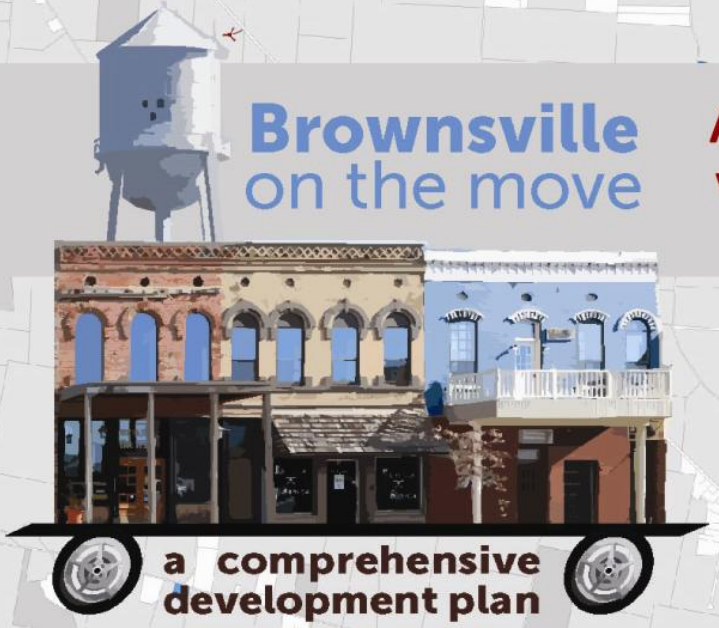
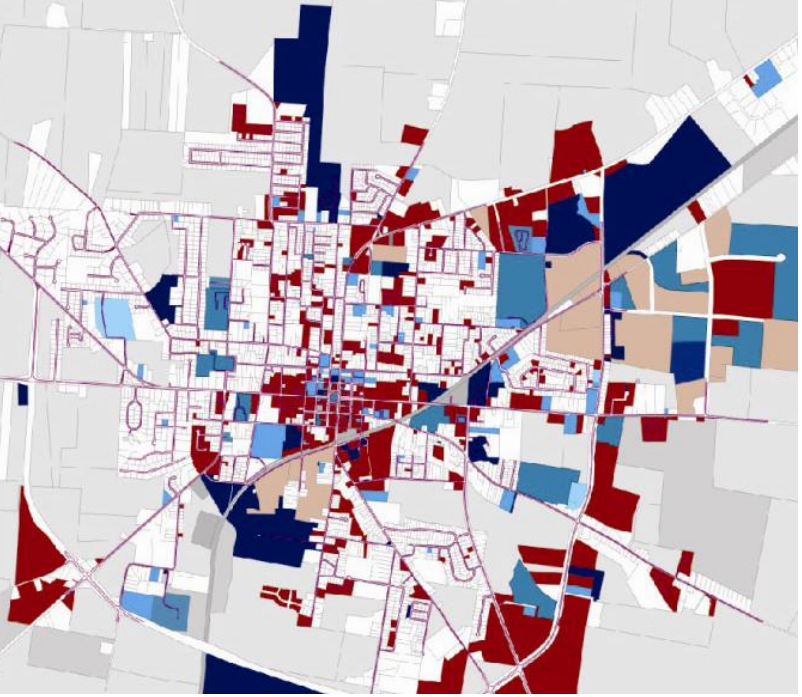
Brownsville on the move



A Comprehensive Plan for Building a more Vibrant, Sustainable, and Just Community

January 2012



Prepared by

City of Brownsville, Tennessee, Established 1824

With the support of

THE UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS

Graduate Program in
City and Regional Planning

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BROWNSVILLE ON THE MOVE: AN EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

I | ORIGINS OF THE PLAN

Shortly after her election as Mayor of the City of Brownsville in 2010, Jo Matherne, invited local residents, civic leaders, and municipal officials to work together to prepare a comprehensive development plan to guide the City's future growth and development. Aware of the extensive environmental, economic, and social data needed to formulate a solid blueprint to guide Brownsville's future, Mayor Matherne invited Thomas Skehan, formerly of the State of Tennessee's Office of Local Planning Services, and the students and faculty from the University of Memphis' Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning, to collaborate with local residents, institutional leaders, and municipal officials in creating the Brownsville on the Move Plan.

II | GOALS OF THE PLAN

In February of 2011, planners from the State of Tennessee and the University of Memphis met with Mayor Matherne, Planning Director Susan Hayes, and representatives of the Planning Commission, Historic Planning Commission and Board of Alderman to establish the following set of planning goals and guiding principles to guide the planning process. After extensive discussions, these officials asked their State and University planning partners to assist them in preparing a document that would:

- help local officials develop policies and implement programs that would produce a higher quality of life within the City;
- encourage new investment in local businesses that expand employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for current and future residents of the City;
- offer local residents, institutional leaders, and municipal officials the opportunity to work together to determine the future direction of their community's growth and development; and
- nurture the development of a new generation of civic leaders committed to building a more vibrant, sustainable, and just Brownsville.

III | COMMUNITY VALUES

Following several meetings involving Mayor Matherne, Planning Director Hayes, Tom Skehan of the State Office of Local Planning Services, and representatives of the University of Memphis, the Brownsville Planning Team agreed to work together to produce a plan that would be:

- informed by the City's rich social history and cultural heritage;
- shaped by a careful analysis of the best available quantitative and qualitative data describing local conditions and stakeholder preferences;
- based upon the community's many environmental, economic, and social assets;
- responsive to the hopes and aspirations of Brownsville's current residents, business owners, institutional leaders and elected and appointed officials;
- consistent with the county, region, and state's key economic and community development policies, plans, and programs;
- protective of the Brownsville's most important natural resources (Excellent soil, rich wetlands, abundant wildlife, remarkable scenic

views, and easy access to the Hatchie River and National Wildlife Refuge);

- respectful of the City's impressive stock of well-preserved historic homes, commercial buildings, religious institutions and public facilities;
- bold enough to inspire a broad cross-section of local stakeholders and their allies to work together to achieve the plan's most important elements;
- achievable using City resources that can be used to leverage significant amounts of external public and private funds; and
- responsive to the hopes and aspirations of local youth as well as the City's newest residents.

IV | PLANNING METHODOLOGY

The Brownsville on the Move Plan is based upon a careful analysis of existing data and new research conducted by the Brownsville Planning Team with the assistance of local residents and leaders. One of the unique aspects of the Brownsville planning process has been the active participation of more than 500 residents in the analysis of the environmental, economic, and social data on which the plan is based. These residents and their elected leaders played a central role in shaping this plan's overall development goal and specific improvement objectives; they also generated the vast majority of the more than sixty near, mid, and long term development projects highlighted in this document.

The following section summarizes the research activities carried out by the Brownsville Planning Team with the assistance of local residents and leaders between February and September 2011. More detailed information regarding these activities can be found within the Brownsville on the Move Plan and the project's website: www.brownsvilleonthemove.org.

Brownsville Comprehensive Planning Research Methodology

Research Phase	Research Activities	Description of Research Activities
Intelligence	Archival Research Community Mapping Resident Vision Activities Camera Exercise Census Analysis Movers and Shakers Interviews Focus Group Resident Interviews Hernando, MS Field Trip	Student planners reviewed more than a dozen past plans, reports and studies More than sixty Residents worked together, in small groups, to map the city's many assets More than fifty residents participated in a guided visualization exercise to imagine what an improved Brownsville could look like in 2030 More than forty local residents and business owners used disposable cameras to document the city's assets, challenges, and untapped resource University students analyzed recent population and housing trends comparing the city to 6 other small cities in TN and the State University students conducted one-on-one interviews with more than two dozen local civic and business leaders University students and faculty facilitated focus groups with local small business owners, corporate managers, religious leaders, youth, and Latino/a residents involving more than two hundred individuals The University Survey Research Center conducted telephone interviews with more than two hundred city residents University faculty, with the assistance of municipal officials from Hernando, MS, organized a daylong study trip which twenty-five Brownsville leaders attended to identify "best practices in small town planning"
Design	SWOT Analysis Establishment of Overall Development goals and Setting of Specific Improvement Objectives	More than one hundred residents assessed Brownsville current strengthens and weaknesses and future opportunities and threats, in an iterative fashion, following the completion of each new data collection activity Approximately eighty residents worked together to identify an overall development goal and specific improvement objectives to guide the future development of the city
Choice	Formulation of Detailed Action Plans Organization of Neighborhood Summit	Fifty local leaders attended two meetings to formulate issue specific action plans to help the city achieve its overall development goals and objectives Eighty residents participated in a day-long Neighborhood Summit to review, refine, and approve the draft Brownsville Preliminary Planning Framework before it was presented to the City Planning Commission for review.

V | THE BROWNSVILLE SWOT ANALYSIS

The Brownsville on the Move Plan features more than fifty pages of data describing current conditions and ongoing trends affecting the City and its people. The following chart presents the major research findings upon which the plan is based in the form of a SWOT Analysis. Originated by consultants from the Stanford Research International who studied complex organizations and international conflicts in the 1960s and subsequently popularized by Harvard Business School faculty, the SWOT Analysis has been adopted by planners as a tool for presenting concise community profiles.

The Brownsville SWOT Analysis

Current Strengths	Current Weaknesses
• An excellent location: just west of I-40, close to two larger cities, the Hatchie River, and the Hatchie National Wildlife Reserve • Strong cooperation among Mayor and the City Board • Abundance of engaged religious congregations • Great family environment • Plentiful tourism and visitor attractions • A diverse population and good race relations • Convenient garbage collection and re-cycling services • Interesting, attractive, and varied historic districts	• Lack of appropriate cultural and recreational activities for young people • Older educational facilities (Newest school is 41 years old) • Absence of well placed and attractively designed gateways and way-finding signage • Poor media portrayal and weak web presence of Brownsville • Poorly maintained building exteriors – needing facelifts • Blighted areas – needed improvement • Absence of clear development standards
Future Opportunities	**Future threats**
• Ideal location for satellite campus due to proximity to Jackson and Memphis • Significant untapped leadership within the community • Increasing traffic along the nearby I-40 Corridor • A small town feel that is ideal for raising children • A great retirement location (Low cost, climate, amenities, and access to excellent health care services) • Terrific as an in-between living alternative between Jackson and Memphis • Availability of students required to perform 80 hours of community service each academic year • The recently completed State solar form and proposed industrial mega-site	• Skilled workers leaving the area • Threat of talented youth leaving the area • A weak educational system

VI | THE OVERALL DEVELOPMENT GOAL AND SPECIFIC COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT OBJECTIVES

Building upon the significant physical, economic, and social assets and clear local stakeholder visions for an improved community identified during the first phase of the planning process, local residents, institutional leaders, and municipal officials adopted the following overall development goal to guide their economic and community development efforts during the coming fifteen years.

To position Brownsville as West Tennessee's most desirable city recognized for its natural beauty, rich cultural history, artistic attractions and musical heritage, abundant agriculture, exceptional architecture and unique town square, quality public services, faith-based traditions, and love of learning, with a central location bounded by the scenic Hatchie River – a thriving community where small town values, quality of life, diversity, and entrepreneurial spirit are honored daily.

Having selected this statement as their overall development goal, local stakeholders met several times before selecting the following six improvement objectives to help the City make progress towards achieving its overall development goal of becoming "West Tennessee's most desirable city".

Objective 1 | To preserve and enhance the City's built environment and public spaces through the skillful application of advanced **historic preservation and urban design** principles and methods;

Objective 2 | To expand the City's economic and tax base by **expanding local employment, entrepreneurial, and investment opportunities** for current and future residents and business owners;

Objective 3 | To connect the City's areas of public spaces, community facilities, and historic districts through a **proposed greenway system** utilizing the existing floodplain to improve access to the City's neighborhoods and the Hatchie National Wildlife Refuge;

Objective 4 | To strengthen the City's competitive position within the region and nation through strategic investment in **public education, arts, and culture**;

Objective 5 | To facilitate the movement of people and goods by **enhancing the City's existing infrastructure and way-finding systems**; and

Objective 6 | To insure quality **housing choice and security** for current and future residents through creative approaches to neighborhood preservation and enhancement, and expansion of the City's housing stock.

VII | THE BROWNSVILLE ON THE MOVE ACTION PLAN

The Brownsville on the Move Plan contains specific near, mid, and long-term economic and community development projects designed to enable the City to achieve each of the above mentioned community improvement objectives. The project proposed for the near-term (first five years) of the plan are modest efforts than can, for the most part, be carried out through the cooperation of existing City personnel and community volunteers and limited amounts of new public and private funding. Momentum generated by the successful completion of these projects is expected to broaden the base of community support and external funding for this plan so as to enable the City to undertake the more ambitious and potentially transformative initiatives presented as mid and long-term projects.

The following chart presents a small sample of the more than sixty concrete development projects featured in the Brownsville on the Move Plan.

	Near-Term Project	Mid-Term Project	Long-Term Project
Historic Preservation and Urban Design	**Main Street Brownsville, Inc.** Build upon the current Tennessee Downtowns Program and recently executed Court Square Master Plan to preserve and revitalize Downtown, complete and celebrate "Brownsville's Looking Up", as the foundation for achieving the next level - National Main Street status for Downtown Brownsville.	**Brownville Urban Trails** Establish at least two urban trails highlighting Brownsville's art and history, with the aim of encouraging pedestrian use of Brownsville's urban core while exposing visitors to the City's Downtown and historic neighborhoods.	**The School Back to the City Core** Abandon campus-based school complexes at the City's periphery in favor of the adaptive re-use of infill sites closer to the town center.
Expanding Local Employment, Entrepreneurship, and Business	**Digging Downtown Project** A systematic effort to bring people back to Court Square to enjoy art, music, culture, food and shopping, that builds upon the excitement generated by the City's recent upgrading of the Court Square. This project would feature a Friday evening Music series, Saturday Farmers Market, Sunday Classic Outdoor Movie Program and an end-of-the-school year social history arts, and drama festival to attract residents and visitors.	**What's Cooking/Baking** A coordinated and strategic effort by local business leaders to recruit a successful restaurateur and/or baker from within the region to establish a quality family or fine dining restaurant and/or bake shop in a currently underutilized first floor location on or near Court Square.	**4H Home Base** Make Brownsville the location of a new regional 4-H Education and Training Center in West Tennessee to be built by the State Cooperative Education Service.
Creating a City-Wide Greenway	**Let's Move** Establish a Greenway Conservancy to coordinate the planning and development of a	**Trailhead Design** Organize an international design competition for the creation of a "green" trailhead information, education,	**To the Hatchie** Design and construct a public hiking and biking trail connecting the City's proposed

	circumferential greenway that will serve as a central feature of the City's flood control system and an important regional recreational amenity.	bike rental and repair facility.	greenway to the Hatchie National Wildlife Reserve.
Promoting Public Education, Art, and Culture	**AP on the Advance** Increase the number and variety of Advanced Placement courses available to Brownsville and Haywood County secondary students thereby improving their college admissions profiles and completion times.	**Engagement Brownsville** The City, in cooperation with the Haywood County Schools and the Brownsville Public Library, would work to contract with service-learning experts to formulate a developmental approach for involving school-age children in ongoing public service, community-building and problem-solving efforts within the community.	**The New Haywood County High school** The design and construction of a new Haywood County High School near the center City using green design principles that will allow students to actively study sustainable approaches to architecture, engineering, and planning.
Enhancing the Movement of People and Goods	**Roundabout** Work with TDOT to determine the most appropriate treatment of the intersection of the Bypass and Highway 76 (Anderson Avenue), including a roundabout to create an attractive gateway into the City, while providing an efficient, streamlined traffic flow.	**Gateway/Corridor Enhancements** Work with TDOT, local businesses, and the Chamber to improve the Anderson Avenue/Main Street corridor from I-40 to Downtown which serves as the primary entrance into the City, create attractive gateways for travelers/tourists, and residents while addressing safety and accessibility issues. Critical infrastructure items, include: unsafe sidewalks, intrusive utility poles, unattractive parking lots, and the absence of landscaping. To further complement these improvements, Downtown will serve as a primary connection point for those seeking to use the new greenway system. Over time, these consumers might attract a trail-related business such as a bike shop, sports store, coffee shop or eatery.	**Alternative Fuels Initiative** Studying the extent to which the City, School District, and County could achieve energy efficiency and environmental benefits by changing the mix of fuels they use in their respective motor fleets.
Improving Housing Quality and Choice	**Christmas-in-April** An initiative aimed at organizing local volunteers to undertake small repairs and cosmetic improvement projects for low to moderate income homeowners who cannot, for a variety of financial and physical reasons, complete these projects.	**Brownsville Assisted Living Project** Recruit a recognized non-profit senior housing provider to develop an assisted living complex offering a range of housing hypes and supportive services.	**Bradford Square Revisited** Redevelop Bradford Square as a mixed-income, mixed-use, mixed-finance project to include housing, neighborhood-oriented retail services, including a grocery, and various educational and civic uses.

VIII | PLAN, REVIEW, APPROVAL, AND IMPLEMENTATION

Mayor Matherne expects to submit the Brownsville on the Move Plan to the Planning Commission for review and approval in January of 2012. Following their approval, the plan will be forwarded to the Brownsville City Board in February. Following the approval of this second body, the Mayor will ask the Planning Commission and City Board to review the plan's list of twenty-four near-term projects to identify a manageable subset of three to five initiatives they would recommend as Year One Priorities. At the end of each year, these bodies will evaluate the progress that has been made towards successfully implementing these efforts. At that time, completed projects will drop off the list to be replaced by the next set of priority projects from the plan. On the fifth anniversary of the plan's adoption, the Planning Commission and City Board will revisit the proposed list of Near and Mid-Term Projects in light of then-current economic, fiscal, and political conditions.

IX | FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

For additional information regarding the plan and its implementation, please contact:

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1 | INTRODUCTION

1.1 | ORIGIN OF THE PLAN

In the fall of 2009, Brownsville's former mayor, Webb Banks, invited The University of Memphis Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning to examine alternative strategies for encouraging more of the City's employees to live within the community. The report produced by the U of M's Special Projects Studio, "Strategies for Enhancing Resident Attraction to Brownsville, TN", emphasized how branding, urban design, and transportation initiatives could be used to more effectively promote the community (Bell 2010).

During her election campaign in 2010, Mayor Jo Matherne urged Brownsville residents and leaders to work together to create and implement a strategic development plan designed to improve the city's competitive position within the region, state, and nation.

In the fall of 2010, Mayor Matherne invited Sharon Hayes, an experienced higher education administrator, to join her administration as Director of Planning. She also re-organized the City's Planning Commission, in part, to provide leadership for this new strategic planning process through the appointment of several new members, including women and people of color.

Mayor Matherne and Sharon Hayes invited representatives of the State of Tennessee's Local Planning Assistance Office (LPAO) and The University of Memphis Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning to come to Brownsville to meet with representatives of the Board of Aldermen, City Planning Commission, Historic Zoning Commission, and other community leaders to discuss the City's future.

Mayor Matherne (on the left) and City Planner, Sharon Hayes (on the right).

During this meeting, local officials and their invited guests discussed the catalytic effect that an inspired master plan could have upon the city's ongoing economic and community development efforts. They also explored ways in which the State of Tennessee's Local Planning Assistance Office and The U of M Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning could work together to assist Brownsville in completing a comprehensive development plan that could have a "transformative" effect on the quality of life within the city.

Subsequent to this meeting, Mayor Matherne invited The University of Memphis' group to prepare a detailed work plan (a.k.a. scope of services) designed to involve a broad cross-section of the community's residents, business owners, institutional leaders, and elected and appointed officials in the creation of a high-quality master plan to guide the city's future development.

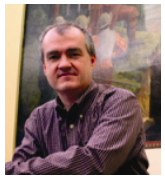
In early January 2011, the City of Brownsville awarded a $39,000 contract to The University of Memphis Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning to generate and analyze the environmental, economic, and social data required to prepare a comprehensive development plan for the city. Upon receiving the contract, the University assembled an experienced team of architects, planners, and economic development professionals to serve on the Brownsville Planning Team (BPT). Among these were:

- Kenneth M. Reardon, Professor and Director of the Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning at The University of Memphis (PhD in City and Regional Planning from Cornell University)

- David Westendorff, Associate Professor in City and Regional Planning at The University of Memphis (PhD in City and Regional Planning from Cornell University)

- Laura Saija, Visiting Marie Curie Professor in City and Regional Planning at The University of Memphis (PhD in City and Regional Planning and Design from the University of Catania, Italy)

- Steve Redding, Research Professor in City and Regional Planning at The University of Memphis (M.B.A., Mississippi State University)



- Bob Barber, Visiting Assistant Professor in City and Regional Planning (Master in Urban and Regional Planning at University of Mississippi)

The University also organized a Special Projects Studio that attracted thirteen graduate students prepared to undertake the organizing, research, planning, and design activities required to produce a professional quality comprehensive plan.

1.2 | THE GOALS OF THE PLAN

During early February of 2011, these individuals worked with Brownsville's Mayor, Planning Director, Planning Commission, and Board of Alderman to establish a set of overall planning goals and guiding principles to shape the planning process. After considerable discussion, these local officials asked the University's Brownsville Planning Team to devise a planning process that would:

- help local officials develop policies and implement programs resulting in a higher quality of life for local residents;
- encourage new investment in local businesses to expand employment and entrepreneurial opportunities for current and future residents of the city;
- offer local residents and stakeholders the opportunity to determine the future direction of their community's growth and development; and
- nurture the development of a new generation of civic leaders committed to building a more vibrant, sustainable and just Brownsville.

1.3 |GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Brownsville officials, led by Mayor Matherne and Sharon Hayes, met with University faculty and students several times before the official start of the Brownsville planning process to develop a set of guiding principles designed to produce a plan that would be:

- informed by the city's rich social history and cultural heritage;
- shaped by a careful analysis of the best quantitative and qualitative data describing local conditions and stakeholder preferences;
- based upon the community's many human, financial, and physical assets;
- responsive to the hopes and aspirations of Brownsville's current residents, business owners, and institutional leaders;
- consistent with the County, region, and state's key economic and community development policies, plans, and programs;
- protective of Brownsville's most important natural resources (Excellent soil, verdant wetlands, abundant wildlife, many scenic views, and easy access to the Hatchie River and National Wildlife Refuge);
- sympathetic to preserving the City's impressive stock of historic homes, commercial buildings, churches and public facilities;
- bold enough to inspire local residents, businesses, institutions, and allies to work together to achieve its most important elements;
- achievable using city resources that successfully leverage significant amounts of external public and private funds; and
- inclusive of local youth as well as new residents in an exciting community planning and development process that would develop their citizen organizing, problem-solving, and policy-making skills.

1.4 | PLANNING METHODOLOGY

The University's Brownsville Planning Team and Special Projects Studio collaborated with Mayor Matherne and her local planning colleagues, to devise a research methodology to involve as many local residents and leaders in the planning process as possible, not just as subjects or informants but as co-researchers who played an active role at each and every step in the planning process. As a result of the ongoing outreach activities undertaken by University faculty and students, in cooperation with local leaders, over 800 residents and community and civic leaders participated in the development of this plan.

Between February and June 2011, the University's Brownville Planning Team and Special Projects Studio worked with local residents and leaders to carry out the following research activities:

Table 1 | Brownsville Comprehensive Planning Research Methodology

Phase	Research Activities
Intelligence	**Archival Research |** Student planners reviewed dozens of past plans, reports and studies producing a detailed historical timeline. **Community Mapping |** More than sixty residents worked together, in small groups, to map the city's many assets. **Resident Visioning Activity |** More than fifty residents participated in a guided visualization exercise to imagine what an improved Brownsville would look like in 2030. **Camera Exercise |** More than forty local residents and business owners used disposable cameras to document existing community conditions.

Intelligence (cont.)	**Census Analysis |** University students analyzed recent population and housing trends comparing the City to 6 other small cities in TN and the State **Movers and Shakers Interviews|** University students conducted one-on-one interviews with more than two dozen local civic and business leaders. **Focus Groups |** University students and faculty facilitated focus groups with local small business owners, corporate managers, religious leaders, youth, and Latino/a residents involving more than two hundred individuals. **Resident Interviews |** The University Survey Research Center conducted telephone interviews with more than two hundred city residents. **Hernando, MS Field Trip |** University faculty, with the assistance of municipal officials from Hernando, MS, organized a study tour that twenty-five Brownsville leaders attended to identify "best practices in small town planning."
Design	**SWOT Analysis |** More than one hundred residents assessed Brownsville's current strengths and weaknesses and future opportunities and threats, in an iterative fashion, following the completion of each new data collection activity. **Establishment of Overall Development Goals and Specific Improvement Objectives |** Approximately eighty residents worked together to identify an overall development goal and specific improvement objectives to guide the future development of the City.
Choice	**Formulation of Detailed Action Plans |** Fifty local leaders attended two meetings to formulate issue specific action plans to help the City achieve its overall development goals and objectives. **Organization of a Neighborhood Summit |** Eighty residents participated in a day-long Neighborhood Summit to review, refine, and approve a draft of Brownsville's Preliminary Planning Framework before it was presented to the City Planning Commission for review.

Social scientists use multiple methods such as those listed above to determine the basic nature, organization, and function of complex social systems, such as cities, because no single research method is powerful enough to reveal their true nature. Researchers refer to the process of using multiple methods to determine, with a high degree of reliability, how a system works as "triangulation". The variety of research methods used in preparing the Brownsville on the Move Comprehensive Development Plan provide its findings with a solid empirical foundation upon which current and future City officials can, with confidence, make thoughtful and informed decisions regarding the City's future.

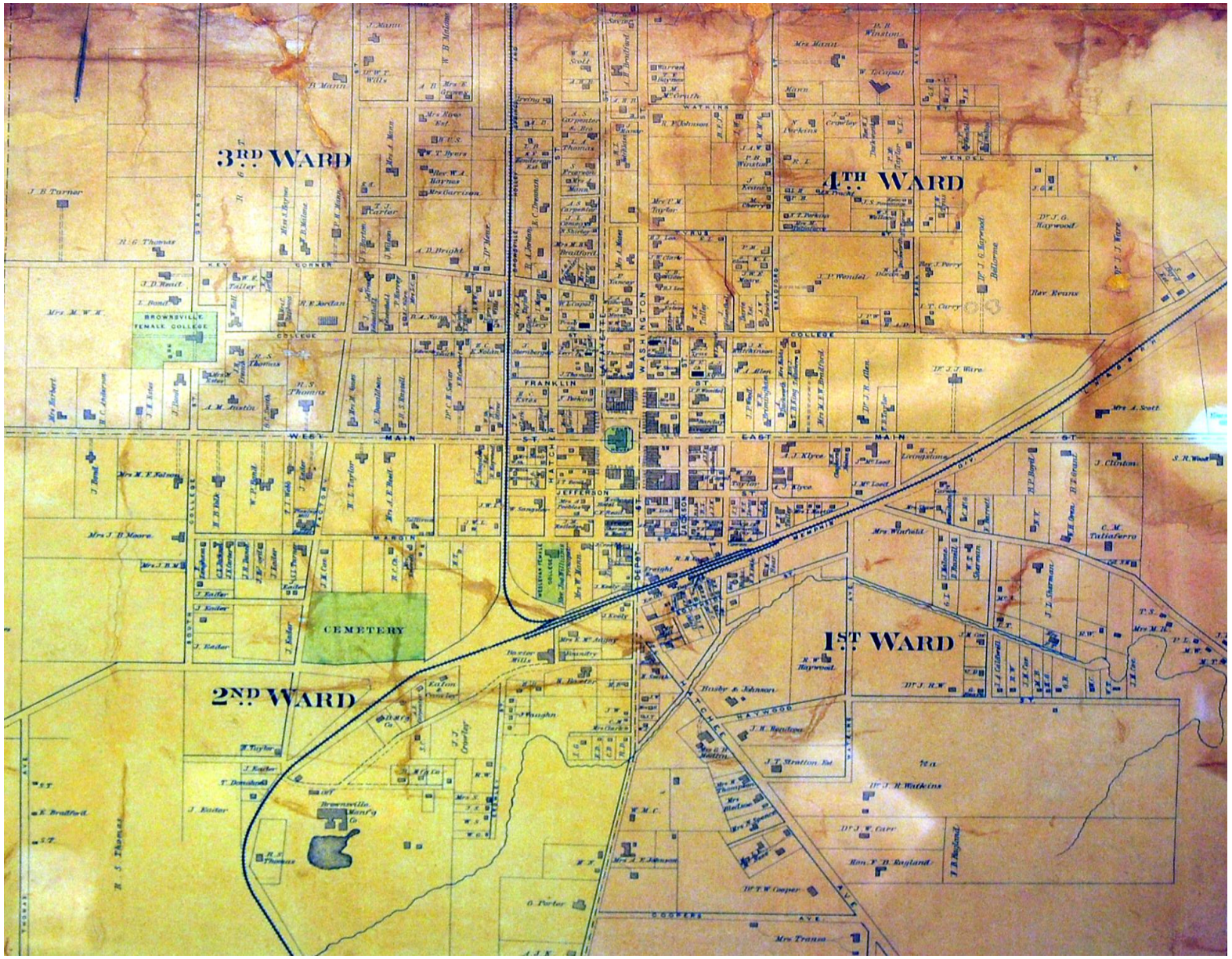


Figure 1.1 | 1877 Map of the City of Brownsville (Haywood County Museum).

2 | A BRIEF HISTORY OF BROWNSVILLE, TN

2.1 | THE BIRTH OF A SOUTHERN COTTON TOWN

Following the removal of Native Americans from the land as part of the Great Chickasaw Land Succession of 1818, land became available in West Tennessee for permanent settlement. In 1923, the State Legislature established the boundaries for Haywood County and its new County Seat – Brownsville. Both the City and the County were named after prominent historical figures; John Haywood was a highly-respected Tennessee Supreme Court Judge and General Jacob Brown was a hero of the War of 1812.

Immediately following the establishment of the City and the County, land was offered for purchase and development with large tracts being assembled for plantations dedicated to cotton production. The original plan for Brownsville followed a traditional physical pattern for County Seats in Tennessee featuring a central square at the heart of the community. A large public building was proposed for the center of the square to house important civic and governmental functions.

Figure 2.1 | Left: the court square in the 2010 Aerial view and in the 1877 map; right: the Court House today and in 1885.

The original Brownsville plan also featured two main streets terminating at the mid-point of the city block constituting the central Court Square. Historically, these two thoroughfares have served as the City's major north/south (Washington Avenue) and east/west (Main Street) arteries. Since its founding, Brownville's major hotels, banks, law offices, and retail establishments have tended to locate on the streets surrounding Court Square while its major religious, fraternal, and civic organizations have more often chosen locations at prominent intersections along Washington and Main Streets. The cruciform pattern created by these major arteries divided the city into four districts that were envisioned as areas for potential residential development.

Following the publication of maps featuring the layout of the newly-established County Seat in December of 1825, the Jackson newspaper advertised the availability of commercial and residential lots within the City. During the subsequent two years, more than two hundred families chose Brownsville as their home which led to the establishment of the City's first Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian Churches, Heska Amuna Synagogue, and the construction of a new public building, originally planned for Court Square, which housed both a Court House and a jail.

New settlers were attracted by the area's rich soil and highly productive plantation system that benefited from the uncompensated labor of African American slaves and indentured servants. The growing surpluses generated by Haywood County cotton plantations during this period prompted Hiram Bradford, the purchaser of the City's first urban building parcel, to establish the County's first cotton gin. Over time, Bradford's gin encouraged increasing numbers of plantation owners to bring their crops to Brownsville for processing, causing the City's population to increase from two hundred to more than 5,000 by the end of the 1830s. Three decades of continued growth fueled by the success of the area's cotton plantations enabled Brownsville to build a series of elegant commercial buildings and hotels in

the Court Square District, establish a very successful newspaper, called The Phoenix, develop several attractive residential districts and construct several new schools, including the prestigious Brownsville Baptist Female College.

The growing importance of Brownsville as a cotton processing, farm supply center, agricultural trade hub, and commercial center prompted the Memphis & Ohio Railroad to establish service to the City in 1856 that further accelerated the City's growth until the War Between the States.

Figure 2.3 | Traffic in Court Square in 1912 (source: Haywood County Pictorial History Book)

2.2 | THE CIVIL WAR AND THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA

As a County deeply rooted in the plantation economy whose profitability was based, in large part, upon the toil of African-American slaves and indentured servants, it was not surprising that Haywood County residents voted 930 to 139 in June of 1861 to join the Confederate States of America. Subsequent to this vote, City and County residents aided the Confederate war effort by participating in a number of small local skirmishes. However, the most significant contribution of Haywood County residents to the Confederate war effort was their participation in the Battle of Fort Pillow that took place in nearby Lauderdale County on April 12, 1864 when white and black residents of the County engaged in a pitched battle with each other. Following the defeat of the Union forces under the leadership of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, surviving African American soldiers serving the Union Army were summarily executed.

Figure 2.4 | The 1864 Fort Pillow Battle

During the War, Brownsville emerged as an important crossroads for troops on both sides of the struggle. While the disruption caused by the War prompted numerous local churches and Court Square businesses to close, it represented little more than a brief interruption in the City's ongoing urban growth process that immediately re-asserted itself following the end of the conflict. One of the first signs of the City's post Civil War recovery was the establishment of the Brownsville Bank in 1869 which still operates, under the name of INSOUTH Bank, on South Washington Street.

Following the end of the Civil War, Federal authorities established Freemen's Bureaus in every county of the South (in Court Square, in Brownsville) which were responsible for implementing policies designed to integrate African Americans into the economic, political, and social mainstream of American life. They were also responsible for promoting policies and programs aimed at revitalizing the Southern economy, in part, to generate meaningful employment and business opportunities for as many African Americans as possible.

However, despite numerous improvements, such as financial support for black schools (the first school for African Americans in Brownville was established in 1866) and the end of slavery as a legal status, the County's basic agricultural production system remained unchanged. With the support of the Freedmen's Bureau, former slaves typically remained on their former plantations as part-time sharecroppers, continuing to serve as a woefully underpaid labor force operating the County's highly productive and lucrative cotton production and trading system for the benefit of a small but increasingly wealthy and powerful group of privileged plantation owners.

The deep social divide that such conditions created between blacks and whites within the County during the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th century often erupted in violence against people of color, especially on the eve of major elections (e.g. rallies in Court Square by the Freedmen's Leagues, actions of intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan against African-American civic leaders, etc.). In the 1870s, political changes in the local and state political establishments related to the conflicts with African Americans seeking to exercise their right to vote led to the end of Reconstruction in the South in 1877 and a new period of racial repression referred to as the Jim Crow Era.

Figure 2.5 | Brownsville Landing Ferry (Hatichie River), 1896.

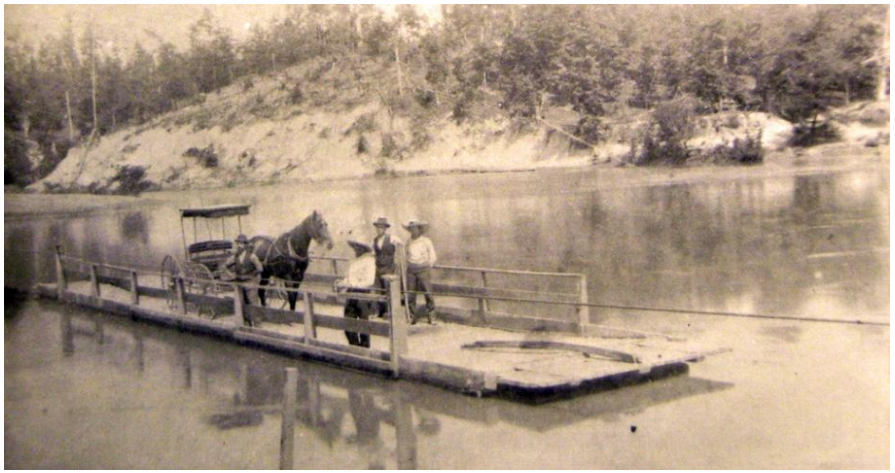


Figure 2.6 | Dunbar High School, for African-American, at the turn of the century.

2.3 | THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The years following Reconstruction in Haywood County and the rest of rural West Tennessee were characterized by the ongoing growth and profitability of the plantation economy. During this period, Brownsville emerged as an increasingly important business, religious and educational center. By the end of the 19th century more than 150 young women from seven states were enrolled in the Brownsville Female College, hundreds of Methodist families were making regular pilgrimages to the area's two historic Bible camps, and ambitious plans were being made to construct, with funds provided by Andrew Carnegie, the County's first public library.

The City's rapid expansion, similar to nearby Memphis, was temporarily halted in 1878 by a Yellow Fever outbreak that afflicted more than 800 residents and took more than 200 lives. Growing tensions over working conditions for African American farmhands and sharecroppers and the impact of Jim Crow legislation and practices within the County led to increasing racial tensions and conflict. These tensions were intensified when the State Legislature passed a convict labor leasing legislation that pitted low-paid African American farm hands against unpaid State prisoners for local farm labor. This conflict resulted in a significant increase in the numbers of African American arrests in the County requiring the construction of a new jail in 1877. The County's escalating racial tensions in the latter part of the 19th century prompted a significant number of local African American families to move to Kansas where they hoped for better treatment. In spite of these developments, the labor demands of the County's ever-expanding plantation economy continued to attract large numbers of African American agricultural workers who comprised 67% of the County population but only 5% of the land owning class by 1880. While Samuel McElwee, an African American businessman, was elected to the State Legislature from Haywood County for three terms beginning in 1882 he was unable, in Post-Reconstruction Tennessee, to significantly advance the economic and political position of people of color within his district.

Similar to many other Southern communities, the incidence of lynching within the County peaked in the 1890s but continued well into the early 20th century. The community's often-contradictory attitudes towards social issues were reflected in a number of decisions made by local officials during the first decade of the 20th century. On one hand, the city fathers decided to erect a statue in Court Square memorializing those who served the Confederate cause; while shortly thereafter they celebrated a speech given by Booker T. Washington to a local African American audience calling for black self-improvement. In 1916, local officials took the unusual step of granting permission for a suffragist march in downtown Brownsville in support of a woman's right to vote.

Racial tensions within Brownsville and many other Southern communities intensified after World War I as returning African Americans veterans were increasingly unwilling to accept the second-class status afforded them in the South. The initial mechanization of Southern agriculture, including the cotton plantations of Haywood County, reduced the need for labor and served to further heighten the African American community's concerns regarding their future. In the early 1920's Hester Currie Boyd initiated a fund-raising campaign to construct a new school building for the African American community in the Pilgrim Rest area of the city. In 1939, educated African Americans within the City of Brownsville formed a local chapter of the NAACP to secure voting rights and improved treatment. In spite of these educational and civil rights efforts, the African American community, which comprised 70% of the local population, still owned only 8% of the land within the County.

Figure 2.7 | Samuel McElwee, 1st African-American Tennessee state legislator for 3 terms (1883-1888).

Figure 2.8 | Dedication of the Confederate Monument in 1909 in Court Square.

Figure 2.9 | Mel Thomas Cotton Gin, 1920s.

Local administrators of the New Deal attempted to address the lack of African American landownership in 1939 and 1940 by assisting 39 families in establishing the Haywood County Farm Project through which they could make the transition from sharecropper to landowner status. While representing an innovative approach to promoting greater social equity within the County, this initial farm project did not expand nor was it replicated; therefore, it had a negligible impact on local race relations. As a result, tensions between white and black residents of the City and County remained quite high, resulting in the lynching of a prominent member of the local NAACP Chapter and the harassment, and ultimate departure, of the president of the local NAACP Chapter and his family. These incidents subsequently triggered an investigation of local racial harassment and violence by the FBI just prior to World War II in which local civic leaders, law enforcement, and elected officials refused to participate.

The importance of local race relations were eclipsed during World War II as significant numbers of Brownsville and Haywood County men volunteered to serve their country. The demand for cotton for uniforms, tents, and tarps during the War bolstered the local farm economy forcing producers to adopt more mechanized approaches to cultivation given recurring farm labor shortages. The end of the War unleashed a number of powerful forces that had a dramatic impact on the City and the County. First, the GI Bill expanded opportunities for both white and black residents of the City and County to leave the community to pursue higher education and expanded economic opportunities elsewhere. Second, returning soldiers eager to start families had the chance to purchase homes on favorable terms through the GI Bill. However, Federal mortgage policies limited such assistance to the purchase of new homes that encouraged suburban development. Third, the passage of the National Highway Defense Act financed the construction of the Interstate System including I-40 which gave those traveling from Nashville to Memphis the opportunity to reduce their travel times by by-passing the slow-moving farm roads and small towns of West Tennessee, including Brownsville.

Figure 2.10 | Tent City established in 1960 by sharecroppers forced to live plantations.

Following the Brown vs. The Board of Education Supreme Court Decision and the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, African American residents of Brownsville and Haywood County intensified their efforts to secure the right to vote and to eliminate segregation in education, employment, and housing. In 1960, local officials' effort to complicate and slowdown the process of voter registration among African Americans was overcome through the efforts of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League and the NAACP, with the assistance of the FBI and the Justice Department, enabling more than 200 African Americans to register to vote.

Shortly after the success of this voter registration effort, local landowners responded by evicting more than thirty tenant farmers from their land. A tent city was subsequently organized to house these families on the property of a local African American farmer. The increasingly visible plight of these displaced sharecroppers quickly came to the attention of students from the University of Michigan who organized food caravans to support these families and mobilized free legal assistance in support of their efforts. When five Michigan students participating in a CORE-sponsored food drive were harassed and one was arrested by the local Sheriff, the U.S. Justice Department under Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, intervened by filing a suit against the local landowners who evicted the sharecroppers and the local officials who failed to protect the rights of the tenants and their student supporters.

This struggle led to the first official meeting in 1962 between the Chairman of the County Board, the President of the First State Bank, and the President and Executive Committee of the Brownsville NAACP Chapter. While this meeting provided a new basis for promoting improved relations between white and African American residents of the city, it did not prevent a subsequent month of violence in 1965 when local African Americans sought to register following the signing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act by President Johnson. When two hundred African Americans demonstrated in August of that year on Court Square for an end of the violence, they required the protection of the FBI and Federal Marshals. That same day, KKK members from all over the South organized their own Court House Square rally to encourage local officials to continue their resistance to African American political empowerment.

By the end of the 1960s, the overwhelming majority of African Americans living in Brownsville secured their right to vote which subsequently led to the election of a number of African American City Alderman, School Board Members and County Commissioners in the 1970s and 1980s.

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***Acknowledgements** | Special thanks to Haywood County historians, Mr. Lynn Shaw and Dr. Richard Couto for their help and generosity.*

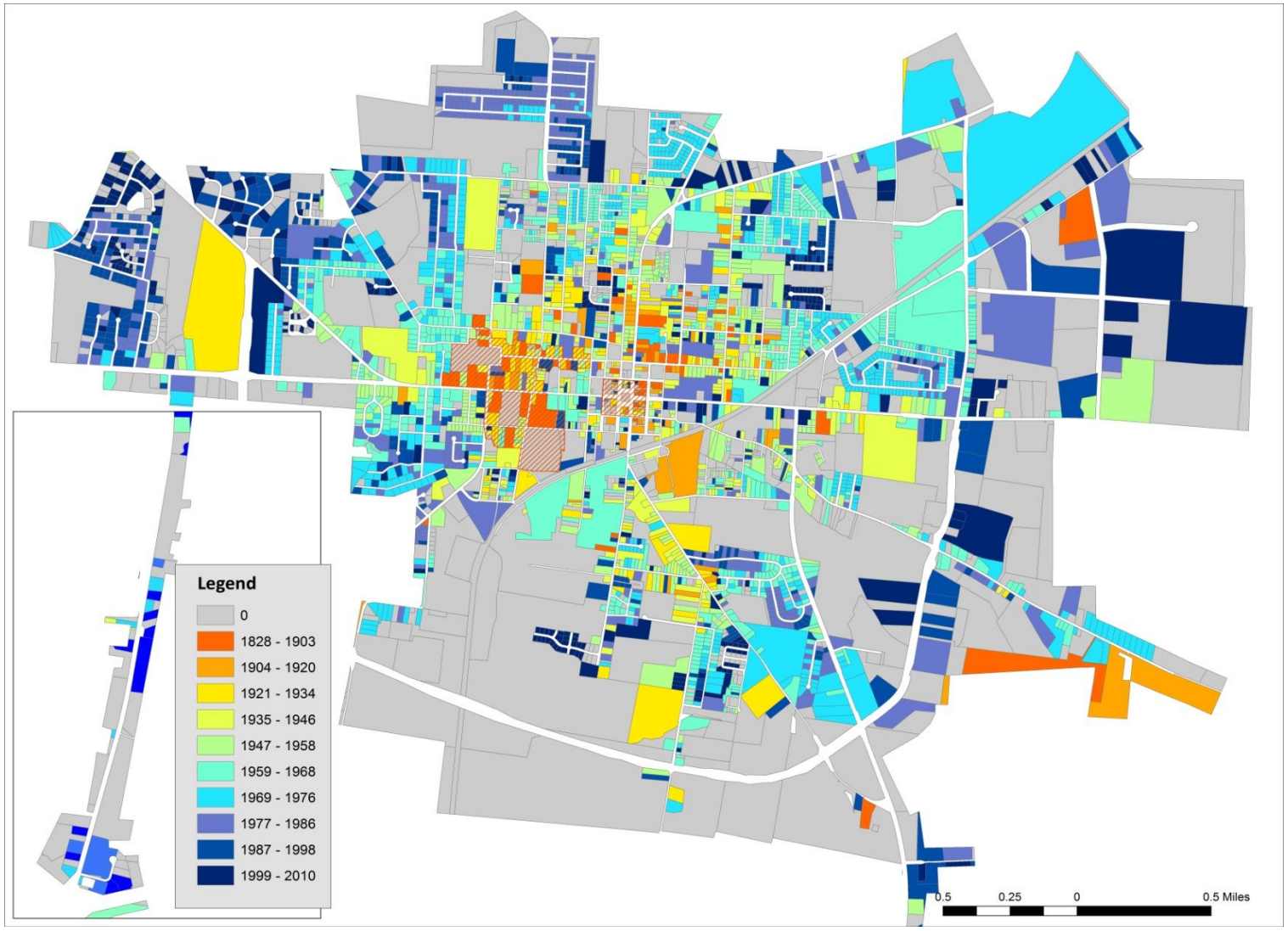


Figure 2.11 | Year of construction of parcels (source: tax assessor)

3 | COMMUNITY PROFILE

3.1 | POPULATION TRENDS

Similar to many other small cities located within rural areas of West Tennessee, Brownsville experienced a modest population loss between 2000 and 2010. The Brownsville on the Move Comprehensive Development Plan contains numerous proposals designed to encourage current residents to continue living in the City, college bound students to return to the community upon receiving their degrees, employees of local firms living outside of the City and the County to move into town, and targeted non-residents, especially military and non-military retirees, to consider moving to Brownsville for its home-town feel, natural beauty, many cultural resources, excellent health care services, and easy access to nearby Jackson and Memphis.

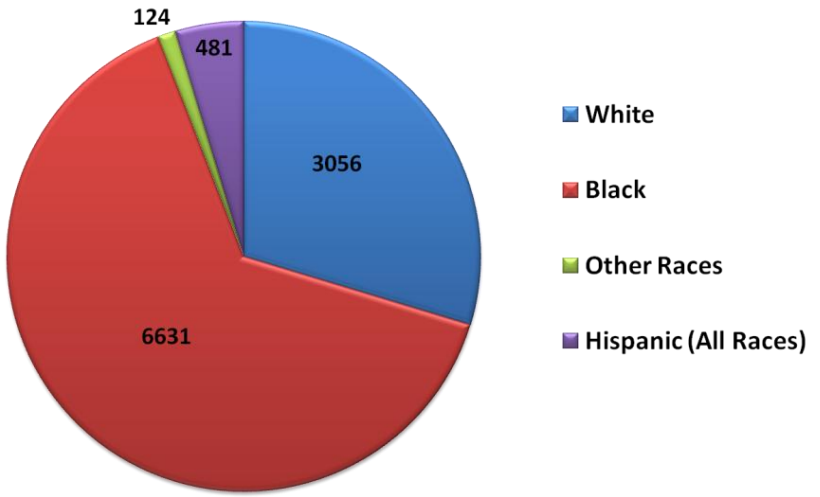
Figure 3.1 | Population trends table (source: US Census)

	Brownsville	Haywood County	Bolivar	Dyersburg	Union City	Tennessee
2000	**10,748**	19,437	5,802	17,452	10,876	5,689,283
2010	**10,292**	18,787	5,417	17,145	10,895	6,346,105
% Change	**-4.2**	-3.3	-6.6	-1.8	0.2	11.5

3.2 | RACIAL COMPOSITION

One of Brownsville's most distinctive characteristics and greatest assets is its racial and cultural diversity. Sixty-five percent of the City's current residents identify themselves as African American, thirty percent as White, four percent as Latino, and one percent as being from other racial identity groups. The City's ability to attract and retain residents from a variety of backgrounds is an important asset. It is a somewhat uncommon one, especially among smaller West Tennessee cities, in this period when the nation is becoming increasingly racially, culturally, and religiously diverse due to increased transnational migration caused by powerful global economic and political forces.

Figure 3.2 | Population by Race/Ethnic groups in the City of Brownsville
(US Census 2010)



3.3 | YOUNGER AND OLDER RESIDENTS

	Brownsville	Haywood County	Bolivar	Dyersburg	Union City	Tennessee
Under 19	**3,151**	5,516	1,468	4,907	2,930	1,638,624
Over 65	**1,234**	2,577	889	2,489	1,868	796,977
Total	**4,385**	8,093	2,357	7,396	4,798	2,435,601
% of total	**42%**	42%	42%	43%	45%	40%

Figure 3.3 | Table of the population under 19 and over 65 in 2010
(source: US Census)

The number of young people and senior citizens living in a community is of great significance to local leaders and officials. Young people and senior citizens require a significant level, and somewhat unique set, of municipal services. On the service side, young people require a high level of health care services, quality child care and public education, significant recreational facilities and programs, and ongoing transportation assistance. Seniors, while requiring a different set of recreational programs and fewer educational resources, require many of the same services as young people as well as affordable and supportive housing options.

Brownsville is similar to many other smaller communities in West Tennessee and the State of Tennessee in that young people and senior citizens comprise more than 40% of their respective populations. Attention must be given to the provision, organization, and coordination of services to these two populations. Given current and future limitations on funding for domestic social programs, every opportunity must be pursued to deliver these services as efficiently as possible through a more effective use of technology, merging of service providers when possible, and building multi-use facilities that serve both groups when feasible. The current trend towards the design and development of combined neighborhood school/community center facilities that offer families the opportunity to walk to a neighborhood school that also houses adult education facilities, a fitness center, and the offices for local non-profit organizations that support children and families is an excellent example of such a shared community facility. Ironically, the idea of neighborhood schools as a 24/7 educational, recreational, cultural and civic center serving the entire community was initially proposed by John Dewey in the early 1900s and was a central feature of most neighborhood plans during the first several decades of the 20th Century (Benson, Harkavy, and Puckett 2997).

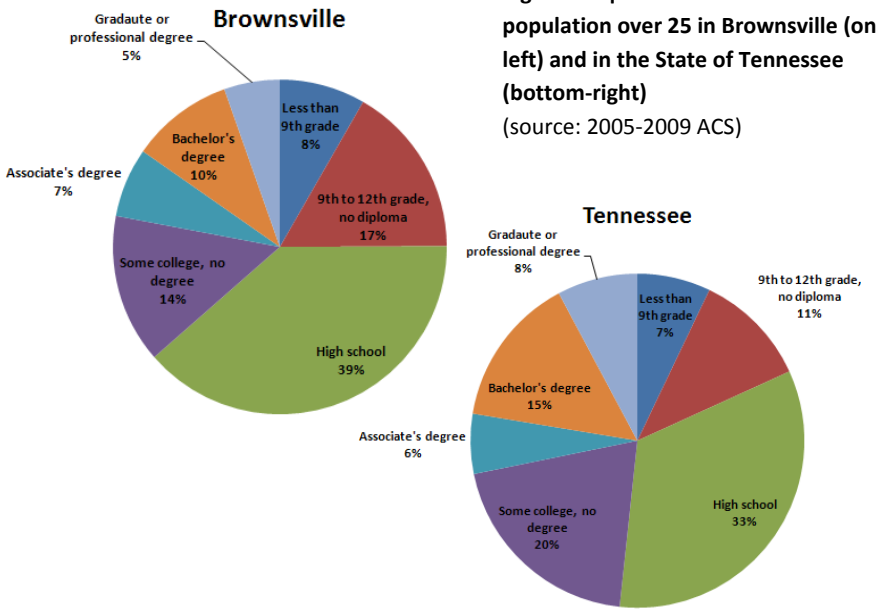


Figure 3.4 | Educational Attainment population over 25 in Brownsville (on the left) and in the State of Tennessee (bottom-right)
(source: 2005-2009 ACS)

3.4 | EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Educational attainment levels for adults over the age of 25 are significantly lower in Brownsville than the State of Tennessee as a whole. One in four residents of Brownsville does not possess a high school diploma. Even during good economic times, these individuals can expect to face serious challenges when seeking living wage employment. Additionally, those who are parents may be extremely limited in their ability to support their own children's educational journey. Recent research highlights the critical role active parental involvement in children's school work plays in long-term success in educational attainment.

The modest percentage of Brownsville residents possessing either bachelor and/or graduate degrees may also make it more difficult for the City to recruit technology-oriented service industries whose management considers a well educated workforce a key factor in their location decisions. While 15% of Brownsville's adult population holds either bachelor or advanced degrees, 23% of the State of Tennessee's adult population has earned such degrees. These data suggest the importance of investing in adult education programs to enhance the employment prospects of individuals with modest educational attainment levels and to increase the attractiveness of Brownsville to quality companies looking for attractive relocation or expansion locations.

3.5 | EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

The following chart shows the distribution of the Brownsville workforce by industry. On the positive side, the chart illustrates the highly diversified nature of the City's industrial base and workforce. Very few small cities offer local residents as wide a range of employment opportunities as Brownsville. Two cautionary observations triggered by this table are the large number of jobs that appear in industrial sectors that are either stagnant or in decline or in industrial sectors offering modest wages and few benefits. To the extent possible, Brownsville's industrial recruitment efforts should be focused on firms that are in "sunrise" sectors (Those growing at a rate considerably higher than the GDP) and on those firms committed to investing in the development and well-being of their workforce through strategic human resource management policies and living wages.

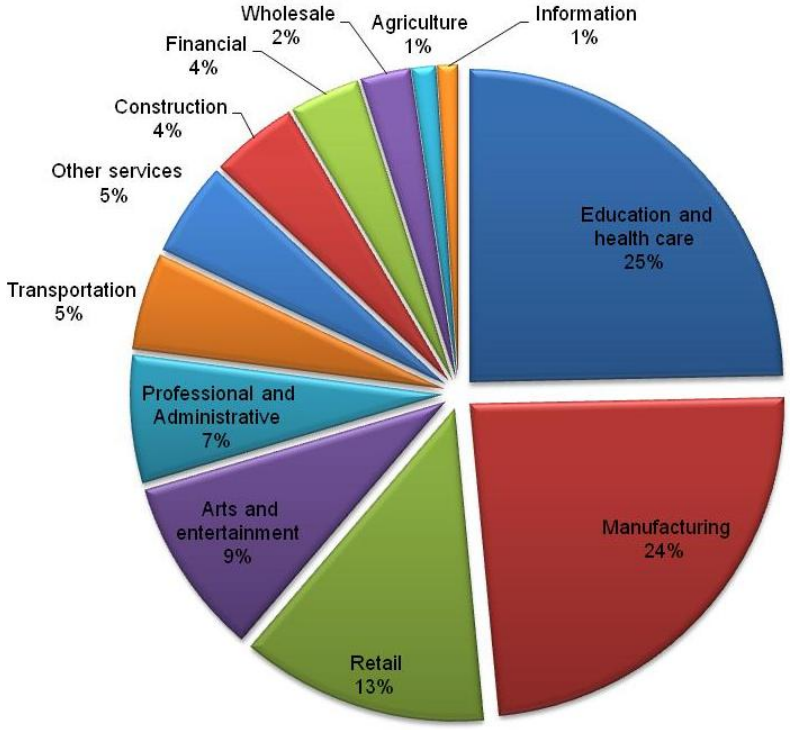


Figure 3.5 | Employment Number of Jobs by Industry in the City of Brownsville (US Census 2010)

3.6 | EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION

		Brownsville	Tennessee	Brownsville	Tennessee
Primary	Managerial	19.4%	27.0%	62.2%	71.8%
	Professional	12.7%	14.9%		
	Service	14.6%	9.7%		
	Sales and Office	15.5%	20.2%		
Secondary	Farming	0.0%	0.3%	37.8%	28.2%
	Construction	3.8%	8.3%		
	Production	23.4%	13.9%		
	Transportation	10.6%	5.8%		

Figure 3.6 | Table of people employed in primary and secondary sectors
(source US Census)

William W. Goldsmith and Edward J. Blakely, two well-known urban planners, in their book *Separate Societies* argue that if you want to determine the overall economic health and welfare of a community, it is not enough to know the local employment rate. It is critical to know what kind of job an individual has. They, and other urban economists, divide all occupations into one of two categories; those that exist within the Primary Labor Force and the remainder that fall into the Secondary Labor Force. Primary Labor Force jobs pay well, provide full-time employment, offer excellent benefits, and tend to be more secure. These positions require their occupants to have a high level of literacy and numeracy, outstanding academic credentials, and excellent professional references. Secondary Labor Force jobs are less well-paying, often part-time, rarely provide benefits, and are frequently the victims of layoffs and terminations (Goldsmith and Blakely 2010).

From figure 3.6 you can see the extent to which Brownsville's residents are concentrated in the less well paying and secure secondary labor market. While 62% of Brownsville residents work in the primary workforce; seventy-two percent of the State of Tennessee's workers fall into this category. This chart further reinforces the need for additional general and vocational training for those working in this segment of the workforce.

3.7 | MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Median Household Incomes in Brownsville are lower than those in Bolivar, Dyersburg, Union City, as well as Haywood County and the State of Tennessee. Three related factors help explain this troubling observation. First, Brownsville residents tend to have lower educational attainment levels, placing them at a distinct disadvantage when seeking employment in our increasingly competitive job market. Second, many of the industries that exist within the Greater Brownsville Region are in stagnant and/or declining industries where wages have not kept pace with the overall growth of the economy. Third, many Brownsville residents are employed in the secondary labor force where wages are low, employment part-time and/or seasonal, benefits are rarely fully provided, and job security uncommon.

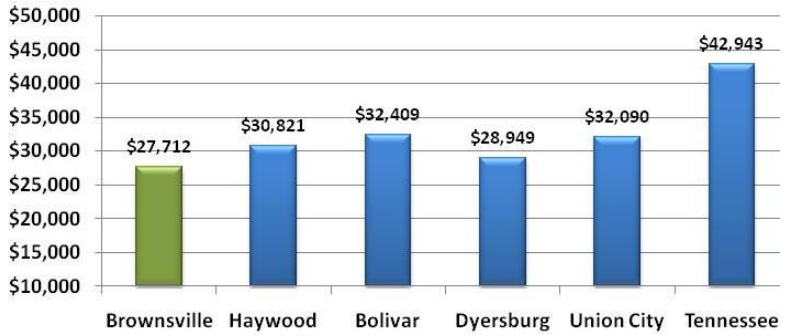


Figure 3.7 | Median Household Income (source: 2009 American Communities Survey)

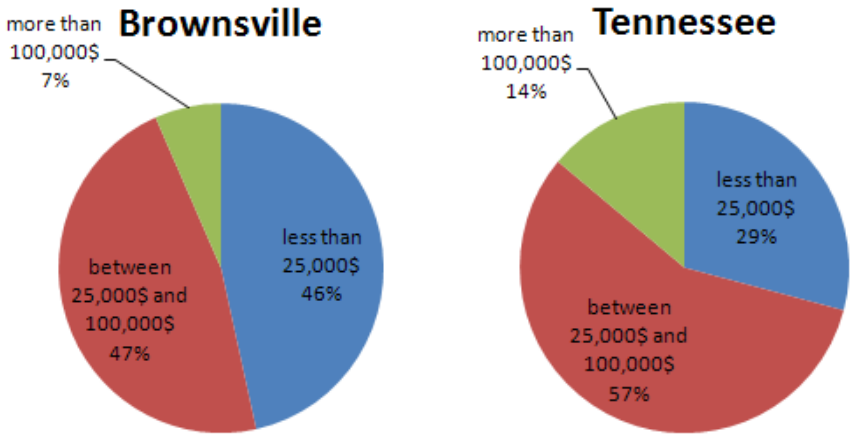


Figure 3.8 | Households income (source: 2005-2009 ACS)

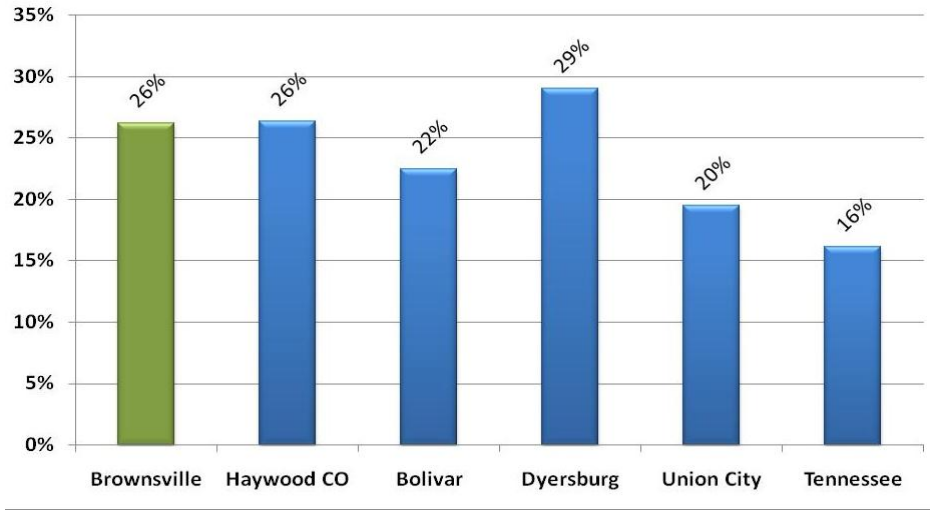


Figure 3.9 | Poverty Rate (source: 2005-2009 ACS)

3.8 | HOUSEHOLD INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Nearly half of the households in Brownsville have combined incomes of less than $25,000 where as only 29% of the households in the State have incomes as modest. While 47% of Brownsville's residents make between $25,000 and $100,000, 57% of the State's workers fall into this category. Moving to the top category, only 7% of Brownsville's workers earn more than $100,000 whereas 14% of the State's workforce earns more than $100,000. Again, these data suggest the importance of creating programs to help local residents complete high school, move onto college and, if possible, advance to graduate school.

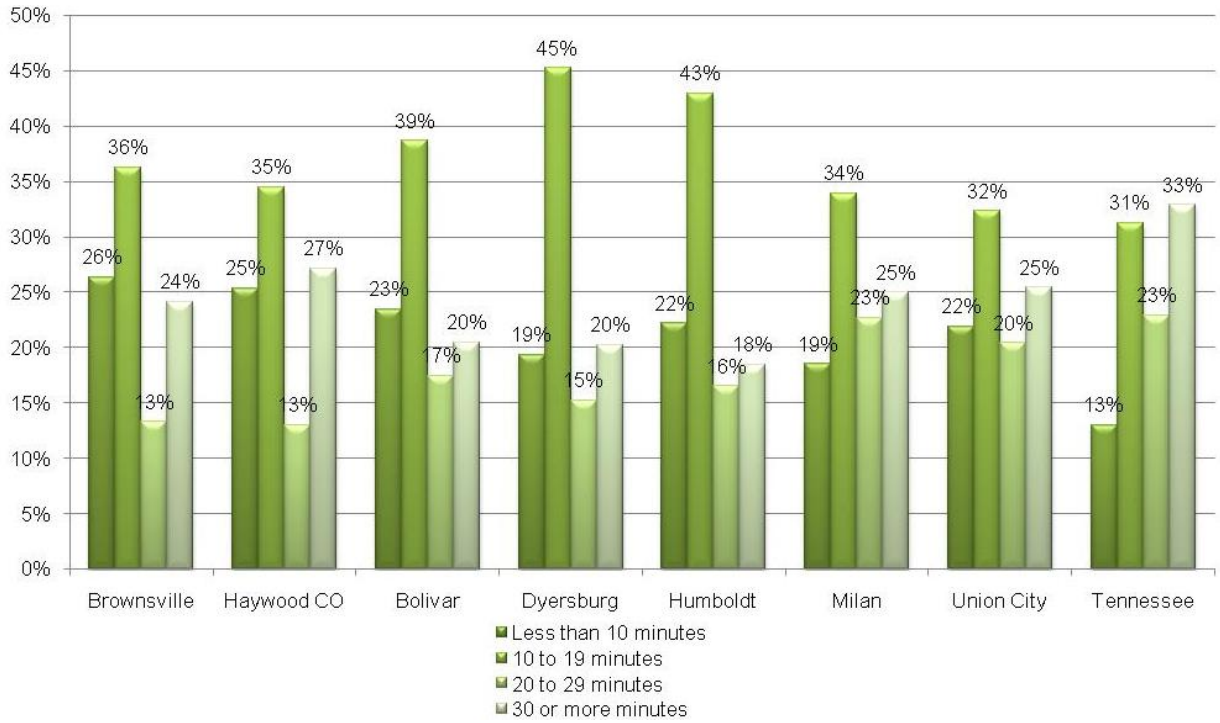
3.9 | POVERTY RATE

In spite of the overall diversity and strength of the Brownsville economy, more than one in four households have incomes that currently place them below Federal established poverty lines. For the majority of these families, the struggle to provide their household with food, clothing, shelter, and health care remains a constant struggle. These data suggest the need for an immediate outreach effort within the City's poor and working class communities to determine if these families are receiving the full range of state and federal benefits to which they may be entitled. A longer-term strategy would be the completion of a detailed ethnographic study of the City's low income community to identify and develop effective strategies to address the factors contributing to persistent poverty. Such research may identify many different kinds of poverty within Brownsville that may require a series of individually-tailored policy approaches.

3.10 | COMMUTATION

While the majority of Brownsville workers commute less than 20 minutes to and from either work or school, nearly one in four residents spent more than 30 minutes traveling to nearby Jackson for work or school. Given expected increases in the future costs of both housing and commuting, this plan proposes various strategies for generating local businesses and jobs through eco-tourism, downtown development, energy retrofitting, and buy local initiatives.

Figure 3.10 | Travel time to work (source 2009 ACS)



3.11 | TOTAL DWELLING UNITS

The total number of dwelling units within the City of Brownsville continued to grow between 1990 and 2010. While the vacancy rate for single-family homeowner units has remained relatively low, especially during the period following the real estate crash of 2009, this has not been the case for the City's rental market which has experienced a high vacancy rate since 2000.

A more detailed survey of the city's vacant rental property is needed before specific planning and policy recommendations can be made to address this issue. Rental vacancies can be the result of a weak economy, older units reaching the end of their useful life, a lack of public safety, and/or the financial condition of over-leveraged banks and lending institutions.

Year	1990	2000	2010
Total Dwelling Units	3,845	4,373	4,522
Homeowner Vacancy Rate	1.7	1.6	4.1
Renters Vacancy Rate	3.6	6.9	10.7

Figure 3.11 | total dwelling units

3.12 | TENANCY

The City of Brownsville has a higher percentage of rental units than two of its comparison cities and the State of Tennessee as a whole. While this, in part, reflects the nature of the City's historic housing stock, it is also the result of homeowners unable to sell their single-family homes in the current real estate market causing them to place them on the market as rental units.

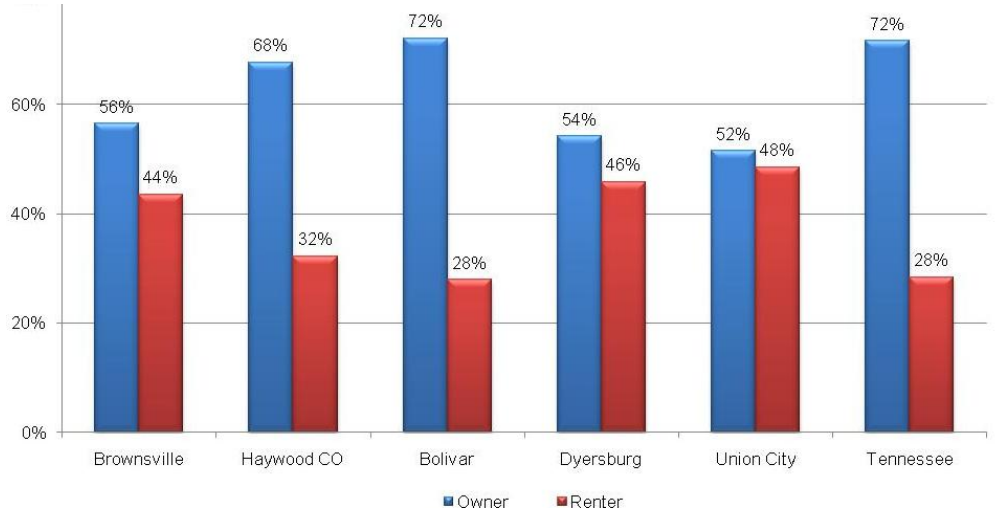


Figure 3.12 | Home owners and renters (source 2009 ACS)

3.13 | MEDIAN HOUSING VALUES

Median Housing Values within the City of Brownsville are approximately 8% higher than those in the remainder of Haywood County but are comparable to all of our comparison West Tennessee cities, and 30% below those of the State of Tennessee.

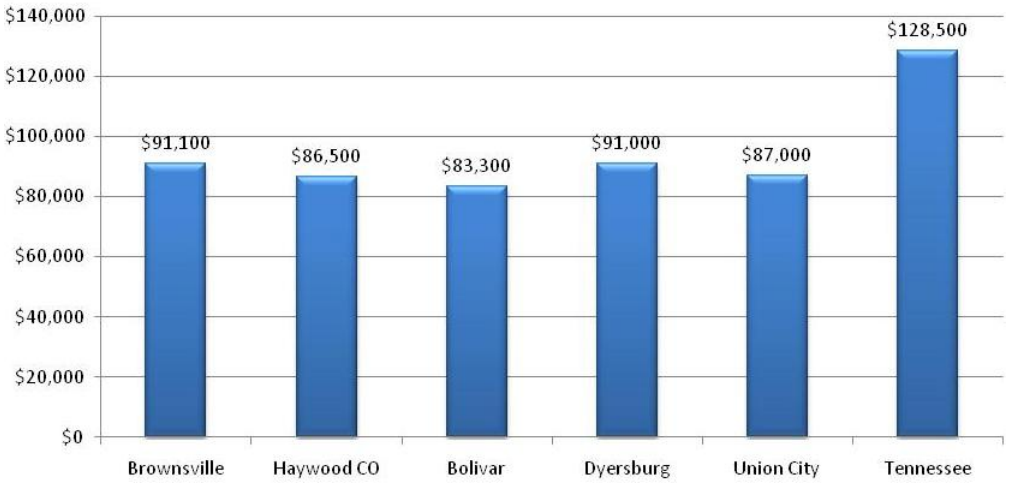


Figure 3.13 | Median Home Value (source: 2009 ACS)

3.14 | ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Largest Industries by Employment | An understanding of the economic base or industries that are exporting products outside of the local economy is useful to understand the overall direction of the local economy. The Census Bureau conducts a survey of businesses every two years. The most current available data for Haywood County is for 2007. The first level of analysis is to identify the industries which form the economic base, or export industries. The table on the right lists the industries with the most employment in Haywood County in 1997 and 2007.

Ten Largest Industries by Employment 1997

NAICS code	Industry description	Employment	Percent of Total
326	Plastics & rubber products mfg	1750	40.7%
333	Machinery mfg	750	17.4%
722	Food services & drinking places	311	7.2%
445	Food & beverage stores	208	4.8%
621	Ambulatory health care services	174	4.0%
623	Nursing & residential care facilities	174	4.0%
452	General merchandise stores	156	3.6%
447	Gasoline stations	143	3.3%
441	Motor vehicle & parts dealers	118	2.7%
811	Repair & maintenance	92	2.1%

Ten Largest Industries by Employment 2007

NAICS code	Industry description	Employment	Percent of Total
311	Food manufacturing	750	18.0%
326	Plastics and rubber products manufacturing	750	18.0%
333	Machinery manufacturing	750	18.0%
722	Food services and drinking places	377	9.0%
447	Gasoline stations	148	3.5%
445	Food and beverage stores	101	2.4%
452	General merchandise stores	59	1.4%
561	Administrative and support services	59	1.4%
621	Ambulatory health care services	59	1.4%
623	Nursing and residential care facilities	59	1.4%
721	Accommodation	37	0.9%

Economic Base | The table below lists the economic base industries of Haywood County in 1997 and 2007; it suggests that the economic base has contracted. There is an additional concern in that not only did the number of export industries and jobs shrink, but the diversity of the base also narrowed, leaving the City dependent upon a smaller number of firms operating in a smaller number of sectors.

A less diverse economic base leaves the City vulnerable should one industry begin to decline rapidly or move from the area. The effect of one or more plant closings on the overall economy could be quite damaging.

The core of the Haywood County economy is the manufacturing sector as is reflected in its economic base over time. During the entire period of this analysis, the manufacturing sector remained the largest portion of the economic base. A secondary concentration appears in the accommodations and food services sector. This is essentially, the hospitality and fast foods establishments located at I-40, Exit 56 near the entrance to Brownsville.

Economic Base 1997

NAICS code	Industry description	1997 Haywood Employment	Percent of Total Employment	Export Employment	Percent of Export Employment
326	Plastics & rubber products mfg	1750	40.7%	1,701	59%
333	Machinery mfg	750	17.4%	683	24%
623	Nursing & residential care facilities	174	4.0%	103	4%
447	Gasoline stations	143	3.3%	99	3%
445	Food & beverage stores	208	4.8%	70	2%
442	Furniture & home furnishings stores	60	1.4%	37	1%
452	General merchandise stores	156	3.6%	36	1%
441	Motor vehicle & parts dealers	118	2.7%	36	1%
811	Repair & maintenance	92	2.1%	31	1%
453	Miscellaneous store retailers	60	1.4%	24	1%
81	Other services (except public administration)	140	3.3%	21	1%
446	Health & personal care stores	60	1.4%	17	1%
444	Building material & garden equipment & supplies	69	1.6%	16	1%

Economic Base Industries 2007

NAICS code	Industry description	2007 Haywood Employment	Percent of Total Employment	Export Employment	Percent of Export Employment
311	Food manufacturing	750	18.0%	697	31%
326	Plastics and rubber products manufacturing	750	18.0%	719	32%
333	Machinery manufacturing	750	18.0%	708	31%
722	Food services and drinking places	377	9.0%	30	1%
447	Gasoline stations	148	3.5%	116	5%

Industry Analysis | Additional analysis of these base industries is given to assist the City and County leadership in formulating economic and physical development strategies that work. The first issue to consider is how the City and County's economic base is performing. In the case of Haywood County, the strong performers at the end of the economic study are listed in the table below. These industries expanded employment locally and have enjoyed a local competitive advantage. It is important to note that the two most important manufacturing industries have a long track record of decline nationally. For this reason, leaders should continue to monitor these employers to ensure that local conditions continue to provide them competitive opportunities. The second issue is the performance of the Plastics and Rubber Manufacturing Sector. This sector of two establishments has shed a significant percentage of employment and is a slow growth industry overall. Leaders must be proactive in understanding what is happening in this industry. It has lost jobs due to the global economic decline, but civic leaders also need to know if the additional decline in employment is due to leaner, more efficient production or more ominous causes.

Strong Performers

NAICS code	Industry description	Percent Change	Industrial Mix Component	Competitive Component
311	Food Manufacturing**		0	750
333	Machinery mfg**	0.0%	-352	137
447	Gasoline stations	3.5%	-46	10
722	Food services & drinking places	169.3%	-6	203
	** This industry is declining nationally			

Poor Performer

NAICS code	Industry description	Percent Change	Industrial Mix Component	Competitive Component
326	Plastics & rubber products mfg	-57.1%	-805	-698

Agriculture's Special Role | Agriculture plays a special role in the economy of Haywood County. A majority of the land in the area is agricultural, forest or natural reserve. Agricultural heritage plays an important role in politics, heritage and culture in the City of Brownsville and the County. However, it is not as dominant of an economic factor in the local economy as the amount of land use would suggest. In 2007, there were 571 jobs in agriculture out of a grand total of about 8,478 jobs in the County including the self employed. While agriculture pays an important role in the local economy, it is important to understand that the jobs in this sector represent a very small portion of the money in the local economy. Therefore, its economic impact is far less significant in terms of employment than its cultural and social impact. Significant changes in the manufacturing, health care, retail and service industries may, in the future, have a much greater local impact than will events in the agricultural sector.

The lack of growth evident in many of the City and County's traditional export-oriented industries suggests the potential value of an import substitution strategy. Instead of chasing outside firms to come to Brownsville and Haywood County to sell products outside of the region in order to improve the local community's relative "balance of trade"; local officials should consider an import substitution strategy. This alternative approach to local economic development is gaining ground in many rural areas and smaller cities throughout the United States and seeks to build a community's wealth by reducing the value of that which its local businesses, governments, and households purchase from outside of the region. By creating exciting new restaurant and entertainment venues in Brownsville, the City will be recapturing millions of dollars that would have been exported to business located outside of the City.

4 | EXISTING PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

4.1 | LOCATION AND SIZE

The City of Brownsville is located in the heart of Haywood County in West Tennessee. It is located just north of Exit 56 on Interstate 40 approximately one hundred fifty miles southwest of Nashville and sixty miles northeast of Memphis.

The City currently occupies 9.8 square miles of Haywood County. The County itself takes up more than 522 square miles of West Tennessee.

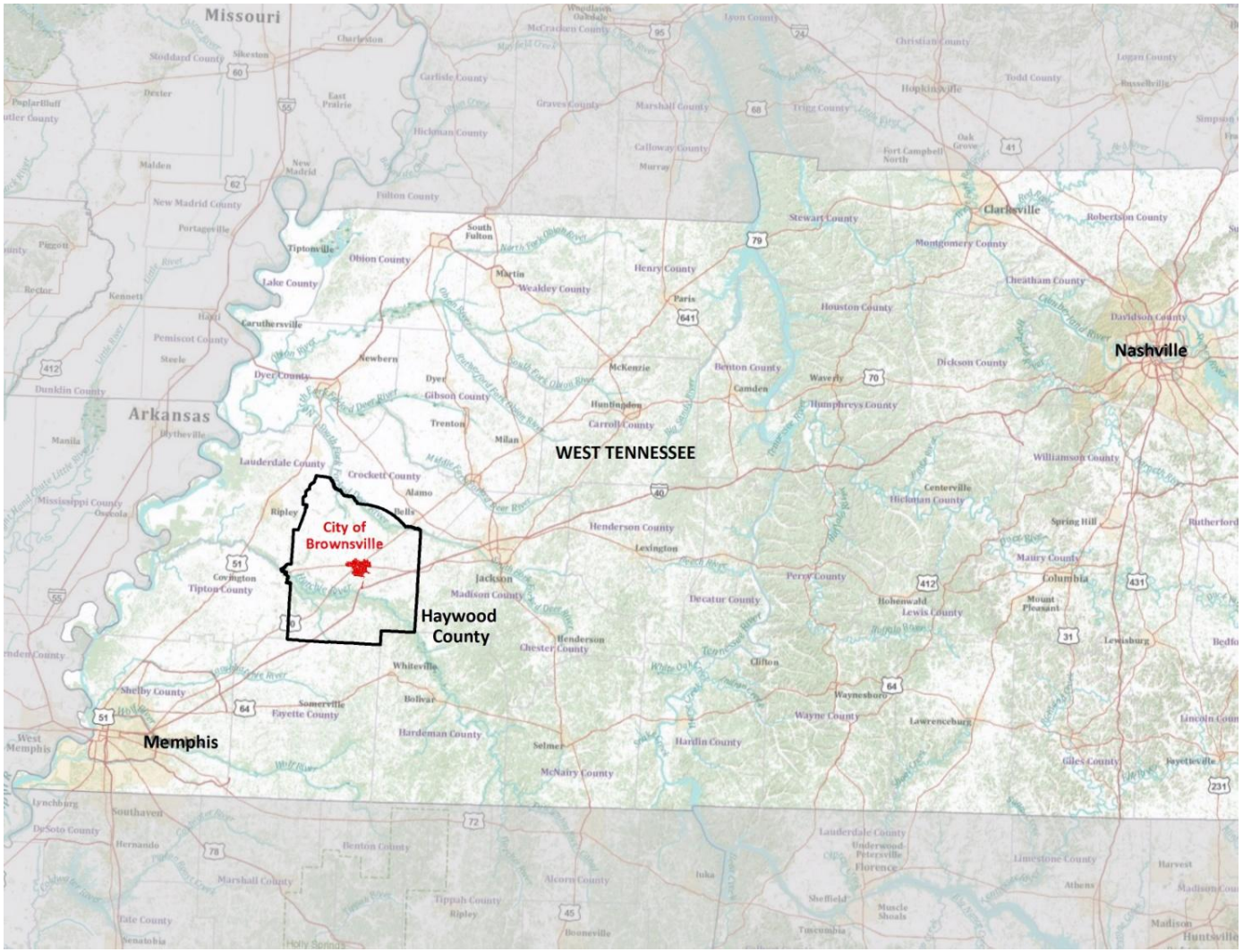


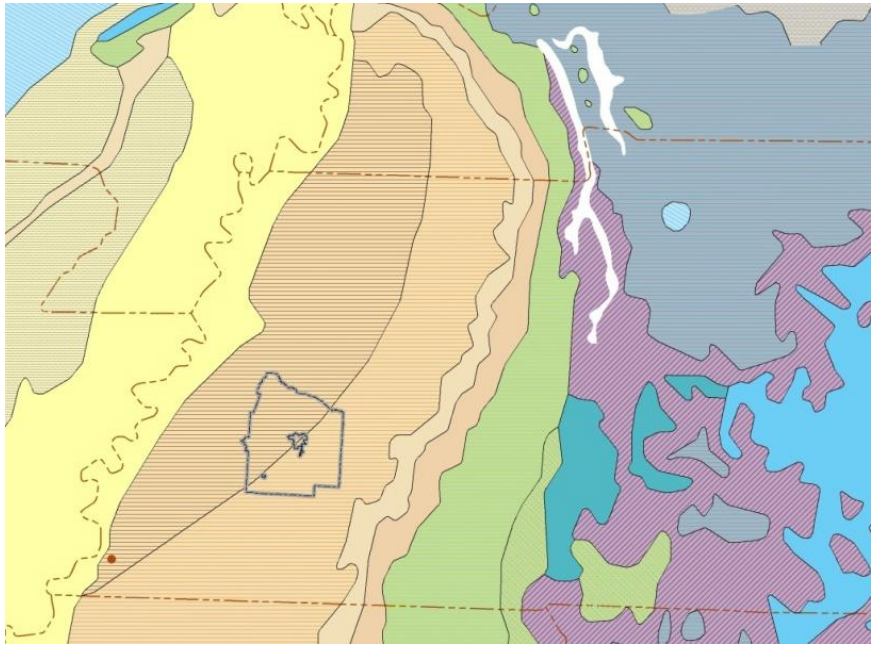
Figure 4.1 | Location of Haywood County and the City of Brownsville

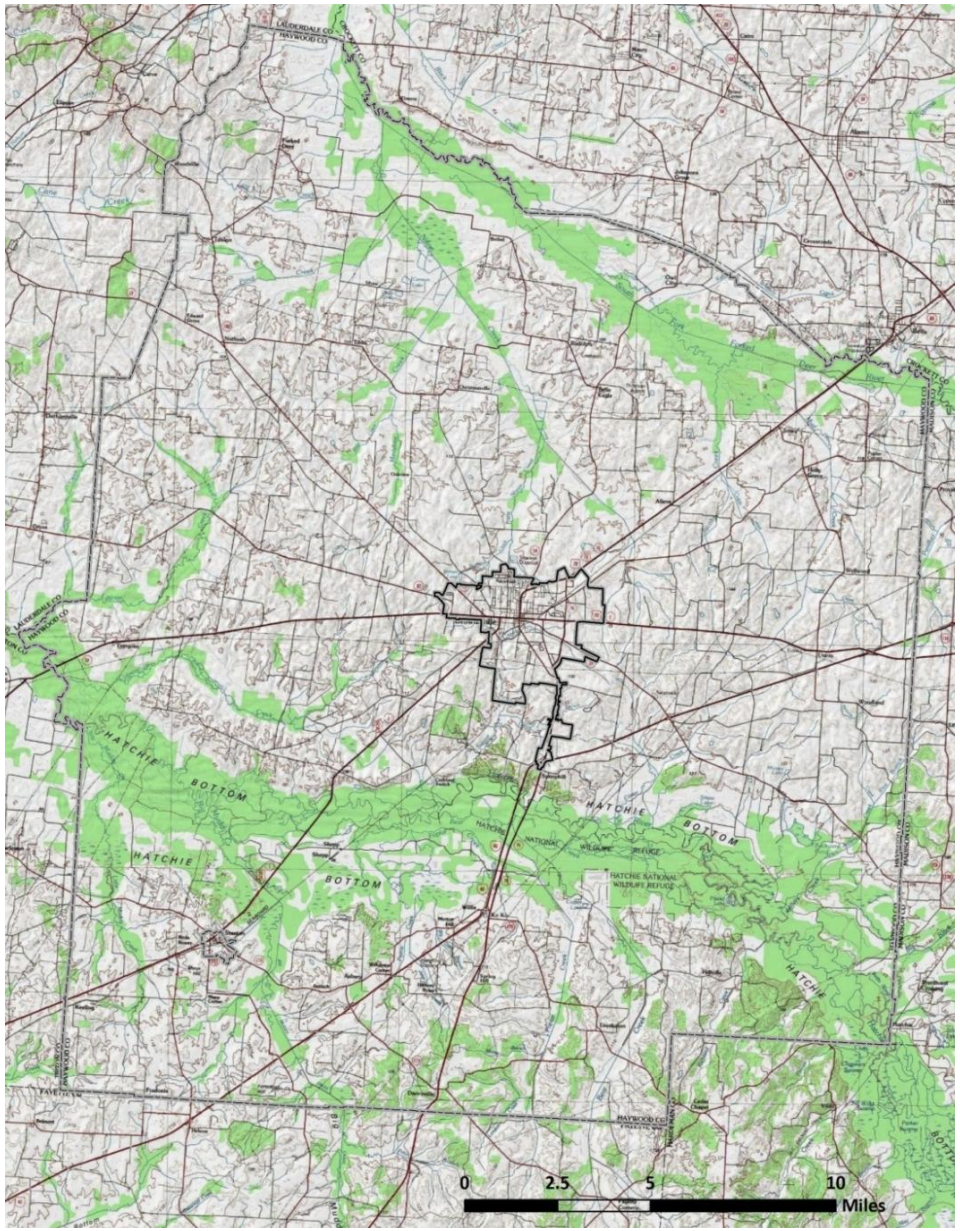
4.2 | GEO-MORHPOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

As part of the large Mississippi alluvial plain that occupies most of the Mid-South Region, Haywood County has the topographical and geological characteristics of lowlands. Brownsville and Haywood County are blessed with excellent sedimentary rock soils that drain well and are appropriate for a wide range of agricultural, residential, commercial, and industrial development.

The flat nature of the local topography leaves considerable areas available for local development; at the same time, it makes the developed areas vulnerable to seasonal flooding in the spring and summer.

Figures 4.2 and 4.3 | Geological map of west-tennessee with le location of Haywood County (bottom) and US topographical map of Haywood County (on the right).





Fortunately, the original settlers chose to locate the City on a ridge that exists at the edge of the two watersheds that drain the agricultural land north and south of the City. While this fact has reduced flooding within the City's historic core and College Hill Historic District, it has not protected the community's peripheral residential areas from flooding. During the past ten years, significant portions of these areas have experienced two 100-year storm incidents causing serious damage to dozens of homes located along the City's existing storm water drainage system.

The flooding in these areas has become increasingly severe due to the ongoing silting of two important surface streams exacerbated by the use of channelized drainage systems. Recent research on global climate change indicates that we are likely to experience more brief and violent storms in the future that will serve to increase the threat of flooding.

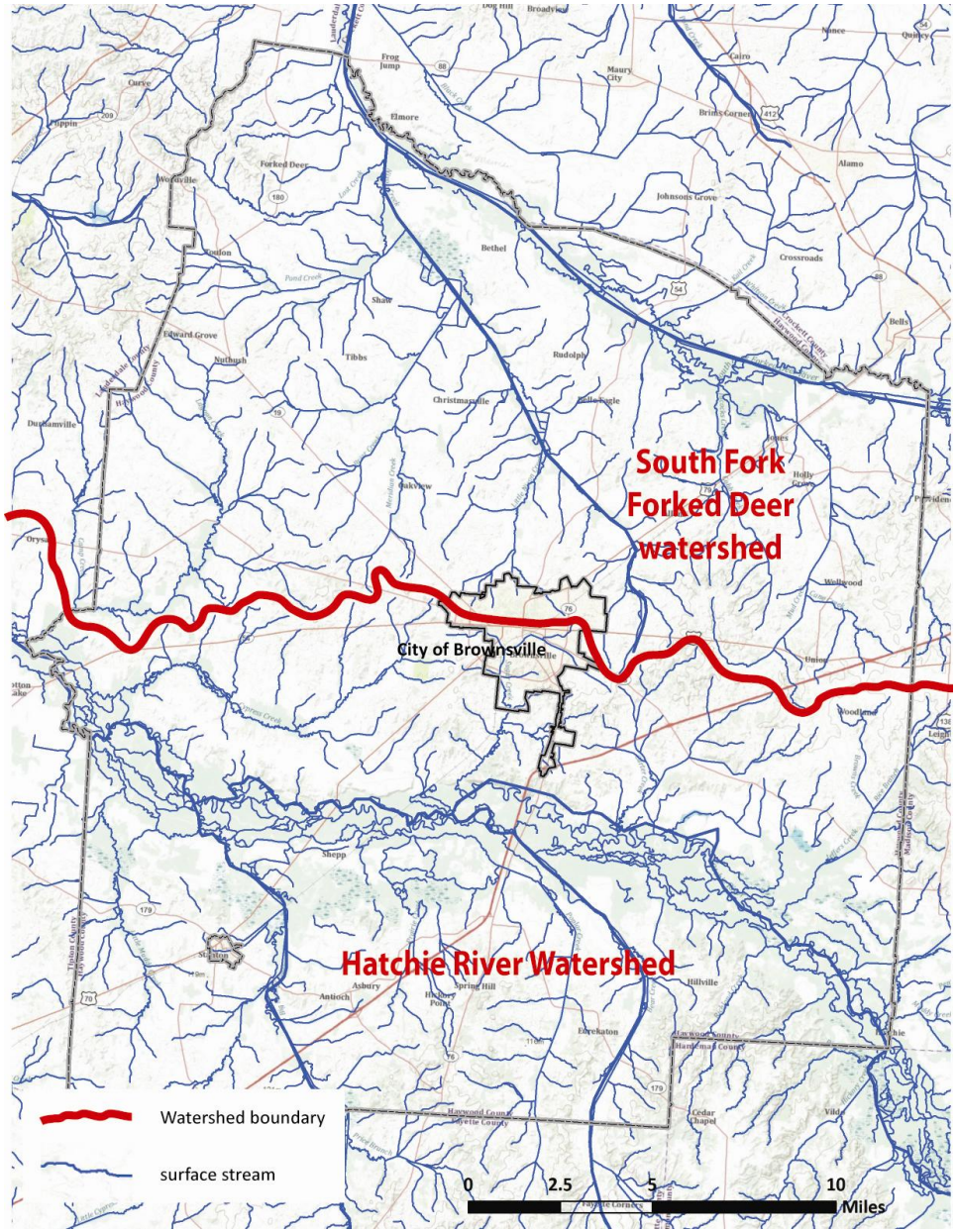


Figure 4.4 | Haywood County Surface Hydrology Map.

4.3 | NATURAL AREAS AND WILDLIFE

The Brownsville community benefits from two protected areas: The **Hatchie National Wildlife Refuge** that includes 11,556 acres of protected land along the Hatchie River four miles south of Brownsville. The Refuge was established in 1964, primarily to provide habitat (food, water and shelter) for migrating and wintering waterfowl, and is managed by the US Fish and Wildlife Agency.

The **Fort Ridge Wildlife Management Area** is located twelve miles north of the City and is comprised of 1,480 acres of protected land managed by the Tennessee Wildlife Resource Agency. The Area was established by the State of Tennessee to demonstrate the potential value of sustainable use of a natural ecosystem.

Both of these areas serve as important recreational amenities for Brownsville residents. Together these areas, along with the City's many historical and cultural attractions, represent a significant eco-tourism and cultural tourism opportunity to the City and County, the benefits of which have yet to be fully realized.

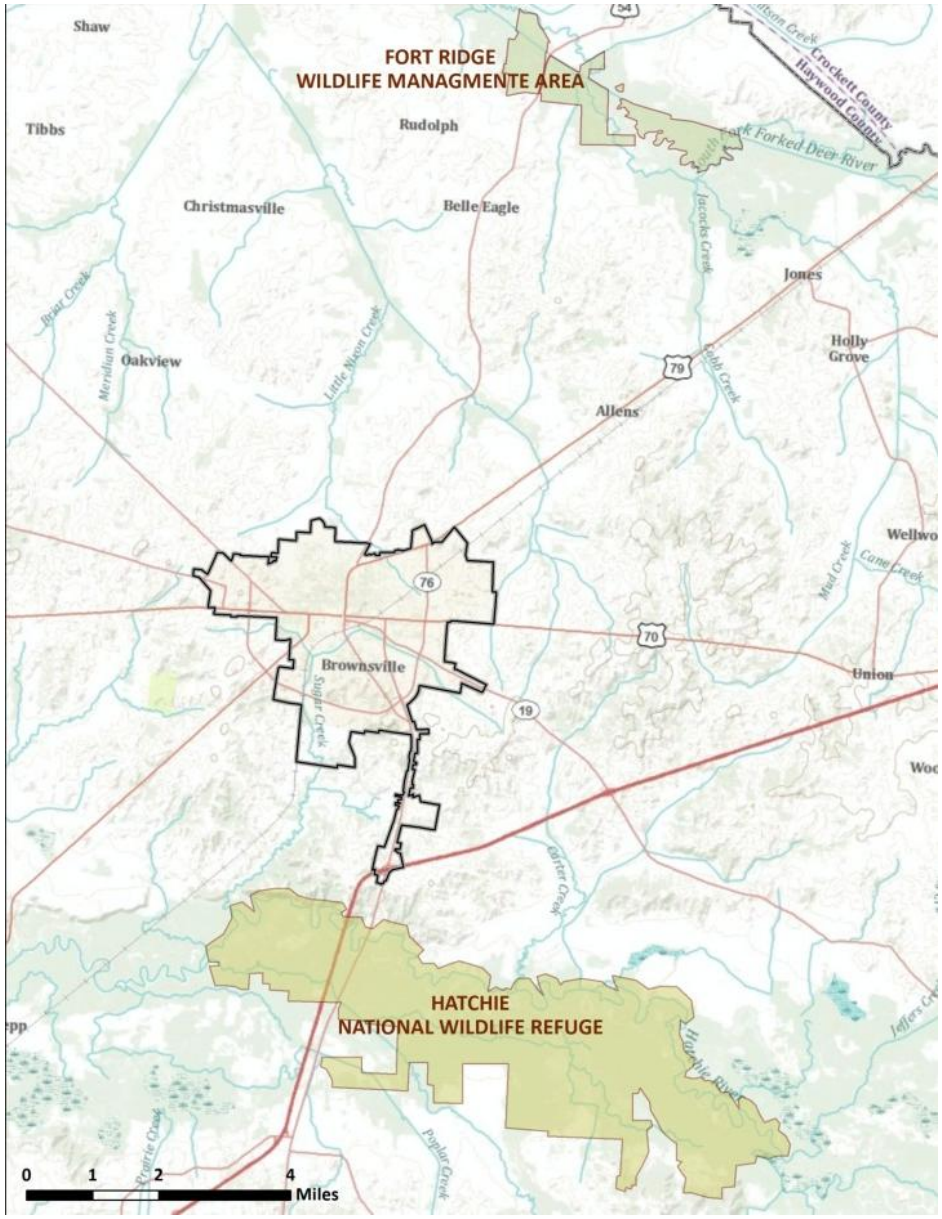


Figure 4.5 | Map of areas subjected to special restrictions for their environmental value in Haywood County

4.4 | NEIGHBORHOODS AND DISTRICTS

The City of Brownsville has been divided into four wards since its original founding. While these wards were originally conceived as electoral districts, they have, over time, taken on their own identities and functions. Most recently, they have been the organizing basis for the establishment of the City's very successful Neighborhood Watch Program.

Over time, the City has also taken steps to preserve the character and enhance the sense of place of two unique districts, namely, the College Hill Historic District which was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1980, and the Court Square Historic District which has been protected by a special historic preservation overlay enacted by the City Planning Commission. The following section offers a brief description on each of these two areas:

College Hill Historic District consists of 960 acres and 72 buildings. Its historic importance is due largely to the significance of people that were born there, such as James Bond, and the value of its local architecture which took shape between 1800 and 1974. The District's dominant architectural styles are Greek Revival, Stickley/Eastlake, and Gothic. The main historic functions of the district were commerce/trade, residence, funerary, religion and education.

Court Square Historic District is not listed on the National Trust's Register of Historic Places however its essential historic character at the heart of the City's original plan and development has been protected through a recently adopted historic preservation overlay district adopted by the City Planning Commission and Board of Alderman. This overlay requires owners within the district to maintain the historic facades of their buildings and regulates new buildings that do not conform to the essential character of the existing architecture.

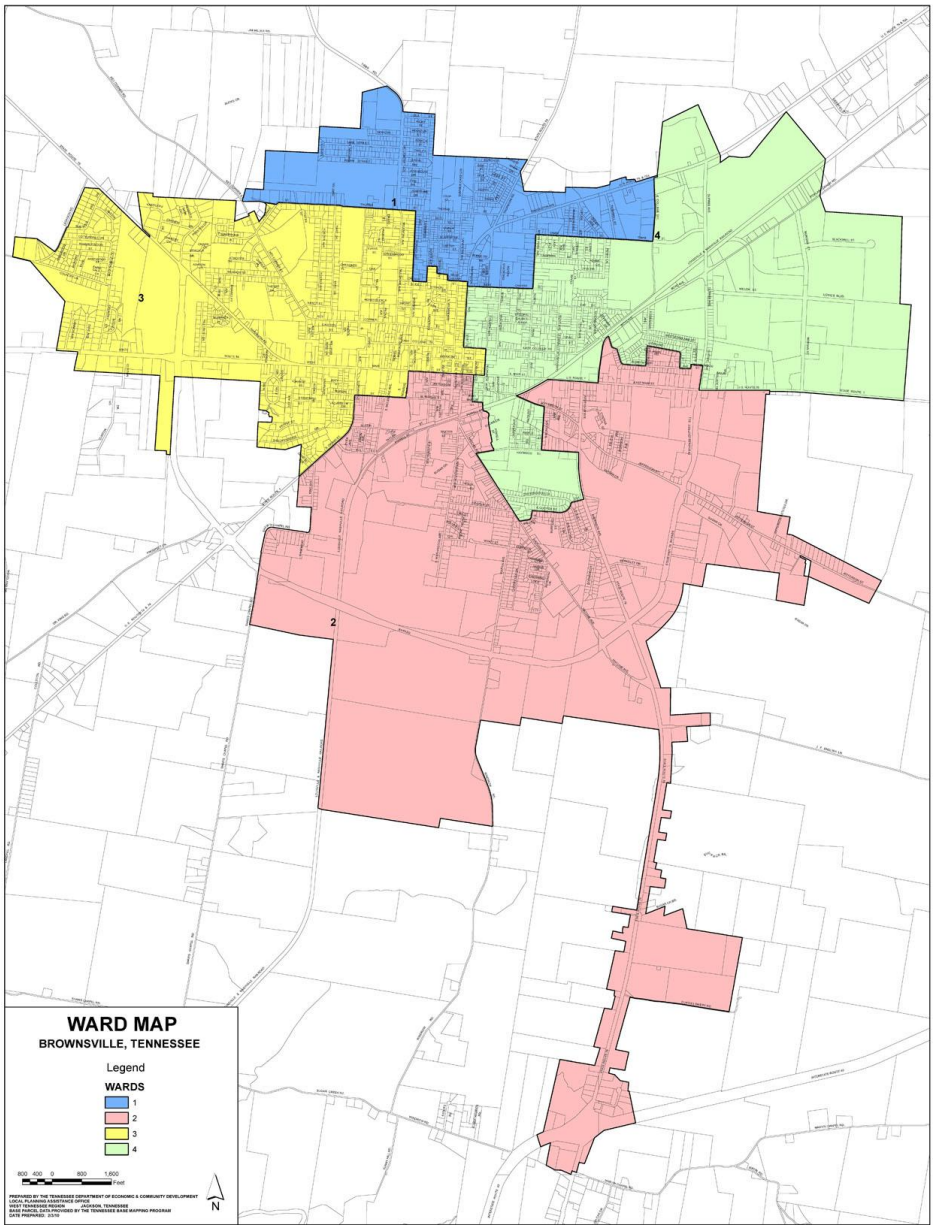


Figure 4.6 | Brownsville Ward Map

4.5 | LAND USE

One of Brownsville's historic and current strengths is the diversity of the businesses and social functions it has managed to attract and maintain. Currently, the primary land uses within the City limits are residential, commercial, institutional, industrial, civic, and public space.

The main land use challenge facing the City is how to resist the tendency towards low-density development at its ex-urban fringe while promoting the adaptive re-use of vacant and underutilized land and buildings near the city center.

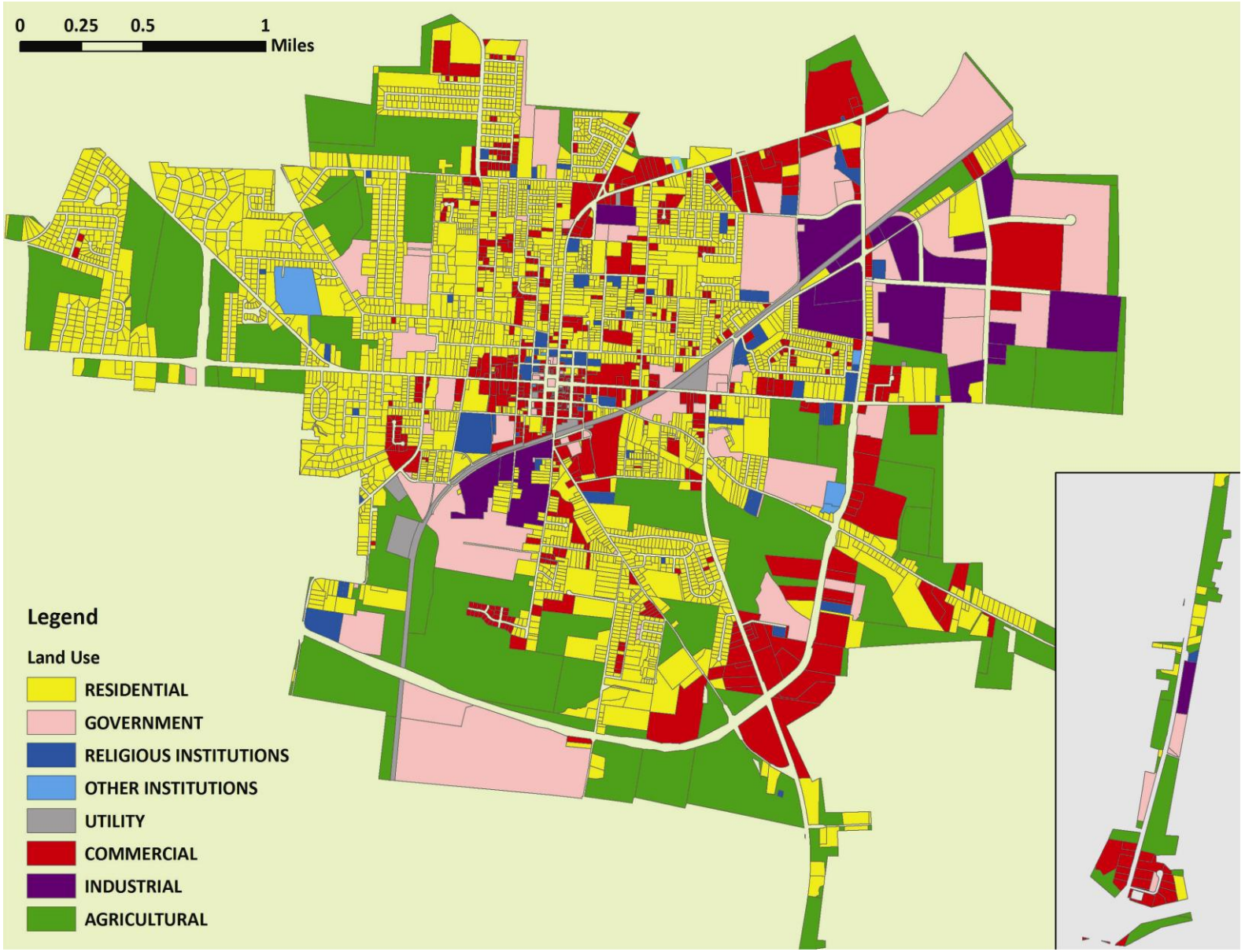


Figure 4.7 | Land Use Map

A particular challenge facing the City is how to return retail shopping to its core and historic residential neighborhoods. Without these uses, the City risks losing its small town ambience where residents would often meet each other in the historic commercial and administrative core or in the City's two smaller neighborhood-oriented retail nodes. Without these uses, the City runs the risk of appearing to be a somewhat haphazardly developed suburban-like place.

This plan encourages the City to look for available locations for public and publicly assisted development close to the heart of the City. For example, discussions are currently taking place regarding the near-term development of a new state-of-the-art high school. Rather than replicate another suburban school campus that students must be driven to, could the City, the County School, and the School District work together to identify a site near the core of the City that would enable a significant number of the students, staff, and faculty to walk or bike to classes. Such a change would reinforce the economic and social function of the downtown, promote health and wellness for students and staff, and reduce the amount of air pollution caused by auto and bus-based school transportation.

The City could also encourage the development of more compact, walkable, and bikeable residential projects at its periphery that would preserve more of the City's natural beauty, require less public infrastructure investment, conserve the use of non-renewable energy resources, encourage more active lifestyles, and promote a higher level of social interaction among neighbors through the use of Traditional Neighborhood Design and New Urbanist architectural principles. These approaches to urban place-making value sustainability, attractiveness, legibility and the social functions of places, especially those elements of a community that comprise the public realm (streetscapes, playgrounds, parks, boulevards, and public are areas). The U.S. Environmental Protection Administration has developed a variety of Smart Codes that local communities can modify and adapt to support new forms of development that advance these values.

The following residential typology map illustrates the considerable amount of land that exists within the City for future development. Developing these areas in as environmentally-sensitive a manner as possible will have a significant impact upon the future attractiveness of the community to would-be developers, investors, and residents and the financial stability of the community. Numerous studies conducted by the Lincoln Land Institute, Urban Land Institute, and Brookings Institute have established the enormous long-term costs of low-density development patterns to future taxpayers.

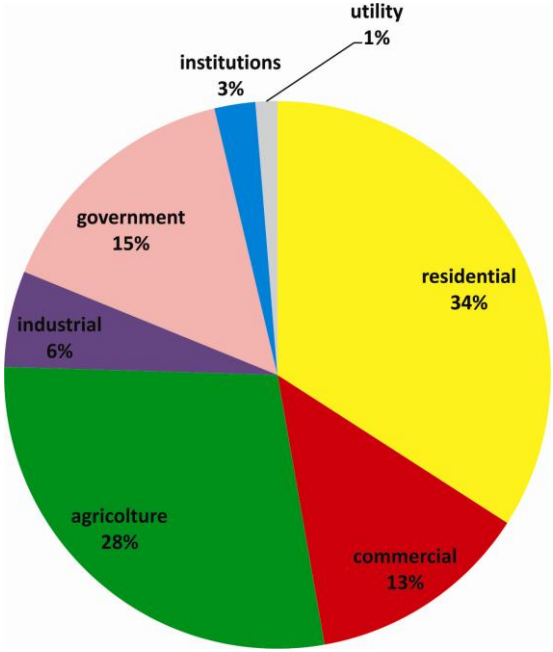


Figure 4.8 | % of land occupied by different land uses.

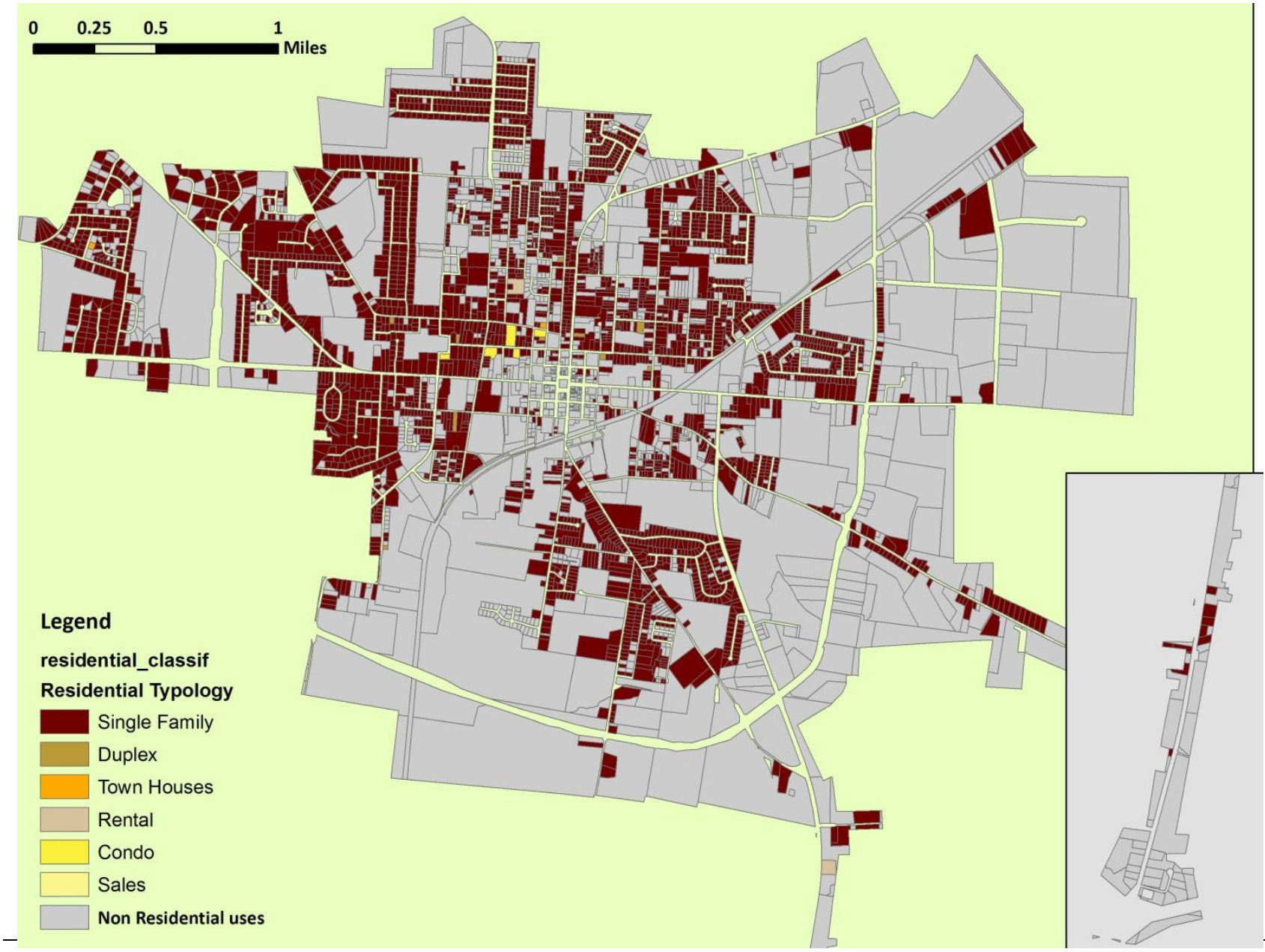


Figure 4.9 | Residential typology map.

4.6 | FLOOD PRONE AREAS

This map highlights the significant areas of the City of Brownsville that are vulnerable to recurring flooding. The City's existing storm water drainage management system has historically protected it from many of the area's most severe storm and flooding events. However, increased urbanization has increased storm water run-off and the intensified severity of storm events triggered by global climate change has exceeded the capacity of the City's existing storm water management system.

The City's efforts to use available and anticipated funds to acquire the most vulnerable properties and transform the land adjacent to the drainage system into an attractive new greenway connected to the Hatchie Wildlife Refuge will offer Brownville residents and visitors an important new recreational amenity for walking, hiking, biking, and urban agriculture.

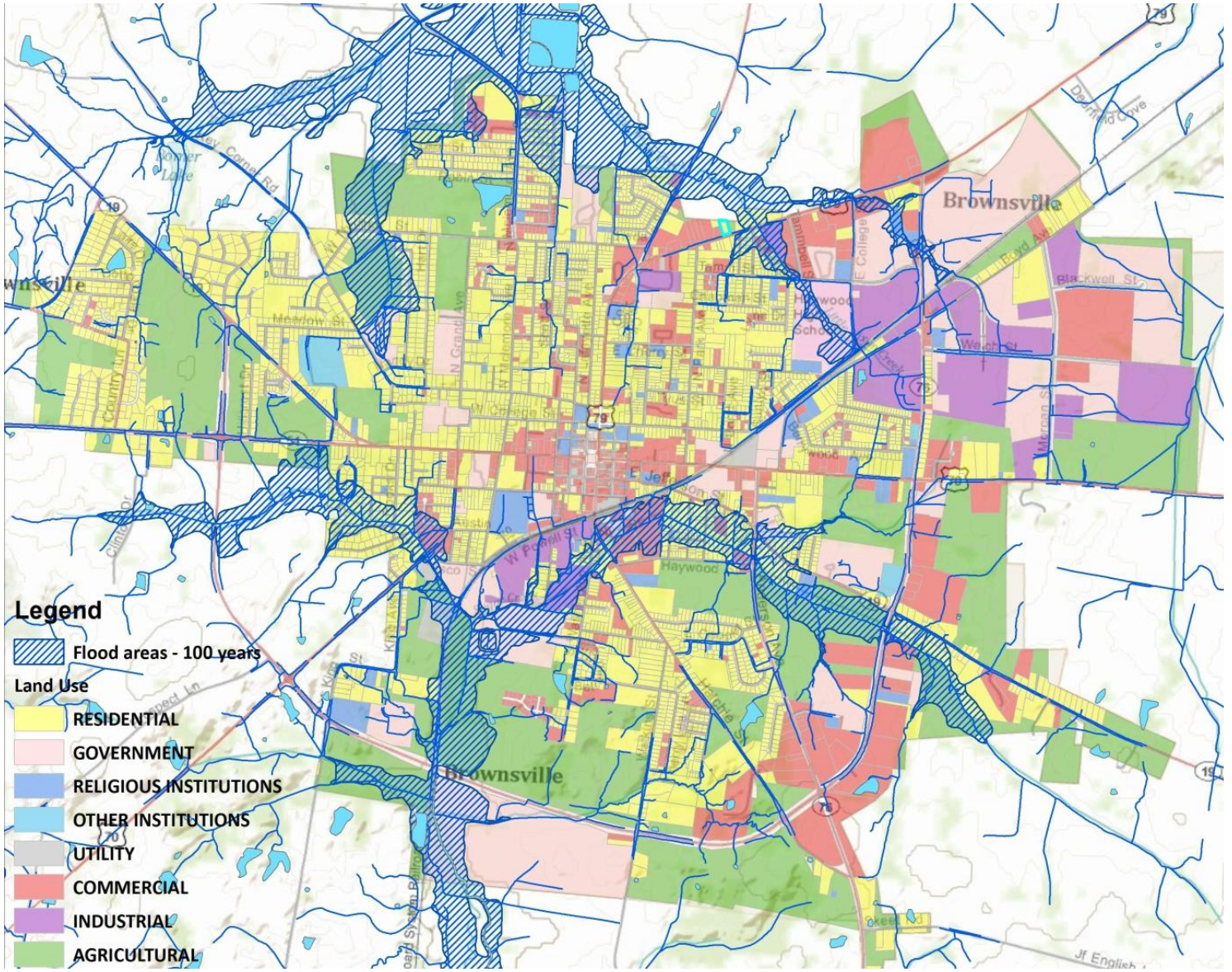
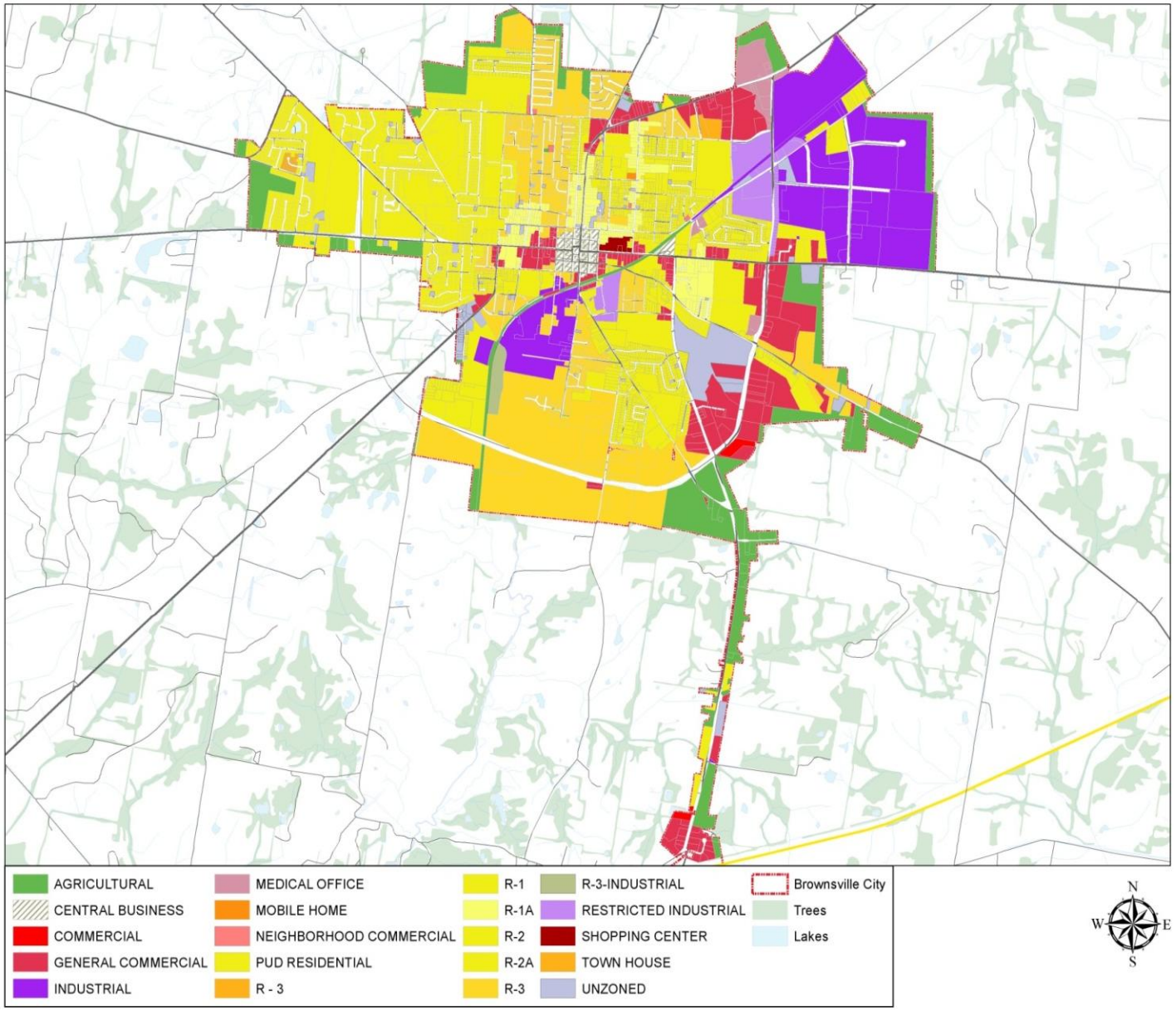


Figure 4.10 | Flood prone areas

4.7 | ZONING

The City of Brownsville's current zoning ordinance is based upon a traditional separation of land uses designed to reduce the number of conflicts between property owners using their properties and buildings for different purposes. For example, the current ordinance seeks to prevent busy industrial or retail uses from being located in residential areas or close to schools, hospitals, or nursing homes. While this traditional (Euclidean) approach to zoning placed a premium on the separation of different land uses it has, in fact, kept the number of locally undesirable land uses to a minimum; it also led to a significant amount of sprawl, increased the number of automobile trips families were required to make for work, school, and shopping, and encouraged an urban form that was somewhat bland and often uninviting to pedestrians.



Recent years have witnessed a radical re-thinking of land use regulation to address these kinds of problems. More and more towns are abandoning Euclidean-based zoning schemes emphasizing the separation of uses in favor of a more mixed-use land use approach where the type of activity taking place on the land and/or in the buildings on a particular site is viewed as being less important than the way in which the land uses on a particular parcel impact the appearance, function, and public use of the street and sidewalk. This plan encourages Brownsville to move towards the increasingly popular form-based approach to zoning described above which both nearby Germantown and Memphis recently did to better protect its rich vernacular architecture and to encourage more vibrant mixed-use development.

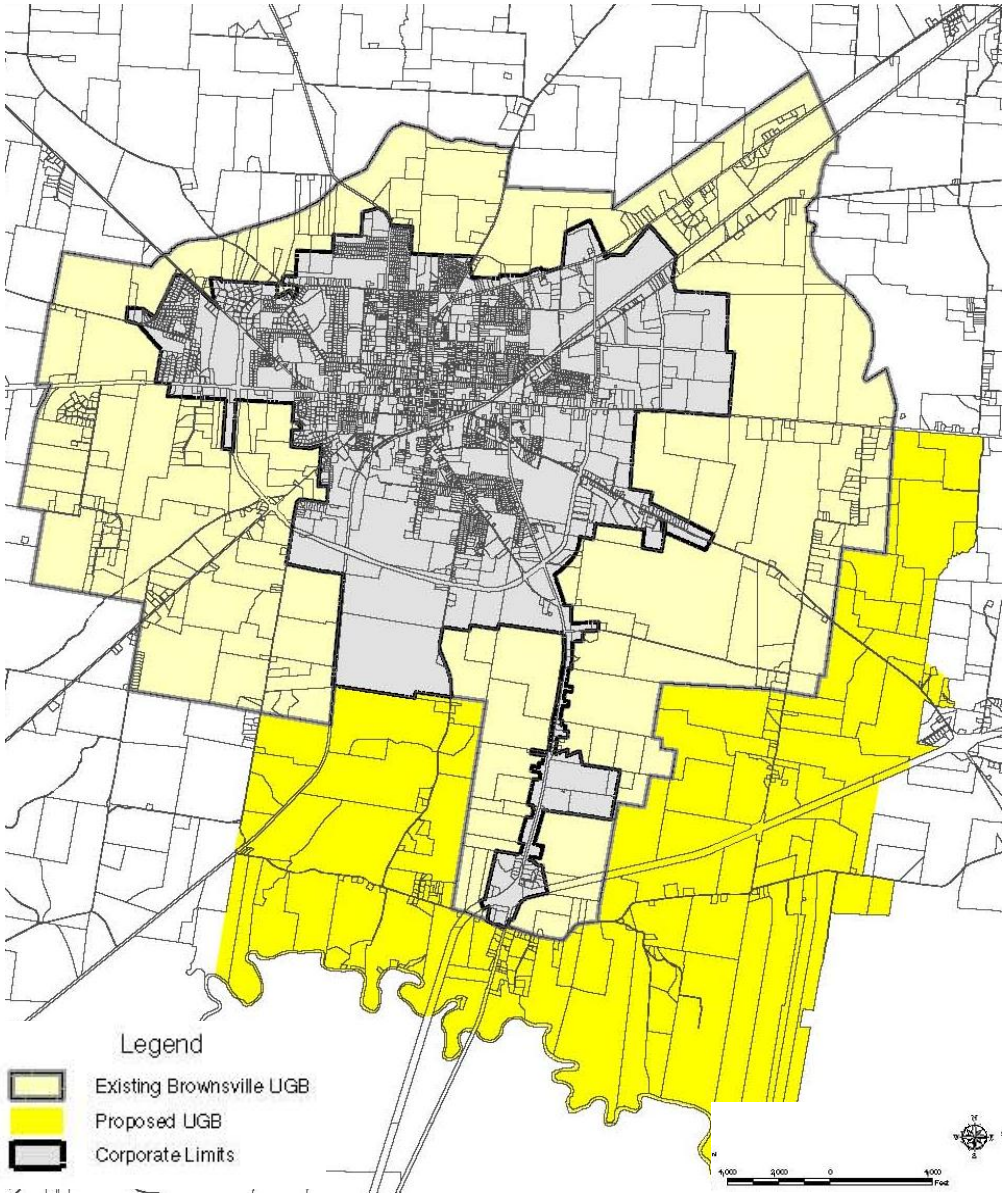


Figure 4.12 | Existing and proposed Urban Growth Boundary.

5 | RESIDENTS PERCEPTIONS

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Brownsville on the Move planning process was the extent to which local residents and leaders were actively involved at each step of the planning process. Between February and September 2011, more than eight hundred local residents, business owners, religious leaders, community activists, and appointed or elected officials shared their analysis of current conditions and future improvement preferences with members of the University's Brownsville Planning Team. A variety of research techniques were used to accurately determine residents' perceptions and preferences, including; community mapping exercises, neighborhood documentation activities, guided visualization sessions, one-on-one interviews, focus groups facilitated in English and Spanish as well as a city-wide phone survey. Through a series of public meetings, held throughout the planning process, an effort was made to actively involve local stakeholders in the analysis of the data generated by these research activities and a discussion of their planning implications.

5.1 | CITY OFFICIALS' SWOT ANALYSIS

Citizen participation in the Brownsville planning process began with a public meeting, convened by Mayor Matherne and Planning Director Hayes, involving members of the City Planning Commission, Historic Zoning Commission, and Board of Alderman on February 5th. At this meeting, local officials were asked to identify the City's most important current strengths and weaknesses and, assuming the continuation of current trends, its most significant future development opportunities and challenges. The following table summarizes the observations of the public officials who participated in this initial planning activity.

	+	-
Present	**Strengths** - Strong cooperation among Mayor and City Board - Abundance of churches and religious institutions - Great family environment - Plentiful tourism & visitor attractions - A diverse population and the existence of good race relations - Convenient garbage collection & recycling pick-up - Interesting and attractive historic districts - Proximity to I-40 - The nearby Hatchie National Wildlife Refuge - Proximity to the Hatchie River - Excellent hunting and fishing	**Weaknesses** - Lack of appropriate cultural and recreational activity for young people - Outdated educational facilities (Newest school is 41 yrs. old) - Lack of gateways and way-finding signage - Poor media portrayal of Brownsville - Absence of clear development standards - Blighted areas—needing improvement - Poorly maintained building exteriors needing facelifts
Future	**Opportunities** - Proximity to Jackson/Memphis - an ideal location for satellite campuses (universities) - Significant untapped leadership resources within the community - Increasing traffic along I-40 - A small town feel that is ideal for raising children - A great retirement area - Great for in-between living: Jackson & Memphis - Students required to fulfill - 80 hours of required community service - A survey of former residents to determine why they are reluctant to return - The planned, state-sponsored, Solar Farm	**Threats** - Skilled workers leaving the area - High potential for talented youth to leave the area - A weak educational system

5.2 | COMMUNITY ASSETS MAP

On February 19, 2011, approximately sixty local residents attended the first community meeting for the Brownsville on the Move Comprehensive Development Plan held at the Brownsville Armory. Following a brief welcome by Mayor Matherne, the sixty individuals attending this session were invited to sit at tables accommodating eight persons and review oversized aerial/street maps of the City. With the assistance of U of M graduate planning students, they were invited to identify on the map what they perceive to be the City's most significant:

- **Assets/Resources** (Physical, Human, Historical, Cultural, Organizational, etc)
- **Problems/Threats** (Current challenges undermining the quality of life)
- **Untapped Resources** (People, places, institutions that with a bit of encouragement could become important future resources for the community

This map presents a summary of the assets, challenges, and untapped resources that local stakeholders identified and discussed during this initial community meeting. Among the items that were most frequently referenced by those participating in the meeting were:

- The community's **strategic location** just off Interstate 40 and close proximity to the Hatchie River National Wildlife Reserve.
- The architectural beauty and historic important of Brownville's **Court Square** that could be significantly improved through a combination of historic preservation and urban design strategies;
- The commitment of **local churches and community organizations**, and their members, to a wide range of economic and community development activities; and
- The quality of the local **public school district** which is good but could be great through the combined effort of students, parents, teachers, administrators, business leaders, and city officials.

At the end of this preliminary meeting, approximately forty local residents volunteered to further document these and other important aspects of the local community using disposable cameras. During the later part of February and early March these volunteers generated more than 1,000 photos of the City's most important assets, challenges, and untapped resources. During this same period, thirty-six of these individuals representing a cross-section of local officials, business leaders, nonprofit executives, area professionals, and neighborhood leaders were interviewed regarding what they perceived to be the City's unique selling points and most important unfinished civic business.

Figure 5.2 | Images from the community mapping exercise that took place during the Feb 19th community meeting

5.3 | MOVERS AND SHAKERS INTERVIEWS *(*)*

The major themes emerging from these "movers and shakers" interviews are illustrated by a sampling of the photos taken by local stakeholders following the first community meeting.

Sense of community | One of the things people most value about Brownsville is its small town character. Among the qualities interviewees most frequently-cited was the City's affordability compared to surrounding urban communities such as Jackson or Memphis; its quiet, safe, and peaceful environment; the close-knit nature of the community; and its willingness to come together, despite past differences, to address issues of common concern. Residents' commitment to remembering and celebrating the its rich agricultural, religious, and musical history through such events at the Relay for Life and Hatchie River Fall Festival were frequently referenced by those interviewed as were the community's many cultural institutions such as the Delta Heritage, Haywood County, and Dunbar Museums. Many viewed the City's extensive network of local churches as both the spiritual and civic backbone of the community through which an expansive range of community-building and development activities are organized.

Having noted these many positive aspects of local community life, interviewees also noted the lack of understanding, empathy, and support that often exists between the City's various racial groups and economic classes. A number of interviewees identified this lack of inter-group solidarity as an important factor in what some perceive to be a recent decline in civility and the overall quality of life within the community.

(*)*Section illustrated through the pictures taken by community members asked to capture assets, problems and untapped resources of their city.*

Figure 5.3 | Community members at the "Relay for Life" event (up-left); a "Chamber of Commerce" community meeting (up-right); Sunday service in one of Brownsville many churches (bottom-left).

Looking towards the future, a number of those interviewed believed the community needed to strengthen its efforts to promote greater racial understanding and solidarity among the community's White, African American, and Latino/a residents. Interviewees also felt that more needed to be done to reach out to the City's youth, many of whom feel increasingly alienated and may be candidates for future gang membership. Among the social problems respondents felt could affect the future health and welfare of the community are recent increases in teen pregnancy, drug-related crime and adult illiteracy. Several of those interviewed argued passionately for the need to develop new adult literacy programs, service-learning classes for students, clean-up campaigns in targeted neighborhoods, civic engagement initiatives for youth (especially minority youth), and an intergenerational community center offering fitness, art, music, dance, and healthy cooking and eating programs.

Economic development | Those interviewed acknowledged the City's pro-business attitude, the effectiveness of the local Chamber of Commerce, the existence of positive working relations among City, County, and State officials engaged in economic development. At the same time, they perceive the need to strengthen the City's economic development efforts as one of the best ways to address its high unemployment and poverty rates and ongoing loss of both business and population.

Those interviewed described the large numbers of younger residents, especially professionals, who commute long distances to Dyersburg, Jackson, and Memphis to make a living. They also cited the large number of workers and managers employed by firms operating within the City's industrial parks who choose to live elsewhere because of perceived problems with the local school system, limited retail opportunities, and lack of local entertainment and cultural outlets and venues.

Figure 5.4 | One of the successful industries operating in the Industrial Park (up) and Brownville's Chamber of Commerce (bottom).

Local leaders believed there were many things local business leaders, in cooperation with City and County officials, could do to address these issues. First, they highlighted the importance of re-branding the City in order to market it more effectively. Many of those interviewed cited the lack of highway signage, entranceway treatments, a local attractions brochure, under developed websites with few, if any, social media connections as problems to be addressed. Local leaders also believed that the City could introduce itself to a new group of potential visitors and residents by developing a series of seasonal festivals and executing a series of low to moderate cost improvements to the City's built environment.

A number of interviewees viewed eco- and cultural-tourism as areas of great potential for Brownsville given its proximity to the Hatchie, two nearby wildlife preserves, and multiple social history museums. Furthermore, several interviewees stressed the importance of taking advantage of the State's recent investment in the Solar Farm and planned development of the West Tennessee MegaSite in southeast Haywood County. Finally, a number of interviewees emphasized the importance of improving local public schools and access to area/regional higher educational institutions to encourage more of the City's current workforce to move into town.

Public services and recreational opportunities | According to the majority of those interviewed, Brownsville provides a number of high quality municipal services, including: multi-day residential trash collection, strong recycling services, a well stocked, staffed and designed Public Library, outstanding school sports facilities, numerous public parks providing both active (skateboarding, biking, etc.) and passive (e.g. Passive Park, Park of Dreams) recreational opportunities. In addition, area non-profit organizations offer a number of highly valued professional services for citizens with special educational, health care, and psychological needs, including: the Carl Perkins Child Abuse Center, Ben Rich Developmental Center, the YMCA, Senior Citizens Center, Boys & Girls Club, and a variety of church-based human service organizations.

Figure 5.5 | Examples of commercial (up) and residential (bottom) vacancies.

Among those services local leaders believe could benefit from improvement are transportation and education. Many interviewees felt there was a growing need for an expanded transportation program to address the mobility needs of young people, individuals with disability, seniors who no longer drive, and the poor. They also cited mediocre performance by middle and high school students on standardized tests and the loss of high quality teachers with experience to other districts as real concerns.

Services less urgently needed according to those interviewed included an expanded range of conveniently located shopping services (i.e. good quality retail stores) and local entertainment venues (i.e. nice restaurants, a movie theater, etc). The overwhelming majority of those interviewed described their frustration driving to nearby Jackson or Memphis for these services. Finally, those interviewed also described the possibility of marketing Brownsville to retirees, especially military retirees, who would be attracted by its hometown feel, modest cost of living, attractive architecture, excellent health services, and many cultural attractions provided certain additional services were provided, such as: expanded para-transit, assisted living, and adult learning options.

Built and natural environment | Brownsville's built environment is highly valued for its many attractive historic structures especially the homes and churches in the College Hill Historic District, the commercial and civic buildings within the Court Square District (downtown), and the monuments within Oakwood Cemetery. The existence of these cultural resources is viewed by many of those interviewed as a blessing because Brownsville has, in the past, torn down many of its historic structures.

While Court Square is highly valued, it is also viewed as somewhat problematic by many of those we interviewed. It has experienced a long period of decline as both a business hub and government center. The development of competing shopping centers along the City's major arteries and the movement of numerous public functions, such as the Justice Center, to campuses closer to the edge of the City have reduced the number of people coming downtown. As a result of this loss in consumer traffic, the number of vibrant businesses on the Square has, according to long-time observers, declined. The revitalization of Court Square as the geographic, government, and business heart of Brownville, is, from the perspective of the majority of leaders we interviewed, the City's top planning challenge and opportunity.

Many of those interviewed viewed Brownsville's proximity to nearby natural areas characterized by a high level of biodiversity including the Hatchie River and the O'Neil Lake as one of the City's greatest assets. Many of the leaders we spoke with were deeply concerned about the two recent 500-year floods that occurred in 2008 and 2010. These events caused serious flooding in several of the established neighborhoods along Sugar Creek to the south of town, and Nixon Creek to the north. Several of those we interviewed encouraged the City to view these events as an important opportunity to enlarge the flood plain, improve the surface water retention system, and extend a greater measure of safety to those communities most affected by the recent floods. Such an effort could be implemented without great difficulty as part of the planned expansion of the greenway intended to surround and beautify the City and its outer neighborhoods.

Figure 5.6 | One of the streams causing flooding on Highway 70 West.

Figure 5.6 | The Elma Ross Public Library, the Recycle Center, the Carl Perkins Center and City Public Parks are among the most mentioned examples of high quality services provided to Brownsville residents

5.4 | FOCUS GROUPS

In March and April of 2011, the University's Brownsville Planning Team, with the assistance of Mayor Matherne, organized a series of four focus groups to elicit the views of groups that are often overlooked within public planning processes. These focus groups, which were facilitated by University faculty, brought together local industrial managers, religious leaders, Latino/a residents, and a racially-diverse group of high school students. The following chart summarizes the major outcomes of these small-group discussion sessions.

Focus Group Issue Areas	Local Industrial Managers	Caucasian and African American Pastors	Latino/a Adults and Children	African American, Latino/a, and Caucasian Youth
Social cohesion, interracial/ethnic conviviality	Business friendly community and right to work state	Pastors agree that social integration of black and white parishes has not progressed very far and that it is necessary to address the deep social divides still existent in the City	Better schools, strong sense of community among Latinos, improved communication with other groups, lower level of racism, a cleaner environment	Upper grade high school youth argued that interracial/ethnic relations are normal and comfortable within school, they felt this was not the case within the City; Brownsville neighborhoods are racially divided. The racial divide is further complicated by growing class divisions
Burning issue/s	Inability to attract and/or keep talented workers (Holders of BAs and MAs) and their families in Brownsville; workers require considerable on-the-job training and retraining; very disappointed with the quality of Haywood High School; fearful of competition for workers from the proposed MegaSite	General dearth of adequate employment for African American adults within the community; the absence of solid vocational training programs in the City is an issue	Regular flooding of neighborhoods, poor housing conditions, vacant commercial buildings, local trash collection, lack of activities for youth, lack of jobs for youth, need for better police protection, cost of services/utilities, inability to bank due to lack of government–issued IDs, low wage rates, lack of scholarship funds, cost of health insurance, the quality of education in the high school – this school needs more focus on content and less emphasis on dress code violations, improve facilities for soccer	Lack of equal access to good teachers and Advanced Placement courses for all the students; increasing gang activity in certain neighborhoods and sometimes around school; absence of appropriate forms of recreation for teens
Focus Group Issue Areas	**Local Industrial Managers**	**Caucasian and African American Pastors**	**Latino/a Adults and Children**	**African American, Latino/a, and Caucasian Youth**

Security	We view public safety in a favorable light	Health problems; children not receiving adequate parental guidance who then cause trouble in school and therefore can't learn	Need better police protection in areas where Latino families live; "the bravest people in Brownsville are the Mexicans who live at the Fairgrounds", train police in cultural sensitivity along with health and human service workers, secure translator services for health, police, and emergency service workers	Drug problems among students (even athletes on the high school football and basketball teams); a major danger zone is where much of last year's flooding occurred
Public & Financial Services	Utility costs are something they closely monitor raising production during off-peak (cheaper) hours	Far too many African American families rely on title companies and other exploitative enterprises as their banks. This must change! Basic financial education services have to be established in Brownsville	Poor maintenance of Sugar Creek outside main neighborhoods results in unnecessary flooding	Youth appropriate retail, recreation, and post-high school learning opportunities are largely absent; limited public transit is a contributing factor to social isolation
City Governance			Control of the City appears vested in a small number of families; need to get youth involved to give them experience and sense of responsibility	

A number of common themes emerge from the comments of these varied citizen groups. First, there is considerable concern among youth, Latino/a adults, area pastors and local industrialists regarding the quality of the education offered to non-AP students at Haywood High School. The absence of wholesome, safe, and affordable recreational opportunities for youth and young adults was a second issue that all four focus groups discussed. Drug-related crime appears to be a concern for youth, Latino/a adults, and local pastors. Both youth and Latino/a focus group participants argued for the need for language and cultural sensitivity training for local law enforcement, public school, health care, and social service providers. The need to provide basic financial literacy and banking services to African American and Latino/a residents who are all too often forced to go to title companies, loan sharks, and the informal economy for basic check cashing and lending services was highlighted.

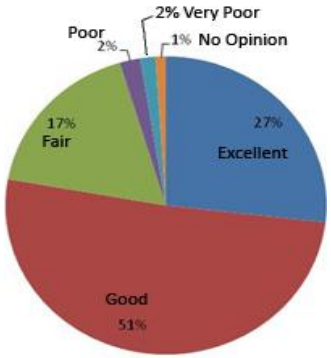
In addition to these commonly felt concerns, there appeared to be a number of issues that impact single groups. Industrialists were concerned about the impact that the successful development of the nearby MegaSite might have upon the local labor supply and wage rates. The pastors were focused, in large part, on how they might work together to breakdown racial, ethnic, and class divides within the City. Latino/a adults were concerned about the poor quality of housing available to their community and the constant threat of flooding they were under. They were also deeply distressed by the instructional, discipline, and discrimination issues affecting teaching and learning at Haywood High School. Local youth were alarmed by the escalating use of illegal drugs in the high school, especially by members of the school's elite athletes.

5.5 | RESIDENTS PHONE SURVEY

The Mid South Survey Research Center, an outreach program of the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Memphis, completed a phone survey of local residents with the assistance of members of the University's Brownsville Planning Team during the months of April and May 2011. A total of 215 useable interviews were completed during this time. The following section summarizes the results of this survey.

Phone survey demographics | A total of 215 surveys were completed, while the general profile of those interviewed reflected the general demographic profile of Brownsville's resident population there were some differences that we must note. Those interviewed by phone contained a slightly higher percentage of women, Caucasians, senior citizens, and college educated individuals than one finds in the overall Brownsville population. This may be explained, in part, by our choice of a telephone survey which connects to land lines. Fewer low income residents and younger citizens have land lines; these groups prefer to use cell phone and texting services as their primary mode of communication.

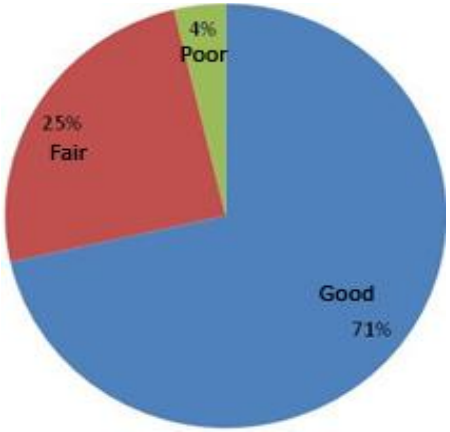
Cleanliness of public streets and open spaces | While 78% of those surveyed evaluated the Cleanliness of Streets and Open Spaces in Brownsville as Excellent or Good. More than 20% rated these features as being fair, poor, or very poor. These data suggest room for improvement in the City's efforts to maintain clean streets and public open spaces.



Parks and recreation services | Overall, those surveyed appeared quite satisfied with the overall quality of the City's parks. The one exception to this positive picture appears to be residents' perception of the "quality of park programming" which received considerably fewer favorable ratings.

	Good	Fair	Poor	No Opinion
Quality of parks	75%	20%	1%	4%
Cleanliness of parks	79%	13%	1%	7%
Condition of facilities and equipment	71%	17%	3%	9%
Quality of park programming	58%	19%	2%	21%

Quality of public services | Those surveyed were, in general, very pleased with the overall quality and range of the municipal services they receive from the City. Residents were especially complimentary of the City's solid waste disposal and re-cycling programs.



Availability and quality of health-related services provided by area non-profits | Those surveyed appeared very pleased with the availability

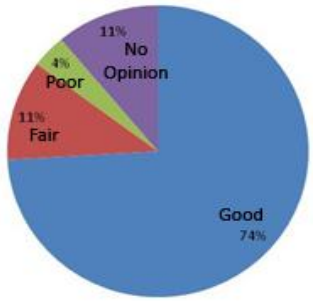
and quality of senior citizen and general health care service within the City. While the availability and quality of family planning and disability services also received generally positive evaluation, such was not the case for alcohol/drug treatment and youth development services. In the case of alcohol and drug services, less than one in five rated their availability and quality as good while only one in four evaluated the availability and quality of youth development services as positive.

	Good	Fair	Poor	Refused	No Opinion
Alcohol and Drug	17%	18%	27%		38%
Senior Services	63%	20%	5%		12%
Disability Services	45%	26%	11%		18%
Family Planning	41%	23%	13%	2%	23%
Youth Development	27%	30%	24%		19%
Health Services	49%	36%	13%		2%

The plan recommends a number of specific steps to improve the availability and quality of both alcohol and drug and youth development services. The negative evaluations which these two services receive are consistent with comments offered in several of the focus groups and in the open-ended portion of the telephone surveys that were conducted.

Availability of child care facilities | Those surveyed, with or without school age children, had positive evaluations of the availability of child care services within the City.

	Good	Fair	Poor	No Opinion
With Children	47%	24%	12%	18%
Without Children	57%	10%	4%	22%



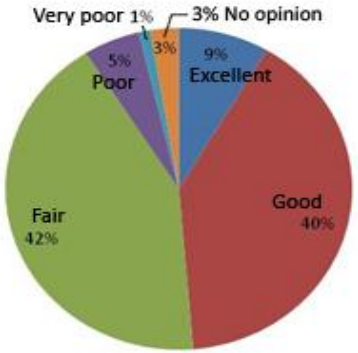
Quality of pre-kindergarten services | Currently, there are two HEADSTART and six privately-run child care facilities serving the City. Those surveyed appear to have a very positive impression of the quality of services offered by these institutions.

Quality of local school services | Those surveyed tended to have positive impressions of the quality of local school services being offered. While primary schools were viewed as highly effective with few critics, assessments of middle and high schools were somewhat less positive with 11% and 13% of the respondents giving them poor evaluations. Finally, local residents appeared to have a less positive view of local adult education programs. Given the lifelong educational demands currently being placed on those working, additional analysis of the County's current adult education and worker re-education programs should be undertaken.

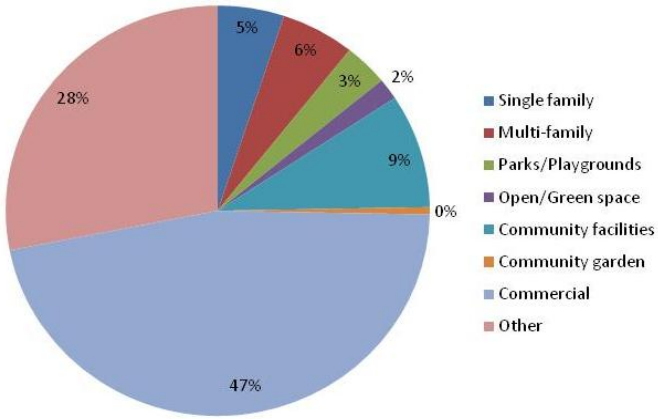
	Good	Fair	Poor	No Opinion
Primary School	**67%**	**22%**	**5%**	**6%**
Middle School	**51%**	**25%**	**11%**	**13%**
Secondary School	**51%**	**22%**	**12%**	**15%**
Adult Education	**47%**	**21%**	**9%**	**23%**

Local housing conditions | Those interviewed by telephone had differing opinions regarding the quality of the City's existing housing stock. While 80% of the respondents evaluated the housing as either good or fair, 14% of the respondents rated the quality of the City's existing housing stock as either poor or very poor.

These data, along with the relatively higher percentage of vacant homeowner and rental housing suggests the need for a strong housing improvement element in the Brownsville on the Move Development Plan.



Redevelopment of Vacancies Preferences | Like many American cities that have experienced out-migration to the suburbs and a loss of retail activity, Brownsville has a significant number of vacant building parcels in and near Court Square. When asked how these parcels should be used, nearly half of the respondents said for commercial development, 28% for other purposes, 11% for housing, 5% for playgrounds, parks, and open spaces, and 11% for community facilities. Those interviewed are clearly committed to reinforcing the commercial and civic function of downtown while a few would like to see residential housing added to the mix of downtown land uses.



Where residents purchase basic goods and services | While residents appear to purchase a significant portion of their groceries, household supplies, and medical services in Brownsville, they are much more likely to go to nearby Jackson to purchase clothing and entertainment services. These non-local purchases represent a significant loss to the local economy that an import substitution or "buy-local" program if effectively designed and pursued could, in part, address (Schuman 1999).

	Brownsville	Jackson	Memphis	Other
Groceries/Household Items	79%	13%	2%	6%
Medical Services	58%	27%	5%	10%
Clothing	21%	57%	10%	12%
Entertainment	20%	60%	13%	7%

Active citizenship | Brownsville residents appear to be highly active and engaged citizens. Four out of five of those interviewed indicated that they were active members of one or more local civic organization. Four out of ten telephone interviewees believed one or more of the civic groups they belong to would become actively involved in the City's ongoing planning process.

Residents' responses to open-ended questions |

WHAT DO BROWNSVILLE RESIDENTS MOST LIKE ABOUT THEIR TOWN? Residents appear to like the strong sense of community that exists within the city. They also value the quiet, peacefulness, and tranquility of a smaller community located in a rural setting. They appreciate the community's strategic location and easy accessibility to two larger communities (i.e. Jackson and Memphis). In general, residents were pleased with the quality of services offered by the City, County, and area non-profits. They also felt

doing business in Brownsville was relatively easy and convenient – paying taxes, establishing a bank account, and arranging for local utility services.

WHAT DO BROWNSVILLE RESIDENTS MOST DISLIKE ABOUT THEIR TOWN? While pleased with the City's local groceries, many residents complained about the limited nature of local retail stores, recreational services, and entertainment venues. Most reported travelling to Jackson or Memphis, on a regular basis, to address these needs at considerable costs of time and money to their families. Residents were also concerned about the lack of good jobs within the community and the impact this problem is having upon the ability of young people to remain in Brownsville. A significant number of residents shared concerns regarding illegal drug use and gang-related activities in the community. Many African American and Latino/a who responded to the survey felt local institutions and agencies could do more to promote greater cultural sensitivity among their staff. A number related stories of insensitive treatment by local health care providers, social service workers, and law enforcement officials. Finally, many people raised concerns regarding the range of educational opportunities and the quality of instruction offered at Haywood High School. Business owners, in particular, noted the negative impact that concerns regarding the quality of instruction offered at the High School had upon their hiring efforts, especially efforts to recruit senior managers.

WHAT WOULD BROWNSVILLE RESIDENTS MOST LIKE TO SEE CHANGED? A review of residents' response to the open-ended telephone survey questions highlights the importance of addressing three critical challenges. First, the necessity of taking steps to expand the local economy. Second, the need to work with local youth, teachers, administrators, and parents to improve the quality of instruction offered at Haywood High School. Third, the necessity of bringing local business, civic, religious, and government officials together to address issues related to racial and cultural insensitivity and bias.

6 | SWOT ANALYSIS

The multiple research methods used by the University's Brownsville Planning Team to study local conditions generated significant amounts of data. One of the challenges facing those involved in the local planning process is how to organize and analyze this information. The most common way of approaching this task is through the use of a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) Analysis. This approach to summarizing and interpreting data generated through different research methods was pioneered by business consultants working for the Stanford Research International; it was subsequently popularized by faculty and students from the Harvard Business School. The following table presents the Brownsville Team's major findings regarding the City's current strengths and weaknesses and (assuming the continuation of current economic, cultural, and political trends) its future development opportunities and threats.

Those involved in the Brownsville on the Move planning process are committed to using the City's many current strengths and assets to address its most serious environmental, economic and social problems. In doing so, local leaders hope to position Brownsville to take full advantage of future development opportunities that may present themselves. In pursuing what Kretzman and McKnight call an assets-based approach to economic and community development, Brownsville planners seek to protect the community from possible threats that may come its way (Kretzman and McKnight 1993).

The next section of the Brownsville on the Move Development Plan presents residents' vision for a more vibrant, sustainable, and equitable community. This vision is based upon local residents and leaders review of the data presented in the first part of this document.

Time-frame	Strengths	Weaknesses
Present	• Strategic Location • Clean, Quiet and Safe Environment • Strong Soil and Agricultural Base • Proximity to the Hatchie River and Wildlife Refuge • Historical and Cultural Resources and Awareness • A Diverse Population Open to Engagement • Many Committed Churches • Hardworking Local Government and Cooperative County/State Agencies • Strong Municipal Services • Solid Housing Stock • Civic-Minded Citizenry	• Weak Marketing of City Attractions • Uneven Building Maintenance • Underdeveloped Entranceways and Limited Wayfinding Signage • Lack of Urban Design Standards • Aging School Facilities • Deteriorated Housing Near Often Flooding Waterways • Limited Recreational Opportunities • Limited Access to Higher Education • Growing Youth Gangs and Drug Use • Lack of Bi-Lingual/Bi-Cultural Public and Non-Profit Employee(s) • Limited Interracial/Multi-Cultural Engagement
	Opportunities	**Threats**
Future	• Increased Tourism by Marketing What Exists (Minefield, Museums) • Economic Development Possibilities Related to Solar Farm and Megasite • Ecotourism Possibilities Connected to the Hatchie and National Refuge • Retirement Community Possibilities • Satellite Campus Opportunities • Nurturing the Emerging Generation of New Civic Leaders • Capitalizing on the Main Street Program to Revive Court Square • I-40 Related Development • Capturing A Higher Percentage of New Workers as Residents • Better Use of Students Engaged in Required Public Service	• Retirement of Skilled Workers • Possible Future Loss of Rich Agricultural Lands Due to Sprawl • Additional Housing Deterioration Caused By Uncontrolled Flooding • Rising Teen Pregnancy Rates • Increasing Drug-Related Crime Rates • Racial Tensions If Unaddressed • Continued Loss of Students and Families to Jackson • Negative Impact of the Justice Complex's Move on Downtown