Appalachian
STATE UNIVERSITY®
BOONE, NORTH CAROLINA

Built Capital As A Catalyst For Community-Based Tourism

By: **Carol Kline**, Nancy McGehee, and John Delconte

Abstract
This article focuses on the role of built capital as a catalyst for the development of other forms of capital in collective community-based tourism projects. As part of a regional initiative, modest built capital projects were implemented in six small towns in the Appalachian region of North Carolina. To discover how each community was affected, the impacts of these physical changes were documented, evaluated and categorized using Flora's Community Capitals Framework. Over 100 interviews of stakeholders revealed how each project created new social and human capital, improving the community's psyche, fostering confidence, camaraderie, gratification, and a sense of purpose both within and beyond the tourism-based focus. Additional capitals were cultivated, including spin-off projects, increased visitation by tourists, elected official support, and a more entrepreneurial community. Informants overwhelmingly reported that the physical changes acted as a symbol of the cohesiveness created from the community-centered and participatory approach.

Built Capital as a Catalyst for Community-Based Tourism

Carol Kline[1], Nancy McGehee[2], and John Delconte[3]

Abstract

This article focuses on the role of built capital as a catalyst for the development of other forms of capital in collective community-based tourism projects. As part of a regional initiative, modest built capital projects were implemented in six small towns in the Appalachian region of North Carolina. To discover how each community was affected, the impacts of these physical changes were documented, evaluated and categorized using Flora's Community Capitals Framework. Over 100 interviews of stakeholders revealed how each project created new social and human capital, improving the community's psyche, fostering confidence, camaraderie, gratification, and a sense of purpose both within and beyond the tourism-based focus. Additional capitals were cultivated, including spin-off projects, increased visitation by tourists, elected official support, and a more entrepreneurial community. Informants overwhelmingly reported that the physical changes acted as a symbol of the cohesiveness created from the community-centered and participatory approach.

Introduction

This study focuses on community-based built capital projects in the Appalachian region of North Carolina and their impacts within the Community Capitals Framework (CCF). In the context of tourism, built capital improvement projects may include attractions that form the face of a destination such as historic buildings, bike trails, waterfront developments, and performance arenas; or infrastructure that supports tourism operations behind the scenes such as water and sewage improvements or smart city technology. The development of community infrastructure and its impact on tourism, as well as the development of tourism infrastructure and its impact on the community, have been an important stream of inquiry within rural tourism research for decades (Allen et al. 1988). One common argument in favor of built capital projects is the positive effect they can have on happiness, energy level, motivation, and productivity (De Botton 2008). Additionally, built capital projects are often promoted as a means to improve the overall economic, social, and environmental quality of a community. Not surprisingly, this notion has captured the attention of many community stakeholders, including architects, designers, decorators, planners, business and plant managers, park managers, and community developers. Ironically, these stakeholders know very little about how or why built capital improvements impact other aspects of community.

While finished built capital projects are often seen as crucial to a communities' growth and success, the process by which these projects are executed is also important, but rarely examined. For example, while anecdotal evidence exists, limited research has supported the idea that additional benefits are felt when built capital projects of any kind are accomplished through collective efforts within communities (Follett 1940; Innes 1996; Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Putnam 1995). Even more rarely has research targeted tourism-specific capital projects and the extremely crucial initial stages of gaining consensus, planning, organizing, and building that are part of the collective process (Thomas, Shaw, and Page 2011; Wang and Pfister 2008). This study is unique in that it investigates the impacts of tourism development via the early stages of collective and community-based physical improvement projects in seven small towns in the Appalachian Region of North Carolina. The approach leading up to these physical improvements, as well as the circumstances surrounding them, is analyzed to identify aspects that could be applicable and replicated in other communities, further maximizing the positive and reverberating impact of the projects. The research questions explored in this study are as follows:

[1]Hospitality and Tourism Management, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC, USA
[2]Hospitality and Tourism Management, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg VA, USA
[3]Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, USA

Corresponding Author:
John Delconte, Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01002, USA.
Email: jdelconte@umass.edu or johndelconte@gmail.com

1. How did the change in the communities' built capital affect other forms of capital?
2. To what extent was the built capital improvement used as a symbol to consciously facilitate other capital changes?
3. To what extent did the participatory approach of the development process enhance the capital gains?

The Community Capitals Framework (CCF) was used as the foundation for this study because it provides an inclusive, holistic model of tangible and intangible community capital as well as the relationships across capitals. It is also an appropriate lens in which to view the early stages of community-based tourism projects. Similarly, given the complexity of any community-based initiative, an in-depth interview approach was used in order to capture the richness and depth of process, approach, and outcomes. The approach allowed for thoughtful and complex responses from a wide range of stakeholders involved in the community-based tourism projects.

Community Capitals Frameworks

Callaghan and Colton (2008) wrote that "communities are comprised of various types of capital stock or resources upon which all community stakeholders rely and into which all community stakeholders contribute" (p. 933). Flora and Flora (2013) defined capital as any type of resource capable of producing additional resources. Perhaps the most well-known capital is financial capital. However, the concept of capital and wealth goes beyond a community's marketable assets.

Flora and Flora introduced the CCF to understand systems relating to poverty, natural resource management, and social equity (Flora and Flora 2013). This model emerged from the practice and application of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) as well as other participatory strategies (Gutierrez-Montes, Emery, and Fernandez-Baca 2009). The SLA was developed with the belief that livelihoods are sustainable when individuals or households can recover from shocks while maintaining their stocks of capitals, including natural resources. The SLA tracks five capitals: human, social, natural, physical, and financial. A total of seven capitals are included in Flora's model, which adds built and political capitals to the SLA model. The community capitals of the CCF are defined as follows:

- Natural capital: air, water, soil, living things, and weather
- Cultural capital: values, perceptions, symbols, and reward systems
- Human capital: individual potential determined by nature (genetics) and nurture (social interaction and the environment)
- Social capital: mutual trust, reciprocity, collective identity, working together, and a sense of a shared future

- Political capital: the ability of a community or group to turn norms and values into standards
- Financial capital: savings, income, fees, loans and credit, gifts and philanthropy, taxes, and tax exemptions
- Built capital: human-constructed infrastructure (Flora and Flora 2013).

There is a synergistic flow of energy among the community capitals—which can be either positive or negative—resulting in the growth or diminishment of capitals (Flora and Flora 2013). When the capitals foster one another they can fuel a sustainable, self-supporting system that fosters a healthy ecosystem, a vital economy, and social well-being (Flora and Flora 2013). Callaghan and Colton (2008) proposed that a community cannot flourish if one capital is excessively built up at the expense of another, and claimed that a "resilient" community is one that finds the right balance of capitals. They suggested that the flow of energy between capitals forms a pyramid, with some capitals forming the foundation for others; environmental capital is the foundation capital, with ascending layers formed by human, social, cultural, structural, and finally, commercial capital.

The CCF has been used as a tool for implementing and tracking system-level changes in a wide range of community development projects. It differs from past approaches toward poverty and/or resource management that focused on individual components instead of using a systematic approach. M. Emery and Flora (2006) were some of the first researchers to apply the CCF, in a Nebraska study that analyzed a case where human, social, and financial capitals were cultivated. They found that these capital investments resulted in expanded human capital consisting of augmented skills and knowledge and increased volunteer hours, social capital that strengthened networking and improved leadership opportunities, and expanded cultural capital via the acceptance of youth and other nontraditional leaders as actors.

In 2009, a special issue of *Community Development: Journal of the Community Development Society (CDS)* was devoted to the application of the CCF as a means of reducing poverty and implementing sound resource management policy without environmental degradation (Gutierrez-Montes, Emery, and Fernandez-Baca 2009). The CCF was one of three interpretive devices used to see how sustainable development could benefit from a systemwide approach. The other two methods, SLA and Participatory Action Research (PAR), were sometimes used in combination with the CCF. The international articles from that issue covered a variety of topics, including land use, farming, water supply, and food security.

While a number of the articles published in the special issue of the *Journal of the CDS* informed this current study, the most crucial contributions springboard from Gutierrez-Montes's (2005) notion of community capitals

building upon each other to either "spiral up or down"; in other words, increases in one category of capitals led to increases in others as the capitals build upon one another (spiraling up); likewise, a reduction in one form of capital jeopardized others (spiraling down). The concept of development spirals is not new. In the 1980s and 1990s, the World Bank and the United Nations brought attention to the downward spiral of poverty leading to environmental degradation, population growth, and worsening of poverty, recommending better education and public health and reduced income inequality (WCED 1987; Cleaver and Schreiber 1994; Timmer 1994; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). The CCF provides a means of tracking spirals within the context of community capitals. For example, Segnestam (2009) used the CCF to analyze the varying impacts of droughts on women and men in a rural Nicaraguan community. The study showed that downward spirals were more likely to be experienced by women because of their relative lack of ownership and access to varied capitals. Previous attempts to reverse the downward spiral had been focused on increasing financial capital; however, this analysis revealed that the vulnerability of the women was more precisely due to a lack of cultural and political capital. Gasteyer and Araj (2009) studied issues surrounding access to potable water in Palestinian villages. Through the use of the CCF, they were able to place the efforts of NGOs and international donors within a regional water framework. The results indicated that community capacity development was highly dependent on existing stocks of natural, political, and cultural capitals. Finally, Flora and Gillespie (2009) examined intervention programs and demonstrated how a CCF approach could help identify factors to enable healthy food and fitness choices. The CCF helped map interconnections of interventions and determined priorities of which capitals should be strengthened and in what order, thereby adding a level of sophistication and complexity beyond merely spiraling up or down. Specifically, Flora and Gillespie argued that built capital provides opportunities for recreation to prevent obesity, but investments in local social capital were first needed to influence political capital while mobilizing financial and human capitals.

Other studies have documented how the CCF provides both flexibility and structure to capture a spiral effect of shifts in the community. M. Emery (2013) used ripple mapping to show how interactions between bonding and bridging social capital within youth programming activities led to a spiraling up of social capital. Winkler et al. (2016) used the CCF to evaluate how arts-related projects were related to sustainable development goals in a postindustrial mining community, and found evidence of a spiraling-up effect with social sustainability following investment in social, political and cultural capitals surrounding an arts district. However, other researchers have argued that the spiraling-up is not an ideal way to describe the complex and seemingly indiscriminate cascading of effects of one capital on another (Pigg et al. 2013).

While there have been substantive gains in tourism literature regarding the interplay of social capital and rural tourism development (e.g., Liu et al. 2014; Moscardo et al. 2013), there have been only a few studies of the interplay of capitals specific to tourism. McGehee et al. (2010) were some of the first to use CCF in tourism research when they surveyed tourism stakeholders, exposing relationships between tourism-related social capital and cultural, political, human, private, built, and financial capitals, but not between tourism-related capital and public built or natural capitals. Later, Zahra and McGehee (2013) extended this work when they explored the CCF in the context of volunteer tourism in the Philippines using interviews and other qualitative methods. They found that volunteer tourists created bridging social capital with members of the host community that then contributed to the cultivation (or spiraling up) of other community capitals. The CCF was used to appraise and guide community capacity for current and future tourism development for Canadian aboriginal communities located near ecologically protected areas (Bennett et al. 2012); to examine both positive and negative interdependent linkages (spiraling up and down) between tourism, conservation, and community development in Botswana (Stone and Nyaupane 2016); to predict the presence of economic development efforts, such as local business development, recreation and tourism development, and human services in rural Pennsylvania, USA (Zekeri 2013); and to assess how tourism affects an agroecotourism program on an organic urban farm in Cuba (Duffy et al. 2017). As a final illustration, CCF was modified to create a conceptual framework of territorial capital to enhance destination competitiveness in rural Tuscany (Tortora, Randelli, and Romei 2014). Each of these studies called attention to the potential for the use of the CCF to expose and explore the interplay of community capitals and therefore facilitate the maximization of resources. Several studies addressed the role that built capital played in tourism-related processes and outcomes, although none of them examine built capital as the primary catalyst (Bennett et al. 2012; Delconte, Kline, and Scavo 2016; Duffy et al. 2017; Garrod and Fyall 2000; Idziak, Majewski, and Zmyślony 2015; Moscardo et al. 2013).

Community capacity-building projects often engage stakeholders for their planning and execution in a bottom–up, discursive approach. Community participation is an integral part of sustainable rural tourism (Idziak, Majewski, and Zmyślony 2015). The theoretical basis for collaborative planning stems from Jürgen Habermas's communicative action theory, which opposed the systematic approach of instrumental rationality (Innes 1995; Habermas 1984). The CCF provides a valuable tool for teasing apart the role that local voices play in influencing the interplay between community capitals, or, the micro-systems of everyday life—what Habermas called the "lifeworld" (Lewandowski 2009).

Table 1. Town and Project Characteristics.

Town	2013 Population	2013 Per Capita Income*	Defining Tourist Products or Features	Infrastructure Project Examined
Bakersville	454	$10,786	Arts festivals; galleries; events along the creek walk; outdoor recreation	Creek walk
Chimney Rock	175	$21,428	Iconic mountain formation shaped like a chimney (315 feet high)	Streetlights
Crossnore	242	$16,788	The Crossnore School (and orphanage); local music events	Public meeting house (renovation)
Hayesville	338	$20,135	Outdoor recreation; local events; Cherokee heritage	Historic courthouse restoration
Mars Hill	2,145	$17,381	Mars Hill College; local arts and music; farms	Gazebo
West Jefferson	1,315	$13,637	Farmer's market; revitalized downtown; outdoor recreation; local arts and music	Music stage
Region	1,110,671	$21,430		Public art for barns

Sources: Brennan, Cooper, and Ha 2014; Fields 2011; US Census 2015; income and population figures are estimated based on census data.
Note: Per capita income for North Carolina is US$25,284, compared with $28,155 for the United States.

Therefore, this study focuses not just on how primary interventions in built capital tourism projects influence other community capitals but on understanding how the community planning process leads to change and action.

Methods

Study Population

Communities and participants were selected as a purposive sample. The researcher's depth of relationships, breadth of networks, and accumulated knowledge of the settings (and hence the data) could not have been obtained at other sites outside of WNC where HandMade's local contacts and local knowledge were not as strong. Seven infrastructure projects were selected to participate in a larger study exploring the successes of HandMade in America (HandMade), a nonprofit organization supporting craft and artisans in Western North Carolina (WNC). The projects occurred in towns that were active participants in HandMade's Small Towns Program (STP), a revitalization initiative based on the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street Program (http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/) but tailored to towns with a population generally below 2,000 (Table 1). Each town has a primary community development organization (CDO) that serves as the liaison between the town's volunteers and HandMade's STP staff. Additionally, each of the six towns provide a layer of distinct and local tourist "product" against a backdrop of similar Appalachian topography, culture, and heritage. As a region, WNC is home to the Blue Ridge Parkway and the Smoky Mountain National Park, both some of the highest visited national parks in the nation. Besides offering scenic views, the natural resources provide abundant opportunity for snow

sports in the winter, hiking, fishing and water sports in the summer and spring, and "leaf watching" in the autumn. Geological sites, wildlife watching, botanical gardens, agritourism farms, farm-to-table restaurants, and craft breweries round out the nature-based attractions. Historic and cultural interests include the influence of American Indians, particularly the Cherokee, Scottish heritage, bluegrass music, and "literary trails" in addition to handmade craft discussed previously.

The geographic spread of the towns encompassed approximately 10,000 square miles or roughly 25,900 square km. Figure 1 depicts the towns within the context of North Carolina; however, the mileage depicted are via curved mountain roads. All of the counties within the North Carolina Mountains fall within the Appalachian Region, a large mountain range that spans 13 states in the eastern United States. The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) is a regional economic development agency that was established in 1965 by the US Congress to serve a historically poor and geographically difficult to access region. The ARC provides funding and technical assistance to the 420 counties within the region. Two of the six towns within this study (Chimney Rock and Crossnore) fall within counties that ARC designates as an economically distressed (ARC, n.d.)

Interview Design and Data Collection

Data were collected in three phases from May to October 2010: phase 1, interviews with twelve HandMade staff, including the founder and employees that span fifteen years of operation; phases 2 and 3, semistructured interviews and focus groups with 93 residents in the six towns engaged for this study, most but not all of which served as volunteers in the town's CDO (see Table 2 for a breakdown of participants
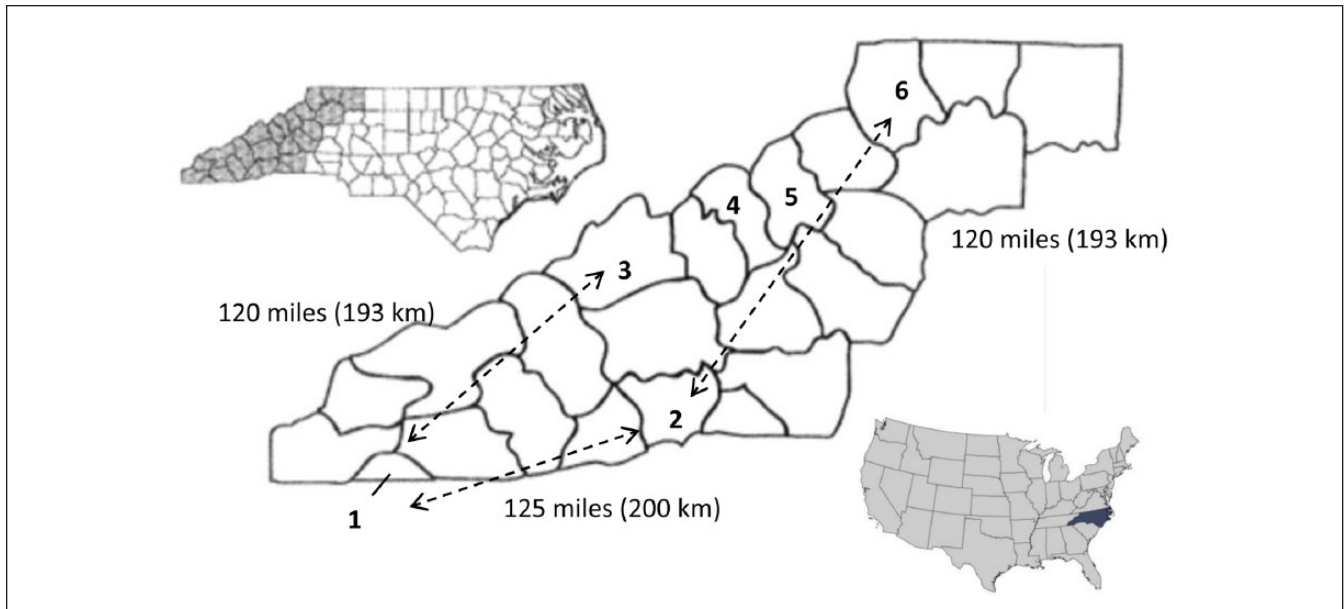
Figure 1. Geographic dispersion of six towns of focus. 1 = Hayesville; 2 = Chimney Rock; 3 = Mars Hill; 4 =Bakersville; 5 = Crossnore; 6 = West Jefferson.
Source: North Carolina General Assembly (n.d.) Program Evaluation Division. http://www.ncleg.net/PED/Reports/images/USmap.jpg.

Table 2. Informant Profile.

	Total Participants	Single Interviews	Participants in Paired Interviews	Participants in Each Focus Group	Age Range, Years	Mean Years Lived in County	Mean Years Involved in Community Projects
Bakersville	22	8	6	4/4	35–75	27	14
Chimney Rock	6	2	0	4	60–80	35	28
Crossnore	8	0	0	8	39–80	34	8
Hayesville	30	3	0	8/7/6/6	30–83	25	16
Mars Hill	13	4	4	5	37–74	29	20
West Jefferson	14	7	4	3	37–68	14	8

Source: Informants.

and data collection method). Researchers conducted a review of HandMade news archives, publications, reports, and community development plans created by HandMade, but these were only used as backup documentation and/or reference when needed. Initial data analysis was performed from January to December 2010 and confirmatory meetings with the small-town representatives as well as key HandMade staff were held January through October of 2011. Each interview (paired or individual) lasted 45–60 minutes. Focus groups were 60–90 minutes. The leader of each CDO assisted in making the local arrangements for data collection, including securing a suitable facility and extending an invitation to community members who had been involved with HandMade's efforts, worked within the tourism industry, and/or was involved within the business community in town. Interviews were held in the place of work for interviewees (e.g., a shop or office or bed and breakfast) or at a local restaurant, whereas focus groups were held in community

centers open to the public. In most cases, the primary researcher had made the acquaintance of each CDO leader but not the study participants.

A standard handout was used with all informants that provided an explanation and conceptualization of the CCF (Flora et al. 2005). An interview protocol was developed by two researchers based on the goal to "map" the ripple effect of impacts that the STP has had in the region; the protocol was based on Zahra and McGehee's work in the Philippines (2013). The CCF served as a guide to classify the impacts, so that patterns of impacts, the connection between impacts, and the sequencing of impacts could be depicted. Participants were instructed that the interview/focus group would follow a positive tone, and would be reflective, much in the spirit of the appreciative inquiry approach to research (Cooperrider and Whitney 2005). Rather than focusing on future plans and community "visions," the interview/focus group would reflect back to consider the impacts that the organization has

made and why the organization has been successful. The positive and reflective tone would not only satisfy the goals of the research but would distinguish it from planning sessions or design charrettes, and served as a mechanism to prevent the sessions from devolving into complaints about any current community dynamics. Examples of questions follow:

- Tell me about (the CDO's) programs.
- What positive impacts has (the CDO) had in the community?
- Have these impacts created further impacts?
- Which community capital would that fall under?
- What impacts has (the CDO) had in each of these capitals? (The group or interviewee would circle around the community diagram discussing each capital.)
- What would have happened anyway without the efforts of (the CDO)?

Data Analysis

Special care was taken in the development of the research design to ensure parameters for validity in qualitative research, which is more accurately referred to as trustworthiness (DeCrop 2004; Maxwell 2005; Lincoln and Guba 1985), which includes four criteria for qualitative inquiry: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (DeCrop 2004, 159). Credibility was enhanced using techniques of prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and member checks. The researcher has more than 15 years' experience in the community (prolonged engagement). Findings from the interviews and focus groups were reviewed by participants in the study as a form of verification of the researcher's interpretation of the interviews. Transferability was accounted for through the purposive sampling used in the study. Dependability was strengthened in this study through the development of a detailed research plan, which included an audit trail of the transcripts, the research process, and discussion of the project over time between two researchers; prolonged engagement; and the inclusion of a research auditor (the second researcher). The research audit process is also used to assess confirmability, or assurances that a variety of explanations about the phenomenon are being studied. The primary researcher is aware that while her experience and entré into the community was important, it also could create potential bias. Reflexivity was used to combat this: she immersed herself in the CCF literature, worked to allow for a wide spectrum of voices, and intentionally sought out a research auditor who she felt would have geographical and emotional distance from the project.

In addition to the aforementioned criteria for trustworthiness, data and method triangulation were utilized through the use of a variety of data sources and methodological techniques. All of the focus groups and interviews were audiotaped. Transcriptions were created in two ways: through a drawing software program that creates flow charts, as well as into Microsoft Word. The data were reviewed and analyzed using open/initial coding followed by focused/axial coding techniques based on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) recommendations. Specifically, for the open coding stage, the two coders repeatedly read the data and coded as much as possible, breaking up multiple pages of text into more manageable segments. These were then grouped together and used during the focused/axial stage of coding, which involved identifying and combining the initial coded data into larger categories that subsume multiple codes. This analysis revealed that there was support for a community capitals framework. The drawing program SmartDraw was used to record the primary, secondary, tertiary, and subsequent impacts, depicted through a series of boxed text and arrows. Additionally, the impact statements generated by the interview transcriptions were placed into tables where one or more community capitals were assigned by the researchers; this step was critical to both determining patterns in the data and the reflexivity of the data analysis process. The flowcharts and the tables were verified by the community participants through a second visit to each town in 2011. Corrections, additions, and deletions to the original flowcharts and tables were made by many of the original interviewees. Readers should note that data were first analyzed and reported in such a manner that the participating communities could receive benefit of the information. After each community had their own report and it was presented to various officials in the region (which took 18–24 months), the data analysis for academic publication began.

Findings

The findings are reported beginning with impacts of the smaller built capital projects, followed by larger projects, and ending with a regional example. The essence of the impacts is described in the text, illustrated by relevant quotes, and specified according to each corresponding "assignment" to the CCF. By presenting the findings in this triangulated format, the data can be more richly interpreted. While the tables do not depict the "strength" or "depth" of each impact, they do provide a visual method for superimposing the CCF onto the data in a way that illustrates how each impact was classified by informants. The findings reflect the broad areas of agreement among the 105 informants (93 residents and 12 staff) and HandMade archives.

Mars Hill Gazebo

The first STP project in Mars Hill was construction of the town gazebo, which enhanced the overall cosmetic appeal of the town's center. After the gazebo, the CDO landscaped the surrounding area and community residents began using the space as a setting for prom, wedding, and holiday photos. It is frequently used as an image on websites promoting tourism to the town. For the community, the gazebo became an early symbol that positive community changes were under

Table 3. Mars Hill Gazebo.

	Natural	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Built
Primary impacts						
Cosmetic improvement						X
Residents use as a setting for photos (graduation, prom wedding)		X	X			
Part of Christmas event: tree lighting, singing				X		
Symbol that we are doing something (moving forward) in this town					X	
Now gazebo is an assumed part of the community					X	
Secondary impacts						
Planted flowers around the gazebo to further enhance aesthetics	X					

Note: Financial capital was not reported by informants or indicated in any of the additional materials.

Table 4. Chimney Rock Streetlights Installation.

	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Financial	Built	Natural
Primary impacts							
Signals arrival into a meaningful destination				X			
It is picturesque when the village/valley is lit at night			X				X
Adds welcoming effect			X				
Lights the way through town						X	
Discourages crime		X			X		
Secondary impacts							
Encourages people to notice town and come back in daylight	X	X					
Attracts visitors to the river	X	X					
Increases community pride	X						
Can see store fronts/window displays at night	X						

way. A resident involved in HandMade and vested in local government explained: "Some of the most joyful meetings I've ever participated in are HandMade meetings where we talk about what we are doing in our own communities, share and glean ideas from the other communities. . . . [They spark a] barn-raising spirit—it rekindled that in me and in others." The gazebo continues to be a popular place to hold events, including a Christmas tree-lighting and Gather at the Gazebo that feature local musicians. Two residents with a long tenure in Mars Hill stated that new residents are often surprised to learn about the symbolic and social heritage of the gazebo as a catalyst for community capacity building. Table 3 and the subsequent tables illustrate the informants' interpretation of the impact(s) within the CCF.

Chimney Rock Streetlights Installation

Installation of the streetlights that line US Highway 74—the only thoroughfare through Chimney Rock—has had several positive impacts. Informants noted that the presence of the lights signify arrival into a destination, have a very welcoming effect at night, and illuminate the way through town. They felt the lights discourage crime and encourage visitors to look in shop windows at night, thereby enticing them to come back during shop hours. The lights also attract visitors to the river, and set a picturesque scene. The lights are a

source of community pride for the residents and business owners. The subsequent positive influence on the community serves as an inspiration. A local leader who has worked with HandMade initiatives for many years remarked about the assistance they received: "[HandMade] gave us the tools . . . and took us through a process where we can actually measure what results we achieved" (Table 4).

Crossnore Meeting House

The refurbishment of the floor and porch decking of the Crossnore Meeting House (Table 5) was a project resulting from funding for flood relief in 2004. Informants felt the resulting restoration of community infrastructure improved the town overall and led to a ripple effect of positive impacts. Since the project was completed, the facility has been used for several functions, including a book shelter, food distribution center, and the hub of Crossnore's annual 4th of July celebration. The Meeting House is now a rental space for parties and meetings, serving as the town information center, perpetuating local heritage by displaying community photos, and perhaps most significantly became a place for musicians to gather or perform. As a result of these events, informants reported that community bonding and long-term community pride improved. As musicians began to play at the Meeting House, their public exposure grew. Subsequently, residents

Table 5. Crossnore Meeting House Restoration.

	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Financial
Primary impacts					
Refurbishments instill community pride	X				
Spot for musicians to meet and play		X			
Can be rented for parties or meetings				X	X
Serves as information center	X		X		
Perpetuates community heritage by displaying old photos	X			X	
Facility for community services: book shelter, food distribution, 4th of July event	X	X	X		
Secondary impacts					
Community bonding at music events and holiday events		X			
Exposure to musicians might encourage long-term following/fans		X			
Visitors receive information about area attractions/ heritage	X				
Pride in heritage	X				
Tertiary and other impacts					
Visitors spend money in community shops and restaurants					X

Note: Natural and Built capital was not reported by informants or indicated in any of the additional materials.

began to follow them to performances in other towns to show support and engage in a new form of entertainment. Additionally, the information center now educates visitors about existing attractions, restaurants, and retail stores. The renovation of the meeting house and subsequent attention focused on the local history and culture caused one informant to comment: "We really are bridging the past to the future. . .and it's amazing how the past is being brought back to life by these efforts."

West Jefferson Back Street Park and Music Stage

According to the informants in West Jefferson, a number of community impacts followed the development of the Back Street park and music stage in West Jefferson. First, the physical addition of the park to the town provided a pleasant and neutral gathering place for community residents. The park setting elevated the status of Back Street, in existence for years, but never used as a location for community gatherings. While adding to the overall Cultural Capital of the town, the events held in Back Street Park also increased bonding by bringing county residents into town and reminding them of downtown assets (Table 6). Additionally, the park and stage provided a forum for nonprofit organizations to expand their involvement in the life of the town and the activity in the park and the downtown also fostered shopping and entrepreneurship from residents and visitors. One resident commented, "I think the things that we are doing in West Jefferson are moving in the direction of making this a more entrepreneurial place."

New utilities were added to Back Street Park to provide electricity. This attracted bands, demonstrations, and vendors to events, and subsequently attracted larger crowds. Attending the events inspired community attachment and pride among residents noted several informants. To illustrate, one commented, "People will attend concerts before they attend meetings . . . but you meet people at concerts that lead to important connections. . . . Elected officials who enjoy the events themselves and observe the commitment of those working to execute events for the community good became more likely to lend support and resources to future projects."

Beyond community events, the park has provided a safe, neutral, communal location for residents to enjoy and a space for works of public art to be installed. Perhaps most importantly, the park created opportunities for the city, the county, and the state to work together, which built trust for future collaborations. Increased trust, pride, and self-efficacy fostered motivation for additional community-based renovation and investment. On the whole, the Back Street Park and Music Stage acted as a catalyst to strengthen partnerships and collective accomplishments.

Hayesville Courthouse Exterior Renovation

The renovation of the exterior of the Hayesville Courthouse resulted in numerous additional outcomes and capitals, including increased interested in the history of the courthouse and pride in that history; revealed craftsmanship in the patterns of the bricks as they were laid; pride in the courthouse project itself; residents and businesses were inspired to increase their community involvement by investing their time, skills, and personal funds into related projects; and increased visibility and reputation of the local sponsoring organization (Clay County Community Revitalization Association or CCCRA) (Table 7).

After the renovation, CCCRA developed a walkway brick sponsorship program, which gave people a way to get involved. The sponsored bricks also personalized the courthouse, increased pride, and drew residents to the courthouse square to look at the sponsored bricks. Additionally, the courthouse restoration became a symbol of the community

Table 6. Back Street Park and Music Stage.

	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Financial	Built	Natural
Primary impacts							
Legitimized park for public events				X			
Provides a neutral outdoor gathering space		X	X				X
New utilities needed for stage doubled for other uses						X	
Brings county residents into town		X					
Created opportunity for community and elected officials to work together		X					
Secondary impacts							
Music added new dimension of cultural capital			X				
Events allowed community members to contribute in varied ways	X						
Attracted bands, demonstrations, vendors			X				
Social bonding at events		X					
Built trust		X					
Tertiary and other impacts							
Draws larger crowd		X					
Community attachment, pride, and bonding increases	X						
Inspired motivation for more projects, renovation, investment	X	X			X	X	
Elected officials see commitment of planners and support similar events					X	X	

Table 7. Hayesville Courthouse Exterior Renovation—Immediate Impacts After the Exterior of Courthouse Was Power-Washed, Revealing Patterns in the Brick Craftsmanship.

	Natural	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Financial	Built
Primary impacts							
Residents became interested in courthouse history		X		X			
Community pride in forbearers increased		X		X			
Visibility and reputation of CCCRA increased			X		X		
Secondary impacts							
CCCRA and other residents were inspired to be involved in more community projects		X	X		X		
Support for community businesses increased					X		
Donations increased						X	
Tertiary and other impacts							
Walkway brick sponsorship program began; gave people a way to feel involved		X					
Residents would come to courthouse to look at sponsored bricks			X				
Courthouse appearance was polished and personalized				X			
Community pride increased		X					
Restores the tradition/heritage of the courthouse being a catalyst for gathering			X	X			
Symbolized the community coming together					X		

coming together to restore the historical use of a courthouse as a convening space.

As news of the renovation progressed, both new and long-time residents became interested in the courthouse history, county residents came into town to admire the project, and pride within the community continued to increase (Table 8). The influence of this collective confidence spawned additional community activity; for example, the courthouse square was landscaped and benches were added. Brochures were created to attract visitors and new businesses opened as the tourist traffic slowly increased and generally renewed downtown vitality. Over time, tourists eventually had more to do when they visited, and more opportunities to spend money in the local economy. Some visitors even relocated to Hayesville as a retirement or second home location. One long-time resident reflected on the progress: "I rarely walk around the

Table 8. Hayesville Courthouse Exterior Renovation—Longer-Range Impacts as the News of the Renovation Spread.

	Natural	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Financial	Built
Primary impacts							
Native and non-native residents became interested in courthouse history		X		X			
Remote county residents came into town to admire courthouse		X	X	X			
CCCRA sponsored events on the courthouse square				X			
CCCRA proud of accomplishments		X					
CCCRA confidence grows to tackle larger projects		X	X		X		
Secondary impacts							
New events bring in remote county residents			X	X			
New events give kids something to do		X		X			
Some events were CCCRA fundraisers						X	
Series of summer events gave other organizations a chance to sponsor events				X	X		
Courthouse square enhanced with benches and landscaping	X						X
Tertiary and other impacts							
Veterans began using square often for events			X	X			
Attendance at Memorial Day events increased			X	X			
People sit, stay, appreciate the square, hang out downtown			X	X			
New businesses opened around square		X	X			X	
Merchants around square began to upgrade façade							X
Brochures now feature courthouse square					X		
Tourists have more to do when they visit		X	X	X			
Visitors spend money in town							X
Some tourists relocate		X	X				
Increase in foot traffic and business			X	X		X	

square that I don't think about how it looked ten years ago, and how it looks now. Literally the courthouse was sinking . . . water, mold, it was terrible . . . the light fixtures were hanging off, there was trash everywhere, there were no trash cans. . . . I never dreamed that little cigarette containers . . . that people would use them."

CCCRA began to sponsor events on the square, which provided entertainment for families. The events were initially developed as fundraisers, but other organizations soon began hosting events to the point where nearly each weekend in the summer had an event. A resident explained:

> I think it is remarkable how often . . . and how wonderful it is . . . that our downtown square is used. Basically almost every weekend during the summer people are coming together for who knows what reason and for who knows how long but there is a mixing of people that happens here . . . this one of the few times you get Baptists and Lutherans and Methodists and everybody, you get Republicans and Democrats, you get farmers and business people, mixing on the square, and I think that is a tremendous effect in terms of feeling like you are part of a larger community and it's a connection place that happens that crosses boundaries and CCCRA is only part of that, but we have a lot to do with how the square looks, and why it is an attractive place to come, and why businesses would want to open up these stores. The next time the next problem occurs, the next challenge comes up, they feel like they've got an investment.

Informants agreed that because the courthouse was the first major CCCRA project, it served as an example and symbol of CCCRA's potential influence within the county. Initially, the process of the Hayesville Courthouse Exterior Renovation and other community projects did not appear to have direct financial capital impact within the community. However, Financial Capital gradually increased through business investments around the courthouse square and increased spending of residents and visitors.

Beyond the influence on built capital, the impacts most profoundly sensed in the community were social and human capital in the forms of community pride, cohesion of community members, and confidence in beginning new projects. Additionally, as a result of its success, CDO leaders noted that CCCRA and other partnering organizations have been afforded a larger voice and earned clout in the community.

Bakersville Creek Walk

The Bakersville Creek Walk is credited by the Bakersville Improvement Group as the project that jumpstarted many additional undertakings. A volunteer leader in the town asserted: "That little bit of improvement in the town (the creekwalk) had led to a domino effect of one improvement after another." The Creek Walk instilled community pride, increased community involvement, and helped foster

Table 9. Bakersville Creek Walk.

	Natural	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Financial	Built
Primary impacts							
Instilled community pride		X					
Added beauty				X			X
Was the "jumpstart" to all other community development efforts (increased community involvement)		X			X		
Initiated music in park events and other creek walk / downtown-based events (some more tourist oriented than others)			X	X			
Juried arts festival created				X			
Rhododendron Festival art show moved to creek walk				X			
Residents have area for relaxation		X					
Residents use creek walk for exercise (including schools)		X					
Attracted attention / brought new residents / businesses to town			X		X		
Educational programs utilizing creek were initiated		X			X		
Town bought land that creek walk is on	X				X	X	
Secondary impacts							
Garden club beautification of downtown	X						
New ideas brought forth by residents		X					
Land can be used for other community purpose (because it now belongs to the town)				X	X		
Gathering at creek walk has fostered friendships			X				
Residents involved in town creek walk maintenance (e.g., donated mile marker signs on creek walk; upkeep of creek walk; report litter bugs)	X	X	X				X
Increased interest in town events/news/meetings			X	X	X		
Newcomers participate in community development projects		X	X				
Downtown buildings renovated/increased awnings on buildings							X
Crimson Laurel Gallery (new business) attracts visitors to town				X	X	X	
Plantings along creek walk improve air quality	X						
Accessible boardwalks built from creek walk to access creek							X
Community events brought residents in from outside county			X				
Events increased visitor traffic to Bakersville (including nonresident artists)			X				
Increased community pride		X					
Collective self-efficacy increased		X	X				
Bakerville's success inspired other towns in the region			X		X		
Tertiary and other impacts							
Visitors spend money in town						X	
HandMade brought visitors to Bakersville to show off town		X	X		X		
Awareness of Bakersville increases among external audiences					X		
Some events increase internal awareness of history (Scavenger Hunts) or local artists (Easter eggs)		X		X			
Residents have gotten involved in event planning and execution		X	X				
Crimson Laurel renovated historic building, tapping into nostalgia and creating community movie nights		X	X	X			X

community relationships. Informants also noted that it motivated established artists as well as newcomers to engage in the community and to attend town meetings to keep up with community happenings (Table 9).

The Creek Walk quickly became a setting for several events, notably the music in the park events and the creation of a juried arts festival. These additional activities, particularly the arts festival, expanded awareness of Bakersville among nonresident artists and brought visitors to Bakersville. The new events gave Bakersville residents a sense of belonging and pride as well as an expectation for ongoing community events. Informants felt that these events directly
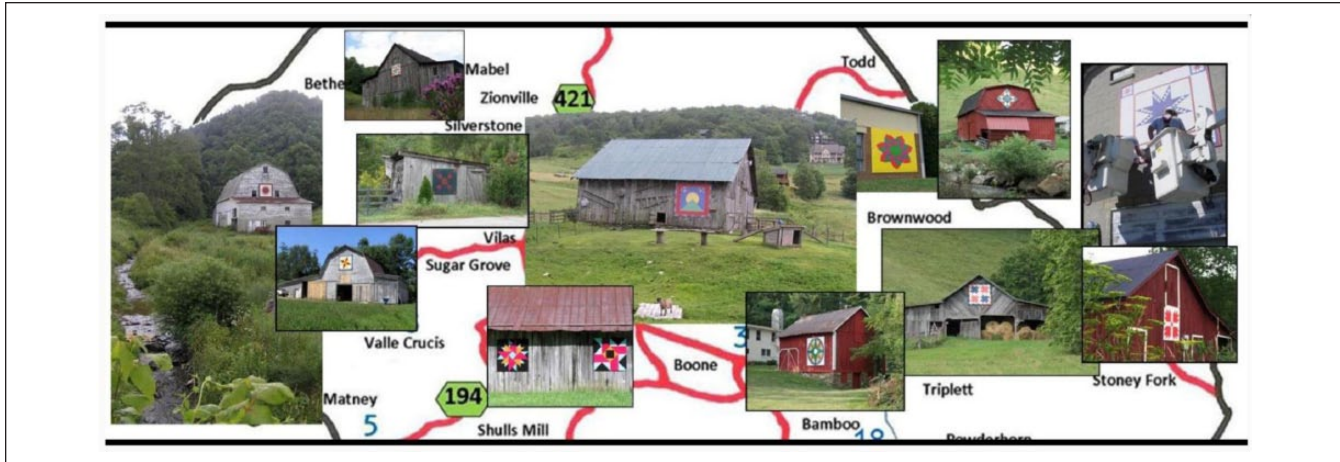
Figure 2. Marketing image for regional barn quilts.
Source: Watauga Arts Council, n.d. http://watauga-arts.org/wordpress/barn-quilts-2.

contributed to Bakersville's status as an arts community and were a signal to outsiders that residents "cared" and actively pursued community enhancement strategies. A resident gallery owner reflected on his first time visiting the town:

> I can't say that it was that stretch of concrete . . . those hostas . . . but the town was very nice and appealing. And part of that appeal was that you could see there was a nice creek running through town, a nice walkway and lights. . . . It makes you feel like there is something happening. You look at that and you say, "Ok, someone has an interest in this town, and someone is doing something nice for this town," so the ball is rolling, versus there is no ball rolling, and you have to do everything yourself.

Informants agreed the Creek Walk triggered many other community development efforts. Financial capital increased through visitor spending and resident donations for Creek Walk signs. Built capital increased with the renovation of several downtown buildings near the Creek Walk and with the construction of a wheelchair-accessible pier to the Creek Walk. Natural capital was also enhanced via beautification projects around and beyond the Creek Walk area. As a result of the Creek Walk, sponsoring and partnering organizations have been afforded greater influence in the community.

Regional Example—Barn Quilt Tours

A barn quilt is a two-dimensional piece of art painted to resemble historic fabric quilt patterns, large enough to be displayed on the side of a barn (Figure 2). The concept of putting quilts on barns, while not original, was brought into the region by HandMade and several of the local arts councils. The quilts not only decorate the barn structures, but owners of buildings are able to express pride in regional heritage and interest in the arts. Culturally and financially, it gave the barns a "new use" and somewhat mitigated the loss of revenue from farming and the Christmas tree industry.

The Barn Quilt program was considered successful by the interviewees because it brought visibility and/or revenue to many parties. Individual artists were employed through the various barn commissions and their reputation increased. High school students became involved with the construction of the quilts, which fostered pride and a sense of belonging. The barn owners were proud of their own involvement in the project and gained attention as a result of their barn ornamentation. Additionally, informants stated that a bond was created between the barn owner and the quilt's artist. Some of the barn owners would have not normally been involved in the arts; therefore, the project drew in new members of the arts scene and created invested ownership in public art where it may not have existed before, and gave rise to the status of having a barn with a quilt. The high school students, the barn owner, the artists and arts council all felt a part of a larger movement.

> And it also has someone . . . a barn owner . . . who had probably no interest in the arts center . . . picks up the phone and . . . asks the current barn quilt owner "How did you get that?" So it brings people into our sphere that would not normally be there. Especially in a rural area like this where you have taken something that was already a part and has been for generations . . . and bringing in those who for generations loved the land and built functional structures . . . and taken those functional structures and enhanced the arts community. (paired interview, West Jefferson, Arts Council volunteers)

The critical mass of quilts increased awareness of the project; people look for barns as they drive through the county. Informants stated that the project's focus on barns as well as quilts reinforces the region's heritage and cultural ties with these tangible objects. As the pride in these quilts expands, community groups and families rally around art as a connective bond and as the project spread geographically, it has "created a quilt of quilts" (Paired interview, West Jefferson,

Table 10. Barn Quilt Tours.

	Natural	Human	Social	Cultural	Political	Financial	Built
Primary impacts							
Decorates many barn structures				X			X
Owners of buildings are able to express their pride and artistic interest		X					
Building owners feel a part of a larger movement		X	X				
Adds to clout/visibility of arts and arts council					X		
Provides income for artists						X	
Provides exposure for artists					X		
Barns have a new "use" / mitigates loss from Christmas tree industry				X		X	
Secondary impacts							
Increases awareness of barns		X					
People start looking for barns		X			X		
Calls attention to and reinforces heritage and culture				X			
Community groups and families rally around art as a connective bond		X	X		X		
Spread throughout the county—Has created a quilt of quilts				X			
There is status in having a barn with a quilt		X					
There is now a waiting list for quilts					X		
Creates bond between barn owner and artist			X				
Quilt hosts talk about "their" artist / creates ownership in art		X					
Emphasizes connection between barn and fabric quilts				X			
Involves high school for construction aspect		X	X				
Influences sales for artists and allows them to continue making their art						X	
Tertiary and other impacts							
Visitors come to see the barns		X	X				
Occupancy tax revenue increases						X	
Increases percentage of barns preserved				X			
Increases construction students' pride		X					
Bring people into arts sphere that would not normally be included			X	X			
Connects a long-standing part of county heritage with current art program				X	X	X	
Brought attention/publicity to counties/region					X		
Influences how county provides funds						X	
Impact ability to attract other grants						X	

Arts Council volunteers). During a focus group with the Marshall Town Board, one member was encouraged by people's interest in the barn quilts: "That to me tells me people are saluting where they are from . . . the heritage and history."

As tourist activity surrounding the barns began to increase, so did the occupancy tax revenue, noted two informants. According to one informant, the program seemed to have increased the percentage of barns preserved, and it brought attention and publicity to the region. One arts council director asserted that this influenced the county's view of arts, and impacted the arts councils' ability to attract funds both from county officials and external grants (Table 10).

Discussion

The cases targeted in this study provided rich answers to each of the three research questions posed and in turn support and deepen much of the previous research in community capitals (M. Emery 2013; Gasteyer and Araj 2009; Segnestam 2009; Winkler et al. 2016; Zahra and McGehee 2013). For the first question, the interviews and focus groups revealed how the change in the communities' built capital affect other forms of capital in clear and varied ways (Tables 3–10). Specifically, the cases demonstrate how investment in built capital can initiate a spiraling up of effects on a wide range of other community capitals (Flora and Gillespie 2009;

M. Emery and Flora 2006). Numerous examples of spiraling up due to the built capital investment across all other forms of capital were presented in the findings, including increased pride in the community and the establishment of trusted networks (social), increased support for pro–small business policy (political), increased sales and tax revenues (financial), the beautification of the natural areas of a community (natural), and educational programs focusing on the history and nature of the areas (human). The forms of capital that were reported by the informants to be most influenced by the built capital projects across all six cases were human, social, and cultural. Analysis of the spiraling up effect also revealed that many impacts contributed to an increase in more than one form of capital. For example, new businesses created as a result of the built improvement of the Bakersville Creek Walk resulted in increased cultural, political, and built capital. In terms of defining the various forms of capital, the coders adhered closely to the definitions established by M. Emery and Flora (2006) and Flora and Flora (2013). In most cases, there was agreement on the assignment of each form of capital to the various categories of capital. On the rare occasions where there was uncertainty or disagreement as to which capital the example should be assigned, the coders would engage in discussion until they reached consensus.

The second research question regarding to what extent built capital improvement was used as a symbol to consciously facilitate other capital changes was also answered with rich descriptions of the pride and energy that came from having a visual and tactile project to which residents could point as evidence of concrete change in the community. This was especially true for the Mars Hill Gazebo and the Hayesville Courthouse. The physical changes provided a daily reminder of exciting developments occurring within the community. This is also in support of the work of De Botton (2008) in that it reflected the positive effect the new or improved physical surroundings had on the happiness, energy level, motivation, and productivity of the community.

In response to the third research question, informants' comments provide support for the notion that the participatory approach that drove the built capital projects was a principal component of their success. Development of community capital is important, but equally important is the process by which it is created. This aligns with the work of Innes (1995), among others, who utilized the theory of communicative rationality primarily associated with Habermas (1984). As with Follet (1940), this form of participation goes beyond consent and involves co-relating and interpenetration, or integration, of the ideas of all the stakeholders. In other words, all the interested parties get what they want (a win–win) in contrast to more common means of decision making involving dominance and compromise. Additionally, they affirm the value of asset-driven community development described by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) and noted in the literature review. One characteristic of asset-driven community development is an internal focus on the

"agenda building and problem-solving capacities of local residents, local associations and local institutions" (p. 8). Although Kretzmann and McKnight's (1993) suggested starting points were human, cultural, and social strengths within communities, the current study is especially powerful as it demonstrates that the same principle holds if built capital were the starting point. This is perhaps the greatest contribution of the study to the literature. In addition, the unique community capital mix possessed by each location also supports the work of Callaghan and Colton (2008), who argued that there is no magic one-size-fits-all formula for community capitals success. However, it is important to note that the coming together in a collaborative fashion to create community change is by definition a relationship-driven process. Therefore, if asset-driven community development is dependent on fostering relationships, it is no surprise that social capital is one of the first capitals to be increased by a community project involving the built environment across all cases.

Each case highlighted within this study is an example of built capital that improved the functionality of a town. While this may not be as overtly connected to tourism development as a new attraction or upgraded convention center, within these small rural towns these elements are equally important. By garnering the cohesion of the community, increasing the collective self-efficacy of residents, and creating public spaces where residents and/or visitors can gather or that highlight the environs, built capital projects can figuratively and quite literally set the stage for further tourism growth.

The mission of HandMade in America was to celebrate the handmade object and to foster economic and community development through initiatives that assist artists, the organizations that serve them, and the communities in which they live and work. Each of the various programs of HandMade supported its mission; the Small Town Program prepared towns for tourists by creating and improving the public spaces. The outcomes from these projects resulted in visible and tangible infrastructure, and while not all of the built capital developed were considered "sexy" additions, they all were considered necessary in order to nurture the setting to become a small town destination. Perhaps more important, however, were the intangible outcomes generated, which also fostered elements necessary for sustainable tourism, namely, community cohesion, pride, and enthusiasm.

Conclusions

This study revealed the incredible impact that modest but visual and tactile built capital projects can have on a community when developed in a way that encourages community engagement. Across the cases, informants referred to numerous examples of changes in virtually every form of community capital as a result of both the process and resulting built capital projects. The patterns revealed in this research have demonstrated the catalytic potential of

successful built capital projects in the early stages of a community-based tourism development process. It has also demonstrated an effective application of CCF to tourism within a local and regional context as a way to reveal these catalysts while still providing space for the unique manifestations of the various capitals.

This study is not without its limitations. For example, these projects did not exist within a vacuum. Other built capital improvement projects occurred within the targeted communities during the time in which this study took place. These projects included burying power lines under streets (Chimney Rock), development of an amphitheater (Chimney Rock), a new library (West Jefferson), community murals (West Jefferson), construction of a farmer's market shelter (West Jefferson), downtown flower planters and streetlight banners (Bakersville, Mars Hill, Marshall), construction of a veteran's memorial (Hayesville), development of a hiking trail (Hayesville), and a Cherokee Homestead Exhibit (Hayesville; see Fields 2011). The projects selected for this study were targeted as they were associated with a specific participatory approach and program. It is important to note that this study did not set out to compare and contrast the cases but rather to present each as a unique example of the broad spectrum of projects and communities within which the STP process could operate.

While the CCF is an extremely useful tool to document and categorize the changes within a complex system such as a community (Flora and Flora 2013), there are other approaches which may be useful for some communities. For example, future research could include a purer use of either SLA or PAR (Gutierrez-Montes et al. 2009). Additionally, a need exists to explore how to accurately measure and weigh the various community capitals in order to find the best balance for a community in a way that maximizes the spiraling up effect. This would be in keeping with Callaghan and Colton (2008), who proposed that a community cannot flourish if one capital is excessively built up at the expense of another, and claim that a "resilient" community is one that finds the right balance of capitals. For practical considerations and managerial application to other communities, changes could be analyzed according to each economic development goal.

Additionally, future research questions might investigate the existence of consistent or pivotal antecedents leading to change in built capital that might generate maximum impact. For example, are particular *kinds* of human capital or social capital (e.g., specific skill sets or self-esteem in the case of human capital or bridging capital or structural capital in the case of social capital) needed prior to a built capital project gaining momentum (Liu et al. 2014)? Because of the integrated nature of the capitals, additional inquiry would be warranted as to how they support various types of tourism entrepreneurship activity within varying geo-political contexts (Hingtgen et al. 2015). Related to capital integration, every community is faced with a finite amount of resources;

how a community prioritizes resources is a crucial part of the equation. Application of CCR, which places community values at the center of every decision, has great potential for this process. Lastly, it is reasonable to presume that these projects would have a different degree or pattern of impact on other community capitals than less visual or tactile infrastructure projects (e.g., improved sewer lines).

This study is especially valuable in its replicability: many communities have examples similar to these to explore. Additional case studies would add to our understanding and refinement of the CCF model. Similar projects may yield differing results in varying communities. Certainly, this research adds to the steadily building body of literature arguing that one event can influence multiple capitals (M. Emery and Flora 2006). What is especially valuable to see is the wide range of geographic, cultural, and economic scenarios in which the CCF can be used to assess the overall health of a community. Whether it's a Nigerian community suffering from droughts, a New Mexico community hoping to expand its economic opportunities, a Philippine community using volunteer tourism as a way to climb out of poverty, or several rural North Carolina communities looking to beautify their physical surroundings, CCF has been a valuable assessment tool.

Postscript: As a follow-up to data collection efforts within this study, the research team contacted via email leaders from the Hayesville, Chimney Rock, West Jefferson, and Mars Hill to ascertain what momentum had resulted since the initial data collection. The leaders enthusiastically responded and provided three pages of updates that have been summarized in the Supplementary Material. These updates demonstrate the considerable trajectory that was established in the early years of HandMade's Small Town Program.

ORCID iD

John Delconte https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1642-5463

References

Allen, L. R., P. T. Long, R. R. Perdue, and S. Kieselbach. 1988. "The Impact of Tourism Development on Residents' Perceptions of Community Life." *Journal of Travel Research* 27 (1): 16–21.

ARC (Appalachian Regional Commission). (n.d.). "Counties." https://www.arc.gov/counties.

Bennett, N., R. Lemelin, R. Koster, and I. Budke. 2012. "A Capital Assets Framework for Appraising and Building Capacity for Tourism Development in Aboriginal Protected Area Gateway Communities." *Tourism Management* 33 (4): 752–66.

Brennan, K. M., C. A. Cooper, and I. Ha. 2014. "Western North Carolina Regional Outlook Report." http://www.wcu.edu/WebFiles/PDFs/WNC-Regional-Outlook-Report.pdf.

Callaghan, E. G., and J. Colton. 2008. "Building Sustainable & Resilient Communities: A Balancing of Community Capital." *Environ Dev Sustain*. 10 (6): 931-942.

Cleaver, K. M., and G. A. Schreiber. 1994. *Reversing the Spiral: The Population, Agriculture and Environment Nexus in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Cooperrider, D. L., and D. Whitney. 2005. "A Positive Revolution in Change: Appreciative Inquiry." In *Appreciative Inquiry: Rethinking Human Organization toward a Positive Theory of Change*, edited by D. Cooperrider, P. E. Sorenson, Jr., D. Whitney, and T. F. Yager. Champaign, IL: Stipes.

De Botton, A. 2008. *The Architecture of Happiness*. New York: Vintage.

DeCrop, A. 2004. "Trustworthiness in Qualitative Tourism Research." In *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*, edited by J. Phillimore and L. Goodson. London and New York: Routledge.

Delconte, J., C. S. Kline, and C. Scavo. 2016. "The Impacts of Local Arts Agencies on Community Placemaking and Heritage Tourism." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 11 (4): 324–35.

Duffy, L., C. Kline, J. Swanson, M. Best, and H. McKinnon. 2017. "Community Development through Agroecotourism in Cuba: An Application of the Community Capitals Framework." *Journal of Ecotourism* 16 (3): 203–21.

Emery, M. 2013. "Social Capital and Youth Development: Toward a Typology of Program Practices." *New Directions for Youth Development* 2013 (138): 49–59.

Emery, M., and C. Flora. 2006. "Spiraling-Up: Mapping Community Transformation with Community Capitals Framework." *Community Development* 37 (1): 19–35.

Fields, J. 2011. *Crafting Large Successes in Small Towns. Small Town Program: The First Fifteen years 1996–2010*. Asheville: HandMade in America.

Flora, C. B., M. Emery, S. Fey, and C. Bregendahl. 2005. *Community Capitals: A Tool for Evaluating Strategic Interventions and Projects*. Ames, IA: North Central Regional Center for Rural Development. http://wp.aae.wisc.edu/ced/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2014/01/204.2-Handout-Community-Capitals.pdf.

Flora, C., and J. Flora. 2013. *Rural Communities: Legacy and Change*, 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Flora, C., and A. Gillespie. 2009. "Making Healthy Choices to Reduce Childhood Obesity: Community Capitals and Food and Fitness." *Community Development* 40 (2):114–22.

Follett, M. P. 1940. "Dynamic Administration." In *The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett*, edited by H. C. Metcalf and L. Urwick. New York: Harper.

Garrod, B., and A. Fyall. 2000. "Managing Heritage Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 27 (3): 682–708.

Gasteyer, S., and T. Araj. 2009. "Empowering Palestinian Community Water Management Capacity: Understanding the Intersection of Community Cultural, Political, Social, and Natural Capitals." *Community Development* 40 (2): 199–219.

Gutierrez-Montes, I. 2005. "Healthy Communities Equals Healthy Ecosystems? Evolution (and Breakdown) of a Participatory Ecological Research Project towards a Community Natural Resource Management Process, San Miguel Chimalapa (Mexico)." PhD dissertation. http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/rtd. (Paper 1735).

Gutierrez-Montes, I., M. Emery, and E. Fernandez-Baca. 2009. "The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and the Community Capitals Framework: The Importance of System-Level Approaches to Community Change Efforts." *Community Development* 40 (2): 106–13.

Gutierrez-Montes, I., J. Siles, P. Bartol, and A. C. Imbach. 2009. "Merging a Landscape Management Planning Approach with the Community Capitals Framework: Empowering Local Groups in Land Management Processes in Bocas del Toro, Panama." *Community Development* 40 (2): 220–30.

Habermas, J. 1984. *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Hingtgen, N., C. Kline, L. Fernandes, and N. G. McGehee. 2015. "Cuba in Transition: Tourism Industry Perceptions of Entrepreneurial Change." *Tourism Management* 50:184–93.

Idziak, W., J. Majewski, and P. Zmyślony. 2015. "Community Participation in Sustainable Rural Tourism Experience Creation: A Long-Term Appraisal and Lessons from a Thematic Villages Project in Poland." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 23 (8/9): 1341–62.

Innes, J. E. 1995. "Planning Theory's Emerging Paradigm: Communicative Action and Interactive Practice." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 14 (3): 183–89.

Innes, J. E. 1996. "Planning through Consensus Building: A New View of the Comprehensive Planning Ideal." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 62 (4): 460–72.

Kretzmann, J., and J. P. McKnight. 1993. *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets*. Chicago: ACTA Publications.

Lewandowski, C. M. 2009. *An Introduction to Community Development*, edited by R. H. Pittman and R. Phillips. New York: Routledge.

Lincoln, Y. S., and E. G. Guba. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Liu, J., H. Qu, D. Huang, G. Chen, X. Yue, X. Zhao, and Z. Liang. 2014. "The Role of Social Capital in Encouraging Residents' Pro-Environmental Behaviors in Community-Based Ecotourism." *Tourism Management* 41:190–201.

Maxwell, J. 2005. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McGehee, N. G., S. Lee, T. L. O'Bannon, and R. R. Perdue. 2010. "Tourism-Related Social Capital and Its Relationship with Other Forms of Capital: An Exploratory Study." *Journal of Travel Research* 49 (4): 486–500.

Moscardo, G., E. Konovalov, L. Murphy, and N. McGehee. 2013. "Mobilities, Community Well-being and Sustainable Tourism." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 21 (4): 532–56.

Moscardo, G., A. Schurmann, E. Konovalov, and N. G. McGehee. 2013. "Using Tourism to Build Social Capital in Communities: New Pathways to Sustainable Tourism Futures." Conference Proceedings of BEST EN Think Tank (13), 219–36. From: BEST EN Think Tank XIII: Engaging Communities in Sustainable Tourism Development, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 23–26 June 2013.

Pigg, K., S. P. Gasteyer, K. E. Martin, K. Keating, and G. P. Apaliyah. 2013. "The Community Capitals Framework: An Empirical Examination of Internal Relationships." *Community Development* 44 (4): 492–502.

Putnam, R. D. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6 (1): 65–78.

Segnestam, L. 2009. "Division of Capitals—What Role Does It Play for Gender-Differentiated Vulnerability to Drought in Nicaragua?" *Community Development* 40 (2): 154–76.

Stone, M., and G. Nyaupane. 2016. "Protected Areas, Tourism and Community Livelihoods Linkages: A Comprehensive Analysis Approach." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 24 (5): 673–93.

Thomas, R., G. Shaw, and S. Page. 2011. "Understanding Small Firms in Tourism: A Perspective on Research Trends and Challenges." *Tourism Management* 32 (5): 963–76.

Timmer, P. 1994. "Population, Poverty, and Policies." *The American Economic Review* 84 (2): 261–65.

Tortora, M., F. Randelli, and P. Romei. 2014. "A Conceptual Framework for Tourism Transition Areas Based on Territorial Capital: A Case Study of Vinci." *Journal of Tourism and Hospitality* 3 (3): 1–11.

US Census Bureau: State and County QuickFacts. U.S. Department of Commerce [Last Revised: Thursday, 28-May-2015 14:58:20 EDT]. http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37000.html.

Wang, Y., and R. E. Pfister. 2008. "Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism and Perceived Personal Benefits in a Rural Community." *Journal of Travel Research* 47 (1): 84–93.

WCED (World Commission on Environment and Development). 1987. *Our Common Future*. Washington, DC: United Nations.

Winkler, R., L. Oikarinen, H. Simpson, M. Michaelson, and M. S. Gonzalez. 2016. "Boom, Bust and Beyond: Arts and Sustainability in Calumet, Michigan." *Sustainability* 8 (284): 1–25.

Woolcock, M., and D. Narayan. 2000. "Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy." *The World Bank Research Observer* 15 (2): 225–49.

Zahra, A., and N. G. McGehee. 2013. "Volunteer Tourism: A Host Community Capital Perspective." *Annals of Tourism Research* 42:22–45.

Zekeri, A. 2013. "Community Capital and Local Economic Development Efforts." *Professional Agricultural Workers Journal* 1 (1): 1–10.

Author Biographies

Carol Kline is an associate professor of Hospitality and Tourism Management at Appalachian State University in the Department of Management. Her professional interests focus broadly on tourism planning and development and tourism sustainability, but cover a range of topics such as foodie segmentation, craft beverages, agritourism, wildlife-based tourism, animal welfare in tourism, tourism entrepreneurship, niche tourism markets, and tourism impacts to communities.

Nancy McGehee is professor and head of the Hospitality and Tourism Management Department at Virginia Tech. Dr. McGehee has conducted research in the area of sustainable tourism development for two decades, working with communities and organizations both in the US and abroad, in such varied locations as Portugal, Australia, and Haiti. She serves on the editorial board of several top tier journals and is the 2014 recipient of Virginia Tech's Award for Excellence in International Research.

John Delconte is a doctoral student in the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. He conducts place-based qualitative and quantitative research. His research interests include creative placemaking, spiritual and cultural tourism, and community revitalization.