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Conversation of Values: A Community Perspective of Sustainable Development Criteria Concerning Revitalization Efforts in Jackson, Mississippi

Kenneth Barry White

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Conversation of values: a community perspective of sustainable development criteria
concerning revitalization efforts in Jackson, Mississippi

By

Kenneth Barry White

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of
Mississippi State University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Masters of Arts
in Applied Anthropology
in the Department of Anthropology and Middle Eastern Cultures

Mississippi State, Mississippi

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Conversation of values: a community perspective of sustainable development criteria
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Jackson, Mississippi is currently undergoing a revitalization movement in an attempt to revive its blighted downtown core. While physical development is crucial to revival of the downtown landscape, the cultural landscape must also be considered. I hypothesized that developers, business owners, and residents working or living in and around downtown Jackson would report differing desires, positions, and values concerning four elements of sustainable development: cultural, economic, political, and environmental.

Ultimately, the hypothesis was refuted according to the quantitative data analysis. However, there were different understandings within the qualitative data where the substance of this research project can be found. These data serve as a “Dialogue of Values” (Blewitt 2008) and an indicator of concerns on which Jacksonians can focus as revitalization continues. This foundation of concerns also establishes a benchmark to measure future inquiries into the inclusion of sustainable development in Jackson’s revitalization.

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my beautiful, charming, and loving wife Mary Margaret and my parents whose support during graduate school and at all other times has been immeasurable.

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CHAPTER I
PROJECT OVERVIEW

Urban Sprawl

The second half of the 20th century in America hosted a mass exodus from inner-city metropolitan areas to suburbia (Grogan & Proscio 2001). Yet, in 2009, for the first time in history, urban population figures surpassed rural numbers for occupancy on a global level (United Nations 2010). The United Nations estimates that urban areas will constitute the majority of population growth over the next four decades (United Nations 2010). To support these growing urban populations, new trends have emerged which incorporate the repurposing of urban environments to make them more livable, economically stable, and diverse (Grogan & Proscio 2001: 3). This research project focuses on Jackson, Mississippi's revitalization movement and the identification of Jacksonians' beliefs and concerns related to issues that are affiliated with sustainable development criteria.

Urban sprawl is an ever-increasing phenomenon in American society that has resulted in the desolation of many once-thriving metropolitan cores. The abandonment of these cores strip the urban environment of economic bases and cultural diversity, all the while creating a domino effect that further desolates community and infrastructure (Moe & Wilkie 1997). As residents leave inner-city areas, their abandonment further perpetuates crime, property decay, and "quality of public services, particularly education"

(Moe & Wilkie 1997: XI). Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie (1997: X) write, “That there is a diminished sense of connections- social as well as spatial” within these blighted urban environments.

Metropolitan cores were once examples of dynamic cultural and physical landscapes supported by local economies and unique identities (Moe & Wilkie 1997). In the post-World War II era, many American cities have fallen victim to significant decline due to the ever-increasing dependence on automobiles and an availability of the suburban lifestyle (Moe & Wilkie 1997). Brueckner (2000: 161) defines urban sprawl as the “excessive spatial growth of cities.” She explains that excessive is the key word that describes the abandoning of urban space that is a central location for economic, governmental, and cultural activities and moving outward to develop agricultural land in a suburban context. The forces that drive urban sprawl are “a growing population, rising incomes, and falling commuting costs” (Brueckner 2000: 160). While there are obvious economic problems that are associated with sprawl, Brueckner (2000: 160) notes that social costs also mount, saying, “Low-density suburban development may reduce social interaction, weakening the bonds that underpin a healthy society.”

Moe and Wilkie (1997: 245) describe urban sprawl as “urbanization that creeps unchecked across the landscape, siphoning the life out of historic centers while turning countryside into clutter.” They explain that these patterns of development are unsustainable and have created “enormous social, environmental, and economic costs” (Bank of America 1995). In relation to sustainability, sprawl has created decentralization of housing and employment centers within the urban core and has made it increasingly difficult for residents who are left behind to obtain access to quality jobs and housing. As

more and more residents leave, the community network is further weakened, affecting the social fabric of these urban neighborhoods (Moe & Wilkie 1997). While there are some obvious issues that are related to the urban environment, Moe and Wilkie (1997: 249) explain that simply leaving cities cannot solve the problems at hand.

Reurbanization

There are currently trends in American cities that involve the “rebounding” of the urban environment via revitalization movements (Grogan and Proscio 2000). These movements employ a variety of strategic methods to revitalize metropolitan settings including historic preservation, pedestrianization, real-estate promotion, or the creation of entertainment districts (Robertson 2001). These strategies can certainly serve as vehicles for downtown redevelopment, but Robertson suggests that each downtown possesses a unique identity that must be explored to truly capture and serve the individual culture, history, and economy of a city (Robertson 2001). It is through the city’s residents that these identities are created and manifested. Ember and Levinson (1996: 1) explain that ethnographic research in the urban environment “compares the cultural systems of these populations, and offers contextual explanations for the attitudes and behaviors observed among these populations.” Using sustainability and anthropological methods that provide a holistic, multi-dimensional approach is a means to ensure that most residents’ considerations are met as revitalization continues.

Sustainable development initiatives are on the forefront of many cities’ attempts to repurpose their urban landscapes (Portney 2003). There are a plethora of definitions for sustainable development that will be discussed below, but to begin, “Sustainable development links the environment, economy, and social equity into practices that benefit

present and future generations” (North Carolina Environmental Resource Program 1997: 1). Four criteria of sustainable development that will be explored in this project include: social, economic, political, and environmental elements concerning the revitalization of Jackson, Mississippi. Using an integrated and multi-dimensional approach, sustainable development can serve to ensure social equity, economic prosperity, and ecological integrity (Krizek & Power 1996). The incorporation of sustainable development initiatives into urban revitalization strategies can “make significant differences in the quality of life and quality of environment for the residents” (Portney 2003: x).

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH SETTING

Jackson, the capitol of Mississippi, is currently undergoing a revitalization movement in an attempt to revive its blighted downtown core and surrounding neighborhoods that have fallen victim to urban sprawl. Jackson is Mississippi's largest city with a population of 173,514 (U.S. Census 2010). Between 1990 and 2000, there was a 7% decrease in residents living within the city limits of Jackson; a loss of over 12,000 residents (Census 1990, 2000). In addition, from 2000 to 2010, Jackson lost 10, 742 residents. However, with the revitalization underway, Jackson leaders hope to see this trend of population decline "reversed through new growth and infill development" (Jackson Comprehensive Plan 2004). These efforts involve real-estate development ventures, historic preservation initiatives, and "green" projects that include greenway and bicycle corridors, which add connectivity to the downtown setting.

In 2004, Jackson's city council adopted a framework for revitalization set forth as the Jackson Comprehensive Plan (2004). This plan "defines a community vision, analyzes existing conditions, develops a preferred direction, and sets goals and strategies to achieve this desired future" (Jackson Comprehensive Plan 2004: 2). The vision of the Comprehensive Plan calls for "All citizens working together For A Better Revitalized Inclusive Community (FABRIC) so that we can create a community of unique richness

and depth” (Jackson Comprehensive Plan 2004: 4). While the plan sets forth some notable goals for the revitalization, sustainability is not mentioned one time.

While physical development is crucial to revival of the downtown landscape, the cultural landscape, which consists of the collective ideas, beliefs, and attitudes of Jacksonians, also must be considered as a driving factor in revitalization (Blewitt 2008). Blewitt (2008) explains that different individuals and communities tend to view sustainable development from varying perspectives. Exploring this “dialogue of values” within a population can serve to identify unique concerns associated with the development process (Blewitt 2008).

Considering Blewitt’s work, I hypothesized that developers, business owners, and residents working or living in and around downtown Jackson would report differing desires, positions, and values concerning the four elements of sustainable development: cultural, economic, political, and environmental. Through the identification of these varying attitudes, behaviors, and awareness levels among Jacksonians, this research seeks to discover which elements associated with sustainable development are being appropriately considered and which are not, according to the participants. This research project provides a mapping of Jacksonians’ connection with elements of sustainable development that serves as a foundation to support participants’ needs in future city development initiatives.

CHAPTER III.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Research Significance

Metropolitan areas seemingly have been “undertheorized within anthropology” (Low 1999:1). Low (1999) writes that theory involving urban settings has traditionally been undertaken by disciplines such as history, sociology, urban planning, and cultural geography, just to list a few. “As a result, urban anthropology became more integrated into the discourse of the other social sciences, and urban anthropologists cited non-anthropological works with more frequency and less hesitation” (Kemper & Rollwagen 1996: 1341). An expanded interest in urban anthropology can promote analysis of the phenomena of urban cultural systems and “offers contextual explanations for the attitudes and behaviors observed among these populations” (Kemper & Rollwagen 1996).

Researching Jacksonians’ awareness levels and desires surrounding the four parts of sustainable development can not only expand upon the literature on urban anthropology, but also can offer a glimpse into a revitalization movement at the local level. Portney (2003) suggests that there has been little “hypothesis-driven” research to examine sustainability within cities (2003: x). He writes that there should be a significant increase in empirical research that can help to answer a series of questions enhancing “our understanding of what works and doesn’t work, of what people will accept and won’t accept, and what conditions contribute to more effective programs and initiatives”

(2003:xi). In his book, *Taking Sustainable Cities Seriously* (2003), Portney offers linkages that connect the theoretical sustainability literature with particular cities' efforts to implement these programs. He suggests that these connections should elicit the "specification of causal hypotheses" by "extracting debatable, sometimes controversial, testable social scientific hypotheses from the existing and extant literatures on sustainability, sustainable communities, or sustainable cities, or from the experiences of cities as they endeavor to move toward becoming more sustainable" (Portney 2003: xi). This research project serves to expand upon the literature surrounding sustainable development by looking into Jackson's revitalization movement and mapping participants' awareness levels, support, and attitudes towards the implementation of sustainability.

Gwynne (2003) writes that the employment of applied cultural anthropology within development initiatives should satisfy two agendas. First, "development requires understanding and addressing social issues, the central concern of cultural anthropologists" (Skar 1985: 2). Gwynne (2003:108) suggests that there are important questions to be answered through anthropological research, such as: "Who should decide which groups should benefit from development and which should not? What kind of knowledge or action will result in beneficial change?"

Second, successful development universally requires not only generalized knowledge of human social behaviors and systems but also concrete, specific knowledge of the customs, traditions, values, and perceived needs that prevail in specific development settings. [Gwynne 2003: 108]

Using sustainability criteria as a platform to build a research model, this project focused on the measurement of participants' involvement levels in the process of Jackson's revitalization efforts and the identification of concerns surrounding political voice, social equity, economic prosperity, and ecological integrity (Power & Krizek 1996). As I approached members of the community and identified their needs in relation to the political, economic, cultural, and environmental elements of sustainable development, this research provided a foundation for future inclusion of sustainable development initiatives in Jackson's revitalization movement. As the literature suggests (Blewit 2008), this foundation will serve as a "Dialogue of Values" and an indicator of concerns upon which Jacksonians can focus as revitalization continues. This foundation of concerns also establishes a benchmark for measuring future inquiries into the inclusion of sustainable development in Jackson's revitalization.

Background Literature

There are four key areas of background literature that serve as an important foundation for the research at hand. The first topic, political ecology, will be explored as a theoretical lens to analyze the revitalization project. The second section will include an explanation of sustainability and sustainable development. It is important to look at the history of the sustainability movement; how it began on a global scale, and its progression to serve at the local level. Another crucial element involves urban systems and how metropolitan environments have changed, most notably in the 20th century. The final section of background information will examine what has previously been studied in urban anthropology and how it can be applied to Jackson.

Political Ecology

The theoretical perspective of political ecology offers a lens to analyze phenomena related to the inclusion of sustainable development in Jackson's revitalization movement.

Political ecology is an interdisciplinary, non-dualistic strategy that remains under development, and perhaps deliberately so, seeking to describe the dynamic ways in which, on the one hand, political and economic power can shape ecological futures and, on the other, how ecologies can shape political and economic possibilities" (Center for Energy and Environmental Policy 2010).

Blewitt (2008) explains that many supporters of sustainable development have used ecological models and the incorporation of systems thinking to analyze phenomena. He asserts that systems-thinking is not necessarily unique to ecology, but "its influence is felt throughout the social, human, and natural sciences" (Blewitt 2008: 41). As mentioned above, it is important to analyze all contributing parts of the system to truly understand the holistic workings of the entity; both sustainability and ecology employ these models in their framework.

In relation to this study, political ecology perspectives can serve to illuminate issues in the socioecological environment that arise when urban environments are changing. Heynen and Swyngedouw (2003: 899) write that past literature concerning political ecology has done little to focus on the urban realm "as a process of socioecological *change*." Keil (2003: 729) suggests that, "Cities have been seen as the opposite of nature, ecology, and environment." However, he explains that "urbanization

is not merely a linear distancing of human life from nature, but rather a process by which new and more complex relationships of society and nature are created” (Keil 2003: 729).

Heynen and Swyngedouw (2003: 908) further explain that there is nothing unnatural about cities and other “produced environments”; they are simply “specific historical results of socioenvironmental processes...built out of natural resources through socially mediated natural processes”. These social productions of the urban environment enable the theoretical lens of political ecology to be used as a means to empirically study the “complex mix of political, economic, and social processes that shape, reshape, and reshape again urban landscapes” (Heynen & Swyngedouw 2003: 908, Lefebvre 1976).

Heynen and Swyngedouw (2003) suggest that these environmental questions of sustainability are inherently political questions. Political ecology seeks to identify “who gains from and who pays for, who benefits from and who suffers from particular processes of socio-environmental change” (Heynen & Swyngedouw 2003: 910). They explain that “The political-ecological examination of the urbanization process reveals an inherently contradictory nature of the process of socioenvironmental change and teases out the inevitable conflicts that infuse socioenvironmental change” (Heynen and Swyngedouw 2003: 911).

The processes of these changes are never neutral and they write that it is important to discover who is being enabled and who is being disabled through the socioenvironmental change (Heynen and Swyngedouw 2003). The consideration of this literature was an important part of this project’s hypothesis formulation which ultimately discovered conflict within Jackson’s Revitalization and established concerns related to sustainability.

Furthermore, they explain that political ecologists can “devise ideas/plans that speak to what or who needs to be sustained and how this can be done” (Heynen & Swyngedouw 2003: 911). Political ecology also provides an anthropological framework to analyze urban systems and holistically meet the goals of sustainable development. Escobar explains that, “An important goal of political ecology is to understand and participate in the ensemble of forces linking social change, environment, and development” (Escobar 1999: 15). Paired with sustainability literature that presents a methodology for measuring urban sustainability needs and awareness levels, political ecology can provide a multidimensional view to report on the urban sustainability of Jackson’s revitalization movement. This research in Jackson will provide a window to examine the various values and attitudes that are present between the developers, business community, and residents. As Pezzoli (2000) explains, “it is the concept of political ecology that best links ecological themes with social struggles and will help to build a radically different and better world” (Pezzoli 2000).

Political Ecologists seek to provide a body of knowledge and inform policymakers of conflicts that arise during development. Robbins explains that Political Ecology has a “normative understanding that there are likely better, less coercive, less exploitative, and more sustainable ways of doing things” (2004: 12) Using the theory of Political Ecology, this project has contributed to the body of knowledge that concerns Jackson’s revitalization and given participants a voice to identify and explain the conflicts and obstacles that they have experienced. Considering Robbins’ quote, the following review discusses the power of sustainable development to ultimately offer powerful solutions to problems that are inherent when environments are changing.

Sustainability and Sustainable Development

The industrial age of the 19th and 20th centuries facilitated new possibilities for production and development that had never been witnessed in human history (Power and Krizek 1996).

The seemingly endless possibilities presented by our ever-growing productive capabilities shaped the way entire generations viewed their relationship with the world. The sense of community and balance that existed in communities throughout the world was largely replaced, at least in much of Western society, by emphasis on growth and personal success [Power and Krizek 1996: 8]

This growth could also be seen in the explosion of the world population, which “was probably the most obvious factor limiting our ability to sustain our lifestyle” (Power and Krizek 1996: 8). While there was attention paid to these issues within the world economic and environmental communities, the concept of sustainability was not well disseminated until the report, *Our Common Future* (1987), was published by The United Nations’ World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (Power and Krizek 1996). This publication, commonly called The Brundtland Report, was the first body of work that brought the ideology of sustainable development to the forefront of political and economic thought (Power and Krizek 1996: 8).

The Brundtland Report defines sustainable development as, “Development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987: 43). While this definition seems broad, it was the first and most widely used definition that created a foundation for other sustainable development research (Power and Krizek 1996). Power and Krizek (1996: 10) write that

the Brundtland Report was the first “international policy document that drew on the connection between economic and environmental well-being” and explained that sustainable development is more than growth. The World Commission on Environment and Development went further to describe the connection as “a change in the content of growth, to make it less material- and energy- intensive and more equitable in its impact” (WCED 1987). The Brundtland Report’s (1987) authors called for “‘quality growth’ that considers such issues as resource depletion and social and economic equity in place of our historic focus on gross output” (Power & Krizek 1996: 10). Blewitt (2008:16) explains that the commission included the need for political systems with “citizen participation in decision making”, an economic system “that is able to generate surpluses... on a self-reliant and sustained basis”, “a social system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development”, and “a production system that respects obligations to preserve the ecological base for development.”

While the Brundtland Report was the first to give shape and definition to global sustainable development, it was not until the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) that a “blueprint for achieving global sustainability” was created (Power & Krizek 1996:11). This “action plan for sustainable development”, titled *Agenda 21*, called for a “participatory, community-based approach” to identify and address social, economic, and environmental issues (Blewitt 2008: 18). One of the key tenets of *Agenda 21* was to encourage these communities to create and implement their own “sustainability blueprints” relating to their own particular needs (Power & Krizek 1996: 11). Zachary (1995: 30) explains that,

It is evident that community involvement can be a key factor in developing tools for moving toward a more sustainable community. Without it, an indicators project¹ may not receive wide acceptance and neglect to identify issues that are important to the vision of sustainability for certain segments of the community.

These particular sustainability needs described above can be viewed as a dialogue of values within a community (Ratner 2004). Blewitt (2008: 23) suggests that defining sustainability as a dialogue of values may be the best way to seek to understand the “values, perspectives, and practices of sustainable development.” Research within individual communities can explore these values to determine attitudes relating to “political expression...economics and income sufficiency; social opportunity such as health and education; transparency and openness in government and social interaction; and security, understood in terms of welfare, food sufficiency and employment” (Blewitt 2008: 22). Blewitt (2008: 23) writes that, on any spatial scale, values will “come together and sometimes collide, but it is only through discussion, debate, critical reflection, learning and dialogue that agreement and action can and will emerge.”

In relation to sustainable development, each community will have concerns that are unique to that particular spatial scale (Power & Krizek 1996). The identification of these particular needs can serve as a platform to develop a sustainability program specifically suited to a community. “Determining and coordinating the specific tenets of a

¹ “Indicators projects include measures of a variety of social and political characteristics...[which] may be used to measure success or failure at becoming more sustainable, but may not carry with them specific plans of action concerning how to become more sustainable” (Portney 2003: 39).

local sustainability program is an endeavor that must be left to the individual community to work through” (Power & Krizek 1996: 27).

Power and Krizek (1996:28) write that one of the first steps in creating a sustainability program involves creating a “steering committee” with “leaders from a variety of backgrounds, including business owners, long-time community residents, city personnel, and representatives from various local associations.” They suggest that a sustainability program can be begun by, “taking an inventory of existing resources and reorienting them toward a sustainable agenda” (Power and Krizek 1996: 28).

Power and Krizek (1996) write that one of the most critical measurements in these communities is the public’s understanding of development and planning. They explain that, “If a community has already prescribed a future for itself, it can build upon that future, reinforcing it by using principals of sustainable development...Moreover, sustainable development provides an impetus for redirecting priorities and further integrating the elements of planning” (Power and Krizek 1996: 28). Using this prescribed plan, anthropological research can be beneficial in uncovering the sustainability needs of Jackson’s residents.

It is critical to note here that sustainable development is a normative ideology in the matter in which change is to be implemented. Harris explains that sustainable development has a “Resonance at a common-sense level” and considering criteria of sustainability, is a “powerful, easily grasped concept which can have wide applicability” (Harris 2000: 6). Finally, he suggests, “It may be easier to identify unsustainability than sustainability- and the identification of unsustainability can motivate us to take necessary policy action” (Harris 2000: 6) The identification and conversation of sustainability

criteria that was addressed in this study has ultimately created baseline data that can be presented to policy makers for consideration. This foundation of data also creates a platform for discussion among policy makers and citizens and allows for future measurement of the incorporation of sustainability initiatives within Jackson's revitalization.

Urban Systems

To begin to understand the resurgence that is occurring in our nation's urban cores, one must first look back to recognize the causes for decline. In the post-War World II era, urban areas fell victim to significant decline due to a range of factors including decay of economic base, population abandonment, and structural deterioration (Moe and Wilkie 1997). Urban cores at the turn of the 20th century were an ever-expanding system of opportunity and diversity driven by high population density within the metropolitan locality (Wirth 1938). The Industrial Revolution of the previous century created prospects of employment and offered an alternative to traditional, rural, agricultural-based lifestyles (Burgess and Park 1925). Paired with high immigration levels, the populations of inner cities were expanding exponentially to include a rich variety of ethnic backgrounds. These urban systems provided heterogeneity for inhabitants and were "viewed as made up of ecological niches occupied by human groups [communities] in a series of concentric rings surrounding a central core" (Low 1996: 385). The active interaction of these human ecological niches in and immediately adjacent to an urban core was dynamic and created strengths, but also tensions, where these communities overlapped (Odum 1993; Steiner 2004). Central business districts were once considered a hub for commerce, entertainment, transportation, and government (Moe & Wilkie 1997). Before the advent

of the auto-dependent culture, public transportation and centralized cities provided interaction between different ethnicities and socio-economic classes (Teaford 2006).

After World War II, the frugality of the Depression and World War II era began to give way to elevated consumption. This was a period of newfound economic success that provided a means to affordable low-cost mortgages and automobiles (Beauregard 2006). Manuel Pastor Jr., the director for the Center of Justice at University of California, Santa Cruz explained, “Certain federal policies, such as the 1956 Interstate Highway Act and Federal Housing Authority and the Veterans Administration home mortgage loan program, were key contributors to metropolitan decentralization, or what by the 1970s was being called urban sprawl” (Pastor Jr. 2001). The 1956 Highway Act was envisioned as a way to alleviate congestion and allow easier access to metropolitan centers (Moe and Wilkie 1997). However, Moe and Wilkie (1997) suggest that the highways turned the urban centers inside out. Many of the new mortgage programs were contingent on the location of the property. These mortgage provisions required that the properties not be located in proximity to decayed or blighted structures or African Americans. Each factor would affect future property values (Moe and Wilkie 1997), and as a response, developers built further and further from city centers. Paired with the new affordability of the automobile, these new suburbs pulled residents increasingly away from downtowns and streetcar neighborhoods. “Lewis Mumford, a founder of the Regional Planning Association of America, said the nation was witnessing the fourth great migration of its history” (Moe and Wilkie 1997: 46).

Political scientist Ronald Hayduk lists three broad reasons for urban decline: deindustrialization, failure of public policy, and sociocultural factors such as race and

class (Hayduk 2003). Deindustrialization due to increased inner-city taxes and globalization accounted for the disappearance of entry-level jobs that had customarily lifted inhabitants from poverty. The vanishing of these jobs further segregated minority and impoverished residents and prevented their interaction in policy issues involving such matters as crime, infrastructure, and education (Hayduk 2003). As urban African American populations increased in inner-city neighborhoods, “it did not result in a marked increase in stable, racially integrated neighborhoods” (Teaford 2006: 139). When African Americans moved in, whites moved out. Cultural anthropologist Setha Low describes this phenomenon as a socio-economic transition where “each group replaces the next in an outward spiral” (Low 1996: 385). This outward spiral pushes development further and further from the core of the urban system, abandoning the once-thriving culture and economy of historic neighborhoods, and in the process disturbing surrounding natural ecosystems.

Grogan and Proscio (2000) describe an ordered, four step process of inner-city demise. The first step is middle class flight that satisfies the “consumer(s) taste for detached houses, larger lots, and... homogeneous racial and ethnic environments” (Grogan and Proscio 2000: 35). Secondly, as the populations flee urban areas, so do the industries that seek the “highest skilled” labor (Grogan and Proscio 2000: 37). As mentioned earlier, this further estranges the inner-city workers who would most likely depend on those jobs to move or rebuild. The third wave of demise is described as the outward creeping of blight. Here the outward spiral is seen again, further abandoning the urban cores and moving into “marginal communities between the slums and the suburbs” (Grogan and Proscio 2000: 40). The final stage, which Grogan and Proscio call the

deadliest, is social implosion. The isolation of the innermost urban communities leads to “social disintegration and deepening demands on public services from a city that no longer has the tax base to provide any of these services effectively” (Grogan and Proscio 2000: 42).

The above model for inner-city demise can be directly applied to Jackson. “According to the 2000 Census, Jackson has a population of 184,256. This is a drop of over 12,000, or 7% from the 1990 U.S. Census count of 196,637, continuing a 20 year trend of overall population decline in Jackson” (Jackson Comprehensive Plan 2004: 2-2). The highest population numbers in Jackson were recorded in 1980, when the residents totaled 202,893. The release of the 2010 Census placed Jackson’s population currently at 173,514, which again reinforces the trend with an overall loss of 29,379 residents over a 30 year period.

The change in Jackson’s racial composition has illustrated that white residents are leaving the city in larger numbers, while the black population within the city has continued to rise. The Jackson Comprehensive Plan (2004: 2-3), which is a framework for future development in Jackson, notes that, “Between 1990 and 2000 the black population grew by over 21,000 residents. Over the same ten year period the number of white residents decreased by almost 35,000.”

Along with this population decrease, the city’s industry has also suffered from abandonment. As Grogan and Proscio (2000) write, new technologies in manufacturing have created a need for higher skilled workers who have moved to outer-lying areas of cities. The Comprehensive Plan (2004: 2-14) states that Jackson is “not an exception to this pattern, as the current land use patterns show pockets of industrial uses locating

farther from the center of the city.” While these industrial facilities still remain along transportation corridors, there is a trend that shows the locations of these businesses on the edge of the city.

The third stage of inner city demise is the abandonment of the core of the city, which perpetuates the further decline in inner-city neighborhoods and the downtown area (Grogan & Proscio 2000). Within Jackson,

Areas Southwest, West, and Northwest of the central business district have seen a lot-by-lot vacancy scattered in widespread areas. Within these areas properties remain undeveloped or have declined to the extent they have become vacant while the suburban areas of the city and surrounding communities continue to be developed [Jackson Comprehensive Plan 2004: 2-15]

All of the above factors have led towards Grogan and Proscio’s (2000) last stage of inner city demise, social implosion.

While social implosion is a bleak way to describe the last stage of urban abandonment, a more descriptive way to address this stage is to look at it as a dynamic process (from abandonment to revival) and not as a static outcome of urban decay. Grogan and Proscio (2000) explain that there have been positive trends established that address issues concerning social implosion. They note that grassroots organizations can do much to combat social issues within revitalizing communities. These organizations cannot simply build around longstanding social issues; they ultimately make problems more visible, which demands more focus be placed on these problems. Grogan and Proscio (2000) also note that these grassroots groups have fostered community organization and citizen policing that serve to create awareness and address crime.

The components of the new policing strategy in these cities are strong community cooperation, relentless tracking of crime patterns, and less tolerance of the so-called ‘quality of life’ crimes that fray the social fabric. They are painstakingly local, responsive to neighborhood patterns and needs, and accountable for outcomes on a level of detail practically unheard-of in public management.

[Grogan & Proscio 2000: 51]

As Gwynne (2003) describes, the role of the cultural anthropologist is to understand and address social concerns such as education, perceived identity, community involvement, and race relations. Research in Jackson identified examples of these grassroots groups that are dedicated to community organization and crime prevention.

While Jackson’s revitalization is in its beginning stages, the objective of this research was to identify the unique attitudes, beliefs and needs among Jackson’s residents, as well as whether or not participants felt these concerns are being considered and addressed by developers and civic organizations. The identification of these concerns can provide a foundation for the inclusion of a sustainable development plan to complement Jackson’s future revitalization efforts.

Urban Anthropology

As previously mentioned, Low (1999: 1) states that urban settings have been “undertheorized within anthropology.” She suggests that, while anthropological research has contributed to such topics as globalization, poverty, racism, and planning, it is worth inquiry into why anthropology has not had a stronger voice within urban studies (Low 1999).

Theorizing the city...is a necessary part of understanding the postindustrial/advanced, capitalist/postmodern world in which we live. The city as a site of everyday practice provides valuable insights into the linkages of these macro processes with the texture and fabric of human experience. The city is not the only place where these linkages can be studied, but the intensification of these processes- as well as their human outcomes-occurs and can be understood best in cities. [Low 1999:2]

Low further explains that research within the urban environment can demonstrate the “focus of study of cultural and sociopolitical manifestations of urban lives and everyday practices illustrated by urban ethnographies” (Low 1999: 2). The following review will explore the literature in order to lend perspective to the benefits of anthropological research within the urban setting.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Park, Burgess, and McKenzie devoted much attention to sociological research within metropolitan areas (Low 1999). They were key figures within the “Chicago School” of sociology and were primarily interested in the “comprehensive schemes of social change and social planning” (Janowitz 1967: vii). Park (1925) writes that the city is much more than the physical features, which he suggests are merely artifacts. He explains that, “the city is, rather a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition” (Park 1925: I). Park’s writings establish legitimacy for the scientific study of the human environment in the city and focus on such elements as local and industrial organization, social control, and temperament in the urban setting (Park 1925).

Burgess' interests focus on growth within the city as a topic that warrants empirical study (Burgess 1925). He explains that the urban environment contains a very unique atmosphere worthy of study considering its diversity of age groups, occupations, nationalities and how these categories ultimately affect social structure (Burgess 1925). Burgess (1925) explains that a typical characteristic of cities is high-density population levels, which create a need for expansion outward. He describes the process of expansion as a series of concentric circles that begin in the downtown area and move outward. The central downtown area is a hub for cultural, economic, and political aspects of the urban environment; as the circles move outward, the socio-economic statuses of individuals rise. Burgess mentions that the outermost ring is called the "commuters' zone-suburban areas, or satellite cities- within a thirty to sixty-minute ride of the central business district" (1925: 50). He states that the outward expansion of these zones occurs when an inner zone moves into a bordering outer zone. He explains that, within plant ecology, this process is called succession; this statement is the first mention of ecology within Park and Burgess' work and sets the stage to address the city as a human socioecological system (Burgess 1925).

Following Burgess' analysis of urban zones, McKenzie (1925) expands on the idea of human ecology as way to explain urban phenomena in holistic terms. He uses an early definition, which explains ecology as "that phase of biology that considers plants and animals as they exist in nature, and studies their interdependence, and the relation of each kind and individual to its environment" (Encyclopedia Americana 1923: 555). However, he explains that the previous definition cannot fully describe the idea of human ecology. McKenzie defines human ecology as:

The study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment. Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position, in both time and space, upon human institutions and human behavior [Mc Kenzie 1925: 64].

He suggests that the spatial relationships are created by selection and competition; as these relationships change, “the physical basis of social relations is altered, thereby producing social and political problems” (Mc Kenzie 1925:64). Changes in relation to urban areas that Mc Kenzie notes are new industries and the advent of the automobile and how they have affected the “redistribution of our population” (1925: 70). He suggests that these sudden population migrations can create growth far beyond the capacity of an area and cause a crisis situation within that particular area (1925). Through the investigation of urban settings through a human ecological lens, Park, Burgess, and Mc Kenzie were some of the first to employ ethnographic research methods in an attempt to identify and explain the adaptations and relationships of urban inhabitants to their environments (Janowitz 1967). I elaborate on their works due the importance of the theoretical foundation they provided for the empirical analysis of the urban environment.

The next major influence in this field began in the 1950s, when anthropologists (Marris 1962,1995; Willmott & Young 1957) began a series of community studies that “theorized the city as made up of a series of urban ‘communities,’ based on extended family relations and kinship networks” (Low 1999: 2). The Institute of Community Studies’ program of policy and planning research focused on “slum clearance” and housing renewal in Lagos, Nigeria and London, England (Low 1999: 2). Other research in this era included Stack (1975, 1996), who looked into family connections and

household relationships among the urban poor (Low 1999). Low (1999: 3) explains that, since the early days of the Chicago School, urban “network studies have become more elaborate and quantitative but they still provide an important methodological strategy and theoretical model for urban researchers.”

Another topic of research concerns urban renewal in the aftermath of natural disasters (Greenbaum 1993; Oliver-Smith 1986). These studies provided a theoretical view that focused on how the psychological needs of residents are often overlooked during redevelopment processes (Low 1999). Low (1999) explains that, “anthropological analyses of the conflicts that emerge among government institutions, planning experts, and local communities set the stage for contemporary poststructuralist studies” (1999: 3). Using a holistic and comprehensive approach, which anthropology and ecology both stake great claim in, can provide a multidimensional view that considers how the many parts of a system function within renewal efforts (Beatley & Manning 1997). Other topics of research within this spectrum include urban land rights (Holston 1996), and the use of planning and architecture as elements of social control (Mc Donogh 1991, Plotnicov 1987). These topics all concern the linkage of power and knowledge in relationship to urban phenomena (Low 1999).

Low (1999) considers the most important developmental transition in urban anthropological theory to be the introduction of political economy, which occurred in the 1980s. This paradigm was employed to “examine the impact of markets, social inequalities, and political conflicts and to analyze forms of social and cultural disintegration associated with the incorporation of local communities into a local world system” (Paulson et al. 2005:23). Paulson (2005) describes political economy as a lens

that allows one to analyze the organizational elements that work together to create an urban realm. Anthropologists such as Mullings (1987) and Ong (1987) also have used political economy to analyze the urban environment. Low explains that “by examining the social effects of industrial capitalism and deconstructing the confusion of urbanism with inequality and alienation”, political economy has been one beneficial theoretical lens for analyzing the urban setting (Low 1999: 4).

One of the most current theoretical developments in urban anthropology is Jacobs’ (1993) “representational city.” Low (1999: 4) writes that Jacob’s theory explains that contemporary urban environments “require new forms of analysis in which the urban built environment becomes a discursive realm.” Low (1999) writes that the diversity of research inquiry has created this new framework for urban analysis that uses “metaphors and images” in an attempt to classify an often complex and elusive subject (Low 1999: 5). She explains that these images “are meant to be heuristic and illuminating, neither all-encompassing nor mutually exclusive” (Low 1999: 5). These analyses are intended to serve as a guide to the “diverse ideas, concepts and frameworks” that should be considered within urban anthropology (Low 1999: 5).

It is critical to note that the following images of Jacobs (1993), Low (1999), and others that are included in this review are not intended to scientifically frame phenomena within the urban setting. As mentioned above, Portney (2003) suggests that there has been little hypothesis-driven research to examine sustainability within cities. He writes that there should be a significant increase in empirical research that can help to answer a series of questions enhancing “our understanding of what works and doesn’t work, of what people will accept and won’t accept, and what conditions contribute to more

effective programs and initiatives” (2003:xi). The images below are just that, images, and intended to illustrate what has previously been used to conceptualize the urban setting through anthropological inquiry.

Low has explored many images and categorizes them under topics including social relations, economic processes, architecture and urban planning, and culture of the city (Low 1999). Under the topic of social relations, the first metaphor that Low (1999: 7) explores is “The Divided City.” She explains that this image invokes such ideas as the Berlin Wall, but goes further to consider division on race and class and images of “uptown and downtown, upscale and ghetto” (Low 1999: 7). To complement Keith and Cross’s (1993) image of the city as a playground, Low writes that the divided city conjures images of the city as a “white cultural playground” juxtaposed with the “abandoned black residential areas” (Low 1999: 7). This topic has been researched in many U.S. cities and often focuses on race and racism within these urban areas. In relation to this topic, Williams (1992) writes about gentrification in the urban setting and its disproportionate effect on the black populations within these areas. Low explains that these are examples of discriminatory practices that are used to segregate and “insulate whites from blacks” (Low 1999: 7).

Another social image is “The Contested City”, which focuses on “urban struggle and resistance” (Low 1999: 10). Rotenburg (1993) has undertaken research that centers on the differences in urban residents’ perception of their metropolitan environment. He explains that, “Metropolitan knowledge is a subset of the knowledge people gain from their lived experience and value socialization” (Mc Donough & Rotenburg 1993: xii). Low further explains that this knowledge is information “that city dwellers share because

they live in dense and specialized concentrations of people, information, built form, and economic activity” (Low 1999: 11). Low (1999) writes that Rotenburg’s(1995) research identifies this knowledge as ever-present in the urban landscape and that the city forms a “spatial template of urban symbolic contestation” (Low 1999: 11). Low writes that contestation in these urban environments often arises regarding issues that concern “race, class, gender, and ethnic politics” (Low 1999:11).

Jackson fits very well into the image of “The Contested City.” Beginning in the 1970s, Jackson began campaigns to redevelop its downtown, which had begun to decline in the 1960s (Brinson 1977). However, Jackson lacked a high population density in the core of the city as residents began their exodus to surrounding suburbs. While the streets of Jackson bustled during the business day, the city became a ghost town at dark. In an interview with the Jackson Community Design Center director, Jassen Callender explained that the division can be seen between those who live in Jackson and pay city taxes and those who live in the suburbs on the fringe, yet still freely use the aging infrastructure on a daily basis (Callender 2011).

These two metaphors can offer perspective into the diverse experiences of the urban realm; however, as an addition to these themes, I suggest that the image of the sustainable city should be considered to identify if sustainable development is being incorporated into Jackson’s 21st century urban experience. The Analysis chapter below will briefly discuss how these images can be applied to Jackson by using the collected data. However, these images are included to offer a tool for conceptualization only. The substance of this research relates to the inclusion of sustainable measures of development within revitalization.

CHAPTER IV

LOCAL SUSTAINABILITY

Power and Krizek (1996: 27) write that, “Each community has unique characteristics that influence its progress on sustainability.” The identification of these characteristics should be comprehensive enough to “establish a foundation for starting a local sustainability program” (Power and Krizek 1996: 27). Power and Krizek (1996) note that a community’s understanding of development and planning issues is perhaps the most crucial element concerning sustainability. They explain that

sustainable development builds upon, and takes advantage of, a community’s understanding of planning exercises... For example, if a community already has adopted a comprehensive plan, the major goals and policies of that plan can become the rallying points for a strategy now oriented toward sustainable development... Moreover, sustainable development provides an impetus for redirecting priorities and further integrating the elements of planning.” [Power & Krizek 1996: 28]

This research identified the community’s needs and desires concerning revitalization of Jackson and built upon the vision of Jackson’s Comprehensive Plan to create a foundation and momentum concerning sustainable development. The goal of this research was not to develop measurements of how sustainable Jackson is presently, but to use sustainability measures to identify what Jacksonians are concerned about

regarding the revitalization efforts (Portney 2003). This research can be applied to the creation of an official sustainability plan in Jackson, which would include indicators that measure Jackson's progress in relation to sustainability.

CHAPTER V

METHODS

Preliminary Research

Ethnographic research is primarily based on observation and participation. In order to gather preliminary research information on Jackson's revitalization efforts, I immersed myself into the downtown community in Jackson to better understand the revitalization movement and to establish a foundation for my research. At that point, I met with developers, academics, residents and business owners. This was an exploratory process that allowed me personally to seek to understand what is happening in Jackson, and who is participating. It was important for me to meet informally with those on the ground level and establish relationships, so that when the time came to perform my research, I would be familiar with the revitalization movement and have potential key-informants in mind.

Preliminary research formed the basis of the ethnographic research to be discussed in the following sections. In this research, I conducted 30 semi-structured interviews with key informants in the downtown and surrounding communities that allowed me to gather quantifiable demographic data, as well as qualitative data, in a single interview. The use of the semi-structured interview method allowed for an open-ended format that delved into a participant's personal experiences in Jackson and their

unique concerns about the revitalization movement. I used an interview guide (see Appendix A) as a platform for the interview sessions.

The three case categories of participants in the interviews were developers, business owners, and residents. Each of these case categories contained subjects that hold varying degrees of concern surrounding four elements of sustainable development, including political, economic, cultural, and environmental. The identification of these issues allowed me to discover what positive steps Jackson has taken in revitalization and which issues need to be pursued more thoroughly. Using a uniform interview guide allowed for comparative analysis and correlations from the collected data. I hypothesized that the different participants in the movement will have differing backgrounds, concerns, and awareness levels related to sustainable development and revitalization efforts in Jackson.

Sampling

For this research, I used non-probability purposive sampling, which allowed me to interview participants who I found through suggestion or networking (Bernard 2006). This method allowed me to conduct more intensive interviews that included demographic questions as well as narrative description of the participant's involvement in Jackson. Preliminary research was a crucial portion of this project that helped me to discover potential participants for interviews. This portion of the research process allowed me to divide potential participants into groups that were playing a significant role in revitalization. Ultimately, I found that developers, business owners, and residents were the most appropriate way to separate participants; these groups became the case categories mentioned throughout. Using a snowball approach, I continued to contact

more participants as my research progressed. I collected interviews from seven participants in development, 10 business owners, and 13 residents to reach my targeted sample size of 30. Using key-informants for this ethnographic research allowed for critical-case sampling (Bernard 2006).

Interview Process

Interviews began with a brief description of the research, its intended purpose and potential benefits, and the expected duration of the research. I then read the participant the informed consent statement. The informed consent statement guaranteed confidentiality to the participant and provided relevant contact information about the researcher. After the participant had been read and was familiar with the informed consent statement, he/she was asked to sign the document if he/she chose to continue with the interview process.

Participants chose the location of the interview in order to make the process as convenient for them as possible. All participants were asked for their permission to record interviews. I recorded the interviews of all those who agreed (100%) and verbally noted the case number of the interviewee, the date, and the location of the interview. The first set of questions gathered the same demographic data on all participants including gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, and socio-economic data (education level, occupation, and income range). During analysis, the demographic information allowed me to use statistics to compare data concerning perspectives on sustainability across the entire sample group. Interviews also included questions concerning the participant's experiences in Jackson and revitalization efforts. If a participant was a Jackson native, I asked him/her to describe how Jackson has changed over time. To measure emotional

connection to Jackson, I employed a 5-part scale ranging from no connection to strong connection. If the participant reported a strong connection, I asked him/her to elaborate on that particular connection.

I continued focusing on revival efforts by asking what residents have heard about revitalization in Jackson, whether they think the efforts will be successful, and what they personally think is important in the renewal. The last portion of the interview was a series of rating and listing questions that have been modified from elements of the city of Chattanooga's sustainability initiatives (City of Chattanooga 1993). As mentioned above, sustainability can be difficult to define. Borrowing the established model from Chattanooga helped to retain consistency with already an established model and implement methods that were successful in a different setting.

The responses to these rating and listing questions were scaled from 0-4. [(0) I strongly disagree, (1) I disagree, (2) I am neutral, (3) I agree, (4) I strongly agree]. This scale was associated with questions surrounding participants' beliefs, concerns, attitudes and positions concerning four elements of sustainable development that include economic, political/governmental, socio-cultural, and environmental criteria. After the participants had given their answer to each question, they were asked to explain, in an open-ended format, any information relative to their answer. Using this open-ended format allowed the participants to elaborate on the scaled questions if they so chose. The above data were relevant to my research because they allowed me to analyze particular concerns of participants within certain geographic areas and demographic backgrounds within Jackson. Gathering these data provided a foundation to begin incorporating a

dialogue for sustainability initiatives into the City of Jackson's future planning process.

The following chapter on analysis will present the findings of this study.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This data analysis chapter will break down demographic characteristics of the participants, discuss statistical tests that were used to analyze collected data, systematically cover the study's research findings as related to the hypothesis, and methodically cover the four main criteria of sustainable development, economic, political, sociocultural, and environmental aspects, as they relate to Jacksonians' revitalization experiences.

The hypothesis of this research project was that developers, business owners, and residents working or living in and around downtown Jackson would report differing desires, positions, and values concerning the four elements of sustainable development. After the data collection period and subsequent statistical analysis, the data suggest that the hypothesis cannot be supported and must be refuted. To analyze the proposed differences among and between the residents, business owners, and developers, statistical tests including one-way ANOVAs and independent t-tests were performed to compare means of the various categories of data. Surprisingly, there were many values, attitudes, and concerns that were shared within the sample set. However, it is important to note that the different understandings within the qualitative data are where the substance of this research project can be found. The qualitative data produces a much more complicated

picture of revitalization values among Jacksonians, which will be addressed in detail below.

In this section, I also analyze and categorize the recurring themes in the qualitative data using a grounded-theory approach to “identify categories and concepts that emerge from the text; and link the concepts into substantive and formal theories” (Bernard 2006: 492).

Participant Sample

The ethnographic fieldwork portion of this project yielded 30 interviews that included seven developers (23.3%), 10 business owners (33.3%), and 13 residents (43.4%) of the Jackson metro area. The interview lengths ranged from 15 to 120 minutes; the average interview length was 46 minutes. Demographic information was collected in the beginning of the interview. Twenty one (70%) of the respondents were male and nine (30%) were female. The average age of the participants was 46 years and the average education level in years was 16.93. This number suggested that the average participant had some education past the post-secondary level.

Quantitative Analysis

All data were coded in SPSS 19.0. Descriptive statistics were then calculated in order to analyze the demographic and categorical data on the participants in the research sample. The descriptive statistics also allowed me to compare the scaled questions in the interview to demographics. This analysis illustrated which attitudes, beliefs, and concerns concerning Jackson’s revitalization were potentially unique or shared within certain demographic categories of the research sample.

The analysis tools that were used in this case study were one-way ANOVAs and independent-samples t tests, which allowed the comparison of mean differences of various categories of participants as they related to the scaled interview questions². These tests produced results that suggested that there were no significance levels close to or lower than .05 between or within any particular groups of developers, business owners, and residents, or by gender, ethnicity, age, or education level as they related to the survey responses (See Appendix B for SPSS output). Post hoc tests including Bonferroni and Tukey HSD were also performed with the ANOVA analyses to reconfirm the homogeneity of variances within the means. These analyses showed that concerns, attitudes, and beliefs relating to Jackson's revitalization were shared cross-categorically and that there was no statistical significance to suggest that values could be attributed to any particular category of participant. These results suggest that the hypothesis for this project must be refuted.

Qualitative Analyses

Although the hypothesis was refuted according to the quantitative data analysis, there were different understandings within the qualitative data where the substance of this research project can ultimately be found. The qualitative data produce a much more complicated picture of revitalization values among Jacksonians. These findings will be addressed in detail below.

² ANOVA analyses were used to compare the three case categories to scaled data and independent-sample t tests were used when a two category comparison such as gender was used.

The first step was to transcribe all interviews; next, the text was analyzed to identify categories and recurring themes within the interviews. After the relationships were established, the themes were coded and exemplars were chosen to add substance to a particular category of concern (Bernard 2006). Many of the participants did have similar responses on the scaled survey questions; however, the open-ended explanations clarified why interviewees answered the way that they did and established themes considering sustainability in Jackson's revitalization. These open-ended responses often showed a divergence of perspectives and added depth to the scaled questions from the survey. The following analysis will use primarily qualitative measures to methodically summarize and analyze the collected data and illustrate the many facets of socio-environmental change related to Jackson's revitalization movement.

Relationships to Jackson

After collecting the participants' demographics, the "Jackson Information" portion of the interviews contained a set of questions that collected information on the participants' relationships and connections to Jackson, as well as broad questions about revitalization (see appendix A). These open-ended questions were intended to identify interviewees' immediate thoughts on revitalization before engaging with fixed-choice questions on more specific topics such as economy, politics, culture, and the environment (see appendix A). Regarding the first question, "Do you live in the Jackson City limits?," 83.3% (n=25) participants answered yes while 16.7% (n=5) replied no. However, these five participants worked in Jackson but lived in an adjacent municipality. The next question, "How many years have you lived or worked in Jackson?," yielded an average of 25 years. The shortest time in Jackson was one year, and the longest was 56 years.

When asked, “How has Jackson changed during your time here, for better or worse?,” a slight majority of participants responded that things were better (53.3%, n=16). Thirty percent (n=9) of interviewees replied that Jackson was worse and 16.7% (n=5) were neutral. However, qualitative evidence demonstrates a wider range of answers to describe how things have changed. Within this range there were recurring themes that included topics such as the overall decline of Jackson and race relations. The former echoes the national trend of urban decline in the late 20th century mentioned in the above literature review

One developer’s depiction of Jackson’s decline correlates well with the descriptions of urban decline in the literature (Moe & Wilkie 1997). In response to the question, “How has Jackson changed during your time here?” He explained that,

There was a housing boom [1960-1970s] and the interest rates and the housing shortages and the prices spiked and that also shifted folks to the suburbs. The building costs were greater here in the city of Jackson because of the much stricter building codes. People could go to rural Rankin, Hinds, and Madison Co., and most of it was rural back then and you could have substantially cheaper construction. So you had a lot of those factors.

And of course you had the White flight in the 70s as well, and through the 80s. That’s one of those things that just fed on itself. The more White flight you had the more White flight you had. There is a tipping point in the schools; once you get below 20% White in any school, as you probably know, it goes from 20% to 0%. Here we are, fast-forward 40 years, we have gone through the suburban

sprawl, the White flight, and then the Black middle class flight and I think that we have bottomed out.

The business community has moved a lot of its focus and obviously followed the traffic. The growth of the Renaissance [new Madison County Mall] has been very hurtful and I think very harmful to the economic health of the city of Jackson. It's unfortunate, but it's life.

Two other interviewees involved in development also mentioned that Jackson's central city decline could be, in part, attributed to retail exodus from Main St., then to shopping malls on the periphery of inner-city areas, and finally to surrounding counties. One developer explained:

Jackson went through a lot of the same things that other urban areas went through really through the mid-late 70s. This is when you really started to see an exodus from the downtown core. In Jackson, it happened first with what is now the Medical mall and then Metrocenter mall so that was the migration that started at that particular point. I think, like a lot of communities that experienced that for the first time, they really didn't know how to react. I think that is what started the decline as far as the downtown is concerned.

Another developer provided a similar statement that described the economic exodus.

A lot of the restaurants moved out, businesses, they built Metrocenter. That was huge, then Metrocenter declined, then they built Northpark, and now Northpark is on the decline.... ..It's been a ripple. Jackson central city decline, then

Metrocenter, then Northpark and South of County Line Rd. decline and now it's going farther out.

One African American business owner on Farish St., a historically African American downtown neighborhood that is going through revitalization as an entertainment district, explained that the community was once a self-sustaining neighborhood. He elaborated on the decline that he witnessed.

I saw less money, I saw less entrepreneurship; I saw a lot of business leaving. My mother had four businesses herself. As time goes on, I saw the area that she loved, Farish Street, start to deteriorate from approximately 1983. Especially driving in the so called "black" areas. This was like a black Harlem. The reason that I say that is because, it met your needs for everything... We had a Black medical doctor on the street, called Dr. Green... we had a pharmaceutical company, Dr. Harmon, a drug store on the right hand side. We had an eye doctor, we had civil rights workers, we had Medgar Evers' office down the street. We had a lot of entertainers coming down here, Elmore James, Little Milton. We had a hotel right on Church Street, that's about three blocks down, a black motel, the Summers. You know a lot of things happened in this area. As I saw it deteriorate, I said man, what happened?

Another developer explained the larger regional picture of Jackson's failure to grow sustainably by noting,

Everyone looked at Jackson, and while the MSA [Metropolitan Statistical Area] grew, the city shrank. The MSA didn't grow as fast as other regional MSAs that are healthy. The reason is because the center city isn't doing as well because there

hasn't been that much thought about creating a sustainable region built around a sustainable city that addresses culture, environment, economics, and that whole way of approaching the social system. As long as you have those disparate ways of looking at it, then it is difficult to really move the ball forward.

Another important topic that emerged in the interviews was that, as Jackson's inner-city declined, there was a parallel positive change in race relations within the city. In particular, two African American business owners noted this and one explained that within the City of Jackson, race relations were better than in the surrounding areas that included the often racially separated suburbs.

I've seen some changes in that for the better; within the immediate Jackson proper I should say. That's been good. There is definitely some room for improvement for the greater Jackson area. There is still very much a separation of community. As you drive outside of Jackson proper, it is still very separated...

One white developer also commented that residents of suburbs surrounding Jackson have different racial relationships than residents within the city of Jackson. He suggested that it was due to a "A race based hangover," and went on to explain:

Most of the folks in Madison and Rankin County don't have many [black friends], most of the white folks, don't have that many African American social friends, certainly at work, but they don't go to church with, that's the most segregated hour of the week. It's horrible, but it's true. They don't socialize that much with them. In Jackson it really is different. It has transformed the people.

Most of the white folks that are still here [in Jackson] are pretty color blind. Most of the black folks that are here are colorblind. The older black folks are still a problem; some of the older white folks are still problems.

Finally, an African American developer whose group is primarily focused on sustainable development suggested that, by concentrating on mixed-use development, they were trying to erase the history of racial tensions “that Jackson has. This is not saying that people are racist; this is the history that they have etched in their mind. So this is getting people to think differently.” The topic of race relations in Jackson will be fully explored in the sociocultural portion of the analysis below. However, it is important to mention race relationships here, considering the participants’ chosen responses related to the question concerning Jackson’s change for the better in past years.

The next survey question asked was, “How would you describe your sense of connection to the city of Jackson?” It was critical to ask this question to obtain a measurement of respondents’ attachments to and involvements with the City of Jackson. This question used a Likert Scale as follows: no connection (0) little connection, (1), somewhat connected (2), good connection (3), and strong connection (4). After the interviewees responded, they were asked to explain their answer. After analysis, the participants’ responses were as follows: 73.3% (n=22) of respondents reported a strong connection, 10% (n=3) reported a good connection, 6.7% (n=2) were somewhat connected, 6.7% (n=2) reported little connection, and 3.3% (n=1) reported no connection. The mean for the overall sample population was 3.43, which suggested that on average, participants had a good connection to the city of Jackson.

The participants were then asked, “What are you hearing about revitalization efforts?” in an effort to let them list what they knew of revitalization. Many participants responded with short answers that included mention of Farish St. Entertainment District, the Hotel King Edward Restoration, or a potential new Jackson Convention Center. However, three individuals had similar views on what they knew or had heard about revitalization. They all explained that they were constantly hearing about the economic aspect of revitalization, as well as about the lack of funding and financial investment since the economic downturn of 2008. Interviewees also indicated that the movement from a top-down approach to a more sustainable and grassroots movement is creating the most noticeable success and energy.

A law firm owner considered the progress of revitalization efforts at the time of the interview, but explained, “it just takes money... it is all about people wanting to do something good, but there is also money involved; people have got to turn a profit.” Another art studio and gallery owner remarked that he has heard of investors running out of funding for projects underway and forthcoming. He mentioned that one private developer who has contributed to revitalization thus far “has clearly extended himself and that the fear is that we are hitting the point in the economy where the guys with the cash have already put in and maybe we need some other people to pony up some money to invest in the city.” Finally, a community organizer, artist, and resident very poignantly suggested that he thought that the economic downturn has changed the momentum of revitalization, from the above mentioned top-down approach to a bottom-up approach. He explained that community organizations and non-profit organizations were effectively

investing smaller amounts of funding into programs they thought had potential for sustainable development. He explained:

There are two things going on... The large-scale plans that the private sector had, the economic collapse totally destroyed it. I would say the Old Capitol Green² is the main example of that.

Honestly, I think that it will more closely reflect the aspirations of the communities. What is happening, for example, the bike trail that is going to connect the Farmer's market up through Belhaven [neighborhood adjacent to downtown]. Those smaller scale things that have energy behind them that does not require an employee to get excited about it. The Jackson bike advocates, over 100 people showed up for the monthly rides. That's going to drive the city to do small-scale changes like adding bike lanes to the streets, which is not expensive, but can really be a tremendous change that puts a face on what your community is all about. It actually attracts businesses and economic development.

The next survey question asked participants, "Do you think that revitalization efforts will be successful?" This particular question was an open-ended question where the participants were asked to explain their answers. Every participant replied, yes in some form or fashion; however, many of the respondents had conditional elements of how revitalization would have to be handled to be successful. The most common conditions were counted and divided by the sample size to gather frequency of response. The most consistent answer from 26.7% (n=8) of respondents was that revitalization would be successful, but it would simply take time. Next, 16.7% (n=5) replied that the

key to successful revitalization was density in and around the downtown area. As one developer explained,

There has to be more residents downtown. They [planners and developers] were on track and then the economy hit and they have a lot of projects that are sort of on hold because of financing. You have 340 Apartments downtown, and really with the projects on the board that are stuck, there are about another 1500. Once you get to that level of residents downtown, you will then get the retail that will come back in to serve those residents. The restaurants, the nightclubs, the bookstores, etc. that feed that growth. That is when you start to have the synergy.

Another 16.7% (n=5) of participants responded that success would be dependent on a citizen mentality of participation, positive identity, and demographic diversity. One resident explained that,

...if the revitalization efforts as a whole, can bring in more voices and more of a variety, whether if that's race, income, and age. If they can really bring in different opinions and voices and figure out how to adapt the good that is happening in other cities, and adapt it to Jackson, then yes, I think that it can be successful.

The final reoccurring theme considering success in revitalization was that a new sense of leadership in Jackson that would improve public and private partnerships would be a driving factor in revitalization (13% of participants n=4). The remaining participants (29%, n=30) explained their views in a variety of simple statements such as: they hoped revitalization would be successful, that it had to be successful, or simply that it would be successful.

For the last question included in the relationship to Jackson portion of the survey, participants were asked, “What would you personally like to see in a renewal of downtown?” Considering this question, the frequency of answers given will be listed due to the fact that many of the participants had multiple needs when it came to renewal efforts in Jackson. Thirty three percent of participants (n=10) responded that they wanted more retail downtown. Many of these responses centered on basic needs where residents needed grocery stores, pharmacies, and clothing stores. Thirty three percent of participants (n=10) also suggested that a higher density of residential units and sustainable foot traffic, which would increase population density, were needed for renewal. Participants mentioned eight times that they would like to see political teamwork and a newfound sense of leadership in the city. Suggestions that Jackson needed a better income and race balance surfaced five times each. The completion of an entertainment district was also mentioned five times. Finally, the need to demolish abandoned houses was mentioned four times, and improved service and efficiency in the transportation system was mentioned three times. This portion of the interview was important because it allowed participants the opportunity to comment on knowledge of Jackson’s history and specific needs in relation to revitalization without having topic-specific questions.

Sustainability Rating and Listing Questions

As mentioned above, the second portion of the survey and interview consisted of a series of rating and listing questions or statements modified from the city of Chattanooga’s sustainability initiatives (City of Chattanooga 1993). The responses to these questions were scaled from 0-4 on a Likert scale. This scale was associated with

questions surrounding participants' beliefs, concerns, attitudes and positions concerning four elements of sustainable development that included economic, political/governmental, socio-cultural, and environmental criteria. After the participants gave their answer to each question, they were asked to explain it in an open-ended format. Using this open-ended format allowed the participants to elaborate on the scalar questions and offer qualitative data to give a voice and meaning to the quantitative data. The following analysis will systematically go through the survey as it was presented to the participants and then identify and explore reoccurring themes in the data.

Economic

The first statement in the economic section of the survey was "There is access to basic economic needs and services within the City of Jackson." The overall mean for this statement was 2.13, which suggests that the average response fell very close to neutral. Overall, 6.7% (n=2) of participants strongly agreed, 46.7% (n=14) agreed, 6.7% (n=2) were neutral, 33.3% (n=10) disagreed, and 6.7% (n=2) strongly disagreed.

Considering the above statement's frequency of responses, business owners, in particular, spoke of a lack of cooperation and access to information from the City of Jackson. One participant said,

As a business owner, I would say opening a business in Jackson is difficult. It is not business friendly. Very strict unreasonable sign ordinances. The information is too dispersed; it's not a one stop shop process. Limited tax incentives for small businesses.

One businessman similarly explained,

There are grants and different things available, but if you are not totally connected to someone, how would you know that the city of Jackson has 40 thousand dollars right now for the façade grant in front of your restaurant unless your council member or somebody calls and tell you. If you are a small market business, you can't stay down there calling them every week to ask them what's going on. So we agree that there are some economic things going on with the city, but someone would really have to come and tell me what's going on.

Two other residents also mentioned that they had problems with a lack of knowledge of where to get help or resolve issues when dealing with the city of Jackson.

The next statement read to participants was, "Quality employment opportunities are available in Jackson." The mean for the scale of this statement was 1.97, which falls directly below neutral. The percentages were also split almost evenly, where 6.7% (n=2) of participants strongly disagreed, 36.7% (n=11) disagreed, 16.7% (n=5) were neutral, 33.3% (n=10) agreed, and 6.7% (n=2) strongly agreed. It was suggested that it took "connections" to obtain a job and that the economy was struggling overall and not just in the micro-region of Jackson. One interviewee had a very interesting view of employment in Jackson as it related to educational and income disparities. He explained,

If you are a high skilled person here in Jackson with a Ph.D., a Master's, a physician, a dentist or an attorney or something, you will come here and you will be working before long. You will be doing something that gives you some sort of pleasure or some sort of relief. If you don't, you will be able to find another job that you enjoy. If you are a low-skilled worker in Jackson, you will have

challenges because there are not a lot of low skilled jobs here. There used to be clothing factories etc. here, but all of that moved away to South America, China, Vietnam places like that. Low skilled jobs like jobs in construction where you can start in labor and build your skills up, there are not a lot of jobs like that in the metro area.

What are the entry points for low skilled jobs? Here is the challenge. In a lot of communities it is retail. We don't have retail...

He then cited a Brookings Institution (2001) study called *Job Sprawl, Employment Location in U.S. Metropolitan Areas*, and explained that,

They looked at the 100 largest metros and evaluated them based on access to public transportation for low-wage workers to jobs. Jackson, MS has 14 thousand low-income households that don't live close enough to jobs and there is not enough public transportation to get them there within an hour and a half. That means that if you are a low-income worker living in one of those communities that doesn't have access to public transportation and the job that you have to get to is out in Renaissance Plaza [new Madison County mall] as a sales person. If you don't have a car, you can't apply for that job. You could probably apply for a job on county line road, but in order for you to get to that job, and be there by eight or nine, then you have to leave at six in the morning. The busses are not even running [at six].

That is what I call one of the structural barriers to poverty. I think that one of the things in the press that is real popular now is to say that everybody's problem is their own problem. You have a problem because you weren't

ambitious enough or you weren't whatever, but there are real structural barriers.

This is where you happen to be living. That is a structural barrier because there is no transportation.

This statement is very representative of many participants' concerns surrounding the lack and inefficiency of public transportation in the Jackson area.

The availability of efficient public transportation for residents of Jackson was one of the most prevalent themes throughout the research process. After talking with participants and keeping abreast of news stories surrounding the bussing system, it was clear that the lack of efficient transportation was a substantial issue in Jackson. The statement read to the participants was, "There is efficient public transportation for residents of Jackson." The mean for the responses given was 1.07, which places the average response just barely above disagree. Thirteen participants (43.3%) strongly disagreed, 30% (n=9) disagreed, 6.7% (n=2) were neutral, 16.7% (n=5) agreed, and 3.3% (n=1) strongly agreed.

To begin, 73.3% (n=22) of respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed that public transportation was efficient. Respondents noted inefficiency concerning routes, handicap access, frequency, and funding. One resident suggested,

JATRAN [Jackson Transit System] is broken beyond all belief. It is inefficient; it doesn't make sense. There are a lot of people that would use it if the routes made sense. Instead, it is running routes that have literally not changed in 25 years.

They might carry one person. It doesn't make sense from a financial or ridership perspective. It is just wholly, wholly ineffective.

Another resident mentioned, “The busses don’t run late enough... They changed my bus schedule in a private meeting, they didn’t give the public no consideration and you have 2000 people that can’t catch the bus.” Others stated that the busses stopped at the city limits and at six o’clock in the evening, which prevented many from obtaining or sustaining jobs in and around Jackson. Finally, a developer mentioned that, “They’re doing the best they can with the resources that they have, but it is woefully inefficient economically. JATRAN, they lose a fortune. It’s a totally politicized arena. They don’t look at it as a business, it’s all political. The system is not good.” These data support the contention that Jackson’s lack of city and regional transportation is a large concern for residents.

The final survey question, in the economic portion of the study, polled participants on whether “Future generations in Jackson will have the same access to opportunity than you have had and will it be better or worse?” There were two interesting themes that were brought forward by participants. The first was looking to Mississippi’s creative legacy as a means to sustain a healthy economy.

Considering the future of Mississippi’s economy, one developer clarified by saying,

The real growth potential for Ms is going to have to be tourism... What makes us special... ...Our greatest resource is our people.... ...If we take our best natural resource, it’s the arts. That’s what we need to be leveraged. And that goes hand and hand with tourism.

A local artist and business owner looked to the future and optimistically noted,

I think that there will be more culture economy jobs. Tourism, music, sounds like they want to do recording studios... We have such a great literary history and hope the visual art community will pick up. I hope the next generation will be all over it.

The second theme that appeared was the acknowledgement of the need for change from political leaders. One business owner said that he was,

...afraid that the leadership is going to be so lacking that there will come a point in time where people are going to say, no more, I'm not spending what I can spend elsewhere in downtown. I hope that doesn't happen, but I am afraid that it will.

Another business owner suggested that it is just a matter of time before leadership would change hands. He said, "As soon as we get all of these old heads out of the way, I think that they are really going to get it together and move on." In a similar statement, a developer mentioned, "What I see is changing political leadership at the state level and the city level. As we get young, progressive, African American leaders coming up, we will have these young African American leaders that don't have the scars of the racial past."

Finally, one developer explained that that there are economic repercussions that will be incurred if the revitalization of Jackson is not a success. He explained,

Even the conservative Republican leaders, which we have so many of at the State level, are finally beginning to realize that you can't have a capital city that is not pristine, clean, vibrant, and active because the economic development prospects

for the rest of the state are substantially impaired if you do not have a good looking capital city. They know it's the capital city, they know that it's the only urban area in the state. There is a growing concern that I see over the last six or seven years with the rank and file members of the legislature that say we have got to do something better with Jackson.

Throughout the interview process, the most prevalent theme that participants were passionate about was the political system in Jackson. Using sustainability criteria as a guide, the participants suggested that Jackson's political system needed the most attention in order for revitalization to be successful.

Political/Governmental

The spectrum of concern surrounding political inefficiency in Jackson city government was the most prevalent theme and of the utmost concern for participants during the course of this research.. The following section will convey respondent's views on the political structure in Jackson that is perceived as impeding the progress of revitalization.

The first statement read to the participants was, "There is efficient city government in Jackson" (City of Chattanooga 1993). Many interviewees sarcastically laughed when this statement was read to them to evaluate. This statement was by far the one that participants felt the strongest about. Forty percent (n=12) of participants strongly disagreed, 40% (n=12) disagreed, 13.3% (n=4) were neutral, 6.7% (n=2) agreed and 0% (n=0) of the respondents strongly agreed. The mean response for this statement was .87 on the Likert scale, which would put the average response just below disagreeing; the results show that at least 93.3% (n=28) of the respondents did not agree that the city

government of Jackson is efficient. This leaves only (6.7% (n=2) of respondents who agreed that they felt Jackson's city government was efficient. These two participants, who were both in development in Jackson, had a strong proximity to city government, which could explain their agreement with the statement. The themes that recurred the most throughout the political section of the interviews included division among leaders, under-qualified employees or appointed officials, and overall dysfunction.

One developer mentioned, "We have a dysfunctional city government. From the city council to the mayor's office, we're not business friendly. It could take you half of a day to get a permit. It's just a nightmare." Considering division among leaders, five respondents mentioned divisiveness within city government.. Another developer explained,

There is total dysfunction between the [city] council; between the private sector and the mayor's office. The mayor has his thumb down on everything, he is a micro-manager, he is divisive. He walked into a situation where he had a virtual cavalry of volunteers that were embracing the city and he has been very successful in knocking the wind out of their sails. I have personally had one conversation with the mayor since he has been elected and that is not at my liking, it is at his. He resents anybody doing anything where they don't kiss his ring. Private business doesn't work like this, we have to go. We can't sit around and play with this foolishness and argue over who is going to get what contract.

One resident curtly suggested,

They act like a bunch of fucking spoiled kids that need a cup of milk and a cookie. I vote for a motherfucker and instead of him doing his job, he spends 70% of his time arguing with his co-workers in public on TV, that is real disrespectful.

Another theme along the lines of officials not performing their jobs adequately centered on under-qualified employees working for the city of Jackson. One woman involved in development simply said that there were, “People in office that are not qualified.” A business owner spoke of nepotism and explained, “They have a lot of wasted opportunity in Jackson; a lot of jobs and people with titles that never go to work because they were appointed for political reasons.” Finally, one resident suggested, “I just don’t think these guys know what they are doing. I don’t think they are innovative, I think they are close-minded; I think that they have a Mississippi mentality. You have to go outside and come back to see exactly what you are talking about.”

These responses and related data showed that revitalization was being impeded by the political system in Jackson. Finally, one of the developers who worked in a quasi-governmental position agreed that Jackson city government was actually efficient. He cautiously defended the city by saying, “There are always struggles. The average person, particularly a business person, doesn’t understand the speed of government. But, if you understand that the speed of government is going to be slower than most snails, then you just deal with it.”

Along similar lines of governance in Jackson, the second statement in the political section of the interviews was, “There are ‘leaders who embrace cooperation and participation in working toward common goals’ in Jackson” (City of Chattanooga 1993:

1) The mean response for this statement was 2.0, which translates to an overall neutral response. Ten percent (n=3) of participants strongly disagreed, 30% (n=9) disagreed, 16.7% (n=5) were neutral, 36.7% (n=11) agreed, and 6.7% (n=2) strongly agreed.

In the qualitative responses, the main topics of concern dealt with frustration with the city council of Jackson. One resident simply explained, “The city council is always fighting.” A developer considered the statement and suggested,

I think that there are some, but I think that by and large our city council doesn’t work together and the mayor doesn’t work with the city council. There is not a spirit of, there are seven wards, and some of the city council persons think that it is all about their ward... We’re on the same ship together and it’s frustrating.

One business owner said that “There is no cooperation; it’s pathetic how nobody gets along.” On cooperation, one resident mentioned that, “it’s always a fight with the city council. There is no cooperation between the surrounding municipalities either. There is a strong sense of complacency with the city government. They are just there to get a check.”

Cooperation with surrounding municipalities came up again and again as a factor that must be addressed in order for Jackson’s revitalization to succeed. One participant who is developing a mixed-use sustainable development project replied,

There is no interaction or joint planning or visioning on a regional basis. I can’t imagine that there is a planning supervisor in Rankin County that has ever had a meeting with the Madison County supervisors or the Hinds County supervisors where they all sit in the same room and say what do we need for the region.

He clarified by saying that in order for Jackson to sustainably revitalize, the “metro region” must cooperate and grow together. He mentioned a partnership with surrounding municipalities that would create density around transportation hubs, reduce redundancy in infrastructure, and ultimately use money saved by cooperation to plan and invest in the region. He asked a rhetorical question.

How do you compete with the other mid-sized cities...when all of those regions put in and got money and are planning for the region? We have a thwarted sense of independence as opposed to interdependence. No community is independent... That is the challenge with leadership. Not only within the city of Jackson, but in the metro area to understand that we are inextricably woven together and the sooner that we acknowledge that, the better off we will be.

Conversely, it is important to consider those that spoke on their agreement that Jackson had leaders who embrace cooperation and participation in working toward common goals. A developer in a city government development position explained,

Particularly with our mayor; we have a strong mayor that wants to work with the metropolitan area, the state government, and the federal government. Our council members are particularly concerned about their wards, which is understandable, because they should be. So sometimes it seems if they are not being cooperative, but it is part of the process.

Again, we hear a defense of the process of government; again, the close proximity of this official to the city could explain the above statement.

The third statement for review was “There are opportunities to voice political concerns in the community” (City of Chattanooga 1993). This question yielded a more

positive response on communication with officials in the city, with a mean of 2.73, which approaches agreement for an average response. One (3.3%) of the participants strongly disagreed, 13.3% (n=4) disagreed, 3.3% (n=1) was neutral, 66.7 % (n=20) agreed, and 13.3% (n=4) strongly agreed.

Those who agreed or strongly agreed spoke of outlets such as the alternative paper, *The Jackson Free Press* and social networking sites as media for voicing issues and communication. One developer explained, “The Jackson Free Press does a really good job at raising issues that need to be raised.” A resident said,

I think we are getting better. In the age of social media, politicians and city officials are becoming more accessible simply because of that... I think that Jackson could embrace an open communication in that way, as opposed to the typical ways that the public has always interacted.

On the other hand, many participants agreed that there was an outlet for voicing community concerns; however, some explained that one must know the official process to be heard and others doubted if they were being listened to. One business owner said that she agreed, but “You have to know the process; get on the [City Council’s] roster etc., but yes.” Six respondents (20%) mentioned that there were definite outlets for voicing political issues in the community, but they could not be certain that anyone was listening to or considering their concerns.

The next question asked participants whether Jackson is “a community that encourages informed citizen participation in planning and problem solving” (City of Chattanooga 1994: 44). The mean answer was 1.97 on the Likert scale, which approaches a neutral average response. One participant reported that he strongly disagreed, 33.3%

(n=10) disagreed, 30% (n=9) were neutral, 30% (n=9) agreed, and 3.3% (n=1) strongly agreed.

Several participants mentioned that although the community at large, private entities and larger scale governmental agencies encourage citizen participation, the city government does not encourage such participation. On private organizations and citizen participation, one resident explained that he and others organized a public charrette that he described as,

a public planning forum where you bring in a developer who listens to the community and puts forward multiple options and talks about the positives and negatives and what they think could happen based on what they see in the community. I've seen where one strategy of organizations is to bring together as many people as they can think and that is a very common strategy that I've seen across multiple organizations working with the problems. It's a realization that first and foremost has to be a priority.

This charrette was an attempt to create some dialogue between the community and developers who sought to dam part of the Pearl River from the spillway to Jackson for recreation and development. He mentioned that this project is currently on hold due to political issues concerning funding, flooding, and other environmental issues. This dialogue between developers and concerned citizens was a strong example of how the community and private sector have worked together on planning issues. One developer said,

Organizations such as the Greater Jackson Chamber of Commerce, the Jackson Redevelopment Authority, the Hinds County Economic Development Authority,

and the Mississippi Development Authority all [are] extremely good; it couldn't be better. When it correlates with the city of Jackson, it is dysfunctional.

Other examples of the city's lack of public inclusion were common. One resident and downtown neighborhood organization leader explained,

Most of the channels that I have been informed of or had the opportunity to participate in, which have been effective and good, have been private organizations; either the Downtown Jackson Partners or the Chamber of Commerce. Those are the entities that have done the long range planning. The chamber right now is conducting a survey for its long range planning for citizen participation. I see less of that from the city. I think that there is a tendency with the city government, at least with this administration, to want to be the source of everything. It goes back to control.

Another developer similarly spoke of the city of Jackson government saying,

It is a very closed group. If knowledge is power, they are not going to let you know what they know and that is not healthy when you are talking about economic development; especially the way that the market is now. You are looking at the creative economy and that requires a quality of life and a very open dialogue to attract the people that do that kind of work and we are not there.

Similarly, considering encouragement of participation, one resident said,

Encouraging and having true participation is two different things. They say one thing, and then it's cloak and dagger. They tell you things on a need to know basis, they tell you if it's going to benefit them. It's a no win situation, they are

going to do what they want to do. That's why all these mother fuckers that are elected will not get my vote again.

These statements illustrate many of the participants' frustration with their ability to work with city government towards planning and problem solving. Those who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement did not offer qualitative statements on citizen participation.

Perception of safety was addressed in the Political/Governmental portion of the interview because this topic has been a large part of sustainable development measures and been categorized under "government" in cities such as Chattanooga ((City of Chattanooga 1993). Participants were asked to rate the following statement: Jackson is "a safe city through an efficient police force, community partnerships, and effective criminal justice" (City of Chattanooga 1993:1). The mean response was 1.7 on the Likert scale, which approaches a neutral ranking. Again, this topic was one that respondents were divided on, where 16.7% (n=5) strongly disagreed, 30% (n=9) disagreed, 23.3% (n=7) were neutral, 26.7% (n=8) agreed, and 3.3% (n=1) strongly agreed. Those participants who disagreed or strongly disagreed spoke of factors such as needing more police presence, the Jackson Police Department's tendency to discourage victims from filing police reports, and overall lack of confidence in the police force.

An interesting theme that four respondents mentioned was that the perception of crime in Jackson was far worse than the actual crime. One developer explained,

It's a real perception problem. Right now people will say that I'm not going to go downtown because there is too much crime. There is no crime in downtown. It's virtually non-existent. There is no residential or commercial [crime] down here,

so that is just not happening. Where it is happening is mid-city to West Jackson and pockets in Northeast Jackson. So there is a perception, if you live outside of Hinds County, that Jackson is rampant with crime. So if you can have the residential development in downtown and have that 24-hour presence, crime sort of goes away.

Another developer who mentioned perceived crime as an issue described a study that his firm did for the Metro Crime Commission. He explained that they took F.B.I. statistics for all categories of crime in the 100 largest metros in the country. They then took the 36 metros that Jackson “competes” with and compared statistics. The statistics showed that, per 1000 residents, Jackson was second safest next to Austin, TX. He then mentioned that Jacksonians always talk of how great and safe those cities are. “Relative to those 36 cities, we are very safe. So the crime thing is much smaller than people’s perception of it.” One resident explained,

I think that the Jackson police department could stand to make some significant improvements, primarily through accessibility and listening to the public...

However, I think that the crime rate in Jackson has been overblown to a point where we almost feel defeated and defensive about the crime rate, which leads to fear mongering.

Finally, respondents who agreed that Jackson was a safe city were involved in neighborhood associations. A resident explained that she holds meetings every two weeks with other residents, police officers, and private security where they work together to address crime problems. She said, “That really encourages me because that is what makes it effective.” Another West Jackson resident explained,

My street is good. We have a neighborhood association and we watch out for each other. I think that overall citizens have to get more involved. I think that the idea of community policing hasn't taken hold yet in Jackson, but I think we are going to have to turn it around. The police can't be everywhere at once.

The above shows that, while police presence and action is obviously invaluable to a safe city, to create a sustainable solution to crime, community partnerships and neighborhood associations are crucial. Also, respondents who agreed that neighborhoods that were strong, active, attractive, and safe had very involved residential neighborhood associations

One of the most underutilized resources that we have in the City of Jackson is our neighborhood associations. We are not training them; we are not keeping them abreast. A lot of people in the community are not going to come to a town hall meeting because they do not feel comfortable speaking in them. They will speak in a neighborhood association meeting. That's why they are very important...

The main thing is strong neighborhood associations, strong tenant associations where it's not just a gathering place to talk about gripes, but use that opportunity to teach sustainability. Buy local, volunteer in your community, etc.

The last topic in the political/governmental section of the survey centered on whether "Quality education is available in Jackson." While this statement was intended to survey participants' thoughts on primary and secondary education, several of the participants interpreted it as the availability of higher education in Jackson. In retrospect, the statement should have been more specific towards primary and secondary education; however, the results were interesting and illuminating nonetheless. Of the 30

respondents, 36.7% (n=11) disagreed, 6.7% (n=2) were neutral, 40% (n=12) agreed, and 16.7% (n=5) strongly agreed. Only one of the respondents disagreed and then elaborated on education quality. She explained that she felt that the poor quality of education prevented many new or returning residents to the city of Jackson. She suggested,

There are a lot of flaws in the system... One of the problems that I see is that a lot of people will not move to Jackson, who are considering moving to Jackson, because of the public school system. If the issue is the revitalization of Jackson and making it a destination, then the education system, public schools, has to be looked at as an issue. Primarily, will people choose not to live in Jackson because of JPS [Jackson Public Schools], they also can't afford to send their kids to the private schools within the Jackson city limits. It leaves people having to make a choice; because of their children, they cannot move to Jackson.

However, three participants said that the perceived lack of quality education was due to "societal problems not education barriers". One business owner and mother of six who agreed that Jackson has quality education explained her view of these "societal problems" by explaining,

Elementary education is done very well; it's middle schools that have the issues and middle schools are problematic in most urban areas. High schools are hit or miss, but that is where you lose children that get disenfranchised and drop out in middle school. Last that I heard, we have a 40% drop out rate. It's significant and there is a huge gender gap. Most of them are African American males.

Four participants suggested that quality education was available with conditions. Two of these respondents said that quality education was available if you had the money

to afford private schools and the other two said that one must simply seek it out. Finally, those who strongly agreed spoke of Jackson as a college town with excellent schools such as Belhaven College, Hinds Community College, Jackson State University, and Millsaps College.

This topic within the collected interviews was of the utmost concern to the individuals sampled. Data suggest that the political and governmental representation of Jackson was not on a sustainable path and ultimately holding the city back from progress. Again, it is apparent that, while many participants in different groups responded similarly, the context of the concerns can be seen in the qualitative responses that individuals offered.

Sociocultural

The third sustainability criterion dealt with topics and statements concerning socio-cultural issues related to Jackson's revitalization. This portion of the survey included such topics as identity, historic preservation, tourism, and race relations. The first statement that was read to the participants was, "Overall, Jacksonians have a strong identity." The mean answer for this statement was 2.53, which falls in between neutral and agree on the Likert scale. Twenty percent (n=6) of respondents disagreed, 26.7% (n=8) were neutral, 33.3% (n=10) agreed, and 20% (n=6) strongly agreed with the statement. The significance of the responses related to this topic was seen in the similarity of many of the participant's views on identity in Jackson. While the mean of respondents' answers did not suggest a strong identity, there was an overall feeling of why this is suggested in the qualitative explanations.

One resident suggested that Jacksonians were apathetic because residents of surrounding municipalities and suburbs have conveyed such negative connotations of Jackson over the years. “We have a victim mentality due to the way that everybody has treated us. We have a victim identity, we don’t have a strong self concept identity; we don’t have a good self image.” Another participant explained,

There are some of us in West Jackson, downtown, and Fondren who are strongly committed and have a strong sense of who we are. But, in general terms, I think that we have been beaten down for so long that I think that we have been on the defensive against, particularly the suburbs and other areas of the state beating up on us. So, we have been defensive and that has kept us from really figuring out who we are.

A business owner further explained,

I think that Jacksonians have self esteem issues. I think that they have been picked on and victimized for so long that they just don’t realize the jewel that they have got. I think that we have to have a pride in Jackson campaign and not just in your neighborhood, all of Jackson, not just Fondren, Belhaven and North Jackson.

Finally, a resident and neighborhood association leader said, “This year, Hinds County went through a branding process to help us define who we are. Because I feel like a lot of time we have been saying what we are not.”

Considering the above-mentioned branding process, one participant involved in development shared similar thoughts. He mentioned,

We just went through a branding campaign and people in Hinds County, it’s not that they don’t think much of themselves; they just don’t think that we are

anything. There is a void of ‘we are proud of this because’, I want to be downtown, I want to be in Hinds County etc. If you could overcome those perceptions and get people to start believing in themselves, that is when that identity is going to start to take hold.

Another developer simply explained, “Here is the deal, if you do not brand your community, it will be branded by others. Right now we are allowing our city to be branded by others into something that it is not.” These statements bring up issues that are often topics of conversation and media coverage. They suggest a divisive environment between residents and leaders in the city of Jackson and residents and leaders in surrounding suburbs and municipalities. However, the identity issues among participants, as well as ongoing branding research, suggests that Jacksonians are actively looking to change perception of and build identity in the city.

The next question asked whether or not “Jackson is considering all backgrounds in its revitalization process?” This question was developed to measure participant’s views of the inclusion of all socioeconomic backgrounds in revitalization; the statement was simplified due to respondents’ potential unfamiliarity with the term socioeconomic. The mean response for this statement was 2.0, which is exactly neutral on the Likert Scale. Among the participants, 10% (n=3) strongly disagreed, 30% (n=9) disagreed, 23.3% (n=7) were neutral, 23.3% (n=7) agreed, and 13.3% (n=4) strongly agreed.

One downtown business owner who disagreed spoke of the trend of developers to plan towards the higher and middle incomes rather than the lower brackets. While she mentioned that federal grants for development require inclusion of lower income communities, the percentages of those developments were very small. She continued,

“They never say that we are going to build this nice big neighborhood for poor people.”

Considering planning, she said, “This is why we need good leadership downtown.” She goes on,

when you sit down and are planning and revitalizing your city, your master plan has to be considerate for housing and neighborhood revitalization. How do we make sure that all citizens are taken care of in your plan? How do we make sure that we can create quality housing for every citizen in that neighborhood? Don’t parcel off; I don’t believe in parceling off, putting poor people here and middle class people here and rich people here. Even the healthy studies are saying that you can build neighborhoods where all people can live in the same neighborhood; you have a much safer and a much more quality neighborhood where everybody can interact with each other.

Another business owner remarked,

I think that if you ask certain people that are doing revitalization in downtown they would tell you all the lines you want to hear. Yes we consider everyone, but I would differ with them on how they would define ‘consider.’ If they are truly considering these different backgrounds and different socio-economic backgrounds then things would be different [in Jackson].

While this business owner implies that the consideration of various socioeconomic backgrounds does not equate to inclusion, it is important to provide some of the developer’s views on inclusion.

One developer spoke of the gulf between the lower and higher socioeconomic spectra downtown and in the immediate surrounding areas of Jackson. He attributed this to a great divide between the city government and developers. He explains,

I think that most of the developers are thinking about this as strictly middle class, middle income, and up. And I think the mayor is thinking low-income and down. So there is this huge gulf. So what we think is mixed-income and people look at us like what planet are you from... [We] have built housing for low-income, but never isolated, it doesn't work to isolate poverty in under resourced communities.

Another developer spoke of the politics of development in Jackson by explaining,

The mayor believes, and I can understand it in a really perverted sense, that because Jackson has become blacker and poorer, he feels like he needs to cater to the poorest. If he can get them out to vote, he will keep being elected because the black middle class, except for a few little enclaves in Northwest Jackson is gone. The white middle class, except for a few little enclaves in Northeast Jackson is gone. The new people coming downtown, the mayor doesn't really get it. He has said to several people that I know that there is enough stuff done downtown, we don't need to do any more down there... So, the development community is focused on one thing and the mayor is focused on something else. That is the chasm that needs to be closed. I'm not so certain that the mayor has ever sat down with the development community and talked about the need for inclusive development.

If you are concerned about social equity, you have to create communities that are integrated by race and class and job and business opportunities for

everyone. You can't just go say build some low-income housing in this neighborhood and think that that is going to make any damn difference. If anything, it's going to exacerbate problems.

Finding ways to work together is one of the biggest problems especially with Hinds County, the city, and some of the other government. They can tell you quickly why they can't do it, but they can't tell you why they can do it.

Again, the theme of division between city government and developers is seen as a barrier that often prevents the inclusion of sustainable development criteria in revitalization.

The topic of quality of neighborhoods was addressed in this section of the interview. The statement that was read to participants for consideration was, "Jackson is 'an organized community of strong, active, attractive, and safe neighborhoods'" (City of Chattanooga 1993:1). The mean response for this statement was 1.87, which approaches a neutral response on the Likert scale. Two participants (6.7%) strongly disagreed, 33.3% (n=10) disagreed, 26.7% (n=8) were neutral, 33.3% (n=10) agreed, and no 0.0% (n=0) strongly agreed. Not surprisingly, the few participants who did elaborate on the above statement mentioned that there were pockets of neighborhoods in Jackson that they felt were strong, active, attractive, and safe, but they could not say for the city overall. One developer explained,

Some are very safe; some are not safe at all. The ones that are safe are about as organized as you can get. You look at Meadowbrook, you look at Eastover, you look at Mid-town, the area around the medical mall, Fondren, Belhaven, Belhaven Heights, the same old same old. There are some that are totally dysfunctional and

a lot of that has to do with rental properties, lack of pride in ownership; that type stuff.

Another developer similarly suggested,

I would agree that there are and there aren't. There are places and there are places that you wouldn't want to be that I wouldn't characterize as safe and attractive. I think that Fondren has a lot going on right now; it still has issues, Belhaven has things, downtown is getting better, but you get off of, you get in bad parts of Fondren pretty quick, you get North of Meadowbrook and West of I-55 it gets really bad. West Jackson is horrible, Southwest Jackson is horrible and they are not safe.

It is important to note that many of these pockets of neighborhoods that were considered safe, strong, and attractive had heavily involved neighborhood associations and historic preservation ventures.

As mentioned above, historic preservation is often a tool that is used in revitalization movements as a way to adaptively reuse and repurpose buildings of historic significance in urban areas. This was an important topic to gather responses on, considering the historic preservation of several buildings in downtown Jackson that ultimately acted as a catalyst to physically, economically, and symbolically jump start revitalization. In 2009, after a \$90 million dollar restoration, the King Edward Hotel reopened as a Hilton Garden Inn Hotel and became a fixture in revitalization efforts by providing a business center, event space, hotel lodging and 84 apartments. Other buildings, including the Standard Life Building, the Electric Building, and the Plaza building, high rises that once primarily housed businesses, also were renovated to provide

lofts and apartments to increase downtown residential traffic; a key to the higher density that the developers in this survey pushed.

Respondents were read the statement, “Historic preservation of buildings is important in revitalization.” The mean response on the Likert scale was 3.20, which suggests an average of agreement of participants in this study. None of participants strongly disagreed, 3.3% (n=1) disagreed, 10% (n=3) were neutral, 50% (n=15) agreed, and 36.7% (n=11) strongly agreed.

The most frequent theme of respondents’ answers was how historic preservation reinforced identity and sense of place in a city. One resident explained, “I believe this with all my heart. You can’t know where you are going if you don’t know where you have been. If you do not know the history of your people, your land, your culture, how are you going to know what is coming?” Another resident mentioned that historic preservation

...helps to ensure a sense of place, which I think is so important in revitalization so we’re not a cookie cutter community and it’s not a Disney World/Starbucks experience. And then being in the South, we have such a strong sense of history and heritage that it is important. Really it goes to that sense of creating place that makes a community strong and makes people feel connected to it.

Finally, one business owner explained,

...that [historic preservation] is what makes cities. If you don’t know where you have been you don’t know where you are going. If you tore down all of these 1800s buildings, you wouldn’t feel such a strong Jacksonian feeling because you

wouldn't have known what the past was like. I think that you have to preserve all of these old buildings, at least the façade.

The previous quote transitions well into the responses related to the next statement, "It is important to consider Jackson's past in its future development." Ninety percent (n=27) of participants agreed or strongly agreed that Jackson's past was important in future development.

The theme that surfaced the most was that of racial history in Jackson. Participants spoke of the importance of knowing the racial history of Jackson and Mississippi, but not letting that history slow down progress. One business owner explained,

I think that we have to look at our past, our racial history, and not allow that to cause us to freeze up and take away our energy... It is understandably harder for the older people to get past it. Younger people didn't know they didn't experience it...

Another African American business owner mentioned, "I almost think that the black race focuses a little bit too much on the past and that's why we can't move forward. That is one reason why I think that it is important to consider the past, but not to dwell on it." One downtown resident explained that revitalization was

not just in physical structures, but past in every sense of the word. Our race history, all of our past and that goes into inclusion of all people. Revitalization is not just buildings, it's community and there is a lot that goes into every decision.

The next statement for participants was "Jackson's redevelopment will bring residents back into the city of Jackson." As mentioned in the Relationships to Jackson

chapter, Jackson has lost many residents to surrounding counties and suburbs due to factors such as higher property taxes, real estate costs, and low performing public school systems. This topic was primarily meant to poll participants on whether revitalization would bring residents back; however, a follow-up question asked respondents what type of residents would reinvest in the city, which will be discussed below. The mean response given was 3.31, which suggests that the average participant agreed that residents would return to Jackson. Zero participants strongly disagreed or disagreed, 10% (n=3) were neutral, 66.7% (n=20) agreed and 23.3% (n=7) strongly agreed.

While the global population is moving towards urban living, it was important to discover why participants collectively had such a positive hope for growth within Jackson. This was an attempt to discover whether Jackson fit into the global trends of re-urbanization. Many of the respondents did, however, have conditions that they thought would have to be satisfied before a significant number of residents would return. These conditions included that Jackson had to work on safety and educational issues in order for the population to rise. One business owner explained that he thought that revitalization had already succeeded in returning residents to Jackson. Nevertheless, the question that he had was whether or not it would bring families back considering the school systems in Jackson. Another business owner agreed by saying, “I think that it will be easier to attract young people that haven’t started having their families yet when they do something substantial with the school system.” A third business owner again mentioned that Jackson must work on its image and recreate itself, and get people to think differently about the city.

Four participants mentioned that they thought that Jackson would not have a pull factor for those who live in the surrounding suburbs. In some form or fashion, they all mentioned that it would be a younger population. One business owner explained,

I think what's going to happen is that we will have a population growth due to redevelopment... but, They keep thinking let's bring these people that moved to the suburbs back in. Don't bring those people back in. Let's bring in new people that want to live in an urban environment. Let's make Jackson an urban environment that people want to move to. That's what Atlanta did. They didn't bring back all the people that moved out. They brought in a ton of new young energized people that wanted to live in an urban Southern environment. That's the people that we need; we don't need the people that moved to Brandon [Jackson suburb]. They need to stay in Brandon.

Another business owner offered a similar response, saying, "It won't bring the Madison County] [Jackson suburb] crowd back into Jackson, but I think that it will bring a new crowd that never really came from Madison. Maybe young people that leave and come back or younger people regionally that think that this could be interesting." So, it seems as if many of the participants had great expectations for Jackson's growth, but that it would be by a younger demographic that would really be interested in the revitalization.

Considering growth and bringing people back into Jackson, tourism was an important topic in the sociocultural portion of the interview process. Mississippi's recent

Creative Economy initiative³ seeks to identify the many cultural assets that Mississippi contains and use these assets for economic development. Participants in this project were asked whether tourism is important in Jackson's revitalization, and what one would come to Jackson to see? Considering this topic, 36.7% (n=11) of participants agreed and 63.3% (n=19) strongly agreed. The mean response for this statement was 3.63 on the Likert Scale.

The most frequently mentioned pull for tourists were music and civil rights history. Respondents also mentioned that Jackson has not yet realized the full economic potential for cultural tourism. One developer spoke about tourism from the economic standpoint by saying,

I think that it will become important once the city and state realize and start thinking about how to create and monetize cultural tourism... I have certainly heard the Governor [Barbour] talk about how important Mississippi's music is to the nation. I've heard him argue that blues, country, jazz, and gospel all have their roots in Mississippi. I've heard musicologists argue that. If you look how much American popular music comes from that then that's something that you can build something on. I think that just not enough work has been done on that... When I talk to people about the regional innovation economy in Jackson, MS, it's culture... Once we finally get that, then you can start creating revenues.

³ <<http://www.mscreativeeconomy.com/>>

Considering cultural tourism, the Civil Rights history of Jackson and the state was mentioned by six different participants, all of whom thought it was an asset for tourism development. One business owner spoke of Mississippi's preparations to develop and build a Civil Rights Museum in downtown Jackson. She explained,

We are getting ready to do the Civil Rights museum. Even though that whole era was not necessarily the best time in our history, we have to talk about how we have done well since that. And even us black folks have got to get used to this one; we need to talk about the Civil War.

We do have some things that historically that we can use to talk about in our city that can draw people here. We have great history in this city and this state that we need to talk about. We need to be inviting people to come see it and look at it. Why don't we use those images to talk about what is good about our state instead of crime.

This statement not only says a lot about tourism opportunities in Jackson, but also about Blewitt's (2008) description of sustainable development as a dialogue of values. It is important to realize that a Civil Rights Museum can aid in sustaining Jackson's economy through tourism, as well as creating a dialogue of values that can lead to racial reconciliation and understanding. The Mississippi Civil Rights Museum is currently under development and set to open in 2017.

The final topic in the socio-cultural section of the interview schedule dealt with race relations in Jackson. The participants were read the statement, "There are problems with race relations in Jackson." The mean response for this statement was 2.63, which falls in between neutral and agree on the Likert scale. Zero participants strongly

disagreed, 16.7% (n=5) disagreed, 23.3% (n=7) were neutral, 40% (n=12) agreed, and 20% (n=6) strongly agreed.

Among those who elaborated further on the topic of race in Jackson, 16.6% (n=6) of participants thought that race relationships in Jackson had gotten better, but still had room for improvement. One business owner explained,

I think Jackson is doing so much better, the city proper. If you come here [Friday forum] on Friday morning, there is such a diverse crowd... That is one of the reasons that we started it is because I knew that there were people that thought differently in the city and felt different in the city, and wanted things different in the city. I knew that there were people that felt like I did from both black and white and wanted a place that they could meet with like minds. Yes, there are still problems, but to say that Jackson as a whole has problems, no I can't say that.

This open discussion format can again show that there are indeed improvements in Jackson's race relationships by the creation of a dialogue of values that Blewitt writes about in his (2008) sustainability literature. One business owner suggested that regionally, Jackson was much more open to discussion of race than anywhere else she had lived. She explained,

I will say that I have had conversations here that I would never have been able to have anywhere else. I think that people are a lot more open to discussing it here, so I have been surprised how willing people are to discuss the issue. The further North you go it is almost covert because it is disguised as something else.

In agreement with the statement about the forum, 10% (n=3) of respondents also suggested that, within the Jackson city limits, there was not as much of a problem with

race relations as on the outskirts of Jackson. One white participant in development explained, “Not but 18% of the people in the city still look like me. And there is a good chance that a lot of the 18% of the people that look like me are not racist or they wouldn’t be here.” Finally, 7.5% (n=4) of participants mentioned they might see some problems with racial relationships among Jacksonians, but that these problems were generationally dependant. One resident explained this and used the de-facto segregation of Jackson’s school system as an example. “It’s generational. If you had asked me, within my generation, then I would disagree. If we are talking about Jackson as a whole I strongly agree.” As one developer mentioned above in the “Relationships to Jackson” chapter of the analysis, Jackson was suffering from a race-based hangover and that the newer generations and leaders of Jackson do not have the same racial scars that the older generations that went through the Civil Rights movement might have.

Environmental

The final topic of the interview schedule that dealt with sustainability criteria is the environmental section. This topic focuses on the physical urban environment and resources in Jackson and how the participants in this study felt about issues including water and air quality, recycling, development of wetlands, green space and walkability of the city.

The first statement was “Residents of Jackson are concerned about water and air quality.” The mean for this statement was 2.5, which falls between neutral and agree on the Likert scale. Zero (n=0) respondents strongly disagreed, 30% (n=9) disagreed, 10% (n=3) were neutral, 40% (n=12) agreed and 20% (n=6) strongly agreed. This shows that 60% (n=18) of participants at least agreed that there was concern about water and air

quality. However, no one mentioned that he was concerned about air quality; 6.6% (n=2) of participants mentioned a low amount of airborne industrial waste and low population of the region as factors, which can explain a low level of concern among the respondents. However, there was a substantial concern for the city's poor water quality stemming from the aging infrastructure. Ten percent (n=3) of participants elaborated by saying that they would not drink city water because the annual water quality report listed contaminants that can potentially cause cancer, according to the Center for Disease Control. They spoke of the disclaimer stating that levels of certain disease-causing organisms were abnormally high in Jackson's water, but the city said that levels were safe. One of the respondents explained,

You can say that it is the turbidity, but why do we have so many solid particles floating around in our drinking water? Do we not have the science for that? Is our infrastructure so old that the water is picking it up in the lines? Tell me why that is there because I don't like picking up the report that says the water is not safe according to the CDC, but we [water department] think that it is ok.

Lastly, the same participant said that he also has big issues with the water quality in the Pearl River being so poor that they periodically recommend no human contact. He continued to say that someone should have some responsibility for the quality of the river water; the city, the levee board, or both.

The next statement read to participants was, "There is access to recycling for all Jackson residents." Four (13.3%) participants strongly disagreed, 40% (n=12) disagreed, 16.7% (n=5) were neutral, 30% (n=9) agreed and 0% (n=0) strongly agreed. The mean

answer for this statement was 1.63, which falls between disagree and neutral on the Likert scale.

There were only a few respondents who elaborated on this subject and said that it was difficult to get information from the city on recycling practices. One business owner said, "I do not think that the city leadership has given enough information. There is a way to do it, but there is not enough information about it." Another business owner was concerned about glass recycling, which the city does not pick up curbside, and where it is going from the designated drop-off sites, one of which is the Rainbow food cooperative. He questioned,

What's going on with the glass? Call Rainbow, ask where the glass is going and they will tell you that the city is picking it up. Call the city and ask them where the glass is going and they will tell you that they are not picking it up. Call Waste Management and they will tell you that it is contractual labor and they can't tell you where it's going. Where do you think that it is going; the garbage. And I don't know that, but nobody can give you a straight answer where it is going."

So, while the City of Jackson seems to be making an effort to offer recycling, the main theme that participants had was the lack of information concerning the logistics of the process.

The next topic was whether "Jackson could benefit from development along the Pearl River", which creates the eastern boundary of the city. The mean for this inquiry was 3.3, which falls slightly above agree on the Likert scale. Zero participants strongly disagreed, 3.3% (n=1) disagreed, 10% (n=3) were neutral, 36.7% (n=11) agreed, and 50% (n=15) strongly agreed. While the data show that a high percentage of participants

supported development, the second part of the topic asked respondents what obstacles that they saw in potential developments. Although Jacksonians supported some type of development along the Pearl River corridor, many were skeptical or at least seemed jaded about the obstacles.

In the past few years, there have been a series of proposals that have looked to dam, flood, and develop the river from Jackson northward towards the Ross Barnett Reservoir for economic and recreational development. Not surprisingly, this topic has been a contested issue in Jackson. The project, originally called Two Lakes, has had various obstacles to consider, including environmental issues, lack of cooperation between involved municipalities, approval by regulatory agencies such as the Corps of Engineers, and funding problems.

The environmental issues that were mentioned included killing or displacing wildlife; presently the proposed land accommodates seasonal flood water, which in turn prevents development and creates lowland habitat for a variety of species. Two participants suggested that development should be for recreational use only. One explained, “maybe nature trails or bike trails. Anything that is ecologically low-impact I would support... Not a whole lot of commercial; shopping malls or fake town communities. A real farmer’s market maybe.” One sustainable developer explained his approval for development with conditions. He suggested,

If you are going to develop along the river, which I think that you do need to do, you need to do it in a way that is environmentally sensitive. Destroying wetlands to make a lake probably isn’t the most environmentally sustainable way, or the cheapest. To make Jackson a river city, you don’t have to destroy the river. So, I

think that there needs to be some more thoughtful plans about how does one develop along the river without destroying the river. Some of that comes back down to an integrated planning process.

Another environmental issue was flood control of the river. One developer said, “You are always going to have a conflict between commercial development and flood control... because you have the Corps of Engineers and the Pearl River Basin Development District that are interested in first and foremost, flood control.” He explained that, without planning to meet the criteria for these agencies’ standards, the project will never come to fruition.

The other big issue participants mentioned that plagued the Two Lakes progress focused on various governmental agencies that would not cooperate. One resident mentioned, “It’s governmental. With the Corps of Engineers and the Levee Board, there are so many entities that are failing to work together. Territorialism is how I would phrase it.” One developer explained,

It is so close and we are not taking advantage. I guess that it is because of the municipalities that are involved. There is so much political wrangling, not only on the local level, but on the state and federal level. It is huge, because these communities don’t have that potential benefit.

These municipalities are located in Rankin and Madison counties which also border the Pearl River in the greater Jackson area. Another respondent in development explained,

When you try to do something like a lakes project, it’s difficult in any event, but when you have a city and county government in three different counties, and then

you have the individual municipalities, it makes everything extremely difficult.

Like the lakes project; it's desperately needed.

Finally, one developer interviewed explained his view on the river's development; one that included the problem with planning cooperation and how to responsibly develop for the communities involved:

Though the levee board has people from Rankin, Hinds, and Madison on it, they work in a vacuum because, other than their levee board, there is no inter-county anything working on anything. So, I think that a little bit more inter-county or inter-region notion that you need to develop the river so that it is a community asset so that it creates value for people in the community. Not exclusive value.

You don't want to privatize the river, it's a public amenity, we just don't think of it as a public amenity. You want to create it so that it provides benefit to the entire region and not just for people that can happen to buy a house or a condo on the river. How do you think about this in a way that protects the environment, enriches the human environment, enriches the human experience and makes it accessible to everybody?

The truth of the matter is, as a [city] council, they don't have a plan that will ever get approved in our lifetime that will get approved by the Army Corps of Engineers or get passed all the lawsuits of the Sierra Club. I would get the leadership of the tri-county community, the levee board, the Sierra Club, churches and community stakeholders, and I would hold a series of 20 town hall meetings to envision what the river would be for us. Based on those meetings, I would start the process. What they did is just the opposite of that process. What happened

here is the developer came in and said that here is the plan, this is going to make me and my friend wealthy and it's going to be good for the city of Jackson and Pearl because you are going to be able to raise taxes because we are privatizing the river. Let's think about the bioregion and figure out how we can work with it and not against it.

The last concern simply deals with the present economic situation locally and nationally, which points to the overall lack of funding available from public and private entities for redevelopment projects. One developer also spoke of the economic culture of the state by saying, "A big problem that we have here in Mississippi is that the first thing out of somebody's mouth is how much does it cost, but the private sector says, how much wealth will it create? The cost is irrelevant compared to what it is going to create."

Another issue was Jacksonians' views on parks and green space within the city. The statement read was, "Jackson has a sufficient amount of parks and green space." The mean response for this topic was 1.7, which approaches a neutral response. Five (16.7%) participants strongly disagreed, 36.7% (n=11) disagreed, 10% (n=3) were neutral, 33.3% (n=10) agreed, and 3.3% (n=1) strongly agreed. While Jackson was originally laid out in a Jeffersonian checkerboard/grid pattern that set aside certain blocks for public squares and parks, all but one of those original squares has been built upon.

Only 6.6% (n=2) of participants spoke of their concerns about the lack of green space in Jackson. One respondent spoke of the aforementioned original planning for public space, but mentioned that the perceived need for parking has used up space that could otherwise be used for green space. He explained,

I think the city was laid out with the perfect amount of parks and green spaces....

What the museum has done is great. I think that we should stop the parking pandering, it's stupid. I've lived in real cities where it's hard to park; this is not one of them. You could take away half of the parking spaces downtown and it would still be easier to park than most metropolitan areas. We have tons of parking garages that are underutilized. We do not have parking issues, but every time we take away a parking lot, oh Jesus, what are we going to do.

While parking is often a concern in the downtown area, the city has made efforts to convert parking space into green space. In 2011, the Mississippi Museum of Art converted a 1.2 acre parking lot into a public art garden that hosts art installments, festivals, and other community events.

The final topic in the interview looked to identify whether Jackson “has a walkable/pedestrian friendly downtown.” The mean response was 2.20 on the Likert scale, which falls in between neutral and agree on the Likert scale. Ten percent (n=3) of participants strongly disagreed, 20% (n=6) disagreed, 20% (n=6) were neutral, 40% (n=12) agreed, and 10% (n=3) strongly agreed.

This distribution shows that 50% (n=15) participants either were neutral or in disagreement while 50% (n=15) were in agreement. While few respondents elaborated on the walkability of downtown, many that did had issues with the lack of or condition of sidewalks in Jackson. One developer mentioned that, while there were decent sidewalks in downtown, the surrounding neighborhoods lacked them, which prevented mobility as well as exercise. He explained,

...not in my neighborhood. People don't walk in my neighborhood. One reason is that there are not a lot of sidewalks. There have been studies done that show that people are twice or three times as likely to exercise if there are sidewalks. I have a sidewalk in front of my house for half a mile, but the rest do not have sidewalks.

Another participant spoke of Jackson's lack of compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act in regard to barriers on sidewalks and other rights of way. While Jackson has had issues with compliance for some years, in 2011, the city appropriated \$1.4 million to address sidewalk and curb cut improvements (City of Jackson: Americans with Disabilities Act Transition Plan 2011). The city is currently in the process of retrofitting ADA compliant right-of-ways and municipal facilities.

Images of Jackson

The final topic that was not associated with the sustainability data was the perceived Images of Jackson, which Low (1999) considered. The two images that were discovered relevant to Jackson were the images of the contested city and the divided city. Considering the contested city, participants spoke of how the surrounding municipalities and suburbs victimized Jackson as rampant with crime, corruption, and infrastructural problems.

Participants mentioned elements of division such as the Millsaps College and Jackson State University gates that surround and separate the schools from their respective communities. A respondent who attended Millsaps said that she felt a huge disconnect from the rest of the community while she was in school, while another said he felt like the fences pitted the schools against the surrounding communities that were supposed to support each other. While these metaphors are not intended to offer any

theoretical support, it was important to note these images, considering previous literature related to urban anthropology.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This case study has sought to identify and evaluate Jacksonians' values, needs, and concerns related to the city's revitalization and how they pair with elements of sustainable development. Within planning and development, the often-forgotten component is that design should ultimately serve the greater needs and desires of the people. While revitalization obviously must focus on the tangible elements of development, which Park (1925) suggests are merely artifacts, it is crucial to consider the economic, political, sociocultural, and environmental elements that are involved in Jackson's renewal efforts. Using political ecology and sustainability literature as a framework for analysis, this project looked to discover collective and/or individual themes that were occurring in Jackson's revitalization in an effort to identify where progress was being made and where progress was lacking.

As Gwynne (2003) and Skar (1985) suggested, research in applied cultural anthropology that centers on development should satisfy two agendas. The first is to generally identify and understand social issues and the second is to gain "concrete, specific knowledge of the customs, traditions, values, and perceived needs that prevail in specific development settings" (Gwynne 2003: 108). These tenets have been given the utmost consideration, as well as having served as an overall guiding factor for this

research project, in an attempt to focus on the phenomena associated with revitalization in Jackson as it relates to regional and national trends.

Through the interview process, it was discovered that Jackson's history of suburbanization and central city demise indeed fits well into the national trend that was happening throughout the latter half of the 20th century. Most specifically, the developers who participated in the study explained how Jackson's model correlated perfectly with the phenomenon of outward expansion from the central city that ultimately provided a demographic and cultural shift in the urban center: residentially from white to African American and economically from locally owned to national chain retail. Another national trend that this study sought to explore was revitalization movements and how Jackson's specific efforts were executed. While other cities chose specific sustainability initiatives to aid in redevelopment, Jackson had no such plan; however, this study also looked to use sustainability literature as one framework to identify what issues could be served to aid in long-term developmental success.

Considering sustainability, it was interesting that one resident thought the economic downturn of 2008 caused a shift from a top-down approach of private and public development to a bottom-up approach where non-profits and community organizations were steadily becoming more involved in revitalization. This observation of Jackson's revitalization progress fits well into Blewitt (2008) and Zachary's (1995) call for community-based creation and implementation of programs that can lead to sustainable community development. Using suggestions from *Agenda 21*, Blewitt mentions a "participatory, community-based approach" to identify and address social, economic, and environmental issues (Blewitt 2008: 18). He goes on to explain that these

community grassroots efforts are crucial because these organizations can most efficiently identify and solve problems at hand. This interviewee's view of the changing of approaches for development parallels with the sustainability literature and suggests that, considering this topic, revitalization efforts in Jackson are showing elements of sustainability.

It is important to include successful measures in development that were identified in this research. An interesting topic that was revealed, considering economic barriers, was that grass-roots organizations such as the Mississippi Bike Advocacy, various non-profits, and strong neighborhood associations all have had tremendous success in reaching goals that the city may have not had on its radar nor funds to contribute to. These organizations were great examples of success as it relates to sustainability goals.

Political ecology also worked well as a framework to analyze development in Jackson. Looking at Jackson through the lens of political ecology and as a socioecological environment was the most appropriate way to, as Heynen and Swyngedouw described, illuminate socio-environmental issues that arise when urban environments are changing (2003). They also explained that sustainability questions are inherently political ones, which describes this research well considering the overwhelming political issues and concerns that respondents had throughout the interview process. The pairing of sustainability and political ecology directly aligns with points addressed in the reviewed literature and, with further discussion among Jacksonians, can ultimately “devise ideas/plans that speak to what of who needs to be sustained and how this can be done” (Heynen & Swyngedouw 2003: 911).

While revitalization is often seen as a physical process, it is crucial that there be an inquiry into the political, economic, and cultural aspects of revitalization. As explained above, Escobar (1999: 15) notes that the “goal of political ecology is to understand and participate in the ensemble of forces linking social change, environment, and development”. This ensemble of forces has also paired well with the four tenants of sustainability that include economic, political, sociocultural, and environmental concerns. Throughout this study, interviewees reported answers to scaled survey questions and related passionate statements that vocalized their attitudes, concerns, and beliefs related to Jackson’s revitalization. By exploring the “dialogue of values” within Jackson’s population, this research has identified unique concerns associated with the development discourse (Blewitt 2008).

Blewitt defines sustainability as a dialogue of values, which may be the best way to seek to understand “the theories, values, perspectives, and practices of sustainable development.” He further explains that research within individual communities can explore these values to determine attitudes relating to “political expression, ... economics and income sufficiency; social opportunity such as health and education; transparency and openness in government and social interaction; and security, understood in terms of welfare, food sufficiency and employment” (Blewitt 2008: 22). Blewitt (2008: 23) writes that, on any spatial scale, values will “come together and sometimes collide, but it is only through discussion, debate, critical reflection, learning and dialogue that agreement and action can and will emerge.” Considering the literature, the compilation of this research can serve as a foundation for elements of sustainability to enter into the conversation concerning revitalization in Jackson. Power and Krizek (1996) note that a community’s

understanding of development and planning issues is perhaps the most crucial element concerning sustainability; one of the primary goals of this project was to identify participants' understandings.

Perhaps the most surprising discovery in this project was the refutation of the hypothesis. The hypothesis for this research sought to measure differences of desires, positions, and values relating to sustainability criteria among developers, business owners, and residents. However, statistical analysis offered no significance between various categories including: case category⁴ gender, ethnicity, or education, as they related to specific topics of interest. What was found included that many participants, regardless of category or demographics, shared many views on the development environment in Jackson.

The strongest views that respondents agreed on were the political inefficiency in Jackson, a high level of connection to Jackson, opportunity for Jacksonians in the future, lack of efficient public transportation, the importance of considering Jackson's past in revitalization, and the importance of tourism in revitalization. Other interesting topics such as Jacksonians' identity and poor perception by outsiders, as well as residents, showed that many in Jackson had an apathetic victim mentality that fostered a low self-esteem for residents of the city. These collective views identify issues that at least this sample of individuals is facing, and can serve to create a foundation and produce momentum to address concerns and move towards more sustainable development.

⁴ Case Categories: Developer, Business owner, Resident.

One potential sustainable economic foundation that was discovered during this research was the creation of the 2011 Creative Economy Initiative. The Mississippi Development Authority and The Mississippi Arts Commission recently conducted a study on Mississippi's Creative Economy called *Realizing the Economic Potential of Creativity in Mississippi* (2011), which studied current economic trends and how the inclusion of Mississippi's rich creative resources such as music, visual art, and literature can create economic growth in the state through avenues such as tourism. Former Governor Haley Barbour suggested that this strategy is one that can provide economic sustainability by identifying and capitalizing on the creative assets in the state. He wrote,

By understanding the creative economy as it exists in Mississippi today, we are better positioned to support and develop this key sector. This portion of our economy has the potential to be a major catalyst for job creation and other economic opportunities in communities around the state. In looking ahead, we must focus on our strengths and look at ways that we can build upon them. In Mississippi, the creative spirit of our people is one of our greatest assets. By developing our creative economy, we can further strengthen and diversify our state's economy and better position many of our communities for a bright and prosperous future [Barbour 2011: 2].

Lastly, looking to metaphoric images of the city from the urban anthropology literature, this research uncovered situational issues in Jackson that can be placed within the models that were listed, including Low's (1999) divided city and the contested city. One issue that arose describes an image of the divided city, the *de facto* divisions within neighborhoods where certain streets delineate communities and act as the proverbial

“other side of the tracks.” Along these lines, there are often differences in socioeconomic factors that include occupations, income, and educational levels. Interestingly enough, the Fondren Neighborhood Association has realized this occurrence and made an active push to not use “West Fondren” anymore and include this portion of the neighborhood simply as Fondren.

Considering the image of the contested city, the aforementioned victimization felt by Jacksonians from surrounding communities surfaced. On a daily basis, through the media and personal interactions, there is an obvious conflict between the surrounding municipalities and Jackson’s residents.

Ultimately, one of the main goals of this project was to discover what the collected data say back to the literature related to Urban Systems, Political Ecology and Sustainability. Data show that Jackson not only fit the national trend of suburbanization in years past, but also represented a trend of urban revitalization in mid-sized cities and the struggles that are associated. This being said, lack of perceived momentum felt among some participants can be attributed to such issues as lack of perceived identity and uncompleted projects due to public and private funding shortages. Considering Political Ecology, collected data suggest how attitudes affected development and development affected attitudes. Using Heynen and Swyngedouw’s descriptions of the inherent conflicts in Political Ecologies was a useful way to analyze the revitalization in Jackson. However, there were different conflicts found within the data than were proposed in the hypothesis. I was surprised to find that the conflicts were not between the case categories. Ultimately, the data suggested that the case categories were in agreement with each other

regarding concerns and the conflict was between them and the political structures in and around Jackson.

The purpose of this study was to create a platform to begin an honest discussion and reflection concerning Jackson's revitalization. This inquiry has created a "dialogue of values" that Blewitt (2008) insists upon and focuses on the political connotations that were evident among respondents.

This study was not designed to measure sustainability within Jackson's revitalization movement, but rather to establish which concerns and values participants held. As the literature suggests, this research provides that further inquiries can use this collected data as a foundation to measure sustainability within the revitalization movement in Jackson.

This research has intended to serve as an anthropological inquiry into Jackson, Mississippi's revitalization efforts in an effort to identify issues that may not be addressed through typical planning and development initiatives. By exploring why empirical anthropological research is necessary for urban development, the history and trends of urban systems, the emergence of political ecology and sustainability models for analysis, and a mixed-method research approach, this research has attempted to establish a foundation for a dialogue of values, which can ultimately lead to the inclusion of sustainable measures of development in Jackson's revitalization.

CHAPTER VIII

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

As in any study, there were certain limitations to the research. The first limitation was that the sample size was small (N=30). A larger sample size could provide a more accurate depiction of Jacksonians' thoughts regarding revitalization. The next limitation is the lack of randomization, which is a characteristic of non-probability purposive sampling due to the time and labor intensity of these type studies. Most studies of this kind are based on samples of fewer than 50 participants. In these cases, it is important to choose informants on "purpose," due to their familiarity with the topic, rather than randomly (Bernard 2006). The use of the snowball approach was beneficial in that it allowed identification of potential informants by participants who had already been interviewed. However, this type of sampling could have limited the explanatory power of the collected data because it captured only a small portion of the overall opinions of revitalization among Jacksonians. Bernard suggests that the snowball method could be seen as "risky" in large populations "because every person does not have the same chance of being included" (2006: 193). There was also gender imbalance within the sample of participants. This gender disparity can be attributed to the fact that there are more males in the development field in Jackson. As well, several females that were contacted for interviews did not respond after several attempts.

Another limitation of this study could be attributed to the modification of the Chattanooga Revision criteria. While the sustainability topics can be seen as a normative approach to revitalization, there could possibly be different concerns held by citizens of Chattanooga and Jackson. The Chattanooga Revision Goals were created by a community visioning process specific to Chattanooga. The application of these goals in Jackson's revitalization dialogue could have contributed to the lack of division and conflict found because the survey questions were not specifically designed by Jacksonians.

This being considered, the way that the participants' responded could potentially be attributed to the question topics, question format, or the characteristics of the sample. Each of these limitations could have potentially skewed the results from the data. This being said, a reader could argue that the statistical results could have occurred by coincidence rather than from the methods that were used in this project. However, Bernard (2006) explains that there are research situations when purposive sampling is beneficial including pilot studies and intensive case studies. This project has been both of these and can contribute to future research on this topic.

CHAPTER IX

FUTURE RESEARCH

This research project identified concerns related to sustainability criteria within Jackson's revitalization movement and established a "dialogue of values" within the participant sample (Blewitt 2000). Future research can use this base-line data to establish research methods that are specifically designed and oriented towards Jackson. With those specific concerns identified, an indicator's project, which was mentioned above, can then be developed to accurately measure progress towards a more sustainable City of Jackson.

The holistic view of cultural anthropology has offered an alternative perspective into Jackson's efforts to revive its urban core. This identification of Jacksonians' desires, attitudes, and positions concerning the inclusion of sustainability into revitalization will ultimately provide a foundation and platform for future inclusion in the development process

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APPENDIX A
JACKSON REVITALIZATION INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Case ID:

Date:

Location:

Demographics:

1. Gender: (M) (F) (U)

2. Age:

3. What ethnicity do you consider yourself?

4. Can you tell me what you do for a living?

5. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

6. Marital Status: Single Married Divorced Widow/Widower

Jackson Information:

1. Do you live in the Jackson city limits? If no, proceed to 3.

a) Which neighborhood or area?

2. How many years have you lived in Jackson?

3. Did you grow up in Jackson? If no, where are you from?

Y

N

4. Can you tell me about your experience growing up in Jackson? If no, can you tell me about your experience growing up in your hometown?

5. How has Jackson changed during your time here?

a) For better or worse?

6. How would you describe your sense of connection to the city of Jackson?

- a) No connection
- b) Little connection
- c) Somewhat connected
- d) Good connection
- e) Strong connection

Connection	0	1	2	3	4
	3.3%	6.7%	6.7%	10%	73.3%

Could you explain?

7. Are you aware of the revitalization efforts in Jackson?

Y

N

If no, proceed to 9.

8. What are you hearing about these efforts?

9. Do you think revitalization efforts will be successful?

a) Please explain:

10. What would you personally like to see in a renewal of downtown?

Sustainability Rating and Listing Questions:

Please rate how you feel about the following questions related to Jackson by answering: I strongly disagree, I disagree, I am neutral, I agree, I strongly agree. After the question, I will ask you to explain your answer.

I. Economic

1. There is access to basic economic needs and services within the City of Jackson.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Econ Needs	SD	D	N	A	SA
	6.7%	33.3%	6.7%	46.7%	6.7%

Could You Explain?

a) What type of businesses would you like to see in downtown?

2. Quality employment opportunities are available in Jackson.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Employment	SD	D	N	A	SA
	6.7%	36.7%	16.7%	33.3%	6.7%

Could You Explain?

3. Future generations in Jackson will have the same access to opportunity as you have experienced.

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

Neutral

Agree

Strongly Agree

Could You Explain?

a) Will it be better or worse? Please Explain.

II. Political/Governmental

1. There is efficient city government in Jackson.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Efficient City Government	SD	D	N	A	SA
	40%	40%	13.3%	6.7%	0%

Could You Explain?

2. There are “leaders who embrace cooperation and participation in working toward common goals” in Jackson ((City of Chattanooga 1993:1)

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Common Goals	SD	D	N	A	SA
	10%	30%	16.7%	36.7%	6.7%

Could You Explain?

3. There are opportunities to voice political concerns in the community.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Voice	SD	D	N	A	SA
	3.3%	13.3%	3.3%	66.7%	13.3%

Could You Explain?

4. Jackson is “a community that encourages informed citizen participation in planning and problem solving” ((City of Chattanooga 1993:1)

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

Neutral

Agree

Strongly Agree

Citizen Participation	SD	D	N	A	SA
	3.3%	33.3%	30%	30%	3.3%

Could You Explain?

5. Jackson is a safe city through efforts by an efficient police force, community partnerships, and effective criminal justice ((City of Chattanooga 1993:1)

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Safety	SD	D	N	A	SA
	16.7%	30%	23.3%	26.7%	3.3%

Could You Explain?

6. There is efficient public transportation for residents in Jackson.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Transportation	SD	D	N	A	SA
	43.3%	30%	6.7%	16.7%	3.3%

Could You Explain?

7. Quality education is available in Jackson.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Education	SD	D	N	A	SA
	0%	36.7%	6.7%	40%	16.7%

Could You Explain?

III. Socio-cultural

1. Jackson is “an organized community of strong, active, attractive, and safe neighborhoods” ((City of Chattanooga 1993: 1)).

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Neighborhoods	SD	D	N	A	SA
	6.7%	33.3%	26.7%	33.3%	0%

Could You Explain?

2. Overall, Jacksonians have a strong identity.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Identity	SD	D	N	A	SA
	0%	20%	26.7%	33.3%	20%

Could You Explain?

. All backgrounds are being considered in Jackson’s revitalization process.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Backgrounds	SD	D	N	A	SA
	10%	30%	23.3%	23.3%	13.3%

Could You Explain?

4. Historic preservation of buildings is important in revitalization.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Historic Pres.	SD	D	N	A	SA
	0%	3.3%	10%	50%	36.7%

Could You Explain?

5. It is important to consider Jackson's past in its future development.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Past in Future Development	SD	D	N	A	SA
	3.3%	6.7%	0%	46.7%	43.3%

Could You Explain?

6. Tourism is important in Jackson's revitalization.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Tourism	SD	D	N	A	SA
	0%	0%	0%	36.7%	63.3%

Could You Explain?

a. What would one come to Jackson to see?

7. There is a problem with race relations in Jackson.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Race Relationships	S	D	N	A	SA
	0%	16.7%	23.3%	40%	20%

Could You Explain?

IV. Environmental

1. Residents of Jackson are concerned about water and air quality.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Environmental Quality	SD	D	N	A	SA
	0%	30%	10%	40%	20%

Could You Explain?

2. There is access to recycling for all Jackson residents.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Recycling	SD	D	N	A	SA
	13.3%	40%	16.7%	30%	0%

Could You Explain?

3. It is important to recycle in Jackson.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Could You Explain?

4. Jackson could benefit from development along the Pearl River.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Pearl River Development	SD	D	N	A	SA
	0%	3.3%	10%	36.7%	50%

Could You Explain?

a. What are any obstacles that you see in this potential development?

5. Jackson has access to a sufficient amount of parks and green spaces.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Parks	SD	D	N	A	SA
	16.7%	36.7%	10%	33.3%	3.3%

Could You Explain?

6. The city has a walkable/pedestrian friendly downtown.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Pedestrian Friendly	SD	D	N	A	SA
	10%	20%	20%	40%	10%

Could You Explain?

APPENDIX B
STATISTICAL OUTPUT

Descriptives

Jackson Has Access to Economic Needs

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.15	1.068	.296	1.51	2.80	1	4
Business Owner	10	2.20	1.033	.327	1.46	2.94	1	3
Developer	7	2.00	1.633	.617	.49	3.51	0	4
Total	30	2.13	1.167	.213	1.70	2.57	0	4

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Jackson Has Access to Economic Needs	African American	13	2.23	1.092	.303
	Caucasian	17	2.06	1.249	.303

Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	t-test for Equality of Means								
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Jackson Has Access to Economic Needs	Equal variances assumed	.641	.430	.394	28	.696	.172	.436	-.722	1.065
	Equal variances not assumed			.401	27.428	.691	.172	.428	-.706	1.050

Descriptives

Jackson Has Access to Quality Employment

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	1.77	1.013	.281	1.16	2.38	0	3
Business Owner	10	2.30	1.059	.335	1.54	3.06	1	4
Developer	7	1.86	1.464	.553	.50	3.21	0	4
Total	30	1.97	1.129	.206	1.55	2.39	0	4

ANOVA

Jackson Has Access to Quality Employment

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.702	2	.851	.651	.529
Within Groups	35.265	27	1.306		
Total	36.967	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Jackson Has Access to Quality Employment	African American	13	1.92	1.256	.348
	Caucasian	17	2.00	1.061	.257

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Jackson Has Access to Quality Employment	Equal variances assumed	.144	.707	-.182	28	.857	-.077	.423	-.944	.790
	Equal variances not assumed			-.178	23.434	.861	-.077	.433	-.972	.818

Descriptives

Future Generations in Jackson Will Have Greater Opportunities

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.38	.961	.266	1.80	2.97	1	4
Business Owner	10	2.80	.919	.291	2.14	3.46	1	4
Developer	7	2.29	1.380	.522	1.01	3.56	0	4
Total	30	2.50	1.042	.190	2.11	2.89	0	4

ANOVA

Future Generations in Jackson Will Have Greater Opportunities

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.395	2	.697	.625	.543
Within Groups	30.105	27	1.115		
Total	31.500	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Future Generations in Jackson Will Have Greater Opportunities	African American	13	2.38	.768	.213
	Caucasian	17	2.59	1.228	.298

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Future Generations in Jackson Will Have Greater Opportunities	Equal variances assumed	2.862	.102	-.524	28	.605	-.204	.389	-1.000	.593
	Equal variances not assumed			-.556	27.101	.583	-.204	.366	-.955	.547

Descriptives

There is Efficient City Government in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	.85	.689	.191	.43	1.26	0	2
Business Owner	10	.80	.789	.249	.24	1.36	0	2
Developer	7	1.00	1.414	.535	-.31	2.31	0	3
Total	30	.87	.900	.164	.53	1.20	0	3

ANOVA

There is Efficient City Government in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.174	2	.087	.101	.904
Within Groups	23.292	27	.863		
Total	23.467	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
There is Efficient City Government in Jackson	African American	13	1.08	.954	.265
	Caucasian	17	.71	.849	.206

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
There is Efficient City Government in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	.084	.775	1.125	28	.270	.371	.330	-.305	1.047
	Equal variances not assumed			1.107	24.259	.279	.371	.335	-.321	1.063

Descriptives

There are Leaders Who Cooperate Toward Comon Goals in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	1.85	1.281	.355	1.07	2.62	0	4
Business Owner	10	2.30	1.059	.335	1.54	3.06	1	4
Developer	7	1.86	1.215	.459	.73	2.98	0	3
Total	30	2.00	1.174	.214	1.56	2.44	0	4

ANOVA

There are Leaders Who Cooperate Toward Comon Goals in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.351	2	.675	.472	.629
Within Groups	38.649	27	1.431		
Total	40.000	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
There are Leaders Who Cooperate Toward Comon Goals in Jackson	African American	13	2.00	1.080	.300
	Caucasian	17	2.00	1.275	.309

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
There are Leaders Who Cooperate Toward Comon Goals in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	.385	.540	.000	28	1.000	.000	.440	-.902	.902
	Equal variances not assumed			.000	27.650	1.000	.000	.431	-.882	.882

Descriptives

There Are Opportunities to Voice Political Concerns in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.62	.961	.266	2.03	3.20	1	4
Business Owner	10	3.10	.568	.180	2.69	3.51	2	4
Developer	7	2.43	1.397	.528	1.14	3.72	0	4
Total	30	2.73	.980	.179	2.37	3.10	0	4

ANOVA

There Are Opportunities to Voice Political Concerns in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.175	2	1.088	1.143	.334
Within Groups	25.691	27	.952		
Total	27.867	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	American				
	Caucasian	17	2.53	.943	.229

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
There Are Opportunities to Voice Political Concerns in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	.180	.675	1.320	28	.198	.471	.357	-.260	1.201
	Equal variances not assumed			1.309	25.152	.202	.471	.360	-.270	1.211

Descriptives

There is Encouragement of Citizen Participation in Planning and Problem Solving in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.23	.725	.201	1.79	2.67	1	3
Business Owner	10	1.60	1.075	.340	.83	2.37	1	4
Developer	7	2.00	1.155	.436	.93	3.07	0	3
Total	30	1.97	.964	.176	1.61	2.33	0	4

ANOVA

There is Encouragement of Citizen Participation in Planning and Problem Solving in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.259	2	1.129	1.234	.307
Within Groups	24.708	27	.915		
Total	26.967	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	American				
	Caucasian	17	2.12	1.054	.256

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
There is Encouragement of Citizen Participation in Planning and Problem Solving in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	.502	.484	-.980	28	.335	-.348	.356	-1.077	.380
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.012	27.952	.320	-.348	.344	-1.054	.357

Descriptives

Jackson is a Safe City

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	1.62	1.193	.331	.89	2.34	0	4
Business Owner	10	1.60	1.174	.371	.76	2.44	0	3
Developer	7	2.00	1.155	.436	.93	3.07	0	3
Total	30	1.70	1.149	.210	1.27	2.13	0	4

ANOVA

Jackson is a Safe City

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.823	2	.412	.296	.746
Within Groups	37.477	27	1.388		
Total	38.300	29			

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Jackson is a Safe City	Equal variances assumed	1.543	.225	-.347	28	.731	-.149	.430	-1.030	.731
	Equal variances not assumed			-.336	22.147	.740	-.149	.445	-1.071	.773

Descriptives

There is Efficient Public Transportation in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	1.15	1.519	.421	.24	2.07	0	4
Business Owner	10	1.10	1.197	.379	.24	1.96	0	3
Developer	7	.86	.690	.261	.22	1.50	0	2
Total	30	1.07	1.230	.225	.61	1.53	0	4

ANOVA

There is Efficient Public Transportation in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.417	2	.209	.130	.879
Within Groups	43.449	27	1.609		
Total	43.867	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
There is Efficient Public Transportation in Jackson	African American	13	1.15	1.345	.373
	Caucasian	17	1.00	1.173	.284

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
There is Efficient Public Transportation in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	1.310	.262	.334	28	.741	.154	.460	-.789	1.097
	Equal variances not assumed			.328	23.944	.746	.154	.469	-.814	1.122

Descriptives

Quality Education is Available in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.31	1.316	.365	1.51	3.10	1	4
Business Owner	10	2.10	.994	.314	1.39	2.81	1	3
Developer	7	2.86	1.069	.404	1.87	3.85	1	4
Total	30	2.37	1.159	.212	1.93	2.80	1	4

ANOVA

Quality Education is Available in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.440	2	1.220	.902	.418
Within Groups	36.526	27	1.353		
Total	38.967	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Quality Education is Available in Jackson	African American	13	2.46	1.198	.332
	Caucasian	17	2.29	1.160	.281

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Quality Education is Available in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	.023	.881	.386	28	.702	.167	.433	-.721	1.055
	Equal variances not assumed			.384	25.529	.704	.167	.435	-.728	1.063

Descriptives

There Are Strong, Active, and Attractive Neighborhoods in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	1.85	.987	.274	1.25	2.44	0	3
Business Owner	10	1.70	.949	.300	1.02	2.38	0	3
Developer	7	2.14	1.069	.404	1.15	3.13	1	3
Total	30	1.87	.973	.178	1.50	2.23	0	3

ANOVA

There Are Strong, Active, and Attractive Neighborhoods in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.817	2	.409	.414	.665
Within Groups	26.649	27	.987		
Total	27.467	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	American				
	Caucasian	17	1.94	1.029	.250

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
There Are Strong, Active, and Attractive Neighborhoods in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	.690	.413	-.473	28	.640	-.172	.363	-.916	.573
	Equal variances not assumed			-.480	27.176	.635	-.172	.358	-.907	.563

Descriptives

Jacksonians have an Overall Strong Identity

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.69	1.032	.286	2.07	3.32	1	4
Business Owner	10	2.60	1.265	.400	1.70	3.50	1	4
Developer	7	2.14	.690	.261	1.50	2.78	1	3
Total	30	2.53	1.042	.190	2.14	2.92	1	4

ANOVA

Jacksonians have an Overall Strong Identity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.440	2	.720	.648	.531
Within Groups	30.026	27	1.112		
Total	31.467	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Jacksonians have an Overall Strong Identity	African American	13	2.92	1.115	.309
	Caucasian	17	2.24	.903	.219

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Jacksonians have an Overall Strong Identity	Equal variances assumed	.399	.533	1.867	28	.072	.688	.368	-.067	1.442
	Equal variances not assumed			1.815	22.767	.083	.688	.379	-.097	1.472

Descriptives

All Socioeconomic Backgrounds Are Being Considered in Jackson's Revitalization

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.08	1.188	.329	1.36	2.79	0	4
Business Owner	10	1.60	1.350	.427	.63	2.57	0	4
Developer	7	2.43	1.134	.429	1.38	3.48	1	4
Total	30	2.00	1.232	.225	1.54	2.46	0	4

ANOVA

All Socioeconomic Backgrounds Are Being Considered in Jackson's Revitalization

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.963	2	1.481	.975	.390
Within Groups	41.037	27	1.520		
Total	44.000	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
All Socioeconomic Backgrounds Are Being Considered in Jackson's Revitalization	African American	13	1.54	.967	.268
	Caucasian	17	2.35	1.320	.320

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
All Socioeconomic Backgrounds Are Being Considered in Jackson's Revitalization	Equal variances assumed	2.712	.111	-1.870	28	.072	-.814	.435	-1.706	.078
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.950	27.971	.061	-.814	.418	-1.670	.041

Descriptives

Historic Preservation is Important

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	3.23	.599	.166	2.87	3.59	2	4
Business Owner	10	2.90	.994	.314	2.19	3.61	1	4
Developer	7	3.57	.535	.202	3.08	4.07	3	4
Total	30	3.20	.761	.139	2.92	3.48	1	4

ANOVA

Historic Preservation is Important

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.878	2	.939	1.699	.202
Within Groups	14.922	27	.553		
Total	16.800	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Historic Preservation is Important	African American	13	2.92	.954	.265
	Caucasian	17	3.41	.507	.123

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Historic Preservation is Important	Equal variances assumed	2.720	.110	-1.810	28	.081	-.489	.270	-1.042	.064
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.675	17.149	.112	-.489	.292	-1.104	.127

Descriptives

It is Important to Consider Jackson's Past in Future Development

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	3.23	.832	.231	2.73	3.73	1	4
Business Owner	10	3.20	1.229	.389	2.32	4.08	0	4
Developer	7	3.14	1.069	.404	2.15	4.13	1	4
Total	30	3.20	.997	.182	2.83	3.57	0	4

ANOVA

It is Important to Consider Jackson's Past in Future Development

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.035	2	.018	.017	.984
Within Groups	28.765	27	1.065		
Total	28.800	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
It is Important to Consider Jackson's Past in Future Development	African	13	3.08	1.256	.348
	American				
	Caucasian	17	3.29	.772	.187

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
It is Important to Consider Jackson's Past in Future Development	Equal variances assumed	1.140	.295	-.585	28	.563	-.217	.371	-.978	.544
	Equal variances not assumed			-.549	18.759	.589	-.217	.395	-1.045	.611

Descriptives

There Are Problems with Race Relations in Jackson

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.85	.987	.274	2.25	3.44	1	4
Business Owner	10	2.40	.843	.267	1.80	3.00	1	4
Developer	7	2.57	1.272	.481	1.39	3.75	1	4
Total	30	2.63	.999	.182	2.26	3.01	1	4

ANOVA

There Are Problems with Race Relations in Jackson

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.160	2	.580	.563	.576
Within Groups	27.807	27	1.030		
Total	28.967	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
There Are Problems with Race Relations in Jackson	African	13	2.62	.870	.241
	American				
	Caucasian	17	2.65	1.115	.270

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
There Are Problems with Race Relations in Jackson	Equal variances assumed	1.151	.293	-.085	28	.933	-.032	.375	-.799	.736
	Equal variances not assumed			-.087	27.976	.931	-.032	.362	-.774	.711

Descriptives

Jacksonians Are Concerned About Water and Air Quality

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	2.23	1.166	.323	1.53	2.94	1	4
Business Owner	10	2.50	1.080	.342	1.73	3.27	1	4
Developer	7	3.00	1.155	.436	1.93	4.07	1	4
Total	30	2.50	1.137	.208	2.08	2.92	1	4

ANOVA

Jacksonians Are Concerned About Water and Air Quality

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.692	2	1.346	1.044	.366
Within Groups	34.808	27	1.289		
Total	37.500	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	American				
	Caucasian	17	2.65	1.115	.270

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Jacksonians Are Concerned About Water and Air Quality	Equal variances assumed	.430	.517	-.805	28	.428	-.339	.422	-1.203	.524
	Equal variances not assumed			-.799	25.148	.432	-.339	.425	-1.214	.536

Descriptives

Jackson Could Benefit From Development Along Pearl River

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	3.15	.987	.274	2.56	3.75	1	4
Business Owner	10	3.30	.675	.213	2.82	3.78	2	4
Developer	7	3.71	.488	.184	3.26	4.17	3	4
Total	30	3.33	.802	.146	3.03	3.63	1	4

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Jackson Could Benefit From Development Along Pearl River	African	13	3.00	.913	.253
	American				
	Caucasian	17	3.59	.618	.150

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Jackson Could Benefit From Development Along Pearl River	Equal variances assumed	.221	.642	-2.104	28	.044	-.588	.280	-1.161	-.016
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.999	20.047	.059	-.588	.294	-1.202	.026

Descriptives

Jackson Has Access to a Sufficient Amount of Parks and Green Spaces

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Resident	13	1.85	1.214	.337	1.11	2.58	0	3
Business Owner	10	1.60	1.350	.427	.63	2.57	0	4
Developer	7	1.57	1.134	.429	.52	2.62	0	3
Total	30	1.70	1.208	.221	1.25	2.15	0	4

ANOVA

Jackson Has Access to a Sufficient Amount of Parks and Green Spaces

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.493	2	.247	.159	.854
Within Groups	41.807	27	1.548		
Total	42.300	29			

Group Statistics

	Ethnicity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Jackson Has Access to a Sufficient Amount of Parks and Green Spaces	African American	13	1.85	1.345	.373
	Caucasian	17	1.59	1.121	.272

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Jackson Has Access to a Sufficient Amount of Parks and Green Spaces	Equal variances assumed	1.933	.175	.573	28	.571	.258	.450	-.664	1.180
	Equal variances not assumed			.559	23.231	.582	.258	.462	-.696	1.212

ANOVA

Jackson has Walkable/Pedestrian Friendly Downtown

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.164	2	.082	.054	.947
Within Groups	40.636	27	1.505		
Total	40.800	29			