochure that listed all of the studios and galleries in downtown Waynesville. The interview

participant was also credited with developing the annual Studio and Art Gallery Walking Tour to attract even more visitors to Waynesville.

The Executive Director of Haywood Arts Regional Theatre (HART) led the promotion of the performing arts in Waynesville and the region. HART was established both because of his dedication to the community and because of the many performing art supporters in the community.

Several of the interview participants also acknowledged that the Executive Director of HandMade in America as a collaborator. HandMade in America, a nonprofit organization had brought awareness to the cultural heritage of western North Carolina through the development of craft heritage trail guidebooks and other initiatives focused on the hand-made object as a vehicle for small town economic development.

The former Executive Director of the Haywood County Arts Council and native resident credited Waynesville's successful development to collaboration. She said, "People don't mean to but they only have tunnel vision and they only see what they are trying to accomplish and working on." But because many development projects occurred at the same time and involved so many people, "Everybody joined hands and tried to move together as a group."

Leaders instigated community change, but without citizen participation their efforts would have been ineffective. Citizen participation, which led to buy-in of the community, was imperative to community leaders.

Community Buy-In

From the beginning, the leaders in Waynesville knew that for development plans to succeed, they had to get the buy-in of the community. Community buy-in referred to shared visions and goals that were collaboratively worked toward by individuals and community organizations. Community leaders increased civic participation, which led to community buy-in, by educating citizens and using the media and other forms of outreach.

The DWA played the major role in encouraging community buy-in. The Executive Director of the DWA always emphasized that they were a community-based organization interested in making change not just downtown but in the larger community. He said that the downtown was the heart of the community, but he also stressed that surrounding areas were the main arteries. He said, “If your arteries die then downtown dies.” The DWA staff was involved in many other community organizations and served on different organization’s boards in an effort to keep their name in the community. The organization also created a 37-member board of directors at its inception. The original steering committee considered the board full of all the “movers and shakers” in the community.

Resident #1 said that when development efforts began, all of Main Street was owned by local people “who had done it one way for years.” Leaders got people to accept a new way of doing things by “chipping off a little bit at a time.” Over time, they proved to property owners that doing things like, cleaning up storefronts, taking down large signs, and planting trees would make a difference. The Executive Director of DWA saw this acceptance occur. As the appearance of downtown changed, property owners began to take pride in their buildings. They invested their own money. Those business owners who

realized things were going to change were getting in “on the ground floor.” Those building improvements ultimately increased their property values and enabled them to raise rents. In addition, downtown storeowners began to realize that their niche was the tourism market and invested in attracting that type of tourists.

The original Downtown Waynesville Steering Committee took a great deal of time and effort to get community buy-in for creation of the Municipal Service District. Members put together a packet of information on the district and visited each property owner to eventually get all on board. The steering committee leaders made sure that everyone who supported the tax attended the public hearing. The current Executive Director of the DWA remembered that at the public hearing for the tax, they expected the approval of all but one of the property owners. A property owner had sent his son to oppose the tax district, but by the end of the presentation, the son had been convinced to support the idea.

The Executive Director of the DWA credited other towns in North Carolina with getting both the town and citizens involved. He recalled that town officials in other communities had begun to discuss Waynesville and the positive changes being made in town. Other towns wondered how Waynesville was accomplishing these changes. Their discussions got back to the elected officials in Waynesville at the same time the community announced to officials that they liked what was going on. Enthusiasm between the town and the public fed off each other.

Community leaders ensured buy-in by generating enthusiasm for the changes that occurred. The Community Planner for the state said, “You have to always dig up something,

plant something, change something, move something around, open something new, so that people are always thinking something's happening.”

Community leaders sought the investment of community residents and business and property owners. They knew that it was the only way to get new businesses, like the Mast General Store, to invest in Waynesville. New industries or businesses would never be willing to invest if there were not signs of a town willing to invest in themselves. They would not want to work or live in a community that did not care about its future.

Thriving community buy-in was also due to motivating town employees. The new streetscape projects allowed public work employees to play a creative role in the development process. The Public Works Director said many of the employees do the same thing everyday and fixing the street was a chance for them to participate in revitalizing their town. For instance, he encouraged them to create attractive patterns when they laid the brick sidewalks. Workers would even come in on Saturdays to help complete projects, like install pedestals for the StreetScapes sculptures. It increased job satisfaction and in turn led them to be attached and invested as citizens in the changes in Waynesville.

Citizen participation was key to achieving community buy-in. Citizens were active in the development process and community leaders helped to foster an atmosphere that encouraged community involvement.

Citizen participation

A majority of the interview participants thought that Waynesville citizens were the initiators of change. They were involved in the commissions, committees, and study groups

as projects occurred. The Town Planner thought that residents were the “creative parts of the process” and the job of the government was to act on their wants and needs.

Most of the participants agreed that over the last twenty years community residents were extremely active in the development process. One example of this civic participation was seen during the expansion of the Old Asheville Highway, one of the main streets into town, by the Department of Transportation. The expansion took years because hundreds to thousands of people voiced their opinion about how the road should be built. Citizens did not allow the DOT to build a generic four-lane strip that would be turned into a series of strip malls and fast food restaurants. The Executive Director of HART compared that form of growth to Hendersonville, North Carolina. He said:

People who are in this community look at Hendersonville as what they don't want to see happen here. Hendersonville kind of grew with sprawl and a lot of big box stores and while it was prosperous, it lost its soul in the process. It used to be a small mountain town, but its just not anymore.

Resident #4 believed that key to civic participation was creating an identity of the town, an identity that captured the culture and heritage of Waynesville. He said:

People who have an identity are much more civically inclined. If you are nobody from nowhere why do you give a damn? If you are somebody from somewhere you've got a horse in the race. So a sense of place is pretty important criteria for the civic aspect of the community.

HART's creation was due to community buy-in. The facility was built for approximately one million dollars in 1985. The building was completely paid, mainly

through the private funds. The organization received approximately \$90,000 in state funds, \$30,000 in county funds, and about \$25,000 in city funds. The remaining amount of \$850,000 came from citizens. The community clearly believed in the Executive Director and his ability to run a successful regional theatre. HART's Executive Director believed this level of citizen support could be found in other nonprofit organizations as well and that more had been done in Waynesville with private monies than public monies.

Two interview participants praised everyday citizens with investing in Waynesville by volunteering. The many events and festivals hosted by Waynesville would not have been as successful without the volunteers. Six hundred people volunteered for Folkmoot alone in 2005. Volunteering was also a form of citizen education.

Citizen Education

Community leaders actively sought community buy-in by educating the residents of Waynesville. Citizen education was key for citizen participation. Native resident #3 said, "If they aren't educated, they don't understand what the issues are, how to get involved, why they should get involved." If leaders missed the opportunity to educate citizens, misunderstandings and cynicism ensued

The DWA used their annual meetings to "plant seeds" about particular concerns or issues. These meetings educated members of the DWA as well as the community who were invited to attend. Each year, several community development professionals and other community leaders were brought in to speak to community residents. Jim Dunn from Salisbury, North Carolina gave a program on historical preservation in 1989, which resulted in the Waynesville Historic Society. They brought in Bill Workman, the mayor of

Greeneville in 1990, who talked how important entrances and corridors were in the town. Dr. Robert Becker from Clemson University was a consultant to the National Main Street Center. He reinforced the importance of preserving and strengthening downtowns to Waynesville citizens. In 1997, the town helped the DWA bring in Dan Burden, the director of Walkable Communities, a nonprofit consulting firm. He emphasized that communities that are walkable and pedestrian friendly led to more social interaction, physical fitness, and diminished crime and other social problems. Burden was credited with persuading the mayor and community members to become involved in changing the Old Asheville Highway to give Waynesville more attractive and pedestrian friendly streets even outside of downtown. Ed McMahan, the director of American Greenways, spoke to residents about the use of greenways and open space in adding to a community's sense of place. This meeting led town officials to create new land use ordinances and to later write the Town of Waynesville Land Development Plan.

The Public Works Director agreed that bringing speakers to Waynesville was a great way to educate residents. The speakers brought new ideas with them and it started resonating throughout the community. Long time resident #1 remembered one of these educational speakers. She said, "You could feel the electricity in the room from everyone was there who was ready to participate and ready to go do something."

Citizens even took it upon themselves to be educated on downtown revitalization efforts. Resident #2 had always been civically active and spent many of her family vacations looking at other city's downtowns. She recalled asking town leaders questions such as:

“What did you do? Was it successful? How did you do it? How did you get people to change and participate?” Then she brought the information back to Waynesville.

Media Support

Most participants viewed the media as imperative to community participation and buy-in. Leaders knew having a good relationship with the many media outlets in the region could only aid in stimulating the public’s interest and letting them know how they could participate. *The Mountaineer* first introduced the community to the development process through a tabloid about the NC Main Street program inserted into the newspaper. The Director of the NC Main Street program thought the media was helpful early on in communicating to the public that there were problems that needed to be addressed. Throughout the years, participants said the media including local television and local newspapers, continued to pass along information.

Media outside the region brought attention to Waynesville as well. *Southern Living*, *Outside*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Where to Retire* and the *Asbury Park Press* wrote articles on the appeal of Waynesville both as a place to visit and a place to live.

Value of Arts

Last, but not least, the arts played a role in all of the identified elements of community development in Waynesville. Community leaders fought for a focus on arts in development, which resulted in an attractive and revitalized downtown, a renewed appreciation for traditional arts in the community, arts-based tourism programs, and strong unique partnerships.

The citizens of Waynesville valued art in their community. Its value was considered throughout the development process. One interview participant said art “gives Waynesville a dimension that other places do not have.” Arts were valuable to the quality of life, economic impacts, and in attracting tourists as well as new residents and new businesses.

Quality of Life

Almost all of the interview participants said that arts contributed to the quality of life in Waynesville. The arts were inherently important to the town’s development, strong community ties, and to community life in general.

The sometimes-controversial public art sculptures in the StreetScapes program aided in bringing to light quality of life issues. Interview participants spoke about one piece in particular entitled “Cowlifter” made of found pieces and automobile parts. Even though many citizens disliked or did not understand the piece, it was valuable. It generated discussions about what is art and what role art should play in Waynesville.

The town planner said that art along with parks, open space, historic preservation, interesting architecture and good streets and sidewalk factored into the quality of life. Other interview participants said that people looked for things like theatre and festivals in their community. Resident #4 said that the arts have helped support citizen’s sense of pride and attachment to the town. He recalled the children’s choir group singing at Christmastime, saying, “If you see ninety voices singing on a commercial street [downtown] it just transforms it into a community.”

Resident #3 said, “I really can’t think of any component of society that art does not touch. Art relaxes people. It challenges people. Almost any adjective or adverb that you come up with is affected by art.”

The Executive Director of HART spoke about the new professional residents, particularly the doctors, in Waynesville. He said, “They looked at other towns and the arts community here made the quality of life here superior to the quality of life in other places and that is what they wanted their families to be surrounded with.

Quality of life values fed into other aspects of the value of arts. One interview participant said, “It is self feeding.” People want to visit, set up a business, retire, own a second home, or work in Waynesville because of the arts community and its contribution to a life.

Economic Value

The arts significantly contributed to the diversification of Waynesville’s economy. Examples of arts economic impact were seen most in the international festival, Folkmoot, HART, and the downtown art galleries.

The Institute for Tourism at Western Carolina University conducted an economic impact study in 2001 of Folkmoot (*Smoky Mountain News*, 2002). The study found that the festival had a direct sales impact of \$2.1 million throughout the region and a value-added impact of \$1.3 million. Folkmoot also generated \$350,000 annually in taxes to local, state, and federal governments and created the equivalent of 42 jobs.

Waynesville’s regional theatre, HART, not only supported itself financially, but also economically supported the community. Fifteen years ago the performing arts organization

had an annual operating budget of \$25,000. In 2005 the operating budget was \$200,000. This increase was mostly due to an increase in ticket sales. HART productions attracted audiences from four surrounding counties. Often visitors ate in local restaurants and spent the night in local hotels or lodgings in Waynesville, which further supported the community's economy. HART also spent money in the community just by operating the facility, paying taxes, buying supplies, and in paying utilities. The Executive Director of HART believed the arts are of value to Waynesville. He said, "There are other communities around us that have mountains and downtowns, but don't have as vibrant economic base because they don't have a vibrant arts base."

Gallery owners felt the county commissioners were not fully aware of arts economic power. Gallery owner #2 said, "The arts community is a hidden economic engine." Artists contributed to the town's economy through buying or renting property, operating their facility, and attracting visitors to their galleries and events.

Attracting Visitors

The arts were part of Waynesville's tourism plan. The town offered visitors many forms of art such as theatrical performances, cultural performances, imported fine arts, and native craftwork. All of the interview participants believed the arts played an important part in attracting new visitors and repeat visitors.

Focus group participants felt that the personal contact they had with visitors contributed to the visitors experience and most likely brought them back again. Visitors to Waynesville had the opportunity to meet the artists who made the items they were buying

and sometimes even watched them at work. Focus group participants said that their clients appreciate the handmade item. Gallery owner #4 said:

I think people got tired of all the commercialization of everything and the fact that you could go to any mall anywhere in the United States and once you walked in there you had no idea where you were. They are all identical and people got tired of that. They started refocusing on quality of life in a place where there is an appreciation of things that are actually made here.

The many galleries that were downtown also attracted visitors. Gallery owner #2 recalled that when she moved to Waynesville in 1998 there were about seven galleries already established. People thought the opening of her gallery acted “as a catalyst to kick it up one more notch.” She continued, “Not that it was us specifically, but that it was just one more gallery, one more place involved in the arts, so that there was more to attract people to [visit].”

As stated earlier, Folkmoot attracted large numbers of tourists. The festival brought in tens of thousands of visitors to Haywood County annually. According to the *Smoky Mountain News* (2002), 22,500 people attended International Festival Day in downtown Waynesville alone. Other events held throughout the county attracted visitors as well: 6,000 people attended the Parade of Nations, 7,200 attended the eleven private performances, and 9,044 people bought tickets to paid performances.

The controversy stirred up by the previously mentioned Cowlifter sculpture also attracted new tourists. Resident #2 remembered one reporter coming from Atlanta to do a

story on the sculptures and picked up on the citizen's conflict. In turn, people came from Atlanta just to see the sculpture that caused such a fuss.

Consequently, visitors themselves were credited with supporting the art market in Waynesville. The former community planner said:

Waynesville has been a sophisticated tourist place. They have tourists who come to the area from a larger city, who have an appreciation for the arts. They come to the mountains for the summer months and they would like to have some of that while they are there. And if something were there [cultural arts], they would support that.

Waynesville had the performing arts, fine arts, and handmade crafts that attracted visitors with the same interest. The former community planner said tourists interested in the arts usually have "a higher income and higher education levels, [which] will affect the community by being able to support higher levels of businesses and restaurants that are more top end." He continued, "Any community that incorporates the art is going to be stronger than one that doesn't."

Attracting New Residents and Businesses

Interview participants credited the arts with attracting new residents to Waynesville. These residents consisted mostly of retirees, artists, and professionals seeking to live in a community with a rich quality of life.

Resident #3 said because the community appreciated and supported art, it attracted people that want to be a part of that kind of life. Interview participants credited HART with attracting professionals. They said that a number of physicians at the hospital stated that they

moved to Waynesville because there was an active theatre. Theatres were not found in every mountain town in North Carolina.

The town's slow development in the late 1970s to the late 1980s was cited as an attraction to artists. Several gallery owners said when they arrived Waynesville had not been revitalized to the point it is now. Many of them could afford to buy an entire building and had their studio and residence in one building as they desired. In 2005, competition for downtown space and a well-developed community had increased property costs to the point where it is more difficult for new businesses to move in.

Haywood Community College (HCC) was also recognized as a vehicle for new residents in the town and county. Several interview and focus group participants said that HCC has one of the strongest arts and crafts programs in North Carolina. They agreed that many graduates of that program try to stay and live and work in the region. Some of the art galleries in town support them by selling some of the graduate's work.

A large part of the population in Waynesville was made up of retirees. Retirees had always come to mountain towns, but Waynesville in particular had become an appealing place to retire. Focus group participants said:

I think that we represent another time and place for people. [Waynesville represents] a very slowed down pace of life that they haven't known for a long time, which is why so many people are retiring here. That is one of the big draws. It is not that hurried commercial life that they have known for so long. I think the artists in the town represent that maybe as much as anything because of what we do. We are living a life that they envy. If they only knew how exhausted we all were.

The value of art to Waynesville was cyclical. Art offerings needed to be developed to attract the visitors and residents who appreciate quality art-based events, programs, and stores. The visitors and new residents, the business owners, and the income derived from events and festivals contributed to a stronger economic base in Waynesville.

Many interview participants who were also artists were proud of the large role the heritage of arts and crafts and performing arts had played in the development of Waynesville. Almost all of the interview participants recognized that visitors came to Waynesville because they considered it to be an arts destination.

Summary

This chapter presented the results of my data analysis. Through data analysis a model was constructed to illustrate the seven critical elements of community development that resulted in Waynesville's development into an arts destination. Community participation fostered each of the seven elements. Those critical elements were: downtown revitalization, heritage incorporation, tourism development, public-private partnerships, collaborative leadership, community buy-in, and the value of arts. As the model shows, I found that there was overlap between the elements during the community development process. Waynesville did not approach development one step at a time, but rather approached development collectively.

Many examples of the need to approach community development holistically were seen in this case study of Waynesville. Community leaders in Waynesville simultaneously pursued downtown revitalization and tourism development. Instead of focusing only on rehabilitating buildings and attracting businesses, leaders also worked towards developing

and marketing events to take place downtown. At the same time the heritage of Waynesville was incorporated into downtown revitalization and tourism initiatives. The festivals and events and public art offerings reflected the culture of western North Carolina.

Another example that illustrates the need to include many players in community development processes was seen in Waynesville. Community leaders included government officials, business owners, community development and tourism industry professionals, artists, and long-time and native residents. As described in the sample selection section in Chapter 3, many leaders played several roles in the process. Each championed for their town and specifically advocated for their own niche in development. For instance, a native of Haywood County not only supported downtown revitalization by serving on the first DWA board, but also as the Executive Director of the Haywood County Arts Council pushed for the inclusion of arts in tourism development and in the changes taking place downtown.

The importance of the Municipal Service District could be seen in several elements as well. The self-taxing district serves not only as an example of an outcome of the public-private partnership cultivated in Waynesville, but also as an example of leaders collaboratively working together to gain the necessary support for the new tax. Once business and property owners in the designated district agreed to the tax, the creation of the Municipal Service District also serves as an example of the need for community buy-in.

While the model is conceptual, any community interested in development can adapt the model for its needs. Each of the elements represented in the outside circles of the model can be interchanged to suit a community's specific needs or desires. However, the concept

of participation represented in the center of the model must always be present in community development as a whole and within each pursued element of community development.

The Town of Waynesville captured the identity of an arts destination for itself. Waynesville's heritage was steeped in arts and crafts and community leaders incorporated that heritage into downtown revitalization and tourism initiatives. The town, its community leaders, and citizens collaborated to actively promote the town. Consequently, the town attracted tourists who value the arts and who wanted to take part in or be a part of a community rich in a cultural heritage.

The next chapter will present my conclusions from this research investigation. Included in the chapter are study limitations, implications for practice, implications for research, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

I investigated the community development process in Waynesville, North Carolina to understand how communities develop into arts destinations. In this chapter I present my conclusions from the investigation as well as study limitations, implications for practice, and suggestions for future research.

The investigation of Waynesville was approached as a case study. The case study method relies on multiple sources of evidence. I explored the research question by making direct observations, conducting personal and focus group interviews, and researching historical documents and records. Additionally, several working definitions guided the investigation. The terms community development, art, arts destination, and heritage tourism were used for data collection and analysis and also to guide interview and focus group participants through our discussion. The definitions can be found in Chapter 1.

Over the last twenty years Waynesville changed from a traditional manufacturing economy to an economy dependent on the nontraditional industry of tourism. Tourism was used as a tool for community development. Tourism development was a natural course of action for community leaders because the town had a history of tourism and because of its Appalachian heritage and traditional mountain culture. Community leaders incorporated that heritage into the town's community and tourism development plans.

Using interview data with corroboration from secondary sources and guided by grounded theory, seven critical elements of community development were identified (refer to p. 48). The seven identified elements were: downtown revitalization, heritage incorporation, tourism development, public-private partnerships, collaborative leadership, community buy-

in, and the value of arts. The concept of participation was seen within all of all of the elements. Citizen participation was essential to Waynesville's development into an arts destination.

Waynesville's approach to community development paralleled the findings in community development and tourism development literature. Results indicated that in Waynesville the process of community development was a planned process, citizen participation was encouraged, rural tourism planning was pursued, and heritage and art contributed to overall community and tourism development. The seven identified elements community development and resulting model (see Figure 2, p. 48) can contribute to both community development theory and tourism planning.

The factors for successful development that Wilson, Fesenmaier, Fesenmaier, and Van Es (2001) found corresponds with much of what was discovered as critical to successful development in Waynesville. Most relevant among Wilson et al.'s findings was that communities need: a complete tourism package, good leadership, support and participation of local government, strategic planning, cooperation between business owners and local leadership, and community support for tourism. These conditions as found in Waynesville are described in the previous chapter.

Cary (1970) alluded to the need of leadership in community development when he said that citizens must be strong enough to initiate action. The leaders that initiated change in Waynesville had the professional background and the conviction to embark on the long, and often challenging, process of development. They were able to rally citizens to achieve community buy-in, acquire funds, cultivate a public/private partnership with the town

government, and participate in revitalization and tourism programs to both enthruse residents and attract visitors. The leadership in Waynesville was strong enough to commence change and to maintain progress.

Chekki (1979b) noted that communities are in a continual process of change. In 1985 community leaders began to recognize that Waynesville was in social and economic decline. By initiating community development, community leaders and citizens supported a process of planned change. With help from the NC Main Street program the town actively undertook downtown revitalization, tourism development, and arts programming. Chekki acknowledged that communities must recognize and be able to adapt to changes whether positive or negative. Furthermore, when citizens participate in change, they are more supportive of and committed to their community. As the results of this study show, citizen participation played a vital role in the successful development of Waynesville as an arts destination.

Community development is centered on the philosophy that communities should become competent in dealing with problems (Chekki, 1979b). Achieving self-sufficiency requires citizen education and participation. The first step in community-based tourism planning should be developing mechanisms for participation (Reid, Mair, & Taylor, 2000). By personally meeting with downtown business and property owners, encouraging citizens to attend town meetings, and inviting community development professionals to educate citizens, community leaders in Waynesville reduced the potential for opposition and established community buy-in. One example of the town's effort can be seen in the parking controversy described in the previous chapter. Instead of expanding the town's sidewalks without

consulting the business owners, community leaders convinced these owners that an expanded sidewalk, though it may potentially reduce storefront parking, would have long-term benefits. Community leaders in Waynesville encouraged stakeholders to attend town meetings, contribute to study groups, serve on boards, and share their heritage. By doing this they were able to achieve feedback on community and tourism efforts that was more representative of the population as Timothy and Tosun (2003) stressed.

Tourism development has a great impact on communities (Murphy, 1985). Because of this impact, tourism development should work to enhance resident's quality of life (McCool & Martin, 1994). Interview participants expressed that their quality of life, through recreational and entertainment offerings, employment opportunities, and the general attractiveness of the town, increased as community and tourism development continued.

Rural tourism development literature notes that the balance between the needs of residents and tourists' needs must be maintained (Gill & Williams, 1994; Reid et al., 2000). By involving citizens in the community development process from the beginning, community leaders in Waynesville ensured community support. Because their population included full-time residents, seasonal residents, and tourists, destination towns like Waynesville in particular need to find this balance. Waynesville citizens realized that the tourism industry contributed greatly to their economy and way of life, yet they also asserted their desires and needs into the process. This collective and strong voice may be partly due to the large role that heritage played in the Waynesville's development.

Although Waynesville had a history of tourism, which was helpful, the town also actively cultivated its resources for rural tourism development. MacDonald and Jolliffe

(2003) made three observations about cultural rural tourism planning: (1) rural communities can use their cultural resources as an economic tool; (2) rural communities with cultural assets are destinations for tourists interested in education, entertainment, and enrichment; and (3) partnerships and networking are important in developing cultural rural tourism. The mountains in western North Carolina were a natural attraction, but the cultural attractions cultivated by Waynesville's community leaders and citizens were equally enticing to visitors.

Heritage tourism is a growing segment of the tourism industry. Likewise, the role of arts and heritage in tourism development literature is slowly emerging. The heritage tourist is interested in authentic activities and attractions that represent stories and people of the past and present (Heritage Tourism, n.d.). Heritage tourism can entertain and educate and includes cultural, historic, and natural resources. Waynesville used its heritage of mountain culture and craft arts including traditional music, dance, pottery, and weaving to simultaneously promote community cohesiveness and attract visitors.

Because heritage tourism is directly linked to resources, sustainability is of concern. Small towns risk losing their historic character if tourism growth is not managed (Reid, Mair, & George, 2004). Heritage tourism efforts in Waynesville focused on creating authentic and quality products such as the Mountain Street Dances held during the summer months and the Church Street Arts and Crafts Show. As stated earlier, incorporating heritage into tourism planning directly contributed to Waynesville's development into an arts destination.

Interview participants wavered on their view of Waynesville's arts destination status. Some people adamantly believed Waynesville to be an arts destination and also believed visitors saw it that way as well, while others were convinced that Waynesville was not an arts

destination. All participants did agree, however, that the tradition of art in the region as well as contemporary art offerings such as community theatre and arts galleries served as visitor attractions.

Art and arts-based programs directly and indirectly impact communities (Jackson & Herranz, 2002; Kay, 2000; Matarasso, 1997; Phillips, 2004). The value of art to Waynesville's community and tourism development influenced both economic and quality of life issues. From the development of events and festivals to beautification projects, the sensibility of culture and art was taken into account. The efforts paid off. Visitors spent more time and more money in Waynesville because of the many art offerings. This finding is potentially important for other communities.

The use of the arts to community and tourism development can increase community pride and celebrate local identity and image (Matarasso, 1997). The many cultural festivals, public art projects, traditional and contemporary performances, and local artist demonstrations celebrate the Appalachian and mountain heritage found in Waynesville. Through my discussions with the citizen's of Waynesville it became clear that residents, whether native or not, are extremely proud of their community and its heritage. They were proud to share that heritage with me.

Limitations

Three limitations were noted in this investigation. The first potential limitation was that the case study was limited to one town. Though it was beyond the scope of this paper, Yin (2003a) said that multiple-case designs are typically stronger than single-case designs. However, Yin also noted that multiple case studies require extensive research and resources

that are often beyond the means of a single investigator. Additionally as stated in the first chapter, Waynesville is a unique case. Not many towns in North Carolina have undergone this type of community development that focused on the role of art in community and tourism planning.

Comparison may have also addressed the perception that the town had a certain amount of luck on its side. Many interview participants said they felt that community development was partly due to getting the “right” people elected to office and that they were fortunate to have leaders who supported tourism initiatives. Interview participants also noted that the mountain location and heritage greatly impacted the town’s destination status. It may be interesting to compare Waynesville’s community development process to a town without these resources. Yet, the results indicated that Waynesville completed the work that led to successful community development. Regardless of who was in office or the location, the seven identified elements of community development showed that community leaders took deliberate steps to become an arts destination.

A second limitation was the perception of community development and the citizens’ participation in that development relied only on interviews by community leaders. Though most of the leaders and participants were also citizens, I did not speak to citizens who were not active in the process. These citizens would have provided different information than the information active citizens provided. For this case study however, it was most important to speak to those citizens involved in the process. They were the ones who could tell the story of how this phenomenon happened.

In retrospect, maybe I should have asked interview and focus group participants about issues about funding issues. Perhaps I considered the importance of acquiring funding self-evident. Interview participants did provide information about tax policies and some grants. Asking specific questions about fund development may have provided additional information that would be helpful understanding the development of Waynesville into an arts destination. For example one question may have been, “Did the Municipal Service District and NC Main Street grants always provide adequate funding or were alternative funding sources sought?”

The identification of these limitations may be of use for other researchers interested in examining communities. The limitations, while important to consider, did not necessarily hinder this investigation to a great extent.

Implications for Practice

There were several implications for community development practitioners. The first implication addresses participation. Both interview data and the literature emphasized the necessity of citizen participation in community development programs. Educating citizens and encouraging citizen participation is essential. The level of participation seen in Waynesville serves as a good example to other communities. Education was key as was personal contact with stakeholders and creating mechanisms for participation. As Cary (1979) noted, it is not enough to say that citizens should participate. The opportunity for stakeholders at all levels to participate must continually be made available. Residents had a chance to voice opinions and participate in the process and this contributed to the concept of meaningful participation. Community practitioners need to develop more methods to promote citizen participation.

Community buy-in is a term increasingly being used by community practitioners. As communities begin to change, buy-in by community residents can assure more success and less conflict. When community buy-in is achieved, all stakeholders are working towards the same vision and goals for their community. Though the need for community buy-in is accepted, practitioners lack the tools for getting buy-in. Solid methods need to be developed. The seven identified elements that I uncovered are a guide in cultivating participation and eventually buy-in.

Although this research did not intend to advocate for historic preservation, the results spoke to the potential role of heritage to community development. Rural communities often have unique histories and traditions. Heritage incorporation can be a tool for tourism development and consequently, economic development. Preservation of the culture as well as any infrastructure that can tell a story needs to be a priority in community development efforts. Community development is not always about tearing down and rebuilding. Waynesville tried to preserve as much of the historic buildings and facades lining Main Street and has also made use of historic homes (e.g., the historic Shelton House is home to the Museum of North Carolina Handicrafts). Preservation of cultural, natural, and built resources added to Waynesville's unique sense of place and made for a stronger tourism product. Historical preservation may be a viable route for other communities.

Suggestions for Future Research

This investigation of Waynesville's development into an arts destination supported the use of case studies for research purposes. The case study method allowed for a comprehensive description of the phenomenon of community development (Yin, 2003a).

Furthermore, the phenomenon is investigated “within its real life context” (p. 13). In other words, I investigated Waynesville’s community development process from many angles including social relationships, working relationships, the contribution of community organizations, town policies, events, physical changes, and community projects. Case studies are increasingly being used in research. Case studies are comprehensive and provide readers with a wealth of information about processes as well as context. The story of community development in Waynesville presented in this paper contributed to the use of case studies as a valid research method to be used in other community development studies.

Study results showed that both culture and art played an important part in community development and tourism development planning in Waynesville. The role of art in community and tourism is another consideration for future research. Interview participants easily identified the many arts-based attractions such as the Haywood Area Regional Theatre, galleries, and festivals. Interview participants also credited these attractions with contributing to the economy. However, Waynesville has not measured arts impact to the town. Research on this subject is slowly emerging, but the problem of developing adequate evaluation methods continues. Two studies have tried to capture the impact of the arts on North Carolina. The North Carolina Arts Council’s (2004) study, “Just the Ticket,” revealed that North Carolina’s nonprofit arts industry has an impact of \$723 million annually and nearly 7,000 full-time jobs. HandMade in America (1995) researched the contribution of the craft industry in Western North Carolina and found that the industry contributed approximately \$122 million to the regional economy. While these studies contribute to the value of art, they do not speak specifically to the value of art in community development

projects. Further research on measuring both the economic and social impact of art-based programs will support the findings in this research project.

Research surrounding community development and tourism development has been slow to investigate the concept of overdevelopment. McCool and Lime (2001) have begun to investigate the concept of carrying capacity as it applies to tourism. Carrying capacity has historically been applied to wildlife and range and refers to the amount of change acceptable for survival. McCool and Lime refer to tourism research that differentiates between “a capacity based on the host community’s tolerance for tourists and the tourist’s perception of quality experiences” (p. 379). McCool (1994) also applies the limits of acceptable change planning framework to communities pursuing sustainable tourism development. This framework allows for planners to ask residents about their tolerance for development and change.

Communities undergoing development need to be diligent in identifying what they want to preserve in the community and how much they want to develop or bring in to their community. Leaders in communities also need to establish methods for assessing when development needs to be curbed or ceased altogether. Community residents and leaders should evaluate development at regular intervals. This notion of knowing when to stop development does not suggest a community stops moving forward, but rather that leaders should understand how much development a community desires and how much change is acceptable.

Future research should continue to investigate the concepts of sustainable development, carrying capacity, and limits of acceptable change to the field of community

development. Examples of overdevelopment to the point of losing the character of a town can be seen in communities across the United States. An examination of Waynesville's development over the next twenty years will be interesting. Waynesville has successfully managed its development to this point. The town has developed into an attractive destination for visitors while maintaining both its cultural identity and the quality of life for residents.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to understand how Waynesville developed into an arts destination. Seven critical elements of community development contributed to the overall process. Identification of these elements (i.e., downtown revitalization, heritage incorporation, tourism development, public-private partnerships, collaborative leadership, community buy-in, and the value of arts) may benefit other communities seeking to embark on community development and tourism initiatives. Success of each element depends on citizen participation. Communities must first develop ways to educate all segments of its citizens and then by creating an atmosphere that fosters participation, engage those citizens in the development process.

Perhaps the most significant discovery was that community development should be approached as a holistic process. The community development process in Waynesville was not necessarily dependent on a succession of events. When I first approached this study I expected the process to emerge as a year-by-year timeline, although that linear assumption was not the outcome. Certainly, some development programs built on each other and followed sequentially. For example, the success of the international festival Folkmoot USA led to the development of a smaller but still successful event, the International Festival Day

and the beautification of Waynesville's Main Street led beautification projects on side streets. However, I found that many aspects of community development needed to occur simultaneously and collectively (refer to page 95). The results of my study showed that the events, arts-based programs, policies, revitalization projects, and tourism initiatives overlapped. The leadership, partnerships, community buy-in, and citizen participation continually instigated change and pulled all of these products together.

The process that emerged from this study was cyclical and recursive (as seen in Figure 2.). This discovery is important to communities with expectations that development process should be tackled one step at time. Development may need to be approached concurrently and involve various players including average citizens, government officials, and community leaders.

Communities, regardless of how they are defined or described, exist in every society. Strong communities offer numerous benefits to citizens. Among many things, the creation of a strong community in Waynesville led to economic renewal, heritage preservation, and sense of community cohesiveness and pride in its citizens. By telling this story of community development and by providing practical strategies for development, other rural communities have an opportunity to better plan for their own development.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Interview/Focus Group Contact Letter Template

DATE

NAME
ADDRESS

Dear xxx,

My name is Cate Marvill and I am a graduate student in the Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management at North Carolina State University in Raleigh.

I am currently working on my thesis, which will look at the community development process that has occurred in Waynesville. By talking to community leaders and officials and researching historical documents, I hope to get a clear picture of how communities develop into arts destinations. I would like to set up an interview at your convenience to discuss your participation in and thoughts on the development process.

I will call or email next week to follow up. If you have any questions or would like to contact me, you can reach me at 919-xxx-xxxx or xxx@ncsu.edu.

Thank you,

Cate Marvill

APPENDIX B
IRB Consent Form

North Carolina State University
INFORMED CONSENT FORM for RESEARCH

Title of Study: *Creating an arts destination: The process of community development in Waynesville, NC*

Principal Investigator Cate Marvill Faculty Sponsor (if applicable) Dr. Karla Henderson

We are asking you to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to understand how Waynesville has developed into a sustainable arts destination.

INFORMATION

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in a one-on-one interview with the principal investigator, Cate Marvill, lasting no longer than one hour. You may be asked to participate in another interview for this study in the future.

RISKS

None

BENEFITS

It is important to understand why and how communities develop into sustainable tourism destinations. This study will assess long-term and interactive development in hopes that other rural communities might apply successes and lessons learned

CONFIDENTIALITY

The information in the study records will be kept strictly confidential. Data will be stored securely on my personal digital recorder and computer. Recordings will be destroyed after the research is complete. It is important to note that because of the nature of this study, certain references to occupations and roles in the community may link you to the study. It is not possible to ensure confidentiality as it pertains to this case.

COMPENSATION (if applicable)

None

EMERGENCY MEDICAL TREATMENT (if applicable)

None

CONTACT

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, Cate Marvill, at XXX, Raleigh, NC, or 919-xxx-xxxx. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Matthew Zingraff, Chair of the NCSU IRB for the Use of Human Subjects in Research Committee, Box 7514, NCSU Campus (919/513-1834) or Mr. Matthew Ronning, Assistant Vice Chancellor, Research Administration, Box 7514, NCSU Campus (919/513-2148)

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed your data will be returned to you or destroyed at your request.

CONSENT

“I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study with the understanding that I may withdraw at any time.”

Subject's signature _____ **Date** _____

Investigator's signature _____ **Date** _____