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The Impacts of Tourism on Space and Place in Jonesborough, Tennessee

Elizabeth E. Van Horn
University of Tennessee - Knoxville

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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Elizabeth E. Van Horn entitled "The Impacts of Tourism on Space and Place in Jonesborough, Tennessee." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Geography.

Lydia M. Pulsipher, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Thomas Bell, Sherry Cable

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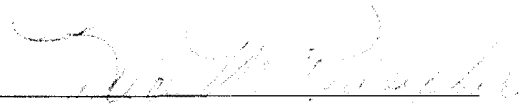
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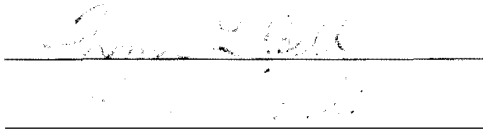
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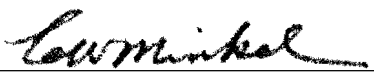
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Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

**THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON SPACE AND PLACE IN
JONESBOROUGH, TENNESSEE**

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Elizabeth E. Van Horn

May 1998

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ABSTRACT

Small towns have increasingly begun to look to tourism as a means of promoting economic growth and development. While the positive economic impacts of tourism development have been widely recognized, the sociocultural impacts (which are often negative) have traditionally been overlooked. The transformation of sense of place for residents of small towns represents one of the many sociocultural impacts essential to the understanding of tourism's overall impact. Transformation of sense of place has been largely disregarded as a consideration in tourism development (and other development strategies), but the alteration of sense of place should be included in the evaluation of tourism and the consideration of who the development strategy actually benefits.

Jonesborough, Tennessee is used as a case study to understand how sense of place has changed for residents in a town where tourism has been developed. For this research, an analysis of socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Jonesborough is used to complement interviews of Jonesborough residents in the assessment of the ways in which tourism has impacted Jonesborough.

The analysis of data reveals that tourism has not benefited all residents of Jonesborough, and some residents contend that sense of place has been irreparably altered. While community members of Jonesborough who have a direct stake in tourism generally have experienced a positive transformation of sense of place, the residents who have not benefited from tourism have experienced a negative transformation of sense of place. This study reveals the importance of sociocultural impacts such as the transformation of sense of place in the evaluation of the success of development strategies such as tourism.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is considered as a key to development by less affluent countries, regions, cities, and towns. For historic cities and towns, physical landmarks and culture are seen as a means of attracting tourists and bringing economic benefits with minimal investment (Glasson et al., 1995; Cogswell, 1995; Coltman, 1989). Early tourism research focused on the economic impacts of tourism, as these impacts tend to be less difficult to quantify than social, cultural, and physical impacts. Despite the generally positive economic impact of tourism on host communities, economic costs such as inflation, seasonality of employment, the conversion of resident-oriented shops and services to types which are devoted to tourists, and the unreliability of the tourism industry over the long term have become more widely recognized.

More recent research has shifted from strictly the analysis of economic impacts of tourism to physical, social, and cultural impacts (which are often negative). Mathieson and Wall (1982) contributed significantly to this approach, asserting that tourism development will bring about land use conflicts and resulting economic, sociocultural, and environmental changes. Geographers in particular are interested in modifications brought by tourism to the spatial landscape, as space (the distribution of buildings and other physical landmarks) is often altered to accommodate tourist needs despite detrimental effects for the local population. This transformation of local surroundings can result in a loss of sense of place for residents (Glasson et al., 1995). Sense of place is defined simply as “the pattern of reactions that a setting stimulates for a person” (Steele, 1981, 12). Similarly, “contested space” may be created (where the use of community space is contested by tourism promoters and local residents, although the contesting may be subtle and not recognized as such by many residents and tourists). Contested space is space influenced by “processes and strategies of inclusion and exclusion” (Meethan, 1996, 323), which means that individuals do not have equal access to space either physically or socially.

Studies have been conducted which address the allocation of space in tourist areas, and the related concepts of place and sense of place have been touched on as well. The re-allocation of local land for tourist purposes causes a multitude of cultural effects which should be considered negotiable: there should be no one accepted definition of or unquestioning

acceptance of cultural impacts (Black, 1996). The allocation of space and the uses of the physical landscape play an important role in determining place, or the sociocultural construct of a community. Because sense of place refers to individual interpretation of relationships and interactions with a place, sense of place is susceptible to spatial changes. The transformation of sense of place for residents is one of the cultural impacts which is largely intangible and difficult to define, yet should play an important part in the assessment of the overall effect of tourism on a community.

In addition, paradoxes that play a role in the formation of sense of place are created by tourist space within a community. These paradoxes stem from the fact that some tourists do not act as visitors, while at the same time some hosts perceive the place through the eyes of tourists and interact with the spatial landscape accordingly (Pedregal, 1996). Sense of place for residents and tourists alike relies upon human interaction with different types of space in the community, and sense of place is therefore influenced by these paradoxes. As a result, sense of place varies for people with different stakes in tourism.

Residents with different stakes in tourism will have varying perceptions of tourist impact, thus researchers have conducted studies to assess what factors play a role in the formulation of resident perceptions of tourism. Brayley, Sheldon, and Var found that a generally positive view of tourism's influence on economic and social conditions persists (Brayley, Sheldon, and Var, 1990). Resident perceptions of tourism are influenced by a number of factors, including the level of tourism development in the community, reliance upon tourism as an industry, and the extent of resident - tourist interaction (Murphy, 1985; Madrigal, 1995). Negative resident perceptions of tourism are linked to factors such as greater length of residency in the community and higher intensity and concentration of tourist activity (Liu and Var, 1986; Um and Crompton, 1987; Madrigal, 1995).

Purpose

Resident perceptions of tourism impacts are essential to building an understanding of sense of place for residents. Each resident will have his or her own perception of the impacts of tourism, and since each resident bases his or her own perceptions on unique experiences, beliefs, and interactions with the physical landscape, sense of place will be unique for each individual. Despite recent consideration of sociocultural impacts in tourism research, few studies have

focused specifically on the transformation of sense of place for residents in communities where tourism has been developed. The purpose of this study is to determine the importance of the transformation of sense of place for residents when weighed against more tangible impacts in the overall assessment of the effects of tourism on a community. In the larger context, this study will address the importance of sense of place as a consideration in any type of development strategy embarked upon by a community. Because development strategies do not benefit all members of a community equally, the study aims to lend insight to the question, “For whom is development truly beneficial?”

Jonesborough, Tennessee as a Case Study

Jonesborough, Tennessee is a small town with a population just over 4,000 situated in Washington County in northeast Tennessee (see Figure I-1). The town is enhanced by its proximity to the Cherokee National Forest and the Nolichucky River, yet it lies within the Tri-Cities Metropolitan Statistical Area. Despite its small size, Jonesborough has enjoyed notable success in its historic preservation efforts and attracting visitors. The development and growth of the National Storytelling Festival has contributed greatly to tourism as well. Governor Lamar Alexander encouraged other communities throughout the state to “emulate Jonesborough in what it has accomplished” when he spoke during Tennessee’s Homecoming 1986 (Wood).

Because residents generally have a positive perception of social and economic conditions in communities influenced by tourism, it would be expected that resident perceptions of tourism would be particularly favorable in Jonesborough and not colored by tourism failures. Residents may have a positive perception of the concept of tourism as a development strategy even if tourism has unfavorably influenced their everyday lives. Therefore, while many residents may feel that tourism has generated positive impacts, residents likely exist who believe that sense of place has been irreparably altered due to changes induced by tourism. Jonesborough was selected as the setting for the case study to assess the importance of transformation of sense of place in a community where tourism is said to have an overall positive impact, and to address sense of place as an issue in development strategies in general.

Another aspect that made Jonesborough the logical choice as the setting for the case study is the fact that it is representative of other small communities throughout the region, state, and country. Like many other communities, Jonesborough saw its downtown decaying during

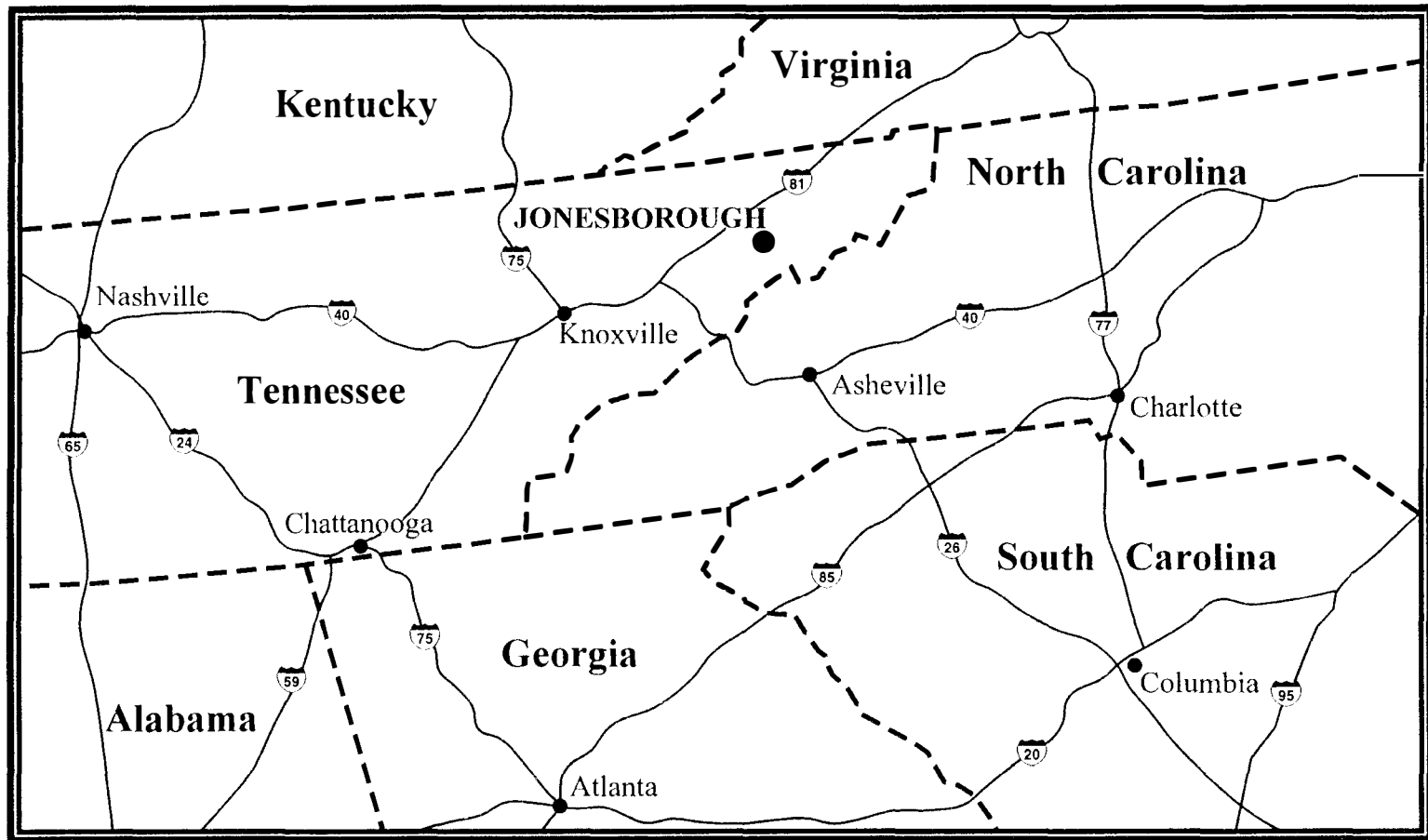


FIGURE I-1. Jonesborough, Tennessee and the Surrounding Region

the 1970s due to overall societal change and competition from shopping center development, particularly in neighboring Johnson City. The town faced the challenge of revitalizing the downtown business district, which remains a goal in development strategies devised by other communities even today. Several members of the community believed that Jonesborough's unique heritage merited preserving, and the preservation effort stemming from groundwork laid by community members and planners has contributed to Jonesborough's success. The historic preservation movement and early planning efforts set out not only to protect buildings of historical and architectural importance, but also to maintain Jonesborough as a place to live and work. Historic preservation, coupled with the National Storytelling Festival, provided Jonesborough with an avenue to attract tourists.

Jonesborough is considered a model for other communities trying to revitalize decayed downtown areas and/or promote development and growth through tourism. Jonesborough benefits from both event tourism and heritage tourism, and thus serves as an example for other communities that might capitalize on a unique heritage or an event, or both. The study of the transformation of sense of place for residents of Jonesborough is useful as a lesson for other towns aiming to stimulate development, as this transformation represents one of the less tangible cultural impacts associated with tourism development.

Chapter Outlines

The second chapter will be devoted to the review of literature relevant to the study of tourism and will include a general evaluation of heritage tourism and its impacts on a community. The history of the development of tourism in Jonesborough will also be provided with a focus on historic preservation, the associated heritage tourism, and the National Storytelling Festival. The development of tourism in Jonesborough has been associated with the conversion of space in Jonesborough to tourist uses, and outlining these changes will establish the basis for gaining an understanding of how sense of place has been altered for residents.

The third chapter will include a description of present day Jonesborough and will outline current sociocultural and economic characteristics that have been influenced by tourism. The analysis of these characteristics will allow for an initial understanding of the ways in which Jonesborough is distinguished from other small towns and will lend to the construction of Jonesborough as a place. This chapter will also contain a literature review focusing on the use of

space and its relationship to the social construction of place. Critical theory and feminist thought will provide most of the theoretical framework due to the emphasis given to the everyday sociocultural impacts that spatial change brings to a community.

Chapter IV will portray Jonesborough as a place through the descriptions of my own experiences in the field, but more importantly through the narratives and viewpoints of various residents with different perceptions and stakes in the tourism industry. Through the use of narrative, I will convey how sense of place has changed for residents, as the development of tourism has altered the ability of residents to interact with the physical landscape over time. The specific impacts generated by heritage tourism will also be discussed.

Chapter V will consist of a set of conclusions regarding the future considerations for Jonesborough, the role of sense of place in development strategies, and implications for research focusing on the sociocultural impacts of development on a community.

CHAPTER II

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TOURISM

In this chapter I will define tourism as a concept and I will look specifically at heritage tourism and its implications for a community such as Jonesborough. Heritage tourism has been developed in Jonesborough, along with event tourism. I will outline the chronology of the development of both forms of tourism in Jonesborough through a discussion of the historic preservation movement, Historic Jonesborough Days, and the National Storytelling Festival. Finally, I will discuss the ways in which tourism in Jonesborough has affected community goals and the physical landscape.

Defining Tourism

Defining tourism is somewhat difficult and problematic, as there are many aspects of tourism to be accounted for. Generally, tourism refers to any type of travel with a stay of at least 24 hours other than commuting, but there are other considerations which must be included. To better define tourism, some researchers clarify who is to be considered a tourist (Coltman, 1989; Pearce, 1995; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Still other researchers have broadened the definition of tourism by analyzing the sub-areas of tourism research. Smith asserts that tourism can be regarded as a human experience, a social behavior, a geographic phenomenon, a resource, a business, or an industry (S. Smith, 1989). For the purpose of this study, tourism generally refers to a combination of different aspects of Smith's classifications of tourism. The term 'tourism' most often signifies a social behavior in which residents and tourists interact with one another and with the physical surroundings and/or a resource utilized by localities to attract visitors and outside capital.

Because the definition of tourism is complex and multi-faceted, attempts have been made to describe tourism through the categorization of different focuses of tourist travel (Rafferty, 1993; V. Smith, 1977). Travelers may engage in ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, environmental tourism, and recreational tourism. The principal problem with these classifications is that tourist experiences are not mutually exclusive; they do not fall neatly into any of these categories. Tourists may travel to destinations that offer a variety of attractions, and thus most tourist experiences have aspects of two or more types of tourism. Such is the case for

the destination of Jonesborough, Tennessee, which attracts tourists through both cultural and historical tourism, and, to some extent, for environmental tourism as well. Cultural tourism includes attractions such as festivals, local color, and a vanishing small town lifestyle, while historical tourism stresses the past and the buildings and landscapes that shed light on recorded history.

Heritage Tourism

Specific types of tourism have emerged from within the classifications of tourist travel. Heritage tourism is one such type of tourism and is significant in many communities, regions, and countries. Heritage tourism, along with other relatively new types of tourism such as ecotourism, has come about as a reaction to some of the problems associated with mass tourism. Mass tourism became a phenomenon of importance with the democratization of travel around the middle of the twentieth century. Travel became more affordable for the middle class population, and greater accessibility to the automobile facilitated travel as well (Urry, 1990). The changes in infrastructure, attitude, economics, and the rural/urban dichotomy which permitted the development of mass tourism allowed for transformed social experiences and the growth of resorts (Urry, 1990). Although mass tourism was often touted as a means for economic development, particularly in developing countries, it soon became evident that mass tourism often put a strain on local resources and homogenized culture globally. Ironically, there was a simultaneous attempt to preserve local cultural groups since it was the unique culture and local color that attracted tourists in the first place (MacCannell, 1992).

Tourism continues to be viewed as a potentially beneficial development strategy, and many localities have begun to market their heritage as a resource. Heritage tourism offers several advantages over mass tourism, one being that almost any town, region, or country has a unique aspect of their heritage that may attract tourists. Whereas mass tourism threatens local culture and ways of life, heritage tourism can be developed at a smaller scale and local residents can therefore participate and have a greater say in local history, preservation efforts, and the development process (Cogswell, 1995; Glasson et al., 1995; Nuryanti, 1996). Local residents are an integral part of the 'heritage locus' and can contribute vitality and assistance in the maintenance of an area for tourism (Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1990), while at the same time tourism can promote the rehabilitation of historic areas and lead to improved lives for residents

(Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Improvements may come in the form of jobs and income, a reinforcement of preservation efforts and local history, a greater appreciation of local culture and traditions, a renewed sense of community pride, and broader horizons resulting from increased contact with visitors. Other advantages are heritage tourism's ability to complement other economic activities, utilize existing infrastructure, and bring in outside money (Glasson et al., 1995). This is not to say that heritage tourism does not have costs or negative externalities, and these will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Evaluating heritage tourism is difficult without first forming an understanding of what constitutes heritage. Heritage implies a passing on of recognized value from one generation to the next and the continuity of the past in the present (Glasson et al., 1995). Determining which traditions, cultural traits, and physical landmarks have a recognized value is a challenge, as values are interpreted individually and often are not recognized universally. There have been many attempts to define heritage within the tourism realm (Nuryanti, 1996; Meethan, 1996; Glasson et al., 1995; Urry, 1990; Cogswell, 1995), and although there is no one readily accepted definition of heritage there is a general consensus regarding what can constitute heritage. The term heritage is used to describe monuments, historical or architectural remains, philosophy, traditions, art, music, distinctive ways of life, and the celebration of events. At the same time, heritage can refer to aspects of the physical environment such as landscapes and wilderness. Perhaps more important than establishing a standard definition of heritage is to realize that heritage is the subject of contested definitions (Meethan, 1996). What constitutes heritage depends on what is valued, and because values range from one individual to the next, between cultures, and within cultures, heritage will be different for each individual or culture.

Heritage tourism is a form of tourism that attracts tourists by marketing heritage as determined by certain individuals or groups. Dean MacCannell contends that tourists venture to other destinations in search of authenticity believed to exist in other times and places such as urban public street life, rural village life, and also in traditional domestic relations (MacCannell, 1976). MacCannell attributes this search for authenticity to the loss of attachment of modern man to "the work bench, the neighborhood, the town, and the family which he once called his own" (MacCannell, 1976, 91). This loss has led to the development of an interest in the 'real lives' of others. Localities which have developed heritage tourism have enjoyed success in

attracting tourists not only through the preservation of historical landmarks, but through the attempts to portray past ways of life through the everyday 'real lives' of current residents.

Unlike MacCannell, Urry believes that tourists travel in search of difference for its own sake but not necessarily for authenticity. Regardless, both Urry and MacCannell recognize the importance of nostalgia (defined as the sentimental longing for places or conditions of the past) in heritage tourism. 'Heritage nostalgia' attracts those who consume tangible goods at heritage destinations (Meethan, 1996) as a result of a sense of dissatisfaction with the present. Urry points out that nostalgia and memory are socially organized constructions reliant upon society's determination of what is worthy of preserving as heritage. In order for heritage tourism to be deemed successful, tourists must be attracted to the socially constructed heritage of a community: thus both tourists and residents play a role in what constitutes heritage for the purpose of tourism. Tourists can have a detrimental effect on residents in host communities, as their interpretations of heritage may be imposed on and weaken or trivialize the local meanings of heritage. An example is the vending of miniature replicas of material culture. Nonetheless, tourists can also promote an awareness of heritage and increase community pride.

Contrasting systems of value and interpretation are not the only forms of dissension among tourists and residents. Urry's central purpose is to examine the 'tourist gaze', or the gaze of the tourist upon different scenes, landscapes, and townscape that are out of the ordinary to the gazer (Urry, 1990). These scenes include local residents and their culture, and the gaze of tourists upon the residents has consequences for the local population and for place. Locals and tourists often have quite different cultural backgrounds and perceptions, which can lead to conflict and unwanted cultural change due to the imposition of sociocultural traits on the host community (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; V. Smith, 1977). Local residents may become tired of crowds, the intrusion of tourists into everyday life, and the loss of control over community development and change. Over time the host - guest relations may become strained or hostile (Shaw and Williams, 1994; S. Smith, 1989) and residents may have a tendency to avoid places dominated by tourist activity (Cogswell, 1995). As a result, residents may lose their connection to the monuments and spaces that signify their own heritage but have been marketed to attract tourists, which can produce an alteration of sense of place. Residents live daily with both their heritage and the visitors to it, and local identity and ties to heritage must be regularly reinvigorated by community contributions in order to survive (Glasson et al., 1995).

Heritage tourism is appealing to cities and towns globally, and Appalachian communities are among those contemplating heritage tourism as a means of development. Benita Howell has examined the potential for the success of heritage tourism in Appalachian towns, and warns that heritage tourism is not an easy solution to the problem of achieving development goals such as economic diversity, vitality, and sustainable growth (Howell, 1994, 1996). Historic preservation is often considered the key component in heritage tourism, but Howell is quick to advise that historic preservation does not preserve the culture and traditions that are very much a part of heritage. “Historic preservation is about things (buildings), while cultural conservation is about people and their quality of life” (Howell, 1996, 28). Historic preservation does not equal cultural conservation, and Howell states that historic preservation may even “exacerbate changes in community life that alienate some residents” (Howell, 1996, 28). The loss of meaning of heritage and culture for residents is a serious problem that the concept of cultural conservation addresses, yet Howell is forced to question who is in the position to decide what values and assets are important to the community.

Because community values are not readily agreed upon by all residents, the definition of heritage and the use of community space for heritage tourism are contested (Meethan, 1996). Meethan discusses the existence of ‘spatial narratives’, which are defined as “the ways of interpreting or reading a townscape as the repository of a particular set of values” (Meethan, 1996, 323). Places have narrative or dominant images, but symbolic value, meaning, and image are contested and involve strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Not only are places contested by tourists and residents who assign contrasting values to both the physical landscape and their interactions with the landscape, but places are contested by residents of the same community whose ‘spatial narratives’ and perceptions of value differ. People with different stakes or interests in tourism can give different meanings to community space, and although it may not be openly acknowledged place will therefore be contested.

The contested nature of place is a result of highly complex interactions between residents and tourists and the interactions of each with the physical landscape. In communities where heritage tourism has been developed, there is often over time a loss of a historical sense despite an obsession with history (Urry, 1990). Resident perceptions of the loss of a historical sense will vary. While some residents may view this loss as detrimental, others may feel that the benefits of

tourism outweigh the loss of historicity, leading to contestation. The contested nature of place plays a tremendous role in the transformation of sense of place.

The Development of Tourism in Jonesborough

Jonesborough is one of several Appalachian communities which has embraced heritage tourism. Carroll Van West summarizes the goals driving heritage tourism development in Appalachian towns: “In their search to enhance the stability and vitality of their downtown business districts and to diversify their economic base, local governments and chambers of commerce have turned to heritage tourism as a way to improve community pride, identity, and economic development” (Van West, 1995, 24). Citizens of Appalachian communities have been involved in the tourism development process to varying degrees, but in Jonesborough it can be argued that the seeds of tourism were planted by a group of local residents through their role in the historic preservation effort and the planning of events. Despite the recognition of the success of heritage tourism in Jonesborough, there are other important considerations. First, development strategies such as tourism do not always benefit all residents equally. Second, Jonesborough’s tourism success cannot be attributed wholly to heritage tourism - event tourism has played a significant part in attracting tourists to Jonesborough and promoting the town as a resource.

Event tourism in Jonesborough is generated by the National Storytelling Festival each October, and to a much lesser extent by the July fourth celebration of Jonesborough Days. While the historic preservation efforts were initiated in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the National Storytelling Festival first took place in 1973. Historic preservation and the festival were developed independently of one another with perhaps the only initial tie between the two being an overlapping group of citizens who contributed to both. Over time, tourism generated by the festival and that generated by historic preservation and the promotion of the town’s heritage have become more entwined and complementary. The National Storytelling Festival has enhanced the awareness of the need for historic preservation in Jonesborough, and there is a recognition of the potential of the history and the small town atmosphere to attract tourists. At the same time, the historic preservation of the town has provided the National Storytelling Festival with an idyllic backdrop for the stage of events. In recalling his first experiences with the festival, Joseph Daniel Sobol explains “To visitors, it was if Lake Wobegon had materialized in the hills of

Tennessee. Jonesborough was remote but accessible by road, complete with a miraculously preserved historic townscape and a populace eager to play host to our fantasies of a time and place *Before the Fall*" (Sobol, 1993, 9). Sobol goes on to exclaim, "it is *Once Upon a Time*." The success of the National Storytelling Festival has been augmented by Jonesborough's historic backdrop.

Event tourism is another potentially beneficial form of tourism for a host community if it is properly planned, although it too is subject to negative externalities (Getz, 1991; Syme ed., 1989). Event tourism relies heavily on the production of 'hallmark events', which are defined as "major one time or recurring events of limited duration which enhance the awareness, appeal, and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term" (Ritchie, 1984, 2). Furthermore, hallmark events rely on uniqueness, status, or timely significance. Hallmark events can also increase public awareness of the value of historic homes and buildings, and they can enhance the economic, educational, and sociocultural benefits associated with the preservation of heritage resources (Janiskee, 1996). However, hallmark events can create problems for local residents such as the inflation of prices during the event period, overcrowding of local spaces, and a temporary or permanent deterioration of the physical landscape. The National Storytelling Festival constitutes a hallmark event that has promoted an awareness of Jonesborough as a resource and produced economic benefits, but it can create adversities for local residents.

Jonesborough is known as the 'Storytelling Capital of the World' due to the growth and success of the National Storytelling Festival, but Jonesborough had no historical claim to the art of storytelling prior to the first festival. The festival was born in 1973 through the efforts of Jimmy Neil Smith, who was at that time a high school English teacher. After listening to country music artist Jerry Clower recite stories on the radio with his class in January, Smith wanted to be able to bring storytellers from throughout the United States to Jonesborough (Jackson, 1992). Smith collaborated with the recently formed Jonesborough Civic Trust, which was looking for events to bring tourists to Jonesborough during the fall, winter, and spring (Sobol, 1993; Jackson, 1992). Later that same year, upon invitation by Smith and the Civic Trust, Jerry Clower came with three other storytellers to Jonesborough and told stories to listeners on back porches, street corners, in gardens, and in homes in what was to be the first of the annual festivals (Jackson, 1992). Once it was decided that no festivals of a similar sort existed at the national level, the name 'National Storytelling Festival' was adopted. Smith then created the National Association

for the Preservation and Perpetuation of Storytelling (NAPPS) in 1975. While continuing to sponsor the festival and other activities in Jonesborough, the association provides a resource center and archives and sponsors numerous seminars, workshops, and festivals.

The National Storytelling Festival has produced notable impacts on tourism in Jonesborough. The festival brings tourists and outside money to the town each year, and it has complemented historic preservation and heritage tourism by promoting an awareness and appreciation of the town. Sobol goes so far as to assert that Jonesborough was rescued from becoming “just another dying Southern town” in that “Jimmy Neil Smith and his allies in the little town saw themselves as having died and been resurrected through the National Storytelling Festival” (Sobol, 1993, 9). Whether the National Storytelling Festival was the primary factor (as opposed to historic preservation) in the revitalization of the town, it is a major component of tourism financially. In 1992, an estimated attendance of 10,000 was projected for the town of 3,400 (Jackson, 1992, 181), and town officials estimate that 40,000 currently visit Jonesborough during the month of October. In addition, some local merchants find that the three days of the festival bring in more money than the first quarter of the year.

Although the National Storytelling Festival is the main hallmark event held in Jonesborough, the fourth of July celebration of Historic Jonesborough Days also generates event tourism. Historic Jonesborough Days was initiated in 1970 as a means of attracting regional and national attention to the historic preservation work in Jonesborough, and it eventually became one of the top attractions in the Southeast for a period (Jackson, 1992; Sobol, 1993). Both shopkeepers and residents point out the contrasts between the National Storytelling Festival and Jonesborough Days, noting that tourists who come for the Storytelling Festival originate from all parts of the country and the world and they tend to spend more money in the shops and restaurants. Visitors to the more family-oriented Historic Jonesborough Days generally come from the surrounding region and do not inject as much money into the economy. Jonesborough Days does have significance for tourism as an event, but it is again difficult to distinguish between event tourism and heritage tourism because of their complementary nature. The original goal of Jonesborough Days was to promote an awareness of both historic preservation and heritage, therefore contributing to both forms of tourism.

Jonesborough's historic preservation efforts began with the formation of a Planning Committee in 1967 (Wood). Subsequently, a Historic Commission was assembled and through

its efforts 72 structures in Jonesborough were found to be worthy of preservation by the Tennessee Historical Commission and Planning Staff. This survey led to Jonesborough's nomination for listing on the National Register for Historic Places, making the town eligible to receive federal funds for development. The next step in the process involved the development of a Historic District Plan, and Dr. Richard Hale of the Massachusetts Historical Commission was asked to come to Jonesborough to offer his expertise (Jonesborough. 1996; Wood).

Hale suggested that a Civic Trust be established to receive donations and administer funds for public benefit (Wood). The Civic Trust is a private organization which was formed to administer the Historic District (Sobol, 1993), but also served the dual purpose of fostering tourism to strengthen the economy in Jonesborough (Jackson, 1992). For example, the Civic Trust organized the first Jonesborough Days celebration and contributed to the birth of the National Storytelling Festival. Currently, the Civic Trust has an active board of directors but an inactive membership, and its current goal is to restore the Duncan House as their office and library (Nicolay, 1991). Hale's creation of the Civic Trust has been significant for historic preservation and the associated tourism in Jonesborough, both through the promotion of events and of heritage.

Hale played an important role in the planning of the Historic District, but he was also instrumental in giving voice to other important issues in Jonesborough. Hale believed that Jonesborough possessed the three elements which must exist in a community in order for a historic district to be successful: a real history to preserve, the potential for effective legal preservation, and the willingness and ability to preserve the remembrances of that history (Jonesborough, 1996, 20). Hale stressed the importance of maintaining the 'visible social history' of Jonesborough, and many of Hale's recommendations have been incorporated as goals in the planning effort. Hale's work aided in the drafting of the 1972 Historic District Plan.

Jim Wagner of the Upper East Tennessee Section of the Tennessee State Planning Commission also contributed to the plan in the early 1970s, and he echoed sentiments similar to those of Hale. Wagner stressed that Jonesborough "is alive, a place where people live and work, and is more than an image of the past" (Jonesborough, 1996, 22). Wagner advocated the protection of historic buildings and places, but also promoted the basic necessities of everyday life. He cautioned against the purchase of buildings by agencies, contending that this may lead to a 'museum community'. Finally, Wagner advised that the demographic variety and the diversity

of socio-economic characteristics should be maintained in the historic district (e.g. residents of lower socio-economic status should not be driven out). The goals of both Hale and Wagner were not only important for the historic district, but for later summary plans for the entire corporate area of Jonesborough.

Once the historic preservation movement was underway in Jonesborough changes designed to improve the aesthetic appearance of the town and to renew history came about. Sobol outlines the chronology of the changes, beginning with the replacement of telephone poles and streetlights with underground cables and gaslight-style lampposts in 1975 and 1976 (Sobol, 1993). Concrete sidewalks were replaced with red bricks, and storefront signs were removed to reveal details of buildings. The older buildings were repainted to restore Jonesborough to its history. In short, the citizens involved with the historic preservation of the buildings and physical landmarks have done a remarkable job in transforming Jonesborough's physical appearance to a resemblance of what Sobol describes as its "full historic dignity". At the same time, some residents may challenge the motives behind the restoration, basing their position on the belief that Jonesborough's true heritage has been replaced with a romanticized nostalgia for the past. Similarly, the preserved townscape may attract tourists rather than benefit residents.

Hale and Wagner contributed to the recognition of potential problems and conflicts associated with the notion of heritage, historic preservation, and the resulting development of tourism. There is still today a keen awareness of the role of citizens in constructing heritage and preserving history, and Hale's 'visible social history' and the everyday lives of residents are of significance. Although historic preservation may have been initiated by residents in an effort to preserve buildings of historic importance to the community, the potential for tourism was quickly recognized. Some considerations related to tourism were incorporated first in the 1972 plan and later in the 1977 Summary Plan, which stressed that Jonesborough should "continue as a living community completely devoid of a museum quality" and that the "historic preservation program should encompass all elements composing the environment that constitutes 'Jonesboroness'" (Jonesborough, 1977, 41).

Although it could be argued that Jonesborough has already lost some historic meaning and has tendencies towards a museum community, others would assert that Jonesborough has successfully maintained the culture and lifestyle of residents while attracting tourists with events

Table II-1. Community Threats, Goals, and Policies

<i>Threats</i>	<i>Goals and Policies</i>
Loss of community uniqueness	Preservation of physical, written, and oral history
Loss of historic integrity	Ensure economic stability by encouraging a diverse mix of retail shops and businesses in the downtown business district Avoid the creation of a museum community Maintain the diversity of socio-economic backgrounds in the Historic District

Source: 1996 Jonesborough Historic District Sector Plan

and historic preservation. Tourism development has been regulated, and thus town officials and citizens have tried to discourage a negative transformation of sense of place by prohibiting tourism from jeopardizing community values and heritage for residents (see Table II-1).

These goals are admirable and important to quality of life, but questions arise concerning ways to meet the goals, whether tourism can be balanced with these goals, and who has a voice in determining to what extent the goals are met.

Besides local, regional, and state governments, there are other organizations which have been formed to provide local residents with a voice and a means of participating in historic preservation, the promotion of tourism, and future planning. These organizations include the Tennessee Historical Commission, the Planning Commission and Zoning Commission, the Civic Trust, the Historic Jonesborough Foundation, area garden clubs, and other civic and community groups (Jonesborough, 1996). Many of these organizations have a specific set of goals towards which they are working, and often members have similar interests. As a result, certain viewpoints can at times be over represented while viewpoints of residents from different backgrounds tend to be under represented or largely ignored. Often the people with the greatest economic resources have the strongest voice. Citizens involved in community organizations and decision-making processes tend to be more active and vocal, and it is important that the viewpoints of less vocal residents not be overlooked.

John Alan Nicolay conducted a study of Jonesborough's local public administration and its role in historic preservation and found that Jonesborough has a fairly active township council and a very weak public administration (Nicolay, 1991). Nicolay met with members of the Civic

Trust to discuss a preservation zoning ordinance and the role of the local public board in historic preservation, and discovered that those attending the meeting represented the town's active leadership. These citizens regarded "with a great deal of suspicion the lack of 'community' vision held by some resident citizens. They are, of course, addressing *their* vision . . . and even well formed visions are in conflict" (Nicolay, 1991, 269).

Besides recognizing the fact that there are contrasting viewpoints within the community (which may not be expressed by active leaders), Nicolay concludes that historic preservation in Jonesborough has a strong commercial content and very little economic growth to challenge the status quo. In other words, those who are in positions of leadership and authority may benefit from historic preservation and related tourism by perpetuating their status, but there is little economic growth in sectors of the community not involved in tourism. Nicolay also contends that many of the planning activities meant to benefit the community as a whole are directed towards tourism events. He contends that the "public agenda is not driven by historic preservation, although the preserved fabric is critical to the old town's economic survival" (Nicolay, 1991, 181). The public agenda is mainly concerned with the town's economic stability and the vitality that can be potentially generated by tourism, but historic preservation is a key element in Jonesborough's promotion of heritage tourism.

The townscape of Jonesborough today reveals the efforts of preservationists through the restored buildings and landmarks, but it also reveals the influences of tourism. While the historic preservation effort has been successful in reviving the historic character of buildings, there has been significantly less success in maintaining the composition of the town's shops and businesses. Anne Koehler alleges that the current shops accommodate tourists more than residents by selling "bric-a-brac, expensive craft items, souvenirs, and overpriced snack food" (Koehler, 1996, 26). As late as the 1970s, residents were able to run day-to-day errands and patronize clothing stores, hardware stores, a grocery, and a drugstore among others. This transition in the downtown business district has created contested space, although it is not overtly contested by residents and tourists. This conflict is recognized in the 1996 Historic District Sector Plan, where it is indicated that residents would like to see other uses of space in the downtown, including the addition of a theater, a grocery, a drugstore, local neighborhood stores, a bank, and more restaurants. Tourism does allow the downtown shopping area to thrive, and the question becomes whether resident-oriented shops could survive downtown or if instead the

downtown's vitality is wholly dependent on tourist-oriented shops. This question will be examined more thoroughly in Chapter V.

There are still many changes to come to Jonesborough in the near future that will affect the nature of the downtown and the tourist industry. The National Storytelling Association (NAPPS) is currently constructing a new permanent home in downtown Jonesborough, and the facilities will include the Chester Inn (previously a residence for the elderly), the Community Park, and the Interpretation Center. These facilities will provide additional attractions for visitors to Jonesborough, and they will help bring people interested in the art of storytelling to Jonesborough throughout the year rather than solely for the festival in October. The new center will include a theater, a restaurant, a gift shop, a café, a parlor where stories are told daily, gardens, a tent pavilion, and an open park area, among other amenities. Some residents have expressed concern about the manageability of these changes and the projected growth in tourism. It can be argued that although residents will use the facilities, tourists will reap the most benefit from the National Storytelling Center. However, it is hoped that the center will bring positive economic and sociocultural impacts to the community as well.

In summary, Jonesborough's physical townscape has been influenced by the development of tourism. Jonesborough's decay in the late 1960s and early 1970s led community members to initiate the historic preservation effort, and festivals were promoted to call attention to the community's heritage (Watson, 1997). Heritage and event tourism both continue to play a role in Jonesborough, with some of the main concerns being contested space and place for tourists and residents and the issue of whom tourism (and conservation of heritage) actually purports to benefit. Jonesborough is still described as "a storybook place, filled with antebellum homes, quaint front porches and a Main Street that takes you back some" (Watson, 1997, 61). Yet to really understand Jonesborough, one must look past this romanticized notion of the town, consider the economic, sociocultural, and demographic characteristics of Jonesborough, and attempt to view the town through the eyes of the residents.

CHAPTER III

PRESENT DAY JONESBOROUGH

To better understand Jonesborough as a place, I will first look at demographic and socio-economic variables for Jonesborough and discuss their usefulness and their shortcomings. Later in the chapter, I will discuss the relatively new approaches to place advocated by feminist critical theorists. These approaches have implications for both research and academic writing, and these implications will be discussed as well.

Characteristics of Jonesborough

Towns and geographic areas are frequently distinguished from one another on the basis of their demographic characteristics, and although this type of comparison is not sufficient for truly comprehending the intricate social constructions of towns it does provide an opportunity for an initial and general understanding of geographic areas as distinct places. An examination of economic and sociocultural characteristics can provide a foundation for an analysis of both the social interactions and the physical landscape that constitute Jonesborough as a unique place. Although it is useful to compare demographic characteristics of Jonesborough descriptively and spatially with the characteristics of other geographic areas (particularly the remainder of Washington County, regional towns of similar size, and the state of Tennessee), it is important to remember that statistics do not necessarily fully and accurately reveal what is occurring in the town of Jonesborough.

Municipalities use economic and sociocultural indicators to gage improvements and changes over time, but it must be recognized that statistics represent averages and may not focus attention on the segments of the population that do not reap economic and sociocultural benefits. Improvements resulting from any type of development strategy are not equally dispersed to all levels of society, and in many cases it is only those with a direct economic stake in development that benefit. Likewise, impacts from tourism are not distributed evenly to all people and areas, and while there may be a net benefit to a location some groups and areas may receive the bulk of the costs with the benefits going to others (Glasson et al., 1995; Urry, 1990). Although the statistics do not reveal the extent to which benefits or changes have been distributed to various

socio-economic classes, an analysis of demographics aids in determining tourism's role in Jonesborough's economy and community.

Demographic characteristics can also be used to fit a tourist destination into R. W. Butler's life cycles. Butler argues that tourist areas evolve over time, and he proposes six stages of an evolutionary sequence characterized by changes in the numbers of visitors over time (Butler, 1980). The six stages consist of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and decline. The initial stages are signified by a gradually increasing number of visitors first attracted by culture or natural beauty and later by tourist designated facilities. By the time consolidation is reached, tourism has become a major part of the economy. Stagnation is eventually reached when tourist numbers peak, and a destination can then experience some degree of either decline or rejuvenation. Although it is not the purpose of this study to determine at which stage Jonesborough is presently, the number of visitors and economic characteristics meet the criteria for the development stage, as more tourists continue to arrive each year and there is some tension and contestation between locals and tourists. Butler's cycles are important to the future implications of tourism in Jonesborough, as there will be attempts to avoid decline, maintain some diversity in the economy, and either rectify or avoid negative sociocultural impacts.

L. Alex Tooman conducted research in which he applied Butler's life cycle model to Smoky Mountain communities and concluded that tourism is more likely to be beneficial for development if it does not become a dominant sector of the economy (Tooman, 1995). Tooman found that under conditions where tourism becomes the dominant economic sector, social welfare indicators fail to show significant improvement. Slow growth and relatively low levels of income are considered by Tooman to offer advantages when associated with tourism, although this may not seem desirable from an economic standpoint. Slow growth encourages long term sustainability and reduces susceptibility to sudden downturns in the economy. A look at Jonesborough's economic and sociocultural indicators allows for an understanding of the level of dominance of tourism in the economy, any improvements in the general social welfare of the town, and trends that may have an effect on the economy and the community in the future. These aspects are important initially, as they lead to a comprehension of the distinctions between towns and between successful tourism development and unsuccessful tourism development.

Nonetheless, it is often difficult to isolate changes brought about by tourism per se from other 'modernizing' influences (Shaw and Williams, 1994; Glasson et al., 1995). Because it is difficult to isolate tourism influences from other factors, the initial studies of tourism impacts were empirically based. Now, there is an increased awareness of the need to consider the less tangible sociocultural impacts of tourism, which are often negative. Urry points out that social and economic changes are not always the outcome of tourism, and that some objections to the supposed impacts of tourism are in fact objections to modernity and the reduced role of tradition (Urry, 1990). Proponents of tourism development in Jonesborough argue that the objection to tourism by some is indeed an objection to modernity; it is therefore essential to assess the changes directly associated with tourism. Although descriptive statistics are useful, the voices of the residents will be most beneficial in establishing how tourism has affected daily life and social interactions. A combination of demographics and interviews with residents will therefore be used to describe the ways in which tourism has impacted Jonesborough.

Jonesborough is still a small town which is increasingly experiencing development pressure from neighboring Johnson City, and although Jonesborough is the county seat, Johnson City is the dominant city in the county and does not rely proportionately on the tourism industry as heavily to support its economy as does Jonesborough. The incorporated town of Jonesborough is not directly comparable to census tracts, but the comparison of the two does provide a basis for examining the spatial pattern of county characteristics and how Jonesborough fits into it.

Statistics will not only be used to descriptively compare Jonesborough economically and socioculturally with county and state averages, but also with the town of Blountville, Tennessee. Blountville, like Jonesborough, is a small town and it serves as the county seat of Sullivan County in the Johnson City, Kingsport, Bristol Metropolitan Statistical Area (Tri-Cities MSA) (see Figure ■-1). Bristol and Kingsport dominate Sullivan County in much the same way that Johnson City dominates Washington County, leaving the small communities of Jonesborough and Blountville to act as county seats while struggling with their own development issues. While Jonesborough has been influenced by the development of heritage and event tourism, Blountville has remained more isolated from tourism, and the comparison of the economic and sociocultural indicators for the two towns can contribute to a better understanding of tourism's influence on Jonesborough.

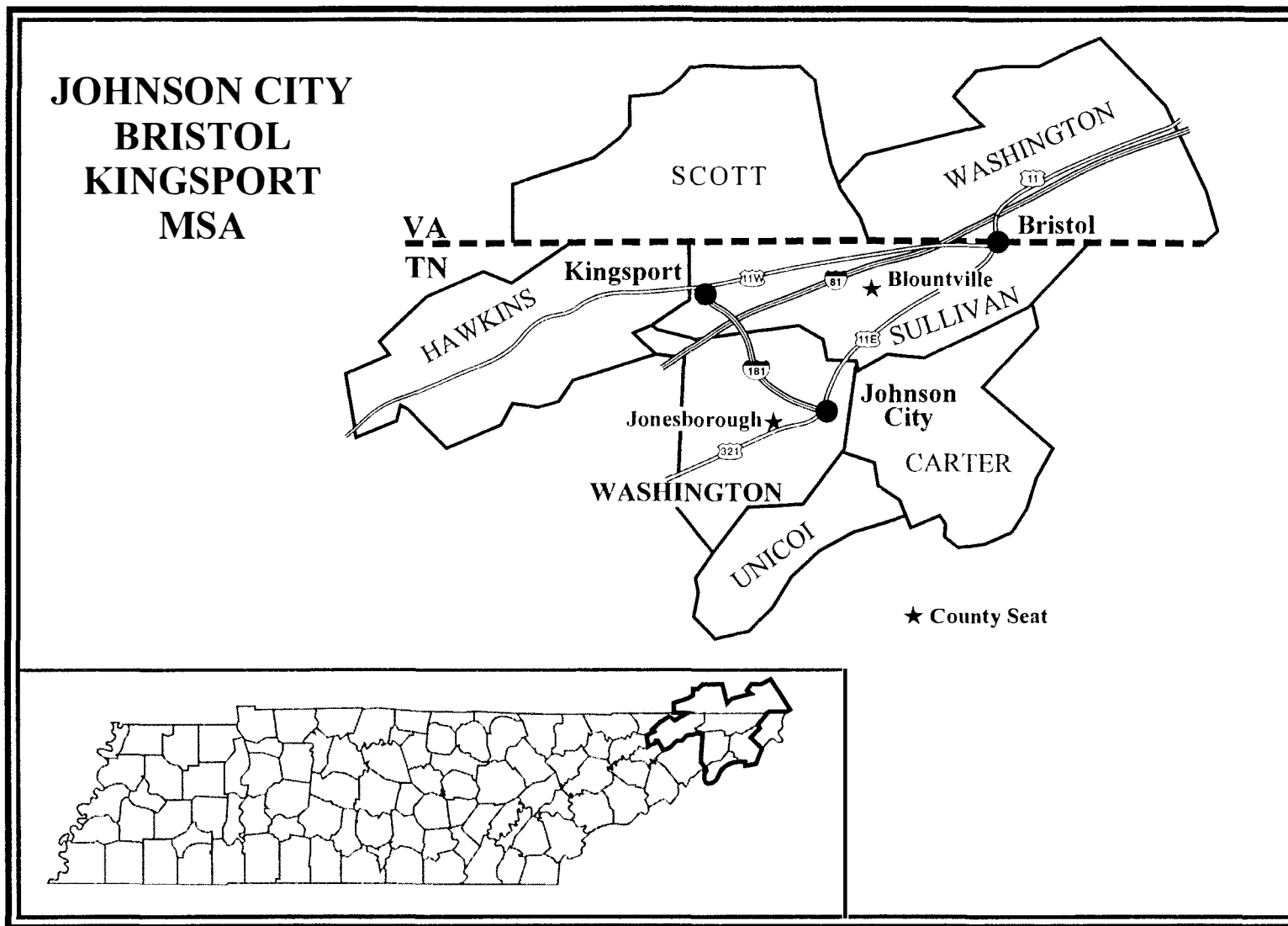


FIGURE III-1. Tri-Cities Metropolitan Statistical Area

Table III-1. Population Growth

	1960-1970	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-1994
<i>Jonesborough</i>	31.50%	87.40%	9.30%	41.70%
<i>Blountville</i>	—	—	2.30%	—

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990
 Jonesborough's Historic District Sector Plan, 1996

Table III-2. Population Growth in Jonesborough by Age

<i>Age Group</i>	1980-1990	1990-1995	Total 1980-1995
<i>0-17</i>	-13.40%	2.97%	-10.30%
<i>18-24</i>	-10.70%	0.57%	-10.13%
<i>25-44</i>	15.70%	2.90%	18.60%
<i>45-59</i>	2.00%	22.84%	24.84%
<i>over 60</i>	29%	10.78%	39.78%

Source: Adapted from Jonesborough's Historic District Sector Plan, p. 64

Jonesborough has experienced considerable population growth over recent decades, most recently with a population increase of 41.7% from 3091 in 1990 to 4380 in 1994 (see Table III-1). From 1980 to 1990, the rural western and northern census tracts of the county experienced the highest rate of growth due to their small populations (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) (see Figure III-2). Jonesborough's population change parallels the changes in several of the tracts surrounding downtown Johnson City, as there is significant residential growth and people are attracted to the quality of life in these areas. Blountville saw only a 2.3% growth from 1980 to 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, 1990), as it has followed a different development trajectory than Jonesborough. Because Jonesborough has marketed its heritage to attract tourists, the 'Small Town America' atmosphere has also appealed to people looking to relocate to and within the Tri-Cities MSA.

It is also interesting to note that certain age groups have experienced higher growth rates since 1980 (see Table III-2). There was a large increase in the population over the age of 45 in Washington County, while the under 25 age groups actually decreased by more than 10% between 1980 and 1995 (Jonesborough, 1996). The growth rates of different segments of the population in Washington County reflect the situation in Jonesborough, and these growth rates

POPULATION CHANGE, 1980 - 1990 **for Washington County, TN by Census Tract** **and for Jonesborough**

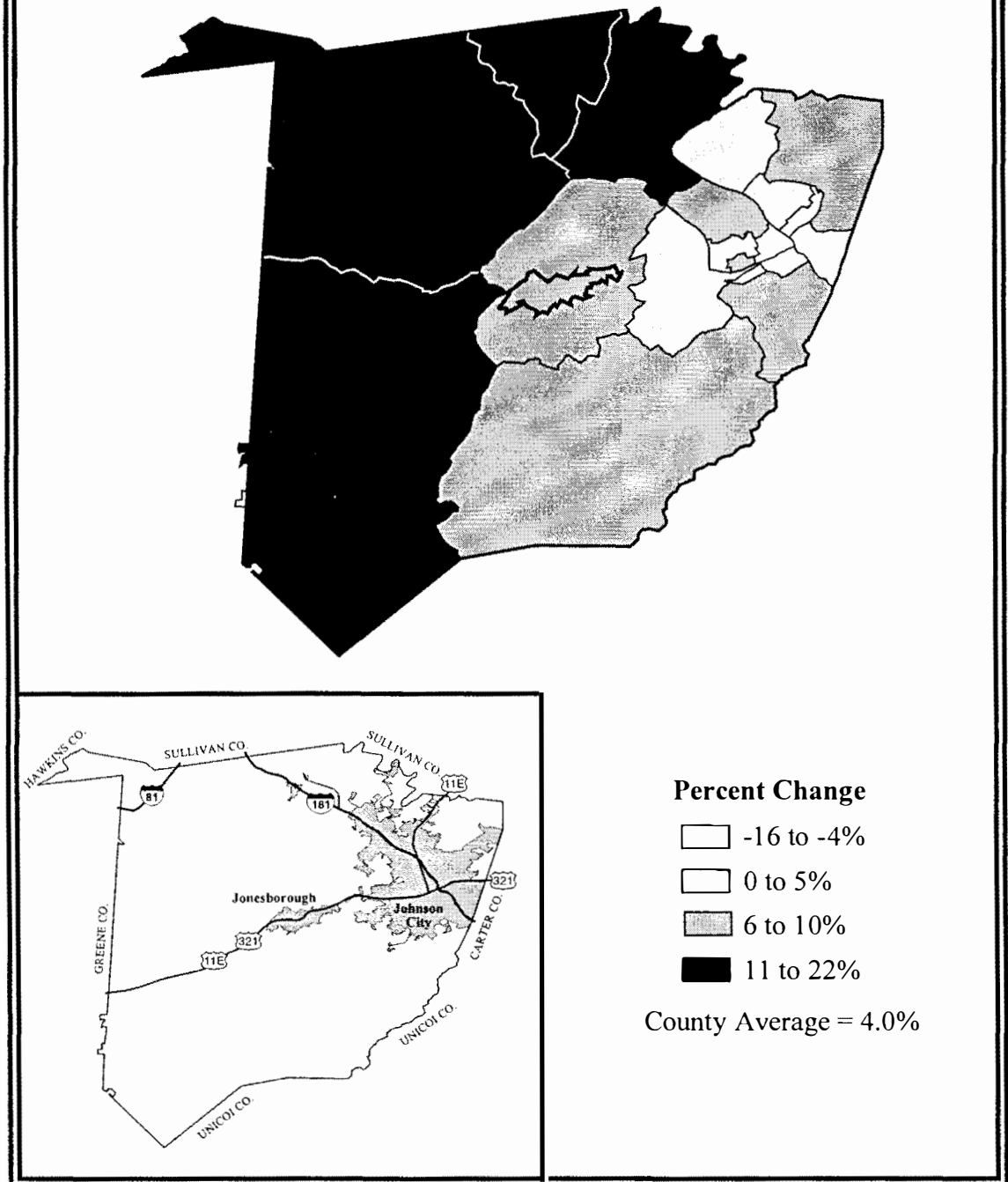


FIGURE III-2. Population Change

have implications for development. The decline in the younger age groups is a result of an out-migration of younger people of child bearing age who are likely leaving in search of employment opportunities. The development of heritage and event tourism may have served to promote Jonesborough as a quaint and idyllic town to reside in for those who can afford to do so, but it has not afforded great opportunity for improvements in education and employment for the younger segments of the population.

This trend can be understood further by examining educational attainment. In 1990 both Jonesborough and Washington County had a slightly higher high school graduation rate of persons 25 and older than the state with Jonesborough's graduation rate of 68%, Washington County's rate of 68.4%, and Tennessee's rate of 67.1% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). However, Tennessee's average is nearly 10% below the national average, and Tennessee ranks 46th in the nation (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The census tracts in the Johnson City area also had higher rates of graduates than Jonesborough (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) (see Figure III-3). In 1980, Jonesborough's high school graduation rate came in at 60.7%, while the county average was at 56.6% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980). Therefore, in the period between 1980 and 1990 high school graduation rates for persons 25 and older in Jonesborough did not improve as greatly as they did for the county overall. Development associated with tourism in Jonesborough did not serve to improve educational attainment from 1980 to 1990 as greatly as did development strategies utilized throughout the rest of the county.

An analysis of per capita income can also reveal the relative economic and sociocultural position of Jonesborough in relation to other parts of Washington County. In 1989, the areas of lowest per capita income were found in downtown Johnson City, while some of the census tracts representing the more affluent areas of Johnson City had the highest per capita income (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) (see Figure III-4). In 1989, Jonesborough's per capita income of \$10,348 actually fell below the county average of \$11,949, Blountville's average of \$12,088, and Tennessee's average of \$12,255 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Tourism may have improved the income of some residents of Jonesborough who have a direct economic stake in tourism, but overall tourism as a development strategy has not been successful in bringing Jonesborough's per capita income up to the county average.

Tourism also has the potential benefit of creating jobs in a geographic area, and this is one of the positive impacts that proponents of tourism often cite as a reason for engaging in

HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, 1990 **for Washington County, TN by Census Tract** **and for Jonesborough**

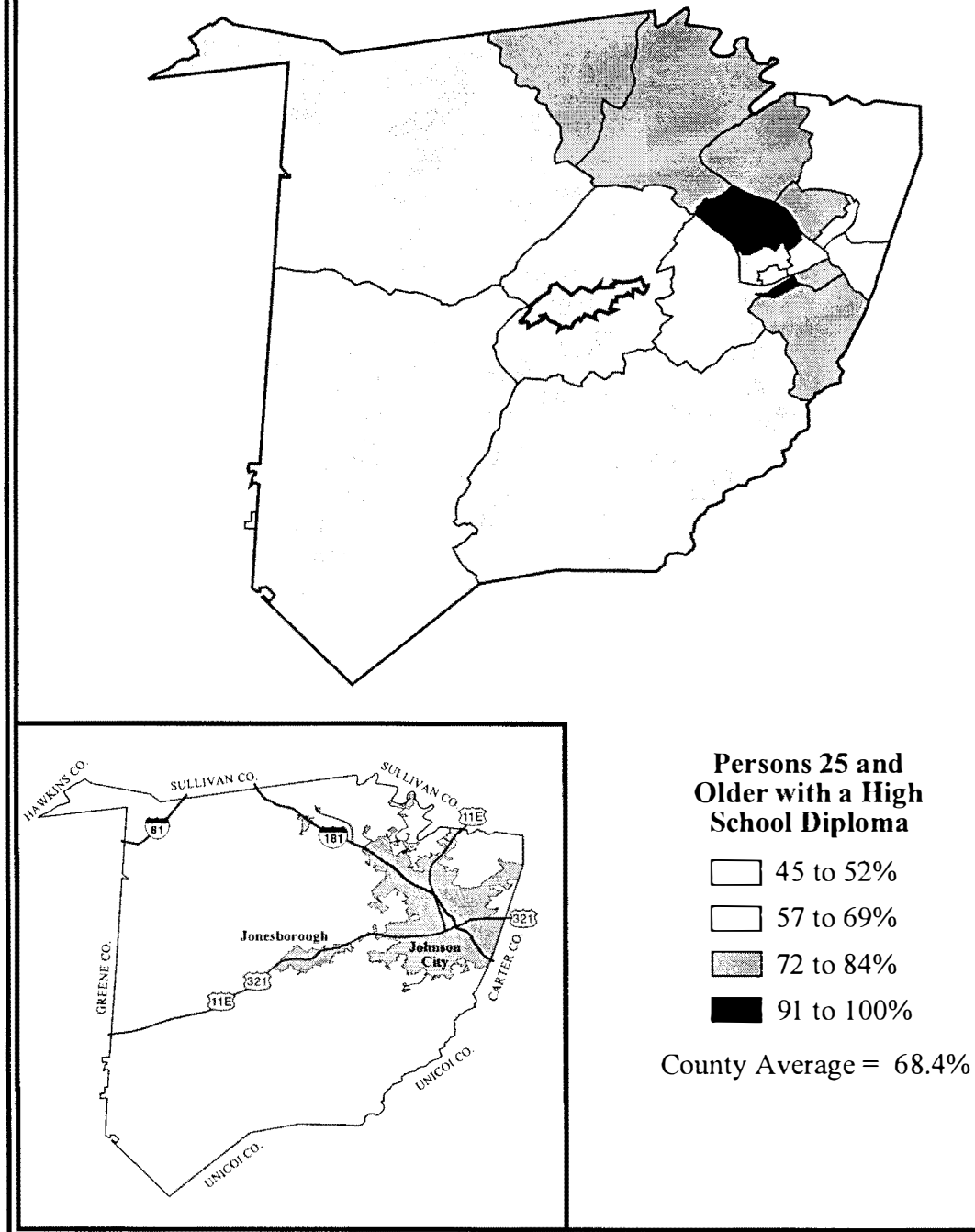
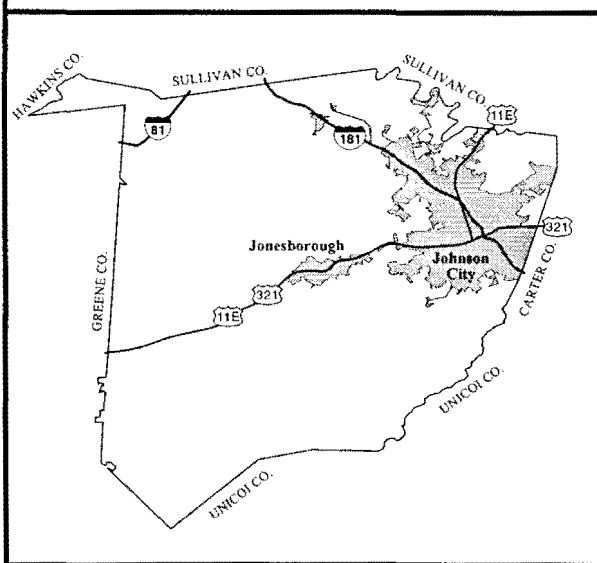
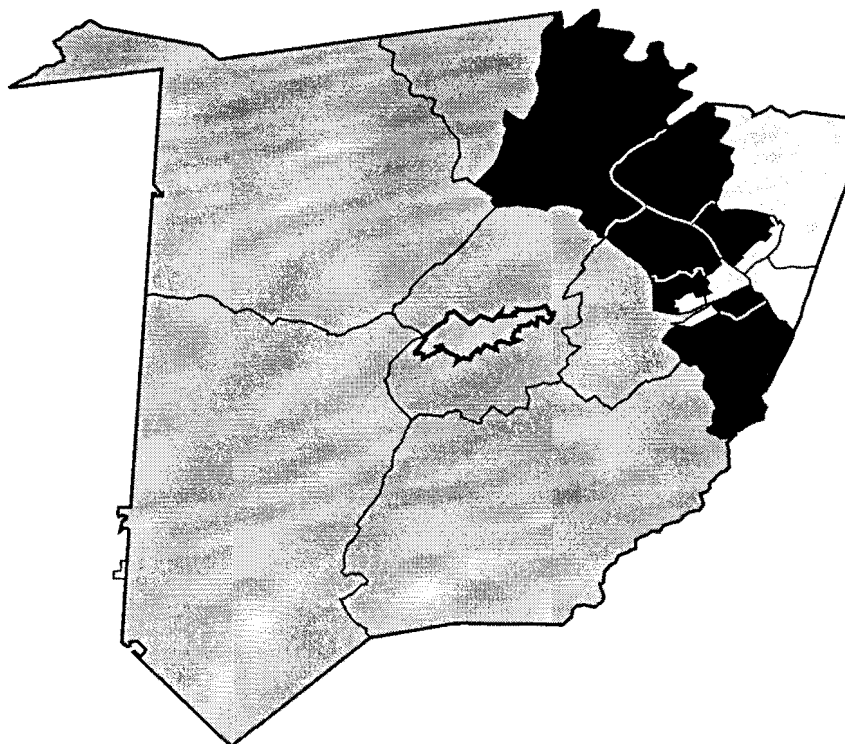






FIGURE III-3. Educational Attainment

PER CAPITA INCOME, 1989 **for Washington County, TN by Census Tract** **and for Jonesborough**



1989 Income

-  \$2800 to \$5500
-  \$7100 to \$8700
-  \$9400 to \$11,700
-  \$13,000 to \$22,800

Washington County = \$11,949

FIGURE III-4. Per Capita Income

tourism as a development strategy. The creation of jobs should permit a greater portion of the resident population to work in the place in which they live instead of requiring a commute to other geographic areas. Place of work is therefore a useful indicator of the influences that tourism may have on employment in a town such as Jonesborough. Place of work statistics for 1990 reveal that residents of census tracts constituting Johnson City often work in their place of residence, while only 13.6% of Jonesborough residents are able to work in their place of residence (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) (see Figure III-5). This pattern leads to the conclusion that tourism has not generated a sufficient number of jobs to allow residents of Jonesborough to also work in Jonesborough. Furthermore, the small community of Blountville has 15% of its residents working in Blountville with there being very little influence of tourism (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990).

Unemployment rates provide another indication of socio-economic conditions in a geographic area or town such as Jonesborough. Although Jonesborough, Washington County, and Tennessee all witnessed a drop in unemployment from 1980 to 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, 1990), in 1990 Jonesborough's unemployment rate stood at 8.1% (higher than Washington County's rate of 6.2% and Tennessee's rate of 6.4%). In the county, both the highest and lowest rates of unemployment are found in census tracts of Johnson City, which likely corresponds to areas of different socio-economic levels within the city (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) (see Figure III-6). Jonesborough's unemployment rate remains higher than most of the larger, more rural census tracts (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). This pattern again indicates that event and heritage tourism in Jonesborough have not been overly successful in generating employment for residents of Jonesborough, and thus has not benefited residents of the town looking to tourism to provide jobs.

Despite the fact that common sociocultural indicators have not improved with the development of tourism, tourism is still a significant part of the economy of Jonesborough in that it brings in outside capital, provides income for individuals, and generates tax receipts. Although the statistics are not available specifically for Jonesborough, Washington County ranks within the top ten Tennessee counties for local and sales tax receipts. In 1994, Washington County earned 6.14 million dollars in sales tax receipts (\$62.39 per capita) and 2.06 million in local tax receipts (\$20.91 per capita) (Tennessee Statistical Abstract, 1997). Although the state sales and local tax receipts are higher per capita in other counties due to the tremendous receipts for

PLACE OF WORK, 1990 for Washington County, TN by Census Tract and for Jonesborough

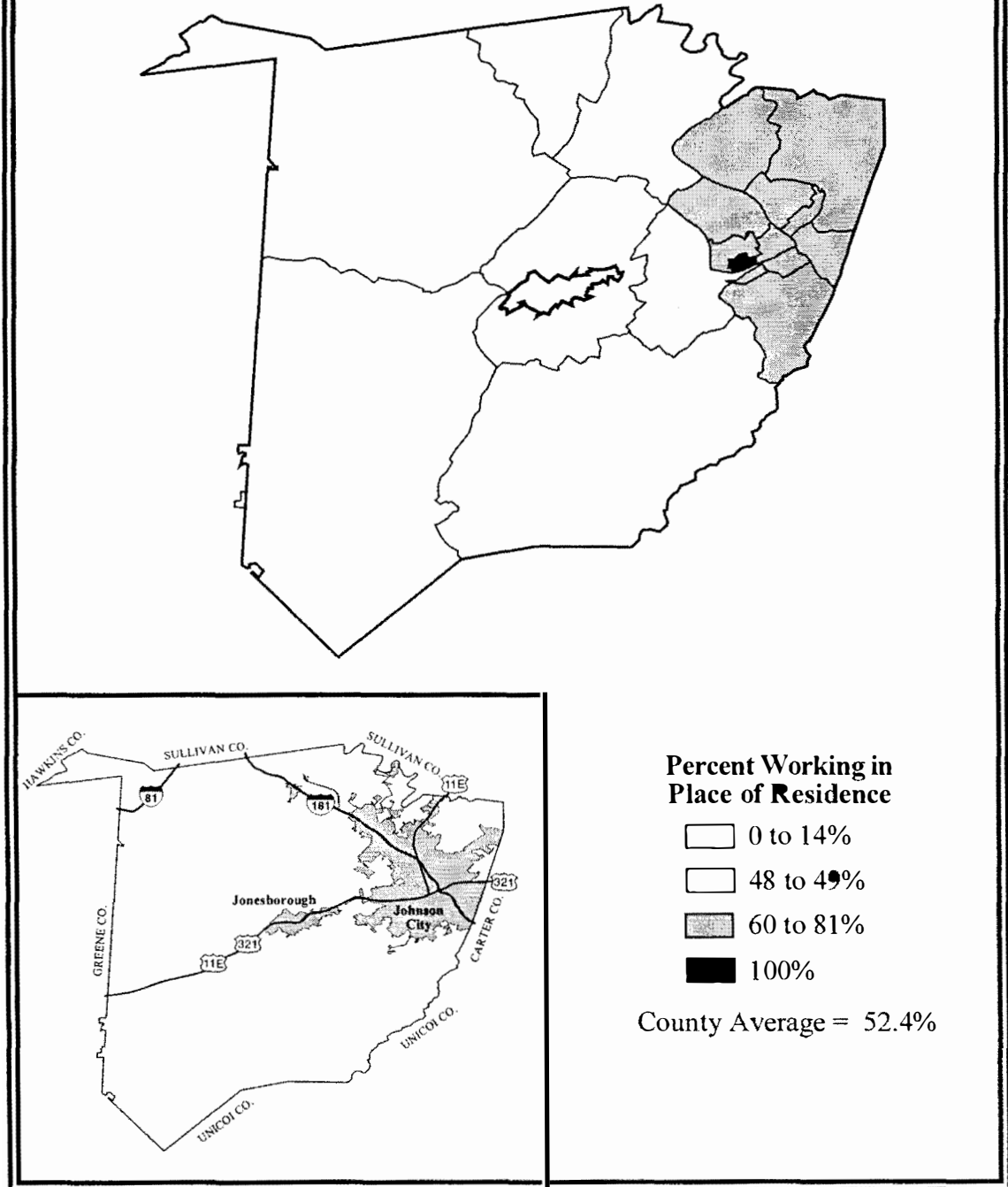


FIGURE III-5. Place of Work

1990 UNEMPLOYMENT for Washington County, TN by Census Tract and for Jonesborough

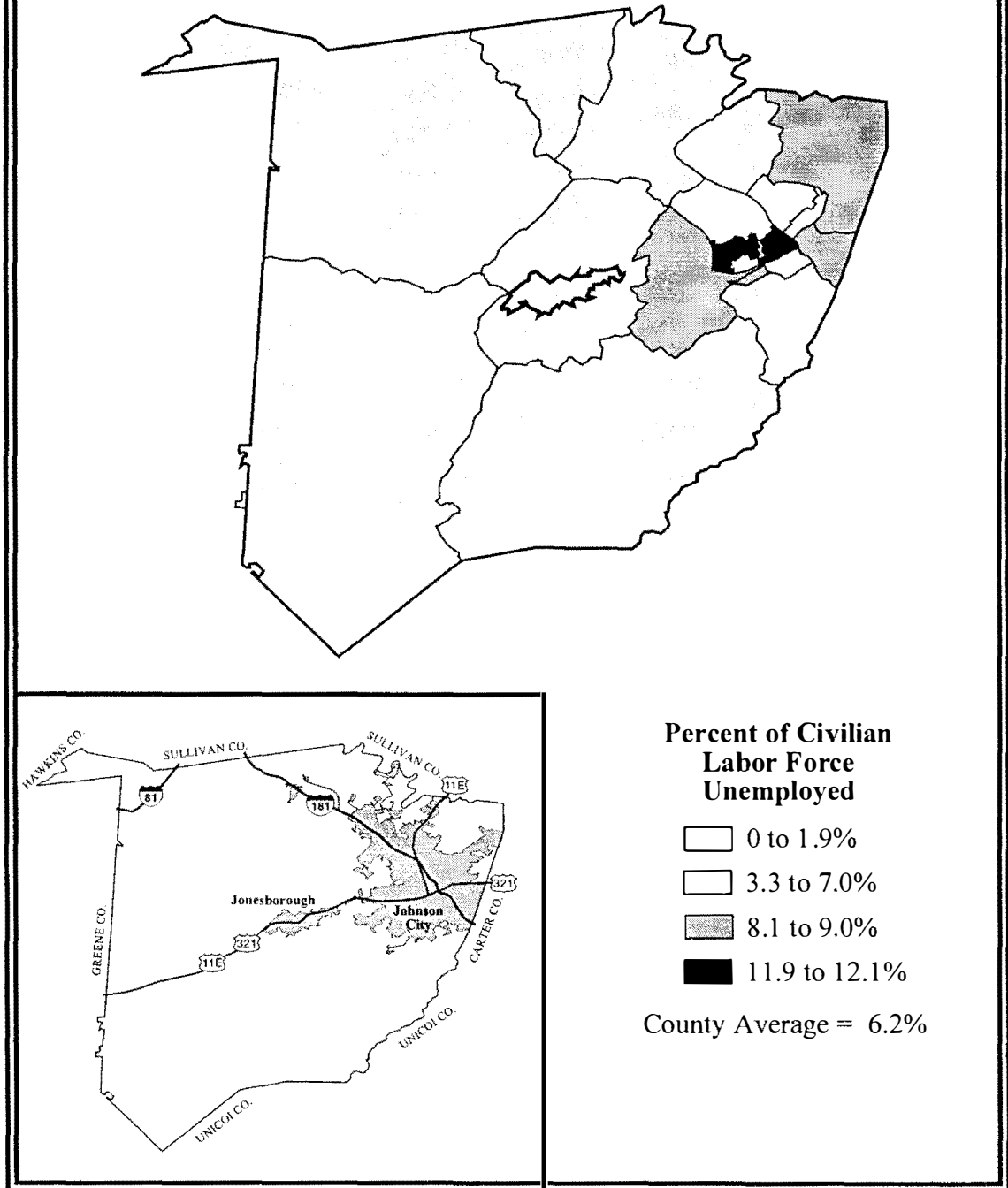


FIGURE III-6. Unemployment

Sevier, Davidson, Hamilton, Shelby, and Knox counties, these figures for Washington County are high when contrasted with the majority of Tennessee counties. The high sales and local tax receipts for the county indicate reliance upon tax revenue generated by retail establishments, hotels, and restaurants. Event and heritage tourism in Jonesborough contribute greatly to the generation of tax revenue for Washington County as a whole, particularly since tourists visiting Jonesborough are often forced to seek accommodations in neighboring Johnson City.

Tourist areas tend to rely heavily upon services and retail trade, and it is therefore expected that tourist areas will have a fairly high percentage of employees in these sectors of the economy. Within Washington County, two of the census tracts which lie within Johnson City have high percentages of employees in services (23.8%). Jonesborough, the census tract in which it lies, and two others within Johnson City also have fairly high percentages of employment in services (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) (see Figure III-7). It is expected that employment in services would be greatest in Johnson City since Johnson City is a large city in the regional hierarchy, and people living all over the region travel to Johnson City to take advantage of services that are not available in the rural areas and smaller towns. These census tracts in Johnson City cater to the needs of regional residents and tourists, while Jonesborough caters to regional residents to a lesser extent. In comparison, Blountville has only 6.7% employment in services, while Jonesborough's 17.2% also exceeds Washington County's average of 13% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The increase from 11.3% in Jonesborough in 1980 to 17.2% employed in services in 1990 could also indicate increased reliance upon tourism as a major force in the economy over time (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980, 1990).

Likewise, a relatively high percentage of persons employed in retail trade often indicates the importance of tourism in the economy. Again, census tracts falling within Johnson City have the highest percentage of persons employed in retail trade due to the fact that these tracts sell goods to both county residents and visitors, while retail trade in Jonesborough is marketed to tourists to a greater extent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990) (see Figure III-8). Jonesborough's 20.9% employed in retail trade is just above the county average of 20.2%, and both are significantly higher than Tennessee's average of 16.9% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The high percentage of employment in retail trade for both the county and for Jonesborough is associated with tourism to an extent, but it is perhaps more useful to examine how the types of retail trade establishments have changed over past decades with the development of tourism.

EMPLOYMENT IN SERVICES, 1990 **for Washington County, TN by Census Tract** **and for Jonesborough**

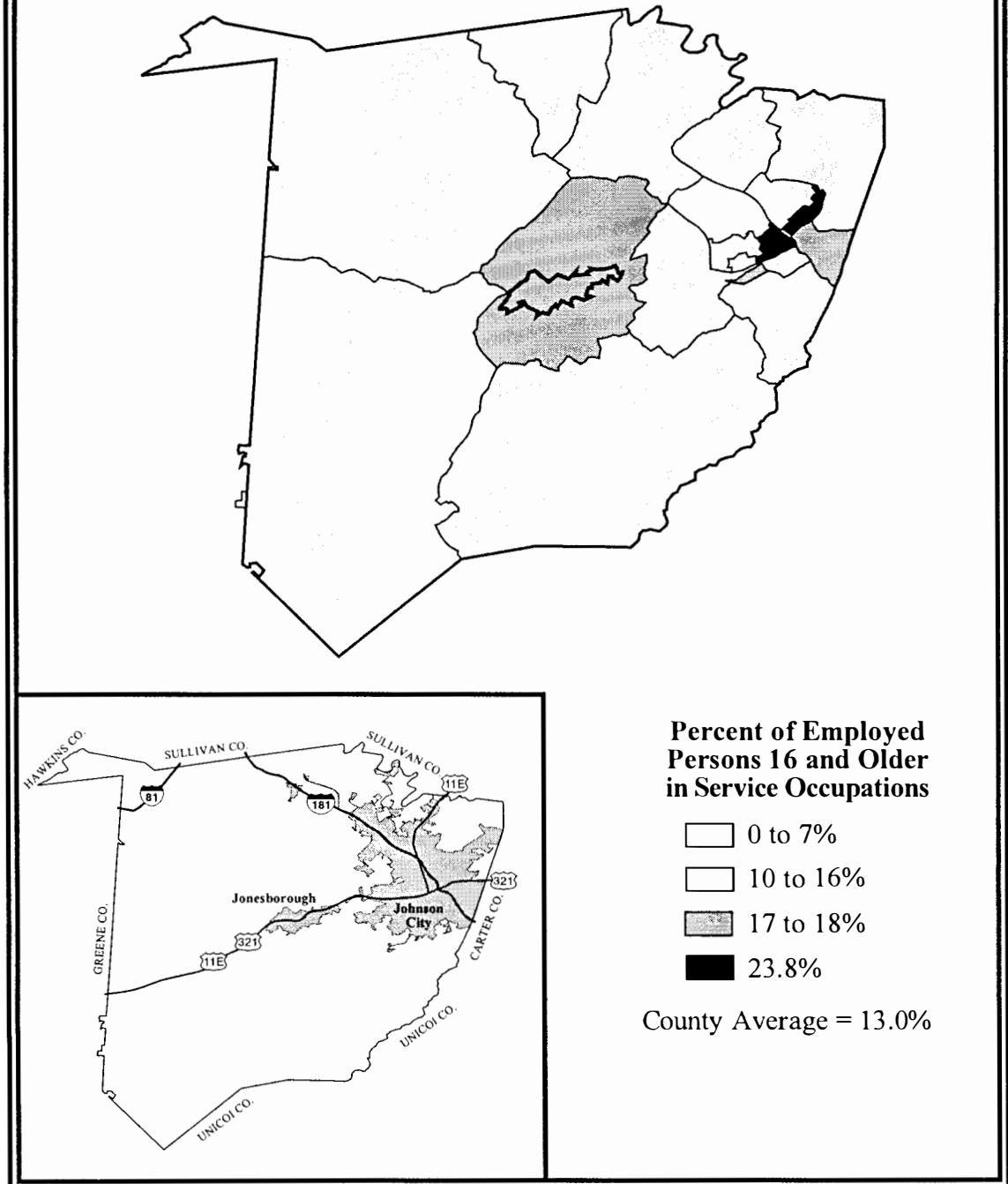


FIGURE III-7. Employment in Services

EMPLOYMENT IN RETAIL TRADE, 1990 **for Washington County, TN by Census Tract** **and for Jonesborough**

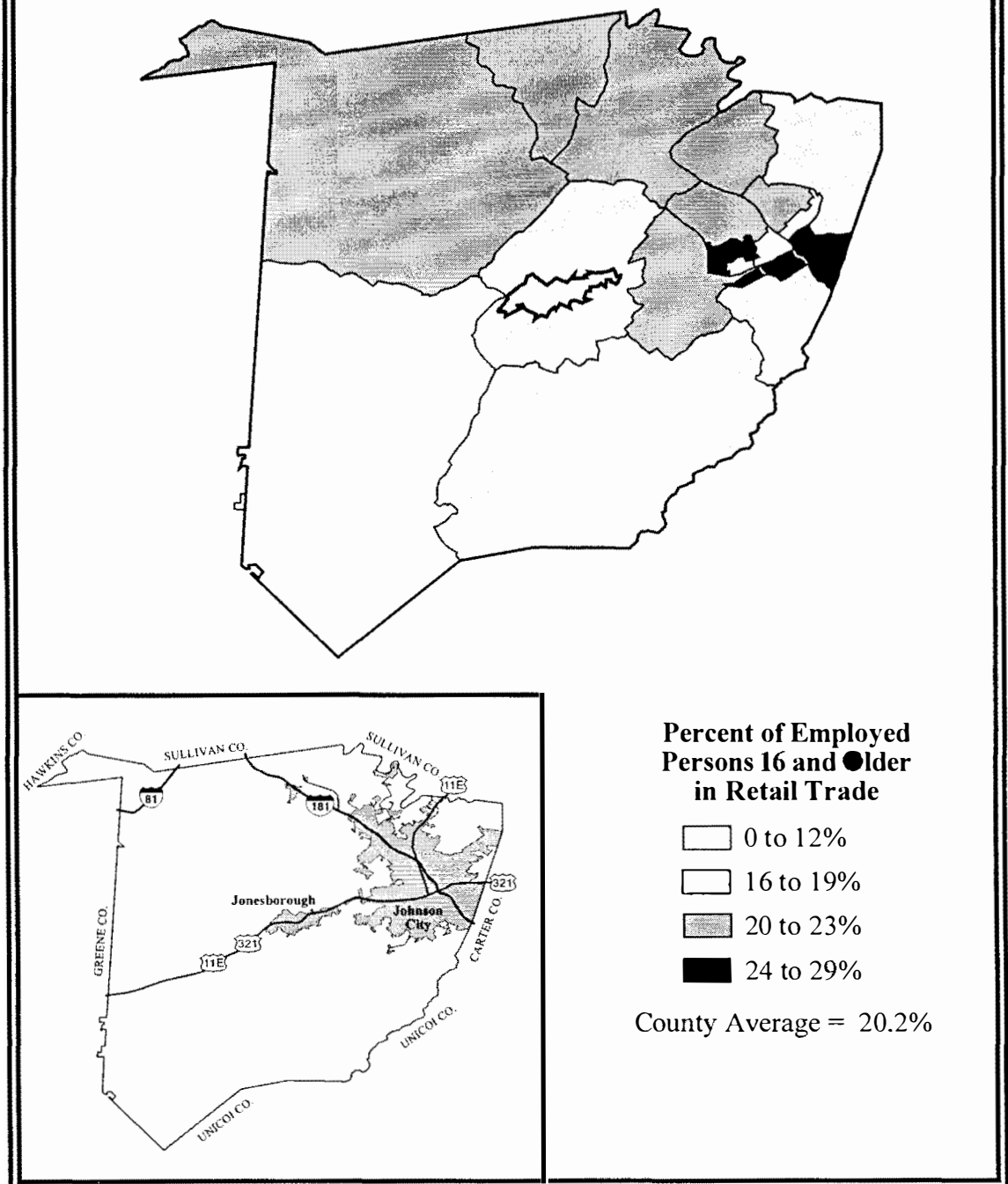


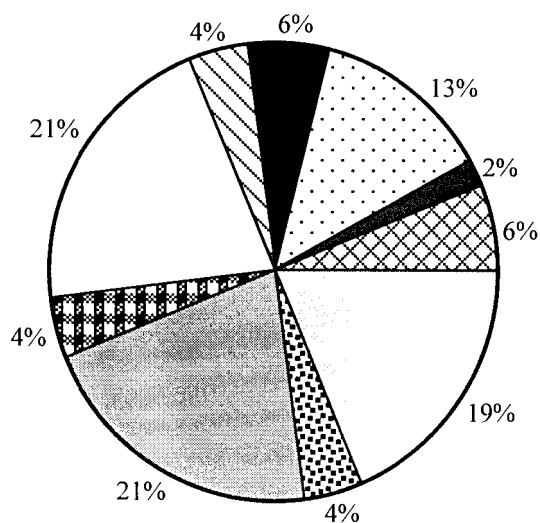
FIGURE III-8. Employment in Retail Trade

In charting how the types of retail trade establishments encountered in Jonesborough have changed since the 1960s, I found that the retail trade establishments currently found in Jonesborough cater to tourists while there has been a decline in retail trade establishments which provide goods for local residents. For 1982 and 1992, I was able to use the Economic Census for Retail Trade for Jonesborough, but because Jonesborough's population was under 2500 in 1972 and 1962 I was forced to consult another source. I used the 1962 and 1972 Johnson City directories (which include Jonesborough as its own municipality), and I classified the establishments listed in the directories based on the description of categories in the Census of Retail Trade (see Table III-3). Because of the two different sources for types of establishments, I have compared percentages of types of establishments rather than absolute numbers in case certain establishments were not included in either the Census or the directories for a particular reason. Although the statistics may not be entirely accurate in terms of absolute numbers of retail trade establishments, they are sufficient for revealing the trend toward more tourist-oriented retail trade establishments (see Figure III-9).

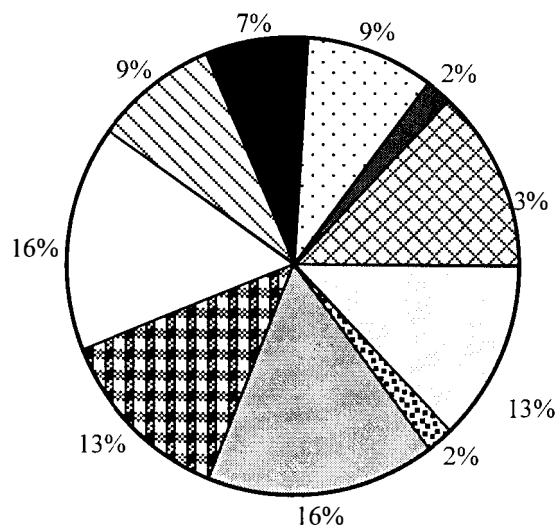
In 1962, Jonesborough was still a predominantly agricultural town in which the historic preservation movement and tourism had not yet been initiated. In 1972, decline was setting in and the historic preservation movement was underway, while the early 1980s saw a transition from a decaying downtown to one beginning to attract tourists. By 1992, downtown Jonesborough had been transformed into a thriving main street with storefronts occupied by establishments catering to visitors who came to experience Jonesborough's heritage and the National Storytelling Festival. The changes in the types of retail trade establishments reflect this transition. One of the most notable changes deals with the decline over time in building material and garden supply stores (which in the past included agricultural supply stores), signaling a move away from the agricultural community of the past. By 1982, there were no longer any furniture or home furnishing establishments in Jonesborough, and by 1992 only 2% of establishments sold apparel and accessories (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982, 1992). As a result, residents are forced to travel further for needed goods, while miscellaneous retail stores carrying antiques, stationary, crafts, gifts, souvenirs, and art have gradually replaced stores supplying everyday goods to residents. Currently, eating and drinking establishments and miscellaneous retail stores compose nearly 50% of retail trade establishments in Jonesborough, and while these

Table III-3.
Retail Trade Establishments as Designated by the 1992 Census of Retail Trade
 Used to classify retail trade establishments listed in the
 1962 and 1972 Johnson City Directories

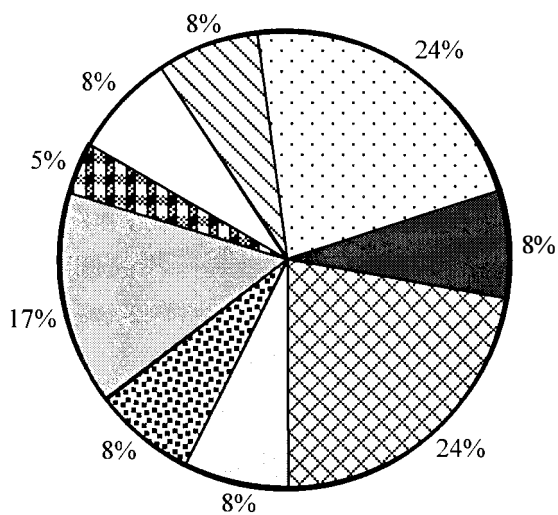
Buildings Materials and Garden Supply Stores	Furniture and Homefurnishings Stores
Building materials and supply stores	Furniture stores
Lumber and other building materials dealers	Homefurnishings stores
Paint, glass, and wallpaper stores	Floor covering stores
Hardware stores	Drapery, curtain, and upholstery stores
Retail nurseries, lawn and garden supply stores	Miscellaneous homefurnishings stores
Manufactured (mobile) home dealers	Household appliance stores
	Radio, television, computer, and music stores
	Radio, television, and electronics stores
	Computer and software stores
	Record and prerecorded tape stores
	Musical instrument stores
General Merchandise Stores	Eating and Drinking Establishments
Department stores	Eating places
Variety stores	Restaurants
Miscellaneous general merchandise stores	Cafeterias
	Refreshment places
	Other eating places
Food Stores	Drinking places
Grocery stores	
Meat and fish markets	Drug and Proprietary Stores
Retail bakeries	Drug stores
Other food stores	Proprietary stores
Fruit and vegetable markets	
Candy, nut, and confectionery stores	Miscellaneous Retail Stores
Dairy products stores	Liquor stores
Miscellaneous food stores	Used merchandise stores
	Miscellaneous shopping goods stores
Automobile Dealers	Sporting goods stores and bicycle shops
New and used car dealers	General line sporting goods stores
Used car dealers	Specialty line sporting goods stores
Auto and home supply stores	Book stores
Auto parts, tires, and accessories stores	Jewelry stores
Home and auto supply stores	Other miscellaneous shopping goods stores
Miscellaneous automotive dealers	Stationary stores
Boat dealers	Hobby, toy, and game shops
Recreational vehicle dealers	Cameras and photographic supplies
Motorcycle dealers	Gift, novelty, and souvenir shops
Automotive dealers	Luggage and leather good stores
	Sewing, needlework, and piece goods
Gasoline Service Stations	Nonstore retailers
Apparel and Accessory Stores	Catalog and mail-order houses
Men's and boy's clothing and accessory stores	Automatic merchandising machine operators
Women's clothing and specialty stores	Direct selling establishments
Women's clothing stores	
Women's accessory and specialty stores	Fuel dealers
Family clothing stores	Fuel oil dealers
Shoe Stores	Liquefied petroleum gas dealers
Men's shoe stores	Fuel dealers
Women's shoe stores	
Children's and juveniles' shoe stores	Florists
Family shoe stores	Tobacco stores and stands
Athletic footwear stores	News dealers and newsstands
Other apparel and accessory stores	Optical goods stores
Children's and infants' wear stores	Miscellaneous retail stores
Miscellaneous apparel and accessory stores	Pet shops
	Art dealers
	Other miscellaneous retail stores



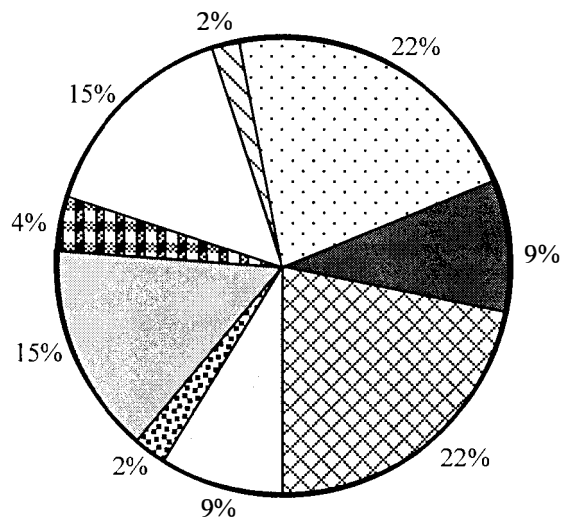
1962



1972



1982



1992

- Furniture, Home Furnishings
- Drug and Proprietary
- Food Stores
- Building Material and Garden Supply
- Gas Service Stations

- Eating and Drinking Establishments
- General Merchandise
- Apparel and Accessories
- Auto Dealers
- Miscellaneous Retail

FIGURE III-9. Types of Retail Trade Establishments in Jonesborough as designated by the Economic Census and City Directories

establishments do serve residents to an extent it can be argued that they are marketed primarily towards tourists.

The transition in the types of retail trade establishments serves as an indicator of other problems closely associated with tourism and the thematic development that sometimes accompanies it. One of the most important consequences is the alteration of the ways in which residents interact with the physical landscape and the shops occupying buildings in historic downtown Jonesborough. The transformation of the physical landscape coinciding with the changes in the types of retail trade establishments leads to contested space between tourists and residents, although it may not be overtly recognized in this manner. Because residents are no longer able to interact with Jonesborough in the ways they did in the past, ties to heritage may be lost and sense of place is altered. The change in types of retail trade establishments not only has practical implications for residents and their everyday needs, but it also plays a role in resident perceptions of place and the resulting sense of place.

The Construction of Place

Critical theorists have suggested alternative approaches to constructing and analyzing places. There is a recognition that a place is more than a physical setting and that places operate as processes. Geographers have always had an interest in place, and these relatively new forms of academic discourse are particularly relevant for geographers in their attempts to understand places. While geographers are concerned with the spatial dimensions of places, there is a growing awareness of the need to consider place outside of the confines of spatial boundaries. Analyses of demographic, economic, and sociocultural characteristics of a delimited area such as Jonesborough can be beneficial in the formulation of an initial and superficial understanding of a place, but it is useful to examine place more thoroughly and approach the concept of place with critical theories in mind.

Feminist theory is one form of critical theory relevant to the field of geography and the study of place. Susan Hanson contends that geography and feminism share certain traditions and common characteristics (Hanson, 1992). Hanson discusses three main similarities between feminism and geography, asserting that each has a fascination with the 'mundane' or everyday life, each realizes the importance of context, and each focuses on difference. Both geography and feminism link the small everyday occurrences to the larger policy making agenda, and thus

recognize the role of everyday personal experience in the formulation of theory, policy, and an understanding of one's own surroundings. Similarly, the feminist concept of 'situated knowing' is considered remarkably similar to what geographers refer to as geographic context, although feminists do not necessarily consider locations or place as being grounded in geographic space. The notion of context is dependent upon everyday experience and is critical to understanding place, both geographically and also situationally.

Doreen Massey has also suggested reforming the approach to defining place. Massey argues that our understanding of and relationship to places has deteriorated as a result of the process of 'time-space compression', which she defines as a "rapid movement and communication across space" (stemming from travel and technologies such as telecommunications). Time-space compression also encompasses "the geographical stretching out of social relations, and to our experience of all this" (Massey, 1994, 147). By producing fragmentation, time-space compression threatens the ability to retain any sense of a local place and it challenges the idealized notion of places as homogeneous and coherent. In essence, Massey argues that time-space compression can trigger unsettling impacts, insecurity, and nostalgia, and "in the middle of all this flux, people desperately need a bit of peace and quiet - a strong sense of place, of locality, can form one kind of refuge" (Massey, 1994, 151). The real meanings of place are sought through one's own interactions with place, and sense of place is based upon individual perceptions and feelings of identification and rootedness. Massey believes it is necessary to face up to people's need for attachment to a place rather than deny it, and she argues that the recovery of heritage is just one of many defensive and reactionary responses to the loss of ties to place.

Massey goes on to clarify the concept of place itself. First, place has been mistakenly identified with community. The term community has been used very loosely up until this point in this study, most often to refer to people who either live in Jonesborough or who have had prolonged interaction with the physical landscape of the town. It should be noted that there are actually many communities in Jonesborough, as there are distinct groups of people with their own agendas, interests, and ties to one another and the physical landscape. Members of different communities will have different perceptions of Jonesborough as a place. Massey points out that communities can exist without being in the same place, and that even within communities people

occupy different positions and interact with the landscape in unique ways. Each person will therefore have an individual and unique sense of place.

Second, there are four specific criteria that Massey considers essential to the understanding of place. To begin with, places are in reality “moments of intersection of networks of social relations, understandings, and experiences” which do maintain ties to the wider world (Massey, 1994, 154). Places are not necessarily isolated, and they do not have to contain boundaries or be enclosed. Additionally, places lack single, unique identities; instead they consist of internal conflicts relating to the past, the present, and the future possibilities. Despite this absence of a single unique identity, the importance of uniqueness of place cannot be denied. Massey explains, “the specificity of place is continually reproduced, but it is not a specificity which results from some long, internalized history” (Massey, 1994, 154). Places can be defined and distinguished from one another on the basis of their own unique combination of conflicts despite the lack of a single identifying characteristic.

Margaret Rodman is another feminist who echoes sentiments similar to those of Massey regarding the interpretation of place. Besides stressing the idea that place is more than a physical setting, Rodman maintains that places have multiple meanings and are constructed socially. Places are reliant upon social interactions, individual and group experiences, and multiple voices. Rodman goes on to exclaim that each place has a unique reality for each person, and that each person represents a voice in the construction of place. Along these lines, Rodman uses the terms ‘multilocality’ and ‘multivocality’ to emphasize the idea that there is no singular defining element in the construction of place. “Multilocality means looking at places from the viewpoints of others,” while multivocality refers to the use of multiple voices and multiple senses (the way a place looks, feels, sounds, and smells) to construct place (Rodman, 1992, 646). Rodman believes that landmarks (along with people) speak and have a voice in constructing place.

Urban theorists have also recognized the need to look at places in terms of the conflicts they contain. Places are continually changing and facing internal conflict, and as places change people undergo change as well (Hiss, 1990). Hiss believes that our relationship with the places we know is a close bond: “It’s enveloping, almost a continuum with all we are and think” (Hiss, 1990, xii). The underlying awareness of place is termed ‘simultaneous perception’ by Hiss, and he defines it as an unconscious mechanism that allows us to take in whatever we can from our surroundings. Hiss recognizes the role that place plays in the creation of a sense of identity,

attachment, or belonging, and in our understanding of social, environmental, and physical connections. The alteration of our physical surroundings leads to a transformation of place, and Hiss asserts “we can all too easily shortchange ourselves by cutting ourselves off from some of the sights and sounds, the shapes or textures, or other information from a place that has helped mold our understanding and are now necessary for us to survive” (Hiss, 1990, xii). In other words, we can make so many ‘improvements’ to a place that we disadvantage ourselves in the end.

Change is an inevitable part of any process, and thus when places are considered as processes change becomes a major component of analysis. Change is not always negative and can be very positive, but change inevitably produces a transformation of the sense of a place because individual perceptions, experiences, and interactions with other people and the physical landscape are altered. Although places are social constructions, the physical landmarks do have a voice and a role in the interpretation of place. Physical landmarks such as buildings are significant because they often signify endurance and embody what James Howard Kunstler calls ‘chronological connectivity’ (Kunstler, 1996). Kunstler claims that chronological connectivity lends dignity and meaning to our lives - it allows us to maintain a sense of connectedness to the past in the face of change. People in search of a sense of rootedness or a stronger connection to place are often seeking a sense of chronological connectivity, or stability, to provide a foundation for identity.

Sense of place relies heavily on the ways in which an individual identifies with space. Urban geographers such as Truman Hartshorn address sense of place in terms of attachment to spatial features and a sense of ‘territoriality’ (Hartshorn, 1992, 214). Individuals assign values to spatial references, and because the differing perceptions of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ create a dichotomy, sense of place is contested. Fritz Steele further clarifies sense of place, asserting that it is an interactional concept. “A person comes into contact with a setting (comprised of physical surroundings and social context), and reacts to the setting. Reactions include feelings, perceptions, behaviors, and outcomes associated with being in a location” (Steele, 1981, 12). The perception of space through cultural or personal filters leads to the formation of a sense of a place. Both the physical environment and the social construction of space is important in deriving the meaning of a place and a shared sense of place.

The feminist approach to the construction of place is relevant for gaining a better understanding of how sense of place has been altered for residents. Although the analysis of socioeconomic characteristics allows connections to be drawn between different trends in Jonesborough, it does not provide an opportunity for understanding the role of people in constructing place and their perceptions of Jonesborough. The analysis of secondary demographic and socioeconomic data does not allow issues such as contested space and place to surface. Jonesborough should be viewed as more than a physical setting, and it should be recognized that physical boundaries are not essential to the construction of Jonesborough as a place. There are many communities within Jonesborough, and within the various communities there are many voices that have a part in the social construction of Jonesborough. Even within each community individuals will have a unique set of experiences and interactions with the physical landscape and with others, meaning that sense of place will be unique for each individual although certain aspects of sense of place are shared.

The need for attachment and a sense of rootedness applies to members of Jonesborough's various communities, and the internal conflicts which define Jonesborough manifest themselves through the actions of citizens trying to strengthen their sense of belonging and ties to Jonesborough as a place. Today there is an even greater awareness of the need to preserve Jonesborough's heritage, as the changes brought by tourism have elicited what Massey considers to be a reactionary response to the threat of a loss of sense of place. To even begin to understand Jonesborough as a place, one must consider multilocality and multivocality as expressed by Rodman. The multiple voices of both the residents and the physical landscape must be considered.

Feminist Research Methodologies

Feminists have proposed that researchers utilize more appropriate methodologies in the field, methods that complement that social construction of place. Feminists have criticized the ways in which research subjects have been treated as passive and silent participants, while the researcher has assumed the position of an omniscient active agent (Braidotti et al., 1994). In the past, researchers tended to take a hegemonic position, often imposing their own culture, beliefs, and practices on subjects. Braidotti et al. argue that the researcher should recognize his or her own split and multiple identities and should engage in 'mobile positioning'. This mobile

positioning allows the researcher to “strike up power-sensitive conversations” with the subject, as the researcher places him/herself in the position of the subject (Braidotti et al., 1994, 52). Braidotti et al. allege “the researcher, by positioning him/herself as closely as possible to the subject, learns to see the latter’s point of view compassionately but without pretending to be the other.” Feminist research methodologies provide the subject with the opportunity to openly express his/her views, while the researcher employs Rodman’s concept of multivocality, or the use of many voices to portray place.

Along the same lines, Henrietta Moore argues for the need to recognize the researcher as part of the research process. The utilization of mobile positioning as a research technique allows the researcher to become more aware of his/her own relationship with the subject and the influence the researcher may have on the subject. Similarly, the researcher needs to be aware of the concept of ‘reflexivity’, or the importance of one’s own cultural context. Rodman clarifies reflexivity by defining it as seeing new landscapes in terms of familiar ones, and this concept is very relevant to the understanding of place and culture. Individuals tend to reflect on new experiences and landscapes by comparing them with experiences and landscapes they already know, and thus individuals may fail to understand a new situation and what it signifies to others. The researcher will see an unfamiliar place in terms of a familiar place, and the researcher needs to be conscious of the way in which he or she views a place. While feminist research techniques advocate the examination of a place through the eyes of those interacting most directly with a place, the researcher must recognize the role of his/her own cultural context and that he/she is making comparisons on the basis of context.

The concept of reflexivity is important to feminist theory in that it grounds the researcher while he or she is participating in the act of ‘othering’. Feminists such as Braidotti and her co-authors do suggest that researchers reinvent themselves as ‘others’ and become less entrenched in their own culture, despite concurring that it is impossible to completely step outside of one’s own cultural background. It is impossible to be completely the ‘other’, thus Braidotti et al. assert that rather than pretending to be the ‘other’ the researcher is able to see from one of multiple positions or multiple identities within him/herself. Rodman takes this idea a step further by remarking that although the researcher should view place through the eyes of others, it must be recognized that “there are no others in a world in which everyone can potentially suffer from one agent’s actions” (Rodman, 1992, 646). Rodman is essentially reasoning that we can never fully

assume the role of the 'other'. Paradoxically, one cannot remain isolated from other cultures and ideologies because we are all bound to one another by a series of ties and relationships. One person can alter a place, and everyone will potentially be affected because they are linked to others and to place through shared experiences.

Heidi Nast expands upon Rodman's argument and discusses the idea in terms of 'betweenness' (Nast, 1994). Nast emphasizes the need to regard the field in fieldwork as more than a physical setting - it should be thought of in much the same way place is considered by feminists. Betweenness describes the notion that in the field one is engaged in changing 'fronts', or relationships with people and the physical landscape. Researchers cannot avoid working with 'others', and there is a negotiation of degrees and types of difference. The researcher is not an isolated individual, and the researcher is never truly an insider or an outsider.

Unni Wikan demonstrates this principle through her experiences in Cairo, Egypt (Wikan, 1996). Wikan portrays the back streets of Cairo as a place through the narratives of Umm Ali, an Egyptian mother of eight whose life Wikan spent years documenting. Wikan reaches a point when she is no longer an outsider, as her presence becomes more readily accepted by the community. However, as a Norwegian from a different sociocultural background Wikan never truly becomes an insider. Wikan acknowledges her role in the research process, and she discusses her field experience and her attempts to deal with the 'reality' of the field as it exists for her. Although Wikan has never truly completed her field experience in that aspects of it always remain with her, she is now able to look at her anthropological approach embodying feminist thought and conclude that this methodology gives researchers a chance to "address compelling human concerns in a voice that highlights the lived experiences of people so it resonates in our world" (Wikan, 1996, 33). The lived experiences of people are essential to the construction of place, and giving voice to the lived experiences of people is a means of empowering them. In my research, I encountered voices that shed light on the lived experiences of residents of Jonesborough in a manner similar to Wikan's.

To understand Jonesborough as a place, I employed feminist research techniques highlighted by Wikan, Braidotti et al., Rodman, Moore, and Nast. My initial step in the research process was to recognize that the field was not simply the physical townscape of Jonesborough, but that instead Jonesborough is defined socially, politically, and spatially (as the field always is) (Nast, 1994). These social, political, and spatial boundaries shift with time, and I recognized that

the 'reality' of Jonesborough would be constantly changing and would differ for myself as the researcher as compared with others who interact differently with the physical townscape and with one another. I held Rodman's concepts of multilocality and multivocality to be crucial to the research process. Similarly, I contemplated many aspects of Jonesborough's character - its feel, appearance, and sounds, and I tried to encounter the voices of numerous people within Jonesborough's different communities. At the same time, I had to be aware of my own cultural context and maintain a certain level of detachment to guard against overidentification with any one particular group or viewpoint. To portray Jonesborough as a place and to convey how sense of place has been transformed for some residents, I will give voice to a spectrum of viewpoints through the use of narrative.

Narrative as a Tool in Writing about Place

Critical theorists have suggested alternative approaches to research, and they have emphasized the need to approach writing about field experiences from a more appropriate perspective as well. Feminist critical theorists such as Braidotti et al., Rodman, Katz, and Moore have advocated the use of narrative in ethnographic work and the description of the field as a place. Braidotti et al. argue that narration or story-telling has gained support recently as the "most appropriate theoretical style for feminist theories of knowledge" (Braidotti et al., 1994, 36). Moore points out that narrative allows the reader to become involved in the act of 'othering' in much the same way the researcher attempts to view place through the eyes of others while in the field (Moore, 1994). The reader is able to interpret and understand the field as it is described through the voices of others, while at the same time drawing his/her own conclusions on the basis of cultural context. The use of narrative allows the researcher to express his/her own role in the research process so that the reader may better understand the interactions that constitute an important element of place.

Moore discusses the idea of 'going native' and its relevance in the research and writing process (Moore, 1994). Moore maintains that going native is essential for participant-observation to be carried out correctly, but at the same time the complete erasure of difference associated with going native results in the loss of self for the researcher and creates an inability to make comparisons. The subject can also be placed in an unfair and precarious position.

Narrative provides the researcher the opportunity to convey the balance the researcher must maintain between his/her own identities and the identities of 'others' in constructing place.

Moore discusses the importance of the metaphor of travel in narrative, and how the travel metaphor is used to represent a journey from home to abroad, familiar to foreign, and ignorance to knowledge. Barry Curtis and Claire Pajaczkowska expand on the notion of the metaphor of travel and its role in narrative, alleging that the search for a place in which happiness may be found is a metaphor for the search of a happy memory. This journey represents "a passage through symbolic time, forwards towards a resolution of conflict and backwards towards a lost aspect of the past"(Curtis and Pajaczkowska, 1994, 199). Narrative makes this journey more comprehensible to the reader, and narrative allows the reader a "regressive splitting into fragmented component selves" (Curtis and Pajaczkowska, 1994, 199). The reader is offered forms of identification through narrative, as the reader can assume the roles of the researcher and 'others' and symbolically travel in time and space to understand the interactions that are essential to the construction of place.

Narrative will be used as a tool for constructing Jonesborough as a place because it will give the reader the opportunity to understand my role as the researcher and will allow the reader to relate to the viewpoints of 'others' through the descriptions of their opinions and viewpoints. The metaphor of travel is particularly important for understanding Jonesborough, as the transformation of sense of place for residents is best portrayed through the symbolic journey from the lost aspects of the past to the present as revealed in the narratives of residents. As Curtis and Pajaczkowska point out, tourists seek places of unspoiled beauty, but popularity and progress are among the spoilers of beauty. The tourists that travel to Jonesborough in search of the idyllic small town bring change that alters the ambiance of Jonesborough as a place. There is an intricate web of journeys, interactions, and conflicts which comprises Jonesborough as a place, and the use of narrative permits the reader to engage in the process of constructing Jonesborough as a place and to comprehend how sense of place has changed over time.

CHAPTER IV

RESIDENT PERCEPTIONS OF JONESBOROUGH

In this chapter I will discuss my methodology and field experience, and I will portray aspects of Jonesborough as a place as I saw it. However, I will also portray Jonesborough as a place through the voices of members of Jonesborough's distinct communities. While some residents feel that their sense of place has improved over time, others feel that their sense of place has deteriorated over time. I will shed light on the perceptions of both sets of residents, and I will discuss the implications for Jonesborough as a place both now and in the near future.

Perceptions of Tourism and Sense of Place

The construction of Jonesborough as a place and the portrayal of the ways in which sense of place has been transformed for residents rely heavily on feminist theory and the use of narrative as discussed in Chapter III. Resident perceptions of place are dependent upon the cultural or personal filters through which space is perceived, and the subsequent interpretation of space by individuals constitutes sense of place. I have therefore conveyed the transformation of sense of place for residents of Jonesborough by outlining spatial changes, and by using narrative to describe resident perceptions of the ways in which tourism has influenced place. Besides making several short trips to Jonesborough, I spent a week in Jonesborough in which I had the opportunity to speak with a number of residents. While in Jonesborough, I conducted fifteen in-depth interviews with residents representing a multitude of viewpoints existing in Jonesborough. These interviews were more formal in nature and followed a schedule of initial questions with the opportunity for elaboration if necessary (see Appendix). Numerous other interviews came out of more casual encounters with people in public spaces in Jonesborough such as the downtown area, shops, the library, and park areas. Although a week is not nearly sufficient to become aware of all of the intricacies of daily life in Jonesborough, it did provide me with a chance to employ multilocality and multivocality. I was also able to gain a greater appreciation of community life and witness daily activities, social interactions, and interactions of residents and tourists with the physical landscape.

The identities of the residents with whom I spoke are concealed, partially to ensure confidentiality and partially due to the fact that individual identities are not important to the

sentiments conveyed. Some residents I spoke with felt their opinions of tourism and perceptions of Jonesborough might threaten job security and their relationships with other community members. To avoid jeopardizing the positions of individuals in the community, identifying characteristics of residents are concealed. The need to protect individuals from being identified forces the narratives of interviewees to be broken up into short segments rather than longer, more detailed narratives. Providing the narrative of one individual at a time would allow individuals to be more readily identified by other residents, as the identifying characteristics, opinions, and perceptions could be revealed through each narrative. For the same reason, demographic traits such as age, gender, and length of residence are not given. Jonesborough's relatively small population and the existence of even smaller, distinct communities would permit residents to easily identify those they interact with frequently in Jonesborough. Finally, knowledge of individual identities is not significant because there are shared perceptions resulting in a shared sense of place among groups of residents with common interests.

Previous studies determined the factors that play a role in resident perceptions of tourism in communities, and these cultural and personal perceptions are significant in the creation of sense of place. Generally, residents that have a positive perception of tourism will also experience a positive transformation of sense of place, which coincides with the changes brought about by tourism development. Resident perceptions of tourism and place seem to be less related to factors such as age and length of residence and more to the opportunity of individuals to interact with tourists and benefit either economically or socioculturally. Residents interviewed who have experienced a negative transformation of sense of place frequently have a negative perception of tourism impacts in Jonesborough. Although there is no single determining factor, one's economic situation and stake in tourism are significant in the formation of a positive or negative sense of place.

Jonesborough's Distinct Communities

Several of the residents of Jonesborough with whom I spoke emphasized the notion that there are two distinct communities within Jonesborough - one that considers tourism favorably and one that views tourism in a less favorable light. The development of tourism has altered the physical environment of Jonesborough and the social construct of place, and the two communities are distinguished by their perceptions of the spatial changes. Members of the

community that considers tourism beneficial were fairly visible and active in the downtown tourist-oriented area of Jonesborough and I experienced little difficulty in encountering them as a researcher. It was more difficult to come in contact with the community in Jonesborough that interacts little with tourism and downtown Jonesborough, yet the viewpoints expressed by these residents and their changed perceptions of place are crucial in understanding the overall impact of tourism in Jonesborough.

Heritage tourism has played a role in distinguishing the two communities. Heritage attracts tourists who have a fascination with the 'real lives' of others - tourists in search of a supposed authentic past which reveals traditional values and culture. Tourists are seeking the opportunity to share in traditional ways of life, but this would warrant an intolerable level of intrusion into the everyday lives of the local population. Therefore, the desire to share in authentic ways of life is compensated for with what MacCannell terms 'staged authenticity'. MacCannell asserts that a 'front region' accessible to tourists is constructed, while the actual lives of people are carried out in the 'back region' that remains out of sight to tourists (MacCannell, 1976). With the introduction of tourism, the heritage valued by residents is often pushed into the 'front region' where it is interpreted and consumed by tourists, while the everyday lives of residents in the 'back region' are altered to meet the demands of tourists and actual ties to the consumed heritage are lost. Authenticity is therefore staged and superficial although "the superficiality may not be perceived as such by the tourist" (MacCannell, 1976, 98). Generally, members of Jonesborough's community favoring tourism occupy the 'front region', while members of the non-tourism community are forced into the 'back region'.

Jonesborough is somewhat unique in that the front and back regions described by MacCannell exist both socially and spatially. Members of the tourism-oriented community are visible in downtown space, whereas members of the community not oriented towards tourism are generally not visible to tourists or residents in downtown Jonesborough. These residents occupy other physical spaces, as they work outside of Jonesborough and interact socially in other physical locations. As a result, the social interactions are carried out in the back region as well, as the residents have been forced to find different spatial locations to socialize so that the social ties and interactions they maintained in the past are not jeopardized by the intrusion of tourists.

The notion that there are two distinct communities in Jonesborough rests on the distinctions made between the two communities by residents. There are a variety of factors that

separate members of the two communities, despite the fact that there is overlap between the communities in some aspects. One resident asserts that one community consists of bed and breakfast owners, merchants, and retirees who came to Jonesborough beginning in the early 1970s to capitalize on tourism or take advantage of the quality of life and the small town atmosphere. The second community is comprised mainly of long time residents (who lived in Jonesborough prior to the early 1970s) and residents who are less involved in tourism and the downtown activities because they work elsewhere. Most of the people residing within the historic district (where tourist activity is centered) are relatively new to the town and have located there to take advantage of economic or sociocultural benefits associated with tourism (see Figure IV-1). Another resident alleges that there is a community that makes money off of Jonesborough, and one that does not. The general distinction between the two communities is best summed up by a resident who remarked that “the community which tourism was thrust upon is different from the community which benefits.”

Yet another resident conveyed the idea that although there are two distinct communities, there is a third community that is larger than it may initially seem and consists of citizens who do not fit squarely into either of the first two communities. The distinction between the three communities for this particular resident has more to do with the time of day one would be likely to encounter people interacting with Jonesborough’s physical landscape. There is a daytime community consisting mainly of those who work in Jonesborough (frequently in tourism-related jobs in the downtown area), and there is an after hours community which visits and interacts with one another because they are neighbors and live in Jonesborough. The third community is the overlap community that consists of citizens that work downtown and maintain social ties with residents who work outside of Jonesborough. In the past, there was greater unification among citizens of Jonesborough and it was nearly impossible to distinguish different communities within Jonesborough. The past community was perceived as more “well-rounded”, and people of all different socio-economic levels would get together for social reasons such as a game of volleyball. Gatherings of this type would be unlikely to occur today in Jonesborough.

Another example of the past unity of the community in Jonesborough is illustrated through one resident’s recollection of Christmas festivities. Christmas, like other times of the year, has also been looked upon as an ideal time for attracting visitors. The Civic Trust sponsors the Holiday Tour of Homes, and the decoration of the town creates a perfect backdrop for

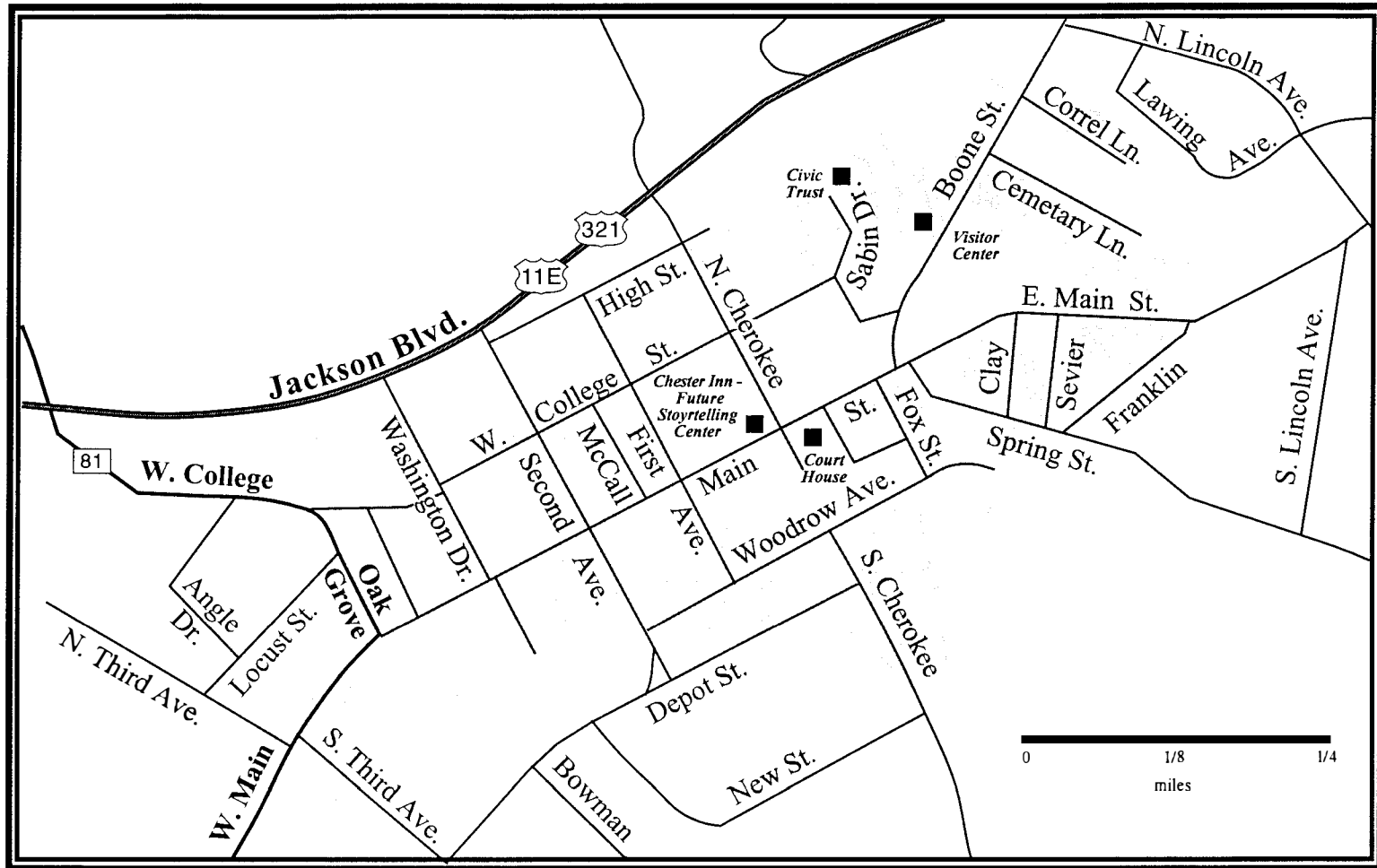


FIGURE IV-1. The Historic District of Jonesborough

holiday events. Tourism's influence can be seen with regards to the decorating of the town, as currently it tends to be members of the tourism-oriented community that decorate the town for holiday events. Before tourism became such a dominant force in Jonesborough, nearly everyone in the town would come together to decorate for Christmas. It was pointed out that lower income residents now find it more difficult to participate in the Christmas decorating, as they feel uncomfortable or out of place. In the past, different socio-economic classes could co-exist within the same community in Jonesborough, and some residents assert that affluence has been a factor in creating a distinction between the two communities.

As Doreen Massey points out, communities consist of individuals with common interests, agendas, and ties to the social and physical landscape (Massey, 1994). Community is not synonymous with place, and this concept is clearly demonstrated in Jonesborough. At least two distinct communities exist and occupy Jonesborough's physical landscape, yet the members of these communities are not perceptually in the same place because of different social constructs. The conflicts that divide Jonesborough's communities and define Jonesborough as a unique place surface in debates concerning community planning and development issues.

The Role of Jonesborough's Churches

There are several institutions and issues that are important to Jonesborough as a place, and they provide examples of the conflicts that distinguish Jonesborough from other places. Several of the residents with whom I spoke emphasized the importance of maintaining Jonesborough's churches as a functioning part of the community, as the churches provide a strong link to the past and serve as places where members of both communities can interact to some extent. During my visit, I attended a Sunday morning service in downtown Jonesborough. I was able to gain a better understanding of the role that churches seem to play in maintaining the traditions and values of the pre-tourism community, but it is important to remember that my perceptions may not parallel the perceptions of residents with regards to the community churches and their members. Nonetheless, I will give a description of my experience to convey my understanding of the importance of Jonesborough's churches to the construction of place.

Although there are not as many churches in downtown Jonesborough as there were in the past, there are still several which are highly visible on the physical landscape, including the Methodist, Presbyterian, Christian, and Baptist churches. At the service I attended, there were

approximately 50 people, most of who were senior citizens. There was also one younger couple with a newborn, but there were no other children. The people at the church were very welcoming to me. I did not recognize any of the people at the service as residents with whom I had already spoken, which leads me to believe that the group of people who continue to attend church downtown are an entirely different group from that which is downtown during the week. The church seems to be one way in which community ties are maintained among residents who were living in Jonesborough prior to the development of tourism. Many of the interviewees who came to Jonesborough when tourism began to take root attend church outside of Jonesborough, primarily in Johnson City. Those attending the service I visited all appeared to know each other, and they talked about common acquaintances. Perhaps younger members of the church were in Sunday School or may attend another service, but it seems as though a majority of the downtown church members are older residents.

I was able to gain a stronger appreciation of the role of the church in Jonesborough through the pastor's sermon. He talked about standing up for Christianity and a Christian way of life despite what other people may think. The pastor gave several examples in which he specifically mentioned Jonesborough. He mentioned the need for people to stand up for a moral and ethical way of life despite being in the presence of others (perhaps tourists) who may be pressuring an individual to engage in other ways of life. For example, the pastor talked about families going into Jonesborough's restaurants to eat and urged them to say the blessing as they do at home despite the looks from other customers. He also spoke specifically about a time in the near future (referring to the National Storytelling Festival, I believe) when people would come to Jonesborough who would make it more difficult for residents to practice Christian morals in their daily lives, and he hoped that members of the church would stand up to these people.

While listening to the pastor speak, I felt that the pastor was warning the church about the greater threat of social change and a loss of Christian ideals brought on by outside influences in Jonesborough. Perhaps, as residents have told me, the churches had an even stronger role in maintaining sense of community in the past. The residents living in Jonesborough prior to the development of tourism still belong to churches in Jonesborough, but some of those who have come to live in Jonesborough since then have not become members of these churches and the sense of community has deteriorated with the evolution of two separate groups. The more

traditional Christian ideals and conservative way of life do not pervade everyday life as they used to. Although the churches may not play the same role as they did in the past, they still constitute part of Jonesborough's vitality and are a center for one political power group.

Liquor by the Drink

Liquor by the drink is one of the more prevalent issues in Jonesborough today. It has been voted down in the past, but it is still wanted by enough people that it continues to be an issue. The shopkeepers with whom I spoke are pushing for liquor by the drink, as they feel it would improve the quality of the restaurants and give both tourists and residents a reason to visit the downtown area in the evenings. It is the residents with an economic stake in tourism who favor liquor by the drink most, and these tend to be the people with the money and the political voice. Yet, there are still enough residents of the town who feel that liquor by the drink will threaten quality of life and community values to vote down liquor by the drink. Residents have indicated that the churches have been instrumental in organizing against liquor by the drink and sending out fliers. Liquor by the drink is the one issue in Jonesborough that makes the distinction between Jonesborough's two communities clearest, as the tourism-oriented community favors liquor by the drink and members of the non-tourism community are against it.

Positive Transformation of Sense of Place

Despite the division of Jonesborough's past, more unified community into separate smaller communities, the sense of belonging to a community has remained strong for some residents of Jonesborough. Many residents believe that tourism has brought more positive changes to Jonesborough than negative changes, and they have thus experienced a positive transformation of sense of place. The positive changes have come in the form of economic opportunity, strengthened social ties, and increased interaction with the downtown area (although other residents have contrasting opinions).

In order to address the transformation of sense of place, I spoke with several residents who have lived their entire lives in the town of Jonesborough or in the rural areas just outside of the town. One Jonesborough resident recalled coming into town each Saturday while growing up in the 1950s. "I used to go with my family into town to visit friends, go to the theater, or buy groceries, clothing, and hardware. There were no other reasons to go into town or to go more

often than once a week, and I thought it was a boring, backwater town. I considered Jonesborough in the same way that many people think of their hometown.” Jonesborough, as a socially constructed place with which this resident was familiar during childhood, was perceived as a town with little to offer. Another long time citizen of Jonesborough expressed similar sentiments, contending that in the past “Jonesborough was a dull, non-productive, sleepy town.” Again, visits to downtown Jonesborough took place only once a week for the purpose of purchasing groceries, visiting the pharmacy, and banking. Because of a relatively negative perception of Jonesborough in the past, these residents represent many that have experienced a positive transformation of sense of place associated with the development of tourism.

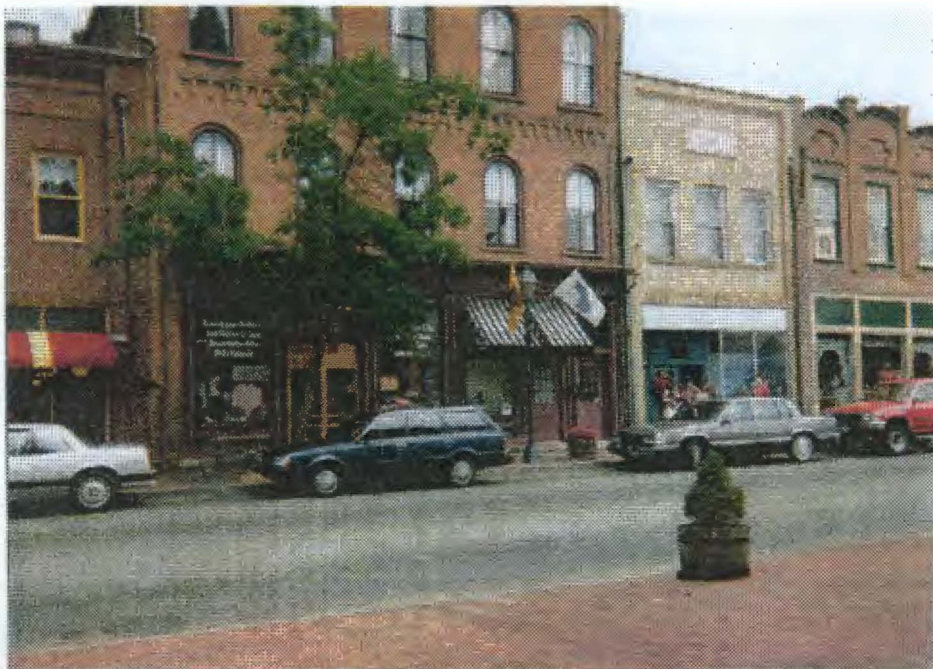
Residents whose sense of place has improved over time tend to have benefited economically or socioculturally from the changes associated with tourism. Residents with a positive perception of Jonesborough as a place view the changes to the physical landscape in a positive light, and they often enjoy the interactions with tourists or other members of the community directly involved with tourism. One of the economic benefits associated with the development of heritage and event tourism has been the opportunity for entrepreneurs to open shops catering to the tourist market, or for citizens to find a position of employment related to tourism. Whereas some residents saw no reason to come into downtown Jonesborough in the past, there is now a thriving downtown full of activity and people. For some residents, sense of place has been transformed in a positive manner due to the excitement and change generated by tourism. One resident described Jonesborough as “the center of the universe”, saying “it has a great mix of tourists and residents, a high quality of life, and a Main Street USA feel.”

Citizens aligned with the tourism-oriented community feel that Jonesborough is a safe place to live with a high quality of life, and they believe there is a strong sense of community. One resident stressed that the sense of belonging and familiarity has strengthened over time and argued that there is an even tighter community today than in the past. For residents who feel an attachment to the community involved in tourism, sense of place has generally either remained unchanged or has improved over time. With the development of tourism, sense of rootedness in the community strengthened for these individuals, as a common interest (tourism) became a way to form bonds with other residents.

Although the residents of the tourism community are able to interact with one another and the physical landscape of Jonesborough in ways they perceive to be more positive than the

ways of the past, there is a sense of regret that certain aspects of the past have been lost. Even residents who reap benefits from tourism do miss the ability to frequent downtown Jonesborough for everyday goods and services such as groceries, banking, a pharmacy, and clothing. However, there is an argument that Jonesborough's retail establishments were in decline and likely would not have been sustained over time regardless of the introduction of tourism. There is a sense of resignation in that modernization has brought a move away from the past, and that downtown Jonesborough as it existed in the past would have been unable to compete in today's society. The historic preservation effort worked to maintain the historic character of the buildings, but it could not maintain the living history and culture associated with the people and types of establishments that formerly occupied buildings. It is believed by residents that the downtown area would have decayed as a result of overall societal change and suburbanization, and that keeping the preserved buildings occupied with tourist-oriented establishments is better than the alternative of a vacant, deteriorated downtown. Furthermore, residents with a positive sense of place generally do not mind traveling to Johnson City for needed goods and services if it keeps stores such as Wal-Mart from coming in and destroying the 'Hometown USA' feel which attracts tourists.

Residents of the tourism-oriented community have also experienced a positive transformation of sense of place due to their perception that the interactions occurring on the downtown landscape have improved over time. These residents frequent downtown Jonesborough more often today than in the past, not only because they work in the downtown area (often in tourism related positions) but because they shop in the stores and meet with friends and other community members. One resident who has lived in Jonesborough over 20 years frequents downtown Jonesborough more often today than in the past, contending that "the downtown now has more to offer with its atmosphere and the eating establishments." As a retired citizen originally from a metropolitan area, this particular resident has the time and disposable income to spend downtown. Other retirees who have lived in Jonesborough for an extended number of years also enjoy living in Jonesborough more now since they have more leisure time to spend in the architecturally preserved downtown. Generally, the residents who have experienced a positive transformation of sense of place have a positive perception of tourism and enjoy interacting with the space downtown catering to tourists (see Figure IV-2).



Retail trade establishments in downtown Jonesborough include antique stores, gift shops, and eating establishments.

Figure IV-2. Downtown Jonesborough, 1997

While there is an argument that downtown Jonesborough now exists primarily for tourists rather than residents, this community has benefited from changes in the downtown district.

Negative Transformation of Sense of Place

While some residents have benefited economically and socioculturally from the development of tourism, there are residents that have seen little benefit and in some cases have been forced to bear the costs of tourism development. Generally, these residents are members of the community not involved in tourism and they have experienced a negative transformation of sense of place over time. These residents counter the arguments of tourism proponents, contending that their sense of community has deteriorated, socio-economic diversity has been lost, authentic heritage has been trivialized for the benefit of tourists, and that retail establishments downtown cater more to tourists than residents.

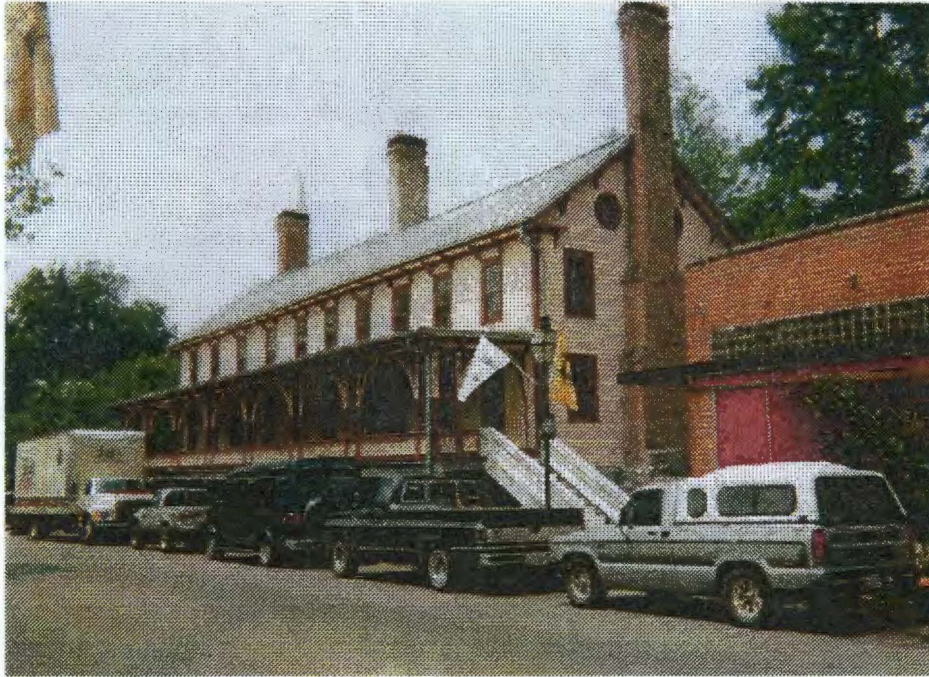
Sense of community is of importance in Jonesborough because it is another factor that separates Jonesborough's two distinct communities. The residents who are part of the community which interacts regularly with tourist space are often newer to Jonesborough, as many moved to Jonesborough beginning in the early 1970s to take advantage of economic opportunity associated with the development of tourism and overall growth. Residents who lived in Jonesborough prior to the early 1970s argue that these 'newcomers' do not have a sense of what life was like in Jonesborough before tourism became prominent, and the 'newcomers' are therefore unable to have a true appreciation of the sense of community that existed. Meanwhile, residents who lived in Jonesborough prior to the 1970s have witnessed all of the changes associated with tourism, and they often feel that the sense of community has been diminished. One resident complained, "Jonesborough is no longer as safe, there are increasingly more unfamiliar faces, there is a loss of unification among residents, and residents are less likely to help one another in times of trouble." Because sense of community is perceived to have deteriorated to some degree for these residents, there has been a negative transformation of sense of place.

Familiarity and acceptance are important aspects of any community, and both the social and physical environment can be transformed to a point where individuals lose their sense of connectivity to a place. Hartshorn argues that sense of place depends on "a level of

neighborliness that allows individuals to develop close ties with other residents . . . community interaction has not often been considered as an important source of psychological support for local residents” (Hartshorn, 1992, 214). As Massey argues, residents of Jonesborough, like everyone else, have a need for attachment to place. This attachment is sought partially through identification both with a community and the physical landscape. The attempts to establish rootedness and the responses to a loss of ties to place can be seen through the recovery of heritage, as is evident in Jonesborough (Massey, 1994).

Those who have experienced a negative transformation of sense of place have also indicated they feel as though their sense of community has deteriorated with a disappearance of community diversity. One resident of the older, non-tourist oriented community explained, “Older residents and low income residents have been driven out. They could not afford the cost of living, and they were no longer able to walk to a pharmacy or a grocery. I miss being able to walk downtown and talk with those residents.” The socio-economic diversity of Jonesborough’s residents has been lost to an extent, despite the fact that its maintenance was recognized as a goal as early as the 1970s (Jonesborough, 1977). Similarly, certain age groups are better represented than others in Jonesborough as a result of changing socio-economic conditions. There is what one resident termed ‘a generation gap’, because a group of younger people left Jonesborough in search of economic opportunity and never returned. During the same period some of the long term older residents passed away. As a result, a significant portion of the population falls in the over 45 age group, which consists of a community of residents that lived in Jonesborough prior to the development of tourism and a community that came in along with tourism.

Despite the fact that a large portion of the population is over the age of 45, there is a group of elderly residents who were forced to move out of downtown Jonesborough by economic circumstances. Several residents fondly remember the Chester Inn (the new home of the National Storytelling Center) as a residence for elderly residents, and they lament the fact that it no longer serves as such (see Figure IV-3). With the flourishing of tourism, not only did it become difficult for elderly residents to afford to live downtown because of the required upkeep of buildings and increased property values, but some citizens contend that elderly residents experienced more difficulty accessing everyday goods and services when retail trade establishments oriented towards resident needs left the downtown area. Resident-oriented retail



The Chester Inn is the new home of the National Storytelling Center. It was previously a residence for senior citizens.

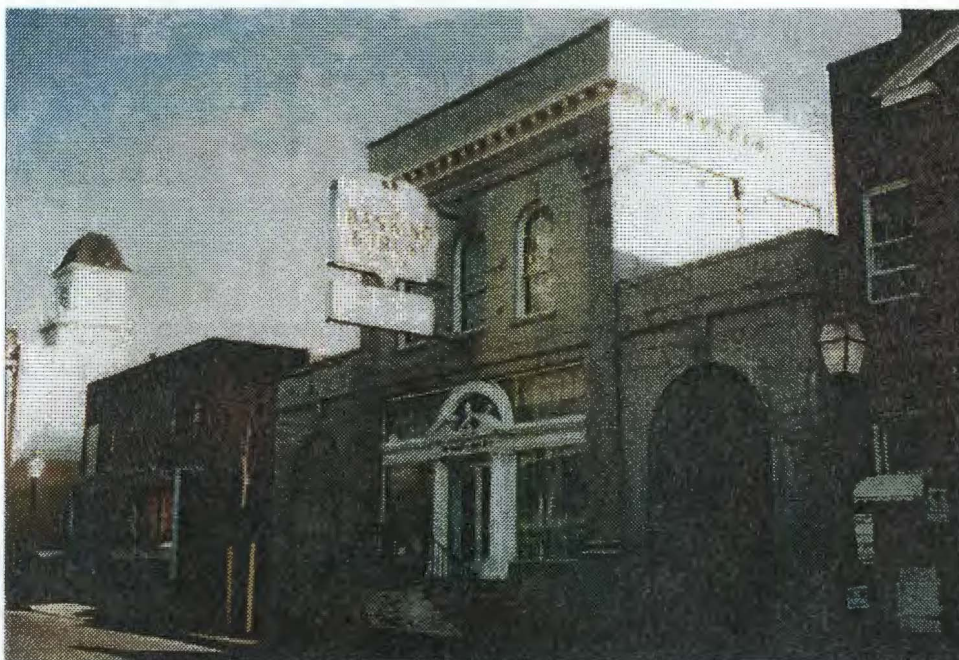
Figure IV-3. Chester Inn, 1997

trade establishments within walking distance of the Chester Inn were replaced by tourist-oriented shops, making it nearly impossible for some senior citizens to continue living downtown. Lower income residents along the creek were subject to a similar situation, and, as a result of the decline in elderly and lower income residents in the downtown area, socio-economic diversity has been somewhat diminished.

Engler recognizes that certain population cohorts become isolated from the rest of the community both physically and socially in the event that a town is converted to a themed environment to promote tourism (Engler, 1994). Elderly residents in particular may experience difficulty adjusting to the rapid development and resultant changes and they may lose ties to the community or be forced out. Other residents may suffer a similar fate due to inflation and costs of living that they can no longer afford. Similarly, there is a high likelihood that thematic development will produce spatial segregation in the form of exclusive tourist areas and exclusive local function areas. For example, locals may be forced to travel further for everyday needs because shops in town sell costly items for tourist consumption, and residents may become estranged from what used to be a small, rural town. Engler maintains that thematic development often favors the tourist over residents, as some residents argue to be the case in Jonesborough.

Engler's arguments regarding downtown shops are evident through the transition in the types of retail trade establishments in downtown Jonesborough. Downtown space has become contested not only by tourists and residents, but to some extent by Jonesborough's two distinct communities. Residents of the community not associated with tourism are unable to interact with downtown Jonesborough as frequently, and interactions have lost the meaning they once had. The shops downtown cater to tourists, and the inability of residents to interact with downtown Jonesborough in the ways they did in the past has led to a loss of identification with Jonesborough as a place - a negative transformation of sense of place.

Several residents talked about their interactions with downtown Jonesborough when stores existed primarily to serve their needs. Residents of different generations and socio-economic backgrounds recall frequenting downtown Jonesborough to shop for groceries at Lavender's, visit Mauk's pharmacy, or go to Western Auto. Residents also fondly remember being able to visit a soda fountain, Farmer's Home Supply, apparel stores, a shoe repair, a five and dime, a hardware store, banks, a laundromat, a hairdresser or barber, a candy store, a florist, and a dry cleaner, just to name some (see Figure IV-4, Figure IV-5). Although not all of these



Residents of Jonesborough were able to bank in downtown Jonesborough until the recent past.

Photos: Historic Jonesborough Foundation



Downtown Jonesborough in the late 1960s. Weem's Florist and a shoe repair are visible.

Figure IV-4. Downtown establishments of the past



Farm & Home Supply, 1988. Photos: Historic Jonesborough Foundation



Downtown Jonesborough in the late 1970s. A variety store is to the right of the hardware store.

Figure IV-5. Past retail trade establishments

establishments occupied space at one fixed point in time in the past, they are representative of the types of establishments encountered in downtown Jonesborough prior to decline and the subsequent development of tourism. The interactions of residents with these establishments had a profound effect on the formation of sense of place in the past, and these establishments have left an indelible mark on Jonesborough as a place, as the case of Lavender's Market illustrates.

A few of the establishments still remain in Jonesborough today. White's Auto Parts and Lavender's Market are two examples, and Cloyd's Jewelers recently closed after several decades of business (see Figure IV-6). Lavender's, which is best remembered by some residents as the local grocery store which used to deliver, now boasts a sign reading "Not Just a Grocery Store." Lavender's merchandise now consists of a variety of novelty items that are more likely of interest to tourists. Although Lavender's is still a point on the physical landscape, the grocery was forced to change to be able to survive downtown. Lavender's serves as an example of an important component of the physical landscape and place which has been altered with the presence of tourism, as citizens are no longer able to interact with Lavender's in the ways they did in the past. "We could send our children downtown to Lavender's with a note to buy groceries. They were safe because everybody knew them" (Koehler, 1996, 26). The expense would be added to one's bill, and the child would return home with the needed milk, eggs, or flour. People of the community were known and trusted, and the small town feel existed because of the sense of community and resident interactions and not because it was a commodity to be marketed to tourists.

Residents of Jonesborough also regret that they are no longer able to visit the library, the post office, and town hall in downtown Jonesborough as they used to - they are now located on Boone Street (see Figure IV-7). Although these facilities are still within walking distance for some, the walk is not as pedestrian friendly. Old town hall, for example, now houses a series of shops selling crafts and antiques among other things (see Figure IV-8). Residents would prefer to be able to go downtown to borrow books, renew a driver's license, or purchase stamps, and they argue that these are functions that could have successfully been maintained in the downtown area. Furthermore, there are complaints about the new location of the post office, library, and town hall. One resident contends that not only did these buildings replace the ballfields that were accessible to citizens without automobiles and served as a social gathering place for residents of all different socio-economic levels, but that the new buildings are located



White's Garage prior to the placing of utilities underground in 1975 and 1976.
Photo: Historic Jonesborough Foundation



White's Auto Parts in 1997.

Figure IV-6. White's Auto

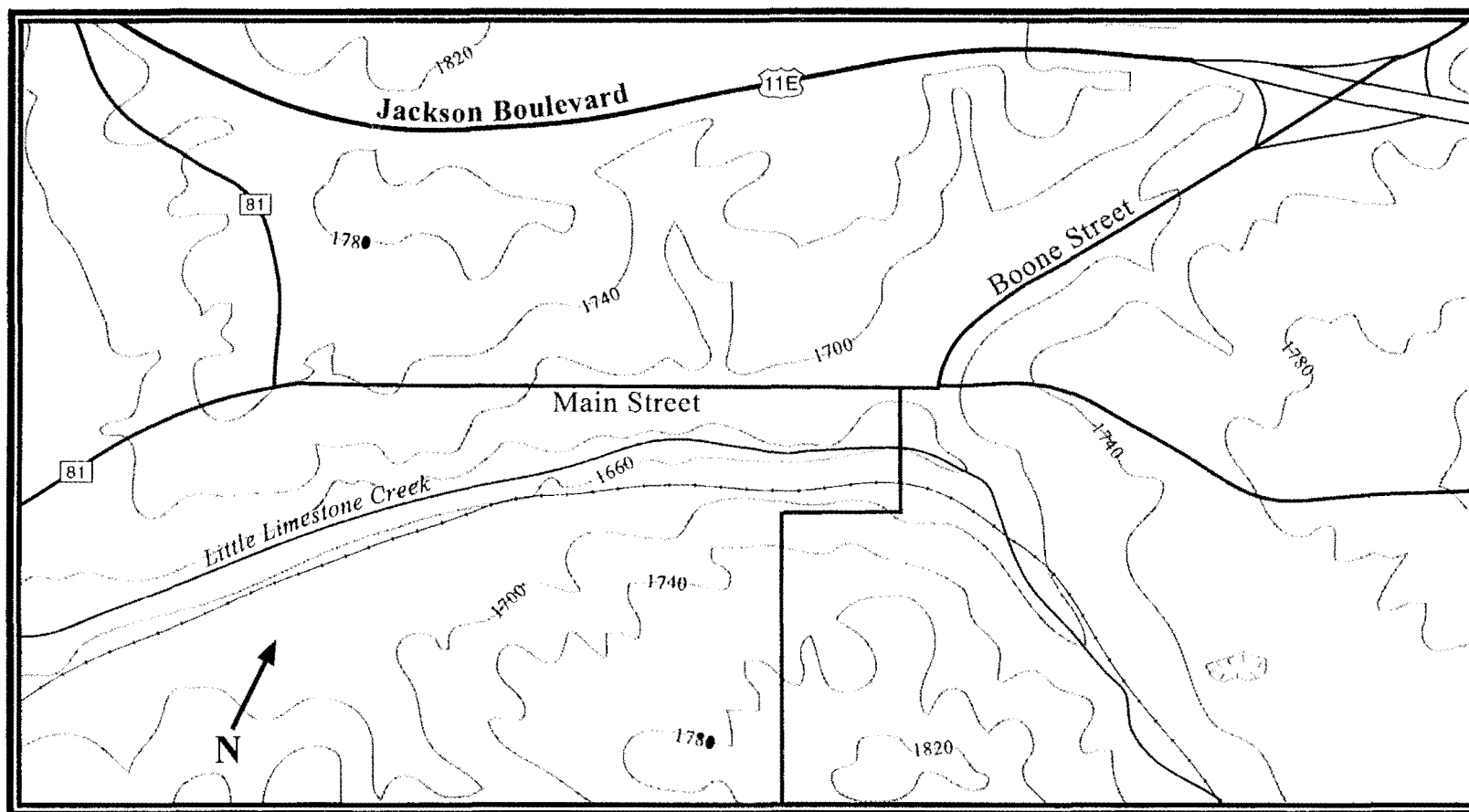


FIGURE IV-7. Topography of Jonesborough

Contour interval: 40 feet



Old Town Hall now houses several antique and specialty shops.

Figure IV-8. Old Town Hall

in a marshy area which could have potential future costs for the upkeep of the buildings. The new ballfields are located off Persimmon Ridge Road at the far end of town, making it more difficult for elderly residents to access them and for residents to leisurely gather (Figure IV-9). Again, residents are no longer able to interact socially or with the physical landscape in the ways they did in the past, and this has led to a negative transformation of sense of place for certain residents.

Many residents resent the transition of downtown Jonesborough from a resident-oriented area to a tourist-oriented area. Several residents expressed displeasure with the shops and their merchandise, contending that not only are the crafts and antiques expensive and impractical but that they are inauthentic and have nothing to do with Jonesborough's history. In essence, Jonesborough has been commodified for the sake of tourism; the shops serve as an indication that Jonesborough's heritage has been falsified to attract tourists. One resident alleges that the quality of the shops in downtown Jonesborough could be improved with a diversification and the sale of goods representing Jonesborough's true history rather than trinkets of no significance to Jonesborough's heritage. There is a concern that Jonesborough is essentially "putting all of its eggs in one basket" with the reliance on tourism and the conversion of retail trade establishments downtown to types catering primarily to tourists. This same resident describes the shops as dependent upon a 'country' fad that does not represent true history and is subject to the changing whims of tourists over the long run. The shops do not provide any incentive for many residents of Jonesborough to go downtown, and the alteration of the physical landscape and the social interactions that take place upon it has significant implications for sense of place.

Finally, residents of the non-tourism oriented community wish that the historic preservation movement better incorporated the conservation of the meaningful history, heritage, and culture that was essential to the identification with place prior to the onset of tourism. One resident expressed resentment at having to gain approval for every change or modification to a home in the historic district. Approval must be sought for renovations ranging from repainting the interior to replacing a heat pump, and in a sense one's home becomes an object of the tourist gaze and not a place to express individual preferences and style. A group of residents thus argues that downtown Jonesborough's physical landscape is preserved and modified for the sake of tourism rather than for the benefit of residents. Although residents of Jonesborough generally look favorably upon the historic preservation effort and the remarkable job in rejuvenating the

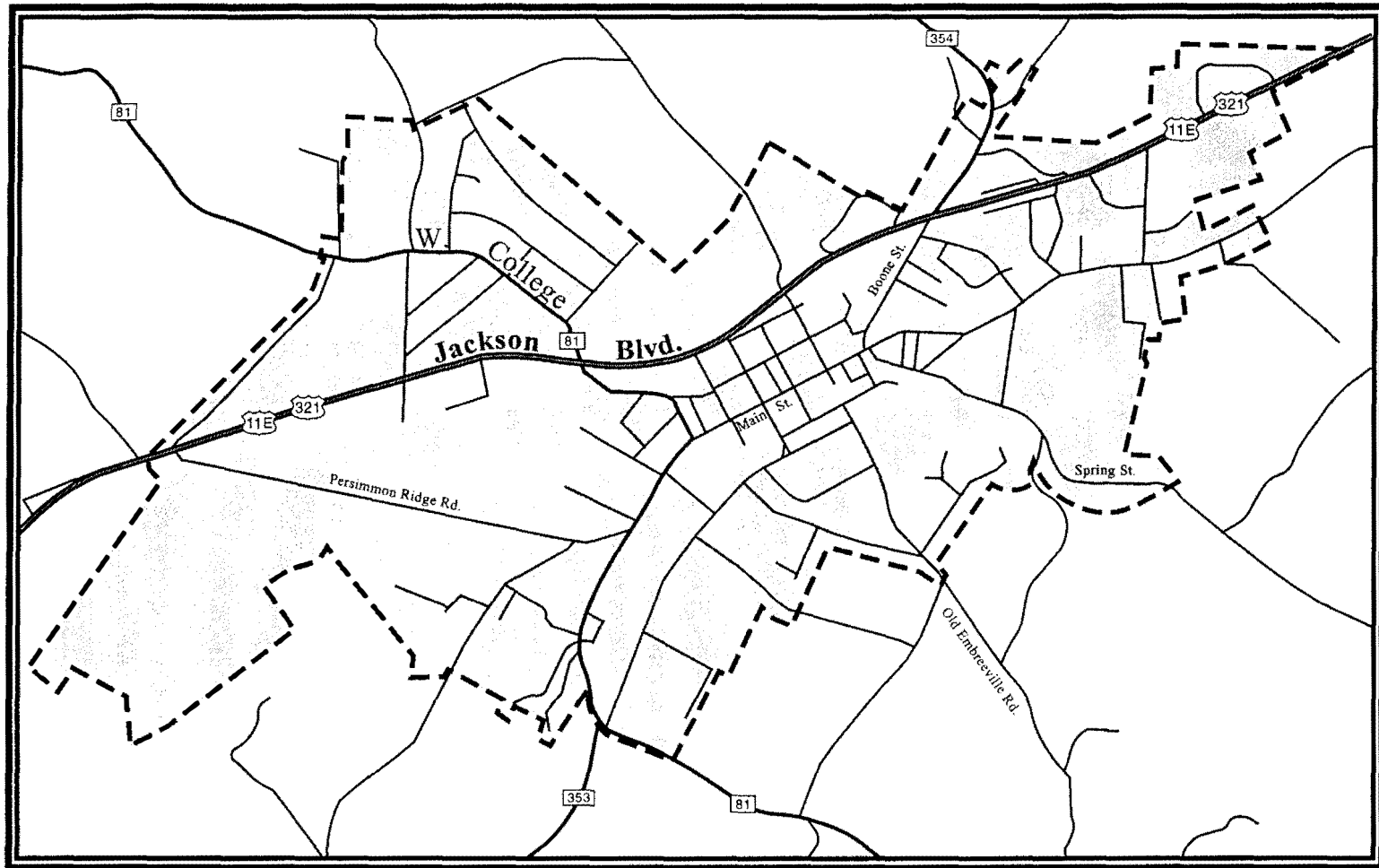


FIGURE IV-9. Jonesborough's Corporate Limits

physical landscape. the differences of opinion regarding who historical preservation most benefits translate into contrasting senses of place.

“Has Jonesborough Been Preserved?”

Anne Gervin Koehler is a former Jonesborough resident who echoes many of the sentiments expressed by community members of Jonesborough in a short essay entitled “Has Jonesborough Been Preserved?” (Koehler, 1996). Koehler remembers Jonesborough as an “idyllic small town” which has now been converted to a “theme park” (Koehler, 1996, 26). There is a description of the downtown area and the retail trade establishments once encountered, and despite the acknowledgment that residents were not particularly well off economically Koehler argues that the “picturesque, sleepy, self-sufficient town must have been doing something right” in that businesses had been on Main Street for years and residents often contentedly lived their entire lives in Jonesborough (Koehler, 1996, 26). Koehler asserts, “it was too pleasant to last. The very beauty of the town, which had lasted in use for 200 years, needed to be preserved. That was the initial intent, but something went very wrong. The historic character of the buildings has been preserved - or to be more accurate, renovated - but the town was destroyed” (Koehler, 1996, 26).

One of Koehler’s grievances centers on the expensive shops which now occupy downtown space, and the notion that “tourists count more than inhabitants” (Koehler, 1996, 26). Homeowners in the historic district have found that their “convenience has been sacrificed to please the tourists . . . and the Civic Trust will tell you what color you can paint your house” (Koehler, 1996, 27). Koehler maintains that the Victorian period of Jonesborough’s history has been “frozen” because of its appeal to tourists, while other layers of history have been largely ignored. In conclusion, Koehler stresses that Jonesborough is “an ‘attraction’ now, an artificial creation with aspects of the historical traditions emphasized. But the very life which kept Jonesborough going for so long has been discarded” (Koehler, 1996, 27). Koehler touches on numerous issues associated with a negative transformation of sense of place, ranging from a loss of ties to heritage to the commodification of culture.

Heritage implies the continuity of the past in the present, yet the past can be threatened by tourism. But what aspects of the past are preserved as heritage? Presumably, heritage is based on historical fact, but various researchers are quick to reveal that heritage is not

synonymous with history (Urry, 1990; MacCannell, 1976; Crang, 1996). Urry argues that “heritage is bogus history”, contending that authentic history is continuing and poses a threat to current means of development (such as tourism) while heritage is past, dead, and therefore safe (Urry, 1990, 110). Urry believes heritage is contrived and may actually be destructive to the buildings, artefacts, and ways of life which are supposedly conserved. In essence, the conservation of heritage permits a surface of historicity to be produced (Crang, 1996) because the conservation of authentic history would not allow for the economic or sociocultural changes associated with tourism.

Heritage tourism permits the emphasis to be centered on visualization or appearances in place of factual history (Urry, 1990; MacCannell, 1976). Visitors are presented with an ‘array of artefacts’ which includes buildings and physical landmarks, and the patterns of life which would have emerged around them can then be visualized (Urry, 1990, 112). The emphasis placed on surfaces and the superficiality of human interaction trivializes a variety of social experiences and distinctions once important to human consciousness (Urry, 1990; MacCannell, 1976). Heritage is therefore what Urry terms ‘artefactual history’, and consequentially residents and tourists may interpret a community’s heritage differently on the basis of visualization. For one thing, heritage constructed for the purpose of tourism will bring only appealing aspects of the past to the visual forefront, while events, landmarks, buildings, and historical facts which may have meaning for local residents but evoke a less positive image for tourists will be largely disregarded. Essentially, a community’s heritage is marketed to tourists as a commodity for consumption with significant consequences for residents of the host community and their ways of life. This process lends to the ‘development for whom’ question, as it leads MacCannell to question whether a community such as Jonesborough should be a commodity, and who should decide (MacCannell, 1992).

The commodification of culture and place is associated with almost all types of tourism (MacCannell, 1976, 1992; Getz, 1991; Shaw and Williams, 1994; Howell, 1994), but plays a particularly important role in heritage tourism. As people become continually more dissatisfied with present ways of life nostalgia for the past may drive them to participate in more authentic ways of life. Experience is manufactured and sold as a commodity (MacCannell, 1976) and since access to ‘authentic’ historic sites or towns cannot be controlled it is possible to commodify the experience of place (Shaw and Williams, 1994). Commodification of culture and

place ties into the fact that heritage relies on visualization - appearances are sold to tourists as commodities (as Koehler contends is the case in Jonesborough). Whether or not a conscious decision is made by individuals or the community to market heritage to attract tourists, once appealing aspects of culture and traditional ways of life are discovered by tourists they become commodified and consumed. The commodification process can have ramifications for the host community, as the meaning of heritage may be lost when it is consumed and regarded as a commonplace good or service.

The commodification process occurs with the development of tourism, and that which becomes commodified is often the 'staged authenticity' of culture, traditions, and ways of life in the community. The result is a falsification of place and time (Shaw and Williams, 1994). Heritage tourism attempts to commodify history, only it is actually a falsification of history that becomes commodified. Towns involved in heritage tourism in a sense become museum-like in that communities represent their relationship to their own history (Lumley, 1988). Towns become a type of open air museum with emphasis placed on visitor participation, but often the consumer is addressed rather than the citizens (Shaw and Williams, 1994; Urry, 1990). The true character of a town such as Jonesborough is falsified for the sake of tourism, and in some cases falsification can occur to the extent that a 'theme' setting develops. Image creation and place play a major role in themed environments, and 'Small town America' is a prime example of a themed environment created through the falsification of culture and history for heritage tourism (Shaw and Williams, 1994, 171).

Theme towns utilizing their heritage to attract tourists are able to bring money into the community, promote pride, and preserve sense of place if various pitfalls are avoided, but several cautions against theme towns are presented by Engler (Engler, 1994). Aside from the fact that a community's heritage may be marketed and exploited to the point where it loses meaning for local residents, heritage can become commodified to the extent that it becomes commonplace. 'Small town America' is a common theme in development, and once the meaning of heritage (local identity and place rooted experiences) has been irreparably transformed, a town dependent upon heritage tourism can become one of many towns conforming to the 'Small town America' image. Other consequences of thematic development in small communities include an increased dependence on fashions of tourism that cannot be trusted over time and a tendency to promote reliance on visuals and create replicas while true meanings are disregarded.

Residents of Jonesborough who have experienced a negative transformation of sense of place associated with the development of tourism tend to agree that tourism is unlikely to survive over the long run, as tourism will ruin that which first attracted tourists. One resident claims “Jonesborough has touristed itself out of what it had to offer. It operates as a business, not as a town.” Tourists come for the National Storytelling Festival, but the idyllic small town atmosphere has been transformed with the commodification of history and culture to bring tourists back to Jonesborough. Another resident expressed a similar belief, saying that Jonesborough has lost its local color and hence the reason that some tourists came to Jonesborough in the first place. Residents of both communities worry about the implications of this phenomenon. The tourism-oriented community is concerned with competition from other regional towns that also market history to tourists such as Greeneville, Bristol, and Erwin.

In essence, tourism can act as an agent of its own destruction in a community (Plog, 1974; Glasson et al., 1995; S. Smith 1989; Cogswell, 1995). Although heritage tourism may offer benefits to host communities and therefore appear relatively benign, it can destroy the environment and culture that attracted tourists in the first place. In the case of heritage tourism the preserved physical environment may not be threatened to a great extent, but the culture and local traditions which constitute heritage are likely to be at risk. Residents may no longer interact with places occupied by tourists (which formerly had meaning for residents), and consequentially resident ties to heritage may be lost. When heritage meanings are transformed for residents, the local color and heritage that attracted tourists initially may disappear as well.

Wiendu Nuryanti expresses the idea that tourism contains the seeds of its own destruction by treating it as a paradox inherent in the concept of heritage tourism (Nuryanti, 1996). Heritage is part of the cultural tradition of society, whereas the nature of tourism is dynamic and involves constant change. The changes brought to a host community by tourism are inevitable, and it is change that can destroy the heritage that originally attracted tourists. Nuryanti goes on to assert that “the relationship between heritage and tourism parallels the debate that takes place within a society’s culture between tradition and modernity” (Nuryanti, 1996, 249). Heritage tourism can therefore induce change and modernization in a host community, but these changes can come at the cost of tradition and certain ways of life.

Jonesborough as a Place Today and in the Future

There is a mutual recognition of the conflicting ideals of Jonesborough's two communities, and both acknowledge that downtown Jonesborough of the past would be hard pressed to survive today. The tourism-oriented community has embraced the changes brought by tourism, and these residents have found ways to profit both economically and socially. Members of the community not associated with tourism do maintain that they cannot entirely blame people who chose to come into Jonesborough during its transitional period to take advantage of economic opportunities associated with tourism. At the same time, one resident wishes that "Jonesborough had made a conscious decision in the 1970s to attempt to maintain Jonesborough as a functioning small town for residents rather than a tourist town."

While members of Jonesborough's two distinct communities have experienced contrasting transformations of sense of place with the development of tourism, there is little open hostility between the two communities. Residents who are part of Jonesborough's tourism-oriented community tend to interact more and be more visible in the downtown area, and they may be more articulate. Residents belonging to this community are often in positions of authority, and they tend to have a more direct economic stake in Jonesborough's tourism industry. Although the viewpoints of the members of Jonesborough's community less involved with tourism may not be voiced as openly and may be somewhat disregarded in decision making, there is a system of checks and balances which helps to maintain an equilibrium between the two communities. Evidence exists in the vote against liquor by the drink. There is also cooperation between the two communities when both are threatened or are in opposition to a proposed change. For example, when a Wendy's restaurant (which would compete with downtown eateries) was proposed on High Street bordering a residential area, residents of both communities voiced so much disapproval that Wendy's decided it was not in its best interest to be associated with such contention and withdrew.

Although it is too late to change the course of tourism development in Jonesborough over the past decades, the key for the future lies in maintaining a balance between the two communities. In the eyes of some residents, the two communities are already beginning to meld as they continue to share more experiences. This melding is evident in the perception that a third, overlapping community exists in Jonesborough, and it gives hope to the future resolution of differences regarding Jonesborough as a place. One resident believes that preserving the

livability of the town is essential, which means promoting tourism and growth without permitting tourism to infringe on resident values and ways of life. Diversifying the shops in downtown Jonesborough is an important step, as it will allow residents of both communities to have reasons to interact with other residents and with space in downtown Jonesborough. Most residents agree that the immediate future hinges upon Jimmy Neil Smith and the National Storytelling Center, and whether tourism is permitted to further dominate Jonesborough.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This study has led to three sets of conclusions, all of which are specific to Jonesborough. The first set of conclusions highlighted in this chapter deals directly with the implications of the research for Jonesborough, and the future of Jonesborough as a place. The second set of conclusions will deal with the analysis of the impacts of development strategies such as tourism. The last set of conclusions will focus on the importance of place as a consideration in development strategies.

Implications for Jonesborough

To be able to understand the sense of place of individual residents in Jonesborough, it is first essential to be aware that there are two distinct communities. Within each community there are similar interests, agendas, and shared perceptions of place, but there are notable contrasts between the perceptions of members of the two communities which have resulted in differing senses of place. Place is constantly changing, and resident perceptions of place are constantly undergoing change as well. While the tourism-oriented community has experienced a positive transformation of sense of place over time, residents not involved with aspects of tourism have generally experienced a negative transformation of sense of place. The distinction between the perceptions of place is important to the overall understanding of place, but for Jonesborough it is perhaps more important to look ahead to the future and attempt to determine which aspects of place are currently valued and should be either preserved or revitalized.

The alteration of sense of place for residents of Jonesborough has coincided with the development of tourism and the modification of the physical landscape. The conversion of the downtown from resident-oriented space to a tourist function area has been one of the most significant factors in transforming resident perceptions of place, as residents are no longer able to interact with one another or the physical landscape as they did in the past. Residents feel a sense of loss in that the downtown of the past no longer exists, but it is acknowledged that the downtown had begun to decline and there was a need for some type of transition. There are residents who would have preferred Jonesborough to have made a decision to couple historic preservation with an attempt to maintain Jonesborough as a functioning self-sufficient town

rather than a tourist town, but it is argued by others that this would not have been a feasible alternative. With modernization, a move away from the town's agricultural roots, and competition from shopping areas in Johnson City, it would have been difficult for the retail trade establishments formerly in downtown Jonesborough to survive. One resident believes that Jonesborough is fortunate to have made a transition away from being a small town in decline, particularly since there were no major time periods with vacancies in downtown buildings (signifying a near complete deterioration of the town). In Jonesborough, heritage and event tourism have contributed vitality to the downtown area, and Jonesborough is therefore considered to be a model for small town tourism. But what are the costs of this relatively successful tourism development?

Most of the Jonesborough residents not favoring tourism lived in Jonesborough prior to the development of tourism, and they argue that community values, culture, traditions, and past ways of life have been sacrificed for tourism. It is impossible to return to the transitional period in the 1970s when tourism took root in Jonesborough. Nonetheless, because heritage and historic preservation are important to Jonesborough's citizens, there is still an opportunity to address the concerns some residents have about the loss of ties to the past. Tourism will likely continue to be promoted as a development strategy, particularly because it is perhaps one of the only development alternatives available to towns like Jonesborough. At the same time, there is a need to consider the sociocultural impacts as well as the more tangible economic impacts associated with tourism development. Tourism development needs to be monitored to control growth and to ensure that any economic and sociocultural benefits filter down through all levels of the community. Undoubtedly, no single group of citizens should bear a disproportionate share of the costs.

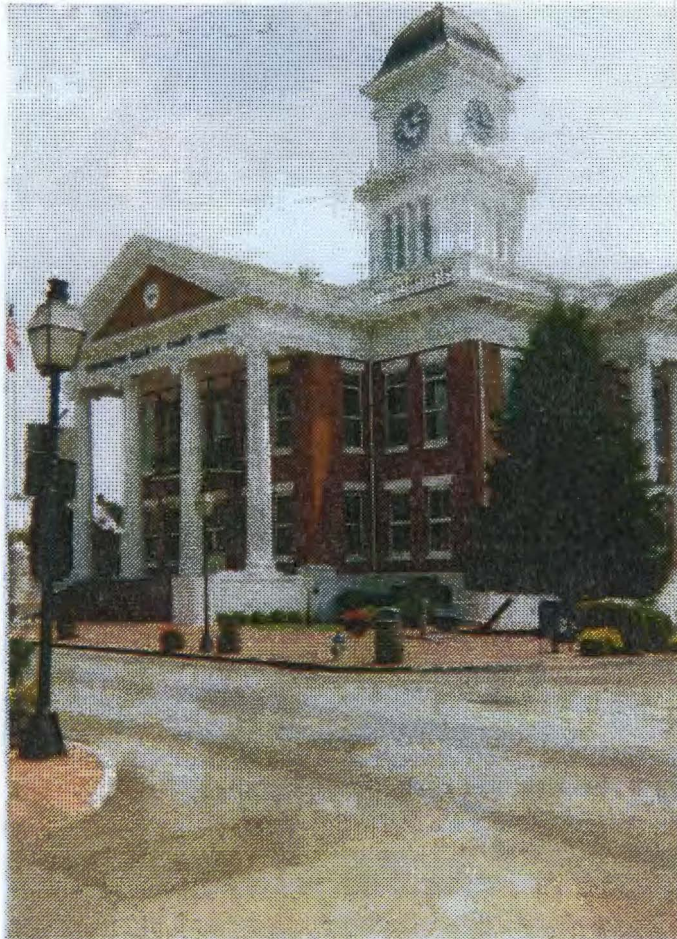
Town officials are aware of future development needs, and many have already been incorporated into Jonesborough's 1996 Comprehensive Plan so that residents can prosper and take advantage of Jonesborough's assets now and in the future. The implementation of policies to meet development goals is always more difficult than the statement of goals. The viewpoints and perceptions of members of Jonesborough's two distinct communities need to be considered and weighted appropriately in decision making processes concerning community issues and goals, which means permitting the voices which are often overpowered to be heard. At the same time, one of the threats to Jonesborough is perceived to be community apathy (Jonesborough,

1996, 35), meaning that some responsibility does lie with citizens to be involved in community decisions. The loss of historic integrity and of community uniqueness are two additional threats (Jonesborough, 1996, 35), both of which could potentially produce a negative alteration of sense of place for residents in the future.

To combat these threats, Jonesborough's goals include the protection of the architectural character of the town, the quality of life, the town's history, socio-economic diversity, and natural resources (Jonesborough, 1996, 101). Another aim is to conserve the Historic District and Jonesborough's historic heritage. Part of this conservation relies on ensuring the economic stability of the Historic District by encouraging a variety of retail trade establishments and businesses including government offices, financial institutions, dining and lodging facilities, specialty shops, and cultural/performing arts theaters (Jonesborough, 1996, 102). Maintaining the courthouse and the county seat are also important to the vitality of the downtown area (see Figure V-1). The diversification of the downtown district will support tourist activity and will provide reasons for residents to interact with the downtown landscape, potentially strengthening the identification of individual residents with place.

While there is a recognition of goals, the Historic District Sector plan fails to mention specifically how each goal will be met, be it through legislation, incentive programs, or other strategies. Certain town officials are keenly aware of the steps that need to be taken to bring about change, but these officials so far have met with resistance from the political power structure of the town. Citizens often decline to participate in the planning process, perhaps because public meetings are inconvenient for some and they may be intimidating for others. Town officials must therefore actively seek the viewpoints of the people who are less visible and sometimes less articulate by encountering them in places outside of the formal planning forum.

Jonesborough also lists the preservation of physical, written, and oral history and the education of the townspeople about historic preservation as goals. It is essential that history be preserved for residents, and not solely for the purpose of marketing history to tourists. Finally, there are aims to encourage a living community in order to discourage the creation of a museum community, and to maintain a diverse socio-economic neighborhood in the Historic District (Jonesborough, 1996, 105). Residents who have experienced a negative transformation of sense of place argue that the socio-economic diversity of the community has already been lost to an extent and that Jonesborough has become a themed environment to some degree. These were



The courthouse is essential to the vitality of downtown Jonesborough.

Figure V-1. Washington County Courthouse

goals of Jonesborough in the 1970s (Jonesborough, 1977), and they have not been met to the satisfaction of all residents. The failure to meet these goals serves to emphasize the need to consider the voices and perceptions of all citizens in development strategies so that sense of place is not further deteriorated for these residents. As Hartshorn points out, planners need to consider community interaction as an important psychological aspect for residents whose sense of place may deteriorate with future changes brought by tourism (Hartshorn, 1992). Tourism has been relatively successful as a development strategy in Jonesborough, and it has the potential to meet with greater success in the future if place is valued.

Researching Impacts of Tourism and Other Development Strategies

Traditionally, economic impacts have been used to measure the overall impact of tourism on a community. There is now recognition of the need to consider the less tangible sociocultural impacts of tourism on a community, as it is these impacts that often have a more profound effect on the daily lives of residents. Sense of place constitutes one of the sociocultural traits which can be greatly impacted by the development of tourism in a community, and a negative transformation of sense of place associated with a loss of identification with the social structure or physical environment can outweigh positive economic impacts. The alteration of sense of place needs to be addressed as an impact of any development strategy that modifies the physical environment (and thus the social relationships that occur on the physical landscape), and to do so researchers must attempt to understand place through the eyes of residents.

Analysis of demographic and economic data can provide an initial, superficial, understanding of a geographic area, but to understand place researchers must address the intricate social interactions that occur on the physical landscape of a geographic area. It must be recognized that in reality interactions are not confined to the boundaries of geographic areas in the attempt to interpret place. Feminists have advocated new forms of research methodologies that allow the researcher to address his/her role in the construction of place while shedding light on the voices of people with different backgrounds, interests, and perceptions of place. Feminists push for a move away from traditional research methods in which the researcher assumes a hegemonic, all-knowing position. Mobile positioning allows for discourse to occur without the imposition of a power structure, and it also permits the use of narratives of a multitude of people to describe place. Feminist approaches to research and academic writing

styles are becoming more readily accepted, as they can be more appropriate than traditional research methodologies in weighing the sociocultural impacts of development strategies. The people affected most profoundly are given the opportunity to voice the ways in which development impacts them, and residents are able to convey how their sense of place has been transformed

The Perception of Place as a Factor in Development Strategies

Feminist research methodologies allow the values of different people from different backgrounds to be expressed and weighted appropriately so that they can be incorporated into development strategies. Despite the portrayal of multiple voices, it remains difficult to define that which is valued by the majority of a community's members. There is often disagreement regarding what is actually valued and what should be valued both within and between different societies. Marilyn Waring argues that the things she values most as an individual - "a pollution-free environment, accessibility of national parks, walkways, beaches, and lakes - all count for nothing under the current world system" (Waring, 1988, 1). The preservation of the environment (whether it be natural resources or a physical environment with constructed social meanings important to sense of place) is not valued by the current political economy, and there is a reluctance to take responsibility for such values. Waring argues that "the system cannot respond to values it refuses to recognize." The current system is one in which accumulation is considered beneficial, thus economic growth is the primary goal. Value is almost always considered in economic terms, and feminists are among those who contend that there is a need to recognize the intrinsic value of culture, traditions, attachment to place, and the environment. The current system of overproduction and accumulation of capital needs to be restructured to include intrinsic values.

Development strategies, including tourism development, can threaten the attachment to place of individuals. Growth and change are considered to be positive and necessary for survival, but the achievement of these economic goals often comes at the cost of community values that are not accounted for by the current system. Development purported to benefit a community can therefore actually damage the fabric of a community, or the place it is intended to improve. Benita Howell points out that "no one consciously set out to undermine Jonesborough's quality of life. The changes that displaced and alienated some of the

townspeople happened incrementally over a quarter of a century, the end result of many small decisions” (Howell, 1996, 30). Displacement of townspeople results from the loss of identification with a place, or the negative transformation of sense of place associated with tourism and other development strategies which gradually alter ways of life. Howell promotes cultural conservation to preserve “community life and values” in the face of growth and development, but recognizes that “consensus and unanimity of interests are as rare in small towns as they are anywhere else” (Howell, 1996, 30).

Howell goes on to argue that “embracing the goals of cultural conservation resolves nothing. Rather, it begins a debate about values and priorities” (Howell, 1996, 30). In conclusion, Howell maintains that ultimately residents in towns considering tourism based on history must come together and define mutual goals for historic preservation and heritage tourism, but in reality the mutual defining of goals is essential in ensuring that any type of development strategy does not threaten community values. Howell also states that “neither outside experts nor local elites should monopolize decisions that profoundly affect the lives of all concerned, although cultural specialists may offer research skills, facilitate public dialogue, and sometimes help weaker voices be heard” (Howell, 1996, 30). The weaker voices are just as essential to the understanding of place and community values as the stronger voices.

Howell advocates assessing cultural attachment to place in the attempt to determine if a community will be able to withstand proposed changes associated with certain types of development. To examine cultural attachment indicators, there is a need for quantification and comparison between places at some level, as numerical precision can be beneficial. However, the failure to recognize the shortcomings of quantification can undermine the complexity of community values. Howell identifies five themes that should be considered in measuring cultural attachment to place. These themes include the preservation of history through anecdotes and material culture, localized knowledge (the use of local resources), time spent on the land, place based values and ethics such as stewardship, aid, reciprocity, and continuity in kin, and life on a genealogical landscape where place names, landmarks, and fellow residents are identified (Howell, 1997). A strong cultural attachment to place is likely to translate into a positive sense of place, as residents will be able to maintain values, their identity with place, and a sense of rootedness.

Braidotti et al. advocate methodologies which allow individuals to rethink the link between knowledge, identity, power, and the community (Braidotti et al., 1994). These links have a profound influence on the perception of place and the decision-making processes regarding development which affect communities. Likewise, Massey is concerned with the 'power geometry' of interactions and relationships between individuals within and between communities (Massey, 1994). Certain groups or individuals are in charge of interactions and development decisions, and these groups use their power to their own advantage. Massey quotes the cliché "money makes the world go round" (Massey, 1994, 147), as the groups with the power to influence interactions which define place tend to be those who control economic resources. Money and power are equated, which further demonstrates the need to consider the intrinsic values of things such as culture and attachment to place rather than solely their economic worth. This restructuring of our value system will empower people with few economic resources.

Massey contends that "the control of some groups can actively weaken other people" (Massey, 1994, 150). When development strategies for communities are evaluated, it is often the groups with economic resources that occupy positions of authority and have the strongest voice in determining what trajectory a community will follow. The values and sense of place of other community members are often disregarded, and the deterioration of place can become one of the costs associated with development purported to benefit the group in control. Rodman alleges that the most powerless people often have no place at all (Rodman, 1992). To counter the loss of attachment to place for some residents, the weaker voices in a community must be considered and a strong sense of place must be valued when development strategies are implemented. Because the restructuring of our current system of value is likely a ways off, smaller steps must be taken to incorporate the values of those with a weaker voice. In a community such as Jonesborough, the viewpoints of less vocal community members must be actively sought by town officials through prolonged, intensive interaction with residents occupying all types of physical and social space.

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APPENDIX

Appendix

Interview Schedule

Your responses will be held in confidence. You may elect to skip any question.

1. How many years have you lived in Jonesborough?
2. Where did you live prior to that time, and why did you move to Jonesborough?
3. What is your current occupation? Is your occupation in any way related to the tourism industry? How? What occupations have you had in Jonesborough related to tourism?
4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
0 - 8 years _____
some high school _____
high school graduate _____
2 year college degree _____
4 year college degree _____
graduate degree _____
5. Has tourism in Jonesborough affected you (and your family) economically? If so, in what specific ways?
6. What economic impacts do you feel tourism has had for the community of Jonesborough?
7. In your opinion, what role has the National Storytelling Festival played in historic preservation and the promotion of tourism in Jonesborough?
8. How has Jonesborough changed with increased tourism over the past 25 - 30 years?
9. Please provide a brief history of what you remember about Jonesborough since you have lived here (significant events, daily routines, acquaintances, etc.)
10. Describe your past perceptions of Jonesborough as compared with your current perceptions in terms of Jonesborough as a community in which to reside.
11. In the past, for what reasons would you go to downtown Jonesborough? How often?
12. Why do you currently go downtown? Do you frequent downtown Jonesborough more or less often now than you did in the past?
13. Where (geographically) do you currently shop, bank, etc? Where did you shop, bank, etc. in the past?
14. What is your impression of tourists visiting Jonesborough, and how do they impact your daily activities?

15. How do you feel about having tourists in your community?
16. How do you feel about the fact that many of the shops downtown are designed to attract tourists? Would you prefer more shops that provide goods and services to local residents?
17. What does “sense of place” mean to you?
18. How has your “sense of place” of Jonesborough changed over time?
19. What is your overall opinion of the impact of tourism in Jonesborough? Is it positive, negative, or neither, and why?

VITA

Elizabeth Van Horn was born in Baltimore, Maryland on June 28, 1974. She was raised in Westminster, Maryland and graduated from Westminster Senior High School in 1992. Following graduation, Elizabeth entered Salisbury State University on the eastern shore of Maryland. She graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Geography in December, 1995 with a second major in Spanish.

Elizabeth entered the Master's Program in Geography at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in January, 1996. During the course of her program at the University of Tennessee, she had the opportunity to travel to the Dominican Republic, where she cultivated her interests in cultural studies. Additionally, she became interested in the impacts of tourism development on various communities, which led her to pursue her research in East Tennessee. The degree of Master of Science was received in May, 1998.

Elizabeth is currently residing in Maryland.