Historic Preservation and Downtown Revitalization:

How Does the Georgia Main Street Program Affect the Population Size, Racial Makeup, Median Household Income, and Retail Sales of Designated Cities?

Applied Research Paper

Written by: Rachel Staley

Supervised by: Dr. Brian Stone

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Introduction

Main streets and downtowns across the United States have experienced continued decline in activity and economic vitality due to the increased popularity of shopping centers and increased expansion of highway systems. The methods employed to revitalize these downtowns have ranged from urban renewal to placemaking. One popular method for downtown revitalization found its basis on leveraging the existing features of the American downtown and employing historic preservation techniques. Moreover, the National Main Street Center was established in 1980 in order to combat this decline in main streets and downtowns using historic preservation and design to increase economic vitality; Georgia was one of its pilot programs. The Main Street America Program emphasizes community development in its strategy for downtown revitalization, but how well does it the improve communities and cities as a whole? Does the implementation of this program cause significant demographic and socioeconomic changes in these designated communities and cities?

The Main Street America Program has become a common tool used throughout the United States and Georgia to revitalize main streets and downtowns. Overall statistics and success stories have been documented by the national program and state program but emphasis on income and demographic changes of individual cities as whole has received less focus. An assessment of the Main Street America Program is necessary to determine whether policy changes need to be recommended in order to improve this program as a means of downtown revitalization. These policy recommendations will be tailored towards cities actively in the Georgia Main Street program and those aiming to improve their downtowns. Thus, the research question guiding this paper is how does the Georgia Main Street program affect the population size, racial makeup, median household income, and retail sales of designated cities?

This paper first assesses current and relevant literature on the Main Street America Program and downtown revitalization. Within this literature review, the current gaps in research are identified. The next section details the methods used for this study. Then the results of the study are discussed. Finally, policy recommendations are suggested based the results of this study.

Literature Review

Before examining how population, race, median household income, and retail sales compare in cities in Georgia in the Main Street America program to those not in the program, this paper must discuss the current literature related to this topic. The following section summarizes research related to downtown revitalization and contemporary methods for downtown revitalization. There is further discussion of the method of downtown revitalization examined in this paper and the Main Street America program as well as its advantages and disadvantages. The final discussion is how this paper seeks to fill the gaps present in the current literature.

Downtown Revitalization

Downtown revitalization means “bringing back to life a downtown or neighborhood that is dead or faded in its importance” (American Planning Association 2018, 13). The downtowns that need “bringing back to life” are the traditional central business district of city and often contain historic buildings and retail centers. Downtowns are often noted as the city’s cultural, commercial, political, and/or historic center. Due to suburban sprawl and the increased popularity of shopping malls and big box stores, many downtowns are considered “dead” or “have faded in their importance” from an economic and cultural standpoint. The notion of revitalization, however, suggests that downtowns have lost their vitality but can regenerate economic and cultural activity in order to justify renewed interest and investment. The Vermont Association of Planning & Development Agencies highlights the unique challenge of implementing downtown revitalization in any city: “The challenge of revitalization is to stimulate new development and activity while retaining the historical integrity and physical qualities that define a downtown’s or village center’s traditional character or identity” (Vermont Association of Planning & Development Agencies 2007, 2).

Many organizations and professionals play a key role in downtown revitalization. These entities can be either private or public and serve various needs for downtown revitalization. Examples of involved organizations and professionals are urban planners, planning commissions, city councils, developers and realtors, Main Street organizations, and business or community improvement districts. Effective methods for downtown revitalization include involvement from a variety of these organizations and professionals at different levels.

Contemporary Methods for Downtown Revitalization

Contemporary methods for downtown revitalization emphasis what downtowns lack and ways to overcome this absence. In his report for the American Planning Association on *Downtown Revitalization in Small and Midsized Cities*, Michael Burayidi notes that successful methods for downtown revitalization "build on the positive assets of downtowns and address the challenges of doing business downtown;" Burayidi lists these challenges as "(1) the need for marketing to get the word out about their existence and the services they provide; (2) finding space for expansion in the downtown; (3) obtaining support with financing; (4) keeping up with technology; and (5) finding good, reliable workers" (American Planning Association 2018, 24). The major contemporary methods for downtown revitalization attempt to rectify these challenges and emphasis what makes downtowns unique to varying degrees of success.

The pedestrianization strategy for downtown revitalization aims to emphasize the outdoor walkability of the downtown and the inherent space for increased retail activity in the streets in comparison to malls. The pedestrianization strategy ultimately "focuses on making the downtown more pedestrian friendly" and common components to this strategy are improving sidewalk conditions and public safety (Faulk 2006, 626). Examples of the implementation of the pedestrian strategy are pedestrian malls, festival marketplaces and indoor shopping centers. Pedestrian malls, for example, create a downtown corridor along the traditional main shopping street where pedestrian transportation and accessibility are given highest priority. (Robertson 1997, 387). Similarly, festival marketplaces and indoor shopping centers are created or reuse existing space within the downtown and focus on pedestrian needs. These examples of the pedestrian strategy are seen as direct responses to the success of suburban malls and strip shopping centers by attempting to create competing shopping centers and highlight the potential walkability of downtowns.

Within the pedestrian strategy, cities use their existing downtown space or create festival marketplaces and indoor shopping centers to host events and festivals. Events and festivals are a popular method of increasing foot traffic and economic activity in a cities; Michael Burayidi for his report for the American Planning Association on *Downtown Revitalization in Small and Midsized Cities* emphasizes that "there is hardly a city with a downtown redevelopment strategy that does not include events as a component part of its efforts" (American Planning Association, 77). Events and festivals are a relatively low-cost approach for cities to use their existing space with minimal additions or adaptions and are a means to "showcase their heritage resources, to reintroduce people to downtown, and to increase foot traffic for downtown businesses" (American Planning Association, 77). The success of events and festivals within the pedestrian strategy is greater, however, when cities are able to capitalize on the cultural, entertainment and heritage assets of their downtown; Michael Burayidi identifies and describes the successful efforts of Longmont, Colorado, Gilbert, Arizona, and Columbus, Indiana to capitalize on their assets.

Mixed used developments and urban renewal are two methods for downtown revitalization that aim to find new spaces for development and keep up with the planning practices and technology. Mixed use developments are a popular planning practice and are characterized by being pedestrian friendly and combing two or more commercial, residential, industrial, cultural, or institutional uses. Regarding mixed used developments in downtowns, Kent Robertson suggests that these developments should differ from those in other settings: "Mixed-use project should adapt to confined downtown space, relate to downtown streets, be pedestrian friendly, integrate with nearby land uses, and sometimes incorporate historic buildings" (Robertson 1997, 395). Therefore, mixed used developments often use re-adaptive reuse and recycling in downtown settings. Urban renewal, on the other hand, is the process of using land redevelopment to improve blighted areas and can drastically change the identity and character of the downtown setting. Both mixed use developments and urban renewal seek to bring the focus back to downtowns through creating new developments.

Placemaking is a contemporary method for downtown revitalization that highlights the existing positive assets of the downtown and involves marketing for and getting the word out about the downtown. A sense of place in a downtown is curated through the processes of placemaking by capitalizing on a local community's assets to enhance the public space. Tactics of placemaking include streetscaping, public gatherings, art instillations, destination points, gateway improvements, and wayfinding. Within the process of placemaking, strategies for pedestrianization, economic incentive programs, historic preservation, and tourism or heritage tourism can be implemented as well. Placemaking fosters downtown revitalization through "the transformation of the physical and tactile elements of the downtown" in order to help enhance "its visual appeal and improve the quality of the downtown experience" (American Planning Association 2018, 57). Along similar lines, the Main Street America program is another method of downtown revitalization that contains both placemaking and historic preservation.

Main Street America

The National Main Street Center was established as a program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1980. This center created a program to address the issues facing historic downtowns by creating economic vitality, maintaining historic character, and emphasizing community engagement. The goal of this program, Main Street America, is to assist "small and midsize cities in revitalizing the commercial and retail centers of their downtowns;" small and midsize cities are defined as cities with population ranging from 5,000 to 50,000. (Burayidi 2018, 13). There are currently 44 state Main Street Programs nationwide in over 1,200 communities. Communities in this context are cities nationally accredited as Main Street America cities or cities and downtowns affiliated with the National Main Street Network but are not accredited. Communities in each state are served by the National Main Street program, their state Main Street program, and the Main Street manager for their community. The Main Street manager for these communities is in an independent nonprofit or city agency that is located in the community and is associated with the larger state and national Main Street programs.

The Main Street America program has a "Four Points" approach based around "Transformation Strategies." "Transformation Strategies" guide a revitalization program's work through community engagement and an analysis of the district's market position; these strategies attempt to serve a particular customer segment using "Catalyst Strategies," respond to an underserved market demand, or create a unique sense of place (The National Main Street Center). The Four Points for community transformation as defined by the Main Street America program are economic vitality, design, promotion, and organization. Economic vitality focuses on economic tools and incentives to assist existing businesses and foster new development while design focuses on the enhancement of downtown's physical assets and visual attributes to demonstrate a unique sense of place. Additionally, promotion emphasizes and markets the downtown of a city as the center of community and economic activity while organization involves bringing together and fostering cooperation between private and public businesses and individuals with a stake in the community.

Moreover, cities and communities implement this approach for downtown revitalization and community transformation through Transformation Strategies and by focusing on the elements within the Four Points. These cities and communities receive ongoing guidance from both the Main Street America program and their state Main Street programs. Regarding the success of this program in these cities and communities, the Main Street America approach is "used to enhance land value, attract private investment, and ultimately bring in greater tax revenues for the city" (Smith 2002, 257). Success within these cities and communities, as defined by success by the National Main Street Center, "is based upon a city's financial return, via the Four Point Approach, on both private and public investment" (Smith 2002, 257). The measure of success, according to the state Main Street programs and the cities and communities that implement this program, varies greatly but is ultimately related to the benefits and outcomes associated with this program. The benefits and outcomes associated with this program are solely economic; they relate to increases in the number of new jobs and businesses, promotional events, volunteer hours, and improvement projects and increases in income levels and public and private investments. There is no defined or measured increase potential expected for any of these outcomes or any possible social or demographic consequences noted.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Main Street America

In order to produce a comprehensive assessment of the Main Street America program, an analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of this program is necessary. An advantage of this program is its readily defined approach for downtown revitalization. The Four Points approach details how downtown revitalization will be achieved and how economic development, community engagement and historic preservation will be emphasized. By contrast, other methods for downtown revitalization such as pedestrianization and placemaking are less comprehensive and well-define as this method.

Kent Robertson conducted a study on how communities in Illinois, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Mississippi implemented each element of the Four Points in their strategies for downtown revitalization through the Main Street America program. Robertson sought to determine whether one element is typically emphasized over the other or if the elements are used equally. He concludes that the strategies for downtown revitalization within this program cut across all four elements of the approach and "that this gives the program balance and ensures that activities in each part of the organization are tightly integrated with the other parts" (Robertson 2004, 56). Moreover, he asserts that this program "enables communities to customize the approach depending on their specific circumstances and needs," which makes it "a truly community-driven strategy" (Robertson 2004, 57). The comprehensiveness and flexibility of its approach allows for this program to foster downtown revitalization in communities and cities with vastly different assets and needs.

Additionally, another advantage of this program is having an approach that emphasizes the existing assets and character of the downtowns where this program is implemented. This program focuses on fostering a sense of place based on using historic preservation and enhancing the current design of the city's downtowns. By comparison, urban renewal and often mixed developments can help revitalize a downtown at the cost of historic buildings and alterations to the character of the downtown. The loss of historic buildings and character can often change what was meant to be revitalized in the first place. The approach of this program leverages the existing assets and character of the downtowns of cities by preserving and marketing what makes them unique.

Aside from the specificity and distinctness of this program's approach, a culminating advantage of the Main Street America program is the national recognition it provides for communities and cities and its provision of ongoing guidance. Communities and cities that are designated as Main Street America cities are members of their state's Main Street Program and of the Main Street America program. Being a member of these larger programs means recognition as well as assistance and guidance. Assistance and guidance is provided by the state and national programs: "Working through statewide and citywide community development agencies or private organizations, the Main Street Center provides local teams of officials and business and civic leader with the tools and technical assistance to revitalize their Main Street Districts" (Moe and Wilke 1997, 150). The assistance and guidance provided can range from direction and counsel from the National Main Street Center to receiving technical expertise and organizational development assistance from other organizations. The existence and availability of a state and national support network for these cities and communities is an advantage unique to this method of downtown revitalization that is unseen in most other methods of downtown revitalization.

Regarding the disadvantages of the Main Street America program, the aspects of downtown revitalization missing from the Four Points approach highlight its shortcoming. This approach focuses on economic vitality, design, promotion, and organization. Other aspects of downtown revitalization such as housing and transportation concerns, however, are not mentioned; these concerns could be addressed within the confines of this approach, but the tools and resources lauded by this approach do not exist for these concerns. Furthermore, Michael Burayidi for his American Planning Association on *Downtown Revitalization in Small and Midsized Cities* assesses the effectiveness of the Main Street America program as means of downtown revitalization in multiple cities across the United States and notes that some cities like Holland, Michigan "mature out of the program over time" due to its limitation. Holland, Michigan, a certified Main Street America city, believed that the they had "gleaned what they could from the four-point approach to Main Street revitalization" because the city was expanding and broadening on into housing, traffic, and parking issues, and "they were getting to the level where they were beyond the four-point program," and "the resources were not great for dealing with these issues" (Burayidi 2018, 93). The Main Street America program can be effective for downtown revitalization based on historic preservation and economic and community development but is lacking for downtown revitalization that focuses on housing and transportation needs.

Similar to the different needs surrounding effective downtown revitalization, another disadvantage to this program is its focus on small and midsize cities. The Main Street America program is tailored for cities with populations ranging from 5,000 to 50,000; this range leaves out larger metropolises that may have different needs than small and midsize cities but a city of 5,00 and one of 50,000 also look very different. Susan Bradbury conducted a study on how the size of cities in the Iowa Main Street program affected the benefits and outcomes associated with the program. She determined that the benefits of the program are "often proportionally greater for the very smallest cities when compared with larger cities" (Bradbury 2014, 353). Furthermore, she discusses that her findings contrast with the current literature that suggests that conditions in downtowns improve with city size and that cities with populations under 5,000 should continue to be excluded from the Main Street America program. Bradbury's conclusion suggests that even with the flexibility and customizability of the approach for this program, not at all cities and communities are equally successful with this program. Additionally, findings and data surrounding aspects of the Main Street America Program can be as equally varied as the size of the city implementing this program; this suggests that continued research of the program is necessary.

Along similar lines as the inability of flexibility and customizability of this program to equally serve all small and midsize cities, some cities ultimately fail to receive the benefits and outcomes associated with this program. This final disadvantage to the Main Street America program results in cities and communities being designated as inactive. Cities and communities can be categorized as inactive if they chose to voluntarily discontinue the program or are dropped from the Main Street roster by the state office. Christa Smith conducted a study on why some Main Street America cities in Kentucky with identical downtown revitalization strategies fail in their attempt to achieve downtown revitalization. She concludes that location and leadership were the two most important factors in determining whether a city would fail as a Main Street America city. Moreover, her findings are significant because the National Main Street Center and other studies "have repeatedly claimed that leadership, not location, is the key component to downtown revitalization" (Smith 2002, 160). Smith's conclusion suggests that multiple factors are responsible for Main Street America cites becoming inactive and that associated benefits and outcomes of downtown revitalization of this program are not always attainable.

Gaps in the Current Literature

This paper aims to expand the current literature pertaining to downtown revitalization and the Main Street America Program by examining their role in cities in this program in Georgia. Similar to the studies previously cited, I am concerned with the limitations of the Main Street America program. These previous studies examined the effectiveness of the Four Points approach, whether the size of the city matters, and the reason for inactive Main Street America cities. I am, however, concerned with how this program influences the population size, racial makeup, and household median income of these cities. Demographics and economic factors are not designated as specific focuses for Main Street America approach but are still associated with efforts for downtown revitalization. Ultimately, this program and its approach do not exist in a void without consequences for the people in the community that are these programs are being implemented in. Additionally, current retail sales from 2019 in these cities is going to statistically analyzed in order to determine the potential economic benefits of this program

I will, therefore, compare the population size, racial makeup, household median income, and retail sales of the Main Street America cities to a paired non-Main Street America control city with a similar population size, race makeup, and household median income for any statistically significant difference between them. In addition to this concern about the program itself, minimal research has been conducted on the Georgia Main Street program and its effect on Georgia cities and communities, even though it was one of the original pilot state programs for the National Main Street Center and currently makes up 12% of the total National Main Street Network. This study intends to address these gaps in the current literature by taking a more focused, localized approach to how the demographic and economic factors of cities in the Main Street America program compare to cities not in this program. Due to this scale and lack of preexisting emphasis, the only cities in and not in the Main Street America program that are going to be analyzed are located in Georgia.

Methods

This study examines how cities in Georgia Main Street program compare to cities not in the program in terms of population, race, and median household income over a 30 year period and retail sales from 2019. The cities in the Georgia Main Street program in this study were designated as part of this program between 1986 and 1994 due to census data availability and in order to chart a rate of change over 30 years. These cities are part of either two of the three tiers of the Georgia Main Street Program; the three tiers are Downtown Affiliate Network, Classic Main Street Program, and Georgia Exceptional Main Street. Tier 1, Downtown Affiliate Network, includes “communities, neighborhoods, and non-traditional business districts that have a strong commitment towards downtown development but have a desire for a more flexible approach in the revitalization of their downtown” and re not required to have a paid staff (Georgia Main Street). Cities in Tier 2, Classic Main Street Program, “are designated by the state of Georgia and nationally accredited by the National Main Street Center annually” and their annual accreditation requires meeting 10 standards for accreditation which emphasize historic preservation education and economic development (Georgia Main Street). Cities in Tier 3, Georgia Exceptional Main Street, go beyond the previous tier "by making a strong and positive impact in their communities as measured by the Monthly Reporting and the Annual Assessment Process" (Georgia Main Street).

Within the study, the two tiers used to pool cities are the Classic Main Street Program tier and the Georgia Exceptional Main Street tier because all the cities in these two tiers are designated as nationally accredited Main Street America cities. This national accreditation sets a standard that all of these cities have in common while the Downtown Affiliate Networks cities have some level of interaction with the Georgia Main Street program but their level of commitment and involvement varies; therefore, Downtown Affiliate Networks cities are not included in this study. Nevertheless, as shown in Table 1 below, there are a total of 17 cities in the Georgia Main Street program that are included in this study; 10 cities are in the Classic Main Street Program and 7 cities are Georgia Exceptional Main Street cities.

Table 1: List of Cities in the Georgia Main Street Program*

City	Year Designated
Calhoun	1994
Cartersville	1987
Cedartown	1988
Cordele	1987
Covington	1988
Douglas	1987
Dublin	1989
Elberton	1991
LaGrange	1994
Vidalia	1989
Bainbridge	1990
Brunswick	1986
Milledgeville	1988
Moultrie	1988
Newman	1986
Statesboro	1990
Toccoa	1990

*Red designates Classic Main Street Program cities and Blue designated Georgia Exceptional Main Street cities

Map 1: Cities in the Georgia Main Street program

In order to provide a control group to compare these 17 cities in the Georgia Main Street program to, 17 cities not in the Georgia Main Street Program need to be included in this study. The 17 cities for the control group needed to be paired directly with one of the 17 cities in the experimental group in order to offer the greatest level of comparison. Cities were paired based on having similar population sizes, racial makeup, and household median income to one another. The two tables below respectively show the cities in the control group and the list of the paired cities

Table 2: Cities in the Control Group
Winder
Buford
Thomaston
Fort Valley
Dallas
Fitzgerald
Conyers
Hartwell
Valdosta
Jesup
Thomson

Clarkston
Forest Park
Riverdale
Kennesaw
Cusseta
Bremen

Map 2: Cities in the Control Group

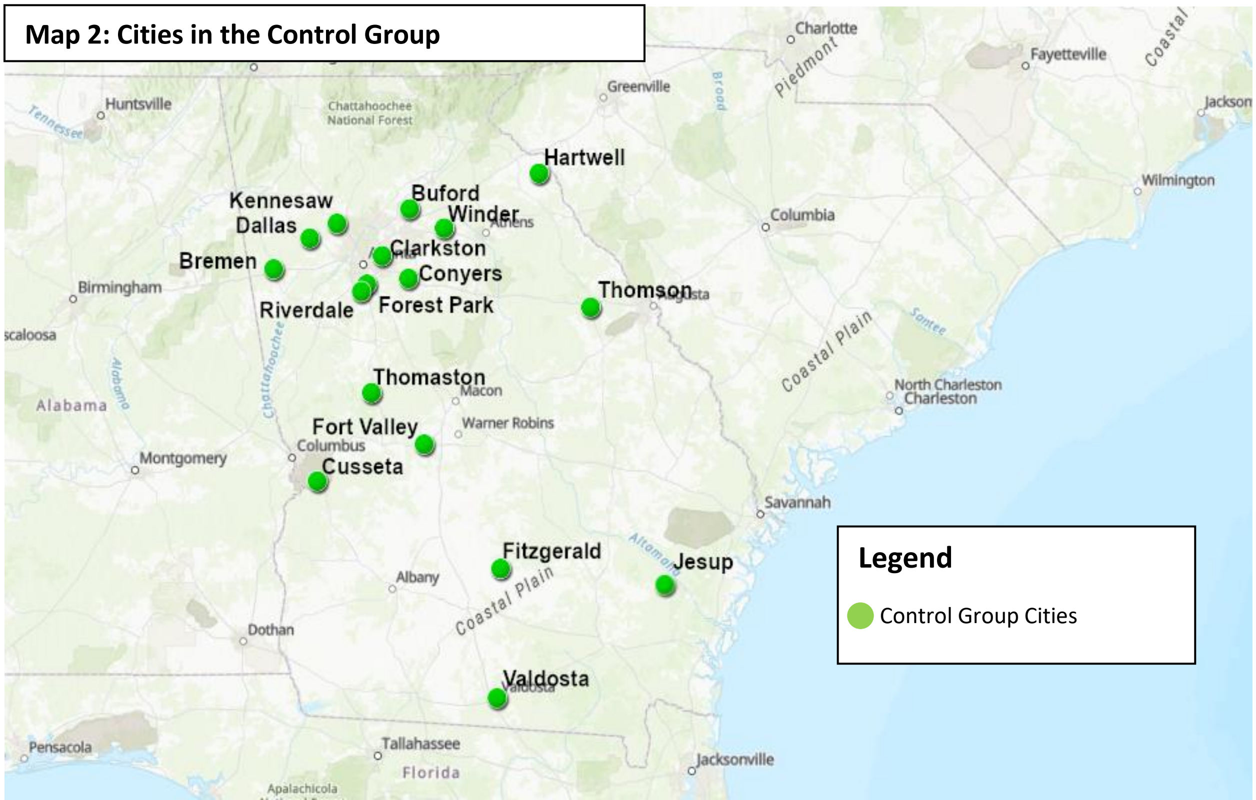
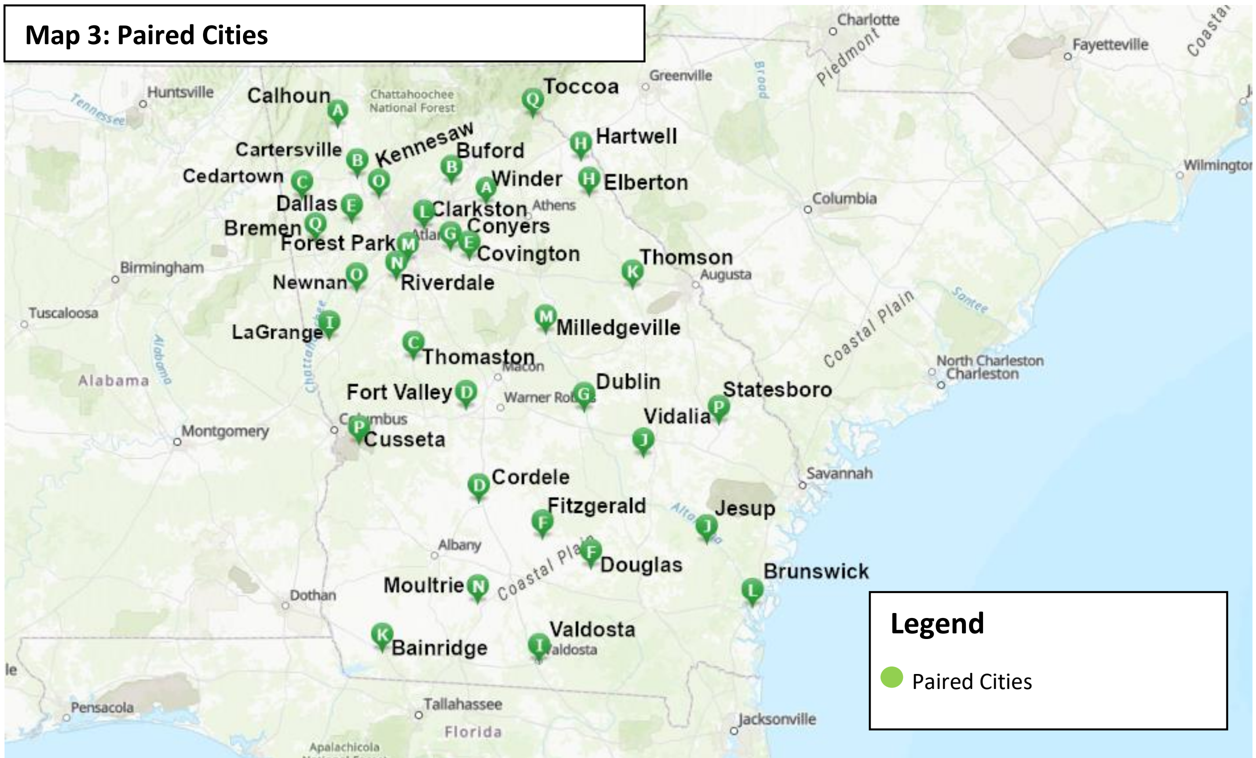


Table 3: List of Paired Cities*		
	Experimental Group	**Control Group**
Pair A	Calhoun	Winder
Pair B	Cartersville	Buford
Pair C	Cedartown	Thomaston
Pair D	Cordele	Fort Valley
Pair E	Covington	Dallas
Pair F	Douglas	Fitzgerald
Pair G	Dublin	Conyers
Pair H	Elberton	Hartwell
Pair I	LaGrange	Valdosta
Pair J	Vidalia	Jesup

Pair K	Bainbridge	Thomson
Pair L	Brunswick	Clarkston
Pair M	Milledgeville	Forest Park
Pair N	Moultrie	Riverdale
Pair O	Newman	Kennesaw
Pair P	Statesboro	Cusseta
Pair Q	Toccoa	Bremen

*Red designates Classic Main Street Program cities and Blue designated Georgia Exceptional Main Street cites



Map 3: Paired Cities

The data for the 34 cities comes from the decennial Census surveys from 1990, 2000, and 2010 using their census tracts. Since census tracts boundaries change from census to census, census data for 1990 and 2000 are standardized to 2010 census tracts. Additionally, the 34 cities in this study are located in multiple census tracts; thus, the census data for population and race, which was white and non-white, was totaled from all of the census tracts that included each city and the data for median household income was averaged amongst all census tracts that included each city as well. In the interest of determining whether the rate of change in these three variables over time is higher for the experimental group, the rate of change from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2010, and 1990 to 2010 were calculated for each of three variables. Data for retail sales was only available for 2019 for all 34 cities; therefore, a rate change over time is not available for this variable and only a comparison of the 2019 data for the experimental and the control group can be analyzed. Regarding statistical analysis, 13 Student's t-tests were run for this data with all of the null hypotheses being that there is no difference between the experimental and control group and 13 p-values were produced. The first three tables below represent the data for the rates of change from the population, racial makeup, and median household income level over three decades of the Georgia Main Street cities and the control group cities. The data for the retail sales from 2019 for the Georgia Main Street cities and the control group cities is included in the last table.

Table 4: Population Change for the Paired Cities				
	Name	**Pop change 1990-2000**	**Pop change 2000-2010**	**Pop change 1990-2010**
Pair A	Calhoun	3,532	4,983	8,515
	Winder	2,828	3,898	6,726
Pair B	Cartersville	3,890	3,806	7,696
	Buford	1,897	1,557	3,454
Pair C	Cedartown	1,492	280	1,772
	Thomaston	284	-241	43
Pair D	Cordele	1,287	-461	826
	Fort Valley	-193	1,810	1,617
Pair E	Covington	1,521	1,571	3,092
	Dallas	2,246	6,488	8,734
Pair F	Douglas	175	950	1,125
	Fitzgerald	146	295	441
Pair G	Dublin	-455	344	-111
	Conyers	3,309	4,506	7,815
Pair H	Elberton	-939	-90	-1,029
	Hartwell	-367	281	-86
Pair I	LaGrange	401	3,590	3,991
	Valdosta	3,918	10,794	14,712
Pair J	Vidalia	-587	-18	-605
	Jesup	321	935	1,256
Pair K	Bainbridge	1,010	975	1,985
	Thomson	-34	-50	-84
Pair L	Brunswick	-833	-217	-1,050
	Clarkston	1,846	323	2,169
Pair M	Milledgeville	1,030	-1,042	-12
	Forest Park	4,522	-2,979	1,543
Pain N	Moultrie	-478	-119	-597
	Riverdale	3,119	2,656	5,775

Pair O	Newman	3,745	16,797	20,542
	Kennesaw	12,739	8,108	20,847
Pair P	Statesboro	6,844	5,724	12,568
	Cusseta	89	10,071	10,160
Pair Q	Toccoa	1,057	-832	225
	Bremen	223	1,648	1,871

Table 5: Race Change for the Paired Cities

	Name	**Race change (White) 1990-2000**	**Race change (Non-White) 1990-2000**	**Race change (White) 2000-2010**	**Race change (Non-White) 2000-2010**	**Race change (White) 1990-2010**	**Race change (Non-White) 1990-2010**
Pair A	Calhoun	1,941	1,591	3,161	1,822	5,102	3,413
	Winder	1,843	985	2,271	1,627	4,114	2,612
Pair B	Cartersville	2,399	1,491	1,792	2,014	4,191	3,505
	Buford	793	1,124	-76	1,613	717	2,737
Pair C	Cedartown	71	1,421	-489	769	-418	2,190
	Thomaston	-683	967	-880	639	-1,563	1,606
Pair D	Cordele	-290	1,577	-475	14	-765	1,591
	Fort Valley	-618	425	-432	2,242	-1,050	2,667
Pair E	Covington	527	994	187	1,384	714	2,378
	Dallas	1,925	321	2,719	3,769	4,644	4,090
Pair F	Douglas	-561	736	-331	1,281	-892	2,017
	Fitzgerald	-367	513	-229	524	-596	1,037
Pair G	Dublin	-1,417	962	-1,051	1,395	-2,468	2,357
	Conyers	612	2,697	-1,692	2,592	-1,080	5,289
Pair H	Elberton	-970	31	-218	-52	-1,188	-21
	Hartwell	-329	-38	85	196	-244	158
Pair I	LaGrange	-1,720	2,121	916	2,674	-804	4,795
	Valdosta	-1,108	5,026	2,736	8,058	1,628	13,084
Pair J	Vidalia	-1,033	446	-568	550	-1,601	996
	Jesup	-516	2,822	415	-1,465	-101	1,357
Pair K	Bainbridge	-46	1,056	-351	1,326	-397	2,382
	Thomson	-406	372	-540	490	-946	862
Pair L	Brunswick	-1,046	213	-857	640	-1,903	853
	Clarkston	-606	2,452	-379	702	-985	3,154
Pair M	Milledgeville	638	392	98	-1,140	736	-748
	Forest Park	-3,331	7,853	-3,820	88	-7,151	7,941
Pain N	Moultrie	-1,421	943	-535	416	-1,956	1,359
	Riverdale	-4,125	7,244	-1,291	3,947	-5,416	11,191

Pair O	Newman	2,319	1,426	10,690	6,107	13,009	7,533
	Kennesaw	9,309	3,430	1,364	6,744	10,673	10,174
Pair P	Statesboro	2,150	4,694	2,699	3,025	4,849	7,719
	Cusseta	-18	107	7,029	3,042	7,011	3,149
Pair Q	Toccoa	644	413	-827	-5	-183	408
	Bremen	203	20	1,496	152	1,699	172

Table 6: Median Household Income Change for the Paired Cities

	Name	Income change 1990-2000	Income change 2000-2010	Income change 1990-2010
Pair A	Calhoun	-8,148	-888	-9,036
	Winder	8,932	16,357	25,289
Pair B	Cartersville	8,527	7,823	16,350
	Buford	16,346	7,241	23,587
Pair C	Cedartown	-6,388	-4,237	-10,625
	Thomaston	-1,576	-5,746	-7,322
Pair D	Cordele	7,751	-11,007	-3,256
	Fort Valley	-5,792	4,616	-1,176
Pair E	Covington	-1,015	-3,293	-4,308
	Dallas	5,304	10,391	15,695
Pair F	Douglas	-3,394	8,086	4,692
	Fitzgerald	2,463	3,041	5,504
Pair G	Dublin	-4,046	11,052	7,006
	Conyers	20,063	-13,737	6,326
Pair H	Elberton	-5,960	-1,820	-7,780
	Hartwell	-4,505	-6,596	-11,101
Pair I	LaGrange	1,764	5,285	7,049
	Valdosta	10,817	894	11,711
Pair J	Vidalia	-6,770	2,246	-4,524
	Jesup	-6,175	1,323	-4,852
Pair K	Bainbridge	-4,193	-4,078	-8,271
	Thomson	-742	-3,698	-4,440
Pair L	Brunswick	-1,329	6,793	5,464
	Clarkston	17,127	10,447	27,574
Pair M	Milledgeville	3,310	-6,412	-3,102
	Forest Park	5,117	-7,279	-2,162
Pain N	Moultrie	-5,083	11,384	6,301
	Riverdale	12,619	297	12,916
Pair O	Newman	5,454	28,347	33,801
	Kennesaw	21,172	26,595	47,767
Pair P	Statesboro	5,192	5,761	10,953
	Cusseta	2,695	6,753	9,448

Pair Q	Toccoa	-7,100	3,232	-3,868
	Bremen	-3,283	1,978	-1,305

Table 7: Retail Sales for 2019 for the Paired Cities		
	Name	**Retail Sales for 2019**
Pair A	Calhoun	$343,620.00
	Winder	$319,797.00
Pair B	Cartersville	$505,784.00
	Buford	$736,627.00
Pair C	Cedartown	$85,987.00
	Thomaston	$99,246.00
Pair D	Cordele	$201,921.00
	Fort Valley	$71,658.00
Pair E	Covington	$312,103.00
	Dallas	$135,224.00
Pair F	Douglas	$325,054.00
	Fitzgerald	$122,374.00
Pair G	Dublin	$444,330.00
	Conyers	$249,796.00
Pair H	Elberton	$48,181.00
	Hartwell	$35,085.00
Pair I	LaGrange	$692,438.00
	Valdosta	$1,563,861.00
Pair J	Vidalia	$329,822.00
	Jesup	$148,787.00
Pair K	Bainbridge	$193,962.00
	Thomson	$167,628.00
Pair L	Brunswick	$444,273.00
	Clarkston	$30,253.00
Pair M	Milledgeville	$259,041.00
	Forest Park	$313,099.00
Pain N	Moultrie	$254,424.00
	Riverdale	$294,338.00
Pair O	Newman	$47,434.00
	Kennesaw	$1,035,115.00
Pair P	Statesboro	$540,986.00
	Cusseta	$22,363.00
Pair Q	Toccoa	$138,329.00
	Bremen	$92,116.00

Results

As shown in Table 2 below, 13 p-values were produced from performing 13 Student's t-test on population change from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2010 and 1990 to 2010, race (white) change from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2010, and 1990 to 2010, race (non-white) change from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2010, and 1990 to 2010, median household income from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2010, and 1990 to 2010, and retail sales from 2019. Using the standard of a p-value being less than 0.05 as being statistically significant, the majority of the p-values are not statistically significant. These findings suggest that there is no strong evidence to reject the null hypotheses, which means that there is not a statistical difference between the experimental and control groups. The p-values for the rate of change for population and race across all three time periods for both variables are not statistically significant and the retail sales for 2019 are not statistically significant either. The rate of change for median household income from 2000 to 2010 and 1990 to 2010 is not statistically significant as well.

Table 8: List of P-Values Comparing the Paired Cities	
Population Change 1990-2000	0.370743
Population Change 2000-2010	0.565381
Population Change 1990-2010	0.417172
Race (White) Change 1990-2000	0.975943
Race (White) Change 2000-2010	0.169993
Race (White) Change 1990-2010	0.741534
Race (Non-White) Change 1990-2000	0.305548
Race (Non-White) Change 2000-2010	0.845131
Race (Non-White) Change 1990-2010	0.147885
Median Household Income Change 1990-2000	0.010322
Median Household Income Change 2000-2010	0.921954
Median Household Income Change 1990-2010	0.149034
Retail Sales (2019)	0.886853

There is, however, one outlier within this dataset. The p-value for the rate of change for the median household income from 1990 to 2000 is 0.010322. This p-value is less than 0.05 and is statistically significant, which indicates that there is strong evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The null hypothesis, in this case, is that there is no difference between the rate of change for the median household income from 1990 to 2000 for the experimental group and the control group. Rejecting this hypothesis means that there is evidence to suggest that there is a difference between the median household income from 1990 to 2000 for the Georgia Main Street cities and the control group cities. The extent of this difference and the reasons why require further research and explanation.

Since the significant difference between the median household income from 1990 to 2000 is positive according to the positive sign associated with the aforementioned p-value, cities in the Georgia Main Street program, therefore, experienced a positive association with being in this program during this time in comparison to those cities not in the program. A hypothesized explanation for why there is a significant difference and positive association regarding median household income could be that the first ten year period of being designated requires drastic financial input and leads to equally major economic changes. These economics results could be due to the financial resources and requirements needed to jump start a local Main Street America program from scratch or the early benefits of the inflow of capital and foot traffic into these newly revitalized downtowns and main streets. However, there are other factors at play that could have caused the significant difference in median household income among these cities than just the positive association with the Georgia Main Street program, but this goes beyond the scope of this study. Supplemental and future research is required in order to completely isolate this outlier as resulting from Georgia Main Street program designation.

Discussion

In addition to monitoring the differences between the Georgia Main Street cities and the control group cities, the differences between the Classic Main Street cities and the Georgia Exceptional cities were also monitored. Classic Main Street cities totaled 10 of the Georgia Main Street cities studied while there were 7 Georgia Main Street cities. Even though this was not the focus of the study, Student's t-tests were run to produce p-values to test for any statistical difference between this small sample of Georgia Main Street cities.

Table 9: List of P-Values for Comparing the Main Street America Cities to the Georgia Exceptional Main Street Cities	
Population Change 1990-2000	0.534532
Population Change 2000-2010	0.561190
Population Change 1990-2010	0.516232
Race (White) Change 1990-2000	0.430269
Race (White) Change 2000-2010	0.793499
Race (White) Change 1990-2010	0.466696
Race (Non-White) Change 1990-2000	0.764243
Race (Non-White) Change 2000-2010	0.423568
Race (Non-White) Change 1990-2010	0.743894
Median Household Income Change 1990-2000	0.657784
Median Household Income Change 2000-2010	0.319438
Median Household Income Change 1990-2010	0.316231
Retail Sales (2019)	0.506425

Using the standard of a p-value being less than 0.05 as being statistically significant, none of the 13 p-values from table above are statistically significant. These findings suggest that there is no strong evidence to reject the null hypotheses, which means that there is not a statistical difference between the Classic Main Street cities and the Georgia Exceptional Main Street cities. This result means that even though the Georgia Main Street cities were generally larger than the Classic Main Street cities, the changes in population size remained similar between the two. Comparably, the rate of change in the racial makeup and median income level was also similar. Cities designated as either Classic Main Street cities or Georgia Exceptional Main Street cities equally experienced population and racial makeup losses and gain as well median household income gains and losses; one designation did not stand out against the other.

Even though retail sales similarly coordinated with higher totals in larger cities designated at either Classic Main Street cities or Georgia Exceptional Main Street, once again the designation did not matter. The percentage of which had a higher retail sale total is beyond the scope of this study but should be researched. Thus, there was an overall lack of difference between the Classic Main Street cities and Georgia Exception Main Street cities. The difference between a Classic Main Street city and a Georgia

Exceptional Main Street city may not be clear from the data and could be ultimately be unclear from the Georgia Main Street program's designation itself.

Policy Recommendations

Intended Audience

In order to generate policy recommendations based on the results and the discussion above, the intended audience for these policy recommendations must be established. The intended audience for this study is the local governments and local Main Street programs of the cities in Georgia that are in the Georgia Main Street program. The rationale for this intended audience is the fact that 17 cities of the 89 cities in the Georgia Main Street program were investigated in this study. As previously mentioned, only 17 of these cities were used in this study because they fit the criteria of having as designation date between the years 1986 and 1994 in order to be able to track the progression of the city from 1990 to 2010. Thus, the 17 local governments and local Main Street programs actively in this study could directly benefit from policy recommendations that resulted from data from their cities.

Nevertheless, the other local governments and local Main Street programs currently in the Georgia Main Street program can also be included in the intended audience. Of the Classic Main Street cities not included in this study, 6 were designated between 1980 and 1985 and 11 were designated between 1995 and 1999; these cities did not meet the criteria for this study, but the variables can still be observed over multiple decades. Additionally, 20 Classic Main Street cities were designated in the 2010s and 22 were designated in the 2000s. These cities are newer to the program and cannot be observed over many decades; nonetheless, cities newer to the program can benefit from observing and understanding patterns of cities who have been designated longer and can make any appropriate changes. The same can be said for the Georgia Exceptional Main Street cities designated during the 1980s and 1990s as well as those designated later in the 2000s and 2010s. Downtown Affiliate Network cities, on the other hand, are in this intended audience because these cities can use the results and policy recommendations of this study in order to determine whether to continue moving forward with the Georgia Main Street program or to change course.

Similar to Downtown Affiliate Networks, local governments in Georgia that are currently not in the Georgia Main Street program can be included in the intended audience as well. As mentioned earlier, there are variety of contemporary methods for downtown revitalization for cities with struggling downtowns to employ. The Georgia Main Street program is just a popular method used in Georgia and one that utilizes historic preservation. Cities in Georgia not currently in the Georgia Main Street program can use the results and policy recommendations to determine whether they wish to join this program or to choose another avenue for downtown revitalizations.

Recommendations

Now that the intended audience has been established, the various policy recommendations can be detailed. Overall, this study recommends that any local government or city contemplating becoming part of the Georgia Main Street program consider how this program will affect their city regarding the potential benefits of historic preservation and downtown revitalization as well as potential changes in population size, racial makeup, median household income levels and retail sales. These cites should ultimately pay close attention to the first decade after their designation as part of this program. This study found that there is a significant difference and a positive association with the median household income of the Georgia Main Street cities during the first decade after their designation in comparison to the same ten years for cities not in the Georgia Main Street program. Any policies enacted by local governments and cities during this period should take into consideration how their policies might affect the income level of residents in their cities and their economy overall. The implementation of the Main Street America program requires time as well as capital and this implementation could affect the cities in potentially positive ways

Local government and cities already members of the Georgia Main Street program should also consider how a Classic Main Street city designation versus a Georgia Exceptional Main Street city designation affects them. As mentioned previously in this study, Georgia Exceptional Main Streets are cities that “have gone above and beyond expectations by making a strong and positive impact in their communities as measured by the Monthly Reporting and the Annual Assessment Process;” additionally, these cities “are entitled to special one on one technical services offered through the Office of Downtown Development as well as discounted training opportunities” (Georgia Main Street). This distinction as a Georgia Exceptional Main Street city may, therefore, offer some benefits, but these benefits may not outweigh the lack of difference between them and a Classic Main Street city at a lower, more demographic and economic level.

Furthermore, the first five communities designated as part of the Georgia Main Street program, which includes Athens, Waycross, Swainsboro, LaGrange, and Canton, have yet to become Georgia Exceptional Main Streets. Four of these communities are Classic Main Street cities while the final community of Waycross is part of the Downtown Affiliate Network. Classic Main Street cities must consequently consider the potential positive changes, negatives changes or even lack of changes when moving up a tier to the Georgia Exceptional Main Street city level. Likewise, cities and local governments currently designated as Downtown Affiliate Networks in the Georgia Main Street program should consider whether to deeper entrench themselves within this program.

For cities and local government that are deciding whether to join the Georgia Main Street program, there are few recommendations specific to these cities based on the results of this study. For instance, both the Georgia Main Street Cities and the cities not in the program that experienced the most income and retail growth had the largest populations. Some of these larger populations were the result of having large metropolitan areas or having a college or university located in their city. Moreover, having a large population generally means having more human and financial capital and the ability to support new programs and investment A city that wishes to join this program should enact a evaluation policy in order to determine whether they have the resources as well as the population size to support the creation and longevity of a Georgia Main Street program.

Along similar economic lines, the principal costs of joining this program are not available to the public or are not on the Georgia Main Street website and require asking for a quote to determine which package will fit a community best. The packages available are architectural design, site design and downtown improvement plans with various tools and strategies relating to historic preservation and downtown revitalization. Moreover, the focus of these packages and the results of this study both suggest that the most effective elements of the Four Points approach used by the Main Street America program are economic vitality and design. The two elements appear to have the largest impact on helping to revitalize these downtowns and improve them overall. Therefore, cities that wish to join this program should enact policies to evaluate their current economic strengths and weaknesses and current design elements that could be further expanded by the implementation of a Main Street program.

Conclusion

The local governments and local Main Street programs that use these policy recommendations should conduct additional research before making any decisions regarding the Georgia Main Street program. This study is limited in its scope of recommending policies about the Georgia Main Street program to currently designated cities and potential future candidates Considerations beyond the scope of this study should include other demographic variables like age and gender. Other variables to consider are home ownership and household size. Moreover, this study did not control for the other factors that could have affected population size, racial makeup, median household income, and retail sales. This lack of controlling for other factors and variables means that a direct causation or firm correlation can be ascertained. Future studies that better isolate the specific effects of the Georgia Main Street program or any state Main Street programs on these variables could improve this correlation.

In addition to these considerations, the data and methodology used in this study had its own limitations. The data contains a limited sample of only 17 Georgia Main Street cities and 17 control group cities. A study encompassing a larger sample of Georgia Main Street cities or cities from other state Main Street programs and their respective parallel control cities would greatly improve the results. The methodology is also limited in regard to that fact that only Student t-tests were utilized; the utilization of additional statistical analyses would improve the results as well. The limitation of the data and methodology allow for expansion of future studies on this research topic.

Overall, this study acts as a jumping off point for continued research and dialogue about the Georgia Main Street program, other state Main Street program and the Main Street America program as a whole and its effects on demographics, socioeconomics, and the economy of designated cities. Local governments and cities in the Main Street America program or those contemplating joining the program need to fully consider how this program is affecting or will affect their city beyond the scope of the selected variables in the Four Points program. Continued independent research about these various Main Street programs will provide great legitimacy to these programs as whole and greater security in the decision of local governments and cities. The Main Street America program effectively combines downtown revitalization and historic preservation, but even effective program can benefit from scrutinization every now and again.

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Appendix

Basic Information for Paired Cities			
	Name	**County**	**Year Designated**
Pair 1	Calhoun	Gordon	1994
	Winder	Barrow	N/A
Pair 2	Cartersville	Bartow	1987
	Buford	Gwinnett & Hall	N/A
Pair 3	Cedartown	Polk	1988
	Thomaston	Upson	N/A
Pair 4	Cordele	Crisp	1987
	Fort Valley	Peach	N/A
Pair 5	Covington	Newton	1987
	Dallas	Paulding	N/A
Pair 6	Douglas	Coffee	1988
	Fitzgerald	Ben Hill	N/A
Pair 7	Dublin	Laurens	1989
	Conyers	Rockdale	N/A
Pair 8	Elberton	Elbert	1991
	Hartwell	Hart	N/A
Pair 9	LaGrange	Troup	1994
	Valdosta	Lowndes	N/A
Pair 10	Vidalia	Toombs	1989
	Jesup	Wayne	N/A
Pair 11	Bainbridge	Decatur	1990
	Thomson	McDuffie	N/A
Pair 12	Brunswick	Glynn	1986
	Clarkston	DeKalb	N/A
Pair 13	Milledgeville	Baldwin	1988
	Forest Park	Clayton	N/A
Pair 14	Moultrie	Colquitt	1988
	Riverdale	Clayton	N/A
Pair 15	Newman	Coweta	1986
	Kennesaw	Cobb	N/A
Pair 16	Statesboro	Bulloch	1990
	Cusseta	Chattahoochee	N/A
Pair 17	Toccoa	Stephens	1990
	Bremen	Haralson & Carroll	N/A

Population Data for Paired Cities				
	Name	**Population 1990**	**Population 2000**	**Population 2010**
Pair 1	Calhoun	7,135	10,667	15,650
	Winder	7,373	10,201	14,099
Pair 2	Cartersville	12,035	15,925	19,731
	Buford	8,771	10,668	12,225
Pair 3	Cedartown	7,978	9,470	9,750
	Thomaston	9,127	9,411	9,170
Pair 4	Cordele	10,321	11,608	11,147
	Fort Valley	8,198	8,005	9,815
Pair 5	Covington	10,026	11,547	13,118
	Dallas	2,810	5,056	11,544
Pair 6	Douglas	10,464	10,639	11,589
	Fitzgerald	8,612	8,758	9,053
Pair 7	Dublin	16,312	15,857	16,201
	Conyers	7,380	10,689	15,195
Pair 8	Elberton	5,682	4,743	4,653
	Hartwell	4,555	4,188	4,469
Pair 9	LaGrange	25,597	25,998	29,588
	Valdosta	39,806	43,724	54,518
Pair 10	Vidalia	11,078	10,491	10,473
	Jesup	8,958	9,279	10,214
Pair 11	Bainbridge	10,712	11,722	12,697
	Thomson	6,862	6,828	6,778
Pair 12	Brunswick	16,433	15,600	15,383
	Clarkston	5,385	7,231	7,554
Pair 13	Milledgeville	17,727	18,757	17,715
	Forest Park	16,925	21,447	18,468
Pair 14	Moultrie	14,865	14,387	14,268
	Riverdale	9,359	12,478	15,134
Pair 15	Newman	12,497	16,242	33,039
	Kennesaw	8,936	21,675	29,783
Pair 16	Statesboro	15,854	22,698	28,422
	Cusseta	1,107	1,196	11,267
Pair 17	Toccoa	8,266	9,323	8,491
	Bremen	4,356	4,579	6,227

Race Data for Paired Cities							
	Name	**Race (White) 1990**	**Race (Non-White) 1990**	**Race (White) 2000**	**Race (Non-White) 2000**	**Race (White) 2010**	**Race (Non-White) 2010**
Pair 1	Calhoun	6,370	765	8,311	2,356	11,472	4,178
	Winder	6003	1,370	7,846	2,355	10,117	3,982
Pair 2	Cartersville	9,788	2,247	12,187	3,738	13,979	5,752
	Buford	7,332	1,439	8,125	2,563	8,049	4,176
Pair 3	Cedartown	5,930	2,048	6,001	3,469	5,512	4,238
	Thomaston	6,588	2,539	5,905	3,506	5,025	4,145
Pair 4	Cordele	3,993	6,328	3,703	7,905	3,228	7,919
	Fort Valley	2,387	5,811	1,769	6,236	1,337	8,478
Pair 5	Covington	5,426	4,600	5,953	5,594	6,140	6,978
	Dallas	2,412	398	4,337	719	7,056	4,488
Pair 6	Douglas	5,711	4,753	5,150	5,489	4,819	6,770
	Fitzgerald	4,507	4,105	4,140	4,618	3,911	5,142
Pair 7	Dublin	8,639	7,673	7,222	8,635	6,171	10,030
	Conyers	5,619	1,761	6,231	4,458	4,539	7,050
Pair 8	Elberton	3,547	2,135	2,577	2,166	2,359	2,114
	Hartwell	2,985	1,570	2,656	1,532	2,741	1,728
Pair 9	LaGrange	14,516	11,081	12,796	13,202	13,712	15,876
	Valdosta	21,968	17,838	20,860	22,864	23,596	30,922
Pair 10	Vidalia	7,287	3,791	6,254	4,237	5,686	4,787
	Jesup	5,524	3,434	5,008	6,256	5,423	4,791
Pair 11	Bainbridge	5,612	5,100	5,566	6,156	5,215	7,482
	Thomson	3,300	3,562	2,894	3,934	2,354	4,424
Pair 12	Brunswick	6,726	9,707	5,680	9,920	4,823	10,560
	Clarkston	2,012	3,373	1,406	5,825	1,027	6,527
Pair 13	Milledgeville	8,730	8,997	9,368	9,389	9,466	8,249
	Forest Park	13,006	3,919	9,675	11,772	5,855	11,860
Pair 14	Moultrie	8,040	6,825	6,619	7,768	6,084	8,184
	Riverdale	6,632	2,727	2,507	9,971	1,216	13,918
Pair 15	Newman	6,464	6,033	8,783	7,459	19,473	13,566
	Kennesaw	8,458	478	17,767	3,908	19,131	10,652
Pair 16	Statesboro	10,608	5,246	12,758	9,940	15,457	12,965
	Cusseta	742	365	724	472	7,753	3,514
Pair 17	Toccoa	6,392	1,874	7,036	2,287	6,209	2,282
	Bremen	3,851	505	4,054	525	5,550	677

Median Household Income Data for Paired Cities				
	Name	**Median Household Income 1990**	**Median Household Income 2000**	**Median Household Income 2010**
Pair 1	Calhoun	$47,904.00	$39,756.00	$38,868.00
	Winder	$13,718.00	$22,650.00	$39,007.00
Pair 2	Cartersville	$32,973.00	$41,500.00	$49,323.00
	Buford	$18,959.00	$35,305.00	$42,546.00
Pair 3	Cedartown	$38,528.00	$32,140.00	$27,903.00
	Thomaston	$29,547.00	$27,971.00	$22,225.00
Pair 4	Cordele	$23,872.00	$21,623.00	$20,616.00
	Fort Valley	$30,289.00	$24,497.00	$29,113.00
Pair 5	Covington	$37,661.00	$36,646.00	$33,353.00
	Dallas	$16,455.00	$21,759.00	$32,150.00
Pair 6	Douglas	$29,054.00	$25,660.00	$33,746.00
	Fitzgerald	$33,306.00	$35,769.00	$38,810.00
Pair 7	Dublin	$29,964.00	$25,918.00	$36,970.00
	Conyers	$29,231.00	$49,294.00	$35,557.00
Pair 8	Elberton	$33,926.00	$27,966.00	$26,146.00
	Hartwell	$39,079.00	$34,574.00	$27,978.00
Pair 9	LaGrange	$35,008.00	$36,772.00	$42,057.00
	Valdosta	$25,915.00	$36,732.00	$37,626.00
Pair 10	Vidalia	$36,147.00	$29,377.00	$31,623.00
	Jesup	$40,177.00	$34,002.00	$35,325.00
Pair 11	Bainbridge	$35,412.00	$31,219.00	$27,141.00
	Thomson	$33,214.00	$32,472.00	$28,774.00
Pair 12	Brunswick	$24,339.00	$23,010.00	$29,803.00
	Clarkston	$11,919.00	$29,046.00	$39,493.00
Pair 13	Milledgeville	$40,653.00	$43,963.00	$37,551.00
	Forest Park	$31,650.00	$36,767.00	$29,488.00
Pair 14	Moultrie	$30,586.00	$25,503.00	$36,887.00
	Riverdale	$25,903.00	$38,522.00	$38,819.00
Pair 15	Newman	$21,976.00	$27,430.00	$55,777.00
	Kennesaw	$15,997.00	$37,169.00	$63,764.00
Pair 16	Statesboro	$22,545.00	$27,737.00	$33,498.00
	Cusseta	$16,177.00	$18,872.00	$25,625.00
Pair 17	Toccoa	$32,401.00	$25,301.00	$28,533.00
	Bremen	$30,659.00	$27,376.00	$29,354.00

Retail Sales Data Paired Cities		
	Name	**Retail Sales for 2019**
Pair 1	Calhoun	$343,620.00
	Winder	$319,797.00
Pair 2	Cartersville	$505,784.00
	Buford	$736,627.00
Pair 3	Cedartown	$85,987.00
	Thomaston	$99,246.00
Pair 4	Cordele	$201,921.00
	Fort Valley	$71,658.00
Pair 5	Covington	$312,103.00
	Dallas	$135,224.00
Pair 6	Douglas	$325,054.00
	Fitzgerald	$122,374.00
Pair 7	Dublin	$444,330.00
	Conyers	$249,796.00
Pair 8	Elberton	$48,181.00
	Hartwell	$35,085.00
Pair 9	LaGrange	$692,438.00
	Valdosta	$1,563,861.00
Pair 10	Vidalia	$329,822.00
	Jesup	$148,787.00
Pair 11	Bainbridge	$193,962.00
	Thomson	$167,628.00
Pair 12	Brunswick	$444,273.00
	Clarkston	$30,253.00
Pair 13	Milledgeville	$259,041.00
	Forest Park	$313,099.00
Pair 14	Moultrie	$254,424.00
	Riverdale	$294,338.00
Pair 15	Newman	$47,434.00
	Kennesaw	$1,035,115.00
Pair 16	Statesboro	$540,986.00
	Cusseta	$22,363.00
Pair 17	Toccoa	$138,329.00
	Bremen	$92,116.00