Where's the Music?

Understanding Sense of Place in Asheville North Carolina Through Tourism Guidebooks and Stakeholder Interviews

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Abstract

My study seeks to investigate music's role in Asheville's tourism message. The significance of my study is the opportunity to add to existing music tourism research on mid-sized cities in geographic literature. Data will be collected by using on- on-one interviews and content from Asheville tourism guidebooks to explore the development of Asheville's tourism promotion The respondents will be local musicians, venue promoters, and Asheville's tourism officials and discourse analysis will be done on guidebooks and interview responses. My study will benefit Asheville's tourism industry and local community as well as fill in gaps in tourism development in midsized cites based on cultural characteristics such as music.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Asheville prides itself on being a tourist destination so much to the point of naming their minor league baseball team "The Tourists". For decades the city has been a western North Carolina getaway for outdoors lovers and Biltmore Estate sightseers. However, in recent decades the city has evolved into a more cosmopolitan place that has reawakened its downtown. The quote from a tourist guidebook describes this experience. "In the early '90s, something magical happened. A few artists found their way to Downtown Asheville, which had been in a slumber for several years, and the renaissance began. Whether you're into art, antiques, history, science, music, food, flowers, nature, crafts, theater, dance or film, you're guaranteed to find a special event that strikes your fancy no matter the time of year." (A Look at Asheville 2010-2011)

Located in the Appalachian Mountains, Asheville has created a uniqueness about it that is not only created from its natural surroundings, but also from its people. Unique physical features and cultural elements, both historical and recent, help to develop a multi-faceted sense of place attached to Asheville. Sense of place refers to the feelings one creates when experiencing or thinking about a place (Smith 2015). The strong feelings a person attaches to a place develops their sense of place. That sense of place is based on both experiences and characteristics of the place (Jarratt et al. 2019). An example would be someone having a reaction to seeing the massive size of the Biltmore Estate or seeing a show of their favorite artist in downtown Asheville and remembering the city based on that experience and the feelings associated with it. The aspects of a place greatly contribute to a person's sense of place. Place can be made up of tangible and intangible aspects (Qazimi 2014). Some of the things that make up Asheville are its mountains, rivers, architecture from the 1920s, restaurants, breweries, quirky culture, and artistic communities.

The concept of place is made up of more than location, it is made up of landscape, architecture, history, heritage, and social norms (Smith 2015). While location defines where that place would be, the characteristics define what that place is known for and contributes to a place's identity. Place-making comes from the experience people develop with the actual surroundings and the people within a place (Cartel 2022). Sense of place adds perspective on how humans are affected by place (Qazimi 2014). While both tourists and residents create a sense of place, the development of sense of place differs. One important driver of a tourist's sense of place are guidebooks that particularly sell experiences to potential visitors by shaping a place through advertising carefully selected characteristics. Residents on the other hand experience a different sense of place due to being familiar with their home. Time plays a role in shaping a place based on past activities done there, present activities that reshape the place, and future projects that will reshape a place (Cartel 2022). Future projects that reshape a place can affect how residents perceive their home. Interviews with stakeholders within a community, allow for a deeper understanding of multiple perspectives on sense of place that may or may not align with the messages shown in guidebooks.

In recent decades, Asheville has become a hub for creative communities. While it was previously known for its scenic landscape, the city has marketed itself as a tourist destination for the cultural arts. Branching from its Appalachian heritage, Asheville has welcomed new creative communities that specialize in handcrafts, culinary arts, theater, dance, and music. The emergence of these communities has allowed Asheville to market itself as a non-traditional southern city.

The number of music venues and performances within the city contribute to that marketable image. The central business district of Ashville contains 52 venues for live music in

the form of large concert halls, bars, restaurants, and coffee shops (Ahrens 2010). Many musical venues situated in Asheville reflect the city's cultural image and help establish a sense of place for residents and tourists. That sense of place can be defined through formal structures that make it unique or through recurring events the location is known for (Campbell 2011). Richard Campbell (2011) uses music festivals as an example of something that defines that place due to them being a significant repeated event. Music festivals such as Belle Chere and Lake Eden Arts Festival have been held in Asheville for consecutive years, drawing visitors to Asheville for its music scene.

Tourism is a way in which music affects these landscapes (Nash and Carney 1996). Leonieke Bolderman (2020) proposes that tourists travel to a destination associated with music as a form of healing and wellbeing, in connection with music being therapeutic. Music tourism gives meaning and personal connection to a location that can be frequented (Bolderman 2020). Large-sized cities are popular for developing a sense of place through music for residents and tourists, they contain diversity and a strong base for musical creativity to develop within those areas. The unique types of music connected to the cities such as jazz, blues, and country give these cities an image that attracts visitors interested in those types of music. Richard Florida et al. (2010) studied the cities New Orleans, Nashville, and Detroit and discussed location-specific music scenes that have specific genre that music employees cluster to. In addition, Chris Gibson and John Connell (2007) point out Nashville, Liverpool, and Memphis as being destinations famous for unique musical styles. Memphis in particular is known as being one of the most iconic and successful in tourism with a population of 680,000 in 2005.

While music tourism research has been done on large-sized American cities, there is a gap in geographic literature on how mid-sized cities approach tourism and tourism narratives.

Using Della Lucia's et al. (2017) example of a mid-sized city, which is 95,000 to 115,000 people, my study will bring to attention the role of music in tourism messaging for cities this size. More mid-sized cities are capitalizing on tourism as a remedy for economic downturn brought on by shifts in post-industrial industries (Apostolopoulou and Papadimitriou 2013). The same can been seen in Asheville during their downtown revitalization efforts. Mid-sized cities advertise cultural heritage tourism through art festivals and birthplaces of famous people to display their uniqueness (Rabbiosi and Ioannides 2022). By 2020, Asheville's population was 94,589 people (U.S. Census.gov), therefore making it a mid-sized city. Through famous music venues, music festivals, or popular local bands the city advertises its music heritage.

In my thesis I intend to answer the question "How has music influenced tourism in Ashville North Carolina?". My methods will consist of conducting interviews with Asheville stakeholders and content analysis within guidebooks. My study seeks to find answer the following.

1. What narratives are preserved within Asheville's tourist guidebooks?
    a) Has there been any shifts in these narratives over time?
    b) What is the role of music within tourist guidebook narratives?
2. How do various stakeholders view the impacts of Asheville tourism?
    a) How do musicians understand the direct influences of tourism in their lives?
    b) How do venue promoters profit from tourism narratives?
    c) How do tourism officials view music in promotional narratives?
    d) How do these three groups of stakeholders view the intergroup relationships?

This study is meant to explore music's cultural contribution to tourism in this pilot study on Ashville. It will show how music is valuable in establishing a sense of place for a destination. This study will fill the gap between music and mid-sized city tourism in geographic literature.

Looking ahead in chapter two, my study will cover the literature associated with sense of place, tourism, music, and the city branding of Asheville. Chapter three will cover the literature and reasoning behind the methods I used in answering my research questions. Chapter four will be a discussion on my findings from discourse analysis within Asheville guidebook content. Chapter five will be a discussion on my findings from discourse within interviews. I will then conclude with discussing similarities between my two methods' findings as well as discuss my findings' relation to sense of place and music. This will then be followed by ideas for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

My review will start by exploring the definition of sense of please along with the characteristics that define it. I will then discuss the developments in tourism studies in geography and its transition from spatial analysis into a more holistic approach diving into culture and globalization's impact on it. The review will then focus on the tourist gaze made famous by John Urry, which is related to mass tourism that led to the creation of cultural tourism. In discussing mass tourism and its development, I will discuss the commodification of destinations and how the tourist gaze has impacted how a tourist sees a destination. Then, my study will mention developments in marketing and branding that affect the way they view destinations, especially when it comes to music tourism.

While research has been done on the city's festivals, hiking, and the Biltmore Estate, the city's music scene has yet to be investigated. Therefore, my review will discuss the musical importance of "place" to a destination. I will review literature discussing the reasons why tourists visit destinations that market to their interests. Finally, I will mention tourism around Asheville and how the city has branded itself into something more cosmopolitan.

Sense of place

Sense of place is derived from place identity and differs from location because sense of place contributes to how a place is defined but does not involve an absolute location. It is more about the feelings that place creates. Home can be used as an interpretation of a place where one traditionally develops their sense of place due to familiar bonds (Cresswell 2009). Hashemnezhad et al. (2012) mention that human interaction with place involves cognitively understanding their environment, functioning in their environment or taking action to meet needs, and how they feel about where they are and what they do. They measure place attachment

by physical factors, social factors, cultural factors, personal factors, experiences, liking the place, and activity with the place. Therefore, sense of place is a highly subjective image and attachment to place that is developed over time through a variety of social or individual experiences (Hashemnezhad et al. (2012). Kianicka et al. (2006) shares similar measurements of place attachment, but adds economy shape due to their study being based on a community's sense of place. Economy shape is how a community feels about their home based on how well the economy is doing, because the economy affects their standard of living.

What creates place is defined through the elements of the physical world. Such as Asheville being defined by its mountains. The mountains symbolize an array of meanings to residents and visitors. How they feel about physical elements can determine their satisfaction with a place. Because community influences individual perception, it contributes to shaping and reshaping identity and belonging for individuals (Sampson and Goodrich 2009). The sense of place a community develops is often influenced by the history valued in that place. Heritage is created from the sites, rituals, memories, objects, and sounds that a community values. The aspects of heritage a community attaches to that place collectively defines it. Music has the power to allow the listener to imagine a place and create feelings associated with that place (Hudson 2006). When discussing Asheville's music community, changes in the physical community can shape the music produced. The musical community can change based on community preference because of factors like gentrification morphing a place and the culture produced there (Hudson 2006). Allowing communities to construct place identity through place branding and placemaking creates a more authentic image of place.

Campelo et al. (2014) propose that leaving place branding to the perception of locals allows for a more authentic image and community equity in place branding due to their feeling of

attachment to the physical landscape. A sense of place is cocreated and recreated through social activity within communities. Creating a sense of place is crucial in placemaking processes for stakeholders to achieve cultural, community, and physical goals. Participation in placemaking gives members of a community a sense of coherence (Ellery and Ellery 2019). Using a model for developing sense of place in a community, they propose making community driven and citizen-controlled development projects increases a community's sense of place. Providing sense of place in destination branding creates a consistent perception of a place that is agreeable with residents, creating an inconsistent image could lead to unfamiliarity, non-acceptance, and opposition from locals (Campelo et al. 2014).

Robert Hay (1998) Created five stages of development for sense of place; a superficial connection for tourists, a partial connection for extended stay tourists and infants, a personal connection for new residents, an ancestral connection for locals with family heritage, and a cultural connection for people who identify with a community with ancestral connections. In his study, Hay observes strengthened bonds between residents and place due to time and identity. Locals develop their sense of place from their job, property they own or live on, and the social relationships they build since youth. Tourists develop their sense of place based on how the destination looks, what it contains, and the memorable activities they do there. A place has a social significance to locals while place has a personal significance to tourists (Kianicka et al. 2006). This is quite evident in tourist destinations because there is two perceptions. The resident calls a destination home, attractions in a destination work, money received from attractions income. A tourist considers the money paid at an attraction an investment in gaining an experience. They call those attractions unique experiences worth seeing or doing. Experiences at

destinations are memories for tourists that shape a destination, those memories and the feelings associated contribute to their sense of place.

Tourist Studies

Tourist studies is a comparatively new field in geographic literature, focusing on several topics including critical approach to the growth of tourism on a global scale, why certain tourists flock to specific destinations, different trends in tourism, and the growth and decay of destinations. With tourist studies, geographers can observe culture, politics, and economies associated with tourism along with an evolution of methods to do so (Franklin 2013; Telfer 2012). Adrian Franklin (2013) traces tourist study's development from the 1960s to the 1990s. Due to these changes in the tourism industry, many disciplines such as hospitality, anthropology, sociology, and geography work in tandem to analyze these phenomena.

Sanjay Nepal (2009) mentions how geographers usually associate themselves with the analysis of spatial and temporal patterns of development and change in the environment, economy, culture, social norms and values, and politics. He then discusses the current changes in these approaches, especially in the field of tourism. From a geographic perspective, Nepal (2009) divided tourist studies into questions that ask why tourists travel to specific destinations, what helps create a destination, and how do destinations evolve. These questions add a critical perspective to tourism that is ever changing and flexible. They shape the themes of space, place, behavior, and function. Franklin (2013) noted that modern tourism, also known as the Second Mobility, focuses more on the connections between tourists and the outside world. This mobility goes in depth about destination perceptions of tourists and how they can change due to marketing and globalization. The Second Mobility involves how relatable a destination is to a visitor and their metanarrative, therefore bringing forth the question of globalization's effect on place

identities. In recent years, Nepal (2009) mentions how geographers are focusing more on culture and heritage, race, gender and ethnicity, globalization, mobility and migration, climate and energy, and technological applications including Geographic Information Systems. The increase in interest in these studies shows a shift from spatial and temporal approaches of the 1950s and 1960s to current critical themes.

Tourist Gaze

In *The Tourist Gaze Revisited,* John Urry (1992) discusses that the visual experience of a tourist is important because it is out of the ordinary. He refers to it as a gaze due to the importance of sight to the human mind when it comes to sensorially interpreting the physical environment at first glance. The importance of sight is seen in French philosophy, the medical field, and religion as well as symbols (Urry 1992). Urry continues to discuss how seeing an image or scenery is superficial in comparison to what knowledge and other senses can gather; however, sight is what gives the tourist the initial idea of what they are experiencing, hence the term sightseeing. The tourist gaze expresses the characteristics associated with constructing and selling a tourist experience, the detailed marketing involved in the agency of tourism from the host country, and the system behind building revenue from an image (Bajc 2011). The gaze of a tourist on a social level encompasses carefully chosen images, literary works and songs about places to see, narratives on the uniqueness of a place's heritage, performances that embody the tourist experience, and a network of professionals and institutions that provide services to ensure a particular tourist experience (Bajc 2011). Urry (1992) argues a gaze is usually constructed by an expert, directed towards a specific purpose whether that is well-being or family gathering and can be an individualistic image of personal peace and quiet or a collective image of where all the excitement is.

Due to the all-seeing eye of tourists always carefully observing the everyday lives of people they consider authentic, an act is always put on by locals to satisfy tourists' visual consumption while maintaining the privacy of the locals behind the scenes (Urry 1992). With an artificially generated idea of a place shown through pictures and videos, many perceptions of a destination can be exaggerated. This is done to accentuate the exotic characteristics of a place to appeal to a mass audience. Many forms of media have spurred this exotic take on a destination such as *The Jungle Book*, *Lawrence of Arabia*, *Around the World in Eighty Days*, and *Tarzan*.

Since its development, tourism has grown into an essential aspect of globalized communication (Bajc 2011). It produces more money and travelers for many corners of the planet. Melanie Smith (2003) states that while developing countries doing trade are making new impacts in the global economy and taking chances in commerce, tourism is still an industry that is dominated by Western influences. Due to most visitors being from developed countries, destinations cater and accommodate to a Western globalized image. Places like Venice are an ideal example because shopping centers and accommodations for tourists have pushed Venetian citizens and cultural landscapes out of the city. In cultural tourism, Smith (2003) states that when a country doesn't ensure its own cultural components and identity, the capitalistic influence of globalization can take hold of that culture's values for profit.

This in turn can reflect a staged representation of a destination's rituals, beliefs, and physical structures by catering to the perceived image of a destination more so than the actual rebuilt image of a destination. Due to globalization, a culture's identity is naturally going to change for commercial and industrial purposes. However, the exotic image of the place can be preserved in order to be marketed as authentic. Throughout the world, destinations rework their indigenous cultures to construct new emergent cultures specifically for tourist audiences (Bruner

2005). While major destinations struggle with authenticity to appeal to a larger scale of tourism and commercialization, mid-size cities, such as Asheville, appeal to a localized and domestic scale that can market developing cultural heritage that more closely reflects its urban environment due to the support of local businesses and communities. An important aspect of cultural heritage is music; therefore, music plays an important role in tourism. When observing a place's culture, music is an attribute that cannot be ignored.

Music and Tourism

Music tourism comes from visitors interested in music related attractions. Destinations in music tourism can involve a specific location in a song lyric or a historical location where a genre was born. Destinations can also develop from growing music scenes and clusters of venues playing either a mix or a specific genre (Florida et al. 2010). While neurological connections to music help develop the brain in early childhood development, music also has cultural connections that trace back to tribal rhythms in Asia and Africa which evolved into contemporary songs today (Campbell 2011). With a cultural connection to music, a destination can advertise the uniqueness of that style of music. In a study of music geography by George Carney (1998) the benefits of music to place includes music's evolution, the exchange of musical ideas from place to place, and how a genre can develop in a specific location. Carney and Nash (1996) introduce the idea of a "soundscape", which comes into consideration when discussing their third and sixth themes of music geography, which are regional origins of American music based on unique traits and how music permeates through regional landscapes instead of only venues. Music gives an aural identity to a location. Music tourism contributes to geographic study due to the reason tourists have to visit a location based on the musical prominence of that location (Gibson and Connell 2007).

New studies in music geography and tourism can add an additional perspective to cultural tourism. Music tourism constitutes evolving clusters of tourists, activities, locations, attractions, workers, and events that utilize music for tourist purposes (Gibson, and Connell 2007). In conjunction with other traits of a place, music, which cannot be seen, immerses the visitor in a musical experience and influences their feeling of a place (Bolderman 2020). While the tourist gaze mainly focuses on the visual senses of a destination, the aural senses of a destination can also be attractive to tourists due to their influence on the overall scenery of a location. Musical sites and objects such as recording studios, venue signs, homes of famous musicians, and grave sites may be leading attractions for cities that pride themselves on their musical heritage (Gibson, and Connell 2007). When looking at music spatially, the destination is given meaning through the music produced there or about it. The look of a place can be reinforced by the music played there, vice versa sound is invisible but can be better understood by a location or symbol. Such symbols could be an instrument, a place referred to in a song, or an album cover (Bolderman 2020).

Music is effective in developing a sense of identity, preserving and transmitting cultural memory, transporting listeners to various mental locations and providing a map of meaning (Cohen 2007). A sense of place affects a location's citizens and visitors (Campbell 2011). Cultural traits such as wardrobe, music, food, and language shape how a local would define their home and how a visitor would imagine a place before visiting. With various audiences in music, the typical appearance of a music tourist has yet to be found, a musical tourist can be anyone who is attracted to musically related sites (Gibson and Connell 2007). Tourists would link this feeling with nostalgia and topophilia. Therefore, connecting music to nostalgic consumption.

G. M. S. Dann (1994) states that nostalgia consumption has stimulated a heritage industry within music tourism that has fed on nostalgia by recalling cultural experiences of the past, in festivals, museums, and live performances, and in the homes and recording studios of performers. This is seen when looking at retro diners or speakeasy bars, referring to the Roaring Twenties. The need to be in the physical space where a nostalgic form of music is created is a strong motive for musical destinations. Moreover, nostalgic explanations of music tourism often frame travel as a modern version of secular pilgrimage (Bolderman 2020).

While studies were done on how music affects tourism in various countries, few research is done on cities within America; especially when observing various marketing strategies on promoting musical events. In a study done in Cape Town, South Africa, researchers found that music festivals help create musical awareness and appreciation for musical genres in which stimulate music tourism (Kruger and Saayman 2017). As a secondary result of the survey methods found that music tourism from festivals was also important in promoting cultural tourism. In a study done by (Hudson et al, 2015), the effects of social media promotion influence emotional response when looking at specific brands. In addition to emotional response Hudson finds benefits in event information distribution brought on by media, particularly when promoting festivals. In another study on Fernando de Noronha, Brazil, music is seen as a vital economic property in the island's tourism industry. It focused on various forms of musical venues. While tourism helps drive musical performance, a unique musical identity isn't established in this area but is instead replaced with commercialized selections (Fitzgerald and Reis 2016).

In Goa India, Arun Saldanha (2002) studied the psychedelic rave scene which brought tourism to the small state from parts of Europe. The scene attracted visitors that wanted to go

into a trance inspired by rave music which affected the overall mood of the tourist. Researchers studied a variety of locations such as beaches, restaurants, and forests. As a modern form of marketing, social media is essential in promoting music tourism in destinations. In my study on Asheville, a variety of destinations spurred by promotional strategies from Asheville's tourism bureau emphasizes domestic music tourism.

Asheville and Urban Branding

Asheville is a mid-sized city in western North Carolina with a population of 94,067 (U.S. Census 2022). While Asheville in the 1800's was popular for health tourism for wealthy people with illnesses, it was later known for its mountainous scenery first for the elite, then for the middle-class (Strom and Kersten 2014). Starnes (2003) describes Asheville's origins as a place different from the traditional southern image because of its tall buildings, electric infrastructure, and Art Deco architecture. Starnes writes the history of Asheville starting with the arrival of the rail line that paved the way for wealthy beneficiaries to invest in Asheville. Due to Asheville lacking agricultural production that would attract northern investors, the city relied on its health tourism as an economic base. While cities that gain popularity in tourism cater to a non-local image that makes them appear generic, Asheville still manages to maintain local control of tourism to mitigate its authenticity with the help of an active political environment (Strom, and Kersten, 2014). Elizabeth Strom and Robert Kerstein (2017) mention the development of a city's image through business and institutional stakeholder activity coming from both their interests and that of politicians in order to pass local legislation. What separates Asheville from other developing cities with locally involved corporations and institutions is their city council's progressive efforts to focus on small business with backgrounds in activism, philanthropy, and art.

A city gains attraction to outside visitors because of the new experiences it can provide, these experiences are generated from the uniqueness of a destination (Beckman et al. 2013). Due to the vibrant atmosphere of Downtown and West Asheville, much attention is focused on advertising its vernacular culture that highlights handmade crafts, folk music, and moonshine (Strom and Kersten 2017). Since the 1990's Asheville has been renovating old buildings into new small shops and art studios. The organization Handmade in America showcased the commercial creativity of local businesses which was 28% downtown (Strom and Kersten 2017). Due to the industries of local festivals, handmade craft products, dozens of unique breweries, signature cuisines, mixed with urban lifestyle, Asheville has solidified itself as a vernacular region that attracts cultural tourism created by types of tourists and citizens. (Strom and Kersten 2014).

Strom and Kersten (2014) continue to mention Asheville's tourism as it has undergone stages in Butler's tourism life cycle model. This is a process developed by Richard Butler in 1980 that described the stages tourism destinations experience. The first stage is exploration, where there is sparse tourism, and most accommodations are run by locals. The second stage is involvement, where locals intentionally market to tourists and there is some seasonal promotion. The third stage is development, where locals have less of a presence in tourism activity and companies invest in staged tourism attractions. The fourth stage is the consolidation stage where the local economy has ties to tourism and tourism seasons become spread further. The fifth stage is stagnation, where a destination has reached a maximum number of tourists and overtourism becomes an issue. This is also when artificial attractions become dominant. The last stage is decline/rebranding. This is when a destination experiences a decline in visitation and a need to rely on another industry, or when a destination created a new staged attraction or discovers a new

authentic one (Tooman 1996). Asheville would have experienced the development, consolidation, and stagnation phases due to the growth in tourist populations and major created attractions but maintains tourism numbers through cosmopolitan rebranding and local community support.

Cultural festivals have features prominently in Asheville's arts and tourism scene. Many characteristics of a city constitute how its sense of place can be defined. Many colors on murals, eclectic and new music, diverse and contemporary architecture, fountains and parks, festivals, marketplaces, food trucks, add to a city's public and economic diversity (Beckman et al. 2013). Asheville was the home to craft and mountain music-themed festivals in the 1920's and many continued for decades. While it has historically advertised its musical taste, more research has been done on its trails, festivals, and most notably the Biltmore Estate. Due to its unique history, design, and maintenance through the private sector, the estate is now North Carolina's most popular destination and is a trademark in Asheville's image and viable to its economy (Strom and Kersten 2014). Due to the growing arts district downtown, it is no surprise to see a presence in live music. Websites like ExploreAsheville.com and Yelp.com display multiple live music venues tourists are likely to pass through and visit. The production of these venues adds to the downtown experience.

Compared to other major attractions in the United States placed in large cities, Asheville is a mid-sized city that does not maintain typical images of tourism but has its own special attractions and niche tourism (Strom and Kersten 2014). Therefore, the area is not as dominated by corporate images of tourism that would typically be shown in larger cities. More so, stakeholders in the community contribute to and benefit from tourism messaging that focuses more on local attractions. The same benefits from tourism promotion apply to the local music

scene. My study will reveal the connection between the music scene and the city's tourism

narrative to see what role music plays.

Chapter 3. Methods

The methods used in this study are qualitative. They include discourse analysis from interview responses and guidebook content. The interviews are with local musicians, venue promoters, and marketing officials from tourism related organizations. Guidebook content is taken from a collection of guidebook publications. Both data sources are organized using aggregate coding to create themes and constructs.

Qualitative analysis

Qualitative analysis is a collection of methods put together by a common theme. These concepts are not easily explained due to their abstract, interpretive, and contextual components. Therefore, these methods require multiple approaches in analysis (Creswell 2007, 42). While quantitative data calls for broad to specific statistical and numerical evidence, qualitative research calls for broad to detailed analysis to shape a study through historical, comparative, observational and contextual data (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004, 1). Qualitative research has been criticized in the scientific community as a soft science compared to quantitative research due to its subjective nature. However, qualitative research has gained momentum in the scientific community because it interprets social meaning and historically traditional ways, therefore making words like weak and soft not as common as before in literature (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004, 4). There are pre-conceived assumptions and theories tied into qualitative research when it comes to planning a study that can control its origin as well as how it is performed (Creswell 2013, 43). The goal for research is to objectively answer those critical and epistemological questions to build a theory (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004, 3).

Qualitative research interprets multiple views on a complex subject (Creswell 2013, 43). While quantitative research leans more towards solid numerical data gathered from the field, qualitative research gathers interpretive text, imagery, and other forms of content to shape a conclusion. A qualitative approach is valuable for building an argument from literature and other data analysis (Azeem and Salfi 2012). Qualitative data allows the researcher to develop an explanation of trends and characteristics of a place. Data can also be retrieved from sources like tapes, disks, webpages, posts, and videos to bring about a more encompassing approach to acquiring results (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004, 3). In modern qualitative studies, researchers have included political, social, and cultural context to refine their frameworks (Creswell 2013, 45). Qualitative researchers are less lab based when it comes to experiments and more flexible about conducting data in various settings. The most used strategies in qualitative analysis are observations, interviews, and focus groups (Adeoye-Olatunde and Olenik 2020). Qualitative analysis lays the groundwork for my study and my methods of semi-structured interviews with local musicians, promoters, and tourism officials, in addition to discourse analysis from guidebooks.

Discourse Analysis

Image content and literary content help construct a larger picture around a study that can be ever changing and interpreted in diverse ways depending on the message one is trying to convey. Discourse analysis looks at the context and order in which the content is displayed to establish authority (Lees 2004). Rob Bartram (2003) states that there is a link between images and cultural meaning, and he points out that images have an ever-changing code that's decoded through interpretation. Discourse analysis is also interdisciplinary and cross disciplinary, being used by many in human studies.

Geography has taken a strong pivot towards studying visual culture, "where knowledge as well as many forms of entertainment are visually constructed, and where what we see is as important, if not more important than what we hear or read" (Rose 2001, 1). Visual imagery always produces cultural meaning, whether it involves passing a photograph around a family gathering or watching a movie or music video. When looking at cultural imagery, we can see a constant change in evocation that can be connected to other signs therefore making it unlikely that there is only one true meaning or that that meaning will always be the same (Clifford and Valentine 2003, 152). Literary works such as novels and poems have long provided critical evidence for the construction, reconstruction and understanding of geographic study, though being a critical source can be questioned (Clifford and Valentine 2003, 495). As a form of data collection, news archives, how-to manuals, and guidebooks as well as city plans, and reports can be a useful source for developing a narrative (Kline, 2017). When observing the rebranding of Asheville, newspapers, government documents, personal papers, web pages, oral histories of civic leaders provide content and context. Key themes and codes can be seen in media sources to create connections to pivotal moments in history (Strom and Kerstein 2014).

Semi-Structured interviews

In the interest of scientific development, interviews are an aural process of intertwined viewpoints and themes on one or many subjects that build meaning and narrative through gathering information interviewee by interviewee (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004, 185). Semi-structured interviews differ from structured interviews, surveys, or even casual conversation because they allow for depth in a specific planned out manner. While more structured interviews are used in quantitative studies, semi-structured ones are popular in qualitative studies (Whiting 2008). This allows the researcher to gather much more information than what could come from

giving a one word or a "yes or no" answer would provide. Viewpoints and perspectives are added to the richness of the study that would have been overlooked otherwise.

Interviews focus on the detail of the question that even anthropological approaches do not, because they can be holistically centered from a geographic perspective. This data-gathering process is one where the interviewer can start from the top and work their way down into the meaning and context of what the interviewee is trying to communicate (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004, 188). L.S. Whiting (2008) breaks down the interview process into six parts; building rapport, apprehension phase, exploration, co-operative phase, participation phase, and concluding the interview. While quantitative research uses random sampling as their means of being objective to the study that can be replicated, this is not the aim in semi-structured interviews. Instead, it is to obtain an understanding of how the person being interviewed views their surroundings, which can be a unique experience (Clifford and Valentine 2003, 123). In tourism, interviews with specific participants can help to collect data on areas of tourism and help with networks that play a significant role in tourism development. This is important when observing destination business and its interconnectedness (Lynch. et al. 2000).

Multiple types of interviews can give multiple perspectives, such as informal discussions with wine and tourism stakeholders or indicative interviews that are geared towards the occupation and organization associated with the interviewee (Fountain et al. 2021).

N-Vivo

N-Vivo is an important tool for qualitative analysis. It helps in managing and gathering ideas for research using patterns and codes (Azeem and Salfi 2012). Since qualitative data software's introduction in the 1980's, researchers have found ways to efficiently organize paper-based data that is more code oriented and analysis friendly (Woods et al. 2016). Software packages like N-Vivo are strongly recommended for qualitative data since the size of data can be overwhelming to organize manually.

To constructively refine data, N-Vivo looks for cause and effect connections or thematic patterns (Azeem and Salfi 2012). When studying the benefits of N-Vivo used by researchers, Megan Woods et al. (2016) found that out of multiple disciplines, health professionals use the software most often for analyzing interviews and collecting data on focus groups instead of for discourse analysis or collecting document data. However, Woods proposes that N-Vivo would be beneficial in creating codes and finding patterns in documents, especially since the software is helpful in analyzing and displaying multimedia documents. For example, Adam Payne (2020) used N-Vivo 10 to find interpretive and descriptive codes within textual and pictorial documents to develop themes from guidebooks. In Azeem and Salfi's (2012) review of N-Vivo, they find it very useful in generating a literature review by making proxy documents to summarize articles and find themes from nodes generated from codes to build and refine arguments. Those codes and themes can then be put into larger groupings called constructs, as shown in figure 2. N-Vivo is a valuable resource for a variety of studies in qualitative data.

Chapter 4: Guidebooks

Guidebooks are important to tourists because they showcase what would be worth visiting at a destination. Guidebooks display pictures and text that describe the destination and its attractions, as well as lodgings, local eateries, and services. Guidebooks provide the tourist with information prior to their visit. Guidebooks are made of selling points that shape a visitor's sense of place. They highlight the uniqueness of a destination and as a result, affect the perception of that place to visitors (Jarratt et al. 2019). Before the internet dominated travel, guidebooks were the primary source of information, and are still used today (Mazor-Tregerman 2017). Because guidebooks are a beneficial source of information for travelers, what publishers decide to advertise in guidebooks is important. What is marketed particularly matters to cities that rely on tourism. For businesses that thrive on tourism, having an entry in a guidebook is essential in getting non-local support.

Guidebooks construct the idea of what a destination contains. They contribute to what a tourist should expect to see through intentional promotion strategies to build their sense of place. The attraction or attractions that draw a tourist are the ones that shape how the destination is defined. The way guidebooks describe destinations can be familiar to tourists that have feelings associated with previous experiences from a different destination or from the same destination. For instance, a tourist who loves the beach and can recall the feeling of being on the beach will plan their next destination based on it having a beach that they may have went to or is completely new.

For my study I collected 28 guidebooks from 12 publications spanning from 1950s to 2020s (shown in appendix B). Because they are a collection of publications, tourism messages

vary. Some guidebooks mention Asheville attractions for that year while others mention Ashville entirely regardless of the year. Some of the guidebooks mention the most popular attractions Ashville is known for while others mention attractions and aspects of the area that are overlooked by larger publications or are developing.

Guidebooks that mentioned Ashville for consecutive years are *Mountain Xpress* (2011-2024), *Explore Asheville* (2012, 2019, 2022-2023), *A Look at Asheville* (2003, 2008-2009), and *Land of the Sky* (1955, 1957, 1962-1964). The publications stay updated with the changing attractions and their popularity. Other guidebooks like *Along the Urban Trail* (2002), *Finding your way in Asheville* (2005), *Underground Asheville* (2000)*, The Ultimate Guide to Asheville* (2006)*,* and *Our Town: Asheville* (1974) focus on particular aspects of the city, aiming to uncover many aspects of Asheville's history and heritage that are not typically mentioned along with the most common attractions. Guidebooks *The Sky is the Limit* (1994)*, Spring and Summer Guide* (1951)*, Asheville Report* (1985), and *Buncombe County Tourism Authority Guide* (1980), focus on the most popular attractions a visitor would want to visit. Using discourse analysis, this chapter examines how music along with other themes are represented across guidebooks. Using the method of bottom-up coding, I created three constructs consisting of a total of ten themes: nature-based tourism (natural landforms and outdoor activities), cultural heritage tourism (heritage sites, crafts, music performance, theater performance, and festivals) and cosmopolitan city (revitalized city, culinary tourism, and alternative culture). Flow charts of these codes themes and constructs are shown in appendix A. In the next section I will discuss the literature behind these constructs.

Discussion on Literature

Nature-Based Tourism

A.Wilson (1991) defines nature tourism as temporarily migrating to what a visitor may understand as being a different and purer environment. The natural landscapes were often romanticized for their picturesque and sublime qualities and being commodified as early as the 1700s (Jasen 1995). The otherness associated with nature attracts visitors looking to get away from the norm. Nature tourism is widely popular with locals and non-locals as a form of alternative tourism to traditional destinations such as the beach or amusement parks (O'Neill et al. 2010). Visitors have become disillusioned with the urban environment and look to the outdoors as a release, which can be tied to Wilson's definition of a purer environment. Because of nature tourism conveying this unordinary image, the modern tourism industry attempts to maintain the pristine image of nature (Waitt et al 2003). Carter Hunt (2022) reiterates the benefits of sustainable development when it comes to nature tourism by proposing ecotourism. Not only does ecotourism help preserve natural habitats, but it educates the visitor and helps improve the welfare of the locals by promoting local businesses.

Nature tourism contributes billions to the national economy and millions of visitors to national parks annually (O'Neill et al. 2010). Not only does this help preserve the pristine image of parks but also builds nature-based tourism as an industry. Laarman and Durst (1993) add to the definition of nature tourism by writing that it is tourism based on natural resources, including coastal lands and the countryside. Laarman and Durst use (Lindberg 1991) explanations of hard and soft forms of nature tourism. Harder forms of nature tourism consist of scientific studies and tourists who take trips to specifically see the natural environment and learn about nature, while

softer forms of nature tourism include tourists who take trips to the wild to see something out of the ordinary and add nature to their itinerary.

After the 1950s, tourists participated in soft forms of tourism through recreation and leisure due to the need to get away from urban congestion mixed with regular work schedules for holidays and credit cards for trips (Wilson 1991). With the growth of cities in the mid-20th century, more families began to take trips to the mountains in western North Carolina with the newly completed Blue Ridge Parkway. In the 1960s and 1970s, the completion of the Blue Ridge Parkway opened many travelers to the lodging and camping accommodations of Asheville, which were close to the parkway and the Smoky Mountains, the nations most visited national park at the time (Harshaw 1980). Nature tourism in Asheville guidebooks is seen through two themes: Natural Landforms and Outdoor Activities. These themes represent what natural attractions are being promoted, and what tourists are doing in nature. The promotion of these features and the activities done within them remains constant. Guidebooks position nature as a characteristic that defines Asheville. The construct "nature tourism" is a foundation for discussing how Asheville builds its tourism's narrative until the 2000s.

Cultural Heritage Tourism

Tourism can be used for social and cultural change or preservation in a community (Mousavi et al. 2016). Cultural tourism does not only show historical objects and sites, but also contemporary practices and norms of the people. These aspects of cultural tourism are connected to a culture's heritage that is intrinsically shown through promotions. Rodney Harrison (2010) defines heritage as property that is of some value that gets passed down from generation to generation. It has a need to be conserved and preserved and can be tangible like a building or object or intangible like a tradition or language. Heritage can be a natural feature (natural heritage) or a manmade one (cultural heritage) (Harrison 2010). Janet

Blake (2000) argues that heritage has a symbolic relationship to culture in terms of what is valued and preserved, focusing on the unique and inciting emotion. An object's value should be based on how its community recognizes it intrinsically and what it symbolizes culturally (Vecco 2010). Heritage is seen subjectively in a positive light compared to objective history (Harrison 2010). Objects of heritage are based on their association with a people and what they express about that people, which make them worthy of protecting and preserving. The longevity of those objects is determined by how their community appreciates them. More so than the object being seen for what it is, it should be valued for how it reflects a culture's identity and fits into a culture's narrative.

Globalization affects the identity of a people, which can interfere with the authenticity of cultural practices and affect how a community values their heritage sites in a tourism setting (Mousavi et al 2016). Cheryl Hargrove (2002) uses The National Trust for Historic Preservation definition of heritage tourism which is defined as traveling to experience the places, artifacts, and peoples of the past and present. Hargrove goes to illustrate how heritage tourists spend more time in destinations whose sites are popular in the mainstream. Advertising an already popular site is easier for a destination than creating an attraction. Due to heritage sites being attractive to tourists, it is also possible to see these sites having as much monetary value as cultural value. Heritage tourism is a type of tourism that is motivated by a place's reflection of heritage according to the tourists' metanarrative (Poria 2001). It consists of a product, an attraction, motivation, resources, industry, business, and type of tourist. By factoring in tourism, the preservation and conservation of a site may also be determined by its popularity with tourists. This is evident in the efforts Asheville takes to market and preserve their heritage sites and history. They use heritage as a selling point for tourists to see a destination that is unique for its history and aesthetic characteristics. Asheville uses historical landmarks, fine arts, and social events to shape their cultural heritage in guidebooks.

Cosmopolitan City

Cosmopolitanism is a phenomenon that shapes urban spaces and has been defined in many ways. Due to increasing globalization, places avoid sameness by highlighting their cultural pluralism and uniqueness through cosmopolitanism. Patricia Johnson (2014) defines uniqueness in cosmopolitanism as the embodiment of one's identity through their background and experiences. The grouping of these unique backgrounds and experiences within a culture develops cosmopolitanism. The aesthetics of cosmopolitanism can be based on what an individual thinks about, embraces, and experiences from different cultures (Regev 2007). These experiences come from wanting to interact with different cultures. These types of individuals can be attracted to cosmopolitan spaces in order to pursue new experiences instead of being tied to a single cultural experience (Pellerano and Riegel 2017). Many of these individuals are creatives that are attracted to cosmopolitan cites where they can express their uniqueness and improve the economy.

Richard Florida (2014) attributes creativity to being a key human and economic resource over technology and education. Creative capital differs from human capital because human capital only considers educated and trained individuals, but not the creativity of those individuals (Childs 2004). Florida (2014) condenses economic development in creative cosmopolitan cities down to the "three Ts", technology, talent, and tolerance. The technology of those cities makes it easier to produce goods for industries and state of the art amenities for the city, the talent produced from these cities contributes to innovative ideas to cultivate better industries, and the tolerance of diverse ideas from various backgrounds allow a space for ideas to be shared and collaborated. The three Ts produce productivity and economic growth regardless of population growth.

Seungil Yum (2017) adds to Florida's "three Ts" by arguing that economic progress through creativity also requires creative infrastructure. He considers creative infrastructure places focused on research and development that invite creative industries. These places provide places of leisure such as coffeeshops and greenspaces that serve as thinking spaces. Creative businesses benefit from the creative infrastructure provided within cosmopolitan cities. Cerisola and Panzera (2021) separate creative cosmopolitanism in cities from creative localism based on the fact that even though these cities have creative talents and industries, localists are less inclusive, isolated, and show less community trust than creative cosmopolitan cities that unite creative talents to fuel the economy. These creative cosmopolitan cities attract high-risk high reward independent businesses interested in non-conformity and creativity due to their scope of diversity and value for individual success (Sevincer et al. 2015). Asheville reflects cosmopolitan characteristics beginning in the 2000s when guidebooks showcase diverse businesses, creative infrastructure, and economic progress. Sevincer et al. (2012) defines cosmopolitan cities as urban areas that provide manifold economic opportunities and whose cultures emphasize diversity, creativity, and egalitarianism. In this study, I will be pulling from Sevincer et al., Cerisola and Panzera, and Yun to define a cosmopolitan city as an urban area that provides and supports various non-traditional industries from independent businesses and encourages cultural pluralism within creative infrastructure. Asheville contrasts with other major North Carolina cities that have traditional industries, such as agriculture and manufacturing, due to their innovative ways to make money (Sevincer et al 2012). Some of these innovative ways are in the form of shops for niche interests, microbreweries, and diverse types of tourism.

Methods

Guidebooks gave me a chronological record of what attractions and descriptions of Asheville were most favorable through the city's history. The discourse within guidebooks sell Asheville as a destination through carefully selected images and text. In my discourse analysis process, I looked at text that described Asheville. This text is important due to the information publishers decided to write and the words they used to describe the destination. These descriptive words work as useful data when interpreting Asheville's tourism messages. The amount of text that is written in sections of the guidebook can also be useful when seeing if certain attractions are being promoted more than others. Images were also used in the discourse analysis. What an image shows forms strong messages as to what publishers believe to be important aspects of the city. By coding both descriptive text and photos I have the ability to better understand the narratives and their importance.

To gather guidebooks, I contacted the Buncombe County Tourism Development Authority, also known as Explore Asheville. In addition to Explore Asheville, Mountain Xpress, the local newspaper, also had a collection of guides available for analysis. Mountain Xpress had some records of Explore Asheville's guidebooks along with a collection of their own guidebooks. I combined both agencies together to get enough guidebooks for my study. In addition to both agencies guidebooks, which gave me every year from 2012 to 2024, I contacted the special collections section of Buncombe County's Pack Memorial Library. Contacting them gave me more information on where to get more guides due to their extensive collection of Asheville records. By contacting them, I was able to acquire additional previous years of Asheville's guidebooks to help add depth to my study.

After planning my visit to Asheville, I visited Mountain Xpress headquarters and Pack Memorial Library to conduct archival fieldwork on guidebooks. I brought a portable scanner with me to scan individual pages from the guidebooks and saved them in their own pdf folder to my computer. While guidebooks with back-to-back years were found at Mountain Xpress, I searched through the special collections archives to find guidebooks from previous years. The guidebooks in the library were a collection of publications with various formatting. The bulk of guidebooks were from the 1950s-1960s or the early 2000s.

While scanning the guidebooks, my selection process consisted of scanning all pages labelled with a chapter or section title. This was made up of text and pictures that were shown on that title page when introducing that chapter or section. After scanning all the necessary pages and placing them into folders labelled by name and year, I began processing and extracting text from the pages. This consisted of taking the pdf file of each scanned page then using OCR scanning in Adobe Acrobat to recognize the text so the pdf could properly align the pages. After recognizing all pdf text, I exported the file into Microsoft Word so that I could properly import the data into N-Vivo 14. In order to view the text, I extracted it from the forementioned pages and aligned it into paragraph format in word.

After formatting the text into Microsoft Word, I imported all guidebooks into N-vivo 14. N-vivo helped me document and organize the codes I created from the descriptive text and pictures. Using the bottom-up coding method helped in preventing assumptions and bias within the dataset by not linking the text with pre-made themes. Using this method I coded texts based on phrases and sentences within the content. Each phrase or sentence was given a code based on what the text referred to. For example, the phrase "many visitors come for the mountains" would be given the code name "mountains". In addition to finding multiple code names in one section, I

also cross analyzed guidebook sections that shared similar content. Photos were separately coded by examining them for themes presented within the image using the same bottom-up coding method. Again, multiple codes could be applied for a single photo. By the end of this heuristic process, 125 codes were created.

After coding all descriptive text and pictures within the guidebooks, I began aggregating the codes building themes represented within the related codes. I applied a reductionist approach by grouping similar codes into large parent codes. This iterative process led to the development of ten themes. To refine my dataset, I eliminated codes that were of no significance or merged their references with related codes when appropriate. My goal was to only have codes with at least 25% of coded references within it. After creating the themes, I looked for similarities to build constructs. In the end I found a total of ten themes within three constructs. The construct "nature-based tourism" is made up of themes "natural landforms" and "outdoor activities". The construct "cultural-heritage Tourism" is made up of themes "heritage sites", 'crafts", "music performance", "theater performance", and "festivals". The last construct "cosmopolitan city" is made up of themes "revitalized city", "culinary tourism", and "alternative culture" (table 1).

Table 1. Aggregate Coding from Guidebooks

Codes	Themes	Constructs
Blue Ridge Mountains, Smoky mountains, constructed nature landscapes within urban environment	Natural Landforms	Nature-Based Tourism
low intensity activities, high intensity activities	Outdoor activities	
Blue Ridge parkway, Biltmore Estate, Downtown Asheville	Heritage Sites	Cultural Heritage Tourism
Southern Highland Handcraft Guild, Cherokee crafts	Crafts	
Classical and folk music, newer genres, venues, touring bands	Music performance	
early performance, community theater, modern performance	Theater performance	
Performance festival, ethnic culture festival, special interest festival	Festivals	

Table 1. Aggregate coding from Guidebooks continued		
Codes	Themes	Constructs
Economic development, local services	Revitalized City	Cosmopolitan City
Food tourism, beverage tourism	Culinary Tourism	
The people, the city	Alternative Culture	

Nature-Based Tourism

Asheville guidebooks portray nature as pure, pristine, and untouched by civilization (Waitt et al 2003). Not only did park services work to preserve the natural environment of the region but they also attempted to present an image of nature unaffected by time and industrialization. Nature is shown as welcoming and freeing with images of open and unbothered landscapes. Guidebooks show images of natural landscapes with few people or man-made structures. They are organized to separate nature tourism from other attractions. While man-made and cultural attractions change in guidebooks the nature attractions stay the same. The landforms do not change, and while the outdoor activities may change, the activities are not seen as changing the environment. Images of roads and golf courses are built within the natural landscape instead of over it.

Nature tourism in Asheville is presented as early as the late 1800s with conservationists pushing to protect land in the Appalachian region, and the message continues into the 2020s. Charles Smith (1960) states that since 1885, advocation for a national park in the Appalachians was prevalent. Even then, medical professionals saw the area as a healthy and sanitary sanctuary

for patients. Many of those patients were wealthy beneficiaries that made Asheville a second home (Harshaw 1980). The region was considered not only physically healthy from the mountain air but also mentally healthy, allowing patients to relax and destress in a resort-like atmosphere. By 1892, visitors were complaining about the clear-cutting of forests affecting the scenery. With a need to preserve the scenery for the visitors, those lumber companies were bought out by the government. By 1893, conservationists and the North Carolina legislature were working together to create a national park. They believed the plan was necessary to attract visitors from the south and east coast and prospects of the plan considered the land more affordable compared to other regions of the U.S. (Smith 1960).

The Weeks Act of 1911 allowed the purchasing of private lands if it affects nearby waterbodies. The Smoky Mountains National Park's contribution to tourism has allowed for many naturally biodiverse characteristics to remain (Lewis 2016). With the construction of the United States highway system and the baby boom period after World War II of the 1950s and 1960s, showcasing national parks like Smoky Mountain and Pisgah in guidebooks would appeal to middle-class families of regional tourists coming up to enjoy seasonal vacations. The Blue Ridge Parkway and other scenic roads would make Ashville attractive to tourists traveling the highway system through the region (Wilson 1991, 27-28).

From the development of nature-based tourism promotion two major themes were created, "natural landforms" and "outdoor activities". These landforms are a popular theme in guidebooks that are made up of a mix of mountains and rivers in the wilderness, and natural attractions such as nature preserves and botanical gardens in urban centers. Outdoor activities also emerged from the development of national parks. The landscape of the park provided space for families to participate in family bonding activities. Early on these activities were more

leisure-based. However, guidebooks began to market more challenging activities for younger adults. Both themes are advertised in a variety of natural seasonal conditions that showcase the uniqueness of Asheville. Advertising nature-based tourism in every season shows how Asheville is an attractive destination any time of the year. Guidebooks continually mention seasonal landscapes and seasonal activities mixed with images throughout the collection of guidebooks.

In the next section, I will discuss the two themes that make up nature-based tourism, "natural landforms" and "outdoor attractions". I will go into detail about the natural attractions mentioned in guidebooks that build the natural landform theme and how these features are presented. I will discuss what outdoor activities are commonly mentioned in guidebooks and how those activities changed over time. I will then conclude by comparing the two themes.

Natural Landforms

The natural landforms theme is created from the codes "Blue Ridge Mountains and Smoky Mountains" and "constructed natural landscape within urban environments". The code "Blue Ridge Mountains and Smoky Mountains" represents the natural features guidebooks advertise when marketing attractions within the wilderness. They are shown as ancient features that shape the natural heritage of Western North Carolina. The code "constructed natural landscape within urban environments" represents the artificially built attractions guidebooks mention within the city that reflect native flora and fauna within the western North Carolina region. While housing plants and animals out of their natural habitat, these facilities are meant to educate and intrigue visitors. While the attractions within these codes differ, they both are meant to showcase Asheville's natural environment in guidebooks.

Blue Ridge Mountains and Smoky Mountains

The Blue Ridge and Smoky Mountains are situated in the Asheville region and have been mentioned in guidebooks since the 1950s. They are described as beautiful, full of splendor, home to many other attractions, and one of the city's biggest attractions. Ashville is nicknamed "The Land of the Sky" due to the hazy backdrop created by the Smoky Mountains that surround the city making it appear as a land in the clouds. Guidebooks describe sights like this as quiet, majestic, and scenic, colorful, and expansive. The Blue Ridge Parkway within the Blue Ridge Mountains is a feature within the mountains that is alluded to because of its scenery. It is described as peaceful and having a spiritual effect. The mountain ranges are also described as exciting for hikers and bikers. Images show mountain views during the fall and summer mixed with the Blue Ridge Parkway. Images also include tourists doing activities on the peaks in a noncrowded, clean environment. Larger images show these mountain ranges surrounding built-up areas.

Known for its altitude of 6,684 feet, Mt. Mitchell is situated within the Blue Ridge Mountains. It is mentioned earlier on in guidebooks as a hiking attraction. It is shown nestled within the mountain range. Guidebooks mention it to showcase its uniqueness due to it being one of the highest peaks along east coast. This would be appealing to those who hike and favor mountain views. Mentioned as a part of the waterways within Asheville, the Pisgah and French Broad rivers are seen as places for tourist outdoor activity ranging from leisurely activities like paddleboats in lakes to adventurous ones such as white-water rafting down rushing rivers. These images showcase the pristine landscape and blue clean water of Asheville's waterways. They are shown within summer and spring months with green forest backdrops.

Guidebooks showcase these mountain ranges and rivers as being the physical features that define the area. They are sold as Asheville's primary attraction due to being on the front of covers and making up most tourism photos in guidebooks (figure 2. and 3.). They are not overrun with development in an effort to preserve their image. Guidebooks particularly show summer and fall images to reflect the mountain scenery. Arial views show the expansiveness of the mountains which reflects the authentic image of being deep within nature.

Figure 1. Showing an image of seasonal outdoor landscapes
in 1957 Asheville Scenic Center of The Southern Highlands guidebook.
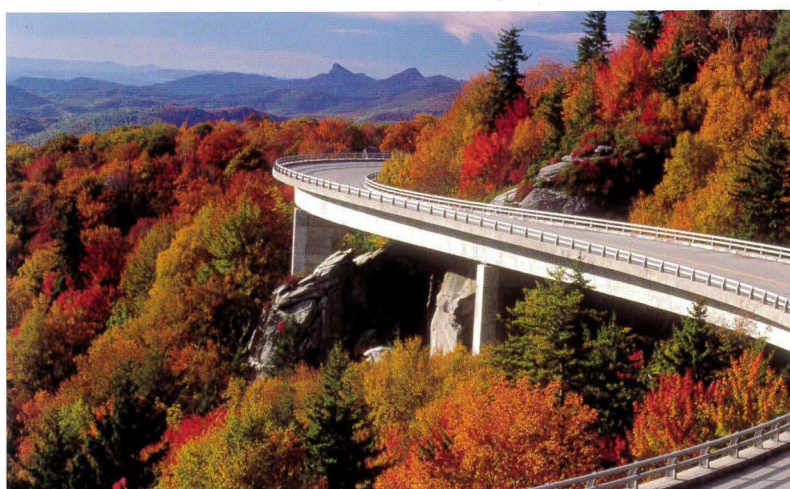
Figure 2. Showing Blue Ridge Mountains during fall along Blue Ridge
Parkway in
2008 A Look at Asheville Guidebook

Constructed Nature Landscapes within urban environments

"Constructed landscapes within urban environments" begin to be seen in guidebooks starting in the 1970s and continue with more promotion into the 1980s. By this time, more promotion is being directed towards attractions within downtown Asheville. The promotion of these constructed landscapes shows Asheville's push to promote civic attractions that educate tourists on its native wildlife. The Asheville Botanical Gardens are mentioned for their vast variety of flora that are native to Western North Carolina and are described as lush and biodiverse. Guidebooks mention that the purpose of the garden is to contribute to the civic beauty of the city and provide greenspaces for social interaction. They are described as having a wide variety of plants that thrive in Asheville's climate.

The Asheville Zoo and Western North Carolina Nature Center serve as a habitat for endangered species and animals raised in zoos. These facilities educate visitors on North Carolina wildlife and conservation. Guidebooks mention the nature center being home to over 60 species of wildlife. What is shown is that Asheville showcases biodiversity and preservation in these facilities as well as the ability to house these different species in fair weather conditions. Advertising these artificial nature landscapes is a way for guidebooks to showcase Asheville's natural beauty mixed with its urban surroundings. Their concern for greenspaces reflects an effort to mix and preserve both natural and urban attractions. They make an effort to entertain tourists interested in viewing exotic species while educating tourists on the variation in Asheville's wildlife. These sites are a part of the early attractions meant to bring tourists downtown with civic structures and activities.

Outdoor Activities

Tourists have visited Asheville for outdoor activities since the building of the first rail line through town. Since the early 1900s, Asheville has drawn tourists from the northeast and southeast due to its fair weather (Starns 2003). The development of the Blue Ridge Parkway provided recreational activities and employment opportunities (Schwartzkopf 1985). By connecting the parkway to Mt. Mitchell State Park, over 200,000 people visited the park in 1950.This development led to camping facilities and a park museum in the area. After the construction and promotion of parks around Asheville, the area became popular for family vacations. The benefits of these family vacations include family health, solidarity, communication, and bonding (Pomfret 2019). Some motives Pomfret states are thrill seeking for adults, memorable experiences, development in children, and carrying on the family legacy. The importance of outdoor activities grew due to improvements in transportation, time off for vacations, and spreading affluence from middle-class wages (Cordell and Super 2000).

The code "low intensity activities "represents the outdoor activities showcased in guidebooks that were described as non-competitive and easy enough for all ages. Many of these activities were shown early on in guidebook promotions. The code "high intensity activities" represents activities shown later in guidebook promotion. These activities are mentioned involving competitions and marketed as activities fun for children and young adults. Both of these types of outdoor activities make up the recreational options guidebooks find attractive to tourists.

Low intensity activities

Many of the activities promoted in guidebooks during the 1950s were low-intensity activities suitable for families and retirees that were not far from downtown. Many of the featured activities were golfing, fishing, tennis, boating, swimming, and sightseeing. Early guidebooks particularly promote family activities due to the growing popularity of family vacations at the time. Guidebooks show images of groups doing activities together in various seasons to represent this comradery.

Figure 3. Showing the low-intensity activity of golf in 1957 Asheville
Scenic Center of The Southern Highlands guidebook.

Golf courses are described as championship level and a place to unwind any time of the year. Images of golfing are shown as early as the 1950s when showcasing Asheville's green landscapes in the summer (figure 4.). In contrast to later outdoor activities, golf courses are closer in the city and on artificially developed landscapes. Guidebooks from the 1950s and 60s list courses around the city as an accommodation. Fishing is also an accommodation in lodgings

along with swimming and golf. It is seen as a watersport activity along with boating. Guidebooks advertise dozens of waterbodies that provide access to these water-related activities. Messages about high intensity activities begin to be seen over these earlier activities when guidebooks mention whitewater rafting by the 1990s.

High intensity activities

Guidebooks shift towards more adventurous and sporty activities after the 1980s due to technologically advanced outdoor equipment better suited to handling intense activities, in addition to needing to compete with surrounding adventure parks. Outdoor recreation diversified into more adventure related activities such as biking, skiing, ziplining, and whitewater rafting from traditional activities such as picnicking, hunting, and fishing (Cordell and Super 2000).

While guidebooks still promoted family-oriented activities, they shifted to messages that would appeal to young adults and thrill seekers. Images of young people doing challenging activities deep in the forest have become common. Guidebooks promote competitive outdoor sporting events in the 2010s. They mention activities that vary in difficulty to attract sports enthusiasts. Images of biking through the woods, children ziplining, and groups whitewater rafting show a variation of activities for the mountains and rivers.

Hiking is described as a family fun activity that would appeal to young people also. Hiking is shown in guidebooks as early as the 1950s as part of a collection of outdoor activities Asheville is known for. It is seen as a relaxing but adventurous activity guidebooks mention is ideal for mountainous Western North Carolina. Guidebooks prior to the 1990s market biking towards families due to it being something children can participate in. In the 2000s, activities like mountain biking and bike racing are mentioned to sell biking as a more thrilling experience.

While being sold as an adventurous activity, biking in the later 2010s is seen as a healthy activity to do within the Asheville community.

Ziplining is seen as a fairly new activity shown in guidebooks in the 2010s, it is sold as something fun for young adults. Images of individuals ziplining, particularly in 2011 show this activity in the summer and fall (figure 5). Whitewater rafting is also an attraction frequently mentioned during this time that is promoted as a primary water-related outdoor activity (figure 6). It is sold in guidebooks as something unique to Asheville because of the city's rushing waterways in the spring and summer months.

Figure 4. Showing zip-lining and whitewater rafting as a high-intensity activity in the 2011 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

Figure 5. Showing whitewater rafting as a high-intensity activity in the 2011 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

These activities are shown to be the most popular in the spring and summer months, which align with holiday times for younger tourists that are looking for active outdoor activities to do in addition to the tolerable weather that would draw people outside. Not only do these codes reflect Asheville as a destination for active young adults, but also a place for family bonding through group activity. Guidebooks separate Asheville from other southern destinations by advertising its variation in outdoor activities due to its seasonal climate. Some of these activities include skiing in the winter and kayaking in the fall. During spring and summer, guidebooks mention more watersport related activities and competitive events. In the winter, the guidebooks market festive events for the holidays.

The construct Nature-Based Tourism is made up of the themes Natural Landforms and Outdoor Activities. These themes make up what there is to see in Asheville's natural environment and what there is to see. They are both are affected by seasonality in a sense that

guidebooks showcase attractions categorized by the seasons with images showing people and landforms in different times of the year. Both themes differ when it comes to promotional messaging by guidebooks showing the same landforms but promote outdoor activities differently in later years. Nature-based tourism still remains a defining characteristic of Asheville's promotional message, but it is mixed with promotion on Asheville's urban image. In the next section, I will discuss the second construct Cultural-Heritage Tourism and the themes that it is made of.

Cultural Heritage Tourism

Asheville's cultural heritage can be seen as early as the 1910s and 1920s. Prior to the modernization of the city, Appalachian homesteads and farms reflected the region's pastoral, Anglo-Saxon, and mountaineer history. The people of the region were geographically isolated from the rest of industrialized parts of the country, leading to preserving colonial-based traditions (L'Ecuyver 2002). New traditions emerged with the migration of wealthy entrepreneurs to the city by way of the railroad industry. They brought with them aristocratic culture that changed the landscape such as larger homes, symphonic performances, and operas. These traditions and landscapes were cemented and preserved into the cultural narrative that fueled Asheville's tourism industry.

Asheville's heritage is both tangible, due to the physical sites and crafts that are preserved, and intangible, through song and dance performances, festivals, and traditions that distinctly shape its culture. These pieces of heritage are the themes that make up Asheville's cultural-heritage tourism. In the theme "heritage sites", some of the earliest heritage sites shown in guidebooks are Appalachian cabins from the 1800s and mansions from the 1900s. Other heritage sites are promoted in downtown Asheville for their historical significance. "Crafts" is the other theme that makes up Asheville's tangible heritage. Guidebooks advertise woven fabrics, handmade tools, and wooden objects. They also advertise the viewing of historical handcrafts at its folk-art center and nearby Cherokee museum in addition to

purchasing crafts at local shops. The tradition of handcrafting is passed on through guilds and at festivals and is still celebrated in guidebook promotion.

Intangible pieces of Asheville's cultural heritage are its music and theater performances, and its festivals. In the theme "musical performance", guidebooks show the evolution of the music scene through concert promotions and descriptions of the music scene. The scene evolves from Appalachian and classical music to commercial and original music, and venues change from formal to casual. The same happens within the theme "theater performance", where they are shown in guidebooks in formal settings performing classics to modern stages with original productions. In the theme "festivals" shown in guidebooks start with the Mountain Dance and Folk festival. Promotion then branches into showing a variety of cultural festivals that later are accompanied with other art festivals showcasing a multitude of interests.

In the next section, I will discuss the five themes that make up cultural heritage tourism, heritage sites, crafts, musical performance, theater performance, and festivals. I will go into detail about the cultural landmarks that build the heritage site theme, cultural objects that build the crafts theme, mentions of shows and venues that build the musical performance theme, theater stages and productions that build the theater performance theme, and types of events that build the festivals theme. I will then conclude by discussing how Asheville's tourism message changed through highlighting certain themes over others.

Tangible Cultural Heritage

Heritage Sites

Heritage sites promoted in Asheville guidebooks range from rural and simple structures to urban high rises. Guidebooks describe the variety of Asheville's sites when saying "from cabins to castles". The code "Blue Ridge Parkway" represents the Appalachian inspired

structures along the Blue Ridge Parkway outside of Asheville. The code "Biltmore Estate and Richmond Hill" is made up of promotions for Biltmore Estate and the influence it has in Asheville as well as promotion from the downtown home Richmond Hill. The code "downtown Asheville" is about the promotion of architecturally unique historic sites that shape downtown Asheville's history. All three codes represent attractions that make up the diverse history of the city within various locations.

Blue Ridge Parkway

The Blue Ridge Parkway was a project during the time of the New Deal to create jobs and help the Appalachian economy (Noblitt 1994). The scenic roadway was carefully constructed by landscape architects to portray timeless pioneer life. Mills and farmhouses were persevered, and some were added in order to create a desirable picturesque landscape for sightseers. In order to maintain this image, the technological advancements of early pioneers after the 1900s were ignored to maintain the idea of self-sufficiency. Noblitt (1994) points out that the architects were not concerned about the landscapes being historically accurate, but instead stage the authenticity of Appalachian scenes meant to reflect 19th century American life.

The roadway is a mixture of natural and cultural heritage due to the road serving as a scenic byway for natural features, and Appalachian inspired structures that represent the areas history along the road. The road is consistently shown in guidebooks with minimal congestion and people looking out at views through summer and fall seasons. The winding parkway remains the same as it did in its creation with two lanes, well-kept and paved, stretching hundreds of miles.

Figure 6. Showing the Zebulon B. Vance cabin in the 1985 Asheville Report guidebook.

The description of cabins comes from one of the most famous cabin sites along the parkway shown in guidebooks. The 18th century birthplace of Governor Zebulon B. Vance (figure 7). The cabin is mentioned in guidebooks as early as the 1950s as a popular heritage site. The site helps construct a scene of early Asheville that represents Appalachian culture with all simple wooden house structures in an open field with no industrial development. Images of the cabin are shown as bright, with visitors, and fully surrounded by grassy mountainous terrain during summer and fall seasons.

The preservation of the parkway shows that this heritage site is not neglected as being a major attraction for the region that represents Appalachian lifestyle and connects it to the rest of

the east coast. Appalachian structures in guidebooks reflect the unique history of the region that symbolizes early American life and an image of living off the land conquering the wilderness. These images appeal to tourists as an exotic contrast to their technological modern lives.

Biltmore Estate and Richmond Hill

The description of castles came from the most famous heritage site in Asheville, the Biltmore Estate. Built in the 1890s, the estate is the largest private residence in the nation and is inspired by French chateaus (figure 8). The Biltmore certainly alters the perception of the region from something rustic and old town to romantic and grand with images of the estate towering above the mountainous backdrop. Images of the massive structure between lush estate grounds are usually shown in warmer months. Guidebooks mention visitors such as Thomas Edison and Henry Ford to show the scale of attention the Biltmore gathers. The Biltmore's size is what guidebooks describe the most due to its large mansion and estate grounds. The estate has made many contributions to Asheville's heritage through donating property to national forests, to funding the handmade crafts movement. The Estate itself offers attractions that interest visitors such as the Biltmore Winery and Christmas at the Biltmore.

Figure 7. Showing the Biltmore Estate in the 2008 A Look at Asheville guidebook.

Even though being built around smaller homes and cabins at the time, the Biltmore inspired other wealthy entrepreneurs to move to Asheville and build their own extravagant homes. Richmond Hill is one of those homes. The 19th century, 25-room, Victorian-style mansion Richmond Hill showcased fine art, priceless antiques, and souvenirs around the world collected by congressman Richard Pearson. This no longer active mansion is spoken about in reference to Asheville's gilded age where wealthy homeowners moved there. While messages show that Asheville has a rural and later urban heritage, Richmond Hill is shown as a reminder of a time when Asheville was a wealthy getaway. Early guidebooks use Richmond Hill as a heritage site that strongly preserves that part of Asheville's history. Images show the property well kept within Ashville's downtown neighborhood.

The Biltmore Estate is seen as a vital part of Asheville's heritage due to its ability to attract people since its construction. Its unique French architecture stands out from any other structure built in Asheville. The Biltmore is advertised as a primary attraction for Asheville that has its own section in guidebooks along with images not showing any other attractions around it. Its influence on the cultural heritage of Asheville is evident in the later structures shown in the city like Richmond Hill which reflect architectural uniqueness inspired by international design. These sites are shown in guidebooks as a reflection of the city's artistic and creative past.

Downtown Asheville

The upkept original design of historic downtown structures show that Asheville has managed to maintain their look since the 1920s. Each one of these buildings has a unique design that collectively make up Asheville's architectural past. Guidebooks present images of these buildings when mentioning Asheville as a whole, reflecting the city's unique architecture as an attractions just as important as their natural landforms.

Sites like Grove Park Inn, The Grove Arcade, The Woodfin House, and Patton Avenue are shown in guidebooks displaying the zigzag and chevron patterns of an Art Deco style that originated from the 1920s in downtown Asheville. Appreciated for its unique Spanish architecture and for having the largest freestanding elliptical dome in North America, The St. Lawrence Catholic Church seen downtown dates to 1909. Another popular urban site in Asheville is the Thomas Wolfe Memorial (Thomas Wolfe's childhood home). Mentioned since the 1960s in guidebooks, the legacy of author Thomas Wolfe started in Asheville and his works impacted American literature. Guidebooks mention how the home played a significant part in Wolfe's life because of how it is mentioned in one of his most popular books Look Homeward

Angel. It still retains its early 1900s Victorian style design preserved as it did in his youth around an urban backdrop (Explore Asheville 2022).

By the 2000s, guidebooks share the history and contribution of historically black neighborhoods to Asheville's heritage. Particularly the neighborhood known as The Block contains African American heritage sites The Block houses one of the oldest African American cultural centers in the U.S., The Young Men's Institute (YMI) Cultural Center. This area has been around since the 1890s and was almost completely replaced during urban renewal in the 1960-1970s. messages about the block are centered on economic renewal and cultural expression through church services and cultural events like the Goombay Festival and Kwanza.

Guidebooks in the 2000s particularly show views of these unique buildings that stand out from moderns Asheville architecture. Outside of nature heritage, Asheville's tourism message wanted to direct attention to the preserved history of its downtown to also gather tourism revenue. It uses its architectural and cultural uniqueness to reflect inclusion and diversity shown through historic sites. Which shows that Asheville's promotion in the 2000s particularly wants to bring attention to Ashville's urban heritage, but only uniquely structured buildings. This shows Asheville's direction towards being an artistic city when being seen as a tourist destination.

Crafts

Crafts are another tangible aspect of Asheville's heritage. Handcrafts that showcase Appalachian culture include old-fashioned furnishings, clay lamps, log cabins, spinning looms, and grain mills. The Appalachian handcrafting industry showcases manual labor mixed with preserving traditions (L'Ecuyer 2002). As a way to revive industry after the flight of lumber companies led to unemployment for local mountain residents, handcrafts became an economic

mainstay. Craft revival in the Appalachian region didn't just emerge from interest in preserving heritage, but also to economically uplift the region (L'Ecuyer 2002). The Vanderbilts played a supportive role in the needed philanthropy for the handcrafts project (L'Ecuyer 2002). Biltmore Estate Industries worked with the local communities to promote capitalist production practices and self-sufficiency in handcrafts. In the 1930s, this same process was adopted by the Highland Handcraft Guild.

The code "Southern Handcraft Guild" represents the handcraft culture that's promoted in guidebooks that derives from pioneer lifestyle. The code "Cherokee crafts" is made up of cultural aspects shown in guidebooks that market Cherokee sites, artifacts, and performances. They both represent two cultural groups that have a history of inhabiting the region. They have distinctive ways of life guidebooks use to showcase Asheville's diverse heritage.

Southern Handcraft Guild

While their demonstrations are staged like Appalachian heritage sites, the craft guild is one of the oldest surviving in the country. By the 1980s, guidebooks. showcase the preservation and growth of fine art reflecting Appalachian tradition and generational hand craft traditions that are shown at local art schools and the Southern Highland Craft Guild. Guidebooks display images of crafters making clay pottery, metal sculptures, and intricate tapestries to show the industry's productivity (figure 9). Located along the Blue Ridge Parkway, handcraft demonstrations at The Folk Art Center mentioned in guidebooks help add to the image of a rustic lifestyle. The center is home to the guild where they perform these crafting reenactments to the public while displaying a museum of hand spun and crafted works. Guidebooks mention the center in the 1980s that succeeded Biltmore Homespun Shop promotion from the 1960s and 1970s.

Figure 8. Showing a woman handcrafting fabric with a loom in the 2008 A Look at Asheville guidebook.

Asheville is proud of the fact that 75% of their crafts are locally made and work to revive their craft industry to its former popularity in the 1960s. The emergence of artist communities from areas such as the River Arts District near West Asheville and The Downtown Art District are where young artists showcase their original works for visitors to purchase. Some of these works include modern paintings, metal works, and abstract pieces made from various materials. The guild and crafts community are shown in guidebooks to showcase the traditions and skills Asheville's community values in building handmade crafts that reflect the uniqueness of the region, and of the artist making them.

This is a valuable attraction to the area because it cannot be seen anywhere else. What guidebooks show is that you can get a souvenir from Asheville that can be found nowhere else. Preserving the traditional crafting practices presents the long history that goes into this tradition, which adds further value to the crafts. Guidebooks want to show that they value their tangible Appalachian heritage by supporting foundations such as the craft guild that are remnants of their past. By showcasing the current craft community in later guidebooks, they are directing attention to downtown shops and studios.

Cherokee Crafts

In addition to folk art, Cherokee handcrafts in Cherokee, North Carolina are also promoted in guidebooks from the 1980s to 2000s. Cherokee craft fairs and cultural demonstrations can be seen as early as 1914 (Saunooke 2004). While Cherokee crafts became popular by tourists in the 1950s, by commodifying their crafts to the American market, the intrinsic meaning and heritage value became disconnected with the people (Saunooke 2004). As a result, the inherited land of The Eastern Band of Cherokee Native Americans has been marketed as an attraction in guidebooks. Cherokee Heritage is particularly marketed in Asheville's guidebooks because western North Carolina land was Cherokee land before settlement. Cherokee artifacts at the Cherokee Museum in Cherokee, North Carolina are promoted in guidebooks during this time. Guidebooks mention the hundreds of traditional crafts and figurines of the Cherokee people displayed at the museum meant to show current and historical craft heritage. This is coupled with a cyclorama that displays scenes meant to reflect hundreds of years of history.

The Eastern Band of Cherokee Native Americans were economically sustained by crafts and staged reenactments demonstrating Cherokee life and history. One of the reenactments most

commonly referred to in guidebooks is the Cherokee play, Unto These Hills that has been in circulation since the area became a popular tourist site in the 1950s. the play reflects the lives of Cherokee Native Americans from the time of DeSoto to the Native American Removal Act in the 1800s. In addition to historical reenactments, guidebooks mention craft demonstrations at Oconaluftee Village that reflect pre-industrial crafting methods similar to Appalachian demonstrations. Some of those demonstrations show woven oak baskets, beadwork, clay pottery, and wooden carvings.

Guidebooks promote Asheville's diverse cultural heritage by acknowledging the Cherokee land that pre-existed Asheville's settlement. With Cherokee, NC being a major native American settlement, guidebooks advertise it as a part of the areas overall heritage that can educate tourists on Native American Traditions, while some of the presentations are staged, they show some form of Native American culture that would be seen as exotic to tourists in addition to being reminiscent of precolonial American life.

Intangible Cultural Heritage

Musical Performance

Music has been a part of Asheville's heritage since the days of pioneers. Folk music took root in Asheville and would become an important genre in the city. After many wealthy individuals moved to the city from the north in the late 1800s and early 1900s, opera houses were built, and orchestras performed (Starnes 2003). The opening of the Asheville Auditorium in the 1930s gave professionals a way to share traditional folk music with locals and tourists. The auditorium also catered to the interests of wealthy boosters by performing classical music in a formal setting.

The code "classical and folk music" represents the early forms of musical performance that were showcased in guidebooks for arts entertainment. The code "newer genres" is made up of the types of music marketed in later guidebooks when advertising Asheville's music scene. The code "venues" represents the establishments advertised that shape the music scene. It reflects the changes in what kinds of tourists guidebooks market to. The code "touring bands" consists of mentions of popular bands that have a history of playing in Asheville. As a result this creates the impression of Asheville being a musical city. They are all elements that make up Asheville's music scene and its evolution through guidebook promotion. Details within the codes reflect changes in the city and the way the city is promoted.

Classical and folk music

Classical and Folk music as a musical interest is shown in guidebooks as early as the 1950s as an attraction performed in both an elegant setting such as the Asheville Auditorium, and in a festive setting as outdoor shows in Pack Square. Mentions of musical performance are showcased to frame the city as a place that values the fine arts and cultural celebration through festive events and indoor performances. Hosting classical music portrays Asheville as a more contemporary city surrounded in a rural environment.

Newer Genres

By the 1980s narratives about music became more diverse and for a casual audience. For instance, with images of people in casual clothes of different ethnic backgrounds playing guitar outside became the norm. Community-based organizations promoting unique and diverse attractions was a part of the city's revitalization efforts to bring tourism downtown. The organized efforts from groups such as the Asheville Downtown Association and the cooperation

of local government allowed for public events like Downtown after Five and the community drum circle, which both showcase and support local talent.

The diverse genres in the city are connected to diverse cultural roots, its style is dictated by a collection of beliefs, concepts and principles (Elliott 1990). Guidebooks mentioning multiple genres during this time show the growth of cultural diversity in the region. This is evident in guidebook's transition from mainly promoting classical and folk music to other genres like jazz, blues, rock, singer-songwriter, and original music due to providing an inviting atmosphere for artists migrating to the city.

By the 2000s guidebooks describe the music scene as eclectic, mentioning genres like rock, jazz and blues when marketing performers and performances. Guidebooks highlight folk and blues artists as local favorites. They show images of blues, rock, jam, and bluegrass bands when advertising the music scene. Guidebooks mention opportunities for music lovers and musicians to show their talents at local venues. They describe these opportunities as boundary pushing and some of the music setting as non-traditional.

Figure 9. Showing a concert for Downtown After Five in the 2023 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

Having stakeholders in the community open to creative ways to express the city's

heritage and welcome diversity into the city led to more public shows and larger stages. Having

these live music performances contributed to the city's social capital and civic pride (Hoeven and

Hitters 2019). Guidebooks draw attention downtown through showcasing its music scene that

strongly showcases the artistic range the city has to offer (figure 10). By showcasing more

modern music, guidebooks gear their promotion towards younger tourists. More than being

educated in the arts, tourists can enjoy the music scene along with the night life, therefore

painting a more fun image of Asheville.

Venues

Live music spaces help support artists while solidifying the cultural identity of the community (Hoeven and Hitters 2019). The Thomas Wolfe Auditorium was one of the major performance venues shown in guidebooks. Prior to the 2000s it was where most touring acts would perform. Guidebooks mention the auditorium as an ideal place for a visitor to see a show. Performances ranged from classical music to pop music. Orange Peel, Salvage Station, and Grey Eagle are the larger venues mentioned in guidebooks in reference to major performances.

Figure 10. Showing the modern concert venue Orange Peel in the 2016 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

By the 2010s guidebooks show images of these venues being attractions for mainstream shows. They show images of large outdoor crowds at Salvage Station and consistent promotions for Orange Peel. Consistently mentioned in Mountain Express guidebooks is how Orange Peel is

considered one of the best places to hear live music (figure 11). Along with diverse musical genres, guidebooks mention where to see these events. Naturally, the venue would match the type of music that is performed, as planned by the venue promoter. Guidebooks show a transition from the traditional music hall, which is a larger space for larger performances to advertising smaller venues that could host more genre specific performances in the 2000s. Smaller venues help create niche genres unique to the area by promoting originality. Guidebooks reflect inclusivity in Asheville's music by mentioning open mics and jam sessions which give musicians new to the area and aspiring artists opportunities to add to the music scene. Guidebooks couple these venue experiences with the beer tourism scene to add to the idea of Asheville having a fun nightlife. Promoting these unique venues not only allows for more performances in the city at once, but also an opportunity to attract a larger variety of music tourists.

Touring bands

Guidebooks showcase Asheville's reputation for hosting popular artists by mentioning performers that have previously done shows there. The Dave Mathews Band is an example of one of the touring artists that are mentioned in guidebooks. Guidebooks sell Asheville as an ideal location to see not only local artists but has a reputation for hosting major touring acts. Shown as an example of a popular local band, the Steep Canyon Rangers are a grammy award winning touring band based out of Asheville that is celebrated in guidebooks. Their shows are marketed throughout guidebooks as a way to show the level of talent that comes out of Asheville.

Marketed as a winter attraction, the Warren Haynes Christmas jam is a recurring event that is hosted by Jam band musician Warren Haynes that features a lineup of other touring artists. Since it is recurring, guidebooks market it as a major musical event. Guidebooks advertise the musical legacy of Asheville through popular performers to sell the idea of Asheville being just as

popular as a musical destination as large-sized cities. By advertising the fact that the city frequently hosts these artists, guidebooks develop the idea of Asheville being a place full of enough music fans to draw big selling shows at large venues.

Theater Performance

While music is an evident aspect of Asheville intangible heritage, theater also plays a performance role in guidebooks due to the promoted studios and theater companies. The first popular venue for entertainment in Asheville was in 1879 at the Asheville Opera House (Rulfs 1959). While the population of Asheville was less than 3,000 before the 1890s, there was a variety of shows from plays, cornet band performances, and poetry readings in one space. Opera performances at the Opera House and the newly made Asheville Auditorium were to dominate theater until musicals became more popular in the 1910s.

The code "early performance" represents the theatrical shows mentioned in promotion prior to the 1980s that were popular events and types of performances. The code "community theater" is made up of guidebook text that mentions local theater productions that become popular as an attraction in guidebooks from the 2000s. The code "modern performance" represents the non-traditional urban forms of theater and dance that is shown. These codes show the transition in Asheville's theater scene through how the arts are mentioned in guidebooks. They reflect the transition from a traditional form of theater to a more modern scene.

Early performance

In the late 1920s, the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival showcased dances such as clogging (Whisnant 1980). Guidebooks from the 1950s mentioned the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival when marketing outdoor events during the summer. Guidebooks from the 1950s-1970s

advertise entertainment and performances at The Asheville Auditorium and Brevard Music Center. Particularly larger shows with orchestras and theater companies. While the auditorium is used for any large civic event where shows are conducted, the Brevard center focuses on theater classics and dance numbers. From then on, theater acts like plays and ballets are seen in guidebooks being showcased in formal settings with Shakespearean performances from large theater companies prior to the 2000s

Early guidebooks showcase theater performances to show that Asheville is also a place for fine arts. In addition to the natural landscape, Asheville has a cultural landscape that is developed enough to attract tourists interested in festive and theatrical performances. They showcase popular theater companies in their messaging the same way they showcase popular musical performances to show despite being in a rural environment, they are a place for shows usually performed in urban settings.

Community theater

By the 2000s guidebooks messages on theater shift to community theaters that highlights independent theater companies and productions happening within the city. Guidebooks publicize the Asheville Community Theater that has existed since the 1940s and has managed to be a destination for theater performances since then. It is described in guidebooks as a place where original and experimental productions can be performed. Just as music venues shift from traditional settings to casual ones, so do theater stages. Playback Theater performs shows in various parts of the city. The playback productions are an example of how poetry and storytelling are a promoted entertainment option. Playback is a form of improv that is performed in various settings, in contrast to the formal settings in previous guidebook production that featured traditional plays. Guidebooks show more variety in theater stages with localized stages mixed

with professional ones. In advertising community theater, they show that not only does Asheville invite productions to the city but also hosts their own. They have a thriving art community that developed from within.

Modern Performance

As Asheville's creative class grew, theater acts advertised in guidebooks began to vary from traditional poetry and puppetry to modern forms of theater such as improv comedy and jazz dance with smaller more localized theater companies. Images show performers in the streets of downtown in quirky outfits. LaZoom bus tours in Asheville show a creative way tourists can see the city while enjoying a comedy show (figure 12). Guidebooks promote shows from contemporary dance studios that perform diverse dances like salsa, tango, hip-hop, and swing while preserving dances unique to the area like contra.

Figure 11. Showing the LaZoom comedy tour troupe in the 2013 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

Dance classes for all ages are promoted, showing that theater and dance diffused from being exclusive in performance halls to being more of a community-oriented activity. Guidebooks show the development of Asheville's performing arts community from traditional performance scenes to promoting modern performance scenes. The bus tours and dance classes sell Ashville as an original and fun place. These messages would attract tourists interested in seeing different art performances or even participating. These messages modernize the idea of Ashville and give more attention to their downtown.

Festivals

Asheville has a history of promoting a variety of festivals, many of which are shown in guidebooks. Prior to guidebook promotion, the tradition of festivals in the city began in the 1920s with the Rhododendron Festival. This festival was held in the spring and based around the blooming of the rhododendron plant, that is native to the mountains of western North Carolina. The festival brought visitors from different parts of the country, giving national attention to Asheville's scenery and fair weather. Following shortly after the Rhododendron Festival, the first festival seen in guidebooks was the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival. It attracted visitors from the region to Asheville for more than its natural scenery. It reflected Appalachian culture through performances and is considered the longest running folk festival in the country.

To develop this theme, I use the codes performance festival, ethnic culture festival, and special interest festival. The code "performance festival" represents the general entertainment festivals that are commonly mentioned in guidebooks that usually feature music performances. The code "ethnic culture festival" is made up of cultural festivals shown in 1980s guidebooks that emphasize celebrating a particular ethnic group within the city. The code "special interest festival" represents festivals shown in the 2000s that host a certain interest that would attract

tourists with unique hobbies and passions. These codes make up the most common festival mentioned in guidebooks. They follow a transition in guidebook messaging from attracting the general tourist to ones with particular interests.

Performance festival

Performance festivals are the first kinds of festivals that are shown for general enjoyment and primarily feature music. Shindig on the Green began in 1967 hosting weekly outdoor performances in the warmer months. It branched from the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival to be more music focused and provide a variety of folk performances to be played in the city square. It is one of the first festivals shown in guidebooks to showcase activity downtown. Shown in the 1980s, was one of the city's largest festivals and was the southeast's largest street festival, Bele Chere, extended for blocks and showcased local and national artists. Outdoor music festivals like Bele Chere added to the public space of an area by inclusively allowing spectators to listen outside of festival grounds which added to the artistic landscape (Oakes and Warnaby 2011). Starting in the 1970s and ending in 2013, guidebooks marketed it as a festival tradition in Asheville during the end of July. Though shown to be very crowded, the festival reflected local music, culture, and mainstream attractions that drew visitors.

As a part of performances in the downtown square that happen during summer, Downtown After Five is meant to be a series of shows that occurs until September. Guidebooks market it as a free and open event for spectators that also supports vendors. In addition to Downtown After Five, the Pack Square Drum Circle that occurs in the city square allows people to watch local drummers and participate in musical activities. Guidebooks show dozens of people within these drum circles of all ages and races. These annual activities are organized by the city and promoted in guidebooks to attract more visitors and add to the city's revenue

through vendors. Performance festivals were the first form of festivals shown in guidebooks. They are the most generalized, and the most popular. They are a way for Ashville to showcase their cultural and civic side.

Ethnic culture festival

In the 1980s festivals hosted downtown and around town that celebrate ethnic cultural heritage began to be shown. Meant to celebrate Greek heritage in Asheville, guidebooks mention how The Greek Festival occurs in the summer to fall months along with other festivals. Starting in the 1980s, the Goombay Festival happens in the historically black neighborhood called The Block and showcases Afro-Caribbean culture with food, dancing, and music (figure 13). Dating back to the time of wealthy Scottish clans in Asheville, Scottish heritage is a unique part of Asheville's history. The Highland Games, hosted on Grandfather Mountain north of Asheville, showcase Scottish heritage. The Highland Games celebrate that heritage with food, games, and music. Images show groups of participants in the mountain fields with kilts, being described in the thousands. Fiesta Latina celebrates Latin culture in the Hispanic community in Asheville with a street festival providing traditional and current Latin music.

Culturefest focuses more on regional heritage with Appalachian crafts, Cherokee expositions, and pioneer demonstrations. By the 1980s, the tourism message changed to highlighting more cultural diversity in the city with help from the newly formed Tourism Development Authority. This was a way to direct attention to downtown. Through these advertised festivals, more focus was put on the city's diverse roots. Like performance festivals, these festivals highlight the community but also provide exposure for ethnic businesses.

Figure 12. Showing a celebration within one of Asheville's historically African American communities in the 2023 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

Special interest festival

Festivals in the late 2000s became more geared towards specific tourist interests. The Brewgrass Festival hosted in October showcases microbreweries within downtown Asheville mixed with local and national bluegrass bands. Chow Chow, is a cooking festival showcased in guidebooks. This festival highlights the wide variety of foods and chefs of Asheville. It consists of food tastings and cooking demonstrations. It started in 2019 and is meant to preserve Appalachian cuisine and celebrate diverse cuisine. One festival that used to occur every September, Organicfest featured a parade highlighting the city's appreciation for wildlife, local music, as well as vendors selling organic food. The festival encouraged organic foods and a

healthy lifestyle. Art in the Park is mentioned as a visual arts event that features festive art celebrations and demonstrations. It is hosted in the spring and located downtown.

Showcased as a highly favored local music festival in guidebooks, The Lake Eden Arts Festival (L.E.A.F.) is located out of Black Mountain North Carolina but is also hosted in Downtown Asheville later in the year, it features music, street performers, and a variety of art-related activities. Organized by the L.E.A.F. Global Arts Foundation, the festival does children's outreach where they teach world culture. Attended by professional, amateur, and beginner athletes, the Mountain Sports Festival takes place in April and consists of competitions ranging from disc golf to running to bike races and features sports education. Special interest festivals emerge closer to the 2000s in guidebook promotion. They promote events and festivals to attract types of tourists not entirely interested in cultural heritage but in a specific feature of Asheville whether it be food, beer, sports, or art. These annual events help promote year-round tourism and help extend the tourist season. By gearing towards a particular group, guidebooks can build a loyal niche following of tourists that continually revisit Asheville.

Asheville's cultural-heritage tourism is made up of tangible and intangible forms of heritage. Physical heritage sites, objects, artifacts and souvenirs make up physical materials guidebooks promote for visitors to see, touch, and buy. The performances and festivals are the intangible side of Asheville's culture that visitors can see and participate in. While messages in nature tourism remain constant in guidebooks, the history and culture that Asheville tourism message values changes. Appalachian heritage sites along with Cherokee crafts show a decline in later guidebooks by the 2010s. Asheville rebrands itself promoting a more ethnic background with African American heritage sites and more modern with nontraditional venues, dances, and art pieces. Festivals along with urban heritage sites direct attention downtown, making the city

appear more urbanized than in previous promotions. Asheville's rebranding went from staged

cultural attractions from Cherokee and Appalachian sites to natural attractions seen in

cosmopolitan businesses. By directing attention downtown, Asheville can produce more revenue

for the city after their urban revival. In the next construct "Cosmopolitan City", I will discuss

aspects of that urban image newly promoted Asheville showcases.

Cosmopolitan City

Asheville in the 2000s reflects multiple characteristics of a cosmopolitan city through

diverse businesses, economic progress, and creative infrastructure. Modifying their urban

planning to provide support for non-traditional businesses has resulted in economic recovery and

cultural growth. Tourism became an area of interest to urban leadership in Asheville due to the

economic benefits of arts, culture, recreation, consumption, and brand (Strom and Kerstein

2017). Having the city give way to tourism downtown allowed for diverse and innovative

businesses to spring up and occupy abandoned historical buildings. Guidebooks in the 2000s

created messages about a fun nightlife, a self-expressive atmosphere, and a city that supports

unique independent artists.

Many of these diverse businesses helped bring tourists and revenue streams to the city.

The revenue in turn could be used to help promote events that showcased Asheville's uniqueness

and beautify the downtown area with public art and greenspaces. The greenspaces provide a

space for hosting festivals while other forms of creative infrastructure like coffee shops and

eateries provide social spaces for entrepreneurs to collaborate leading to further economic

progress. and a culturally diverse environment. Neo-localism shown in guidebooks plays a role

in preserving the city's uniqueness (Reid and Gatrell 2017). It gives local businesses a platform

to showcase their crafts and artists an opportunity to showcase talent. Guidebooks preserve the

idea a close-knit communal culture that supports small business startups. The themes that make up the construct "cosmopolitan city" are "revitalized city", "culinary tourism", and "alternative culture".

When it comes to observing Asheville as a revitalized city, one of the narratives shared in guidebooks is Asheville's successful effort to revitalize its downtown and other parts of the city in the 1980s. The effort came from wanting to preserve its urban landmarks and keep local businesses. Lambe and Mulligan (2009) refer to Asheville as one of North Carolina's resilient cities due to its growth from a single industry to a diverse economy. In those successful efforts, Asheville's downtown became popular with businesses and contributed to a vibrant atmosphere that attracted visitors and potential residents. This influx of residents caused the property to increase in value which eventually led to gentrification in popular parts of the city.

During Asheville's cosmopolitan resurgence, culinary tourism brought on by the production of unique international foods and beverages in the city became a new attraction. Guidebooks introduced the city's culinary uniqueness in the 1980s but it became one of the leading attractions by the 2010s. The city's tolerance for cultural diversity makes it a suitable place for multi-ethnic eateries. Guidebooks show support for local and diverse eateries while promoting the craft brewery industry that currently dominates the city.

Asheville's guidebooks do not only showcase the city's culinary diversity, but also its social diversity. Guidebooks describe Asheville as a place that welcomes individuality and niche interests. Characteristics of alternative culture are shown in the city's description as well as value for a healthy lifestyle. This theme shows the cosmopolitan appeal within the social landscape the city promotes.

In the next section, I will discuss the three themes that make up cosmopolitan city, revitalized city, culinary tourism, and alternative culture. I will go into detail about the narrative guidebooks use to describe Asheville's economy in the revitalized city theme, the developments in Asheville's food and beverage industry that make up the culinary tourism theme, and the descriptions guidebooks mention to express Asheville's uniqueness in the alternative culture theme. I will then conclude by discussing how Asheville's tourism message changed to encompass a newly cosmopolitan city that took decades to build.

Revitalized City

Guidebooks in the 2000s present Asheville as the comeback city that economically recovered from downturn. Real-estate values plunged leaving the city in debt in the late 1920s due to an anticipated growth in population where the city invested in construction projects that did not result in a profit (Strom and Kerstein 2017). The crippling $48 million dollar debt the city faced during the great depression took thirty years to pay off (Lambe and Mulligan 2009). By the 1950s and 1960s, Asheville's downtown became dilapidated and uninviting while new shopping plazas sprang up outside of the area (Anderson et al 2006). This led to the Asheville Redevelopment Commission starting urban renewal projects to clear out buildings, including African American communities in East Asheville, for new housing and public attractions. (Strom and Kerstein 2017).

The downtown was abandoned by the 1970s, but young residents started to move there around this time due to the low cost of housing (Lambe and Mulligan 2009). However, it was unsafe and undesirable to tourists (Anderson et al 2006). Most businesses moved near the mall outside the city in 1973. By 1980, city officials decided to renew their downtown by demolishing several blocks including those with historical structures dating back to the time of George

Vanderbilt and replace them with a mall (Strom and Kerstein 2017). While plans for demolition and reconstruction ensued downtown, locals held a referendum in 1981 to preserve the buildings and were successful in cancelling the project (Anderson et al. 2006). To further develop the area, agencies created civic amenities and events while encouraging buying from local businesses. Coupled with an occupancy tax that was issued in 1983 to fund city tourism promotion, residents became active in civic matters such as preserving and refreshing downtown, and the city recovered through a team effort (Lambe and Mulligan 2009).

With the creation of the Downtown Association and Downtown Commission, in addition to public interest projects, Asheville was able to revitalize their downtown by investing in small businesses and creative individuals (Strom and Kerstein 2017). An example of Asheville's successful revitalization was the French Broad River project. The area was a site for public housing but became separated from downtown during urban renewal in the 1960s-1970s. The planning committee, Riverlink, worked on a plan to transition the area from industrial buildings into an open space green area for residential, commercial, industrial, and recreational uses. Many of those properties became studios for crafts artists (Cragnolin 1995).

The code "economic development" represents sections within guidebooks that describe Asheville's economic growth through the application of creative industries and the change in the cost of living due to this development. The code "local services" is made up of the business model guidebooks use to represent Asheville, which is based on independent creative businesses. Both codes focus on Ashville's community development using tourism as an industry to grow local businesses.

Economic Development

Guidebooks mention Asheville's economic development after revitalization efforts
become successful by focusing on the increased number of visitors, businesses, and real estate
transactions brought back to downtown. Asheville planners use Richard Florida's creative class
theory to increase economic growth, and through the efforts of institutional and business
stakeholders, Asheville was able to develop their urban center (Scherer 2007; Strom and Kerstein
2017). Images of children playing downtown mixed with busy shopping centers sell the idea of a
lively atmosphere welcoming to families (figure 14). Mountain Xpress guidebooks make note of
employment increase in the city due to the growth in tech industries and health services. Images
of happy successful business owners are shown in guidebooks mixed with images of high rises
and well-kept streets symbolizing an economically robust Asheville. One of the challenging
aspects that guidebooks in the 2000s point out about Asheville is the cost of living.

Figure 13. The Grove Arcade shopping center in downtown Asheville from A look at Asheville 2010s guidebook.

Guidebook "Finding Your Way Asheville" encourages visitors to not move to Asheville due to low employment opportunities at the time and fear of overpopulation. They say the cost is higher than the state average and wages for residents are too low. Other guidebooks point out affordable housing being a repeated need within the community.

Guidebooks by the mid-2000s add the economic state of the city to their messaging. Doing this portrays Asheville as a recovering city that used its uniqueness and creativity to construct a healthy economy. Messaging shows Asheville as a growing city that tourists would want to live in. However, also starting around this time and in later promotion is content mentioning the underlying issue of cost of living in Asheville. More independent and localized guidebooks mention this message to show an authentic Asheville living experience.

Local Services

Hyperlocal guidebooks from the publisher Mountain Xpress discourage the idea of franchises and corporations instead directing their message towards celebrating independent owners. The Guidebook "Finding Your Way Asheville" mentions keeping corporations out and protecting the landscape from large industry. Since the 1980s, guidebooks have mentioned local stores and businesses in Asheville, initially through crafts and unique souvenirs that add to the uniqueness of the area, but later into other specialty stores, restaurants, and other businesses. Images of customers in colorful patterned clothes coupled with handmade jewelry are shown as these shops are described as robust, unique, and distinctive with handmade items that cannot be found anywhere else.

Guidebooks point out that while costs to stay in Asheville are high, the majority of people moving to the city make their wages from being an entrepreneur. Asheville ranked 56th in businesses that employ under 20 people in the nation (Mountain Xpress, 2015). They mention that most of these entrepreneurs put their money in small local banks instead of large corporate ones in addition to celebrating the longevity of shops that have existed for decades.

Figure 14. Showing advertisement for local businesses in Asheville in the 2013 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

Guidebooks sell the authenticity and uniqueness of Asheville through promoting local businesses (figure 15). By sending a message of local support and promotion of these businesses, they can promote attractions generated within the community instead of attractions brought to the community from a franchise. Promoting localism allows them to showcase features that are uniquely Asheville, which is the name of a section in Mountain Xrpess guidebooks.

Culinary Tourism

Guidebooks promote culinary tourism as a major attraction in Asheville. Reid and Gatrell (2017) define culinary tourism as the act of tourists looking for exotic foods and beverages.

When discussing exotic food consumption, high-class consumers have moved from trying highbrow cultural products to also including lowbrow products to experience international diversity (Cappeliez and Johnston 2013). These diverse foods come from the pursuit of authenticity, and something never before eaten.

The code "food tourism" is made up of the messages guidebooks direct towards Asheville's various foods and restaurants shown as attractions. The code "beverage tourism" comes from the advertisements guidebooks make involving Asheville's breweries, cideries and coffeehouses. These codes show the culinary development that is shown as a unique experience for tourists that not only show foods native to the region, but also diverse foods introduced by the city's ethnic cultures.

Food Tourism

In the 1980s to 1990s, guidebooks promoted Asheville's four-star restaurants that are famous for creating internationally focused dining experience. Images of formally dressed customers in low-lit restaurants reflect more on this dining experience. During Asheville's urban revitalization, many independent restaurants sprang up around town offering food options such as Caribbean, Peruvian, Thai, Mediterranean, vegan, and Native American. Guidebooks show brick ovens with artisan pizza and names on restaurants in Greek to display Asheville's international variety. The 2014 issue of Mountain Xpress described Asheville as a "Foodie Mecca". These types of restaurants were voted for in Mountain Xpress guidebooks and were described as popular with lines out of the door. Other guidebooks displayed support for local restaurants with phrases like "Local Food" (Explore Asheville 2022) and "250 independent restaurants in the city limits" (Mountain Xpress 2022) due to the economic and cultural contribution these restaurants provide.

Similar to festivals, Asheville guidebooks promote a message of ethnic diversity through their food tourism. Starting in the 1980s promotion of international cuisine and local food options are shown. By the 2000s, that message mixed with the idea of authentic cuisines which would be unique to the region. Guidebooks sell the idea of an exotic experience that is constructed from the city's heritage when showcasing diverse restaurants. This promotion adds to the cosmopolitan image of Asheville.

Beverage Tourism

Tea, cider, and coffee houses are mentioned in the 2000s in guidebooks as being popular spots for a modern experience. As an alternative to beer, guidebooks advertise hard cider and cideries such as Bold Rock Hard Cider. Mountain Xpress guidebooks highlight coffeeshop businesses as a brewed alternative. Asheville as "Beer City U.S. A." (Mountain Xpress 2015). Asheville gained the moniker by having the most breweries per capita in the country in 2019 (Explore Asheville 2019). The Pub Prowl or the Brewgrass Festival. Pictures of groups of young people drinking together at night reflect the fun atmosphere these bars provide. In Asheville's case, this growth in beer tourism attracts larger breweries like New Belgium (Reid and Gatrell 2017).

The emergence of microbreweries in the city allows guidebooks to market Asheville as a fun place to have a drink for beer enthusiasts and festive tourism. Microbreweries are a fairly new attraction to Asheville that attracts culinary tourists interested in beer. By supporting local businesses, many bars and breweries are shown in this message. Guidebooks create this idea that their downtown is a major beer attraction based on the number of establishments. Breweries helped revamp abandoned areas of the city and attract loyal beer enthusiasts, similar to festivals,

the number of breweries gives beer tourists a reason to continue to return to Asheville for events and new brews.

Alternative Culture

While guidebooks showcase businesses and attractions, guidebooks also showcase the uniqueness in Asheville in attempt to attract both tourists and potential residents. Asheville sells its uniqueness by portraying itself as a free-thinking city with a beautiful view that has a niche for any tourist. The code "the people" represents the descriptions guidebooks make of Asheville's residents and atmosphere. The code "the city" is made up of descriptions guidebooks make about being in Asheville and the image the city projects. Different from other codes, these codes are made up of the text that describes the feeling of what it means to be in the urban center of Ashville and the characteristics that separate the whole city from others.

The People

Some of the characteristics about Asheville's people that are mentioned in guidebooks are that they are diverse, eccentric, creative, and make up a friendly close-knit community. Reflecting the city's sense of community, one image shows dozens of different people in Asheville's drum circle in Pack Square. Promotion in the 2020s show an inviting atmosphere for members of the LGBTQ community with gay bars, drag shows, and events like the Blue Ridge Pride Festival. Guidebooks market Asheville as a place for dog lovers from mentions of dog parks and pet friendly bars. Events like the Purina Ultimate Air Dog Show are promoted as an attraction. Household spending on pet care was pointed out as a major concern in mountain Xpress guidebooks along with pet shelter and veterinarian services.

Self-care is also shown in Asheville's description of residents through the mention of health food stores, vegan and organic restaurants, community yoga, and walkable streets. Since the 1950s, guidebooks have marketed Asheville as a healthy place. Not only full of medical facilities, but guidebooks also promote multiple heathy lifestyle restaurants and physical activities to stay in shape. The message guidebooks send is that Asheville strives to stay unique and socially inclusive for artists and creative types. One of the phrases they used is "Keep Asheville Weird" (Mountain Xpress 2021) to proclaim their support for uniqueness in fringe culture. They described the average Asheville resident when saying 45% of their residents sport a piercing or tattoo (Mountain Xpress 2015). While tattoos and piercings are more mainstream focused, guidebooks communicate the idea that the people of Asheville do not accept the conventional, corporate downtown image and instead display individuality through body art (figure 16).

Figure 15. Showing a unique tattoo shop in the 2013 Mountain Xpress guidebook.

Guidebooks reflect Asheville's cosmopolitan inclusivity through messages that show care for animals and the environment, wellbeing, and gender equality. Guidebooks market Asheville as a progressive community focused on consistent improvement and acceptance. This portrays the city as a safe and welcoming space for tourists and potential residents.

The City

Pictures of street art are commonly seen in guidebooks with vibrant bright colors of purple like the ones on the popular Lazoom Comedy Troupe tour bus that certainly stands out on city streets. The phrase "Romantic Asheville" depicts the city as a romantic getaway with scenic nature views that makes for romantic excursions and weddings as well as winter cabins for honeymoon getaways. The phrase "Paris of the South" comes from the city having Art Deco architecture that resembles Parisian design from the 1920s. Guidebooks use scenic landscapes and historical architecture to sell this unique image that is a getaway for couples but is also attractive for artists due to the artistic landscape seen downtown. Images of Asheville's uniqueness make it stand out from its rural surroundings and other southern cities.

The themes that make up the construct "Cosmopolitan City" are revitalized city, which covers Asheville's economic recovery into becoming a cosmopolitan city, culinary tourism, which discusses the cultural diversity of the food and beverage industry and how popular it has become, and alternative culture that points out the characteristics mentioned in guidebooks that make Asheville a unique destination. Since the 2000s, guidebooks have directed more promotion towards cosmopolitan aspects of the city than previous than its Appalachian heritage. After marketing portrayed Asheville as a traditional mountainous southern town, the need to direct business downtown called for a more metropolitan image. While not trying to produce a corporate image of the city, tourism messaging from guidebooks marketed cultural diversity

starting in the 1980s and then added more art and originality. As a result, the city is viewed as more modern, individualistic, inclusive with creative businesses, and exciting for cosmopolitan tourists.

Conclusion

Guidebooks play a significant role in promoting attractions from a destination. They portray all of the attractive qualities of the destination to visitors and create a particular image of a place. Using the software N-Vivo 14, I was able to interpret and code descriptive text and images from a collection of guidebooks between the years 1951-2024. Then using the codes, I created themes and constructs that shaped Asheville's tourism message. The three constructs created from the themes were Nature-Based Tourism, Cultural-Heritage Tourism, and Cosmopolitan City. Nature tourism developed from the natural environment around Asheville that was used to attract visitors. This part of their industry was created from promoting natural features and outdoor activities for visitors.

Cultural heritage tourism developed from promoting the historical structures, objects, and traditions of the people of Asheville, and preserving their heritage through continued activities and sites promoted in guidebooks. Asheville being marketed as a cosmopolitan city emerged from an economic decline that allowed the city to rethink and modernize their branding to boost their economy. This narrative is proudly told in guidebooks along with the promotion of culinary tourism and the social uniqueness of the city. Collectively, the information provided from the guidebooks shows multiple perceptions of the same place to create a robust tourism message. Those perceptions changed over time due to many events that have resulted in a continued tourism industry.

The multiple perceptions over time show the change in Asheville's sold image that shapes tourists' sense of place. Tourists change the way a place looks due to their numbers and the type of tourist the destination attracts. This can be seen in Asheville in their push to revitalize the city, which resulted in the city's image shifting the more tourists began to occupy the space. The more the unique experience the stronger the sense of place could be because of the feelings associated. Guidebooks serve the purpose of promotion a sense of place for visitors to understand. In the next chapter, what stakeholders in Asheville's music scene say about the city will be discussed in interviews.

Chapter 5. Interviews

Music is an important cultural aspect because of the effects it has on people and how it reflects a society's culture. As the music industry grows, more distinct and unique forms of music are introduced for consumers. Festivals, tours, and music heritage sites play a part in expanding the artform (Lashua and Spracklen 2014). Ashville has embraced its music culture and provided a foundation for its growth. According to stakeholders, since the early 2000s Ashville has welcomed musicians and artists alike.

Asheville's current music scene started with a few venues in the 2000s such as The Orange Peel and Salvage Station. After making successful productions with large touring bands, more local acts received exposure on these stages. This led to a good business model for other venues that wanted to have music as often as possible. Asheville has embraced both the historic music of Appalachia and music from outside the region to create a diverse and inclusive music scene. The city has successfully built a music scene with the development of venues and supporting a wide range of music genres. The increasing importance of the music economy in Asheville has created the need to understand how stakeholders view both Asheville as a music destination and the role of tourism in branding the city as a music destination.

The importance of music stakeholders in Asheville

The first stakeholder group, the musicians, are the creators of music and contribute to the soundscape of the region. They reflect the cultural makeup of the city through their playing. What they play is influenced by their environment. From vocalists, to guitarists, to drummers, all musicians have something to say about how they make their living. Interviewing this group gives perspective on how they view and understand Asheville's music scene. Musicians are important to my study because their live music contributes to Asheville's cultural landscape and is the attraction that draws tourists. Eight of the

interviewees came to Asheville from other states while two were from the state. The experience level ranged from playing for a few years to being major acts in the music scene for decades. Some play music seven days a week while others have other businesses that help financially support them. Genres included jazz, bluegrass, blues, and rock. The artist's style of music influenced their experiences with both crowds and venues.

The second stakeholder group consists of the venue promoters that promote and provide a place for music. They create a space for tourists and locals to hear musical artists. Promoters contribute to the construction of Asheville's soundscape because they select and promote specific music to be heard by crowds. They are important to my study because their responses add insight to how tourists respond to Asheville's music scene. The sites represented in this study were music only and multipurpose venues. Music venues use music performances as the main attraction while multipurpose venues provide other services that attract business like craft beer enthusiasts and retail consumers. The places that only host music represented in this study include The Orange Peel, Rabbit Rabbit, Salvage Station, and Asheville Music Hall. These places host concerts for both major touring artists and local artists. These establishments are considered large venues that focus on out-of-town, big name artists and draw visitors from beyond the city in large numbers. Multipurpose venues include One World Brewing, Highland Brewing, and Static Age Records. The brewing companies attract visitors interested in their craft beer while Static Age Records attracts visitors interested in buying merchandise.

In addition to the traditional music venues, I also contacted two non-typical music promoting venues. These establishments add a non-traditional perspective to the study by providing information on alternative means of music promotion. LiveMusicAsheville.com has no physical venue but rather provides musicians and bands a platform to promote themselves. The independently managed website also works with other venues to promote shows. As a result, LiveMusicAsheville.com has become a primary show promoter for the city. The Asheville Music Festival (AVL Fest) is also not a permanent

establishment, but it is the first of its kind in Asheville where every summer it promotes local acts playing for local venues downtown for a week straight.

The third stakeholder group consists of tourism officials that promote Asheville's music scene to tourists. While the tourism messages may vary between groups, getting the thoughts and opinions from each group is important in seeing why or why not a band or venue would be included in their tourism messaging and determining how important the music scene is to tourism. The Buncombe County Tourism Development Authority (Explore Asheville) promotes what they believe to be the most appealing aspects of Asheville to attract tourists around the country. They have been around longer than the other two organizations and have the furthest reach. Their promotion is shaped around the best attractions and great times to visit Asheville and places around western North Carolina. They aim to promote diverse family-friendly attractions and year-round tourism.

Mountain Xpress, which is also the city's local newspaper, focuses on being hyperlocal and informative to residents and regional tourists. They seek to promote small businesses and events within and around Asheville. The Downtown Association has the most geographically concentrated scope because it focuses on downtown Asheville only. Their main goal is to attract both locals and tourists to the Downtown area to build revenue.

Getting interviews from Asheville stakeholders provides insight into their sense of place and how music contributes to shaping it. With Asheville being their home, stakeholders feel attached to their communities and have opinions about its development. Getting those opinions allows insight into the feelings associated with tourism and the changes tourism is making to the city. Interviews also reveal what effects the tourism industry has on their occupations. Because they care about their community and the condition of the music scene, they were willing to be interviewed.

Discussion on Literature

Types of Music Promotion

      Philip Long (2014) writes in his study of Sheffield UK that tourism agencies do not primarily promote music spaces in their tourism message but rather acknowledge and support the autonomous growth of music spaces. That growth is usually facilitated by booking agents/promoters at local venues. A booking agent's role is combined with the venue's status as a music space for local talent and the financial sustainability of the venue. Promoters intermediate between businesses and the artist (Mhiripiri 2012). Promotion lies on their decision to book acts that fit the venue or could help the venue shift in another direction (Whiting 2021). Venues promoters play a significant role in how music is shown in Asheville. They use a variety of methods in promoting shows that can be split into the two categories of physical promotion and virtual promotion. Physical promotion consists of any type of promotion that can be physically held and distributed. They include flyers (postering) or mail from a venue mailing list. Secondary media sources such as radio advertisements, tourism websites, and television commercials, and online social media sources would be considered virtual promotion.

Physical promotion

      Flyers are one of the oldest and most active ways in which venues promoters can promote physical advertisements around the city. They are normally seen in entertainment spaces on surfaces that make them easily seen. Postering is a way to push promotion for a venue's show affordably, however, where flyers are posted matters due to restrictions and competing businesses (Webster 2011). Asheville's larger venues that specifically promote music employ "street teams" that conveniently disperse posters throughout the city prior to weekend shows.

Venues like Salvage Station and Asheville Music Hall will post flyers at coffee shops, bars, and college campuses around the region to inform their typical fanbase about shows.

Promoters use postal or online mailing lists to promote seasonal events to subscribers. This generates consumer loyalty and consistent awareness of shows (Webster 2011). Being on a mailing list allows customers exclusive access to early shows. This method produces stronger communication between fans and venues that can help produce returning audience members. Asheville's larger venues have mailing lists due to touring artists that occasionally perform in the city. Venues like Orange Peel spent twenty years developing their mailing list to have fans subscribed to it across the country. This method helps boost ticket sales for popular artists and publicity for newer artists.

Virtual promotion

Secondary sources of media, also referred to as traditional media, spread news about venue shows. Show promotion through sources such as television, radio, and newspapers can be a good investment in expanding reach and saving money on print promotion (Webster 2011). Many venue promoters in Asheville will utilize local radio stations to announce events around the region. Some of these radio stations have an event calendar that features shows. Tourism websites also serve as a useful platform for promoting musical entertainment from venues. Tourism websites allow for spontaneity of booking a trip and the convenience to do so which helps build customer loyalty (Dixit, Belwal, and Singh 2006). Because Asheville has a strong tourism industry, venues can use tourism websites such as ExploreAsheville.com as a valuable asset for posting shows.

Promotion through online media can help build an independent following, particularly through the use of social media. Communities can be passionate and loyal to a brand, therefore allowing venues to passively promote online. While print media can add symbolic and cultural value to music promotion and be seen as art, social media promotion also utilizes visual interpretation without commentary. Social media serves as a tool to promote a centralized brand and has become useful in promoting niche specific markets, therefore decentralizing what is shown in music promotion (Jarvekulg and Wikstrom 2021). Asheville's venues strongly use social media to develop niche communities and gather support for bands, utilizing the affordability and wider reach. The larger venue in Asheville Salvage Station relies on platforms such as Instagram and Facebook the same as multi-use venues like Static Age Records that primarily use social media as a promotional tool.

Tourism Economy

Tourism can be one of the main assets in a destination's economy and have a large impact on a destination's image. It can support local businesses and entertainment. As a result, those local businesses and entertainment will market their products to tourists. The influx of tourists can cause overpopulation for smaller areas and raise expenses. Destination economies can also be controlled by seasonality due to when tourists visit the least and most. The influx of tourists to smaller destinations can considerably contribute to the revenue of businesses dependent on tourism.

In relation to this study, musicians in a destination can strongly be supported by tourism. Musicians rarely directly benefit from tourism promotion, but they are used to promote tourist destinations under the idea of local music (Stokes 1999). In a study by Fitzgerald and Reis (2016) the island Fernando de Noronha, Brazil, tourism is used as a primary source of income for

musicians. Restaurants and bars are where most live musicians will perform for tourists in entertainment districts. To gain more attention from tourists, they will play ambient popular music to match the scenery tourists would expect to see. In Asheville musicians will mainly play at bars and restaurants downtown where tourists will typically hear music. To represent the Appalachian image of Asheville, they will play folk and bluegrass music.

While tourism can fuel the economy of a destination, it can also affect the housing market. The idea of tourism real estate emerged in the 1990s with the growth of tourist properties. The investment in these real estate properties affects the property value of tourist destinations due to the matter of sustainability, the better the land is sustained and not affected by congestion and emissions, the more valuable it is (Kabil et al. 2022). With Asheville being away from other larger cities in North Carolina but still containing urban amenities, many tourists have moved to the city. Recently, it was ranked number three on the best places to visit in the state (travel.usnews.com 2024) and named one of the top ten fastest growing cities in North Carolina (redfin.com 2024). Asheville has a history of appealing to retirees. It is considered one of the top ten places to retire in North Carolina (retirable.com 2024). Medical services mixed with leisurely activities and good weather attract retirees from northern states and Florida. The influx of retirees mixed with students coming to attend the multiple colleges in the city contributes to rapid growth. While some tourists may be interested in moving to an area, other destinations suffer from too many tourists visiting. When the number of year-round tourists exceeds the number of residents, it can lead to overtourism.

Residents tend to lose their familiarity with their home due to overtourism. It can give local communities a negative outlook on tourism when it interferes with their daily life. Residents attribute crowding, high rent, gentrification, and stress on public transit to the presence

of tourism (Gossling et al. 2020). Successful advertisement during Asheville's tourism growth in the later 2000s changed the social infrastructure of the city to cater to a more affluent demographic that encouraged noise ordinances and raised property values. The increase in Asheville's population led to an increase in metropolitan traffic and homelessness.

While real estate and overtourism can be a challenge to a destination, the natural and social environment can also dictate how the tourism economy operates. There are two types of seasonality in tourism. Natural seasonality and Institutional seasonality. Destinations that experience natural seasonality base their tourism numbers on the effects of the natural phenomena such as sunlight, snowfall, rainfall, and daylight. This can be seen in beaches, ski resorts, or forested lands. Institutional seasonality is based on human factors like religious pilgrimages, sporting events, or school holidays (Jin Chung 2009).

Ashville faces these seasonal shifts in tourism due to its seasonal climate and holiday breaks during the spring, summer, and winter. Jolliffe and Farnsworth (2003) mention the term challengers in reference to the way a destination will resist seasonal changes that impact tourism revenue. These challengers find ways to stabilize tourism throughout the year with discounts on slow seasons, adding activities, and lobbying government to subsidize employee wages. Due to Asheville's mid-sized city economy relying on tourism, organizations challenge seasonal changes in order to stabilize the tourism industry. The city will host SEC tournaments to help attract tourists in the fall along with organizations advertising seasonal nature sightseeing. In slow seasonal periods, the music scene provides less shows due to closed outdoor venues during the winter. Indoor venues cater to locals until tourism picks back up in the warmer months. The warmer months are when Asheville does the most promotion for musical festivals and tourist

activities. In the next section I will cover the methods in which I applied to create my themes and constructs.

Methods

The groups I interviewed were musicians for their ability to produce music, venue promoters for the role they play in advertising music, and tourism officials for the authority they have in promoting music in their tourism messages. I conducted semi-structured interviews for each participant in order to allow for an open conversation and ability for follow-up when asked. The responses provided in the open-ended questions allowed me to analyze the responses for meaning and narrative. The word choice and how often a subject is mentioned would reflect the sentiment the interviewee has toward the subject introduced by the question. By using discourse analysis, I could further learn what that sentiment is within each group and see if all parties agree or not. Analyzing the responses gave me various viewpoints based on the experiences of the interviewees. I decided to selectively recruit participants for interviews based on their contribution to music tourism in Asheville. The selection was based on occupation and not random. The contribution of the interviewees made to the Asheville music scene decided on their qualification. The location needed to be within Asheville city limits to have a direct interaction with tourists and with the tourism industry. Due to the study area specifically focusing on downtown Asheville, the participants were more suitable if they worked within the urban center.

I interviewed three groups, musicians, venue promoters, and tourism officials. Musicians are a primary factor in music tourism because they are the producers of music and products music related. For instance, tourists who are fans of music will follow bands or will look to find new bands nearby to be entertained (Bolderman 2020). Ten musicians were selected for this study in order to have a large enough group for significant data collection. As a second category,

music venue promoters played an important role in providing and advertising music to the public as a business venture. Doing this in effect also contributes to a city's image and can be seen as an attraction for tourists. To decide on what would be considered a music venue, I researched what venues within Asheville's city limits considered themselves to be musical. The evidence of performances was shown through Facebook pages, business websites, Google searches under music venues, and travel brochures. Most places that were considered music venues advertised music at least three and at most seven times a week. Nine venues were selected to have a large enough data set.

The third group, tourism officials, were chosen due to their contribution to advertising destinations within and around Asheville. I defined tourism officials as those who are employed by a professional organization that participates in advertising tourism. I picked organizations based on their connection with the Tourism Development Authority also known as Explore Asheville. One participant was selected from Explore Asheville, five were selected from Mountain Xpress, and one was selected from The Downtown Association. In addition to these organizations a member of a local podcast was also selected.

In the selection process, I sent out a recruitment message to all parties approved by the Auburn University Internal Review Board (IRB). I followed IRB protocol in selection and recruitment prior to contacting subjects. Therefore, no names are used in this study to protect the identities of all participants. The recruitment process for musicians consisted of reaching out to musicians that promoted their shows in Asheville via social media (Facebook). By seeing how often musicians played in Asheville, I could determine whether they could be considered local musicians. No particular genre was sought out in this study, neither was this study age or gender

specific. From referrals of previously contacted musicians more subjects were contacted using the same recruitment message with the addition of mentioning who referred me.

Subjects from the venues were recruited based on their affiliation with the venue. I searched for the venue's music promoter because they managed the music entertainment for the venue and had contact between the tourists and the musicians. I contacted the venues via email from their site as well as calling the venue and asking for the promoter. On occasion, venues referred me to other nearby venues that also promoted music but were not as heavily advertised online. The venues varied in size, genre style, physical or online construct, and location in this study.

After contacting all willing participants and giving them the option to record or not record, I scheduled a thirty-minute interview using the software Zoom. The details of how the interview would be conducted were mentioned in the recruitment message. The interview was meant to last long enough for all questions to be answered (table 2.). The option for Zoom video interviews was implemented due to (1) the various schedules of all interviewees, and (2) to them being in another state. Other interviews were either conducted over the phone or in person. While the interview was conducted, the recording option on Zoom was used, then an audio recording was saved in a secure file under the interviewees folder.

The questions for musicians focus on livability in Asheville and if they profit from playing in the city. The questions on the venue promoters are meant to see how tourism and music contribute to their business. The last question for both musicians and venue promoters is focused on their relationship with Explore Ashville and what could be done to improve that relationship. Lastly, the questions asked to tourism officials focus on their perspective on how they promote music in the city.

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The responses to the questions in table seven are meant to be categorized under a code name that describes them best. By getting a description of the response, I understood the discourse associated. After coding all responses, I used bottom-up coding in N-vivo to create themes that will be combined into constructs. These themes and constructs will provide depth into answering the larger question on how music is valued in tourism through the words of the people that build the music scene.

Table 2. Interview Questions		
Questions for Musicians	**Questions for Venue Owners**	**Questions for Tourism Bureau Employees**
Why did you choose to play music in Asheville?	How do you see the role of tourism in your business?	What are the main promotional messages you focus on?
How do you see the role of tourism in your business?	In what ways do you promote live shows?	How have you seen these messages change over time?
Is there any evidence of tourists at your shows? Examples?	How does seasonality affect your business in terms of tourism?	What is the role of music in Asheville's tourism message?
How does seasonality affect your ability to be hired in Asheville and what links do you see with hire ability and tourism?	How does your business benefit from the tourism bureau's promotions?	How does seasonality impact your tourism messaging?
How do you benefit from the Tourism Bureau's promotions?	What could the tourism bureau do to help your business?	In what ways does the tourism bureau work with local businesses and musicians to promote Asheville?
What could the tourism bureau do to help your business?		

While conducting the interview, I asked a series of main questions mixed with supporting questions to gather more information on the subject. The series of questions for the musician stakeholders consisted of getting information on why they decided to perform music in

Asheville, how tourism affected their business, and if Explore Asheville helped bring tourists to their business. The questions for the venues stakeholders consisted of getting information on if tourism mattered to how much business they received, how invested they are in promoting music, and if they had a connection with tourism organizations to sell music to tourists. The questions for tourism organization employees were meant to be broader to see how music fit into the overall branding message. Their questions were geared toward what messages were being promoted and how the message was changed, in addition to what relationship these organizations had with the local music scene.

These questions involved the effects of seasonality in tourism activity and the benefits of promotion from Explore Asheville in order to see a branding and economic relationship between the three groups. The connecting question on how seasonality affects tourism comes from the fact that tourism influx affects all forms of a city's economy if that city heavily relies on tourism (Buncombe County Tourism Authority Annual Report 2022). Since Ashville is a mid-sized city that has a surge of tourism in the summer and a drop in the winter according to data, it is important to see how that affects its music scene. According to Butler's tourism area lifecycle, Asheville would be in its consolidation stage due to the amount of income the city receives from tourism and the need to overcome seasonality by developing new markets (Mogelhoj, H. 2021, 57).

After gathering data from interviews, I began the process of analyzing the transcribed text from the recorded Zoom interviews. The audio recordings were saved to files under the interviewees' initials. I then transcribed and edited the text into a word document where I could import the document into N-Vivo 14 software. N-vivo 14 helped me organize the gathered data and build patterns and themes between the interviews. After importing the interviews, I

highlighted the questions I asked as a place marker for where to read responses. After going in order from musicians, to venues, to officials, I began coding responses. I particularly looked for responses under the main questions asked, if the interviewee continued to talk further on a subject withing the supporting questions in relation to the main ones, I coded that material as well.

The coding process involved taking a single response such as "there's not much work on the weekdays" and putting it under a single code name. I took a multitude of responses relevant to the previously asked question and either put them under the same code name or a completely new one, depending on the content and context of the response. After finding the most coded responses I categorized them under that question as shown in table 3. After coding all interviews, I then used the most used codes to create themes that related closely to all code clustered. Those themes would then become constructs that would represent dominant subjects created by my questions as shown in table 4. In the end, I formed a total of five themes representing two constructs (shown in appendix A.). The construct "music promotion" is represented by the themes "Asheville music scene", "the importance of music to the tourism industry", and "intergroup relationships". The construct "tourism economy" is represented by "tourist driven city" and "seasonal tourism".

Table 3. Interview Responses

Interviewees	Questions	Responses
Musicians	Why did you choose to play music in Asheville?	Felt inviting for musicians, better than bigger cities, more vibrant music scene
	How do you see the role of tourism in your business?	Tourists come for beer and hear music
	Is there any evidence of tourists at your shows? Examples?	Tend to be focused on the entertainment, hard to tell but mostly tourists
	How does seasonality affect your ability to be hired in Asheville and what links do you see with hire ability and tourism?	Business gets slow in the winter, summer tourism attracts more people
	How do you benefit from the Tourism Bureau's promotions?	I do not directly deal with them
	What could the Tourism Bureau do to help you?	Financial benefits tied to plating in city, representation in tourism message
Venues	How do you see the role of tourism in your business?	Tourists mainly come for music, tourists mainly come for another reason
	In what ways do you promote live shows?	Social media, through promotional websites, physical flyers
	How does seasonality affect your business in terms of tourism?	Winter is slowest
	How does your business benefit from the Tourism Bureau's promotions?	We try to do our own promotion
	What could the Tourism Bureau do to help your business?	Promoting shows on website, work with us and establish communication
Tourism officials	What are the main promotional messages you focus on?	Hyperlocalism, (safe, diverse, and educational travel)
	How have you seen these messages change over time?	Less diverse events after covid, popular for real estate
	What is the role of music in Asheville's tourism message?	Asheville is a diverse music city
	How does seasonality impact your tourism messaging?	People are here year round, busy spring to fall
	In what ways does the tourist bureau work with local businesses and musicians to promote Asheville?	Promote artists and venues online and on newsletter

Table 4. Aggregate coding from Interviews		
Codes	**Themes**	**Constructs**
tourists support shows, financial benefits venues tie to hosting music, tourists change city landscape, varied marketing focus for tourism organizations	Tourist driven city	Tourist Economy
Business gets slow in the winter, summer attracts more people, winter is the slowest tourist season, tourism is busiest from spring to fall	Seasonal tourism	
Feels inviting to musicians, music is valuable to venues, Asheville is a diverse music city	Ashville music scene	Music Promotion
Tourists come for beer and hear music, tourism messages are about safe, diverse, educational travel, Music is a minor tourist attraction	The importance of music to the tourism industry	
Musicians do not directly deal with tourism bureau, venues do their own promotion, venues want to communicate with bureau, organizations mix music into promotional message	Intergroup Relationships	

Tourist Economy

Asheville has advertised itself as a tourist destination since the 1890s. Once the lumber industries shut down, Asheville lost a major industry that once dominated western North Carolina. However, with the development of health resorts for the wealthy, Asheville was able to support its economy with tourism. The area's Blue Ridge and Smoky Mountains became two of the most popular attractions for families along the east coast. Since the 1950s, guidebooks have showcased the area as an ideal spot for sightseeing and outdoor activities. In the 1980s, the city drew many tourists downtown with revitalized shops and cultural attractions that helped rebuild its economy. The taxes generated from people staying at hotels helped fund further promotion

and events. Asheville prides itself on being in travel magazines, such as ranking number nine in U.S.A. Today's top Ten Destination to visit on a budget in 2023 (Charlotteobserver.com).

Two themes were developed from codes within the interviews that represent the tourist economy, "tourist driven city" and "seasonal tourism". The theme "tourist driven city" describes what aspects stakeholders believe make Asheville a tourist city. The theme "seasonal tourism" describes how stakeholders deal with the seasonality of tourism. During interviews, stakeholders described what they think makes the city attractive. Asheville is described as an atypical southern city and has its own alternative culture that draws eccentric individuals. Due to the mountainous scenery, the city has been romanticized as a great place to get married where musicians find work playing at weddings and bachelor/bachelorette parties. The mix of traditions and communitarian atmosphere make it a welcoming environment for entrepreneurs and businesses. Being popular for both its microbreweries and big-name breweries, Asheville attracts many tourists interested in trying local and popular brands. With the city being popular for The Biltmore Estate, Asheville's tourism organizations promote annual celebrations like Christmas at The Biltmore along with other festive cultural events happening in town.

In the next section I will discuss the characteristics of Asheville that make it a city fueled by the tourism industry. I will talk about the impact tourists have on each stakeholder group economically and socially. I will discuss how the three stakeholder groups are affected by changes in tourism influx due to seasonal change in addition to what they do to keep tourist coming to town and stay in business. In addition to talking about seasonal change, I will talk about the types of seasonal change that benefit stakeholders and the type that negatively affects them. I will then conclude by mentioning how stakeholders collectively rely on tourism based on the themes "tourist city" and "seasonal tourism".

Tourist city

The more tourists visit the city, the more businesses thrive, which can lead to more playing opportunities for musicians. Musicians are supported by the number of attendees at their shows and receive employment based on the amount of tourism in the city. Venue promoters see the financial benefit of tourism whether it be from music fans or visitors coming to Asheville for another reason. While locals do frequent these establishments, the number of tourists bring the most business. Tourism organizations expanding their marketing throughout the entire city and outside of the city show that tourism messaging is constructed to provide a range of tourist attractions to further boost the tourism industry. Getting the opinions of stakeholders can help show the connection between the music scene and tourists. Hearing what stakeholders have to say about tourism contributes to understanding tourism's impact.

The codes "tourists support shows", "financial benefits venues tie to hosting music", "tourists change city landscape", and "varied marketing focus for tourism organizations" are made up of responses that are tied to Asheville being a tourist city. The code "tourists support shows" is made from the responses of musicians and venue promoters when mentioning when and where they see tourists at venues the most. These codes shape how stakeholders financially rely on tourist support in addition to how the type of tourist Ashville attracts can alter the cultural makeup on the city.

Tourists support shows

Musicians feel appreciated when new fans see their shows. Most musicians agreed that it is hard to point out tourists in the crowd unless they speak to them. Due to the diverse types of people that visit the city from all over the country, anyone could be a tourist. Other musicians

identified tourists from their wardrobe. They notice tourists will be dressed less casually than locals. While they can be hard to identify by sight, other musicians and venue promoters said that most tourists are seen on the weekends and downtown. With most hotels being downtown, it would be common for tourists to walk to shows, unless they are in town to see a show at a larger venue. However other responses recall seeing tourists in West Asheville also, where more locals are seen, indicating that tourists are frequenting the edges of town as well. According to responses, many tourists are in town for the weekend and will frequent shows as well, usually the residents will show up on the weekdays.

Stakeholders mentioned how the type of music tourists usually expect to hear is bluegrass, americana, and jam music. While musicians mention other genres played in town, they express the need for Asheville's music diversity to be advertised more. Bluegrass, americana, and jam music get a greater deal of tourism support than other genres where musicians also excel at performing. While other genres are hidden from the tourist message they are valued within the local community.

While tourists attend and support live music, because of the Appalachian depiction of Asheville, tourists interested in that part of the city's culture are more likely to support that style of music. This can be an issue for other genres and original/experimental artists because they have to cater to that image in order to have well attended shows. Ashville attracts people from all over the country therefore making it difficult to pinpoint a tourist, but a strong tourist presence can be seen downtown on the weekends that is produced from the number of nearby hotels and attractions. The placement of these amenities downtown make for an effective way for tourists to see shows and interact with the music scene.

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Financial benefits venues tie to hosting music

For multi-use venues like bars and stores, tourists already plan to visit regardless of who's performing. Musicians described this as having a built-in audience. Due to the city's reputation for craft breweries, bars naturally attract tourists. Their product and atmosphere are what visitors come to see. Shown in venue promoter responses, music serves as an amenity that helps keep people in bars and even contributes to returning customers. The National research group (2022) shows that music has the potential to increase food and beverage sales by attracting patrons for the music or stay longer if they hear music they like. With the number of patrons frequenting a bar or restaurant, 70% of them go to a place that has live music. With bars being near hotels downtown, many more tourists support these establishments than residents.

Larger venues differ from smaller venues because their business relies on music performances. According to large venue promoters, performers get visitors that intend to see music due to ticket sales and show promotion. Touring bands bring visitors to the city due to their large and loyal fanbase. These venues usually have a larger range of promotions and larger acts to fill the space. Larger stages depend on people out of town to help fill seats, especially when there are multiple shows going on at once. Most tourists attending these shows are loyal fans of the music instead of patrons there for another reason.

Tourists change city landscape

Responses from stakeholders discussed recent physical and cultural changes in Asheville within the past 4-5 years. While they welcome tourism to the city, overtourism can cause negative effects to a destination. Overcrowding is an issue where more tourists visit and more residents moving there is causing a strain on infrastructure. The roads and waterways are having

to support rapid growth for the small towns' size which results in heavy traffic on two-lane roads and water shortages, new structures and hotels and being built. Stakeholders still see it as a small city, but compared to the way it looked in recent years, it appears more crowded especially during tourism peak seasons. Stakeholders found new housing developments in neighborhoods outside of the city center that make the landscape appear unfamiliar.

Tourism officials mentioned how shortly after the Covid-19 crisis, many people from other states started buying property in Asheville, this may be due to a drop in the market. Rapid growth of population mixed with rapid building is pushing residents to the edge of town due to rises in cost. Stakeholders mentioned rises in rent compared to when they first moved to the city, which drives them to find housing in neighboring cities. Due to the increase in cost of living in major cities mixed with ideal weather conditions in Western North Carolina, Asheville attracts many wealthy business professionals that can afford to buy properties. The newly placed noise ordinance downtown was voted on by newer residents that could afford to live downtown. Stakeholders mentioned that where downtown used to be filled with more busking and music late into the night, the recent noise ordinance restricts venues from playing music after a certain time, limiting the effectiveness of music venues and altering Asheville's nightlife scene.

Varied marketing focus for tourism organizations

The main mission for tourism organizations is to bring visitors to Asheville. The scope of promotion varies between organizations and if they are focused on downtown, to local activity or to the western North Carolina region. Because of different scopes, the organizations vary in messages. The Downtown Association said they focus on tourists coming downtown to attend festivals, events, and shows, spend money in local businesses, and even invest in property in that part of the city. They want to build the cultural capital of the downtown area by hosting free

events that showcase local entertainment. Mountain Xpress said they aim to promote a hyperlocal message for the whole of the city. They showcase support for local businesses, local artists, city projects, and tourism. Being a local newspaper, their focus on the music scene is based around getting a story on artists and venues and staying up to date with shows. They aim to show the uniqueness of Asheville while also being transparent about what happens in the city. Authenticity is one of their main values.

Explore Asheville has the biggest reach and most diverse message. They aim to encourage environmental preservation and education of natural attractions, while also appealing to culturally diverse tourists. They promote inclusivity towards tourists. While they support and fund local events, they also aim to promote surrounding areas. They want to push the idea that Asheville has much to offer in attractions and has a rich heritage. Having three tourism organizations marketing Asheville strengthens overall promotion. It shows Asheville's dedication to being a tourist destination promoting the metro area, the city, and the downtown area. While Asheville has certain attractions more popular than others, the three organizations as a collective create a diverse tourism message that showcases places, events, and services to develop an overall image of Ashville to tourists.

Seasonal Tourism

While interviewing stakeholders, the effects of seasonality in their profession were asked about within each group. Each interviewee had something to say about how the natural seasons of Asheville's temperate climate affected how many tourists came to town, which resulted in spikes and dips in their revenue. In addition to natural seasons, institutional seasons also affected revenue based on when tourists were out on vacation. With tourism being one of the primary industries in the city, seasonality greatly affects how often musicians play, who venues hire, and

what content organizations promote. Getting the thoughts of stakeholders on seasonality provides insight into when music is used best as a tourist attraction and into how it helps attract tourists in slow seasons.

The codes "business gets slow in the winter", "summer attracts more people", "winter is slowest tourist season", and "tourism is busiest from spring to fall" make up the seasonal tourism theme. The code "business gets slow in the winter" is created from responses involving the dip in business in the winter where tourists are not in Asheville due to the cold weather. The code "summer attracts more people" is made up of responses having to do with the increase in business for musicians and venues due to tourists being there for warm weather during their vacation.

The code "winter is the slowest tourist season" is generated from more of a collective response from all three groups. This code also includes responses from organizations mentioning where they see the lowest tourist attendance. Lastly, the code "tourism is busiest from spring to fall" is the opposite of when interviewees see the lowest number of tourists. This code is made from responses discussing Asheville's peak seasons. Collectively, these four codes discuss how seasons affect the stakeholder groups.

Business gets slow in the winter

Musicians experience a noticeable shift in tourism numbers from December to March. With Asheville still being known for its nature-based tourism, it experiences natural seasonal tourism where most tourists only come in warmer weather. By December, some musicians said they perform at holiday celebrations such as Christmas at the Biltmore. After December, the weather is too cold to host major events. Therefore, this is the time when tourists are in Asheville

the least and shows for musicians are scarce. Due to the shifts in temperature creating a decline in tourism numbers, musicians experience drops in employment. Musicians mentioned how getting a gig can be competitive during this time.

Most venues are still in business through the support of local residents, but they are more willing to book only the most popular musicians. Private parties and weddings have also become popular in the city providing additional work for musicians during slow periods, even though it does not typically provide a creative outlet for original music. Venues promoters said they were affected by seasons the same way musicians are but face different challenges. While venues find it important to continually have music at their establishments, multi-use venues have other ways to attract customers. Particularly during the months of January and February when it is slowest, multi-use venues rely on local support and offer alcohol, shopping, and food. Outdoor venues during this time are inactive due to the cold weather. While the outdoor spaces of venues like Rabbitt Rabbitt and Salvage Station are affected by the cold air of winter, larger indoor music venues are not as affected by natural seasonality.

Businesses in Asheville heavily rely on tourist numbers as a destination. Musicians being entertainment for tourists get most of their work through the means of tourism, using venues to perform. Because of their reliance on tourism, Asheville's musicians are a participate in seasonal employment where they work the most in the warmer months.

Summer attracts more people

After March, institutional seasonality occurs when warmer weather attracts visitors for spring and summer vacation. Throughout the spring and summer festivals and weekly events like Shindig on the Green give musicians opportunities to perform in various spaces. Bars become

crowded and traffic fills the streets. Musicians described this time as very busy and hectic. The transition in business for musicians shows that Asheville has very defined tourist seasons. As an opposite to the slowness in business in the winter months, the spring, summer, and fall months are the busiest for musicians and venues. Larger venues said that they get the most business from institutional seasonality, such as times when bands will go on tour and large festivals are in surrounding regions or mainly when schools are out for break. During warmer months outdoor venues reopen and get filled with tourists out for summer vacation and festivals.

Winter is slowest tourist season

Tourism organizations acknowledged that tourism slows during January and February. Explore Asheville said they employ methods like special sales during slow seasons to attract tourists. They also promote specific attractions for the slow season (Jin Chung 2009). Due to peaking in the summer, tourism organizations also try to alleviate seasonal slowness with shoulder seasons (James Higham and Tom Hinch 2002). For example, promotions for frozen waterfalls and other winter attractions are shown in Explore Ashville guidebooks in order to keep tourists coming during the slower months.

Tourism employees agreed that while this shift in seasons is evident, because of population growth and more tourists coming in recent years, the change is not as noticeable. Because of the absence of tourists for outdoor activities and holiday events, organizations do not have as many attractions to promote, therefore not giving a reason for tourists to stay and frequent venues. The increase in population allows attractions to survive through slow months with business from residents.

Tourism is busiest from spring to fall

For tourism officials the busiest time for the city is from spring to fall. While spring allows for outdoor venues to reopen and tourism numbers to increase due to vacation periods and good weather, summer is the time when the city hosts numerous events. Warmer months are more inviting to tourists for outdoor activities and scenic nature and many tourists are out on vacation. Fall is the last busiest time for Asheville where people from around the country visit the Blue Ridge Mountains to see the changing of the leaves and holiday festivals.

Asheville's economy has relied on tourism since the 1800s. The variety of attractions showcased in the city's promotion reflects a large tourism presence that extends throughout the region. Responses from stakeholders mentioning tourists at shows, tourists accounting for a large number of people moving to Asheville, and different scopes of tourism messages from organizations shows how dependent the city is on tourism revenue. The city relies on tourists coming so much that the times when tourists are not coming to the city affect the economy. Responses reflect the effects of seasonality on stakeholder businesses due to low tourist numbers. There are definite times when most tourists will come and leave the city that stakeholders agree on. In addition to knowing these times, stakeholders also encourage more year-round tourism to maintain consistent tourism-driven business. In the next section, I will focus on the themes that make up the construct "music promotion".

Music Promotion

Music promotion in Asheville serves as an important building block for Asheville's music scene. Music has been seen in Asheville guidebooks since the 1950s and is heavily showcased through Asheville's festivals like the Mountain Dance and Folk festival and Bele

Chere. However, the current music scene has changed since the development of Asheville's cosmopolitan messaging and music competes with other popular narratives in Asheville such as culinary tourism and alternative culture. While musical events are still promoted, the stakeholders have mixed opinions on how they are represented in city promotion.

After aggregate coding from responses, I created three themes covering how participants view music's promotion in Asheville. "Asheville music scene" covers how stakeholders view the music scene of Asheville. "the importance of music to the tourism industry" is about how stakeholders view the impact of music promotion. Finally, "intergroup relationships" is made up of how each stakeholder group views their relationship with the other groups. These themes show how musicians have a firsthand experience being exposed to tourists. They also show how venues promoters have a role in bridging the connection between promoting local music and maintaining a business, in addition to revealing how tourism organizations showcase music in their overall tourism messaging.

In the next section, I will discuss what qualities make-up Asheville's music scene based on stakeholder responses. Using those responses, I will elaborate on how each group feels about the music scene and why tourism officials consider Asheville a musical city. I will discuss the varied opinions associated with music's tourism message and how that message is perceived in different ways. For the last theme "intergroup relationships", I will describe the connection between each group and the desired relationship each group wants to build. I will then conclude with a summary of the differences between stakeholders when it comes to how music is used.

Asheville Music Scene

Musicians of different backgrounds call Ashville home. Since the development of Asheville's creative class, musicians have migrated to the city from different parts of the United States. Musicians gather in metropolitan spaces like Asheville because of the mixed labor industries created. In these metropolitan areas, art consumption is shown more frequently in affluent communities where art galleries, performance stages, and art sponsors are located (Markusen 2013). Asheville is the economic hub of western North Carolina. The growth in population and support for the arts gives musicians a variety of venues to perform at ranging from large venues that can seat hundreds, to smaller bars that seat a couple dozen people. Venues around town pose as outdoor spaces, indoor stages, concert halls, theaters, amphitheaters, restaurants, and bars. In addition to these spaces, interviewees mention playing in hotels and at the Biltmore Estate. Special events in town like the Lake Eden Arts Festival, Shindig on the Green, and Downtown after Five also serve as performance opportunities for musicians. These events get promoted and advertised by the city and draw tourists for their shows.

Asheville's music scene runs deep into the city's heritage. Since the early 1900s, Appalachian music has been popular in the region and was played at the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival. Since the 1970s, Shindig on the Green was a popular event for the community and visitors. It occurred during the spring and summer months when people could sit outside while watching local artists. In addition to festivals, Asheville's music scene has had symphonic performances by the Ashville Symphony at the Ashville Auditorium and the Thomas Wolfe Auditorium. By the 2000s, Asheville's music scene evolved into a multitude of genres regularly played in town. In addition to popular music festivals like Culturefest and Bele Chere, local breweries and the opening of the Orange Peel social club have provided many local musicians

places to perform music outside the traditional genres of bluegrass and classical. Venues have also welcomed larger acts that have added to the musical diversity of the region with jam bands, rock, and jazz in smaller spaces. Currently, Asheville is home to a variety of musical tastes with artists contributing collaboration and experimentation. Getting stakeholder responses on the music scene provides detail on the personal importance of music to those who participate in local music and tourism.

Asheville music scene is made from the codes "feels inviting to musicians", "music is valuable to venues", and "Asheville is a diverse music city". The code "feels inviting to musicians" consists of responses from musicians on what drew them to play music in Asheville. This code shows what creative qualities the city contains to build a musical community. The code "music is valuable to venues" describes the majority of sentiment venue promoters have towards trying to keep Asheville a place for local artists and original music. The code "Asheville is a diverse music city" comes from the responses of tourism officials describing their experience of the music scene. It is described as diverse when hearing different genres or seeing the various outlets for musical performances. These codes make up the experiences stakeholders have involving the music scene and the importance they express about its presence.

Feels inviting to musicians

Musicians responded to the feeling of being in Asheville as being an inviting atmosphere where getting work is possible due to the connections they can build with other musicians. They described other musicians as likeminded, of the same age, open to collaboration. These qualities would make it easier for musicians migrating to Asheville to start their music career. Musicians find themselves drawn to Asheville for opportunities to play without having to compete as heavily as they would in a larger city. In addition to playing opportunities, musicians like other

artists find it more affordable to live in than larger metropolises (Markusen 2013). Artists moving to these areas are typically already established to the point to where they do not need to be within a large city to be sustained. In Asheville's case, musical artists that established themselves before moving to Asheville find the city a suitable place to settle down while still performing.

Musicians mentioned how the open mics and jam sessions held at venues provide a creative and welcoming space for musicians that draws them to stay and work in the city. The jam sessions and newly forming bands not only reflect the inclusivity of the music scene and its musicians, but also the scene's push to experiment and create unique music. Because of the numerous places to play mixed with the compactness of the city, musicians find it easier to play and in closer proximity to other musical circles. The openness of the city can be seen in the way venues allow different musicians to perform. The openness mixed with mid-sized city affordability allow a space for entrepreneurs such as musicians to conduct their business compared to larger metropolises where the population is higher, therefore leading to less connectivity between the music community, and higher costs of living.

Music is valuable to venues

Stakeholders see Asheville as a stop where tourists could always see some form of music. While larger venues attract music fans that intentionally travel to Asheville to see shows, tourists will stay for smaller shows in multi-use venues mainly downtown where these venues are clustered. Venue promoters in Asheville show they have a passion for local music through mentioning their intentions to book local artists. Music can be understood as an industry and a part of a culture (Gallan 2012). Venue promoters are the bridge between a creative music scene and the business of the venue. Booking local artists helps build the music scene. By selecting

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original music, they create a diverse and authentic scene. Asheville maintains its musical authenticity through venue promoters booking local talent at many venues, but also working to bring tourists and locals to larger events through booking more famous artists. Venues serve as social environments for people interested in niche entertainment. These spaces can be good places for musicians and other artists to interact, to build projects, and to add to a city's music ecology and sustainability (Whiting 2021).

Because Asheville markets itself as a cultural tourist destination, tourists see the music performed there as a cultural experience. Because venues value music in their business, promoters use music as a way to showcase the city's cultural expression by making the acts they book an attraction. Based on responses from musicians, tourists show interest in Asheville's music scene through attending shows. As a result, tourism is a motivates continual booking of musicians.

Asheville is a diverse music city

According to stakeholders, Asheville has many opportunities for musicians to have a creative outlet with original music. The city's music scene is not limited to one genre but explores new genres and sub genres. The sense of community helps facilitate these relationships in conjunction with the arts scene. Tourism officials mentioned musical events and venues on websites and guidebooks annually. Stakeholders show pride in Asheville's music scene by calling it a music city. Officials showed their knowledge of Asheville's musical past when they mentioned famous artists that grew up around the area and landmarks like the Moog factory that produces Moog keyboards. Being residents of the city, tourism officials observe the impact the music scene has on the city's culture. Some of the musical aspects they notice the most are the buskers playing for money outside, or the bluegrass and country music played in venues. They

understand the importance of bluegrass and other lesser-known genres in Asheville's culture and reflect it in guidebook promotion. By being supporters of Asheville's music scene, they encourage the growth in creativity of the artists. Guidebooks frequently show pictures of local bands and venues within arts and entertainment sections.

The mentioning of Asheville's musical heritage and soundscape mainly came from the perspective of tourism officials. They play the role of observers watching the music scene develop and then report on it. They represent residents that have an appreciation for music and are fans of the performers they see. Stakeholders define Asheville as a music city because within their perspective they see music constantly being showcased throughout the city. By being in public areas they can see who is playing outside or see who has a show at a venue. By seeing constant signs of music performance, stakeholders can see who is performing, what kind of music is being performed, and how packed crowds are in order to call Asheville a music city. The presence of music builds the city's soundscape and contributes to this perception.

The importance of music to the tourism industry

Music takes on multiple roles between stakeholders and is specifically important for different reasons. Musicians use music as an artistic outlet and as the service they provide in their profession. Many musicians moved to Asheville in order to perform original music and build their music career through performing for tourists. Venue promoters use music to draw business for multi-use venues such as bars or record stores or larger venues that are primarily performance spaces. Many of these venues are situated in areas that tourists frequent. Tourism officials use music to attract tourists interested in Asheville's arts community. They share similar views in how music preserves and showcases Asheville's culture as well as draws tourists.

Getting stakeholders' opinions on the impact of music through codes provides insight into music's contribution when relating it to tourism.

Codes "tourists come for beer and hear music", "tourism messages are about safe, diverse, educational travel", and "music is a minor tourist attraction" make up music's promotional message in Asheville. The code "tourists come for beer and hear music" describes the opinions musicians have about performing at venues pertaining to tourists. "Tourism messages are about safe, diverse, educational travel" is made from a collection of responses from tourism officials involving their overall tourism message. The coded response "music is a minor tourist attraction" represents responses directed towards the importance of music compared to other attractions in Asheville's tourism message.

Tourists come for beer and hear music

Many musicians find themselves getting more work playing at breweries. They described the typical tourists coming to Asheville as those mainly there for nature-related activities and breweries. Musical performances are mentioned in advertisements for brewery events like Brewgrass and Oktoberfest., therefore, music contributes to the experience, but is not the main attraction. Even though Asheville is a musical city and has a history of being so, interviewees believe tourist do not usually come for the music at various venues, tourists interested in music would instead come to a larger venue to see a particular artist or for an event. Local musicians see Asheville as a place that supports music but does not specifically advertise the details of who is playing.

They described the music scene as more of an amenity that accommodates the scenery. Buskers add to the artistic landscape of the city and are showcased in guidebooks; however, they

are not an attraction. Most promotion towards Asheville's music comes from large events where local artists can be seen, these are times when tourists will be in town longer and will contribute to the economy and hotel occupancy tax that funds tourism promotion. Musicians in the interviews seemed content about their role in Asheville's music scene due to maintaining a fairly stable income from playing at venues and are hopeful that the scene will grow.

While residents see the musical aspects of Asheville regularly, some stakeholders believed the actual impact music has on the city is not portrayed in tourism messaging. Because music is not seen as frequently in messaging as outdoor activities and beer tourism, tourists develop a metanarrative of Asheville where music is not included. It is until they have a first-hand account of the music scene that they realize its impact. With the combination of having music at multiple bars and other multi-use venues, tourists can easily be exposed to the music scene and change their narrative of Asheville.

Stakeholders agreed that while music is frequently played in Asheville and is mentioned in promoting the city, it is not the most popular tourism message. Unlike the cities of New Orleans or Nashville, music is showcased as a part of the art scene of Asheville more than the primary reason to visit Asheville. Events hosted by the city showcase local music along with performances by touring artists, but the music scene as a collective is shown to support other attractions.

Tourism messages are about safe, diverse, educational travel

While organizations agree that music is an integral part of Asheville's image, they cover a variety of topics and aim for diverse messages. While some messaging is more localized than others, organizations said they keep their messages diverse and open to an array of tourists.

Diversity, inclusivity, and safety are some of the similarities between organizations. Mountain Xpress and the Downtown Association focus more on the local community while Explore Asheville focus on Metro Asheville. However, other cities are seen in Mountain Xpress guidebooks. Because Asheville's promotion is done by multiple organizations, the scope in which those organizations promote varies, therefore, the message varies. But most of the messaging was geared towards safety, diversity, and educational travel. This is a generalized message meant to encompass all of the attractions Asheville has to offer than a specific one. The organizations make it a goal to include as many features as possible in Asheville's tourism message and will have some messaging become more dominant than others.

Music is a minor tourist attraction

According to stakeholders, the main reasons tourists come to Asheville is for the mountains and Biltmore estate more so than the music. Tourism officials mentioned that they showcase certain venues in guidebooks and online promotions, but mainly show their support for the music scene through promoting events through their online calendar. Both Explore Asheville and Mountain Xpress tourism officials mentioned how their online calendar gives the most detailed information on musical events in Asheville aside from paid promotions from venues in guidebooks.

Both Mountain Xpress and Explore Asheville have event calendars that advertise shows, with the mountain Xpress one being there for longer, it has more of a connection with venues. Most of those are multi-use venues. The online calendar builds communication between the officials and venue promoters by informing people new to Asheville about the music scene. Because music performance is a minor attraction compared to the Biltmore or nature attractions, it is not what tourists mainly come for. While organizations have broad messaging, they

acknowledge the music scene through guidebooks and online promotion. Much of this is in the same category as many events that happen within the city. This promotion is a way to direct attention to smaller attractions like musical performances.

Intergroup relationships

Music promotion in Asheville is structured between two communicating parties; musicians and venue promoters, and venue promoters and tourism officials. In the interviews, most musicians mentioned that their relationship with tourism organizations is not directly related to their work. They do not individually get promoted by the tourism bureau, but they directly benefit from the popularity of the venue they are playing at. Venue promoters share a bilateral relationship with the musicians and a unilateral relationship with tourism organizations. While they book musicians that would attract business to their establishment, they also invest in promotion with tourism organizations to draw tourists. The tourism organization's role is to promote Asheville. They work with venues to show tourists the cultural arts side of the city. While the average visitor may not be aware of the particular shows advertised by venues online, organizations make it easier for the music scene to be known through promoting on a larger scale. Codes in this theme particularly look at responses from musicians and venue promoters relating to their relationship with Explore Asheville due to it being the most dominant tourism organization in Asheville. The last code "organizations mix music into promotional message" is based on tourism officials from Explore Asheville and other organizations' responses to being asked about their relationship with the music scene. Understanding the relationships between stakeholders helps explain the reason why music is promoted as a secondary attraction in Asheville's tourism message.

Intergroup relationships is made from the codes "musicians do not directly deal with tourism bureau", "venues do their own promotion", "venues want to communicate with bureau", and "organizations mix music into promotional message". The code "musicians do not directly deal with tourism bureau" reflects the indirect relationship musicians have with the tourism development Explore Asheville (Tourism Development Authority). The code "venues do their own promotion" is made from the majority of responses on how venue promoters independently promote shows. The code "venues want to communicate with Explore Asheville" is about the responses venue promoters gave regarding their stance on working with Explore Asheville. The last code "organizations mix music into promotional message" is made of responses from tourism officials discussing ways in which they communicate with venues and showcase music. These codes collectively represent the relationship dynamic between stakeholders.

Musicians do not directly deal with Explore Asheville

In the interviews, most musicians mentioned that their relationship with Explore Asheville is not directly related to their work. They do not individually get promoted by Explore Asheville, but they directly benefit from the popularity of the venue they are playing at. Musicians enjoy the ability to creatively express their music to a listening audience, but sustaining enough money to live off can be difficult. Due to gentrification in Asheville, the cost of living in the city has gone up. People who work in the city cannot afford to live in it. Finding shows, especially in the wintertime, can be difficult. For the number of musicians in the city, finding a consistent gig is a challenge. According to interviews, most musicians want a relationship with Explore Asheville to elevate their careers. Having a strong stream of music tourism that is not necessarily determined by seasonality could allow more shows and fair opportunities for the music scene. Not only would this financially support musicians, but it

would also allow the music scene to showcase the variety of genres not typically seen in promotion.

Due to the fragmented relationship between music and tourism promotion, musicians are left to gain the attention of tourists when they discover a show at a venue or when it is promoted by the venue. This is typical for urban areas unless that musician has a large following. However, this puts musicians in a position to play very frequently for exposure. With Asheville being a major tourist destination in North Carolina, musicians could greatly profit from being closer with the tourism industry by having more stake in show promotion.

Venues mainly do their own promotion

Venue promoters' relationships with musicians are not only business based, but preference based. Promoters want to produce a particular image for their establishment and need music to match it. More formal settings hire classical or jazz bands while grungier bars are interested in rock or jam bands. Who they hire influences drinking behavior by. The type of music can influence how long a patron drinks and how much they spend (Jacob 2006). This is due to the duration for which a patron would want to stay and listen to music. The music provides a memorable experience for patrons that motivates them to return to the establishment or encourage others to visit. Music promotion is primarily driven by venues advertising shows. While some promoters try different ways to promote events like flyers, websites, or radio, promoters stated that social media is the most effective tool. Philip Rothschild (2019) argues that traditional marketing practices can be costly and volatile to venues, whereas social media has a stronger influence on consumers similar to word of mouth. According to Rothchild's study, even though venues said they cannot measure return on investment, they can report a 73% increase in revenue from it. Most of this comes from paying for advertising space on Facebook. Venue

promoters in Asheville mention using this same strategy when promoting shows on Instagram and Facebook.

With social media promotion, venues can reach a supporting audience that is loyal to a particular music group or venue. This works well for venues that showcase niche genres of music. Outside of general promotion for the city seen by tourism organizations, tourists can learn in detail about the music scene. Venue promoters drive the music scene by promoting performances at the venues they represent. While they rely on an array of promotional tactics, all venues use social media to gather a following. Only through this strategy are they able to promote detailed performances that frequently occur to attract musical tourists to the city. Venues vary in size and in function. They have a direct connection to both the musicians and the tourism organizations. For the sake of their business, facilitating a relationship with tourism organizations and being promoted on tourism organization websites and guidebooks allows them to invest in promotion to attract more customers.

Although some larger venues have this relationship with tourism organizations, most venue promoters share information about shows on Instagram and Facebook. By developing a following through these platforms, they are able to keep fairly consistent show attendees. Through connecting their pages through multiple platforms, they can appeal to different kinds of audiences and spread promotion affordably. Large venues have a strong relationship with organizations due to the number of people they need to draw for shows. They invest in promotion and direct visitors to their own websites for details.

Venue promoters want to communicate with Explore Asheville

Venue promoters collectively mentioned that they want stronger communication with Explore Asheville and more representation that showcases their uniqueness. They want to display a more detailed listing of shows on tourism websites. Promoters for large venues have a strong relationship with Explore Asheville due to the number of people they need to draw for shows. They invest in promotion and direct visitors to their own websites for details. As they have with musicians, more venue promoters would appreciate bilateral communication with the tourism organization to facilitate a better representation on the music scene. With venue promoters having the job of promotion, establishing a broad relationship with the tourism industry is financially beneficial. Venue promoters represent the venue and act independently to promote it. Having stake in tourism promotion allows them to contribute to the tourism message for the city involving music and use tourism as a platform to build and sustain the venue.

Organizations mix music into promotional message

Explore Asheville tourism officials mentioned that they promote major music venues on their website and in their guidebooks. Music is mixed into their cultural message to reflect diverse tourism. They allow venues to freely post events to their event calendar in addition to holding local town halls to get opinions from the public of what should be promoted. Although responses from venues and musicians showed that they were unaware of these meetings, this is the most direct way they can hear the needs of musicians and smaller venues when it comes to representation. According to Explore Asheville responses, compared to communication with musical stakeholders in past years, more effort has been put towards establishing relationships with the music scene to promote Asheville communities.

Because of their long-standing relationship with local communities, musicians and venue promoters mentioned Mountain Xpress when discussing promotion for shows on their online calendar named Clubland. Though more well-known, this is a similar platform to Explore Asheville's event calendar. By allowing venues and artists to post their events, Mountain Xpress creates a closer relationship with both artists and venues to have a deeper awareness of the diverse music scene. Mountain Xpress guidebooks highlight popular artists and venues based on votes from residents. The organization utilizes local opinion to promote an authentic reflection of the community. By highlighting local artists through votes from residents, they are showing a way in which the community has a stake in its own cultural development and promotion. While the Downtown Association was not particularly mentioned by venues and musicians, their tourism official mentioned how they promote public-sponsored outdoor events that feature artists. Some of these events include Downtown after Five and Shindig on the Green. These events give artists an opportunity to showcase their music to locals and tourists in the warmer months, which require a relationship with musicians.

Tourist organizations have varying dynamics of relationships with musicians and venue promoters. The relationship between Explore Asheville and the music scene is primarily through the venue promoters but could be improved with ongoing efforts between both parties communicating and providing opportunities for assembly like the town hall meetings. Mountain Xpress provides a more localized approach to their relationship with musicians and venue promoters since they are also a local newspaper. Both organizations provide an online platform in which venues promoters can unilaterally communicate through posting events.

Stakeholders share a common belief that Asheville has a long musical heritage that can be seen in the local music scene. Many of them describe the city as having music everywhere.

Venue promoters support the scene by continually booking local musicians to add to the cultural authenticity of the city while musicians are drawn to the city because they can establish a career. At the same time, music is seen as a minor attraction in the city's promotional message. Each stakeholder group uses music to their benefit, and it can be seen as an important characteristic within the city and at events. However, it is overshadowed by major attractions promoted in the city's tourism message. The faint communication between the music scene and tourism promotion could be strengthened by more direct communication between musicians and tourism organizations. By more venue promoters working with tourism organizations, music could be more impactful within Asheville's tourism message. As a result of stronger communication, an increase in music tourism could improve the tourism industry and the music scene.

Conclusion

From coding responses given by stakeholders in Asheville's music scene, I was able to create two constructs that encompass key points in the interview. The two constructs created were tourism economy and music promotion. The construct "tourism economy" represents the dependency Asheville has on the tourism industry. With three different organizations promoting tourist attractions for this mid-sized city, Asheville can generate a large tourist influx. The effects of tourist seasons show how much stakeholders rely on tourism numbers to maintain business. Asheville, being a tourism driven city, provides a foundation for the music scene to grow through the means of tourism promotion.

Stakeholders agree that the music scene is flourishing in Asheville and offers many opportunities for musicians of various genres. Venue promoters support local music through booking original artists, and tourism officials are fans of the music scene themselves. However, music has a minor role in tourism messaging. It is best seen at festivals and large performances

and overshadowed by dominant tourist attractions. The true impact of music could be shown more vividly in tourism promotions to enrich the music community and reveal its diversity.

The growth of music's presence is facilitated by the relationships kept between stakeholders. By creating a relationship between musicians and tourism officials and a stronger relationship between tourism officials and venue promoters all parties would benefit.

What Campelo et al (2014) mentioned about sense of place being cocreated and recreated through social activity is relatable to stakeholders because their sense of place in the community is dictated by how often they are socially present. Stakeholders show familiarity with the area through tourism officials observing the music played on the streets, tourism promoters see who is and who is not a tourist, and musicians playing at various venues. Through social interaction, they all develop a similar depiction of Asheville. Referring to the interview with Explore Asheville, the tourism official mentioned how the organization was communicating with the community more effectively therefore creating a local sense of place for destination branding. They noticed the value in connecting with how the community sees Asheville in order to improve their tourism messaging. In the next section, I will conclude by discussing how Asheville is defined as a place and how my findings from the proposed methods contribute to that.

Conclusion

Asheville and creating a sense of place

Understanding one's environment through interaction builds a sense of place. This can be done through physical, social, and cultural interaction. These factors determine how attached a person is to a place personally or collectively. Guidebooks are made of selected content that builds a visitor's sense of place. They develop an understanding of a destination through promotions that share what attractions a destination contains and how it is described. While experiences are built through visitors interacting with a destination, promotion contributes to their perception and understanding of a destination.

Officials create a sense of place through a broader range of promotion outside of guidebooks as well as funding the creation of events. In an interview with Explore Asheville, the tourism official mentioned sponsoring community development projects and cultural events. This is an example of organizations shaping the landscape of place through promoting social and cultural interaction. Individual residents or communities of residents consider a place home and build a stronger sense of place through time and interaction with the city. Individuals strengthen their sense of place through daily activities like going to work, social interactions, relationships, and participating in events, and cultural communities strengthen their sense of place through passed down rituals, celebrations, artifacts, historical sites.

Studying guidebook narratives contributes to understanding how sense of place shapes tourists' understanding of Asheville. Descriptions of nature and wildlife create narratives of the outdoors and sells Asheville to tourists as a recreational experience. Narratives about culinary tourism send tourists on a gastronomic journey through Asheville's diverse collection of restaurants. Narratives of ethnic groups represented throughout the city are inviting to potential

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tourists as a way of engaging in a diverse range of cultural experiences. The narratives mentioned above are examples of guidebooks promoting both physical and cultural interaction.

While many narratives in guidebooks are carefully crafted by tourist organizations, local views and sentiments are often drawn upon to lend legitimacy to the narratives and influence the process creating a multi-faceted sense of place. Providing the community with a say so in how tourism messages are framed creates an authentic perception of the city that locals can appreciate. For example, Stories of individual artists and voting polls for favorite activities and events are shown in Mountain Xpress guidebooks. These stories and opinions are based on the locals' sense of place gathered by experiences and satisfaction with the landscape. They show civic pride for the city and ownership.

Guidebooks reveal that Asheville has always been branded as an ideal destination for nature-based tourism due to its national parks and temperate climate. Guidebook narratives frame Asheville as a city that embraces its multi-ethnic heritage and highlights several ethnic groups such as Cherokee, Scottish, Appalachian, Spanish, African American, and Greek. Since the 1980s, Asheville has reoriented itself from a nature getaway into a cosmopolitan city built for creative industries with a strong artistic presence where original visual, culinary, musical, and theatrical artists thrive. Guidebooks mention activities for tourists to create an experience. They mention social interaction through relationships bonded with spouses, friends, or family with titles like "romantic Asheville" and "fun for the kids too". They mentioned interaction with the land, which includes outdoor activities such as whitewater rafting, farming, swimming, or biking. Guidebooks also mention multiple festivals and annual events that keep tourists coming back such as the Brewgrass Festival, Bele Chere, or the Lake Eden Arts festival. These activities allow for a unique experience for tourists that contribute to their development of sense of place.

Visitors develop their sense of place starting from the metanarrative they create from commercials, guidebooks, and websites then strengthen their sense of place through experiences they get from excursions like hiking, sightseeing, going to a brewery, or visiting the Biltmore Estate. The memories they value build their sense of place as well as seeing out-of-the-ordinary sights like the Blue Ridge Mountains. Shared experiences, such as hiking with friends or family are powerful examples of building sense of place.

Due to the subjectivity of sense of place, Asheville has different meanings to different cultural groups that are residents. Using examples from groups shown in guidebooks, Ashville is home to historically African American communities that share a different history. Based on information from guidebooks, the city is a place where they have had businesses and services since the 1920s. The city is a place to thrive and live successfully, but also a place where they fought to keep their homes in the 1960s and 1970s when urban renewal projects threatened their community. Shown in guidebooks, the city is also a place where they used tourism to revitalize their shops and businesses through tourist support, as well as celebrate culturally interactive events like the Goombay festival and Kwanza.

Another example would be Appalachian descendants whose heritage is shown in guidebooks and has a strong presence in tourism promotion. Asheville is seen as a place where they share ancestral ties to the land and see the landscape as their birthright through physical interaction. Asheville is a place where they can preserve their heritage through handcraft guilds and music with the support of tourism. Based on shifts in guidebook promotion, Asheville is also a place where they compete with new cosmopolitan images and fight to retain the same kind of tourist popularity they held decades ago. Guidebooks also portray Asheville as an opportunity for cosmopolitan migrants to express their individuality. They frame it as a non-traditional city in

the southeast that welcomes creativity and inclusivity. This would be a haven for self-expression, acceptance, and like-minded individuals. It is seen as a fresh start for young entrepreneurs that are looking for an affordable place to start their unique business.

Studying stakeholder responses gives insight to the personal sense of place of Asheville residents. Most stakeholders have spent enough time in Asheville to become familiar with it. Musicians still remembered what made them want to move there while describing what made it different from other places. Stakeholders expressed a sense of civic pride in Asheville's growth and showed knowledge of the city's heritage. They have an emotional bond with the city that keeps them there. Most stakeholders were living in Asheville when the city began to become more populated and expensive. The stakeholders were very passionate about change. In almost every interview a response on how the city is changing was presented. They liked improvements in the economy and new events, but disliked the growth in traffic, and the noise ordinance that affects music venues downtown. Stakeholders had such an attachment to the city; they expressed disappointment at the fact that the cost-of-living causes residents to relocate. Stakeholders showed a feeling of ownership and responsibility with the landscape. They care about the inclusivity, local support, music diversity, multiple events, the easy-going attitudes, and the feeling of belonging that attracted them to the city.

These two studies provide a deeper understanding of the sense of place for Asheville. These studies show what narratives are used to craft visitor's sense of place and how individual stakeholders view the city for themselves. This is important because it shows how Asheville being a tourists destination and a home to a variety of residents affects its sense of place.

The Influence of Music on Asheville's Sense of Place

   Live music is a cultural experience that reflects the city's uniqueness. It creates the soundscape for the city. Asheville's music scene is heavily influenced by its Appalachian heritage, ethnic heritage, fine arts heritage, or cosmopolitan creativity. Genres like bluegrass, folk, Afro-Caribbean, Latin American, classical symphony, rock, funk, and blues are examples of Asheville's music that has built its music heritage shown in guidebooks. The commentary from all three stakeholder groups shows that music is favorable in the arts scene but could be further utilized by showing more variety. Musicians showed cosmopolitan interests that motivate them to push the music scene forward with more diversity as they work to sustain the city's musical identity.

   While some guidebooks promote specific aspects of music, it is shown as its own community that grows organically with the local arts scene. Even though the amount of promotion for music varies in guidebooks, it is not as popular as important as narrative on tourism attractions. Because constructs "cultural heritage tourism" and "cosmopolitan city" focused on the city of Asheville, the music scene is not only looked at for its heritage but also as being influenced by cosmopolitanism. While guidebooks prior to 2000 sold music as a form of cultural heritage through local festivals, guidebooks after 2000 show connections to cosmopolitanism through an increase in musical variation and non-traditional venues as shown in images and event promotions. Music serves as an artistic representation of Asheville's culture and music performances keep the culture alive. While performed outdoors, the location of performances is always in the city. Music iss always put in relation to the community and celebration. Based on interviews, music has a personal impact on the interests of stakeholders. While tourism officials have the job of including all types of attractions to build tourism

promotion, they personally value music in the community. Promoters and musicians base their careers off of music and have a passion for it. Promoters must have some experience with the music scene to decide which bands best fit their venue. Musicians move to Asheville because of their passion for music and the community allows them to express themselves.

I have learned that the music scene is shown as its own community because the musical spaces musicians frequent allow them to build ideas off of their peers and collaborate. For instance, many musicians mentioned getting acclimated to the music scene through playing in jam sessions and open mics. These are the same jam sessions and open mics mentioned in guidebooks when describing Asheville's music scene as inviting. Local support is an invaluable element that helps sustain the local music community. In interviews with large venue promoters, they mentioned that local volunteers distributed show flyers throughout the city. In one interview with the promoter for the AVL festival, it was mentioned that most of their support from shows came from locals and regional tourists. The festival is meant to showcase local musicians and venues, therefore showing that locals support the music scene as much as tourists.

While tourists and tourism organizations can decide which part of the music scene to support, they do not control what is performed. The music scene operates independently through peer collaboration, local support, and independent promotion from venue promoters. By mentioning the reactions tourists have to seeing buskers outside and shows at various establishments, stakeholders share that being in the city exposes tourists to a visible musical presence. The opportunities the city and promoters provide musicians to play create a picturesque landscape of music being on every street. This presence provides a mixed soundscape that adds to tourists' impression of Asheville.

Interviews show that different stakeholders view tourism differently. Musicians view tourism as a beneficial industry that contributes to their business by generating more attendance. Those attendees drive their income through support, tipping, and build favor with venues to stay employed. Venues heavily rely on tourism to stay in business, especially outdoor venues in the warmer months. They use promotions to create loyal fans across the region and country that will come to Asheville to hear live music. Multi-use venues will couple music with beer and retail to attract tourists. Tourism officials' goal is to bring tourists to Asheville throughout the year. Their employment relies on tourism, and their goal is to bring as many tourists as possible to the city and various parts of the city. With a strengthened relationship between the music community and the tourism promotion, a more accurate depiction of Asheville's music scene can be seen from primarily promoting music heritage and major events to more musical diversity shown in smaller spaces. This would allow better musical opportunities for musicians and more streams of music tourist to the city.

Summary of findings and future directions

Asheville is one of the most popular tourist destinations in North Carolina. It is usually known for the Blue Ridge Mountains and Biltmore Estate. In recent decades, it has marketed itself as a cosmopolitan city with urban features and eclectic lifestyles. Because of its robust music scene, it is seen as an ideal study area for examining how having a music scene impacts a mid-sized tourist destination. Using the method of discourse analysis from guidebook content and interview responses, I was able to see how music impacts the city's tourism messaging and how tourism impacts the music community. This study reflects the unexplored musical qualities of Asheville that could further benefit it as a destination. By bringing to attention the active music scene and the relationship between it and major tourism messaging, a connection is seen

between music, tourism, and Asheville's sense of place. This study adds to what is known about mid-sized city tourism by addressing the contribution of art communities to mid-sized city tourism.

In future research related to this study, interviewing tourists would add more perspective to this study by allowing me to get their point of view on the music scene. Through interviews, I would learn which attractions are the most popular and what characteristics of Asheville interested them. From getting tourists' opinions I would also be able to understand their perception of the city and their sense of place. This would provide insight into the different viewpoints of tourists versus the previously interviewed locals. Getting statistical data would provide me with numerical evidence on seasonal tourist numbers, the most and least visited attractions, the most and least popular parts of the city, and the most and least popular types of tourism. Analyzing that data over a particular time frame would reveal whether there is a shift in Asheville's tourism trends. I could then look for a connection between statistical data and Explore Ashville and Mountain Xpress's tourism messaging.

In future studies, Asheville could be compared to other mid-sized music cities that also show evidence of a robust music scene that may or may not be seen in their tourism promotional messaging. These cities may not be as dependent on tourism as Asheville but may possess cosmopolitan qualities that cultivate artistic communities that could contribute to building their place branding and tourism industry.

Concluding remarks

Since I began researching, Explore Asheville has shown a change in their online promotion where they provide more information on Asheville's music scene through posting

various shows on their monthly calendar. This shows an improvement in musical representation in tourism media that should be expanded further into the city's overall tourism message. Changes such as this illustrate the potential fluidity of sense of place. As changes to the physical landscape and demographic that make up of Asheville occur, the narratives employed to create the city's sense of place will evolve to reflect these changes. The dynamic nature of sense of place is impetus to geographers to continually study and understand sense of place through the lens of place promotion. My hope is that this research will help to bring attention the need to connect stakeholders and tourism officials to better understand the role of placemaking and its effects.

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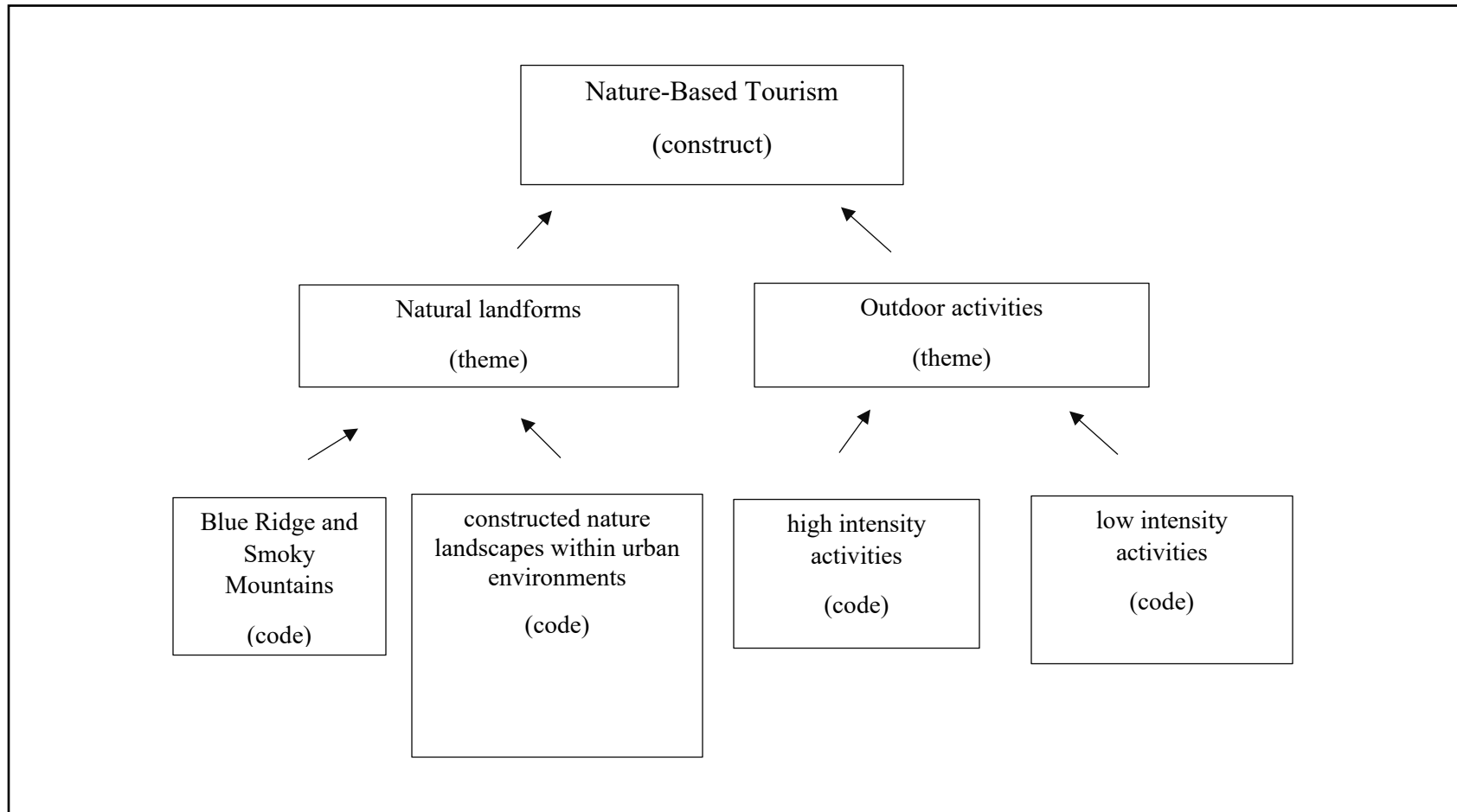
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Appendix

Appendix A: Flow of aggregate coding for all constructs

Cultural Heritage
Tourism

(construct)

Heritage
sites

Crafts

(theme)

Musical
performance

(theme)

Southern
Highland
Handcraft
Guild

(code)

Cherokee
Crafts

(code)

Blue Ridge
Parkway

(code)

Biltmore
Estate

(code)

downtown
Asheville

(code)

classical
and folk
music

(code)

newer
genres

(code)

venues

(code)

touring
bands

(code)

```
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│      Cultural Heritage Tourism  │
│            continued            │
│                                 │
│          (construct)            │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
         ↑                ↑
┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│Theater Performance│   │    Festivals     │
│                  │   │                  │
│     (theme)      │   │     (theme)      │
└──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘
   ↑    ↑    ↑          ↑     ↑      ↑
```

| early performance (code) | community theater (code) | modern performance (code) | performance festival (code) | ethnic culture festival (code) | special interest festival (code) |

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Cosmopolitan City (construct)

Revitalized City (theme)

Culinary Tourism (theme)

Alternative Culture (theme)

economic development (code)

local services (code)

food tourism (code)

beverage tourism (code)

the people (code)

the city (code)

Music Promotion

(construct)

Asheville music scene

(theme)

The importance of music to the tourism industry

(theme)

Intergroup Relationships

(theme)

tourists come here for beer and hear music

(code)

tourism messages are about safe, diverse, educational travel

(code)

music is a minor tourist attraction

(code)

feels inviting to musicians

(code)

music is valuable to venues

(code)

Asheville is a diverse music city

(code)

musicians do not directly deal with tourism organization

(code)

venues do their own promotion

(code)

venues want to communicate with organization

(code)

organizations mix music into promotional message

(code)

Appendix B: List of guidebooks

Publication	Title	Year
Buncombe County Chamber of Commerce	*Spring and Summer Guide*	1951
Asheville Chamber of Commerce	*Land of the Sky*	1955, 1957, 1962-1964
Our Town	*Our Town: Asheville*	1974
Buncombe County Tourism Authority	*Buncombe County Tourism Authority Guide*	1980
Unknown	*Asheville Report*	1985
Buncombe County Tourism Authority	*The Sky is the Limit*	1994
Whisper Pr	*Underground Asheville*	2000
J.A. Farrell Enterprises	*Along the Urban Trail*	2002
Yellow Jacket Publishing	*A look at Asheville*	2003, 2008-2011
Createspace Independent Publishing	*Finding your way in Asheville*	2005
R. Brent and Company	*The Ultimate Guide to Asheville*	2006
Mountain Xpress	*Mountain Xpress*	2011-2024
Explore Asheville	*Explore Asheville*	2012, 2019, 2022-2024