

Abstract

EVALUATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF HERITAGE TOURISM AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA

By Matthew J. Watterson

Chair: Derek Alderman

Major Department: Geography

After nearly a half century of suburbanization, economic development specialists and urban planners have begun to appreciate the unique aesthetic and heritage landscapes of underutilized downtown areas as potential geographic spaces for economic growth. Consequently, fostering heritage tourism and recreation industries that take advantage of these unique spaces has become a cornerstone of many downtown redevelopment plans. A growing pool of literature on the subject of sustainable tourism has noted that heritage tourism is ideologically and institutionally different from other forms of the industry, as concepts of long term planning, cultural awareness and resource conservation are important to both tourism sustainability and heritage management.

While there is an increasingly diverse collection of literature available on the subject of sustainable urban heritage tourism, there is greater need for more studies of this unique type of tourism in a market environment, and to assess the degree to which heritage tourism and historic preservation are sustainable as a viable industry according to information gathered through chiefly qualitative methods. This thesis focuses specifically on the socio-cultural sustainability of heritage tourism and historic preservation in the area of downtown New Bern, North Carolina. Interpretation and presentation of preservation and heritage are applied selectively, and there is dissonance and disagreement amongst certain groups concerning the role of tourism in New

Bern. Nevertheless, qualitative research shows that community support, economic diversity, long term management, and conservation of the built and natural environment qualify New Bern's urban heritage tourism industry as more sustainable than tourism industries elsewhere.

**EVALUATING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF HERITAGE TOURISM AND
HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA**

A Thesis Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Geography

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirement for the Degree

Master of Arts in Geography

By:

Matthew Joseph Watterson

July 2010

©Copyright 2010
Matthew Watterson

**EVALUATION THE SUSTAINABILITY OF HERITAGE TOURISM AND HISTORIC
PRESERVATION IN NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA**

By

Matthew J. Watterson

APPROVED BY:

DIRECTOR OF THESIS: _____

Dr. Derek Alderman

COMMITTEE MEMBER: _____

Dr. Jeffrey Popke

COMMITTEE MEMBER: _____

Dr. Ronald Mitchelson

COMMITTEE MEMBER: _____

Dr. Pat Long

CHAIR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY: _____

Dr. Burrell Montz

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL: _____

Dr. Paul Gemperline

DEDICATION

For my family, my friends, and my colleagues, for all of their support and encouragement both in times easy and in times difficult. No man is an island.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to convey my most sincere appreciation and respect for my thesis advisor Dr. Derek Alderman for his enthusiastic guidance, patience, and support during the entirety of my thesis research. He was a constant source of encouragement and insight and went above and beyond in order to make this investigation and my graduate career a successful one. I would also like to thank my other committee members Dr. Jeffrey Popke, Dr. Ronald Mitchelson, and Dr. Pat Long for their time and insight.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures/Tables	iii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Purpose	3
Research Questions	5
Methodology	7
Significance of Research.....	16
Organization of Thesis	16
Chapter Two: Principles of Sustainable Heritage Tourism	18
Sustainability in Tourism	19
Socio-Cultural Sustainability	23
Citizen Support.....	23
Accessibility and Utility of Tourism Spaces to Locals	25
Economic Sustainability.....	26
Environmental Sustainability	30
Chapter Three: The Study Area - New Bern, North Carolina	33
Historical Context of the Heritage Spaces in New Bern.....	37
Beginnings of Preservation	38
Types of Preservation.....	45
Regulations and Guidelines.....	47
Patterns of Development in Downtown New Bern.....	47
Landscape Analysis of Downtown Buildings	49
Map Analysis.....	56

Summary of the Urban Heritage Tourism Industry	60
Chapter Four: Evaluation and Analysis	62
Social and Cultural Sustainability.....	62
Citizenry Support.....	65
Dissonance and Controversies.....	66
Race	67
New Bern AWARE	70
Economic Sustainability.....	76
On the Commodification of Heritage	76
The Need for Investment Capital and Flexibility in Heritage Management	78
Brochure Analysis	81
Environmental Sustainability	90
Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations	93
References.....	99
Appendix A: IRB Approval Letter	A

LIST OF TABLES/FIGURES

Table 1: Stakeholder Groups	9
Table 2: Research Sources	13
Figure 1: Location of New Bern, North Carolina	34
Figure 2: New Bern Aerial.....	35
Figure 3: The Tryon Palace	40
Figure 4: Pollock Street Residential Block.....	41
Figure 5: The O. Marks Building.....	43
Figure 6: looking North Down Craven Street.....	50
Figure 7: New Bern City Hall.....	51
Figure 8: Looking North Down Middle Street	52
Figure 9: Christ Church	53
Figure 10: The Elks Building.....	54
Figure 11: Comparative Property Values and Historic Districts	58
Figure 12: Categorical Land Uses in New Bern	59
Figure 13: Trail of Flames Brochure	69
Figure 14: New Bern Waterfront	72
Figure 15: Condo Development.....	73
Figure 16A/16B: Tryon Palace Brochure	83/84
Figure 17: Non-Restaurant Business Brochures	86
Figure 18: Bed and Breakfast Brochures	87
Figure 19: Business Brochures	88
Figure 20: Water and Boating Brochures	89

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The shifting of the American economy from manufacturing to service-related activities and decades of suburbanization have left many small cities with downtown spaces that are underutilized both aesthetically and economically (Turner 2002). Recently, economic development specialists and urban planners have noted that the downtown environment, which often differs from contemporary development in layout and building design, represents a unique heritage landscape, and that tourism is now an essential component of financial growth in downtown districts. Fostering heritage tourism and recreation industries, therefore, is the center-point to many downtown redevelopment plans (Litvin 2004).

Downtown tourism is often centered around cultural heritage, which by definition implies a focus on tradition, while the tourist industry itself is often perceived as short-sighted and driven chiefly by profit rather than long term goals and management that are essential to the sustainability of such an industry (Nuryanti 1996). The concept of heritage tourism, however, is institutionally and ideologically different from other types of tourism, as it relies to a large extent on landscape conservation and long term viability in order to be successful. While recognizing that this landscape conservation is promoted selectively, conceptions of heritage management correlate strongly with paradigms of sustainable tourism in terms of the need for greater protection of the attraction in question (Garrod 2000).

This brings us to the central aspect of this research investigation—evaluating the sustainability of heritage tourism and historic preservation in New Bern, North Carolina. The concept of sustainability, as interpreted from a reading of the relevant literature, means *the management of resources relevant to the tourist industry in a way that allows the tourist economy to make use of those uses in the long term, without compromising the ability to make*

use of those resources in the present. The resources in question can be natural, built, or socio-cultural, as all these can be exhausted or abused to the point that they are no longer viable as tourist attractions. While sustainability is frequently defined in physical, environmental terms, the concept also captures a sensitivity to the impact of tourism on the local community as well as the built environment. For instance, rampant downtown development that does not follow the architectural aesthetic that has made a downtown a historic district a draw for new construction in the first place could siphon attention away from the historic architecture and damage the cultural ambiance such a historic district could foster.

With this example in mind, it should be noted that the sustainability literature strongly suggests that the tourism industry as a whole could benefit significantly from sustainable practices. As established by Berry and Ladkin (1997) in their study of small scale resort tourism in Sussex, England, business owners dependent on tourism recognized that a cared-for environment was essential to their industry, as it is the scale and the perception of small-town heritage of the area that provided a draw for tourists. Interestingly enough, the chief complaint held by these business owners was the ambiguity of the concept of ‘sustainability’ and the perceived lack of practicality and real-world application associated with it. If this complaint about sustainability is legitimate, it is perhaps because proponents of sustainability have failed to properly advocate sustainability as a viable tourist development model, and have alienated those who hold both the largest stake in tourism and the most power to change how it is practiced.

Tied closely with the concept of sustainable tourism in a downtown area is the use of historic preservation, which has proven to be of economic and social benefit in terms of job creation, growth, and affordable housing creation, property value increase, tourism, and neighborhood reinforcement and anchorage (Leithe and Tigue 2000, Ryberg 2010). Most cities

also have an existing stock of historic structures, chiefly located in downtown areas—disastrous urban renewal-era programs notwithstanding— that provides a ready resource for prospective downtown revitalization. Aside from direct and indirect financial benefits, the retention of older structures that differ in appearance and density from contemporary development also helps establish a sense of place that distinguishes the area from others (Robertson 1999, National Trust for Historic Preservation 1997). The location of numerous historic structures available for preservation and reuse in downtown areas is also a convenience to economic development planners, as, according to Turner (2002), 54% of central cities claimed tourism, entertainment and recreation (i.e consumption as opposed to production) were the most important commercial sectors in the local economy.

Purpose

There is significant need to study the tourism industry in the field, and assess the degree to which heritage tourism and attendant historic preservation are sustainable in practice. My thesis focuses specifically on the socio-cultural sustainability of heritage tourism and historic preservation in the downtown space of New Bern, North Carolina, although principles of economic and environmental sustainability are discussed when appropriate in order to broaden the comprehensiveness of the study. Socio-cultural sustainability in this investigation is characterized by a tourist industry that does not destroy or otherwise harm the cultural resource in question or disproportionately harm a certain segment of the community's population. Additionally, it is important to address which sustainability practices have acted as assets or liabilities in an environment where inefficiency and impracticality can lead to either new tourism development models or the loss of the tourist industry in question. As it has been argued in tourism literature, heritage tourism is unique in its ideologies and priorities (Garrod 2000, Chang

1996). In addition, heritage is recognized to be inherently dissonant in nature. In other words, how the past is used and preserved in the present can be open to multiple and competing interpretations (Graham et al. 2000, Alderman and Modlin 2008).

To better understand aspects of heritage and history that are utilized and the application of sustainable concepts in New Bern, this investigation also focused strongly on the perceptions of stakeholders in the city's tourism and heritage industries. While sustainability has gained acceptance as a viable and credible concept, there remains a disconnect between sustainability as a conceptual paradigm and as an applicable economic and social model. Most studies focus on a broader application of sustainability, rather than specific small scale case studies (Hunter 1997, Berry and Ladkin 1997).

In order to ascertain how sustainability is perceived and applied in a market setting, this investigation seeks, in part, to document and interpret how those with a significant stake in New Bern's tourism and heritage industries view sustainability, with the ultimate goal of ascertaining any differences in those views and whether those perceptions are conducive to increasing the sustainability of the city's urban heritage tourism industry. An understanding of what perceptions are conducive to sustainable tourism is particularly important, as a better understanding of successful sustainability in a market environment could be replicated by other municipalities seeking to develop successful tourism industries. The link between sustainability and economic viability has not gone unnoticed in the literature, and the need of a private-sector tourism industry to be profitable is considered by most to be crucial to sustainable management (Harrill and Potts 2003). Bearing this in mind, my research focuses chiefly on heritage tourism—the management of which already entails many accepted paradigms of sustainability.

This thesis research outlines the principles of socio-cultural, environmental, and economic sustainability in heritage tourism as noted in literature on the subject. It then analyses the history and background of preservation and tourism in the study area for purposes of context of information gathered during the investigation. Stakeholder identification and interviews, archival research, observer participation, and landscape interpretation methods were conducted to identify and supplement stakeholder claims. For purposes of this investigation, a stakeholder is defined as an individual or group that either has a hand in guiding tourism management and preservation policy, is affected by that policy, or wishes to change or revise that policy. These research methods were also necessary to understand and evaluate the sustainability of heritage tourism in the study area, New Bern, North Carolina.

Research Questions

While urban heritage tourism and New Bern's downtown district have been economic assets to the city, there remains the question of how sustainable this tourism development is and whether or not New Bern's tourist industry is socio-culturally sustainable. Socio-cultural sustainability is best defined according to a series of indicators presented by Roberts and Tribe (2008). These include community support of the tourism industry and a welcoming attitude towards visitors, accessibility of tourism areas to residents and visitors alike. Also of importance is the perception of residents who have a stake in their tourism industry (Okazaki 2008). New Bern's historic downtown district and Tryon Palace have been shown to be substantial draws for tourist activity and have greatly contributed to the construction of a sense of place in New Bern. Nevertheless, the urban fabric of a community must ultimately serve the community itself, and not simply outside visitors. My research seeks to ascertain through qualitative methods, the place of sustainability as a workable concept in the New Bern downtown district according to

characteristics of cultural, economic, and environmental sustainability as outlined in relevant literature.

Historic preservation is the main lynchpin of heritage tourism in New Bern, and consequently calls for a main research question focused on historic preservation as a tool for fostering and maintaining tourism. For the purpose of this investigation, it is necessary to go beyond merely cataloguing the regulations that maintain historic preservation in New Bern to understanding how preservation has become a major contributor to a viable tourist industry. Therefore archival resources and perceptions of policymakers and residents concerning historic preservation must be qualitatively analyzed in order to gain a deeper understanding of the place of preservation in a tourist industry and whether that industry is socio-culturally as well as environmentally sustainable.

Thus, this thesis addresses three major research questions.

- I. According to literature on the subject of sustainable tourism, what would a sustainable urban heritage tourism industry look like in terms of socio-cultural, economic, and environmental practices?
- II. How did historic preservation and heritage tourism develop in New Bern, North Carolina and what does that industry currently look like?
 - a. Was heritage tourism the original goal in fostering a preservation movement in New Bern?
 - b. What type of historic preservation (historic conservation, adaptive reuse, etc) appears to be most prevalent in New Bern?
 - c. What are the boundaries of New Bern's historic districts and how do they interact with the boundaries of the devastating 1922 Fire?

- d. In terms of tourism, what types of heritage-centric recreation is available in New Bern?
- III. With regard to research question 1, what aspects of New Bern's heritage tourism industry are socio-culturally, economically, and environmentally sustainable according to guidelines set forth in literature?
- a. How do stakeholders interpret the concept of sustainability?
 - b. What major issues and controversies can be identified with New Bern's tourism and preservation industries?
 - c. How does promotional material present the area to tourists and what types of businesses and themes are featured?
 - d. What aspects of New Bern's urban heritage tourism industry are transferable to other places?
 - e. What are some policies that could be implemented to improve the sustainability of this industry?

Methodology

This investigation, while conscious of the numerous interpretations and types of sustainability, focuses primarily on the social and cultural sustainability of heritage tourism in downtown New Bern, North Carolina. My thesis consists of stakeholder perceptions of sustainable heritage tourism, landscape analysis, viewer participation and archival research. Consequently, a more qualitative, rather than quantitative approach was pursued, as socio-cultural sustainability is less readily measured statistically than its environmental and economic counterparts. However, the qualitative methodology was sufficient to garner a sufficient understanding of the economic and environmental effects of tourism in New Bern, with the

former being elaborated on with a cartographical study and brochure analysis. Research began with an archival and background search on the history of tourism and preservation in New Bern, in order to provide context and material for interview questions and to identify stakeholder groups (Table 1). However, new data were required in order to suitably address my research topic. The complexity of issues associated with heritage, tourism, and sustainability in an urban environment required the utilization of several different qualitative methods in order to assess the sustainability of urban heritage tourism in New Bern.

To begin, archival background research and online searches on the place of tourism, preservation, and heritage in New Bern were conducted for the sake of creating a solid foundation on which to conduct fruitful in-depth interviews, and to enhance my own understanding of the area. Colin Barnett's book *The Impact of Historic Preservation on New Bern, North Carolina* (1993) was an excellent beginning source that chronicled the most important events of the historic preservation movement in New Bern from the early twentieth century to the early twenty-first, and much of the historic background on the city's historic resources was drawn from this source. It also served as an excellent preliminary resource for the identification of stakeholder organizations in the city which would later make for useful sources for interviews.

Stakeholder Group	Contact Person	Purpose	Agenda
New Bern Historical Society	Lynne Harakal (Director)	“to celebrate and promote New Bern and its heritage through events and education”	“to preserve for future generations the wealth of historical material found in New Bern.”
New Bern AWARE	n/a	“...to bring awareness of the public’s interests in maintaining access to (New Bern’s) waterfront...”	To prevent the Soleil Group from privatizing the New Bern waterfront
Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation	Susan Moffat-Thomas	“to spearhead and coordinate the revitalization of the downtown and the redevelopment of its waterfront”	to “emphasi(ze) (the) down’s historic assets and new waterfront development” to experience and promote economic growth
Historic Preservation Commission	Annette Stone	to maintain and regulate preservation in the downtown using district guidelines	to preserve the character of the downtown area
City Officials/Local Government	Annette Stone	to support tourism and economic success through supportive regulation and downtown maintenance	continued economic success and prosperity for New Bern’s citizens
Downtown Business Owners	n/a	to prosper economically, bring tourists to the area	to run successful and profitable businesses in the downtown area
Tryon Palace Commission	Kay Williams	“to engage present and future generations in the history of North Carolina from early settlement and development of statehood through the mid twentieth century ...”	“Commitment to mission,” “care preservation,” “and security of...historic resources,” “dedication to inclusive history,” “commitment to a sustainable environment”
Uptown Business and Professional Association	Mary Peterkin	“to make the Five Points area of New Bern a vibrant tourist destination”	Economic development in the Five Points area using, among others things, tourism

Table 1: Stakeholder groups identified through archival research, viewer participation, or from interviews. There were several instances of overlap noted where one individual, including those interviewed, served with more than one of these groups (Source: New Bern Historic Society 2010, New Bern AWARE 2008, Tryon Palace History N.D, Stone 2008, Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation 2008, Willsie 2006, Willsie 2007, Peterkin 2009).

Also of particular value were numerous articles searched for and collected from the online database of the *Sun Journal*, New Bern's newspaper. Newspaper stories concerning heritage and tourism, and the viewer comments accompanying most of them, allowed me to catalogue and interpret a wide range of relevant issues and local perspectives on them. In particular, the attached comments for these articles presented the views of local citizenry in a format that encouraged frankness and honesty more than in any other forum. Official government documents were also used, including the 2000 New Bern Urban Design Plan prepared by Allison Platt and Associates, as well as the Boating Infrastructure Full Proposal prepared by the Swiss Bear, which requested funding for the construction of a public marina.

Online searches and archival research were also fruitful in that they led to the identification of additional stakeholders who would not have been found otherwise, including the Uptown Business and Professional Association and New Bern AWARE. AWARE was a group of concerned citizens who sought to bring awareness of the privatization of the downtown waterfront to New Bern's citizens (New Bern AWARE 2008). AWARE's website, which has since been taken down, provided a wealth of information on dissonant or different opinions concerning land use rights to the city's valuable waterfront property, particularly in terms of public-versus-private ownership and the retention of the New Bern's small-town ambiance for the sake of attracting visitors and new residents. As was the case with several *Sun Journal* articles, AWARE's site retained a substantial comment section in which boating enthusiasts could post their opinions of waterfront rights in downtown New Bern, and were invaluable in ascertaining local and visitor views on the place of tourism and visitor culture in the city. An interview was sought with one of AWARE's numerous committee members, but unfortunately

none of my numerous emails or phone calls were returned. Material gathered from the website, however, proved indispensable and was insightful nevertheless.

Additionally, researcher participation and field observation were undertaken throughout the investigation, as it was taken for granted that to properly understand the roles of tourism, heritage, and preservation in New Bern it should be experienced firsthand. This included attending the Mumfest festival and taking a tour of the Tryon Palace and Gardens—the location being the area’s chief attraction—and spending several days in the downtown area itself, visiting business establishments and speaking informally with employees and visitors, and generally getting a feel for the area that would have not been possible without direct participation. Casual discussions generally consisted of how residents and business owners felt about the area, where they were from originally and where in the area they lived, as well as whether the establishment served locals or visitors (the environment was not conducive to the same type of interviews done with Moffat-Thomas and Williams, and those working in the downtown area generally became less talkative when the prospect of an interview was mentioned). A handful of these discussions were with individuals who had sufficient experience with preservation within the downtown New Bern area or in the preservation field elsewhere to offer some insight into how preservation is approached in other areas or to provide anecdotes to their experiences with preservation within the city (Table 2).

Of particular importance in studying sustainable heritage tourism in New Bern, however, were interviews conducted in person or via email. This method of research proved more fruitful than any other method of research in gathering information on the city’s downtown district and the surrounding areas. Two interviews, those with Executive Director Susan Moffat-Thomas of the Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation and Executive Kay Williams of the Tryon

Palace Commission were each approximately an hour and fifteen minutes long and recorded for later transcribing with the participants' permission. Most questions, however, were devised and asked in response to the participant's statements. Using this method, the participant was able to steer the conversation, within the confines of the subject, towards what they viewed to be most important in terms of tourism, heritage, and preservation. Consequently, the participants were for the most part able to discuss what they were most familiar with and where their opinions were strongest, leading to a more fruitful interview process. Afterwards, both interviews were transcribed for further analysis, and then coded according to common themes prevalent in both conversations. The codings were Citizen Participation, Class and Race Issues, Cooperation, Dissonance, Flexibility, Geography and Location, Government, Heritage, Preservation, Profit/Investment and the Economy, and Sustainability and the Environment. Coding also made the substantial transcripts more manageable than they would have been otherwise.

The interview with Mary Perkins of the Uptown Business and Professional Association was handled differently, as a face-to-face meeting was not possible, so a separate list of questions appropriate for an email format were devised and sent electronically. Her responses were coded with the same themes as the recorded interviews with Director Moffat-Thomas and Director Kay Williams.

Archival/Web Based Research	Interviews and Discussions	Landscape Analysis and Viewer Participation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various Books • New Bern AWARE Website and Message Board • Sun Journal Online Newspaper Archives and attached comment sections • Various relevant websites • Marketing literature, particularly brochures • GIS files 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Susan Moffat-Thomas • Kay Williams • Mary Peterkin • Annette Stone • One business owner • Two managers • Five tourism-based employees • Three individuals who had experience with preservation in New Bern or had recently visited the city • Casual conversations with others visiting the downtown area during Viewer Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various visits to New Bern’s downtown area and other historic districts • Taking of the Tryon Palace guided tour and attendance of the museum grounds • Attendance of the Mumfest yearly festival • Patronage of various downtown businesses

Table 2: The resources drawn on to evaluate the sustainability of urban heritage tourism in New Bern, North Carolina.

The transcript from an interview with city planner Annette Stone, conducted for a previous investigation into New Bern's downtown was also used for my research. This interview, also a little over an hour long, however, was not recorded and the exchange was not written down until later. It was concerned chiefly with the place of preservation and urban design in the downtown area, with little focus on tourism and heritage. While an interview centered more on heritage tourism and henceforth more relevant to this investigation was sought, a request for further correspondence was politely declined due to Stone's belief that there were other interview sources that would be more helpful. An interview request with a representative of the New Bern Riverfront Convention Center was also refused on the grounds of personnel restructuring issues.

In order to interpret the effect of tourism and preservation on the city, maps were made of New Bern's downtown area to visualize landmarks and relevant political or historic boundaries. Using GIS data garnered from Craven County GIS (N.D), a map of property values by parcel was created in order to visualize effects geographic location within certain areas of downtown New Bern had on overall land and building value. A zoning map was also created using the Land Use attribute in the GIS file. There were far too many specific land uses to show all of them in the scale available, so uses were consolidated into tourism and non-tourism related commercial uses, recreation, residential, government civic, nonprofit/civic, park uses, and vacant parcels. Interestingly enough, there were no electronic files denoting the three historic districts within New Bern, nor shapefiles for the Fire of 1922 noted in the research questions or the special tax district in the downtown area mentioned by Moffat-Thomas (2009). The need to visualize the boundaries of the 1922 Fire was particularly important, as the fire, which destroyed a third of the town, did more than two million dollars in damage, and left almost two thousand

homeless was especially damaging to New Bern's African American community and its heritage—a notable liability in a city that depends on heritage tourism for much of its economic activity. The boundaries of the fire and the tax district I created manually as shapefiles to overlay the parcel maps in order to establish how much of the downtown area was actually identified as 'historic' and, in the case of the 1922 fire, to visualize the difference in land values and proximity from the historic districts. The boundary of the downtown historic district was drawn from the city of New Bern's website (Historic Districts N.D.). The boundary of the Riverside District was taken from a realty website (Welcome to Riverside N.D), the boundary being unavailable anywhere else. No boundary images of the Ghent Historic District could be found, necessitating a drawing of the boundary from descriptions of the district (Ghent Historic District 2010, Ghent Historic District of New Bern, North Carolina 2010). Boundaries for the areas destroyed by the 1922 fire were taken from the 'Trail of Flames' brochure seen in Figure 14. The 'Trail of Flames' is a guided tour of landmarks related to the African American experience with the 1922 fire (Peterkin 2008).

Lastly, a qualitative analysis of the brochures located at the New Bern Visitors Center was conducted as a means of understanding how New Bern wishes to present itself to visitors and what heritage attractions, aside from those associated, are available for tourist consumption. Brochures also serve as a means of ascertaining what demographic segment New Bern's tourist industry seeks to reach, and what type of people they feel are already visitors. Surprisingly, heritage was not directly mentioned in the majority of brochures, although locations within the downtown district and surrounding areas were popular areas of focus, as was the Tryon Palace.

Significance of Research

This research investigation will contribute to the growing literature on tourism sustainability, as it also focuses on the human and economic aspects of sustainable tourism rather than strictly viewing sustainability from an environmental perspective. This investigation also expands upon existing sustainable tourism literature by further investigating the perceived parallels between recognized sustainability paradigms and heritage space management. Additionally, in keeping with my desire to develop practical applications from information gained in this research project, the thesis research questions are important in that they allow me to draw tangible benefits from my investigation. This research may also lead to real world applications in the form of policy recommendations for the improvement in sustainability and long-term viability of heritage tourism not only in New Bern, but in other locales which might entertain similar aspirations.

Organization of Thesis

This thesis is organized along a traditional chapter format. In Chapter Two, I will explore and summarize the concepts of socio-cultural, economic, and environmental sustainability as they pertain to sustainable tourism. In Chapter Three, the history and layout of the study area of downtown New Bern are discussed in order to provide the reader with a better understanding of the region being analyzed. Chapter Four is reserved for a discussion and interpretation of the results outlined in the previous chapter. Themes common in the results chapter are identified and expanded upon and the relationships between geography, history, heritage, and sustainability are elaborated upon. Of particular note is the discussion of the nature of heritage, its interpretation, and its commodification for purposes of tourism and community development.

Chapter Five summarizes the central themes and results that have arisen while conducting this investigation. The chapter also addresses the ultimate status of socio-cultural, economic, and environmental sustainability in New Bern and the assets and liabilities associated with the way tourism is currently managed in the city. Finally, this chapter outlines policy recommendations for both the improvement of New Bern's urban heritage tourism industry, as well as courses of action that other municipalities may consider in order to develop similar tourism industries for the sake of economic and social improvement.

CHAPTER TWO: PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE TOURISM

Concepts of sustainability are increasingly given serious consideration by stakeholders in the tourist market. However, as this is a comparatively new phenomenon, 'sustainability' is often a concept left open to interpretation. This chapter discusses themes prevalent in sustainable tourism according to contemporary literature on the subject. I first discuss the definition of sustainability in tourism and, second, present the fundamentals of urban heritage tourism and historic preservation in terms of socio-cultural, economic, and environmental sustainability.

The concept of sustainability in development and tourism has grown in acceptance as both a viable business model and as a marketable aspect of tourism industries that consumers take into account when choosing travel destinations (Hassan 2000). However, within the body of sustainability literature focusing on real world application rather than theory, there remains a need to establish overarching paradigms of sustainability that can be tailored to specific circumstances. There also exists in relevant literature an over-focus on environmental sustainability, where socio-cultural and economic sustainability are largely ignored or understudied (Berry and Ladkin 1997, Hunter 1997, Okazaki 2008).

Heritage tourism in particular makes for an intriguing study of sustainability in tourism, as literature on the subject has suggested that management principles already common to some extent with heritage management closely follow sustainable principles (Garrod 2000). Many cities have shifted from being locations of production to locations of consumption. There is also ready availability of historic structures for preservation. These characteristics and the need to bring businesses and people back into downtown areas have made a tourist-based economy a sensible, viable option for many localities with such underutilized downtown districts (Leithe

and Tigue 2000). Furthermore, historic preservation can play a crucial part in conserving the unique urban landscape for heritage and tourism purposes as well as improve the quality of life of those that live in the area (du Cros, Leithe and Tigue 2000). This subset of heritage tourism—urban heritage tourism—appears to lend itself to sustainability more-so than other forms of tourism, and heritage tourism’s unique ideology and conservation-based goals suggest that sustainability and the tourist industry itself are not inherently incompatible, as has been the general perception of the tourist industry (Snepenger 1998, Graham 2001, Garrod 2000).

Sustainability in Tourism

Recent global events and increased concern over humankind’s effect on the natural environment has facilitated a greater awareness of and advocacy for sustainability. Such paradigms are now being interpreted and expressed in the tourism industry, which has traditionally lagged behind the curve in environmental and cultural sensitivity (Garrod 2000). However, a recent increase in support of sustainable practices within tourism, particularly world-class destinations, has begun to shift this trend (Hassan 2000). Popular tourist destinations have begun to experience market pressure to adopt ‘greener’ practices, implying that ‘sustainability’ is becoming more mainstream and therefore more profitable, or at least less risky to undertake as a business model (Mycoo 2006). Refinement of the concept and practice of sustainability in tourism is now more important than ever, as tourism now plays a major part in the world economy. The recent economic downturn notwithstanding, many people who once viewed travel for the sake of pleasure a luxury now take it for granted as a part of their annual schedules (Inskeep 1988). In particular, North Carolina rates seventh amongst the fifty United States in terms of person-trip tourist volume (Long 2009). Consequently, a sustainable means of managing tourism in the state is especially important.

To properly practice tourism, advocates argue that tourism should contribute to a balanced and healthy economy by creating jobs, generating tax dollars, and protecting and improving upon the environmental, cultural, and social geography of the region in question in a way that benefits residents without eliminating its ability to draw visitors (Long 2009, Hunter 1997, du Cros 2001). However, while there is a general consensus that the global tourist industry must shift its way of doing business to be less harmful to the natural and human environment, there still exists a lack of understanding on the definition and implications of sustainable tourism development. In many cases, discussion of sustainability has not advanced beyond discussions of theoretical principals and guidelines (Liu 2003). Additionally, sustainability has typically been addressed in terms of polarizing environmental and ecological impacts, while economic and socio-cultural sustainability are being given uneven attention or ignored entirely. In terms of polarizing environmental views, Hunter (1997) identifies such inflexibility first with the mistaken perception that properly applied sustainable tourism will lead to no environmental degradation. Instead he suggests a more nuanced approach where sustainable techniques can be applied to fit a variety of circumstances. Hunter (1997) also addresses economic-related sustainability and growth-oriented tourism by outlining instances where some environmental degradation is acceptable: in areas where there is a strong link between poverty and environmental damage, where tourism could supplant more damaging economic activity such as heavy fishing or mining, and areas where a tourism industry could preempt damaging economic activity.

Similar sentiments concerning flexibility are often echoed by those who attempt to approach sustainability from a practical, rather than a purely theoretical perspective. Berry and Ladkin (1997) established that business owners in East Sussex (a region on the southern coast of

England known for its tourist industry) were open to the idea of conservation and cultural sustainability in practical terms, as the appeal of the region was based directly on a small scale charm that excessive exploitation would destroy. They also recognized that a sustainable model was necessary to preserve tourism in the future, seeming to contradict a widely held notion that the tourist industry as a whole maintains a short-term focus based more on short-term profit than sustainability (Simpson 2001).

However, stakeholders such as those in Berry and Ladkin's (1997) case study typically express concern that the vagueness of current sustainability guidelines did almost nothing to foster enthusiasm or understanding for 'sustainable tourism,' and that the concept itself was little more than a marketing tool with little inherent substance. The result of such sustainability policies that are too broad or built upon rhetoric will generally result in failure. Sustainability should not be a brand or product, but a method of planning that guarantees benefits (and, presumably, costs as well) are distributed equally between stakeholders (Simpson 2001). Similar sentiments were also raised by Hunter (1997), who stated that the concept of sustainable tourism had evolved into an "overly simplistic and inflexible paradigm...which failed to account for specific circumstances". Hunter (1997) also stated that issues of sustainable tourism had also become divorced from the concept of sustainable development, which he viewed as its 'parent concept'. When one considers tourism in terms of development, it also becomes apparent that sustainability cannot be isolated from issues of profit (Hassan 2000). Uli Bennewitz (2009), the owner of the Weeping Radish Farm Brewery, Butchery, and Eco Farm in Jarvisburg, North Carolina noted that sustainability has to reflect profitable enterprise; otherwise it simply will not work.

Roberts and Tribe (2008) elaborate on the need to view tourism sustainability in terms other than strictly environmental. Their tables provide indicators of sustainability for management/institutional, environmental, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of the tourism industry. Resource management was a theme common with all types of sustainability. However, there was sufficient divergence amongst the indicators of different types of sustainability to suggest that a tourism industry could theoretically be socio-cultural sustainable, but not environmental sustainable, etc.

These principles also can be applied to heritage tourism. The concept of heritage as a resource requiring sustainability principles to be preserved is best presented by Graham et al. (2000, 2002), who provided three basic conditions for the sustainable use of heritage places. First, the use of heritage spaces must not degrade them faster than new spaces can be created, which chiefly entails long term management of the resource. It should also be noted that Garrod (2000) identifies this phenomenon as a common fear of heritage managers, and that in some cases sustainable management means halting the degradation of heritage spaces entirely. Second, the consumption of heritage spaces must not exceed the speed with which replaceable replicas are developed. Land use and design guidelines in downtown New Bern are the most readily applicable example of this, as appearance of the downtown's historic presence is maintained by external guidelines while new structures are required to have a similar feel to those already in place. Lastly, the environmental pollution associated with the use of heritage sites as tourism attractions must not outpace the environment's ability to absorb and recover from it (Du Cros 2001).

There have been models presented in the research literature that seek to establish a set of sustainability principles for heritage tourism management. Du Cros (2001) suggests identifying

heritage spaces that are both robust enough to withstand the wear and tear associated with high visitation and capable of drawing tourists, if the end goal is to use heritage for economic purposes. She also draws heavy parallels between the concepts of 'heritage' and 'culture', suggesting perhaps a less cynical view than that of Graham et al. (2000, also see Graham 2001) where the culture of a region plays a more substantial part in identifying heritage resources than that which is useful to and supportive of the mainstream view. The idea of socio-cultural sustainability in tourism is perhaps the most difficult type of sustainability to define, in part because it is largely unquantifiable as a concept in the same sense that economic and environmental sustainability is. However, culture and societal values are a critical aspect of heritage tourism, as these values heavily influence what is considered marketable heritage (Graham 2001, Roberts and Tribe 2008). Additionally, as a tourism industry must be profitable in order to be sustainable, the economic sustainability of heritage tourism must also be taken into account. Finally, as economic, socio-cultural, and environmental aspects of sustainability share certain common traits in regards to resource management, environmental sustainability in heritage tourism must also be touched upon.

Socio-Cultural Sustainability

Citizen Support

Citizen participation and support are a subject worth attention specifically because they are considered particularly important to the successful planning process, and tie in closely with cultural and social sustainability and works to rectify one of the greatest shortfalls of tourism: its glaring social cost (Simpson 2001, Gotham 2005, Harrill and Potts 2003). Citizen involvement is particularly important in the often contested areas of downtown districts, where downtown spaces are paradoxically engineered by public authority but dominated by private interests, As

tourism is now essential to many downtown redevelopment strategies, it is imperative that sustainable tourism policy be supported by the public (Turner 2002, Roberson 1999). When concerns of urban tourism are involved, citizen support is even more important, as the presence of so many non-locals may alienate the citizenry from the downtown area entirely (Snepenger et al. 1998). This can eventually have unhealthy repercussions for the space in question. There is the risk that a complete lack of local attachment to the downtown or heritage space will result in gentrification that could destroy what made the space an attraction for visitors in the first place and alienate locals from their own space. Additionally, a perceived lack of control over their own environment could instill a potential hostility against visitors that would be counterproductive to both visitor and local experiences (Gotham 2005, Mycoo 2006).

While ‘citizen involvement’ has been a staple of planning efforts since the 1970s, the results have often been questionable, as public authorities can simply ally themselves with private factions who support a certain action while marginalizing those who do not support it, and still claim ‘community support’. Heritage tourism is at risk of this phenomenon due to the inherent dissonance of heritage interpretation as discussed by Graham, Ashworth, and Turnbridge (2000). They attest that the practice and presentation of any interpretation of the past has the potential to alienate, ignore, or undermine another group’s view of the past, as what is one person’s heritage is not necessarily someone else’s. Therefore, any presentation of heritage must be approached with questions of who subscribes to this view of the past and whose heritage is being undersold or disenfranchised? Alderman and Modlin (2008) address this as a common problem in North Carolina’s tourism marketing strategy, which consistently ignores or misrepresents the African American experience in its presentation of plantation and ante-bellum era heritage. That is not to say that all heritage presentations should be viewed with the eye of a

cynic, only that such questions should be addressed for the sake of cultural and societal sustainability and fairness.

Additionally, planning efforts have traditionally been top-down, with the chief relationship maintained with the private community coming from public hearings. Such hearings are not always conducive to effect dialogue. They can be viewed as alienating to residents or as a hindrance to progress by public officials (Joppe 1996, Myrick 2006). Berry and Ladkin's (1997) research on tourism-dependent small businesses in Sussex, England exemplifies the need for greater dialogue between stakeholders and the public, as business owners in their study expressed doubts about such a top-down approach of sustainability planning that carried with it little substance.

Accessibility and Utility of Tourism Spaces to Locals

The strict usage of heritage sites as museum-like entities, known alternatively as historic conservation, also runs the risk of denying locals practical use of the structures for anything other than tourist activity, and consequently could lead locals to feel that they have no stake in their own downtown district, and therefore would fail in terms of socio-cultural sustainability (Snepenger et al. 1998, Turner 2002, Mycoo 2006). This is particularly important, and could be potentially ruinous to a successful heritage tourism industry, as citizen support is considered crucial by many researchers of the subject. The feeling of relevance and connection of the heritage space to the population, the safety and comfort of visitors, safeguards against gentrification, and the political sustainability are all heavily dependent on some degree of local enthusiasm for the industry (Harrell and Potts 2003, Okazaki 2008, Gotham 2005, Mycoo 2006). Harrill and Potts (2003) noted that community feelings about the tourism industry tended to

become exaggerated within the confines of dense downtown districts, as those living and working within them live and interact with tourists on a daily basis.

The subject of citizen support is absolutely crucial to social support and ties closely with cultural and social sustainability (Hunter 1997, du Cros 2001, Long 2009). As tourism is now essential to many downtown redevelopment strategies, it is imperative that preservation policy be supported by the public (Moffat 2009, Williams 2009, Turner 2002). This is particularly important in New Bern, where the downtown district contributes so much to the heritage tourism industry. Additionally, tangible benefits to the citizenry are even more important, as the presence of so many non-locals may alienate the citizenry from the heritage space in question (Snepenger et al. 1998). These are principals of socio-cultural sustainability that are particularly important in urban heritage tourism and should be looked for when addressing sustainability in New Bern.

Economic Sustainability

While the task of defining sustainable tourism in terms narrow enough for it to be enacted as a policy appears to be a daunting one, the very fact that ‘sustainability’ means different things in different contexts means it can be interpreted to specifically benefit the market and type of tourism at hand. Heritage tourism as a commercial asset is growing, and entails the commodification of historic interpretation for sale and consumption (Graham et al. 2000, Graham 2001, Wiles 2007). Heritage tourism is especially relevant to the current sustainability movement, since it implies conservation of a limited or precious resource—heritage. It is also a type of tourism most difficult to sync with the industry as a whole, as tourism is assumed to involve change and adaptation in a market environment, whereas heritage tourism is perceived as drawing on the strengths of tradition and socio-cultural resources (Nuryanti 1996). It is best

defined as ‘visits by persons from outside the host community motivated in whole or in part by interest in historical, artistic, scientific or lifestyle/heritage offerings of a community, region, group or institution’ (Silderberg, 1995, p. 361).

How differing views on heritage tourism are justified depending on the type of tourism involved. Indeed, some may even view the gap between heritage and tourism as unbridgeable, as some supervisors of heritage properties view their position more as one of stewardship of cultural resources, rather than as a provider to the public. Garrod (2000) describes this as the ‘curatorial approach’, and notes that this differs significantly from general tourism in its ideological and institutional context, and that holders of such values do not consider themselves to be tourism managers. Framed in terms of preservation, this paradigm would likely be understood as ‘conservation’ of historic resources, using them either for their original purpose or as museum structures. There are also arguments over a tourist-centric emphasis damaging a heritage- or culturally-relevant area by supplanting the ‘mission of preservation’ in favor of providing a more marketable experience (Chhabra 2009). Conversely, a tourist-centric policy of management meant to engage visitors has been raised as a means to successfully conduct heritage management. This method is, however, heavily dependent on the presence of interpreters (guides) in order to provide proper context and to allow the visitor to properly navigate the heritage attraction (Moscardo 1996).

There is no consensus on the best, or even the most practical method of conserving heritage, particularly in the case of the built heritage landscape. The cultural relevance of such a site should be conveyed to the visitor, and the inflexible use of old buildings or heritage places runs the risk of rendering them sterile and isolating them from the existing urban fabric in the case of urban heritage tourism (Stone 2008). Additionally, some preservationists believe that the

retention and contemporary reuse of old buildings can allow an area to retain its cultural and historic significance while simultaneously being used as a tool to further investment and patronage of downtown districts (Tweed and Sutherland 2007). This is an ideological argument visited frequently by supporters of historic preservation, where the issue of whether the use of culturally or architecturally significant buildings for contemporary purposes, rather than their original function, is 'proper' historic preservation (Wiles 2007). In New Bern, for instance, the majority of the preserved buildings in the downtown area are regulated in look and function on the outside only, leaving the inside of the structure to the owner (Stone 2008). Similarly, Inskip (1988) suggests that historic buildings should serve some visitor-oriented purpose to finance and support their continued preservation, although their utility to locals is somewhat lessened as a consequence.

However, while an evolving world economy is leading urban centers to restructure their economies to develop tourism (Chang 1996), scholarly attention until recently has chiefly concerned itself with sustainability in environments and not that of the urban center. Considering the sheer size and variety of the tourism industry, this has been an unacceptable shortfall that is now being corrected. Traditionally, cities have been viewed as originators of tourist flows, rather than destinations. Hinch (1996) establishes a variety of reasons for why this is not the case. Among other things, cities are lynchpins of travel and offer a wealth of artistic, recreational, and cultural resources. And, as is the case with most sources of tourist interest, predatory patterns of tourist development can do potentially irreversible harm to the attraction in question, and by extension to the local or regional tourist industry (Berry and Ladkin 1997).

Furthermore, the rehabilitation and preservation of old buildings for contemporary uses, also called 'adaptive reuse', is economically as well as culturally sustainable. More so than

conservation, the practice of building rehabilitation is considered a ‘business of preservation’ (Tyler 2000). Such buildings are frequently built to better standards than contemporary structures, with a careful eye to detail. Preservation also limits the footprint of built areas on the landscape, and saves the city the trouble of extending utility lines and road systems to new development (Barnett 1993). A government finance review also found that historic preservation promoted investment in property, generated commerce and drew tourists, and provided further benefit by spurring job creation. Enhancement of community character and reoccupation of deteriorating downtowns were also cited as reasons to encourage preservation (Leithe and Tigue 2000).

Regardless of the type of heritage tourism or historic preservation being analyzed, it is the optimum form of tourism to embody sustainability principals. Such sustainability is becoming increasingly relevant in cities of all size undergoing post-industrialization. The inner cities of Baltimore and Boston, as well as the smaller mining towns in Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania are notable examples of this ‘touristization’ of heritage (Chang 1996, Hinch 1996). Unique heritage is also growing in importance as the global economy becomes increasingly standardized in terms of multi-national restaurant and hotel chains, as cultural heritage offers something that is familiar while at the same time being unique (Nasser 2003). The presence of a tourist industry also acts as a catalyst to increase investor confidence and patronage of downtown districts. Additionally, nearly all cities possess a certain number of historic buildings that can be rehabilitated for use as urban heritage tourism attractions, which greatly improve upon the downtown’s sense of place (Robertson 1999).

With these facts and views of sustainability in mind, economically sustainable heritage tourism would entail the application of sustainable concepts such as resource conservation and

long term management without stifling the profitability of the tourism industry in question, and should be looked for while studying sustainability in New Bern. It would also tie in closely with socio-cultural sustainability by virtue of using market forces for the preservation and retention of heritage spaces.

Environmental Sustainability

Additionally, the pattern of development typically found in downtown spaces are considered more efficient and less impactful on the environment than contemporary development (Katz 1994), thus contributing to the environmental sustainability of a region. The concepts of stakeholder identification and citizen participation are also cornerstones of both sustainable urban planning and tourism management, particularly in terms of social and cultural viability. Citizen participation is particularly important to conducting sustainable tourism, in order to curb tourism's high social cost (Berry and Ladkin 1997, Turner 2002, Roberson 1999). The literature suggests that the best method to prevent this harm from happening lies in the development of urban heritage and progressive urban planning techniques paired with legitimate citizen support (Inskip 1988, Berry and Ladkin 1997, Turner 2002). According to Turner (2002), tourism planning and urban planning, as far as the city is concerned, should be one in the same and can be used as tools to prevent environmental deterioration. His use of the term is suitably broad so as to assume the same principles can be applied to the human and socio-cultural environment, and not simply the natural one. With urban and tourism planning, the concept of 'carrying capacity' (the extent to which a resource in question can be used before it becomes unsustainable) is also noted, Hunter (1997) and Inskip (1988) both state that the 'carrying capacity' of a destination should be known and accounted for, and that limits on tourist

development and admissions should be set accordingly. Heritage spaces and cultural resources should be chosen and managed based on their carrying capacities.

This concept of carrying capacity is noted elsewhere by Berry and Ladkin (1997), who state that a regional approach to tourism would serve as a safety valve that would encourage tourism in underutilized areas while at the same time preventing excess 'wear and tear' on more popular, developed areas. A panel of heritage managers also cited overcrowding and the resulting damage as a major concern at historic or otherwise culturally significant sites (Garrod 2000, Liu 2003). Concepts of environmental sustainability are also applicable to urban heritage tourism management if historic structures are viewed as a resource that will be exhausted if used too strenuously or carelessly. Graham, his colleagues (2000) and Hunter (1997) explain this as an overused or unmanaged heritage structure being degraded through either overdevelopment or lack of understanding to the amount of use a heritage space can absorb. A long term, if not controversial solution proposed is the creation of replicas of historic sites or landscapes made to be consumed in lieu of the heritage attraction in question.

While principals of environmental sustainability are less readily applicable to heritage tourism management than socio-cultural and economic sustainability, there are still certain aspects that are worth noting. Sustainable urban heritage tourism would prevent new construction in green fields by focusing development in the downtown area of a city or town rather than its periphery while supporting development that is more pedestrian friendly (rather than automobile dependent). In this sense, a successfully sustainable urban heritage tourism industry would indirectly benefit the environment, even if the industry in question does not focus on more environmental-centric tourism sectors, such as ecotourism.

To summarize, certain principles of sustainable heritage tourism can be drawn from the literature that are broadly applicable. In particular, the long term management of heritage resources that does not hinder the profitability and utility of those resources in the short-term is especially important for both socio-cultural and economic sustainability. In terms of socio-cultural sustainability, citizen support and local access and utility of heritage tourism spaces are important as they make the citizenry feel as though they have a stake in the tourism industry, limited friction that can be caused between locals and visitors. The presence of more than simply the dominant interpretation of heritage is also important, particularly in terms of cultural sustainability, as this too will limit friction in the heritage space. Economic sustainability requires flexibility and profitability in order to be viable in the long term—a key principle of all types of sustainability discussed. Environmental sustainability in regards to heritage tourism requires conservation of greenspace, and, more importantly, greenfields, which heritage tourism accomplishes by limiting the need for new development.

CHAPTER THREE: THE STUDY AREA - NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA

New Bern, North Carolina (Figures 1 and 2) makes for a useful study area to research stakeholder views of sustainable tourism and urban heritage preservation, and whether the current state of tourism in New Bern is ultimately sustainable. New Bern is a small city located near North Carolina's coast, set at the convergence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers, and has a population of approximately 27,000. The second largest city in North Carolina at the time of the American Civil War, New Bern was once a keystone port for pitch, agricultural crops, and rosin produced in the rural landscape (Saur 1994). Shifting trends in a global economy and the disastrous urban renewal programs of the mid-twentieth century might well have rendered this small city a depressed and blighted place, if not for the preservation and commodification of certain architectural aspects the past which has allowed for the creation of an urban heritage tourism industry.

The focus of New Bern's heritage and preservation movement is centered in the city's downtown historic district, which is densely developed, with early 20th century brick buildings comprising the majority of the structures. This area, which includes the Tryon Palace, is the biggest attraction for tourists to New Bern. However, like countless cities in all regions of the United States, New Bern's downtown area was subject to summary abandonment and destruction in the decades following World War II, a period of seesawing growth and recession marked by white flight, widespread suburbanization, and well-meaning urban renewal programs that disastrously sought to impose new and inefficient development patterns on urban fabric by decimating existing infrastructure (Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation 2008).

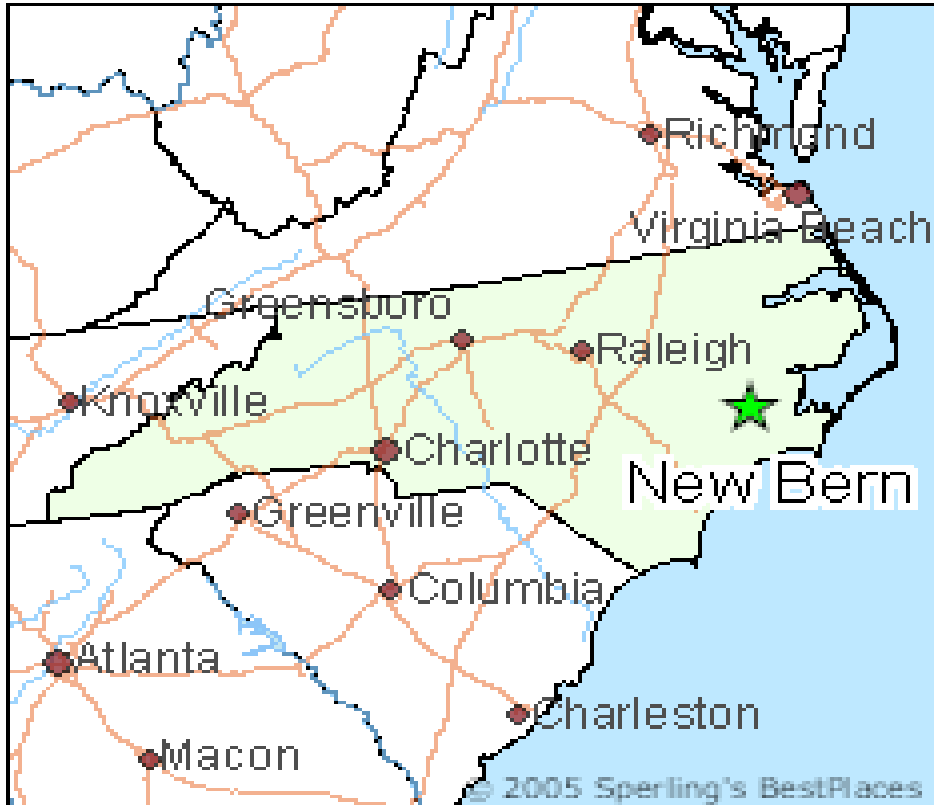


Figure 1: New Bern, North Carolina, indicated here by a star, is located in the eastern part of the state (Source: City Overview 2005).



Figure 2: Aerial photograph depicting downtown New Bern. The Neuse and Trent Rivers can be seen in the background (Source: 2000 New Bern Urban Design Plan).

Yet, while New Bern's downtown may have suffered the aforementioned hardships between the 1950s and early 1970s, some historic and aesthetic resources were saved in part by grassroots historic societies, a theme that has become common within the preservation and tourism industries (Wiles 2007, Leithe and Tigue 2000). This in turn led to the establishment of historic preservation guidelines that preserved and restored certain historic assets in the city in addition to laying the groundwork for an aesthetic that represents a significant draw for tourists. Political and cultural leaders in North Carolina as a whole have also begun to realize how large a role historic preservation could play in the state's economic growth and social atmosphere, including how the retention of historic structures improves the quality of life in practicing communities (Barnett 1993).

These potential positive effects of historic preservation and heritage tourism in cities such as New Bern include income and employment benefits, publicity and community recognition and pride, as well as a diversification of the tax base (provided other industries exist originally), making such communities more recession-resistant. In terms of economic and social benefits, approximately \$70,000,000 is generated in tourism revenue with more than one thousand individuals employed in the industry. Of those that visit New Bern annually, the majority comes to see Tryon Palace—a combination of reconstructed and renovated structures originally built between 1767 and 1770 that served as the first permanent capitol of the colony of North Carolina (Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation 2008, Barnett 1993). More than 200,000 visitors yearly are expected to visit the Tryon Palace and its new additions once they are opened to the public (Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation 2008). The waterfront access and traditional architecture and layout of the area, as well as the New Bern Riverfront Convention Center serve as further draws for visitors. A number of festival-like

events also serve to bring visitors to the area, including Mumfest and the Home and Garden Show, which are both put on by residents of New Bern for the sake of both locals and visitors.

Historical Context of Heritage Spaces in New Bern

To better gauge the effects of preservation and tourism in downtown New Bern, it is important to understand what the economic and aesthetic situations within the study area have been in the past, and why the specific spaces studied in this investigation were chosen. Additionally, an understanding of the history of the study area is imperative to the goals of investigation, specifically in answering the question of how heritage preservation and heritage tourism developed and evolved in downtown New Bern. A better understanding of the background of New Bern's urban heritage tourism industry would also contribute to ascertaining whether a successful tourism industry in this mold is replicable elsewhere—another important aspect of this investigation.

First, it is important first to note that the current landscape is not an accurate snapshot of how the city appeared during the early twentieth century. Many of the structures from that era were lost either to fire or well-meaning but ultimately destructive urban renewal programs. Perhaps most ruinous to any attempt to present the true heritage and history of the area was a substantial fire in 1922 that almost completely destroyed the African American quarter of the city, creating a deficiency of historic structures and notable heritage spaces and instilling a lack of development compared to other areas of New Bern that continue to this day. Limited progress after the fire was due in large part to misguided urban renewal programs (Peterkin 2009). Because of these unfortunate events, most of the African American heritage of New Bern has been lost or pushed to the periphery of the densely developed downtown area. Any evaluation of

the sustainability of New Bern's urban heritage tourism industry, particularly in terms of the socio-cultural, must take this into account.

Between the 1950s and 1960s, like many urban centers in the United States, New Bern experienced a systematic degradation of its downtown area following rapid flight to fledgling suburbs, which siphoned off tax bases by drawing population, industrial and commercial architecture out of the downtown (Moffat-Thomas 2009). This occurred at the same time that Americans were retooling their cities for widespread use of and dependence on the automobile. A plethora of landmarks and otherwise significant structures, both residential and commercial, were razed to make room for service stations and parking lots to accompany the new, suburban development pattern. Broad Street, once a tree-lined pedestrian friendly street, was reconfigured into a wide and noisy barrier and uprooted dozens of largely African American businesses in the Five Points area (Peterkin 2009, Barnett 1993). The U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development Renewal Program only exasperated New Bern's plight. Fourteen acres of commercial buildings were torn down along the Trent River Water Front, the vacant track of land resulting in further degradation of the nearby central business district and compounding the already existing problems of flight to the suburbs. It also left a gaping no-man's land of underutilized space between the surviving downtown and the Trent River (Barnett 1993). Much of what is left in the traditionally African American parts of New Bern are underutilized residential blocks, with minimal business activity and no notable tourism-related uses.

Beginnings of Preservation

The New Bern preservation movement as it is known today began with the restoration and reconstruction of the Tryon Palace (Figure 3), which was completed in 1959 (Stone 2008). In the 1930s, interest was rekindled in North Carolina's first colonial capitol, and a Greensboro

resident and native of New Bern by the name of Mrs. James Edwin Latham lobbied the state government to assist in the restoration of the structure. The North Carolina legislature created the 25-person Tryon Palace Commission, which was charged with reconstructing the estate, and agreed to maintain the structures once the Tryon Palace was opened to the public. Although Mrs. Latham passed away before the project began, her daughter succeeded her and the Tryon Palace was reopened in April of 1959 (Tryon Palace History N.D), four years after the opening of the New Bern Fireman's Museum, another example of heritage-focused preservation (Welcome to the New Bern Firemen's Museum N.D). Tryon Palace served increasing historic interest in New Bern, and, more importantly, served to make New Bern's populace aware of the resource they had in their existing historic structures (Barnett 1993). The restoration and reconstruction of the grounds also fostered a pool of experienced craftsmen who were then able to apply what was learned in the reconstruction to other preservation projects in the area. A high standard of craftsmanship also ultimately made preservation more sustainable and longer lasting, and henceforth more viable as an attraction for visitors and other investors (Williams 2009). To this day, Tryon Palace serves as the chief destination for tourists in the area.

Following and building upon the success of Tryon Palace, preservation in New Bern's residential areas began in earnest in the early 1970s, when predominantly young couples decided that older houses were worth the cost of renovating and restoring (Figure 4). A good many of these people were from the northern United States and already had experience with preservation and brought their interests to the South. The reoccupation of residential areas helped to halt the suburban migration that had begun following World War II. The rate of demolition of historic structures began to further ebb in 1972 with the creation of the New Bern Preservation



Figure 3: The Tryon Palace as seen from Eden Street. Tryonpalace.org identifies it as Georgian-style architecture. The Tryon Palace and Gardens serve as a major attraction and tourist draw in New Bern.



Figure 4: A residential block on Pollock Street. The re-occupation of old homes was a major catalyst to the historic preservation movement in New Bern.

Foundation, which had its origins in a committee formed by Mrs. Duffy's New Bern Historic Society to halt the destruction of endangered historic structures (Barnett 1993).

The Historic Society was also involved in mobilizing local support and events that gave New Bern's historic downtown needed exposure. It co-sponsors the annual Spring Historic Homes and Garden Tour with the New Bern Preservation Foundation, which is a relevant example of citizen participation, as many local owners of the featured homes agree to open their doors for public tours. The event attracts about two thousand visitors a year, and has enjoyed a profit of around \$21,400 (Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation 2008). The society has also acquired numerous structures. The Attmore-Oliver House was procured for \$30,000 in 1953 and has been restored, furnished with 18th and 19th century antiques, and endowed with a large doll collection and Civil War memorabilia (Barnett 1993).

In 1977 the process to reverse more than twenty-five years of neglect and deterioration using principles of adaptive reuse (Figure 5), rather than the strict principles of preservation for the sole sake of historic accuracy (as was the case with the Tryon Palace) began with the creation of the Central Business District Plan, which became the base of restoration efforts. The plan inventoried historic and waterfront assets in the city as well as the benefits they could represent for the tourism industry, the recreation they could develop, and the foundation they could create for a housing market to draw retired persons (Barnett 1993). The Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation (Swiss Bear) was the direct result of the CBDP's recommendation to found a private, nonprofit company to formulate strategies for preservation, manage the implementation for such strategies, and coordinate with the local government (Moffat-Thomas 2009). The importance and influence of Swiss Bear may have been made greater by events in 1980 when New Bern was selected to participate in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's



Figure 5: The O. Marks Building is a textbook example of adaptive reuse. Once a building for a Belk department store, it was bought by a local partnership when Swiss Bear learned it was being considered by investors for an adult entertainment center.

Main Street Program, an initiative to encourage economic growth in America's downtowns (Barnett 1993).

Since 1977, seventy buildings have been rebuilt or renovated in downtown New Bern and the surrounding areas, including four waterfront hotels and three marinas. More than seventy million dollars have been invested in New Bern's downtown area and historic districts. Approximately two hundred businesses provide employment for more than two thousand people. The preserved and reoccupied historic environment has made tourism a major industry in New Bern (Moffat-Thomas 2009). Intriguingly, the Swiss Bear is perhaps different from most CDCs (Community Development Corporations), and the purpose of preservation in New Bern is different from other preservation programs in that it was meant specifically to foster a heritage tourism industry. According to a presentation on the use of preservation to anchor communities, Ryberg (2010) describes the majority of CDCs as using preservation as a means to create affordable housing. The perceived lack of preservation for the purpose of affordable housing is somewhat intriguing given the difficult social and economic situations in the Five Points district, which is directly adjacent New Bern's downtown historic district. However, the Swiss Bear has recently been working with the Uptown Business and Professional Association—a CDC which is dedicated to revitalizing the Five Points area and has begun exploring avenues to make the African American experience in New Bern a bigger part of the city's heritage tourism industry (Peterkin 2009).

Research has shown that the reasons behind the fostering of heritage tourism and preservation industries in New Bern are twofold. First, there appeared to be an acknowledgement of the importance of heritage for the sake of history and community pride. Second, the prevalence of adaptive reuse preservation within the downtown district appears to be

the direct result of the business community identifying New Bern's heritage as a marketable commodity, and thus a tool with which to revitalize what was then an economically and socially troubled area. The utility of heritage tourism and preservation as development tools have been noted before in both the relevant research literature (Leithe and Tigue 2000, Turner 2002, Roberson 1999) and in the course of this investigation (Moffat-Thomas 2009, Stone 2008, Williams 2009, Peterkin 2009).

The creation of heritage spaces as a resource was also noted by local business owners and stakeholders during the summer of 2009, who specifically mentioned tourism as a means of strengthening the local economy. This is made evident in the Central Business District Plan, which was a private sector endeavor to revitalize the downtown area of New Bern (Moffat-Thomas 2009). The use of heritage and tourism as tools to revitalize an urban area is similarly practiced by the Uptown Business and Professional Association (Perkins 2009). However, it diverges from goals expressed in the Central Business District Plan in that it is also an attempt to revisit and salvage heritage which had been destroyed in a disastrous fire that gutted much of the African American neighborhoods in New Bern in 1922. Further damage was done when a once-again thriving business district was eviscerated by the widening of Broad Street (Sachs 2009, Hall 2007).

Types of Preservation

In terms of preservation, the type of preservation practiced in New Bern varies depending on where in the city the historic structure is located. Adaptive reuse, the rehabilitation of structures for contemporary purposes, is by far the most prevalent type of preservation in the downtown area (Tyler 2000). The flexibility of this type of preservation is an understood asset to the development of heritage space, and an important staple of private investment. The historic

homes within the downtown district's periphery and in the city's other two historic districts are textbook cases of conservation, having been renovated and reoccupied during the period of increased interest in preservation in the city during the 1970s.

The Tryon Palace and Gardens, along with the surrounding structures, can be viewed both as conservation—the restoration of a structure as it appeared for its original purpose— and a historic reconstruction (a replica of a structure either too fragile to be used as a visitor space or otherwise lost), as much of the grounds were rebuilt in the early 20th Century, the original structures having been destroyed by fire. Ms. Williams (2009), who as Director of the Tryon Palace Commission has a great responsibility towards history—the Tryon Palace being an accredited museum—stated that there are different levels of devotion to history and heritage, and that so long as a heritage space is not falsely represented then that is an acceptable presentation of heritage. Furthermore, the historic landscape is incredibly complex and subject to many different interpretations, rendering all forms of heritage presentation subjective in some form or another. Even scholarly representations of heritage places are inherently contentious in terms of one view of the past being favored over another (Graham et al. 2000). Indeed, although archival research and interviews have shown that sincere effort is going into bringing different histories into view, it is obvious from my landscape interpretation and from a guided tour taken of Tryon Palace that the heritage of the ruling class of Colonial New Bern is placed at the forefront of this historic space. Indeed, it has only been recently that the managers of the Tryon Palace have sought to include African Americans in the site's tourist experience and marketing. Historian David Dennard of ECU has assisted with this effort.

Regulations and Guidelines

It was assumed during preliminary research that government regulation was largely responsible for the management of the current state of the heritage spaces in New Bern. However, in-depth investigation has revealed that this is not the case. Archival research and interviews indicate that heritage and tourism spaces in New Bern are maintained by a coalition of private and public stakeholders, which involves compromise and the identification of common goals more than regulation. In terms of the latter, the most pertinent example is the Historic District Commission, which regulates new construction and exterior appearance within the downtown area according to the historic district guidelines. There is currently some contention with the power of the Commission in that some feel that its members answer to no one, and that their guidelines, having recently been re-written, were formerly too open to interpretation and the personal tastes of the commission members. The new regulations are more ‘cut and dry’, according to Director Moffat-Thomas (2009). There is also a special tax district around the downtown area which is devoted to infrastructure improvements in the district. The Tryon Palace, by contrast, is more self-regulated, as it is considered a scholarly use and an accredited museum, and appearances and uses of the Palace Grounds are obviously more constrained for that reason (Williams 2009). In other words, there isn’t a single regulatory vision operating within New Bern—heritage and historic preservation are interpreted and applied differently.

Patterns of Development in Downtown New Bern

The pattern of development in the downtown area of New Bern is also worth comment from a sustainability perspective, both because the space is considered a major asset in tourism and because the classical layout and design is considered more sustainable and livable in urban planning circles than contemporary development patterns (Katz 2000). As the Duncans (2001)

have argued, the selective design, control, and marketing of aesthetics play a major role in the politics of preservation. A description of the area is also important in providing context into the place marketing mentioned so frequently with the area.

The downtown historic district, particularly the commercial area, is laid out in a simple grid pattern, rather than the standard hierarchical street pattern associated with contemporary development. This road design improves the permeability of the downtown area by increasing the flexibility of available routes. For instance, if one street is blocked off an adjacent street can be taken. This apparently happens often, due to the amount of construction that takes place downtown. While having breakfast in a local establishment, a waitress wryly remarked to me that the city was not happy unless they were ‘tearing something up’. However, the grid-system street pattern greatly reduces traffic jams more inherent with hierarchical street development, and makes finding one’s way around the downtown area much easier than would have been true otherwise. And, as tourism dollars are important to the economy of downtown New Bern, easy navigation through the heritage space is obviously important.

The block system is also more conducive than contemporary development to the creation and use of alleys, of which downtown New Bern has several. These are inaccessible to automobiles but greatly increase permeability and the enjoyment of a pedestrian’s walking experience. While it is true that the streetscape itself is not necessarily a direct product of historic preservation, it exists and is utilized only because the historic buildings that comprise the district are in use. It is also a street pattern more characteristic of classical American city design, rather than modern American development, and thus is deserving of discussion.

Landscape Analysis of Downtown Buildings

The commercial blocks of downtown New Bern are largely constructed of red brick, which in itself provides an inherent source of warmth and rhythm that is noticeably lacking in structures built from simple gray concrete, vinyl siding, or stucco. These materials tend to be more monotonous and drab in appearance than brick, as well as lacking the sense of scale that small bricks provide the human eye (Figures 6, 7, 8). The fact that much of the brick construction shows its age only increases the viability of the ‘historic authenticity’ that features so prominently in the city’s marketing literature.

The widespread use of brick, however, does not mean that the historic downtown business district appears monotonous. Different window and molding patterns, as well as varying building heights and store front designs keep appearances varied, in addition to making it easier for one to find his or her way around the district and helping to provide a ‘sense of place’. The bricks that make up the majority of the construction also vary in shade between buildings, further making it easier to tell places apart. For instance, the Elks Building (Figure 10) is constructed of tan brick, rather than red, and henceforth is easily recognized.

The preservation of buildings constructed to accommodate dense development also gives the downtown historic district better enclosure, as most of the buildings are built to the same point on the street, and the blocks are only occasionally broken by parking areas or empty lots. The lack of the former is partially explained by the district’s system of sidewalks that urban designers state encourage pedestrian movement in addition to vehicular traffic (Katz 1994). The brick of these walks are treated as design tools themselves, the stones chiefly comprised of hexagonal stones that accentuate the construction of the surrounding buildings without becoming monotonous.



Figure 6: Looking north down Craven Street. The vast majority of the downtown district's buildings are brick and either two or three stories. The high clock tower of city hall provides orientation to both pedestrians and motorists.



Figure 7: New Bern City Hall, completed in 1896. Residents complained that the building had no clock, and one was added in 1909 (Hand 2007). The tower can be seen in Figure 6.



Figure 8: Looking north down Middle Street. Although every building pictured here is brick, varying colors and shades provide variety. Note the difference in brick caused by the sun on the 1st Baptist Church at the left. The tan-bricked Elks building can be seen in the background.



Figure 9: Christ Church, seen from an adjacent alleyway. The current building dates from 1875 (Hand 2007). The steeple, depending on the angle, is visible from several blocks away. Also note the flag of New Bern in the foreground, which is displayed throughout the downtown area and provides a unique sense of pride and place.



Figure 10: The Elks Building contributes to the aesthetics of the nearby area, with its tan brick providing a visual landmark to visitors. Note the dentil molding on the roof and the variations of window size and width.

In terms of the downtown structures as a consumable resource, it is taken for granted that the urban design of the historic district's area is a major draw for tourists, who likely come from areas with contemporary development. The proximity of the buildings to the street could perhaps be considered an asset for retail and culinary-related businesses during downtown festivals. While attending Mumfest in 2009, I noted that while craft tents and other booths were set up in the downtown streets (which had been closed to all but pedestrian traffic), the standard businesses were still close enough to be easily accessible to festival goers. Two shift managers I spoke with said that their restaurants had done record business during this time, a surprising detail given the current state of the economy.

The utility of the downtown space's open area and the central location of the district within the area, in addition to the city's reputation as a tourist destination has also made the planning and execution of festivals a far easier and more lucrative process. This has been addressed and noted in sustainable tourism literature (McKercher et al. 2006). Mumfest—the largest of New Bern's annual festivals—is free to the public and beneficial in its monetary value to the city and in the attention it draws to the downtown area. The streets are shut down to vehicular traffic at that time to make the area more pedestrian friendly and provides space for street performers and tents without restricting access to the downtown district's regular businesses.

The comparative density of the area's development and the existing commodified heritage resources, in addition to providing an optimal environment for conventions and outdoor events, also allows a suitable backdrop for a variety of tours that showcase events, places and cultural groups of note. These tours include, among others the Spring Home and Garden Tour, where residents in New Bern's historic districts can have their homes showcased for visitors

(New Bern Historic Society 2010), the Trail of Flames Tour, the New Bern Ghost Walk, and several trolley tours, which, according to some consumers, have made notable effort to include the history of African Americans within the city. As these tours typically showcase locations that have already been constructed and are consumed either on trolleys or on foot, and feature more than one group's story of heritage, they follow several notable requirements of economic, social, and environmental sustainability.

Map Analysis

A cartographic analysis of the downtown area was conducted, with two maps being created from the same database in order to visually assess the land use makeup of the heritage space as well as the boundaries of the city's three historic districts, the special tax district within the downtown area, and the extent of the disastrous 1922 fire that destroyed so much of the city. Much of the raw data were taken from Craven County GIS (N.D.).

The first map created is shown as Figure 11, and details the total property value (the combined value of both the structure and the land in question) of each parcel in the downtown area, with the idea of ascertaining what effects, if any, the parcel's presence in a historic district has on its property value. Additionally, I thought it would be sensible to see if any such relationship existed between parcel values and the boundaries of the 1922 fire. The resulting image shows notable and unsurprising spatial association between higher parcel values on average within the main downtown district. The difference in property values is particularly noticeable within the special tax district, which includes the highest valued parcels in the entire downtown area. Also not surprisingly, waterfront property tended to be more valuable than inland property regardless of its location in or out of a historic district, including waterfront area destroyed in the 1922 fire. What was surprising, however, is the lack of difference in value

between properties within the other two chiefly residential historic districts and the surrounding blocks. This leads to the conclusion that outside of the downtown district, preservation alone does not guarantee higher property values, although whatever benefits garnered by homeowners within these districts in terms of quality of life are of course unquantifiable. The effects of the 1922 fire on historic structures is also felt, as only a small portion of the Five Points area is located in a historic district, with the widespread destruction of buildings in that fire presumably being responsible for the lack of buildings available for preservation.

The second map shown in Figure 12 also gives context to the layout of New Bern's downtown area in terms of land use and businesses operating in the area, as well as the ratio of residential to commercial and other uses. Immediately upon consulting the map, certain patterns come into view. First, there is the heavy commercial core within the special tax district, which is located in the heart of the downtown historic district (Allison Platt and Associates 2000). It should be reiterated that commercial land uses were subdivided into businesses that were not in theory heavily dependent on tourism culture for their existence and those uses that were presumably more dependent on visitors. This model was deliberately biased to include as many business uses as 'tourism related' as possible, including all retail and culinary stores.

Commercial land use in the downtown district, specifically in the special tax district appears to be evenly divided between tourism and non-tourism related commercial uses, with only one parcel being designated as an actual 'recreational' land use. Additionally, the New Bern city government is located within the downtown area, along with several religious or



Figure 11: Comparative Property Values and Historic Districts.



Figure 12: Categorical Land Uses in New Bern

otherwise nonprofit services, which presumably encourages New Bern’s citizens to frequent the downtown, preventing it from becoming a strictly ‘tourism’ space. This assertion is also supported by the substantial amount of residential use within walking distance of the downtown area, and it should be kept in mind that the vast majority of these are full time residences and not seasonal homes. The dispersion and clustering of abandoned or vacant lots also gives some insight into the character of the downtown area, with substantial numbers of underutilized parcels being located in the Five Points area within the boundaries of the 1922 fire. Conversely, there is almost no vacant land in any of the historic districts.

The classification model is not perfect, and scale constraints necessitated the consolidation of certain land uses together that might otherwise have been left separate, and certain parcels had misleading land use designations that were somewhat misrepresentative of their actual purpose. The Tryon Palace and Gardens, for example, is designated as a government civic use although it would more properly be designated as a recreational use. The public housing neighborhood two blocks from the Tryon Palace is shown as the same land use and not as residential housing. The convention center in the downtown area is also shown as a service use. However, the map still gives a telling narrative of the downtown area than would have been possible otherwise.

Summary of the Urban Heritage Tourism Industry

To summarize, the heritage tourism industry in New Bern, North Carolina is based around heritage infrastructure that was preserved originally for the sake of perceived historic and heritage value and then for purposes of utility and profit, with the values of those that conducted the preservation expressed in what they chose to preserve—in particular, the Tryon Palace and the downtown area. The heritage resources used for tourism are also located primarily in the

downtown historic district and surrounding areas, centralizing tourist activity. This has the benefit of increasing the brand recognition of the downtown space and providing a tried and tested venue for outdoor festivals and other events, but limits the utility of the tourism industry for the African American community, which is located adjacent to the historic district.

A study of the research area in question also presents a tourism industry that is chiefly focused on certain aspects of the city's built and historic heritage, but sufficiently varied in that visitors have more than one way in which to consume these heritage attractions and more than one way in which to interpret the city's heritage. The Tryon Palace and Gardens, the Birthplace of Pepsi, and the Fireman's Museum represent for the most part curatorial attractions and conservation-oriented practices of historic preservation, whereas the various walking and trolley tours allow for a more specialized type of tourism that present several interpretations of heritage that may not have been visible otherwise. However, there is still a comparative lack of African American interpretations of heritage in the downtown area.

The downtown environment itself can be considered its own tourist attraction, as the downtown district landscape represents a novelty when compared to contemporary development, drawing both visitors and, just as importantly, new residents who provide permanent tax revenue and in many cases, jobs. The preservation in this area is chiefly adaptive reuse, which attributes to greater flexibility of the tourism space. The city's natural geography, being situated at the convergence of two rivers, also opens the city for water-based recreation. Furthermore, the built geography and the active stakeholder groups encourage the holding of festivals that are not dependant on the 'heritage' aspects of tourism and bring additional revenue and visitors to the area. The downtown environment appears to be viable as a tourism space, but further analysis of the industry according to sustainability principles is necessary.

CHAPTER FOUR: EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter takes what was learned in the course of this research investigation and addresses it in terms of sustainability as gathered from the literature. First, I address aspects of New Bern's heritage tourism industry that are applicable to paradigms of social and cultural sustainability. This includes a discussion of the dissonance and controversies that could potentially damage the socio-cultural sustainability of New Bern's tourism industry. Next, I examine the economic sustainability of the industry and tie it to common themes found in sustainability literature, particularly the need for investment capital and flexibility in heritage management and the way in which New Bern's business community presents the industry to visitors by analyzing the city's marketing literature. Finally, I address the environmental sustainability of heritage tourism in New Bern.

Social and Cultural Sustainability

The cultural and social relationships with tourism in New Bern are more difficult to classify and analyze, but nevertheless certain relevant patterns emerged over the course of this investigation. While citizen support of tourism and preservation in the city is apparent, there appears to be some imbalance in which parts of the city and which population groups benefit from tourism. That is not to say that certain parts of the city benefiting from tourism more than others is unsustainable or even unfair. This is also not an assertion that resistance to the current state of heritage and tourism in New Bern means the industry is inherently unsustainable, as heritage is inherently dissonant (Graham et al. 2000, Graham 2001). But it is worth acknowledging who is supportive of how tourism and heritage preservation are managed, and addressing the concern that tourism has not been used sufficiently to assist in developing other areas in much the same that it has benefited the downtown area.

According to Moffat-Thomas (2009) two major groups who take issue with development in New Bern are those who move to the city in part because of the existing aesthetic of the downtown area, and long time locals who recall the area before it was a major tourism destination. In both cases, it was largely resistance to change that characterized dissonance with the existing system of heritage and tourism. Nevertheless, in keeping with the paradigm that sustainability must be flexible in order to retain longevity, I am inclined to assert that the majority opinion is the most sustainable option. Of course, in order to remain socio-culturally sustainable, those with minority views must have outlets for discussion and dissent.

There is also the issue of the difference in income levels between the downtown area and the adjacent Five Points neighborhood, and ongoing efforts made to revitalize the struggling area. Tourism was identified by Peterkin (2009) as a means to enact both positive economic and social change. According to Moffat-Thomas (2009) New Bern's plan for economic development called for the utilization of the downtown as an economic resource and for the establishment of a nonprofit organization to promote and improve it. No such organization was created for the Five Points area, and resulting urban development programs, such as the widening of Broad Street, did further damage to the health of that neighborhood. However, Swiss Bear has since expanded its zone of operation and is now working with the Uptown Business and Professional Association to improve the area. This is a marked improvement on what appears to have been intense focus on the downtown area at the expense of other neighborhoods, and is far more socially sustainable than the system previously in place.

There is still the issue of gentrification as raised by Peterkin, in which more wealthy individuals begin buying area in a less prosperous community, thereby pushing the original owners out of the area. There is some evidence that this displacement may have occurred to

some degree already in the downtown district. Many of those employed in businesses within the district, particularly in restaurant-related businesses but also in other establishments, were unable to find affordable housing in the New Bern area and chose to commute from nearby Bridgeton instead. Clearly, such a phenomenon occurring in the Five Points area would frustrate the Uptown Business and Professional Association's goals to keep the neighborhood a bastion of African American culture, and would not ultimately be socially or culturally sustainable. However, integrating the neighborhood into the greater downtown fabric, while considered extremely important to stakeholders in the Five Points area, would also be of benefit to the downtown district and the city as a whole. According to Figure 13, much of the land available for development or expansion is located in the Five Points neighborhood, with future growth in the downtown district itself hampered by lack of vacant land and the Neuse and Trent Rivers.

Another point worth making in terms of the social sustainability of tourism is the pattern of construction and design within New Bern's downtown as it pertains to the recent 'New Urbanism' movement, which seeks to steer new development towards a more classic aesthetic much like that in the city's downtown district (Katz 2000). New Bern's downtown is currently marketed as something different and exciting by virtue of being different from standard contemporary development. If 'classical' patterns of construction and street layout again become the norm, or at least more prevalent than they are currently, New Bern's downtown district may be less viable as a tourist attraction, at least in terms of the aesthetic pattern. While this is not likely to happen for some time, it would be worth taking such an event into consideration for the interest of long-term sustainability.

Citizenry Support

However, while regulation undoubtedly has a hand in maintaining New Bern's heritage aesthetic, citizen participation and the perception of having a stake in the heritage tourism industry, at least amongst certain groups, is also a mitigating factor. Pride in the city, its aesthetic and its heritage were mentioned by all concerned parties and in all three face-to-face interviews and most discussions with locals in the downtown area, implying that support of New Bern's tourism and heritage spaces is based on more than local government regulation.

Moffat-Thomas (2009) noted that at times the city can be a victim of its own success in terms of its aesthetic, citing that many people who migrate to the city are critical, if not hostile to change from growth or infrastructure improvement, regardless of its benefit to the city as a whole. All sources indicated that members of 'a well informed public' were the greatest supporters of preservation in New Bern (Williams 2009). Moffat-Thomas' (2009) example of a recent immigrant who was critical of the replacement of an obsolete bridge is a telling indicator of the worth that some residents place on New Bern's historical ambiance. Recognition of this fact is important to understanding where lines of tension exist within New Bern, and it also leads us to question whether a deep sense of place attachment is the property of only long-time residents.

The group AWARE expressed a similar protectiveness of New Bern's valuable waterfront, citing that the increase of dock fees and the construction of condos by the The Soleil Group (which owns the waterfront Sheraton Hotel and manages the docks) would negatively affect water access for visitors and local boat owners and damage the downtown's skyline and view-shed, respectively. It is also interesting to note that while the general consensus is that a good deal of the local public understands and values New Bern's heritage aesthetic, it is those

who have moved to the area from other places that appear to be the most aggressively protective of it, as in many cases they were drawn to the area specifically because of that aesthetic.

This phenomenon was not unexpected, and several informal conversations with business owners and employees revealed that a significant percentage of business owners are not originally from the area. Of the five establishments where I spoke with those working there, only one business owner—the business being a family owned restaurant—had roots in the region. In a restaurant which is part of a chain, the bartender informed me that ‘three or four’ of the chain’s managers had moved to New Bern from Pennsylvania.

However, entrepreneurs also noted that the downtown area was not entirely a tourist space. One business owner stated that her business was perhaps “sixty percent local and forty percent tourist”, with the ratio varying slightly depending on the season. She did mention, however, that those in the restaurant business were more dependent on tourism. Subsequent discussions with restaurant employees and one manager confirmed this, with one manager stating that his business overwhelmingly came from visitors to the city. Another business owner of a non-restaurant business also stated that there was a notable difference between customers in the lounges/restaurants of the two hotels in downtown New Bern, with one being frequented chiefly by locals and the other by tourists. According to her, this was due to the comparatively poor quality of the food in the hotel restaurant most frequented by tourists, and that this was likely due to the visitors not knowing any better.

Dissonance and Controversies

In order to fully understand perceptions of urban heritage tourism and preservation in New Bern, it was necessary to identify the controversies associated with them. While New Bern

is a comparatively small city, its complex racial history and the strong opinions associated with its heritage and historic spaces nevertheless gives rise to contention.

Race

Of particular note is the case of the Five Points area, a predominantly African-American neighborhood adjacent to New Bern's downtown area. According to Moffat-Thomas (2009), this neighborhood and the Duffy Field neighborhood are two of the poorest areas within the region. Income levels are less than half of what they are within the downtown area. In terms of the Five Points neighborhood itself, this is not surprising given the area's troubled history.

According to Mary Peterkin of the Uptown Business and Professional Association, the location was largely destroyed in the Great Fire of 1922, which burned more than 40 blocks, leaving more than three thousand people homeless and destroying more than a thousand buildings, with fifteen more damaged and another one hundred dynamited to create a fire break. The fire caused 2.3 million dollars in damage and was ruinous to the social and cultural fabric of the area. The boundaries of this fire were gathered from a brochure published by the Uptown Business and Professional Association, and can be seen as the red border in the Figure 21 map.

Peterkin (2009) notes that this history has thus far gone unacknowledged by those living in the Five Points area or by New Bern as a whole. She states also that aside from the disastrous 1922 fire, a thriving business district established by the victims of the fire was essentially destroyed when Broad Street was widened for automobiles. Moffat-Thomas (2009) also noted this in my interview with her and stated that the widening of the street was short-sighted and played a large role in damaging the area.

While popular literature on the subject of tourism has noted social risk and cost, Peterkin (2009) stated that tourism, in this case, could be used as a tool to improve the area and reclaim a

largely lost and unacknowledged heritage. The Trail of Flames tour is seen as a step towards realizing this by bringing attention and tourism dollars to the area (Peterkin 2009, Sachs 2009). Peterkin also noted that heritage could play a 'vital role' in the recovery of the Five Points neighborhood not only in economic terms, but in community pride for the area's history. Similar to Williams' (2009) comments about how the reconstruction of the Tryon Palace created a pool of skilled carpenters and preservationists who gained expertise applicable elsewhere in the city, Peterkin notes that a more vibrant tourism industry in the Five Points could introduce new job skills not currently available.

Also of note concerning the experience of African Americans in New Bern is the use of tourism as a tool to salvage or reclaim heritage that has been lost either to lack of record keeping or social destruction and natural disaster. The Trail of Flames Tour, run by the Uptown Business and Professional Association, was identified in the course of research as a means of reconnecting to African American heritage that was lost as a result of the 1922 Fire and the shortsighted attempts at urban renewal along Broad Street in the sixties. It was also noted as a means to bring economic opportunity and civic pride to an underutilized and comparatively disadvantaged neighborhood, and as a tool to prevent gentrification and bring other forms of industry to the area by making this neighborhood more visible.

Peterkin (2009) holds the expectation that the narrowing and greening of Broad Street to make it more pedestrian friendly will encourage further development in the area. A 2007 article in the *Sun Journal* by Lucie Willsie puts the current number of businesses on the street at twenty, down from a peak of one hundred in the 1950s. She elaborated that a 'brand' similar to that in the downtown district could be applied to the Five Points. The continued existence of the



Figure 13: Brochure advertising the Trail of Flames Tour.

neighborhood as an African American enclave is also mentioned as desirable, as the alternative, gentrification, would degrade the unique heritage of the area.

However, the effects of the reorganization and redesign of Broad Street are not roundly agreed upon. Several commentators on a 2008 newspaper article that described the Five Points neighborhood and Broad Street as the ‘gateway’ into downtown New Bern stated that the bridge currently under construction would nullify this assumption, and that the lack of easy travel by car would make the downtown area inaccessible. Another commentator expressed frustration that the position of the Five Points neighborhood was irrelevant, and that a revitalization of the area had been promised by the city leaders for nearly eight years. These conflicting opinions are evidence that the upkeep and presentation of heritage spaces, no matter how well managed, are still subject to problems and issues that have no single, easy solution, and that in the case of heritage and tourism space management there are inevitably relative winners and losers.

While the location and importance of Broad Street is seen by some as a tool to revitalize the area through niche heritage tourism, the recent presence of Swiss Bear as a partner in development is also expected to assist the rejuvenation of the area. Originally, Swiss Bear was established specifically to revitalize the downtown with no mention of the adjacent neighborhoods. One wonders how the African American neighborhoods like Duffy Field and Five Points would have fared had similar organizations been created for the benefit of those communities, or had the Swiss Bear been founded to revitalize those areas as well (Peterkin 2009).

New Bern AWARE

The downtown itself is not devoid of dissonance and debates concerning the best ways to manage heritage and tourism spaces. Of particular note have been recent discussions over land

use rights along downtown New Bern's valuable waterfront. While the AWARE members were unwilling to return inquiries for an interview, information gathered from the organization's website detailed a conflict over who has property rights to a thirty foot strip of waterfront property worth approximately forty-two million dollars that has historically belonged to the citizenry of New Bern. Specifically, AWARE members argued that the Soleil Group (current owner of the Sheraton Hotel in downtown New Bern), which was beginning to sell slips to boaters in the New Bern marina, had no right to do so (Figure 14). The issue was complicated by a multitude of clerical errors and the fact that the Soleil Group was not the original owner or builder of the hotel where the contested marina is located.

Land ownership was disputed by the organization on one side and the Soleil Group and, perhaps surprisingly, the New Bern city government on the other. When it was proven that the Soleil Group had no legal entitlement to the marina, the local government altered its position to state that the city had intended to give the New Bern marina to the Sheraton, citing a 1984 Development Agreement with Trent Development Associates.

This issue of waterfront access was further aggravated by condo construction undertaken by the Soleil Group, which AWARE states is damaging the downtown skyline and thus the ambiance that New Bern markets to tourists. Having seen the condos in question (Figure 15), I can verify that while they are similar in design, scale, and visual aesthetic to other structures in the downtown area, they do limit the view of the downtown area from the water and vice-versa. It should also be noted, however, that the Convention Center, also located on the waterfront, does the same thing.

Access and property rights along the waterfront are relevant to the discussion of sustainable heritage tourism in New Bern for several reasons. Perhaps most importantly, the



Figure 14: The New Bern waterfront as seen from the air. The condos are visible in the bottom right (The Tyson Group N.D.)



Figure 15: Condo development alluded to in the interview with Stone (2008). While clearly new development, it follows the general rhythm of the downtown district through use of brick and window spacing.

selling of the dock slips or their rental at prices considered by the boating community to be significantly higher than the standard seriously limits the accessibility of the heritage space. According to the AWARE website's section on letters and concerns voiced by the boating community, it is out of the ordinary to find dock fees higher than \$1.00/foot, with electricity usually being included in the dock fee and never higher than five dollars separately. Prices charged by the Sheraton are \$2.50 a foot with another five dollars for electricity.

The general consensus from the boating community is that this puts access to these docks out of reach of the average local in favor of 'out of towners' who are seldom present, adding taxes but nothing else to the community. Access to tourism spaces for all and the avoidance of acquisition of local space and resources by outsiders is key to sustainability, and the privatization of New Bern's waterfront for perceived outside interests is worrisome to those attesting to the sustainability of its tourism sector.

Additionally, there arises in this issue a concern mentioned by Graham and colleagues (2000), namely that tourist attractions (spaces) can become victims of their own successes, either through overuse or overdevelopment. In the case of issues raised by AWARE in New Bern, this phenomenon appears to have arisen with the appeal of the downtown area being extensively privatized at the expense of local citizens. Perhaps because of the attractiveness of New Bern's downtown ambiance and its marketability, comparatively wealthy outsiders are seen by some as 'taking over' the area. One commenter referred to them as *carpetbaggers*-a term with post-Civil War roots for Northerners moving into and exploiting the South. The Sheraton hotel had begun selling slips that had previously been for rent, and charging rent at greater prices. Herein lies the paradox with a tourism industry such as New Bern's, which is presented to visitors as a small,

old-fashioned water-adjacent town while conversely attracting substantial investment dollars and development pressure.

Thus, excessive development and overuse can damage any tourist destination, in a case such as New Bern's it is particularly damaging. In addition to a good deal of concern expressed over the raising of prices for dock slip rental, the shifting perceptions caused by the Sheraton's management of the docks and the presence of the condo development also appeared to damage the local atmosphere associated with downtown New Bern. Numerous concerns were raised that the city itself no longer felt welcoming, and that the 'resort amenities' offered by the Sheraton were not in keeping with New Bern's historic character.

While it was expected that those who found and posted comments on the AWARE website forums would hold similar opinions, it is worth noting that there were no notable differences in opinion of the management of New Bern's waterfront between locals and visitors. There is a noticeable 'us versus them' theme running through the letters and concerns, although it is chiefly one between those perceived to have the money to access the New Bern docks with the new prices and the presence of the waterfront condos. The only major letter expressing distaste with outsiders was the previously mentioned 'carpetbagger' comment, used in this context as 'people from outside of the region (who) come in and completely ignore local traditions, customs, and morays [sic]'.

My newspaper research into the state of New Bern's downtown also produced an article detailing the Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation's procurement of a grant for the construction of a new public marina to be used by transient boaters on Jack's Island at Lawson Creek Park (Mayo 2009). The price of \$1.50 per foot for vessels to utilize this dock would make it considerably cheaper than the apparently privatized Sheraton dock. The article, dubiously,

refers to the dock, to be named the River History Marina, as the first public short-term dock available in New Bern, as does the grant application for the marina written by Swiss Bear (2008). Several commentators expressed concern over the location of the proposed marina and the source of money to pay for its construction. One citizen in the comments section mentioned the disconnect of this decision with past actions of the local government, stating the perceived surrendering of the city's riparian rights to the Soleil Group.

It is especially peculiar that the atmosphere for development was conducive to the construction of a second marina in the downtown area. It certainly appears at odds with the assertions of stakeholders in New Bern's tourism industry that long term management and the need for capital and support of heritage spaces are of paramount importance. A perusal of AWARE's documents on riparian rights to the contested waterfront would certainly indicate that the city could claim ownership of the marina now interpreted to be owned by the Sheraton and Soleil Group. Thus, to expend so many resources for the construction of a second marina would certainly appear to many observers as wasteful and mismanaged.

Economic Sustainability

Sustainability in New Bern is largely centered on a model that places importance on the market environment of heritage tourism. Tourism is a business, and as such profit and economic viability are not ignored. Sustainable tourism was also viewed largely in terms of economic sustainability, and an important part of this involved the design of a tourism management and preservation model focused on long term management and planning.

On the Commodification of Heritage

However, while historic preservation has been notably positive for New Bern, some preservation and heritage purists would take issue with or be concerned about the

commodification of heritage for profit. In the case of New Bern, that is precisely what has happened in the case of the downtown district, as the Central Business District Plan mentions tourism, specifically heritage tourism, as a means to make economic gains (Moffat-Thomas 2009). The majority of those downtown structures saved by preservation organizations set up in part because of this plan are used for purposes other than what they were originally built for, and are heritage spaces only in the sense that their architecture dates from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. While this is not scholarly in its presentation, heritage as defined by Graham et al. (2000) notes that ‘heritage’ is that which is taken from the past for contemporary purposes. In essence, New Bern’s downtown district, by virtue of its architecture and grid-patterned streets, is a heritage space by virtue of the fact it is a physical icon of the city’s turn of the 20th century past (Inskeep 1988). The use of that architectural heritage as a tourist attraction is also necessary to create the patronage, dollars, and publicity that stakeholders in New Bern’s tourist industry feel is necessary to for the continued survival of these historic structures (Leithe and Tigue 2000). Ms. Williams (2009), who, as Director of the Tryon Palace Commission has a great responsibility towards history, stated that there are different levels of devotion to history and heritage, and that so long as a heritage space is not falsely represented as something scholarly then that is an acceptable presentation of heritage. Furthermore, the historic landscape is incredibly complex and subject to many different interpretations, rendering all forms of heritage presentation subjective in some form or another. Even scholarly representations of heritage places are inherently contentious in terms of one’s view of the past being favored over another (Graham et al 2000, Graham 2001).

The Need for Investment Capital and Flexibility in Heritage Management

Not surprising, given the policy-centered focus on sustainable tourism management, several stakeholders I spoke with cited the constant need for capital for preservation in order to sustain heritage spaces, and noted that tourism related uses were a realistic and ultimately sustainable means to earn that capital. This is convergent with academic literature on the subject (Inskeep 1988) that suggests that historic buildings should serve some visitor-oriented purpose to finance and support their continued preservation. Archival research and stakeholder interviews conducted while writing this thesis have shown that heritage places cannot exist without capital and that a rigid interpretation of what is proper heritage and historic preservation would ultimately lead to the loss of said historic spaces. Obviously, an interpretation of heritage management that ultimately leads to the loss of the structure or landscape cannot be viewed as sustainable.

This has not gone unnoted in academic research. Inskeep (1988) suggests that historic buildings should serve some visitor-oriented purpose to finance and support their continued preservation. This principle applies in full in New Bern, where the greatest loss of historic structures has occurred during times of economic distress (Williams 2009). It was also a common sentiment expressed by stakeholders in New Bern that proper historic preservation, whether for the sake of tourism or otherwise, should make good economic sense. Otherwise, there will be no way to guarantee the longevity of the heritage space. In short, failing to provide for the long-term finance of a historic place or structure is typically unsustainable, particularly with older structures, which normally require more upkeep than newer structures, despite their generally superior construction (Barnett 1993, Graham et al. 2000).

The benefit of a more flexible view of heritage and its application has been understood and applied elsewhere. Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, which has been offered as an example of how rigid heritage interpretation can lead to stagnation and disconnection from the present, has since redesigned itself around a ‘Revolutionary City’ that is more interactive for the consumer and allows for the past to be interpreted in a more entertaining way (Mayo 2009). Also connected to flexibility is the application of adaptive reuse to occupy buildings as small businesses, particularly in the downtown area. This interpretation of preservation is both more flexible and ultimately more economically and socially sustainable as small businesses such as hardware stores, book stores, and restaurants are not strictly ‘tourism’ spaces, and can be enjoyed and consumed by the locals as well as visitors. The wider variety of potential consumers also makes the continued finance for preservation of the structure in which the business is located more likely. It also provides for more economic diversification, as a slower tourist season or a drop in the spending power of local citizenry no longer means that the heritage space goes unutilized.

Even Tryon Palace, which is a recognized museum and example of heritage preserved for the sake of its historic significance, is dependent on visitors for money and support, and must constantly seek new ways to present its history to consumers. This means constantly reinventing its presentation and its marketing strategy, a necessity due to our short attention span as a culture and the accelerated change of postmodern life. A 2009 *Sun Journal* article on Tryon Palace goes into this issue in some detail, with Williams citing the apparent trend that potential consumers are not as interested in this aspect of history as they have been in the past (Mayo 2009). In part because of this, a weak economy, and a long term plan to use more volunteers, four paid hourly workers had been laid off and several gift shops on the Tryon Palace grounds had been

consolidated. However, Williams stated this would have occurred regardless of the attendance as they retool the Tryon Palace grounds around the Palace's N.C History Education Center, a 'green', interactive collection of exhibits that allow for greater immersion of visitors, which is expected to boost attendance levels. Tom Shrou, the communications director for Colonial Williamsburg, on whose 'Revolutionary City' attraction was the model for Tryon Palace's Education Center, stated that their audience wanted entertainment, rather than simply education (Mayo 2009).

Similarly, the strict use of heritage sites as museum-like entities also runs the risk of denying locals practical use of the structures for anything other than scholarly activity, and consequently could lead those in New Bern to feel that they have no stake in their own downtown district, and therefore would fail in terms of socio-cultural sustainability (Snepenger et al. 1998, Long 2009, Turner 2002). Even the Tryon Palace, which is a recognized museum and example of heritage preserved for the sake of its historic significance, is dependent on visitors for money and support, and must constantly seek new ways to present its history to consumers. It is in part because of this need to constantly find new ways to reach its audience that the Tryon Palace Commission has sought address and counter the marginalization of African Americans in historical studies. The North Carolina History Education Center is meant in part to mitigate this current underplaying of African American Heritage (Williams 2009). Again, the most sustainable solution also is applicable economically, as expanding the resonance and market attractiveness of the heritage space in question can increase consumption and therefore the amount of capital available to support the space.

Brochure Analysis

A qualitative study of all the brochures and other handouts available in New Bern's convention center was also conducted to get a better idea of other attractions available to visitors, and the types of people and activities represented in these brochures. Brochures play a major role in forming the identities of tourist destinations as well as tourist expectations. This is important to the concept of sustainability, as no economy built on only one type of tourism could be considered sustainable, due to people's changing taste and the seasonality of many types of tourism. Therefore, a varied amount of attractions that cater to more than one type of consumer would lead to more visitors and be more recession-proof in terms of redundancy. Of the thirty three brochures collected:

- three were for Bed and Breakfasts
- three celebrated African American heritage
- three advertised the Tryon Palace Historic Sites and Gardens
- three advertised boating and other outdoor recreation
- two were for artistry/pottery business which allowed for visitors to either buy or create their own artwork
- two were for restaurants
- one featured an airshow
- one advertised a bookstore
- one alerted the viewer to a dog day- and overnight-care camp
- one was a thick, pocket-sized pamphlet detailing a variety of upcoming events, as well as featuring available real estate
- one was a magazine sized pamphlet which also detailed upcoming events

- thirteen were advertisements for attractions or places other than New Bern, some as far away as Asheville

The brochures varied in size from a single slip of paper to thick promotional magazines. Of particular surprise is the lack of photographs of people at all in the brochure-sized documents. In many brochures, the attraction itself, and not the people consuming it, are featured prominently, if not exclusively. In photographs that do feature people, they are often too small to ascertain race or sex. Of the 19 brochures related to New Bern, only four feature pictures of people at all. Also of note, of the four documents which do feature pictures of people, three are of considerable length for brochures, with multiple pages detailing multiple attractions and activities. The regular-sized brochure is an advertisement for the Tryon Palace (Figure 16A, 16B), and features what would generally be described as a non-discriminatory mix of white and black individuals. Another document, a larger Tryon Palace magazine, features numerous pictures but no African Americans in any picture of large enough scale for race to be determined. The New Bern Magazine has no distinguishable minority pictures within, photographs being entirely of white individuals, although a black woman is portrayed prominently on the back cover. There are also no African Americans featured in the Air Show brochure. The final brochure which features pictures of people is an African-American Heritage and Visitors Guide which spans the entire state (and by inclusion, New Bern) and obviously features black individuals extensively, although the attractions are by no means confined to New Bern.

The predominance of brochures which show no pictures of people at all was not expected. It does seem that advertisements that chiefly feature the attraction in question without drawing assumptions about the people who would consume them would be less likely to alienate or discourage people of a certain race, age, or sex from participating. The events offered were

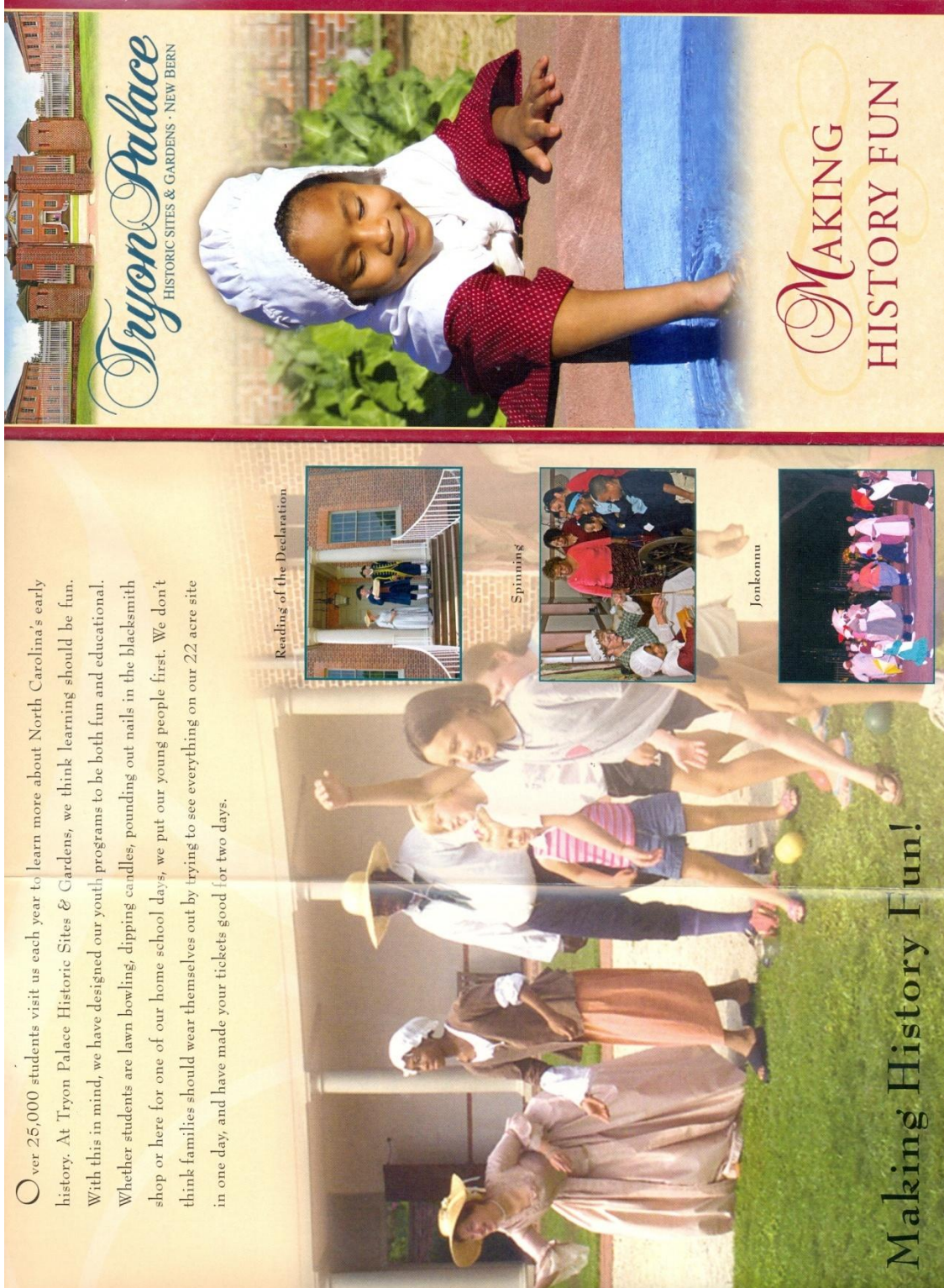


Figure 16A: The cover and first two pages of a Tryon Palace brochure. There is a good mix of black and white individuals of varying age groups.



Figure 16B: Part of the interior of the same brochure as 9A.

also sufficiently varied, with eight of the brochures/booklets either presenting heritage-related locations, events and attractions or referencing history or heritage somewhere in the text of the brochure. All three brochures for bed and breakfasts reference ‘historic downtown New Bern’, the historic significance of the inn, or a ‘simpler time’. A brochure for a hardware store also placed the establishment in historic context, stating it was an ‘original...authentic...turn-of-the-century hardware store’ (Figure 17).

This leads one to conclude that the concept of ‘heritage’ and ‘history’ in New Bern is a marketable commodity regardless of the scholarly or authentic value (unless a historic hardware store actually does not sell hardware, how can it be ‘unauthentic’?). Even this hardware store’s brochure states it was originally a lively stable, so the brochure cannot mean it is an ‘authentic’ establishment on the grounds that it always has been a hardware store. Numerous other brochures, although detailing businesses with no actual historic or heritage value, state their location as being in ‘Historic Downtown New Bern’ (Figure 18). From a marketing and economic sustainability standpoint, this can be considered an asset to the city as more businesses claim some form of historic or heritage relevance so long as they are located in historic structures or are, presumably, within the downtown district, since any business located within the downtown area can claim it is located in New Bern’s historic downtown (Figure 19).

An additional point of interest is that some brochures do not advertise tourism-centric businesses at all, instead focusing on local businesses that could be utilized by locals as easily as visitors. Two notable examples are a downtown bookstore and an animal daycare. Several brochures also address the matter of heritage directly, particularly those advertising Tryon

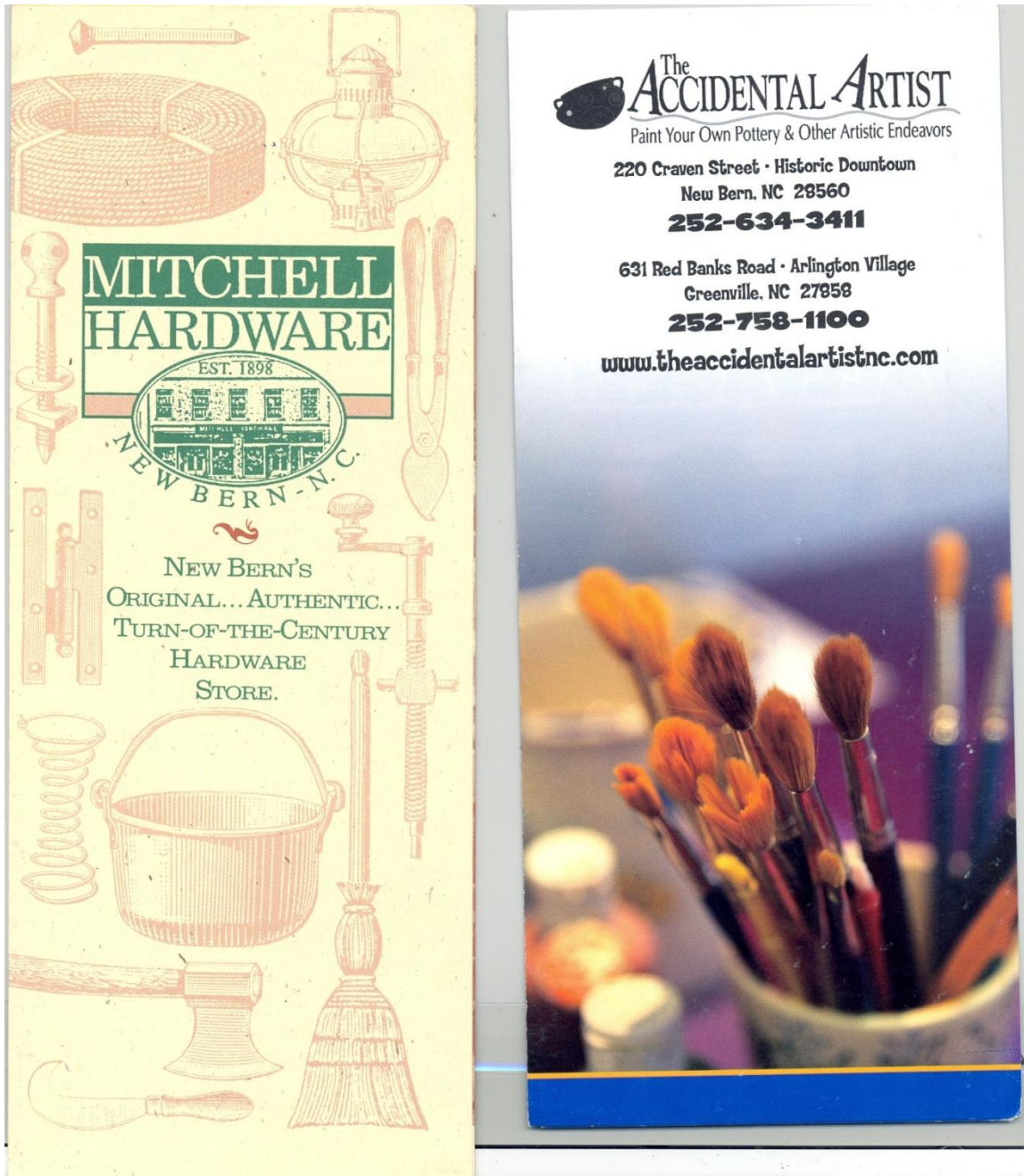


Figure 17: Brochures for non-restaurant businesses in the downtown area. Both use heritage and history as a marketing tool—Mitchell Hardware cites the authenticity of the establishment, while the Accidental Artist indicates the ‘Historic Downtown New Bern’ as its location.

It Must Be
Heaven.



Bed & Breakfast

This Gorgeous facility, along with serving the most delicious breakfast in town will also offer the most comfortable rooms with Beautiful antique furniture, wireless Internet services for that Business Man or Woman

After the experience of tasting such delicious foods, and sleeping in rooms with such a peaceful and relaxing atmosphere you will certainly feel in your heart, "This must be Heaven."

In the heart of Downtown New Bern's Historic District.

Inn Keepers: Levi and Gloria Kelly

214 Pollock Street
New Bern, North Carolina 28560



Sail Inn

...A Guest House

714 Pollock Street
New Bern, North Carolina 28562

*"A Simple Inn Reflecting
A Quieter Time"*

At the Sail Inn, a bed and breakfast guest house, we strive to provide an intimate personal setting for our overnight guests in a quaint, historic home. Located across from the Tryon Palace and gift shop, two houses from the Gardens and Palace Visitor Center, next door to the Chadwick Café, we would like you to come aboard and simply enjoy your voyage through Historic New Bern and the surrounding area of beautiful Eastern North Carolina.



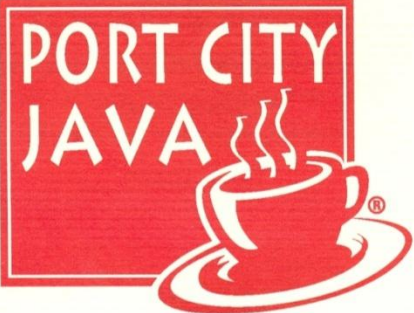
Website: www.sailinn.biz
email: innkeeper@sailin.biz

(252) 259-8507
(866) 731-6036

Innkeepers:
Michael McMillan & Karen Snyder

Figure 18: Two brochures for bed and breakfasts in the downtown area. Both use history, heritage and nostalgia as marketing tools.

M · E · N · U




COFFEE HOUSE & CAFE

**323 Middle Street
New Bern, NC**


**(252) 633-7900
Fax (252) 633-7960**

**Hours: Mon-Sat: 7am - 9pm
Sunday: 7am - 3pm**


Wireless Internet




SPECIALITY COFFEE BAR



FRESH JUICE BAR



BAKERY & PANINI GRILL



**NEW BERN
ARTWORKS
& COMPANY studios & gallery**

New Bern ArtWorks & Company located in historic downtown New Bern, North Carolina, features an extensive collection of original art.





A select group of professional artists with varied backgrounds and a wide range of styles and media, including stoneware and porcelain work with one unifying factor — "a box". Starting with this simple, three-dimensional form, each artist has the freedom to design and create his/her own unique vision. "Thinking inside & outside the box."

All original creations are designed to be displayed individually or in groupings, hang on walls, sit upon desk, or stack on shelves.

Please browse through our online art gallery and consider visiting us in downtown New Bern when you are looking for fine art.

Gallery Hours
 Tuesday - Friday 10:00 am - 5:00 pm
 Saturday 10:00 am - 4:00 pm or
 Call for an appointment 252.671.2724

323B Middle Street
 New Bern, NC 28560
 252.634.9002
 newbernartworks.com




Figure 19: Brochures for two businesses in New Bern.



Tug Boat Cruises

Departs Downtown New Bern, NC

2 Hours - \$20 Per Person

252-349-3819

U. S. Coast Guard
Licensed Captains

Private Charters Also Available



Figure 20: Brochures for water-related activities. Boating is considered an important part of culture in New Bern (Williams 2009, www.newbernaware.com)

Palace. However, two brochures focus entirely on the African American experience in New Bern, advertising their heritage and history. One brochure deals exclusively with a tour detailing the effects and history of the Fire of 1922 in an attempt to highlight an underrepresented story of black heritage within the city (Figure 13). The third document, the 'Carolina African-American Heritage and Visitors Guide' is not a brochure but a booklet detailing statewide historic sites and museums relevant to African Americans. Presumably the necessity for a guide is the result of a perception that not enough had been done in existing advertizing literature to highlight the African American heritage experience and their travel needs.

Environmental Sustainability and Heritage Tourism

The environmental impact of New Bern's tourist industry, while not granted as much importance as economic sustainability, was still identified by several stakeholders and in archival research as important both directly and indirectly. The most clear cut instance of deliberate practice of environmental sustainability encountered in my research was the Tryon Palace Commission's program to restore the wetlands which had historically been in existence when the original Palace was constructed. The first discussion of sustainability in my interviews was with Director Williams (2009). It was centered not on cultural or social sustainability, as had been hypothesized, but on the environment itself as a historic space. In the instance provided, wetlands were reconstructed around the Tryon Palace grounds not only for environmental purposes, but also in an attempt to reconstruct the landscape as it existed when the Tryon Palace was the colonial and then state capitol of North Carolina. In essence, the environment around the Tryon Palace area was restored and here conserved as part of the process of recreating the historic landscape.

In this case, the construction of wetlands was seen as both an historically and environmentally responsible practice, and mandated by an edited mission statement calling for the preservation of both historic structures and landscapes. The North Carolina History Education Center currently being constructed was also built on a superfund brownfield site in order to mitigate and reverse environmental damage in the area. The Tryon Gardens have also used environmentally friendly pesticides and fertilization techniques for some time. (Williams 2009).

Furthermore, the very act of preservation of structures and the retention of a small scale downtown aesthetic is conducive to environmental sustainability. The continued use of older structures in downtown New Bern has meant that less unused acreage has been required to develop and has reduced the need for new resources needed to build new structures—a benefit that has been magnified by the density of the downtown, which further prevents rampant development of new land. A more compact, walkable downtown space, as previously mentioned, also limits automobile use in favor of pedestrian movement or forms of public transit, thereby cutting fuel use and carbon emissions.

Additionally, this street layout tends to keep the blocks relatively small, and therefore more suited to a pedestrian scale. From an environmental standpoint, this is particularly important as having more than one means of realistic travel within the downtown space drastically cuts down on car travel, and henceforth emissions and gasoline consumption. It also frees up land use that would have likely been used for gas stations or parking lots for other more productive or aesthetically pleasing uses, such as greenspace within the district, particularly the Union Point Park located on the downtown district's waterfront.

Interviews, archival research, and field observations conducted have presented a picture of a downtown space where heritage tourism is largely recognized as a benefit to the city and its citizens. Even those who dissented against the way in which heritage tourism was approached believed that maintaining a tourism industry is ultimately in New Bern's best interests. In this sense, the urban heritage tourism industry in New Bern is largely socio-culturally sustainable, although there are social unsustainability issues associated with the Five Points area and waterfront rights in the downtown district. In terms of economic sustainability, there is a mixture of tourism and non-tourism related businesses within the downtown area, according to viewer participation and marketing literature analysis. Business owners and downtown employees have also asserted that locals as well as visitors patronize the downtown district, helping to insure the economic sustainability of the downtown space, as a drop in tourism would not critically effect the area (Allison Platt and Associates 2000). Research on New Bern's heritage tourism industry also shows that commodification and flexibility in preservation is necessary to sustain the industry economically. Regarding the environment, the downtown area itself can be considered sustainable in terms of land conservation, as its denser development and the retention and reuse of older structures makes the development of new land unnecessary in addition to saving money on sewer, utility, and road infrastructure on the part of the city.

Thus, urban heritage tourism in New Bern meets numerous conditions for sustainability as established in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, my research has suggested that New Bern's heritage tourism industry is ultimately sustainable in terms of economic, social, and environmental viability, although there are still places in need of improvement and unresolved issues concerning the Five Points area. It would appear that the hypothesis that heritage and preservation-based tourism is convergent with currently recognized trends and paradigms in sustainability is largely correct. The flexibility of the economic management of New Bern's heritage resources and the comparative diversity of attractions available, as well as attractions that can be enjoyed by locals as well as visitors is both more viable in the long term and more socially sustainable in that it mitigates the perception of the downtown area as a strict tourism space. The long term management of resources and the conservation of the environment (both the natural and the cultural landscape), which are considered as paramount to sustainability, were also cited as central to New Bern's tourism planning process. Furthermore, the heritage spaces have largely avoided becoming 'tourism spaces' that would ultimately alienate New Bern's citizens from their own downtown. Stakeholders' appreciation and understanding of the value of the natural landscape and the draw of the geography of the area, along with the Tryon Palace's example are conducive to sustainable practices. That the tourism industry appears to be supported by much of New Bern's citizenry is encouraging in terms of sustainability, and suggests that the social cost of tourism in New Bern has been less extensive than is present in other tourism industries. Furthermore, the use of festivals and conventions put on or hosted by New Bern are supported by much of the community, according to archival research and viewer participation.

In the case of New Bern, unique geography has played a prominent role in laying the foundation for a viable urban heritage tourism industry, with the city's placement at the

confluence of two rivers and downtown district contributing to marketable ‘sense of place’ which remains a draw for visitors both from the water and overland. Thus, it can be said that in order for a successful urban heritage tourism industry to be created and sustained in a city elsewhere, the city in question must be able to offer a unique experience or sense of place that cannot be enjoyed in the visitor’s own place of residence. Additionally, New Bern’s historic ‘culture of visitation’ and citizen support with the tourism and preservation industry have, with some exceptions, kept the industry socially sustainable.

The support of the local public as well as outside stakeholders and visitors also appear to make tourism possible. Research into New Bern’s heritage tourism industry has shown that many segments of the public are apparently in favor of tourism as a means to bring money into the area. Stone (2008), Moffat-Thomas (2009), and Williams (2009) all cited public groups that support the heritage spaces of downtown New Bern and the money and the visitors they bring—a sentiment echoed by several I spoke to in the downtown area itself. Archival research and literature on the city also suggested supportive, if not always actively engaged public that is aware of the value of the downtown space ‘brand’ as a tourism attraction. Two comments on a *Sun Journal* article on the Five Points revitalization plan being put on hold cited the distressed area as being bad for tourism and cited people’s desire to visit as an important aspect of New Bern’s economy. It should also be reiterated that even groups which have been critical of the way tourism has been underutilized in other areas in favor of the downtown, such as Mary Peterkin of the Uptown Business and Professional Association, or have been critical of land use in the downtown area, such as New Bern AWARE, have still acknowledged the usefulness of tourism to bring economic dollars to the city and stimulate positive social change.

When submitting observations about the ultimate sustainability of New Bern's urban heritage tourism industry, it's important to reiterate that due to the inherent dissonance of heritage (Graham et al. 2000), no such industry is going to be free of contention, and that declaring the ultimate sustainability of such a tourism industry shouldn't reflect a zero sum game. The representation of heritage for commercial purposes is indeed a complex and sensitive issue, and the socially responsible requirement to balance respect for the past with the needs of the present is a difficult endeavor precisely because it is so difficult to agree on where a proper balance between the two lies, if indeed there can be any balance at all. However, this investigation suggests that the relationship between profitability and heritage can be one of mutual benefit if undertaken with sensible, long term goals of viability in mind.

Having studied the way in which heritage tourism is generally managed in New Bern and how its presence affects the city's stakeholders, I now feel confident submitting a collection of policy recommendations in order to further improve New Bern's heritage tourism industry.

These recommendations are as follows:

1. It has been stated in interviews that the Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation has begun working more closely with the Uptown Business and Professional Association. This is an excellent advancement in terms of socio-cultural sustainability.
 - a. This burgeoning relationship should be continued and strengthened in order to provide to the Five Points area the positive impacts that tourism has had in the downtown area.

- b. Specifically, the Trail of Flames Tour should be given additional funding and support in order to make the African American story in New Bern more visible and assist in the economic development of the neighborhood.
- 2. According to Figure 13, the Five Points neighborhood suffers from the highest incidents of abandoned and vacant property in the area. Some design and economic issues have been addressed in the 2000 Urban Design Plan, although they are not framed in terms of urban heritage tourism, nor do the suggestions extend far beyond Broad Street.
 - a. If downtown New Bern and the surrounding neighborhoods are to continue to grow without destroying historic structures or placing counterproductive development pressure on the downtown area, vacant or unused land will have to be utilized.
- 3. Again, the Five Points area represents an opportunity for both tourism and non-tourism related growth, but there is the issue of displacement.
 - a. To avoid gentrification as noted by Peterkin (2009) in the event of economic success, some method of rent control or grant system will have to be implemented to prevent the current residents of the Five Points neighborhood from being ‘priced out’. The current urban design plan (Allison Platt and Associates 2000) states that homeownership should be a main way of stabilizing what is largely a rent-heavy neighborhood. Given my past planning experience, I feel this policy should be dropped, as homeownership would price the neighborhood out of the range of those who can afford to rent but not buy.

4. In the case of the Tryon Palace, the North Carolina History Education Center should be instrumental in improving the visibility of African Americans, while maintaining the current paradigm of management of the Tryon Palace that emphasizes that history and learning should be fun.
 - a. However, the current tour of the Tryon Palace only touches briefly on the lives of the servants and slaves that worked in the grounds. More focus should be placed on the role of servants and slaves in the Tryon Palace household.
5. Tryon Palace's decision to lean more heavily on volunteer labor for tour guidance and interpretation and the like is encouraging in that it implies community support of the attraction. However, this negates one of the principle supportive arguments for tourism—job creation. Director Williams has stated that the replacement of hired workers for volunteers would have occurred regardless of the current economy. This policy should be reversed.
6. The New Bern River History Marina being constructed to supplement the privatized deck along the downtown waterfront is promising, but it is much farther away from the downtown core than the Sheraton docks (Marina Grand Proposal). Current plans only detail a pedestrian bridge, which may be prohibitively inconvenient and far for families or elderly. A subsidized public ferry, the use of which should be included in the docking price, should also be a part of the plan for the new marina in order to maximize accessibility to the downtown area.

There are several characteristics of a successful heritage tourism industry that respectfully balance a complex heritage with the commodification necessary to sustain it in the present. First, it should be recognized that heritage is a subjective interpretation of history that is inherently dissonant and that rigid interpretations of the past and its impact on the present are dishonest in their narrowness and ultimately unsustainable in their inflexibility. Second, it should be noted and accepted that there are different levels of devotion to historic accuracy and that the understanding of the difference between strict historic preservation and adaptive reuse is imperative to commodifying heritage without cheapening the past from whence it is taken, and that the creation of capital through tourism or other means is necessary to support the preservation of heritage spaces. Finally, the needs of the present and the opinions of the stakeholders should be accounted for and incorporated into management plans for heritage spaces, as it is only with the support of those in the present that the past, and our connection to it, can successfully continue to be a part of our heritage.

REFERENCES

- Alderman, D., Modlin, A.E. 2008. Southern Hospitality, Politics of Belonging and the (In)Visibility of African Americans in North Carolina Tourism Marketing.
- Allison Platt and Associates. 2000. 2000 New Bern Urban Design Plan.
- Barnett, Colin. 1993. The Impact of Historic Preservation on New Bern, North Carolina. Bandit Books. Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- Bennewitz, U. 2009. Presentation at Eastern North Carolina Mini-Summit on Sustainable Tourism. New Bern Convention and Visitors Center.
- Berry, S. Ladkin, A. 1997. Sustainable Tourism: a Regional Perspective. In *Tourism Management*. Pp 433-440. Elsevier Science Ltd
- Book, S. 2005. County's New Tourism Plan Unveiled. In *Sun Journal*.
- Chang, T.C. Milne, S. Fallon, D., Pohlmann, C. 1996. Urban Heritage Tourism: The Global-Local Nexus. In *Annals of Tourism Research*. Pp. 284-305. Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Chhabra, D. 2009. Proposing a Sustainable Marketing Framework for Heritage Tourism. In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. Pp. 303-320.
- Ciy Overview. 2005. web03.bestplaces.net. Last accessed May 2009.
- Craven County GIS. N.D. <http://gismaps.cravencounty.com/maps/downloads-zip-files.htm>. Last accessed May 2009.
- Du Cros, H. A New Model to Assist in Planning for Sustainable Cultural Heritage Tourism. In *International Journal of Tourism Research*. Pp. 165-170. 2001
- Duncan, J.S, Duncan, N.G. 2001. The Aestheticization of the Politics of Landscape Preservation. In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Pp. 387-409.
- Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation. <http://www.downtownnewbern.com>. Last accessed March 2010.
- Garrod, B. Fyall, A. 2000. Managing Heritage Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research*.

Ghent Historic District. 2010. <http://www.newbern.com>. Last accessed May 2009.

Ghent Historic District of New Bern, North Carolina. 2010. <http://www.new-bern.nc.us>. Last accessed May 2009.

Gotham, K.F. 2005. Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter). In *Urban Studies*.

Graham, B. 2002. Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture? In *Urban Studies*.

Graham, B., G.J Ashworth, J.E Turnbridge,. 2000. A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy. Oxford University Press Inc., New York.

Hall, C. 2007. Great Fire of 1922. In *Sun Journal*.

Hand, B. 2007. A Walking Guide to North Carolina's Historic New Bern. The History Press. Charleston, S.C.

Harril, R., Potts, T.D. 2003. Tourism Planning in Historic Districts: Attitudes Towards Tourism Development in Charleston. In *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 233-244.

Hassan, S.S. 2000. Determinants of Market Competitiveness in an Environmental Sustainable Tourism Industry. In *Journal of Travel Research*.

Hinch, T.D. 1996, Urban Tourism: Perspectives in Sustainability. In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*.

Historic Districts. N.D. <http://www.ci.new-bern.nc.us>. Last accessed February 2010.

Hunter, C. 1997. Sustainable Tourism as an Adaptive Paradigm. In *Annals of Tourism Research*. Pp. 850-867.

Informal Discussions with Local Residents and Downtown Employees/Business Owners. 2008

Inskeep, E. 1988. Tourism Planning: An Emerging Specialization. In *Journal of the American Planning Association*.

Joppe, Marion. 1996. Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited. In *Tourist Management*. Pp. 475-479. Elsevier Science Ltd.

Katz, P. 2000. *The New Urbanism: Towards an Architecture of Community*. McGraw-Hill, Inc. New York, NY.

Leithe, J., Tigue, P. 2000. Profiting from the Past: The Economic Impact of Historic Preservation in Georgia. *Government Finance Review*.

Liu, Z. 2003. Sustainable Tourism Development: A Critique. In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*.

Litvin, S. W. 2004. Streetscape Improvements in a Historic Tourist City-A Second Visit to King Street, Charleston, South Carolina. In *Tourism Management*. Elsevier Science Ltd.

Long, P. 2009. Presentation at Eastern North Carolina Mini-Summit on Sustainable Tourism. New Bern Convention and Visitors Center.

Mayo, N. 2008. Chamber Group Says City's Long-Term Prosperity Means Going Green. In *Sun Journal*.

Mayo, N. 2009. Development Organization Gets Federal Grant for Public Marina. In *Sun Journal*.

Mayo, N. 2009. Five Points Revitalization Plan Put on Hold. In *Sun Journal*.

Mayo, N. 2009. Palace Makes Choice to Capture its Audience. In *Sun Journal*.

Mayo, N. 2009. Bayliss Has Familiar Challenge for Mayor. In *Sun Journal*.

McKercher, B., Mei, W.S., Tse, T.S.M. 2006. Are Short Duration Cultural Festivals Tourist Attractions? In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*.

Moffat-Thomas, S. 2009. Interview with Author. Tape Recording. New Bern, North Carolina.

Moscardo, G. 1996. Mindful Visitors: Heritage and Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research*. Pp. 376-397.

Mycoo, M. 2006. Sustainable Tourism Using Regulations, Market Mechanisms and Green Certification: A Case Study of Barbados. In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*.

Myric, S. 2006. Legacy of Distrust: The Challenges of Participatory Planning in Greenville, North Carolina. Thesis. East Carolina University Geography Department.

Nasser, N. 2003. Planning for Urban Heritage Places: Reconciling Conservation, Tourism, and Sustainable Development. In *Journal of Planning Literature*.

National Trust for Historic Preservation. 1997. Preservation Yellow Pages. John Wiley and Sons, Inc. New York, NY.

New Bern Aware. 2008. <http://www.newbernaware.com>. Last accessed July 2009.

New Bern Historic Society. 2010. About Us. <http://www.newbernhistorical.org>. Last accessed May 2010.

Nuryanti, W. 1996. Heritage and Postmodern Tourism. In *Annals of Tourism Research*. Pp. 249-260. Elsevier Science Ltd.

Okazaki, E. 2008. A Community-Based Tourism Model: Its Conception and Use. In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*.

Peterkin, M. 2009. Interview with Author. Emailed. New Bern, North Carolina

Roberson, K.A. 1999. Can Small-City Downtowns Remain Viable? A National Study of Development Issues and Strategies. In *Journal of the American Planning Association*.

Roberts, S. Tribe, J. 2008. Sustainability Indicators for Small Tourism Enterprises – An Exploratory Perspective. In *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*.

Ryber, G. 2010. Presentation on CDC activity and Historic Preservation.

Sachs, S. 2009. Peterkin Gives Back to New Bern. In *Sun Journal*

Sauers, R. A 1994. The Battle of New Bern and Related Sites in Craven County, N.C., 1861-1865. Griffon and Tilghman Printers, Inc. New Bern, NC.

Silderberg, T. 1995. Cultural Tourism and Business Opportunities for Museums and Heritage Places. In *Tourism Management*. Pp. 361-365

Simpson, K. 2001. Strategic and Community Involvement as Contributors to Sustainable Tourism Development. In *Current Issues in Tourism*.

Stone, A. 2008. Interview with Author. New Bern, North Carolina.

Snepenger, D.J., Reiman, S., Johnson, J., and Snepenger, M. 1998. Is Downtown Mainly for Tourists? In *Journal of Travel Research*.

Swiss Bear Downtown Development Corporation. 2008. FY2009 Boating Infrastructure Grant Program Application to the United States Department of the Interior Fish & Wildlife Service.

Tryon Palace History. <http://www.tryonpalace.org>. Last accessed June 2009.

Turner, R.S. 2002. The Politics of Design and Development in Postmodern Downtown. In *Journal of Urban Affairs*. Pp. 533-548. *Urban Affairs Association*.

Tyler, N. 2000. *Historic Preservation*. W.W Norton & Company, Inc. New York, NY.

The Tyson Group. N.D.<http://newbern-nc.info/New-Bern-marinas.shtml>. Last accessed January 2010.

Tweed, C., Sutherland, M. 2007. Built Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Urban Development. In *Landscape and Urban Planning*.

Welcome to Riverside. N.D. <http://www.hrna.info/WebPage/home.htm>. Last accessed May 2009.

Wiles, C. 2007. Consideration of Historic Authenticity in Heritage Tourism Planning and Development. In *Proceedings of the 2007 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium*.

Williams, K. 2009. Interview with Author. Tape Recording. New Bern, North Carolina.

Willsie, L. 2006. Peterkin Out to Spark Five Points Success. In *Sun Journal*.

Willsie, L. 2007. Duffyfield Revitalizing One Business at a Time. In *Sun Journal*.



University and Medical Center Institutional Review Board
East Carolina University • Brody School of Medicine
600 Moya Boulevard • Old Health Sciences Library, Room 1L-09 • Greenville, NC 27834
Office 252-744-2914 • Fax 252-744-2284 • www.ecu.edu/irb
Chair and Director of Biomedical IRB: L. Wiley Nifong, MD
Chair and Director of Behavioral and Social Science IRB: Susan L. McCammon, PhD

TO: Matthew Watterson, BS, c/o Dr. Derek Alderman, Dept of Geography, ECU—Brewster A-233
FROM: UMCIRB *WCK*
DATE: April 20, 2009
RE: Expedited Category Research Study
TITLE: "The Impact of Historic Preservation on Sustainable Urban Heritage Tourism in New Bern, North Carolina"

UMCIRB #009-0315

This research study has undergone review and approval using expedited review on 4.13.09. This research study is eligible for review under an expedited category because it is on collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes. It is also research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies. (NOTE: Some research in this category may be exempt from the HHS regulations for the protection of human subjects, 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) and (b)(3). This listing refers only to research that is not exempt.)

The Chairperson (or designee) deemed this **unfunded** study **no more than minimal risk** requiring a continuing review in **12 months**. 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 above referenced research study has been given approval for the period of 4.13.09 to 4.12.10. The approval includes the following items:

- Internal Processing Form (dated 3.17.09)
- Informed Consent (received 4.13.09)
- Interview Questions

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

The UMCIRB applies 45 CFR 46, Subparts A-D, to all research reviewed by the UMCIRB regardless of the funding source. 21 CFR 50 and 21 CFR 56 are applied to all research studies under the Food and Drug Administration regulation. The UMCIRB follows applicable International Conference on Harmonisation Good Clinical Practice guidelines.

