IMPACTS OF ARTS CENTERS ON COMMUNITIES

by

John D. Delconte

October 2013

Director of Thesis: Carol Kline, PhD

Major Department: MS Sustainable Tourism

The arts and culture have been shown to foster economic development by attracting workers and businesses in the knowledge industry, spur tourism, and improve the housing market. However, regardless of whether the arts and culture have a positive impact on financial capital, they can potentially impact other forms of capital in the community. Small- to mid-sized community-based arts centers are effective in drawing people together due to their participatory nature. Recent studies credit community art spaces with enhancing social interaction as well as revitalizing economies. The widely used Community Capital Framework (CCF) is an analytical tool used to observe and critique the relationships among various types of community assets: social, human, financial, creative, built, natural, and political. This study used the CCF to observe the impacts of arts centers and their programs on the various capitals in their surrounding communities. The results demonstrated impacts of arts centers and their programs on social, environmental, and business assets, particularly in the financial, social, cultural, and human capitals, thereby serving as a means to examine sustainability. The results of this study can be used by community leaders as a starting point when discussing the costs and benefits of investing in a new arts center.

IMPACTS OF ARTS CENTERS ON COMMUNITIES

A Thesis

Presented To the Faculty of the Department of the Graduate School

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MS Sustainable Tourism

By

John D. Delconte

October 2013

IMPACTS OF ARTS CENTERS ON COMMUNITIES

by

John D. Delconte

APPROVED BY:

DIRECTOR OF THESIS:

_____

(Carol Kline, PhD, Assistant Professor, Sustainable Tourism)

COMMITTEE MEMBER:

_____

(Carmine Scavo, PhD, Associate Professor, Political Science)

COMMITTEE MEMBER:

_____

(Daniel Kariko, MFA, Assistant Professor, School of Art and Design)

DIRECTOR OF MS SUSTAINABLE TOURISM:

_____

(Pat Long, EdD, Professor)

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL:

_____

(Paul J. Gemperline, PhD)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my friends, family, colleagues, and mentors for supporting me during this tremendous educational experience. As a ‘non-traditional’ student who had gone back to graduate school after 20 years of being outside of the classroom, I am thankful that both faculty and students accepted me as just another student. Both showed great patience to allow me to interject my opinion on just about every topic. It was very stimulating to join the conversation about sustainable tourism, and I was thrilled to be able to contribute a small slice of new research with this thesis project.

I would especially like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Carol Kline, for challenging me in the way people do who want to look out for your future. Her sense of humor helped ease the long classes, and her depth of experience as a tourism professional and scholar was extremely valuable to me. I want to thank Dr. Pat Long, who truly enjoyed hearing from each and every student, no matter how busy or stressful his day was, while helping us to become as successful as we could be. I need to also thank my classmates, who amazed me with their ability to work hard and be fun, supportive, and cheerful friends. Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family, who were and are always encouraging, no matter what project I take on.

I once mentioned to Dr. Long that I admired how such a talented and diverse group of individuals were attracted to the Center for Sustainable Tourism. He said it was no accident. Some combination of fate and circumstances has brought us together. I hope to maintain strong ties with both my professors and fellow classmates long after graduation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

To paraphrase Robert Long, a theatre planning and design consultant with Theatre Consultants Collaborative, Inc., you might think you would be talking about the arts as you try to build an arts center, but what you will really be talking about is politics (personal communication, November 2, 2006). Cultural facilities can range from multimillion dollar performance centers that showcase world-renowned acts in large metropolitan centers to small arts centers in rural areas, which are community-based and encourage participation in the arts. No matter their size and their location, each community that built a publicly-funded cultural facility had to decide whether the benefits of building one outweighed the costs.

Previous studies on arts centers provide mixed reviews on their value within their community. During the building booms of the late 1990s and the first decade of 2000, one study of cultural building projects that focused mostly on large-scale performance and exhibition provided evidence that these facilities were built beyond the capacity to support the large financial investments that were required to initiate them (Woronkowicz, Joynes, Frumkin, Kolendo, Seaman, Gertner, and Bradburn, 2012). Rosentraub and Joo (2009) found that cultural and artistic tourism attractions, including museums, historical sites, and performing arts companies, were not good predictors of the number of employees in the tourism industry, which they found to be related to a region's economy. Grodach (2011) argues that small to mid-sized arts centers that involve local artists and opportunities for community collaboration can have positive impacts on community and economic development with the right location, organization, and management. Additionally, a concentration of arts resources leads to an expansion of social networks, which in turn leads to increased social and economic vitality, in part by serving as a lure to bring people into a city or town (Stern and Seifert, 2010). The participatory nature of arts

centers makes them ideal for tourists wanting to have a creative experience during their vacation, sometimes described as 'creative tourism' where visitors can interact and fashion new experiences with their community hosts (Richards, 2011). Because there is evidence to show that the arts empower people, engendering social and economic skills, confidence, and engagement with the community (Kay, 2000; Matarasso, 1997) in addition to bringing in outside wealth, and because arts centers are often based in facilities that underwent adaptive reuse (Villani, 2000), art-based tourism can be considered to be largely sustainable. Furthermore, it could be argued that the establishment of arts centers could lead to sustainable tourism.

Within any community, the availability of stocks of other capitals, beyond financial, weigh into the decision of establishing an arts center. Networks of artists or entrepreneurs need space to provide classes or just to gather and share ideas (networks are a form of social capital). Townspeople desire a meeting place to strengthen community knowledge of local folk tales, languages, and traditions (forms of cultural capital). Community activists seek classroom space to discuss ways for their community to connect with recreational opportunities in nearby waterways (natural capital). In these examples, creating an arts center (a form of built capital) provides a ready space for education, which would subsequently increase social, cultural, and natural capitals in the community. Emery and Flora (2006) explain how strategically increasing various forms of capital stocks can strengthen other capitals, a 'spiraling up' as they build on one another. For this study the Community Capitals Framework (CCF) created by Flora, et al. (2004) was selected to observe impacts on the community.

Specifically, this study employs the CCF to systematically document the impacts of three arts centers on their communities and on tourism activity in the communities. The overarching research question is: *What impacts do arts centers have on communities?* The results could be

used by community leaders to have a better understanding of the overall value of the centers, because they are often versed with a vague understanding of only the potential economic effects of cultural facilities. This study also highlights the role that an arts center can play in drawing tourists to their town. The following summary of literature reviews the effects of cultural facilities on a community's economy and well-being, and explains how the CCF can provide a framework to help answer the current research question.

Definitions

The following terms defined below are common terminology used throughout the study.

- *Arts centers:* Arts centers are community facilities that encourage participation in the arts within their spaces for performance, exhibition, and education (Evans, 2001).
- *Art spaces:* Arts spaces are any facility set aside for the arts.
- *Community development:* Bhattacharyya (2004) proposed that "the purpose of community development is the pursuit of solidarity and agency by adhering to the principles of self-help, felt needs and participation" (p.1).
- *Cultural center*: Cultural centers are 'public buildings, sites, or complexes set aside for activities related to the culture of an area, such as music, dance, drama, or fine arts' ('Cultural center,' 2012). For this thesis, cultural centers are distinct from art spaces in that cultural centers are specifically public owned.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review examines past efforts to determine the impacts of cultural or arts centers on their communities. First, a general overview of the extent and types of cultural facilities in the United States is given. Next, evidence is presented on how arts and cultural programming, particularly within arts centers, is interrelated with economic and community development, adaptive reuse of the built environment, and a community's sense of place, all of which play a role in tourism. Lastly, the CCF will be reviewed as a method for measuring community impacts.

Cultural Facilities in the United States

In 2007, the Cultural Policy Center of the University of Chicago launched an extensive study of cultural facilities in the United States that were built during the years 1994 to 2008 (Woronkowicz et al., 2012, referred to as the 'Set in Stone' study hereafter). The Set in Stone study focused on three types of cultural building projects: museums, performing arts centers, and theaters. Performing arts centers were the dominant form of new cultural facilities that were built during this period. From 1994 to 2008, there was a boom in building cultural facilities, which was on par with building in other sectors, such as housing. During this time, billions of dollars of taxpayer money was being allocated to cultural center construction.

Within a sample of 725 projects built from 1994 to 2008, the average cost of a new building project was $21 million; projects ranged from $4 million to $335 million (Worokowicz et al., 2012). The study showed that a rising population and higher levels of income led to more construction, and the more cultural facilities a city had, the more likely it would be inclined to renovate or replace those facilities. There was more new building in the South compared with

other regions of the country, which correlated with the influx of high-earners migrating into the region.

Worokowicz et al. (2012) found that many of the cultural building projects were immense capital expenditures with large annual operating expenses that stretched beyond the ability of the parent organization to support them in the long term. The study also found that, during the building boom, neither the number of artists nor arts organizations in the city was positively associated with the per capita investment in cultural facilities. It concluded that the supply of cultural facilities may have outstripped the demand, at least during this building boom period from 1994 to 2008. The Set in Stone study also explored the impact of cultural facilities on other local cultural organizations, while also finding no 'spillover' effects. There was limited evidence that the cultural center had a significant effect on the overall number of arts organizations, employment, or payrolls.

The Set in Stone study provided a good overview of the economic costs and benefits of cultural facilities, but their review mainly focused on large-scale facilities and did not provide results for small to mid-sized arts centers. Arts centers are places where artists come together to share workspace and equipment, and to exhibit their work (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). Markusen and Johnson (2006, p. 11) outline several characteristics of arts centers, the primary characteristics being that they are places 'dedicated to an artistic medium or a geographical or affinity community, accessible to all without a fee to walk in the door,' and that they have 'general membership at an affordable rate without screening requirements, though certain services may be restricted to those who meet criteria or successfully compete for them.' Arts centers can be contrasted with other cultural facilities such as museums, galleries, teaching studios, artists' live/work spaces, and arts incubators that do not necessarily allow artists to

interact, share ideas, equipment, and space (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). These shared spaces are powerful generators of artistic work, which impact whole communities at many levels (Markusen and Johnson, 2006).

Regardless of the size, setting, and types of programming they offer, one of the first questions asked about them is whether they have an impact on the economy. The following section reviews the economic effect of the arts and culture in general as well as specific effects attributable to arts centers.

Economic Development through Arts and Culture

Robert L. Lynch, the President and CEO of Americans for the Arts writes that because business and government leaders in various communities throughout the country feel hard pressed to invest in the arts for purely cultural or aesthetic reasons, they feel the only way they can justify the investment is show economic gains (Americans for the Arts, 2012). The leaders often hope the arts can be an economic development engine, bringing new dollars, jobs, and tourism activity into their community. In 2010, on the national level, the arts generated $135.2 billion dollars of economic activity—$61.1 billion through nonprofit arts and culture organizations, and $74.1 billion through event-related expenditures (Americans for the Arts, 2012). Cultural activities support 4.1 million full-time jobs, nationally. The typical arts event patron spends $24.60 beyond the cost of admission on items such as restaurants and transportation. In North Carolina, according to a 2009 analysis developed by the North Carolina Department of Commerce, cultural industries account for about 5% of the state's economy (Cole, 2009). Clusters of cultural assets have also been correlated with improved housing market conditions (Stern and Seifert, 2010).

In Florida, several economic studies were commissioned in 1996 to determine the impacts of arts centers on the economy (Johnson, 1996). A total of 18,000 jobs were said to be generated by performance centers, galleries, and museums, with annual wages of $357 million. However, the centers were often expensive to build, sometimes costing tens of millions of dollars. Because they were so expensive to build, donations alone could not cover the bill, and the majority are usually paid for with government bonds. Bonds must be approved by tax-payers and are then paid back over a set period of time through the center's sales and through taxes on tourists (Johnson, 1996). However, supporters said that even though there is no guarantee that the centers would benefit local economies, cities may enjoy more prestige from having a major arts center. The centers might also serve as amenities to attract people to relocate to their area, such as retirees to Florida (Johnson, 1996).

Community leaders also sometimes point to the fact that the arts bring the 'creative class' and a 'cultural economy' into their community. The term 'creative class' was popularized by Florida (2002) to describe creative/knowledge workers who are attracted to an area for its arts and culture, and who can themselves be an attractive force, drawing technological, cutting-edge, clean businesses that need this type of worker. A creative community can also contribute skilled labor and specialized services (Markusen and Schrock, 2006). However, Markusen criticizes the causal logic about the relationship between artist activity and Florida's definition of the creative class, claiming that occupations are more likely to bunch together due to educational level than on the basis of any demonstrable relationship to creativity (Markusen, 2006). The 'cultural economy' is defined by products and services that relate to education and entertainment and are of highly symbolic value (Gibson and Kong, 2005). Symbolic forms are goods and services that have some significant emotional or intellectual content such as film, music, furniture, and

clothing (Scott, 2001). Cultural workers hold positions in media, design, advertising, architecture, and the performing arts (Markusen, Wassall, DeNatale, and Cohen, 2008). Their work tends to be project- rather than product-related, therefore a cultural economy is characterized by rapid turnover and a high degree of change. The cultural workforce is often forced to hold multiple short-term jobs and work across different sectors due to the shifting landscape (Throsby, 2007). In order to survive professionally, cultural workers form dense social networks, and thereby benefit from arts centers, which serve as spaces to gather and share information. Specialized knowledge workers, such as computer programmers, scientists, and other professionals co-exist alongside them (Hutton, 2009).

Markusen and Johnson (2006) reported it is not a difficult case to make that artist centers create spillover effects or external economies of scale. They draw artists to the region. They invest in the place through their time, energy, and money; network with other artists, sharing expertise; and fill the creative needs of other industries. High concentrations of artists also add to the regional economic base by bringing in export income, or money earned while traveling or performing elsewhere. At the same time, more artists in a region lead to more residents consuming locally produced culture (Markusen and Johnson, 2006).

In addition to attracting businesses and jobs, the arts support local economies by bringing in tourism dollars (Stern and Seifert, 2010). The arts, humanities, and heritage create a sense of place that the tourism industry can market and promote (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2005). In 2005, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities defined cultural and heritage tourism as:

> 'Travel directed toward experiencing the arts, heritage, and special character of a place. America's rich heritage and culture, rooted in our history, our creativity and our diverse population, provides visitors to our communities with a wide variety of cultural opportunities, including museums, historic sites, dance, music, theater, book and other

> festivals, historic buildings, arts and crafts fairs, neighborhoods, and landscapes.' (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2005, p. 1)

Cultural tourists are more likely to spend more, stay longer, and stay in hotels longer than standard tourists (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2005). The United Nations World Trade Organization estimates that cultural tourism accounts for 40% of international tourism (Richards and Wilson, 2007). According to Richards's (2010) review of a report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development on the impact of culture on tourism, 'by developing the relationship between tourism and culture places can become more attractive as well as increasing their competitiveness as locations to live, to visit, to work, and invest in' (p. 1).

The availability of *participatory* art and cultural programming attracts visitors and is sometimes described as creative tourism (Richards and Wilson, 2006). Traditional cultural tourism often involves consuming knowledge at physical places such as heritage sites, whereas creative tourism invites a direct participation with the everyday life of the destination (Richards, 2011). Richards (2011) suggests that the emergence of creative tourism might be a reaction against mass cultural tourism, offering the alternative of flexible and authentic experiences that are co-created between the host and the visitor. Creative tourism allows more freedom and more meaningful experiences for the tourist than traditional cultural tourism. It also creates conditions that allow for equal social and economic transactions between the host and tourist - when the host community is providing essential skills and expertise sought by the visitor, the usual visitor-host power dynamic is reversed (Richards, 2011). Richards suggests that the 'negotiated co-presence' (2011, p. 1244) of creative tourism might also enable the communities to resist homogenization of the culture. One criticism of the drive toward adding cultural programming to a locale is that it leads to higher property values and gentrification (Chappel and Jackson, 2010),

thereby serving as a means of disenfranchising local populations while evading social justice issues (Peck, 2005). The Set in Stone study supported this criticism, noting that the economic ripple effects of a cultural center are not always apparent (Worokowicz et al., 2012). This trend is sometimes observed even at the community arts center level. Grodach (2011) examined various art spaces in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. He found that community arts spaces fall short when it comes to expanding beyond the visual and performing arts and building bridges with other cultural economy sectors. Networks cultivated in arts spaces rarely result in establishing career networks in other culturally related fields such as fashion and film (Grodach, 2011). Although these organizations might be rightfully operating within their missions, Grodach (2011) encourages planners to reach beyond their traditional boundaries and consider more ways to interact with the cultural economy as a whole.

Grodach (2011) suggests that art spaces could be set up programmatically to assist in building partnerships with public, private, and nonprofit entities in other commercial cultural sectors (such as video production, print-making, and digital photography). An example of a partnership would be to blend visual and performing arts, such as fashion and film (Grodach, 2011). Art center directors could, in this example, approach these fashion or film businesses to use their incubator spaces. This mixing of enterprises might trigger new employment opportunities and business collaborations among atypical sectors. Public policy could provide seed money for cross-sector partnerships. Funds could also be allotted for adaptation and expansion of existing arts facilities to encourage these types of collaborations.

Fleming (2009) and Peck (2005) suggest that creative economy projects in rural settings are more effective catalysts of economic development, including tourism, than they are of environmental sustainability and social justice. Fleming finds that the disparity is partly due to

the fact that arts development can be used to 'steer the debate away from equity and toward obscuring the injustice of gentrification' (Fleming, 2009, p. 76). She states that the challenges to sustainability lie in a) limited resources of rural governments and organizations to formally support artists, b) rurality itself leads to a lack of organization, so artists are isolated and are less able to plan and organize, and c) inequalities arise from gentrification, leading to class and race exclusion (Fleming, 2009). Still, there is other evidence to suggest that the arts and culture support local communities, even in a rural setting.

Community Development through Arts and Culture

The arts are a powerful tool in community development. The arts empower people (Carrington, 2010; Kay, 2000) and foster leadership (Klein and Diket, 1999). Arts centers can serve as a bridge between the arts and the community, providing a place for people to debate the issues of the day (Grodach, 2010), and to celebrate their individuality (Carr and Servon, 2009). Through this mingling and welcoming of diversity, arts centers help to incubate new talent (Grodach, 2010 and 2011). The arts not only help to empower individuals but can transform whole communities into places that residents are proud of (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010a). This section will detail how arts, particularly in arts centers, can play such a key role in community development.

In economically and socially depressed areas, the arts can help people 'develop social and economic skills, and assume the power to fashion their own future' (Kay, 2000, p. 415). Matarasso (1997) states that participatory art helps make people more employable, confident, and more likely to contribute to their local communities. Markusen (2006) contends that small-scale artist efforts are generally progressive and socially conscious and differentiates them from neoliberal concepts to recreate cities in the effort to attract the creative class. Underscoring

this point, one artist interviewed by Markusen stated '…To me, if there is a "creative class", it is the people who are inventing strategies and means to humanize our society through the work we do--people who share an intention to create a more just, equitable and sustainable social and physical environment. I find it harder and harder to imagine creativity as distinct from social responsibility' (Markusen, 2006, p. 1935).

Carrington (2010) found that arts organizations serve as catalysts for community development by building connections and inspiring participation, and lead to the transformation of communities and regions around the world. Bhattacharyya (2004) proposed that 'the purpose of community development is the pursuit of solidarity and agency by adhering to the principles of self-help, felt needs and participation' (p.1). Solidarity is the trust and relationships developed within a community. Agency is the ability to implement the change. Community development gives a voice to the powerless. This approach differs from economic development and social work in that the people themselves effect the change. Community-based arts and cultural resources can serve as a means of providing solidarity and agency to local populations (Carrington, 2010).

Klein and Diket (1999) explored the relationship between the arts and transformational leadership, one aspect of community development. Transformational leadership focuses on relationships, cooperation, an organic view of change, and the spiritual and emotional needs of the participants (Miller, 1993, as cited in Klein and Diket, 1999). This leadership style is in contrast to transactional leadership, which is characterized by a top-down hierarchy, tasks rather than relationships, and rewards for services. Klein and Diket (1999) found art to be a tool used by transformational leaders because art 'has the power to inspire, transform, heal, and connect us

to something larger than ourselves' (p.25). Art spaces themselves are able to lead to connections and transformations.

Art spaces serve as a place for informal civic participation (Grodach, 2010). They can be considered a third place. Third places are gathering places that take place outside of the home or the office (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982). Hummon (1991) says that third places 'provide the individual with stimulation and the joy of shared fellowship, while enriching a person's perspective on life through conversation with diverse others. They serve society by offering settings for ritualized revelry, teaching skills necessary for association beyond private life, developing political consciousness, and nourishing a broader appreciation for public life and space' (p. 931). Without third places such as arts centers, we might only spend time with the people we know well (Tiemann, 2008) and have little opportunity to share our thoughts with a wide range of people.

Arts centers are quasi-public spaces that allow people to build local uniqueness and community interaction, in contrast to the trend toward homogenization and privatization (Carr and Servon, 2009). Jacobs (1961) also noted that the physical characteristics of mixed-use spaces can lead to an environment that facilitates community bonding and creates the conditions necessary to support local business activity. Participatory arts spaces are also places where new ideas and physical expressions of ideas can be generated. They are dynamic and flexible and adaptable to the needs of both residents and visitors (Richards, 2006). The spaces can allow people to experience art rather than just passively observe, the traditional way of approaching the works of art in a museum (Bradburne as cited in Richards, 2006). An example of this new approach has been implemented in Frankfurt's Museum of Applied Arts. The museum put a number of moveable chairs in front of the exhibits to allow for deeper reflection and

contemplation. The chair groupings also allow museum patrons the opportunity to interact and learn from one another.

McCue (2007) examined an art center for creative writing in Seattle that attracts a clientele of different ages and sociocultural backgrounds. Participants not only write but participate in literary readings and plays. The center maintains a gallery, a café, a 'zine' library, and homemade magazines from around the world. She explored how the space served as a community learning space that instilled real-life skills and democratic values and concluded that good teaching takes place in this informal setting by facilitating rather than instructing. In other words, the center allows people be the teller of their own stories, which is the democratic aspect, while providing an effective space for the honing of their craft.

Grodach (2011) found that smaller to mid-sized art spaces impact the community in many positive ways that 'large-scale, flagship cultural institutions' do not (p. 74). These organizations are flexible in space and offerings, serving as galleries, art schools, performance spaces, art schools, incubators and outreach centers and are in contrast to the large-scale cultural institutions, which show high-dollar works of art and welcome national acts. The smaller spaces are more eclectic, have more ties to local and traditional folk art, and do not usually have permanent collections or resident companies (Grodach, 2011). They also tend to be community-based: they enhance community involvement and might focus on assisting local artists, a particular town or county, or a specific ethnic group (Grodach, 2010; Kay, 2000; Newman, Curtis and Stephens, 2003; Matarasso, 2007; Loukaitou-Sideris and Grodach, 2004) and can emerge from adaptive re-use of vacant and often deteriorating properties (Phillips, 2004; Villani, 2000; Grodach, 2011). Grodach (2010 and 2011) reviewed the literature and found that art spaces affect community development outcomes by:

- Attracting diverse audiences due to the wide array of offerings.
- Incubating talent through shared office space and programs to build business skills.
- Serving as a space for artists to share their work and receive mentoring, peer review, and other feedback.
- Building social capital—the ability to network and enhance involvement and collaboration.

Markusen and Gadwa (2010a) give numerous examples of how the arts and creative industries serve a leadership role in transforming communities from stagnant and underserved to vibrant, diverse and environmentally friendly. Vacated automobile plants, warehouses, and hotels are being transformed into productive cultural and economic centers by artists and other creative professionals. One example is Buffalo's Artspace Loft. The newly revived sectors bring people to the downtowns, attract visitors, and showcase residents' diversity. This process of using the arts and culture to increase livability, revitalize economies, and spur creative entrepreneurship and cultural industries is known as 'creative placemaking' (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010a, p. 3)

ArtPlace America, a collaborative project of foundations, banks, and national agencies that invests in art and culture to drive community vibrancy and diversity, is creating a tool to observe changes in communities so that they could observe the effect of their grants on creative placemaking (ArtPlace, 2012). These 'vibrancy indicators' are divided into three areas: people, activity, and value indicators. People indicators include population, workers in creative occupations, and employment rate. Activity indicators include indicator businesses (those most associated with vibrancy), jobs, walkscore (walkability), mixed use, cell activity (level of mobile phone activity), independent businesses, and creative industry jobs. Value indicators, which will capture changes in rental and ownership values related to neighborhood change, are still being

developed. Vibrancy indicators appear to be a potential tool to observe the impact of arts centers on their communities.

In addition to the economic and social wellbeing of a community, the arts and culture have been shown to have a positive impact on the environment, mostly through the common practice of repurposing older buildings into arts-related facilities. The following section reviews this practice.

Adaptive Reuse of Buildings for Arts and Culture

Adaptive reuse is using a building for a purpose other than what was originally intended (Cantrell, 2005). It is an alternative to simply demolishing old structures and building new ones. Reusing obsolete facilities is considered to be sustainable because new construction requires more energy and produces more waste than reusing old ones (Conejos, Langston, and Smith, 2013). Additionally, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 2009) estimates that the built environment contributes one-third of all greenhouse gas emissions, therefore a primary way to reduce emissions would be to upgrade buildings according to modern energy use criteria (UNEP, 2007).

Buildings can be successfully adapted for a wide array of purposes. Conejos et al. (2013) reviewed twelve award-winning adaptive reuse projects, which included conversion of an industrial building to apartments, a rural agricultural building into a tourist information center, and a church and church hall into residential units. Many communities throughout the nation have repurposed vacant stocks of buildings, including schools, factories, warehouses, and churches, to be used for arts-related facilities such as arts centers, housing projects for artists, mixed-use buildings, and artist studios (Villani, 2000). The projects go beyond preserving buildings, but serve to revitalize borderline neighborhoods. Villani (2000) describes a case of a

developer who says that arts organizations and artists are ideal tenants for his redevelopment efforts, partly due to the fact that they lead to a gentrification of the neighborhood.

Langston, Wong, Hui, Shen (2008) developed an objective scale to determine the adaptive reuse potential (ARP) of a building. The model requires an estimate of the expected physical life of the building, the current age of the building as well as an assessment of the building's physical, economic, functional, technological, social, and legal obsolescence (Langston et al., 2008). SINDEX, which is software used to determine a sustainability index, is another objective tool used to determine the sustainability of a reuse project. The index integrates four criteria: wealth (investment return), utility (functional performance), resources (energy usage), and impact (loss of habitat [including natural and cultural]) (Langston et al., 2008). These tools could be used to determine whether a potential facility would be a sustainable choice for conversion in to an arts center. The next section of this review will focus on existing metrics for capturing change across the entire community.

Evaluating Impacts on Communities

The above literature review indicates that participatory art spaces can play a positive role in community and economic development (Grodach, 2010; Grodach, 2011; Markusen and Johnson, 2006), and adaptive reuse of facilities (Villani, 2000). Although the centers provide value to the community, the extent of their impact on all community assets has not been systematically studied. To do so, a framework is needed to examine potential changes in the community. The changes can take many forms, including increased financial assets for restaurants, hotels, and merchants, increased business skills of artists and other community members, and the effects of an open gathering place to share unique cultural offerings. A

framework is needed to identify a wide range of community assets and influences, and how they might interrelate to one another.

The CCF is a tool that allows researchers or community leaders to systematically observe and categorize a wide range of impacts across the whole spectrum of society. It also allows us to see those effects through the prism of sustainability, because it encompasses economic, socio-cultural, and natural elements of the community. Community capitals can be defined as any asset that can produce additional resources (Flora et al., 2004). Arts centers themselves are forms of physical, or built, capital, and have been shown to produce additional tangible and intangible resources in their host community. The CCF proposes that there are seven potential capitals defined as:

- Built: Infrastructure, including roads, buildings, roadways, electrical grid, phone systems, and high-speed internet.
- Cultural: Arts, stories, traditions, food, values, spiritual outlook, habits, and attitudes.
- Financial: Access to monetary support through savings, loans, investments, grants, and taxes.
- Human: Talents, skills, knowledge, education, and creativity in community members.
- Natural: Water, air, land, mineral, animal and vegetation resources for food, shelter, heat, and quality of life.
- Political: Access to politicians and other leadership with power to make change.
- Social: Networks of support within families, networks of organizations, and loose ties with 'people in the know' (Emery and Flora, 2006).

When functioning well, community capitals feed into each other to fuel a sustainable, self-supporting system. Community members have to nurture and invest in their community assets (or capitals) to receive benefit from them over the long term. For example, a town may

have many trees on its public and private lands. Town officials could clear-cut the forest for many years, and town could benefit from the direct sales and through job creation and tax revenues from the sale of timber. However, if the town members had not wisely invested the money earned before the trees ran out, the town would be left with nothing. They could, alternatively, invest the proceeds from the timber sales in the school system to increase human capital. They could also maintain their natural capital by investing in new seedlings to ensure a constant supply of timber while keeping some tracts of forest undisturbed for wildlife preservation and/or recreational use.

McGehee, Lee, O'Bannon, and Perdue (2010) showed that social capital in particular plays a central role in rural tourism. They provided a questionnaire to key informants involved in the tourism industry in a four-county region of Virginia to determine the relationship of the tourism industry to various forms of community capital. They used statements attributable to each of the seven capitals in the CCF, such as 'There is strong preservation of local stories and history' to measure each of the seven capitals in the CCF. The statements were derived from Flora et al. (2004), who used similar questions to explore general community development. Their analysis showed a relationship between tourism-related social capital and cultural capital, political capital, human capital, private built capital, and financial capital.

Other Community Capitals Models

The Ford Foundation uses a capitals-based model as part of their Wealth Creation in Rural America initiative to determine how rural areas can generate wealth in their communities. The ultimate goal of the initiative is 'improving the livelihoods of low-income individuals, households, and communities…' (Ratner, 2010, p. 4) and it attempts to help low-wealth areas to 'overcome their isolation and integrate into regional economies in ways that increase their

ownership and influence over various kinds of wealth' (Hoffer, 2010, p. 2). Their wealth model also has seven elements, but is slightly different that the CCF. They include social, natural, built, financial, and political, but instead of human and cultural capitals, they include intellectual and individual capitals:

- Intellectual capital: Knowledge, innovation, and creativity. This includes research and development, support for activities that engage imagination and the diffusion of new knowledge and ways of seeing (example: patents in use).
- Individual capital: Skills and mental and physical healthiness of the people (example: healthy weight people) (Hoffer, 2010)

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) includes the same seven elements of the CCF in its model of community wealth creation, but adds intellectual capital as an eighth form of capital (Pender, 2012). This model differentiates intellectual capital from human capital (as did the Ford Foundation model) because it considers recorded thoughts which carry from generation to generation, such as patents and books, independent from human intelligence

Using the CCF to Explore Impacts of Arts Centers

The CCF has been used extensively as a methodology to analyse community development efforts (Gutierrez-Montes, Siles, Bartol, and Imbach, 2009; Segnestam, 2009; Gutierrez-Montes, Emery, and Fernandez-Baca, 2009; Sseguya, Mazur, and Masinde, 2009; Lewis, 2009; Gasteyer and Araj, 2009; Stofferahn, 2009). Segnestam (2009) used it to show that the impacts of droughts in a rural Nicaraguan community caused a downward capital spiral more often in women than in men within the community. Gutierrez-Montes et al. (2009) found that the CCF was useful to organize issues and interactions among community capitals during the successful creation of a regional landscape plan in Panama. Sseguya et al. (2009) used the CCF

to organize feedback sessions to find gaps in human, social, and natural capitals for a program to improve food security in Uganda. Lewis (2009) used the CCF to study Mexican immigrant owner-operators' capacity to build up their farms and found that the farmers need to bridge social capital to other capitals. Gasteyer and Araj (2009) used the CCF to frame the efforts of nongovernmental organizations and international donors within a regional water access issue in Palestine. Gillespie (2009) demonstrated how a CCF approach could help identify factors to enable healthy food and fitness choices. Stofferahn (2009) used the CCF to observe the impact of new generation cooperatives compared with traditional cooperatives in the Great Plains region of the United States. And finally, Emery and Flora (2006) used the CCF to analyze a case where investing in various community capitals led to a cyclical pattern where one community capital is built off another, which they refer to as 'spiraling-up.' In this study, human, social, and financial capitals were invested, which resulted in expanded human capital (increased skills and knowledge and improved sense of community), social capital (increased opportunity to work together and improved leadership opportunities), and cultural capital (increased acceptance of youth and other non-traditional leaders as actors). Emery and Flora (2006) noted that social capital initiated the spiraling-up process.

The CCF is valued because it offers an evaluation of the overall community system, not just specific project goals (Emery and Flora, 2006). It allows the investigator to map outcomes by the specific capitals and identify indicators that can be used to observe the amount change. This tool is valuable to community developers, because it connects impacts to outcomes, allowing administrators to develop more precise strategies to influence the flow of assets across capitals. Because of this, the CCF will be used to observe the systemic impact of arts centers on their surrounding communities in this study. Also, because the seven community capitals used in

the model easily overlap with the triple-bottom line model of economic (financial capital), environmental (natural and built capital), and social (human, social, cultural, and political) realms, the CCF is useful methodology to track sustainability.

Summary of Literature Review

In general, the literature supports the notion that the arts and culture lead to economic development. However, this development can take place in different ways. The arts and culture of a locale can be seen strictly as a commodity used to generate income, property, and jobs (Markusen and Schrock, 2006), or to promote a place for tourists (Stern and Seifert, 2010). Under the commodification scenario, culture is typically brought in from outside the community (Richards and Wilson, 2006). Alternatively, the arts can be participatory, leading to many forms of community development, such as transformational leadership (Klein and Diket, 1999) and education (McCue, 2007). In this second scenario, the creative talent is homegrown and endogenous (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

Community art centers are flexible, multifunction places where community development can take place. They are experiential and can be transformative, in contrast to static large-scale cultural sites, where the culture is merely consumed (Grodach, 2011). These spaces are necessary for artists because the dedicated space supports the dense social networks needed to find short-term jobs across job sectors. The spaces also could potentially provide close interactions with other creative people, including technical knowledge workers, which help spark innovation. Interactive cultural spaces are also sought out by creative tourists, who look for an authentic, integrated experience (Richards, 2011). In addition to bringing economic gains to the community, arts centers foster community. A community is a place where individuals share a sense of belonging, where people matter to each other, needs are met, and emotional connections

are made (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). The participatory nature of the centers enables participants to build solidarity and chart their own course (Kay, 2000). Arts centers are also often housed in buildings that have undergone adaptive reuse, which contributes to their environmental sustainability (Conejos et al., 2013).

The literature shows that the positive effects of the participatory arts in small- to mid-sized cultural facilities impact financial, social, and environmental areas of the community (Grodach, 2010; Grodach, 2011; Markusen and Johnson, 2006; Conejos et al., 2013). However, the comprehensive effects on community assets have not been systematically studied. The CCF is an analytical tool that can be used to estimate the impact on communities in fine detail. With the CCF, community leaders can determine how the various community capitals affect one another and can subsequently design strategies to influence the flow of capitals. The results provided by in this framework would show which capitals carried more weight, and whether they led to the spiraling-up described by Emery and Flora (2006). In other words, the CCF can be used to observe the economic, social, and environmental impacts, or, a community's sustainability, and sheds light on the role of arts centers in sustainable tourism.

This thesis proposes that the CCF would be an ideal model to document the impacts of arts centers on the seven community capitals with three North Carolina communities. While the results would be specific to the targeted communities in the study, patterns that arise could be used by other communities that are determining the feasibility of establishing an arts center. Given economic realities and political considerations, it is reasonable to use this trusted model to explore the effects on all levels of society to give community leaders a true understanding of the worth of arts centers. To rely on only economic models to determine the worth of an arts center

is to '…miss the real purpose of the arts, which is not to create wealth but to contribute to a stable, confident and creative society' (Matarasso, 1997 p. VI).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Study Area

This study focused on three arts centers in North Carolina and their rural host towns. The centers were selected based on the following criteria: longevity (how long the centers have been in operation), the type of services provided (minimum of education, performance, and exhibition), budget (income), whether the facility was a building reuse, the town size, and level of tourism's economic impact within the county. The goal of the selection process was to find three arts centers that were similar among many of these characteristics.

The non-profit organizations' longevity and budgets were determined from Guidestar, which is an organization that provides information about IRS-registered nonprofits on its website (Guidestar.org). Tourism statistics were determined from the Travel Economic Impact Model on the North Carolina Department of Commerce (NCDC) website and included direct visitor spending estimates for all 100 North Carolina counties, county level employment, and payroll and tax revenues as a result of direct visitor spending (NCDC, 2013). The remaining information was gathered from the organizations' websites

An initial list of arts centers was compiled from websites administered by Art-Collecting and the North Carolina Arts Council (NCAC), and excluded performing arts centers, guilds, museums, and university arts centers (Art-Collecting, 2012; NCAC, 2012). From this initial list, the characteristics enumerated above were outlined in a table for comparison. The final selection of arts centers included the Maria V. Howard Arts Center at The Imperial Centre for the Arts and Sciences (Rocky Mount, NC), the Arts of the Albemarle (Elizabeth City, NC), and the Arts Council of Wilson (Wilson, NC). All three host towns are located in the eastern part of North Carolina, and within the service region of East Carolina University. Each center has a budget of

approximately a half-million US dollars; however, the Arts Center in Rocky Mount is a part of city government, whereas the other two arts centers are self-funded, with some local government grant support. The populations of Rocky Mount and Wilson are both approximately 50,000 to 60,000, whereas Elizabeth City is a community of about 20,000. Median household income levels ranged from $32,000 for Elizabeth City to $38,000 for Rocky Mount (Table 1).

Table 1: Study area population and median annual income

	Rocky Mount	Elizabeth City	Wilson
Arts center	Arts Center at The Imperial Centre for the Arts and Sciences	Arts of the Albemarle	Arts Council of Wilson
Population of town[a]	57,477	18,683	49,167
Median household income[b]	$38,080	$32,303	$36,539

a 2010
b 2007-2011
Source: US Census

The sample consisted of 19 informants from the three arts centers. Six community leaders representing each of the towns were interviewed. The leaders included 1) the mayor, the directors of the 2) local visitor center, 3) chamber of commerce or other business organization, and 4) arts center, 5) the owner of one lodging property, and 6) the owner of a local coffee shop or restaurant. The informants from each town therefore represented the economic (chamber, tourism development authority, hotel, and restaurant) and socio-cultural (mayor and arts center) aspects of the community, and could potentially know about the wide range of arts center impacts, particularly from a tourism perspective. In one town, the first coffee shop owner interviewed in Rocky Mount did not know about any arts center programming; therefore an additional coffee shop owner was interviewed.

Data Collection

Data were collected through qualitative face-to-face interviews of key informants. This method is useful for collecting deep narratives that reveal richer descriptions and a better likelihood of revealing systematic behaviors than simple surveys (Patton, 2002). The interviews were semi-structured, which allows for the informants to express themselves freely with minimal control by the investigator. Interviews capture detailed perceptions, thoughts, and feelings. They also allow the informants the privacy to make potentially negative comments without having other community members listen in, protect anonymity, and prevent one informant from influencing another. Investigator bias was limited through:

- Systematic review of the literature to ensure that the research question is significant and unresolved
- Systematic sampling of arts centers
- Systematic data collection with a semi-structured interview design that used similar questions for all informants
- Carefully crafted questions that are not leading informants but elicit their point of view
- Systematic data analysis methods (Collier and Mahoney, 1996; Daly and Lumley, 2002; Mays and Pope, 1995; Christine Avenarius, e-mail message to author, March 7, 2013)

Interview Protocol

Each interviewee was asked to discuss the impacts of the arts center on their community. Interview questions were derived from previous research conducted by Dr. Carol Kline on the impact of the Handmade in America program on community capitals in small towns in the mountains of North Carolina (see Appendix A for interview questions). The questions included warm-up questions about the subject's general interests, a question about town challenges, a

question about how the arts center can help address town challenges, a question asking the informant to list the most significant arts center programs, follow-up questions about what impacts the arts centers had around town, if any, and lastly, whether any of the programs had an impact on tourism. The participant number, age, gender, town, type of community leader, years lived in the community, and years the participant was involved in community projects were also recorded.

Data Coding and Analysis

The interviews were transcribed and the transcriptions underwent content analysis and were coded according to themes (Bernard and Ryan, 2010), namely according to one of the seven community capitals in the CCF model. A test set of eight transcripts were coded by impacts with colors corresponding to the seven community capitals. An impact was coded to as many capitals as it applied. The highlighted text was then transferred to a spreadsheet where each impact was listed with its corresponding community capital(s). The spreadsheet was then analysed for patterns associated with the impacts of arts center programs and their corresponding community capitals. A final analysis using the same method was performed after all data were collected. Coding was spot checked and authenticated by another researcher.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Informants

The nineteen informants ranged in age from 28 to 77. Twelve were female and seven were male. Three were visitors center directors, three were arts center directors, two were chamber of commerce directors, one was employed as the downtown manager for the city, two were coffee shop owners, two were restaurant owners, one was a sales manager for a hotel management group, one was the owner of a bed and breakfast, and one managed a hotel (Table 2).

Table 2: Study informants and affiliations

Representative	Rocky Mount N = 7	Elizabeth City N = 6	Wilson N = 6
Mayor	X	X	X
Visitors Center	Acting Executive Director, Nash County Travel and Tourism (through May 2013)	Executive Director, Elizabeth City Area Conventions and Visitors Bureau	Director, Wilson Visitors Center
Arts Center	Cultural Arts Administrator, Maria V. Howard Arts Center at the Imperial Centre for the Arts and Sciences	Executive Director, Arts of Albemarle	Executive Director, Wilson Arts Council
Business Organization	President, Rocky Mount Chamber of Commerce	President, Elizabeth City Chamber of Commerce	Downtown Manager, City of Wilson
Restaurateur	Owner, Via Cappuccino Coffeehouse and Owner, Morning Addiction Coffeehouse	Owner, Montero's Restaurant	Owner, City Market Café and Catering
Hotelier	Marketing Director for the Gateway Centre Hotel Complex	Owner, Culpepper Inn Bed and Breakfast	General Manager, Hampton Inn

Description of Arts Centers

Arts of Albemarle – Elizabeth City, NC: The Arts of Albemarle is located in Elizabeth City which sits on the Albemarle Sound, approximately 50 miles south of the Norfolk/Virginia Beach/Newport News area of Virginia, and 50 miles northwest of Kill Devil Hills on the Outer Banks of North Carolina. Although it incorporated in 1980, the organization did not move to its

current renovated 15,000-square-foot building until 2009. Performances take place in the Maguire Theatre, which has about 250 seats. Some of the organization's main programs include a First Friday Artwalk, gallery exhibits, a school of the arts, Taste of Albemarle, and facility rentals.

Other key city attractions include the Museum of the Albemarle, the Port Discover Hands-on Science Center, and the Elizabeth City University's Planetarium. The current director of the Arts of Albemarle developed a marketing campaign to showcase the city's cultural assets, called Elizabeth City H.A.S. It, with the H, A, and S representing history, arts, and science. As an entryway for southbound traffic to the Outer Banks, Elizabeth City strives to capture a portion of that drive-by traffic. Once a community whose main industries were agriculture, lumbering, and ship building, it is only now looking toward tourism focusing on the arts and sciences as an niche (Informant 4).

Arts Council of Wilson – Wilson, NC: The Arts Council of Wilson is located 50 miles east of Raleigh, NC, near Interstate 95 (I-95). Incorporated in 1968, its many programs include several theatre offerings, such as the Boykin Series, ACT! For Youth, and Theatre of the American South. The organization has gallery exhibits, arts education, and rents out its facility for community events. Several informants claimed that the arts center has played a significant role in expanding the arts scene, which has been growing over the last 20 years. Many well-known artists have moved to the area, including photographers Jérôme Di Piccolini and Burt Uzzle, writer Bonnie Christensen, painter Frans van Baars, and potter Ben Owens.

Wilson is considered an arts destination in large part owing to its collection of large windmill-like mechanical structures, known as whirligigs, built by folk artist Vollis Simpson. The structures, some of which are up to 60-ft tall, have received national attention, and have

been a significant attraction over the last few decades. The town is capitalizing on these folk-art structures by building the Vollis Simpson Whirligig Park in the center of town. The Wilson Visitors Center has been actively promotes the arts through press releases, brochures in kiosks, hotel lobbies, and welcome centers north and south of Wilson along I-95 (Informant 15). Wilson receives Amtrak service to points west, north, and south.

The Arts Center at the Imperial Centre for the Arts and Sciences – Rocky Mount, NC: Rocky Mount is 20 miles north of Wilson. Like Wilson, it borders Interstate 95 and receives Amtrak service. Its Arts Center was originally formed in 1974. In 2006, the new Maria V. Howard Arts Center was established in the refurbished Imperial Center, which also houses a children's museum and a performing arts theater. Arts Center activities include the outdoor concert series Downtown Live, community theatre, public meetings and events, and various educational programs, including an after school art program. Unlike the Wilson and Elizabeth City arts centers, which are operated by nonprofits, the Arts Center in Rocky Mount is run by the city of Rocky Mount.

Impacts by Community Capital

The programs of all three of the arts centers led to community impacts in four of the seven community capitals (financial, social, cultural, and human). The specific outcomes common to all three of the arts centers were:

- Financial: Arts centers served as economic engines for their communities, leading to increased tourism and new businesses. They also provided affordable access to art/culture, which was often free of charge.
- Social: Arts centers drew family and community members together, with diverse audiences.

- Cultural: Arts centers led to an exposure, demystification, and celebration art and culture, establishment of new art/cultural venues, and support to other art/cultural organizations.
- Human: Arts centers programming led to community pride and increased confidence, self-expression/self-actualization in individuals, and extended the general education provided by public schools.

Financial impacts were mentioned 102 times, far more than other types of capital impacts. Social, cultural, and human impacts were mentioned next most frequently (80, 76, and 64 times). Built, political, and natural capital impacts were not mentioned often, by comparison (23, 4, and 1 times). An impact could be noted in more than one capital. For example, 'attraction of relocaters' was considered both a financial and social capital impact; 'destination for visual art,' financial and social; 'new art/cultural venues, financial, cultural, and built; new park, built and cultural, and natural; and professional training, financial and human. Elaborations of these impacts follow below, in the same order as mentioned here.

Financial Capital: In general, the relationship between the arts and business was looked upon as mutually beneficial. Two informants from Rocky Mount described how a regional bank funded an interactive exhibit at the Imperial Centre about the legacy of banking in Rocky Mount (Informants 2 and 14). The exhibit helped to dissolve some ill feelings toward the bank following the bank's takeover of another local bank, which led to layoffs. Without the high-caliber space, one informant believed that the exhibit would never have been proposed (Informant 14). Subsequently, the bank has invested in the creation of a playground (Informant 2).

Most informants said arts center programming has led to increased tourism (Informants 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, and 19). Programs like Downtown Live in Rocky Mount and the First Friday Art Walk in Elizabeth City were said to lead to a vibrant downtown that is visited by

many people (Informants 2, 3, and 11). Restaurants and businesses extended their hours to capture more spending during those events (Informants 4, 5, and 10). One informant stated that Elizabeth City has become a destination for visual art (Informant 10), which in turn supports professional artists. However, several informants from Rocky Mount, including all the informants from the restaurant and hotel sectors, said their art center needed a better marketing effort to publicize the arts offerings housed in the impressive Imperial Centre (Informants 1, 2, 9, 12, and 14). One informant said that the city does a much better job marketing its sports facilities than the facility and its arts programming, explaining it this way:

> 'We're not, by any means, seeing droves of people coming in. That's our frustration on the tourism side, because it needs to be marketed. Even in the tourism office, they didn't necessarily do a great job of it before either. Because I think it was something new to them. They never had an arts center to market. They just market it as, "Here's another place you can go. There's a museum in there for the kids." It's been an amenity versus being a driving force for tourism, which I believe it could be. We believe it could be. It's really been sold as an amenity. Just like the sports complex is a driver for them to come here, this needs to be a driver to get people to come here for the arts center. To come here for the plays, for the exhibits, to have events here' (Informant 14).

The same informant later went on to say, 'It was never the really strategically thought of how could this generate economic dollars.' An informant from Wilson also stated there needed to be a better marketing effort for their arts center (Informant 17).

Arts center programming has led to new business formation, particularly in Elizabeth City and Wilson (Informants 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 16, and 17). The concentration of art shops, cooperatives, and studios, and their participation in arts center events, such as Elizabeth City's First Fridays, has led to a spiraling up of financial assets, with of more businesses forming and others extending hours since the Arts of Albemarle have 'opened their doors' (Informant 6). The organization responsible for filling up storefronts in downtown Elizabeth City is Elizabeth City Downtown Development Inc. (ECDI). One informant explains how they work together with

the Arts of Albemarle to improve the economics of the downtown area.

> ‘They've ridden on each other's coattails. She [the Executive Director of ECDI] wanted to find a way to get people downtown. Arts of the Albemarle accomplished that, and in accomplishing that, [she] is able to sell more rental space and lease more space for businesses downtown because of the draw downtown of the arts... Because of the art coming downtown and growing, with Two and a Half Women and Serenity Studio Arts and Kelly's art studio, all these different things, that has helped to fill vacant buildings, which had nothing in them and now are incorporating more retail and more opportunities like gyms and places to eat and retail and all those sort of things. It's been a trickle effect and they've helped each other out. By bringing more retail down, they're getting more people into the Arts Center. By bringing the Arts Center there, they got more retail to come down…’ (Informant 6).

An active cultural scene also works to attract dollars into the town in the form of potential relocators, as well as new businesses. An Elizabeth City informant explained, ‘When I talk to visitors and relocators (both business and residential), the first thing I do is gather up my materials and show them we have the ‘HAS It’ program, History, Arts, and Sciences’ (Informant 5). Another informant from Wilson stated that having an active arts programming is needed to attract industry to town (Informant 7). That said, one informant from Rocky Mount said there is much less patronage of the arts with the downtown in the economy since 2008 (Informant 12). When asked what the arts center can do to help improve the local economy, the informant said the center needed to somehow engage more with the community to generate new jobs.

> ‘I would say the best way is to get out in the community as best as possible. Volunteer levels. They're going to have to wade into the community, just get them involved. I love art anyway. I have an inherent...I try to use local artists from around the area, at least a 25-mile radius. I switch it up about every 45 days. We do music in here, but I think you really have to give people a reason to want to be involved. I think the easiest way though...first of all, people just need to work. Need jobs first. Real practical levels. If the art community can do something like that, especially now, with the way things are, that would be wonderful. That would be great’ (Informant 12).

The same informant would like to see less money spent on infrastructure, such as the arts center facility, and more on increasing traffic downtown through some type of planning effort. He explained it this way:

> 'I've seen this in Austin and in Santa Fe, how it works. What they do is, instead of throwing taxpayer money and building an infrastructure that nobody is going to come to, is you need to get bodies down there. So what's going to draw bodies, in real, tangible ways? You need to get entrepreneurs and seed capital and you need to open up 10 to 12 things at one time, like a shock effect. Because people are reading, oh my God, we have an art gallery and a restaurant. But that takes 10 people with money with that same...where do they want to be in a year, and what is it going to take? It might be a three-year plan or it may take a five-year plan, and I've seen that work' (Informant 12).

The representatives from each of the three arts centers said they provide free or affordable access to their programming (Informants 1, 3, 4, 8, and 16). The programming fills the investment gap in public arts and makes the arts available to the underserved in the community. For example, one informant from Rocky Mount said that the arts center provides a variety of affordable opportunities for people to practice or learn arts and technique through media classes, workshops, educational trips, summer camps, and an after school program (Informant 1). The programs are 'free to fee based, depending, but in all instances, as inexpensively as possible in an effort to make it as affordable as possible for folks in the community to take advantage' (Informant 1). The informant went on to describe their after-school program:

> 'It's designed to fill the gaps in our school system where we've seen budgets cut, and art programs diminished. It's also a very small program. We won't take more than 20 kids in a given year. We have three or four instructors. It's a really tight, really small teacher to student ratio. It's highly affordable. I think this year it's $175 a month for kids to come. That includes all of their breaks, and their teacher workdays when we do full day service' (Informant 1).

The Rocky Mount art center also provides an outlet for field trips, including transportation to and from schools:

> ‘Because we'll do the program here and we can pretty much do any field trip, a school field trip, free of charge because you don't pay to come into the galleries. We can even create some kind of hands on art activity that doesn't cost you a thing. We can do a theater experience. It doesn't cost the school a thing’ (Informant 1).

Two arts centers weathered recent financial crises in the recent past and now have stronger balance sheets. One informant from Wilson said his most rewarding experience working with the arts center was surviving a major building repair of their theatre space right after the stock market crash of 2008. It was especially difficult to raise funds for the repair because the arts center depends almost entirely on grants and contributions, which dropped significantly after the crash.

> ‘That is probably the best experience where the city really comes together and people really show appreciation, and we survived. We were in the red at the end of the year around maybe $80,000, but now we're approaching our third year, and we will be in the black for our third year in a row’ (Informant 8).

Another informant, from Elizabeth City, stated that the previous arts center director had a background in performance, while the current one has more of a focus on sales, which has helped to make the organization more financially viable (Informant 10).

Social Capital: Each arts center brings families and communities together (Informants 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, and 19) including diverse socio-economic groups (Informants 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, and 17). Very often, it is the children’s programming that draws family and friends together, who might otherwise have never interacted. As one informant said, ‘All of a sudden, it starts involving not just the child, but then the child becomes even more involved, then the parent becomes involved, and then the family is involved, and then their friends are involved’ (Informant 1). The interaction occurs at art exhibits, plays, and outdoor events. The arts venues also provide a time and a space to simply socialize and discuss art and other issues (Informants 1

and 4). Some of the arts center spaces are available for rental to outside groups for non-profit meetings, weddings, and community gatherings (Informants 4 and 11). The gatherings lead to increased community involvement (Informants 6 and 16), business cooperation (Informant 5), and increased civility (Informant 3), making the area more livable and family friendly (Informants 6 and 15), which, in turn, helps to retain residents and attract new residents (Informants 6, 11, 17, and 19). The programming was said to transform the image of the downtown to a more vibrant and welcoming place (Informant 3). One informant said arts center programming helps provide a sense of belonging for the entire population. 'You see people of all ages coming out, sitting out on the lawn there in that area, enjoying the music. We see different parts of the community that otherwise may not be able to have an opportunity to get together' (Informant 2).

As mentioned in the financial capitals section, the arts centers provide a neutral territory for networking across business, political, and community groups, and can therefore facilitate and even catalyze new connections (Informant 14). Organizations use the space to interact and share expertise and support. One informant described the value of having a neutral space this way:

> 'It's almost like it's become its own neutral center of gravity for our community. Where people can come together, it's a safe zone. One faction doesn't have more influence over another faction in this facility. Everybody's proud of it once they come in. The whole spirit of the conversation is entirely different than having it at the county hall. Or one office building. Or in the school building' (Informant 14).

The social aspects of the arts center can lead to an awareness of the value of the downtown area. Another informant from Rocky Mount emphasized the advantage of how the arts center's Downtown Live program brings diverse crowds downtown who might never have ventured there:

> ‘I'll use the Downtown Live for an example. It brings people to downtown Rocky Mount. Since Rocky Mount is like a lot of other older southern downtown areas, a lot of our businesses have moved out to malls and shopping centers; but we've been through a pretty large renovation process in downtown Rocky Mount. We're still finishing that up in downtown Rocky Mount. It brings a lot of people that live in the area and some outside the area back to downtown Rocky Mount. So that we can hopefully get them back downtown and being used to coming back to downtown; because city hall is there and one of our largest employers is downtown, Rocky Mount Community College... But in terms of people thinking about going to downtown Rocky Mount for functions, this has gotten people coming back downtown that probably didn't go downtown for any kind of entertainment in many, many years’ (Informant 11).

One hotelier (Informant 3) has expressed how the proximity to an arts center’s art walk program has proved valuable to her guests. ‘[Our property is] within walking distance of that, so you can imagine this is a wonderful thing for my guests, who happen most of the time coincidentally to be here on a Friday night. I encourage them to participate in this walking opportunity, to go store to store and venue to venue, to meet artists’ (Informant 3). In this way, the arts centers not only serve as a gathering point within the arts center facility, but also spread people out into the community to meet the artists and musicians at events.

Cultural Capital: Informants from each town expressed how many of their neighbors thought that the arts were perceived as something only for the elite (Informants 1 and 3). The art centers helped demystify art for the general public (Informants 1, 3, 4, and 7), while bringing pride in local community members’ artistic talent (Informant 13). One informant explained how his perception of the value of the arts has changed over time:

> ‘But I'll tell you, I'm really fond of the arts. I hope you can tell that it's just a wonderful thing for our community. Fifty years ago I didn't care a thing about it, not one earthly thing. Part of the first 10 years I was in the fire department, it didn't mean nothing to me. But I know how important it is now, and it really makes me feel good to see those little kids over there drawing. Let me tell you something, you see some good pictures of that too, buddy. They might draw just a, what do you call it, stick drawing or whatever it is, with a lead pencil, or they might paint it. I wish you'd come back one day when you've got plenty of time and let me show you around’ (Informant 7).

Most informants said that for many community members, the center was their primary source of exposure to the arts (Informants 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, and 16). The experiences often led to participation in other cultural activities, such as when children in an after-school program at the arts center would later perform in a high school play (Informants 1 and 4), led to a celebration of the local arts and culture (Informants 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, and 19), instilled theater etiquette (Informant 1), and exposed the population to foreign cultures and histories (Informants 2 and 14). Classes also gave adults the opportunity to try their hand at art for the first time, such as with the Wine and Paint program at the Arts of Albemarle, where adults bring their own wine and learn they can paint in a relaxing and welcoming atmosphere (Informant 6).

Several informants noted that arts center programs contributed to the furthering of cultural activity around town by furthering the establishment of public art projects (Informants 2 and 8), spurring the creation of new art/cultural venues (Informants 2, 5, 6, 7, and 10), and supporting other art/cultural organizations (Informants 2, 8, and 19), particularly through artistic knowhow (Informant 13). The programming was said to raise the overall quality of art in town (Informant 10), celebrate the art of professional artists (Informant 8), and play a role in attracting bigger-named talent to the area (Informants 8 and 10). For example, one informant discussed how the Arts Council of Wilson helped attract high profile artists (see Description of Arts Centers; Informant 8). Another stated how Wilson has the potential to be a significant folk art destination, beyond whirligigs (Informant 16). Additionally, two informants from Elizabeth City said that the arts centers played an important role in engaging tourists in the local culture (Informants 3 and 19). One explained it this way:

> ‘That's what most tourists want to do. They don't want to be tourists. They want to sit and be involved in the community and the people that they're around and I think that something like the art center allows them to do that. They're looking at art that's done by people that live in the community, so they're already appreciative of the sense or the style

> of art that our artists are creating. Then you put them into a theater in the evening and they're sitting around laughing with the community and watching how we behave and how we all get along or don't get along. I think that just adds to the enrichment of being a tourist in a new community. The whole reason you want to go someplace is to experience what they experience on a daily basis' (Informant 19).

However, not all comments were positive regarding the cultural programming of the arts centers. One informant said the Arts Council of Wilson could provide more leadership or at least have a closer involvement in the Whirligig park project, particularly toward the workforce training program affiliated with refurbishing the structures (Informant 17). The same informant would also like to see more vibrant and diverse programming directed toward 30 to 50 year olds and African Americans and more outreach to at-risk youths.

Human Capital: Informants from each town reported that their arts center led to increased confidence in their townspeople, particularly their youth (Informants 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, and 14), or increased self-expression (Informants 3, 4, 6, 13, and 19). Four informants noted that people developed artistic talents they never knew they had (Informants 1, 3, 5, and 6), sometimes leading to professional training in the arts (Informants 1 and 4). The arts centers were said to enable community members to showcase these talents publically (Informant 1), which leads to pride in the community as a whole (Informants 2, 3, 10, 14, and 18). As one informant from Elizabeth City said, 'You get to see your next door neighbor on stage transformed as a different person' (Informant 19).

One informant (Informant 4) explained how the arts center in Elizabeth City is often a lifeline for troubled children by describing the story of one young person who had a difficult time fitting in and is now attending the North Carolina School of the Arts:

> '… this young kid that I was talking about going to the School of the Arts came to Rotary a couple weeks ago, and I brought him in to talk. He talked about the story of being an eighth grade boy who danced. He wouldn't say directly. He said, "I won't use the word

> 'bullied,' but I certainly was not considered one of the coolest in the class." No, seventh grade was when this occurred. Then in the eighth grade the Arts of the Albemarle opened up. We started the Center Players. He said it was like finding exactly where he belonged. Everyone here embraced what he was doing, encouraged him, and his confidence level he says has increased dramatically. He could have easily gotten lost. We're still a town that pickup trucks, shotguns, and hunters are celebrated a lot more than the arts. This is a young man who's found himself and found himself to be very comfortable in what he's doing. He's taking voice lessons this year and piano lessons, and he knows this is what he wants to do. It's been so comforting for him not to have to drive 50 miles or to move away from town. To be able to do this in a small town and not disrupt his social life and his family is really special' (Informant 4).

Two informants (Informants 6 and 13) touted the arts as a means of fostering positivity or providing excitement for young people. Another informant (Informant 3) reported how the positivity and hope provided by the arts center is a potential wellspring for community wellbeing:

> 'It is so much more than just the arts. It is about a celebration of community and the diversity of peoples in a community expressed through the diverse talents of people in a community. It just…I couldn't encourage people more. I'm a very conservative political person. I am atypical of the demographic that you would normally see overwhelmingly interested in the arts. I will tell you that my passion for the arts has grown profoundly based on just being able to experience on a day to day basis the overwhelmingly positive impact of focusing on the arts does to a community as a whole. I'm a great person, I think, to sit here and say, 'Look. If there was ever a skeptic it was probably me.' I had all the skepticism of, 'We're too small. We're too poor. This can't be a priority. We need to build buildings and we need to fix the roads and we need to fix the drug problem. We need to fix the schools.' The reality has been that focusing on the arts has helped us successfully address all those other areas. We haven't resolved our problems of being in a depressed area but the arts has done everything you could imagine to positively impact all the areas on the list of building blocks you would think would be a greater priority' (Informant 3).

Others spoke how the arts center fostered skills (Informant 8), including leadership and life lessons that will serve children through their whole life (Informant 4), leading to a better quality of life for residents and visitors alike (Informants 8 and 10). All three arts centers were said to serve to extend the general education offered by the public school systems (Informants 1, 4, 8,

11, 13, 14, and 16). One was said to have led to more participation in artistic learning opportunities at other institutions, such as Elizabeth City State University cultural events (Informant 3).

Built Capital: All three of the arts centers in this study are examples of adaptive building reuse. Each is centered in a downtown district, and two of them are walkable to other restaurants and downtown amenities (Elizabeth City and Wilson). Their proximity to downtown encourages patrons of arts center events to venture into the downtown before and after events (Informants 11 and 19), allowing them to become aware of the streetscape (Informants 2 and 11), and this was said to trigger further downtown renovation (Informant 8). The increased traffic has led to new apartments, studios, and a new park (Informant 8). An informant from Rocky Mount (Informant 14) explained how the adaptive reuse of their center represented the transformation of their community from the industrial past to a more creative age:

> 'I think the arts center just represents the new way forward. To me, it was basically a mirror of what's going on. We took something old and turned it into something new. And that's really what I think the arts center symbolizes. And even when it was being built, it symbolized everything I just told you. There was a lot of resistance to it. There was a lot of naysayers to it. People didn't understand. They though it was a colossal waste of money. And it turned out to be that it was one of the greatest things we had to be proud of…' (Informant 14)

The informant went on to describe how the building maintains vestiges of its role a tobacco warehouse while displaying current exhibits.

> '… I just think to the modern time. When you look in the arts center, they did a really good job of blending that. They took this old tobacco warehouse, which was a staple. Tobacco was a huge part of Rocky Mount's growing success when the town was first established. And they kept a lot of that old in here, even with the way they did the construction and some of the exhibits. There's highlighting things that happened in the past and proud moments of the past and they took this building they didn't know what to do with. I think that's what it represents is kind of that mindset or that symbol of where we need to go, that you don't have to completely abandon the past in order for us to move forward into the future' (Informant 14).

Another informant (Informant 4) described how the refurbished Arts of Albemarle building gives the locale a sense of place and of history:

> 'This building goes back. The history of the building is just fabulous. It goes back to the late 1800s. It was the Elizabeth City Opera House, one of the first places in town that you actually had...in fact, 'Showboat' was performed here. The Ferber 'Showboat' was performed onstage upstairs. Now the building had fallen into just ruin. The truss of the ceiling had fallen in. I remember walking through here and thinking this was the most decrepit, pathetic place I'd ever seen as a citizen, and $3 million was raised. The building the saved, and now the shell of it still looks as if it were historic. We've got brick facades, but inside it's a multi-million dollar facility, just first rate. I have lots of people who come in and think they could be in any other mini Charleston or something like that because it does really give a professional façade' (Informant 4).

The success of programming at the arts centers contributed to new art-related infrastructure projects, such as the establishment of the world-renown Vollis Simpson Whirligig Park in Wilson (Informant 8), murals planned for buildings in Rocky Mount (Informant 2), and the planned placement of musical instruments at Waterfront Park for easy public access in Elizabeth City (Informant 5). In addition, informants from two towns stated that community participation in the arts centers leads to an increased sense of pride, which later manifests in improvements in residents' home appearance (Informants 2 and 3).

Political Capital: The informants mentioned few arts center impacts on public policy. One informant (Informant 19) explained that one of the biggest challenges for the arts center is making the public aware of their value.

> 'I think our art center does the best that they can do right now with what they have to do it with. I think still their biggest challenge, and probably the biggest challenge of any art center in a rural area, is convincing the community that it's an important investment that they need to make' (Informant 19).

Still, there have been limited impacts, most of which have been mentioned within the other capitals sections. The Arts of Albemarle placed a piano on the sidewalk outside its building to allow passersby to play on it whenever they wanted. As a result of public interest, the city manager of Elizabeth City is working on a project to put musical instruments accessible at Waterfront Park to attract traffic and to entice visitors to linger downtown (Informant 5). Rocky Mount is considering allowing murals on its downtown building, which was triggered by the arts center's presence (Informant 2). As mentioned arts center events allow a neutral ground for discussion and decision making among various power-brokers throughout the city (Informant 14). Finally, arts centers educational programming can be considered a relief to county school budgets, in a time where arts education is being cut (Informant 14).

Natural Capital: The Arts Council of Wilson has played a significant role in the annual Whirligig Festival, which has led to the establishment of the Vollis Simpson Whirligig Park in the center of downtown Wilson (Informants 7 and 15). The new park, which will showcase many of the structures, is likely to be a significant attraction.

Summary of Results

Table 3 provides a listing of all the impacts by community capital. The informants mentioned impacts across all the seven capitals of the CCF, particularly, financial, social, cultural, human, and built capitals. On the whole, informants said their arts centers led to increased spending downtown, due to their proximity to commercial venues and transmission of cultural activity. For both community members and visitors, the centers served as a gathering place to share ideas, meet one another, conduct business, celebrate art, and otherwise interact. The centers also served as education centers, teaching creative skills to young and old, which boosted the pride of individuals and the community as a whole. Lastly, they affected the physical

infrastructure of the community, leading to new creative spaces, displays of art, apartments, and studios.

Table 3: Impacts of arts programming by community capital

Community Capital						
Financial	**Social**	**Cultural**	**Human**	**Built**	**Political**	**Natural**
Affordable or free access to art/culture	Area more family friendly	Attempts at art	Advanced skills	Accessible building	Discussion of new downtown amenities	New park
Attraction of the affluent	Attraction of relocators	Attraction of artistic/cultural talent	Children showcase talents	Downtown renovation	Opportunities to interact on neutral ground	
Attraction of industry	Diverse audiences together	Awareness of community talent	Community pride	Awareness of streetscape	Relief to county school budget	
Attraction of relocators	Business cooperation	Capture of local culture	Creation of more artistic offerings in other educational institutions	Great location		
Corporate grants	Serves as catalyst	Celebration of art/culture	Discovery of new artistic talents	Improvement of home upkeep		
Destination for visual art	Celebration of community	Celebration of professional artwork	Extension of general education	New infrastructure		
Downtown appears viable	Community involvement	Creation of homemade gifts	Increased confidence/pride	Murals		
Extended hours	Circulation of people around community	Demystification art	Individual growth	New apartments		
Improvement of donor relations	Decreased crime	Engagement of tourists in culture	Individual quality of life	New building		
Increased restaurant visits	Destination for visual art	Entertainment	Life skills	New park		
Increased shop visits	Family/youth/ community together	Exposure to art/culture	Life lessons and leadership	New studios		
Increased tourism	Facilitation of organizational interaction	Exposure to artists	Lifeline to troubled children	Public instruments downtown		
New art/culture venues	Gatherings/ meetings	Improvement of theater/art etiquette	Participation in arts for whole life	Exhibits		

Community Capital						
Financial	**Social**	**Cultural**	**Human**	**Built**	**Political**	**Natural**
New businesses	Increased civility	Improvement of quality of art	Physical education	Theatre sets		
Non-profit grants	Increased downtown vibrancy	Improvement of quality of life	Positivity			
Payment to artists	Increased livability	Instillation of culture in population	Professional training			
Professional training	Opportunities to mix on neutral ground	Increased knowledge of art/culture	Self-actualization			
Public grants	Place to talk about art	Movement forward creatively	Self-expression			
Public spends money	Public meets artists	New art/cultural venues (including new park)	Individual transformation			
Relief to county school budget	Retention of residents	Public art				
Sale of art	Social time	Public instruments downtown				
Support to other art/culture orgs	Transformation of downtown image	Public participation				
		Spread of other art/cultural programs				
		Support to other art/culture orgs				
		Sharing artistic talent				
		Understanding of history				

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The results of this analysis demonstrate the widespread impacts that arts centers have on their host communities. Programming from all three arts centers directly affected four of the seven community capitals outlined in the CCF (cultural, financial, human, and social) while lesser impacts were noted for natural and political capitals. The impacts noted in this pilot study, many of which were positive, are potential discussion points for community leaders who wish to know what value existing arts centers bring to their community, or who need to estimate whether the benefits of an arts center are worth the financial cost of creating one. The CCF provided a pragmatic way to categorize the impacts and help to elucidate how one organization influenced seven community capitals. The results give some indication of how the other capitals affected each other as well. The framework has also proven to be a valuable tool to explore arts centers' role in sustainable tourism.

The most frequently reported impacts noted by informants by capital in descending order were financial, social, cultural, human, built, political, and natural. However, one should be cautious to qualify which of the capitals held precedence over others. It is impressive that one institution that can have as many impacts across the entire fabric of society. On the whole, arts centers provide a space (built capital) where art and creativity thrive (cultural capital), where local performance and art exhibitions are celebrated (human capital) and are rewarded with patronage (financial capital), and where anyone can meet and share ideas and inspiration (social capital) in a safe and politically neutral place (political capital). These results provide further granularity to what Markusen and Johnson (2006) found in that arts centers contributed to neighborhood development by providing a space dedicated to raising cultural awareness (community capital), connecting with one another (social capital), expressing identity or pride

(community capital), investing in historic or new buildings (built capital), encouraging new businesses (financial capital), and serving as catalysts to serve other goals of community development. A discussion of some of the specific findings from the current study follows.

Financial capital

At least one informant from each of the arts centers in Elizabeth City, Rocky Mount, and Wilson said they were significant investments that required community and/or public funds to renovate buildings. Each suffered during the recent downturn in the economy, starting in 2008. One informant from Rocky Mount echoed the concerns of other researchers (Worokowicz et al., 2012, Markusen, 2006) who warned against over-investment in stocks of cultural facilities that eventually go unsupported. However, the majority of the respondents from the three communities consider the arts centers key assets in downtown revitalization efforts. Although five informants in Rocky Mount and one in Wilson said more marketing needed to be done to make use of their facilities, most others pointed to their positive role in expanding financial capital through adding new businesses, attracting relocators and new businesses, and attracting tourists. In general, the arts centers led to a positive effect on financial capital, which Markusen and Johnson (2006) echo as a solid claim to make.

The Wilson Arts Council has shown significant financial resiliency, which can possibly be attributed to access to other community capitals. The center experienced a financial crisis after their Boykin Center was found to have structural damage, right at the onset of the recession of 2008. Partner institutions from across the city came to the council's aid to provide alternative performance space. It therefore appears that the council's reserves of social, built, and cultural capital helped stabilize the organization during a difficult time.

Social capital

The arts centers examined in this study played an important role in bringing their community together. Increasing diversity and bringing family and friends together has led to the creation of new businesses (financial capital), many of which are art/cultural venues (cultural capital), which supports increased tourism (financial capital), all while extending general education and increasing individuals' growth (human capital). One can see a positive feedback loop emerging that can be traced back to the arts center programming, similar to the 'spiraling up' paradigm described by Emery and Flora (2006). The open, inviting spaces drew diverse races and ages of participants, helping to transform the entire image of the downtown into a welcoming place, and serving as a magnet for new people and businesses to move to the area.

Social capital is often considered to be a cornerstone capital that can influence other forms of capital (Putnam, 1993) because 'trust and reciprocity lubricate cooperation through reducing transaction costs, as people no longer have to invest in monitoring the behavior of others, thus building confidence to invest in collective or group activities' (Jones 2005, p. 307). This concept was supported in our study when one informant suggested that their arts center served a valuable role in proving a safe, neutral space for networking meetings, and when another said that she enthusiastically invited her patrons to participate in art walks.

Cultural capital

As stated, many of the new businesses arising in the towns, particularly in Elizabeth City and Wilson, were said be cultural in nature. The new studios, galleries, and workshops strengthen the cultural fabric of the cities, attracting more artists into the area. Established artists, either transplants or homegrown, mentor emerging artists, further supporting the notion of spillover effects in the creative economy (Markusen and Johnson, 2006).

A few informants in this study either stated that their town was an arts destination or would like to become one. In particular, informants in Wilson pointed toward its whirligig attractions and new high-profile artists, and Elizabeth City has seen an emergence of new galleries and studios. The arts centers have triggered more arts amenities (cultural capital), more creative knowhow from incoming artists (human capital), and attracted more tourist dollars (financial capital). In general, the arts centers were said to support the literature that claimed they helped to celebrate the local character, resist the homogenization of culture, and expand the community's limited notions of art and culture (Richards, 2011, Markusen and Johnson, 2006).

Human capital

The arts centers from this study appear to be taking over the role of teaching art to students as it becomes removed from school curricula, a trend that McCue (2007) observed. Both students and adults were said to learn skills that made them more employable and confident, supporting previous observations in the literature (Kay, 2000, Matarasso, 1997). An informant from Elizabeth City recounted the transformation of one youth from being bullied to being empowered as he moved toward a career in the arts. This supports the idea that arts centers can play a role in transformational leadership, inspiring individuals to heal and connect with a larger purpose (Klein and Diket, 1999). Meanwhile, several other respondents supported the idea that art centers were said to improve the quality of life and livability in towns (Grodach 2010 and 2011).

Built capital

In general, the arts centers in this study were created with the hope that they would serve as key physical assets created to foster economic, cultural, and social activity in the downtowns, supporting the assertion that artistic facilities 'revitalize emptying downtowns, attract tourists,

preserve historic buildings and cultural traditions while celebrating new ones, stabilize communities…' (Markusen, 2006, p. 1). All of the arts centers in this study are in the downtown areas. This proximity physically connects them with restaurants and other tourist attractions (built capital). The presence of an active arts center provides the tourist offices another element to include in itineraries, keeping the tourist downtown for a longer period of time and perhaps may encourage an overnight stay. However, although the presence of a vibrant arts center in the downtown district seems likely to encourage more tourism activity, the presence of public built capital has not always been found to be correlated with social capital in the context of tourism (McGehee, et al, 2010). Finally, each of the facilities explored in this study is an example of adaptive reuse. Wilson and Elizabeth City have refurbished theatres, and the Imperial Centre is a refurbished tobacco warehouse. By repurposing these older structures, the art centers not only preserve architecture (built capital), but remind the population of who they once were, and strive to guide them toward what they can become (cultural capital).

Political capital

Arts center leaders are usually at a disadvantage expressing political power because they often lack the skills to interact effectively with powerbrokers, developers, and city hall (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). This was supported by the fact that respondents rarely spoke of arts center leadership influencing the political landscape in each of the towns that were studied. One informant from Rocky Mount noted that the arts center was a key neutral ground for informal civic participation, supporting the notion mentioned by Grodach (2010).

Although the informants from this study rarely mentioned instances of political influence, each of them could mention numerous examples of how the center was vital to their community. Because the informants were all leaders in their communities, the fact that they held the centers

in high regard could be considered in itself an indication the centers' exertion of political capital. In fact, the results of this study may serve to increase the political capital of arts centers in general by making clear the entire scope of the impacts to both the town leaders and the community as a whole. This might enable the arts centers to play a more overt leadership role in their communities. For example, art center staff could influence planning decisions, such as increasing pedestrian connectivity to the centers through sidewalks. Centers could also influence decisions surrounding the recruitment of new businesses that are arts-related, which would add to the town vibrancy and cultural character, or to fund a new capital project, such as an amphitheater.

Natural capital

Although the arts centers in this sample were not said to have impacted many natural capitals, the formation of the Vollis Simpson Whirligig Park in Wilson is partly a result of the town's growing reputation as an arts destination, and may prove to be the town's most significant tourist attraction. There is an opportunity for the centers examined in this study to connect with the natural environment, such as by sponsoring sculpture or architectural tours, selling garden art, and/or installing public art. An example of an arts organization that successfully blends art and the natural environment is the North Carolina Museum of Art, which has extensive walking trails that draw pedestrians and bicyclists to several art installations, including one of Vollis Simpson's whirligigs. The museum also has a beautiful outdoor amphitheater for performance and films during the warmer months. Smaller community-minded art centers might learn from this flagship institution how to integrate art and nature in their communities.

Impacts on sustainable tourism

The arts centers in this sample have had mixed outcomes pertaining to sustainable tourism. From a business perspective, the results from this study show that Elizabeth City and Wilson were said to effectively showcase their arts centers, whereas informants from Rocky Mount recognized the need to further market their arts center as an arts destination. The centers generally strengthened resident talents, expanded work activity for local artists, and kept dollars in the community, supporting previous research (Kay, 2000; Matarasso, 1997). They promoted local labor and talent, induced crowds to form downtown, and triggered transformations in the physical landscape through new assemblages of arts-related venues.

The differences in marketing effectiveness may be related to the fact that the arts centers in Elizabeth City and Wilson are stand-alone nonprofits who feel a need to keep the organizations afloat financially, and therefore more actively promote the arts and culture as a tourist attraction, whereas the arts center in Rocky Mount is a part of city government that receives dedicated funding for its staff and part of its programming budget. With the near across-the-board recognition of the value the Rocky Mount arts center brings to its community, and with the sunk costs of renovating their facility into a beautiful space, it is likely that the town leaders in Rocky Mount will improve their arts marketing plan for the arts in the Imperial Centre.

From a socio-cultural standpoint, the impacts of the arts centers examined in this study were said to contribute to an improved positive sense of place, which further led to increased tourism. The outdoor programming initiated by the arts centers in Rocky Mount and Wilson were said to enliven street life and contributed to community stabilization, partly by bringing in more businesses. The centers also embedded artists and their experiences into the ‘cultural mosaic’ of the community (Markusen and Johnson, 2006, p. 29), which can be thought of as part

of the tourism product of a destination. Markusen and Johnson (2006) state that the contributions of arts centers are more acclaimed by chambers of commerce and civic leaders in rural communities, who say they lead to increased tourism and overall economic activity. The results from this study support this as well.

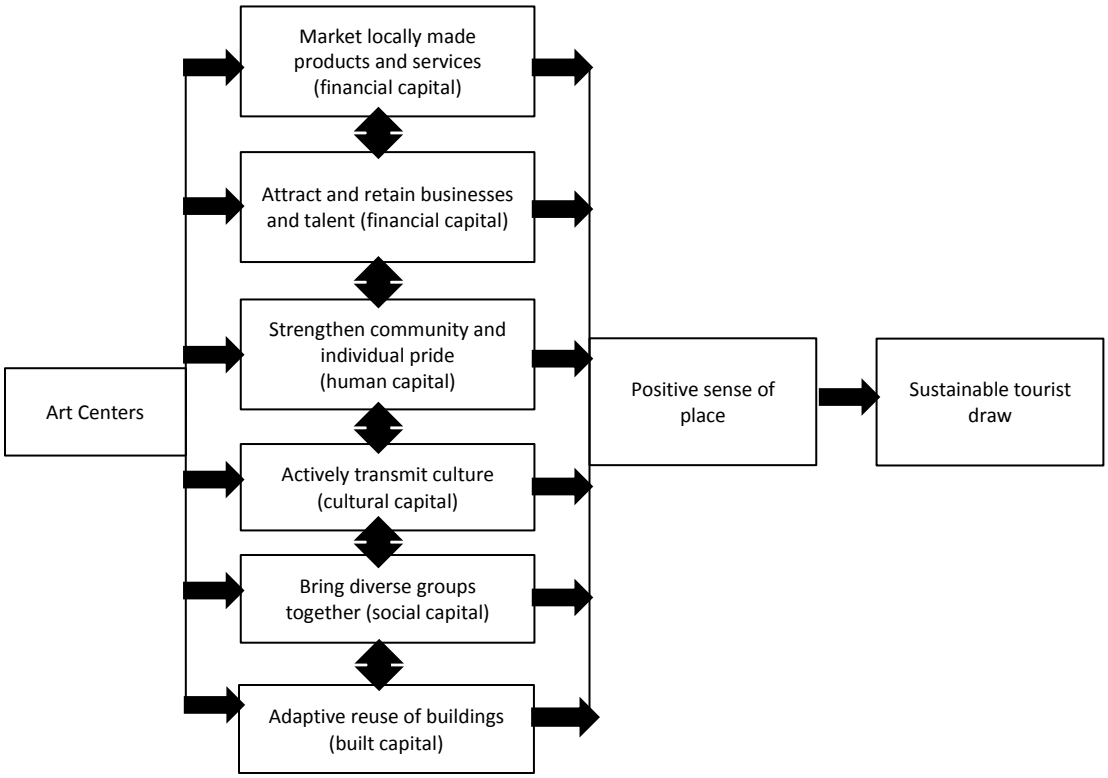
Sanders (2007) states that cultural tourists do not visit a locale only to collect trinkets, to relieve their boredom, or to view the scenery. Very often, they are on more of a quest to learn something, or even to become spiritually transformed. Cultural tourists want to connect with the public and hear about the story of the place. After expanding their understanding about the local culture, tourists can take this knowledge home with them and spread it to their own community. One informant from this study spoke of how tourists can engage with artists during arts center-sponsored arts walks and another expressed the value of having visitors experience the local character.

The art centers from this study are also at least somewhat environmentally sustainable in that they are housed in buildings that have undergone adaptive reuse. Large, vacant spaces that were once schools, warehouses, and factories are ideal for upfitting into arts centers, which require thousands of square feet for performance space, practice rooms, classrooms, and galleries. Adapting these spaces according to modern sustainability criteria precludes the greenhouse gas emissions used for demolition and new construction (Conejos et al., 2013). They also preserve historical character, and are sometimes cheaper than new construction. Arts-related projects tend to improve lagging neighborhoods (Villani, 2000). Repurposing old structures of all types, including common buildings without historical significance preserves historical character and contributes to a sense of place (Cantrell, 2005). Although arts centers have been shown to be good candidates for adaptive reuse, obviously all vacant buildings should not be converted for

arts uses. Depending on the needs of a community and desires of the developer or government agency, financial returns might be desired more than social or environmental benefits. Objective tools such as ARP and SINDEX, can be used to make the decision as to whether a facility should be adapted into a sustainable arts center.

Arts Centers provide a holistic value across the entirety of society. From a strictly economic standpoint, more dollars and visitors might flow into a community as a result of the presence of an arts center, but it would be shortsighted to try to only try to link the gains directly with the arts center programming. Arts centers can lead to an entire transformation of a place, leading to many other venues, such as downtown shops and studios. They attract and retain talented people and businesses. They help expand the skills and talents of their residents who later contribute back to their society. Lastly, they often help to mitigate greenhouse gas emission by occupying buildings that have undergone adaptive reuse. The relationship of these factors with sustainable tourism is graphically displayed in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Impacts of arts centers on sustainable tourism



Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

One limitation for this study is that the sample of informants may have had something to gain by portraying their arts centers in a positive light. Most of the informants for this study perform public roles in local politics, business, and tourism, and their positive perceptions of the impacts may be related to those roles. For example, one of the mayors may have publically supported funding the refurbishment of one of the centers and thought he could not go back on what he said. In fact, three of the informants were executive directors of the arts centers, so they would undoubtedly have a vested interest in stating how their center positively impacts their communities. Some of the hotel and restaurant informants were recommended by other informants, often because they had a previous connection with the arts or tourism.

However, one of the respondents felt it was not necessarily obvious that she should be in favor of public support for arts center programming. As a political conservative, she said 'I am atypical of the demographic that you would normally see overwhelmingly interested in the arts' (Informant 3). In fact, local government cultural affairs offices have suffered losses in recent decades due to taxpayer revolts and higher priorities placed on other government functions, such as public safety and economic development (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010b). Still, this particular respondent claimed 'I will tell you that my passion for the arts has grown profoundly based on just being able to experience on a day to day basis the overwhelmingly positive impact of focusing on the arts does to a community as a whole' (Informant 3).

The types of respondents also played a role in the types of responses given. Respondents tended to mention impacts related to their areas of expertise. For example, those affiliated with business tended to mention more financial impacts. This may have led to an over-documentation of financial impacts, because the majority of respondents were associated with businesses. Four respondents represented restaurants, three, hotels, three, business associations, and three, travel offices, which totaled 13/19 respondents. Also, informants representing natural capital, such as directors of parks and recreation, should have been included, which may have increased the number of natural impacts recorded.

Another limitation is that the study did not pre-screen informants for their knowledge of arts center programming and impacts. Some of the restaurant owners and hoteliers were not extensively aware of their arts center's programming. This was a key informant study, so all the participants should have had a minimum awareness of arts center programming in order to say something about their impacts.

Additionally, only three arts centers were sampled. All were from eastern North Carolina, had significant budgets, and had a wide array of offerings. There might have been different results if smaller or less successful arts centers were mixed in, or, if arts centers were chosen from different parts of the state. With the limited, homogeneous sample, it is more difficult to generalize conclusions that are applicable to other regions.

The current study was a first step toward examining the impacts of arts centers to community capitals. Opportunities for future research include the following:

- Provide statistical evidence of relationships between arts center programming and community capitals by using a survey, similar in design to McGehee et al (2010), which analysed the statistical relationship between tourism-related social capital and the other capitals of the CCF. A questionnaire could be sent throughout North Carolina to all members of society within communities that have arts centers. Results could then be summarized in an executive report which could be used by city councils to determine if an arts center could be appropriate for their community.
- Examine the relationship of perceptions of arts center impacts to objective data, such as arts center income, and other economic indicators, such as job creation and new business creation.
- Examine the relationship of arts center programming to other assessments of overall community health, such as the vibrancy indicators under development by ArtPlace America.
- Evaluate the sustainability of existing arts center buildings through objective measures, such as SINDEX.

- Perform a study that focused specifically on arts center impacts on tourism, examining how many people travel for arts center programming, where do they come from, and how much do they spend.
- Examine the relationship between arts center programming and economic resiliency during and after economic downturns.
- Examine the role of marketing in running a successful arts center operation.
- Examine the role that arts centers play in rural economic development.
- Examine how arts centers impact other creative industries.

Conclusions

For the community deciding whether to create an arts center, it is apparent from this analysis that arts centers have impacts that extend to many aspects of society. The arts centers are not simply purveyors of culture to society, but rather they generate unique qualities within each host community by fostering the talents of their own residents. The community is almost surprised that they can do the things they do on a stage or in front of a canvas. As they share their joy of their newfound skills, the good feeling spreads. People reuse forgotten buildings and notice a downtown that they had overlooked. They meet their neighbors who are of a different race and background at community events. The business community notices. New shops and restaurants emerge and ones that are there already stay open longer as more tourists are attracted. In all, the CCF analysis model proved useful to explore how the arts centers examined in this study proved to be good investments on many different levels.

The artist centers from this study were said to contribute toward making a place an attractive place to live, do business, and innovate, which is supported by the literature (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). This pilot study categorized far-reaching benefits, which go well beyond

financial impacts, and can be offered for consideration for communities exploring the costs and benefits of whether to invest in an arts center. The results also show that arts centers could play a vital part of a locale's sustainable tourism program.

REFERENCES

Americans for the Arts (2012) *Arts and Economic Prosperity IV The Economic Impact of Nonprofit Arts and Culture Organizations and Their Audiences*. Americans for the Arts, accessed at http://www.americansforthearts.org/pdf/information_services/research/services/economic_impact/aepiv/NationalStatisticalReport.pdf (1 August 2013)

Artplace America (2012) *Vibrancy Indicators*, Artplace America, accessed at http://www.artplaceamerica.org/vibrancy-indicators/ (5 October 2012)

Art-collecting.com (2012) *North Carolina art museums, non-profit art organizations, & art centers*, Art-Collecting, accessed at http://art-collecting.com/nonprofits_nc.htm (01 December 2012)

Bernard, H. and Ryan, G. (2010) *Analyzing qualitative data, systematic approaches*, Sage, Los Angeles, CA.

Bhattacharyya, J. (2004) Theorizing community development, *Journal of the Community Development Society*, **34**(2), 5-34.

Cantell, S. F. (2005) *The adaptive reuse of historic industrial buildings: regulation barriers, best practices and case studies* (Master's thesis), Virginia Polytechnic and State University, accessed at http://sig.urbanismosevilla.org/Sevilla.art/SevLab/r001US1_files/r001_US_1.pdf (10 September 2013)

Carr, J. H. and Servon, L. J. (2009) Vernacular culture and urban economic development: thinking outside the (big) box, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, **75**(1), 28-40.

Carrington, A. (2010) Exploring arts organizations as a catalyst for community development. (Master's thesis), University of Kentucky, accessed at http://uknowledge.uky.edu/gradschool_theses/24 (01 August 2013)

Collier, D. and Mahoney, J. (1996) Insights and pitfalls: Selection bias in qualitative research. *World Politics*, **49**(01), 56-91.

Cole, T. (2009) Economic Contribution of North Carolina's Cultural Industries. North Carolina Department of Commerce, Policy, Research ,& Strategic Planning Division, accessed at http://www.ncarts.org/elements/docs/CommerceEconomicContributionReport_June2009.pdf

Conejos, S., Langston, C., and Smith, J. (2013) AdaptSTAR model: A climate-friendly strategy to promote built environment sustainability. *Habitat international,*, **37**, 95-103.

Cultural Centers. (n.d.) In *Art and Architecture Thesaurus*. J. Paul Getty Trust, accessed at http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/aat/ (31 December 2012)

Daly, J. and Lumley, J. (2002) Bias in qualitative research designs, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, **26**(4), 299-300.

Emery, M. and Flora, C. (2006) Spiraling-up: Mapping community transformation with community capitals framework, *Community Development: Journal of the Community Development Society*, 37(1), 19-35.

Evans, G. (2001) Amenity planning and the arts centre, in G. Evans, ed, *Cultural planning: an urban renaissance*?, Routledge, London, pp. 78-103.

Fleming, R. C. (2009) Creative economic development, sustainability, and exclusion in rural areas, *Geographical Review*, **99**(1), 61-80.

Flora, C. and Flora, J. (with Fey, S.) (2004) *Rural communities: legacy and change* (2nd ed.), Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Flora, C. and Gillespie, A. (2009) Making healthy choices to reduce childhood obesity: community capitals and food and fitness, *Community Development*, **40** (2), 114-122.

Florida, R. (2002) *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. Perseus Book Group, New York, NY.

Gasteyer, S. and Araj, T. (2009) Empowering Palestinian community water management capacity: Understanding the intersection of community cultural, political, social, and natural capitals, *Community Development*, **40**(2), 199-219.

Gibson, C. and Kong, L. (2005) Cultural economy: a critical review, *Progress in Human Geography*, **29**(5), 541-561.

Grodach, C. (2010) Art spaces, public space, and the link to community development, *Community Development Journal*, **45**(4), 474-493.

Grodach, C. (2011) Art spaces in community and economic development: Connections to neighborhoods, artists, and the cultural economy, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, **31**(1), 74-85.

Gutierrez-Montes, I., Emery, M. and Fernandez-Baca, E. (2009) The sustainable livelihoods approach and the Community Capitals Framework: the importance of system-level approaches to community change efforts, *Community Development*, **40**(2), 106-113.

Gutierrez-Montes, I., Siles, J., Bartol, P. and Imbach, A. C. (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), 220-230.

Hoffer, D. (2010) *Measuring community wealth: a report for the Wealth Creation in Rural Communities.* Yellow Wood Associates report: Project of the Ford Foundation, accessed at http://www.yellowwood.org/MeasuringCommunityWealth.pdf website. (01 August 2013)

Hummon, David M. (1991) Book Review of The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How they Get You through the Day, *Social Forces*, **69**(3) 931 – 32.

Hutton, T. (2009) The inner city as site of cultural production sui generis: A review essay, *Geography Compass*, **3**(2), 600-629.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The death and life of great American cities*, Random House, New York, NY.

Johnson, R. (1996, September 25). Planners use hard sell to promote arts centers. *Wall Street Journal*.

Kay, A. (2000) Art and community development: The role the arts have in regenerating communities, *Community Development Journal*, **35**(4), 414-424.

Klein, S. R. and Diket, R. M. (1999) Creating artful leadership, *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, **2**(1), 23-30.

Langston, C., Wong, F. K., Hui, E. and Shen, L. Y. (2008) Strategic assessment of building adaptive reuse opportunities in Hong Kong, *Building and Environment*, **43**(10), 1709-1718.

Lewis, H. (2009) From Mexico to Iowa: new immigrant farmers' pathways and potentials, *Community Development*, **40**(2), 139-153.

Loukaitou-Sideris, A. and Grodach, C. (2004) Displaying and celebrating the "other": A study of the mission, scope, and roles of ethnic museums in Los Angeles, *Public Historian*, **26**(4), 49-71.

Markusen, A. (2006) Urban development and the politics of a creative class: evidence from a study of artists, *Environment and Planning A*, **38**(10), 1921.

Markusen A. and Gadwa, A. (2010a) *Creative placemaking*. A white paper for The Mayor's Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative of the National Endowment of the Arts in partnership with the United States Conference of Mayors and American Architectural Foundation, accessed at http://www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/prie/pdf/CreativePlacemakingNEA102910.pdf (01 August 2013)

Markusen, A. and Gadwa, A. (2010b) Arts and culture in urban or regional planning: A review and research agenda. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, **29**(3), 379-391.

Markusen, A. and Johnson, A. (2006) *Artists' centers: Evolution and impact on careers, neighborhoods and economies*, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, accessed at http://www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/prie/pdf/artists_centers.pdf (01 August 2013)

Markusen, A. and Schrock, G. (2006) The artistic dividend: Urban artistic specialisation and economic development implications, *Urban Studies (Routledge)*, **43**(10), 1661-1686.

Markusen, A., Wassall, G. H., DeNatale, D. and Cohen, R. (2008) Defining the creative economy: Industry and occupational approaches, *Economic Development Quarterly*, **22**(1), 24-45.

Matarasso, F. (1997) Use of ornament? The social impact of participation in the arts, *Comedia*, Stroud, UK.

Matarasso, F. (2007) Common ground: cultural action as a route to community development, *Community Development Journal*, **42**(4), 449.

Mays, N. and Pope, C. (1995) Rigour and qualitative research, *British Medical Journal*, **311**(6997), 109-112.

McCue, F. (2007) The arts and civic space: An experiment in community education, *Teachers College Record*, **109**(3), 590-602.

McGehee, N. G., Lee, S., O'Bannon, T. L. and Perdue, R. R. (2010) Tourism-related social capital and its relationship with other forms of capital: An exploratory study, *Journal of Travel Research*, **49**(4), 486-500.

McMillan, D and Chavis, D. (1986), Sense of community: A definition and theory, *Journal of Community Psychology*, **14**(1), 6-23.

Newman, T., Curtis, K. and Stephens, J. (2003) Do community-based arts projects result in social gains? A review of the literature, *Community Development Journal*, **38**(4), 310-22.

NCAC (2012) *Stateside list of local arts councils*, North Carolina Arts Council, accessed at http://search.ncarts.org/localarts_search.php (01 December 2012)

NCDC (2012) *Travel Economic Impact Model*, North Carolina Department of commerce, accessed at http://www.nccommerce.com/tourism/research/economic-impact/teim (01 December 2012) Oldenburg, R. and Brissett, D. (1982) The third place. *Qualitative Sociology*, **5**(4), 265-284.

Peck, J. (2005) Struggling with the creative class, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, **29**(4), 740-770.

Pender, J., Marré, A. and Reeder, R. (2012, March) *Rural Wealth Creation: Concepts, Strategies and Measures. (Economic Research Report No. ERR-131)*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, accessed at http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/err-economic-research-report/err131.aspx (01 August 2013)

Patton, M.Q. (2002) Qualitative interviewing. In M.Q. Patton, ed, *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, Sage Publications, Inc, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 339-429).

Phillips, R. (2004) Artful business: using the arts for community economic development, *Community Development Journal*, **39**(2), 112-122.

Ratner, S. (2010) Formulating a Sustainable Economic Development Process for Rural America: By Yellow Wood Associates Rural Communities project of the Ford Foundation. (Second Interim Report),Yellow Wood Associates, accessed at http://www.yellowwood.org/wealthcreation.aspx (01 August 2013)

Richards, G. (2010) Increasing the attractiveness of places through cultural resources. *Tourism Culture & Communication*, **10**(1), 47-58.

Richards, G. (2011) Creativity and tourism: The State of the Art, *Annals of Tourism Research*, **38**(4), 1225-1253.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2006) Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture? *Tourism Management*, **27**(6), 1209-1223.

Richards, G., and Wilson, J. (2007) Tourism, creativity and development. Routledge, London, United Kingdom.

Robinson, J. (2004) Squaring the circle? Some thoughts on the idea of sustainable development. *Ecological Economics*, **48**(4), 369.

Rosentraub, M. S. and Joo, M. (2009) Tourism and economic development: Which investments produce gains for regions? *Tourism management*, **30**(5), 759-770.

Sanders, S. R. (2007) The geography of somewhere, in D. Shilling, ed, *Civic Tourism: The Poetry and Politics of Place*. Sharlet Hall Museum Press, Prescott, AZ, pp. 1-8.

Scott, A. J. (2001) Capitalism, cities, and the production of symbolic forms, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, **26**(1), 11.

Segnestam, L. (2009) Division of capitals—What role does it play for gender-differentiated vulnerability to drought in Nicaragua? *Community Development*, **40**(2), 154-176.

Sseguya, H., Mazur, R. E. and Masinde, D. (2009) Harnessing community capitals for livelihood enhancement: experiences from a livelihood program in rural Uganda, *Community Development*, **40**(2), 123-138.

Stern, M. J. and Seifert, S. C. (2010). Cultural clusters: The implications of cultural assets agglomeration for neighborhood revitalization, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, **29**(3), 262-279.

Stofferahn, C. W. (2009) Cooperative community development: A comparative case study of locality-based impacts of new generation cooperatives, *Community Development*, **40**(2), 177-198.

Tiemann, T. (2008) Grower-only farmers' markets: Public spaces and third places, *Journal of Popular Culture*, **41**(3), 467-487.

Throsby, D. (2007) Preferred work patterns of creative artists, *Journal of Economics and Finance*, **31**(3), 395-402.

United Nations Environment Programme (2007*) Buildings and climate change status, challenges and opportunities*, UNEP Publications, accessed at http://www.unep.fr/shared/publications/pdf/DTIx0916xPA-BuildingsClimate.pdf (10 September 2013)

United Nations Environment Programme (2009) *Buildings and climate change: summary for decision-makers*, UNEP Publications, accessed at http://www.unep.org/sbci/pdfs/SBCI-BCCSummary.pdf (10 September 2013)

U.S. Department of Commerce and the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities for the 2005 U.S. Cultural & Heritage Tourism Summit (2005) A Position Paper on Cultural & Heritage Tourism in the US, accessed at http://www.pcah.gov/sites/default/files/05WhitePaperCultHeritTourism_2.pdf (08 August 2013)

Villani, J. (2000) *Adaptive reuse of buildings, historical structures as cultural facilities*. Americans for the Arts, accessed at http://www.americansforthearts.org/NAPD/files/11604/Adaptive%20Reuse%20of%20Buildings%20%28August%20%2700%29.pdf (10 September 2013)

WCED (1987) *Our common future*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, England.

Woronkowicz, J., Joynes, D., Frumkin, P., Kolendo, A., Seaman, B., Gertner, R. and Bradburn, N. (2012) *Set in stone, building America's new generation of arts facilities, 1994-2008*, Cultural Policy Center of the University of Chicago, accessed at http://culturalpolicy.uchicago.edu/setinstone/pdf/setinstone.pdf (01 August 2013)

APPENDIX A: Interview Protocol

Hello. My name is John Delconte. I am a graduate student at East Carolina's Center for Sustainable Tourism. I am conducting a study to see how arts centers impact communities. You have been selected to participate because you are a community leader and are in a position to have observed changes in your community. You do not have to answer any of the questions and may terminate the interview at any time you wish. I will keep your identity anonymous.

The ground rules are:

1. If you make a statement that you want to follow up on, you don't need to feel as if you have to wait for my prompts. The goal is to have a conversation rather than a question and answer session.
2. I will say as little as possible so that the interpretation of the questions comes from you and not from me.

Here is a sheet of paper that I am going to ask you to fill out in a few minutes. <Hand out blank sheet of paper to participant.> Do you have any questions? OK, let's get started.

1. How long have you've lived in [name of town]?
2. What is something you like to do when you aren't working?
3. What do you consider as some of the biggest issues the citizens of your town are currently facing in their community?
4. How can your arts center address these issues?
5. What has been your most rewarding experience being involved with the arts center?
6. What has been your most challenging experience being involved with the arts center?
7. Please think about some programs that have been initiated by the arts center in this town in the last ten to twenty years….this is a brainstorming exercise….go ahead and jot them down on the sheet I gave you. They can be anything – major or minor – successful or not…
8. Next, I'm going to ask you to choose your top three programs.
9. Has [program 1] triggered any impacts in your town?
10. [Follow-up with impacts for the other two programs.]
11. [Follow-up with secondary and tertiary impacts for each program.]
12. Have any of these programs or impacts had an effect on tourism?

Closing

I appreciate your time and your active participation in this interview; your thoughts and ideas will help other communities to decide whether to build an arts center in their community. Here is my card so that you may e-mail me if you think of anything else to mention.

APPENDIX B: Institutional Review Board Approval

EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY
University & Medical Center Institutional Review Board Office
4N-70 Brody Medical Sciences Building· Mail Stop 682
600 Moye Boulevard · Greenville, NC 27834
Office 252-744-2914 · Fax 252-744-2284 · www.ecu.edu/irb

Notification of Initial Approval: Expedited

From: Social/Behavioral IRB
To: John Delconte
CC: Carol Kline
John Delconte
Date: 3/7/2013
Re: UMCIRB 13-000341
THE EFFECT OF ARTS CENTERS ON COMMUNITY CAPITALS

I am pleased to inform you that your Expedited Application was approved. Approval of the study and any consent form(s) is for the period of 3/6/2013 to 3/5/2014. The research study is eligible for review under expedited categories #6 and #7. The Chairperson (or designee) deemed this study no more than minimal risk.

Changes to this approved research may not be initiated without UMCIRB review except when necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the participant. All unanticipated problems involving risks to participants and others must be promptly reported to the UMCIRB. The investigator must submit a continuing review/closure application to the UMCIRB prior to the date of study expiration. The Investigator must adhere to all reporting requirements for this study.

The approval includes the following items:

Name	Description
Informed Consent | History	Consent Forms
Protocol | History	Study Protocol or Grant Application
Script | History	Interview/Focus Group Scripts/Questions

The Chairperson (or designee) does not have a potential for conflict of interest on this study.

IRB00000705 East Carolina U IRB #1 (Biomedical) IORG0000418
IRB00003781 East Carolina U IRB #2 (Behavioral/SS) IORG0000418 IRB00004973