To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Kendra Lorelle Saunders entitled "An Ethnographic Future Research Study of Knoxville, Tennessee's Empowerment Zone." I have examined the final paper copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Planning, with a major in Planning.

Bruce Tonn, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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An Ethnographic Future Research Study of Knoxville, Tennessee's Empowerment Zone

A Thesis

Presented for the Master of Science in Planning Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Kendra Lorelle Saunders

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Abstract

This thesis examines the efficiency of Ethnographic Futures Research (EFR) in Knoxville, Tennessee's Empowerment Zone. Although EFR has rarely been used in community development, it is an intense visioning process that helps communities envision their future through three different scenarios: optimistic, pessimistic, and most likely. As a result, EFR helps prepare communities for uncertain events occurring in the future. Such research does not predict the future. Alternatively, EFR is a way to accordingly plan for the unknown using various pictures about the future.

The core of this project involved interviewing a respectable individual who is knowledgeable about the area. The purpose of the interviews was to analyze the community's history and current trends in order to produce viable scenarios about Knoxville's Empowerment Zone. It was determined that the scenarios are useful and can help promote optimal growth in the area.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

I. Background

The following is an account of Knoxville, Tennessee's Empowerment Zone (EZ) using Ethnographic Futures Research (EFR). Dr. Robert Textor developed EFR in 1976. In 1990, he published a book about Thailand, which illustrates this type of research. Ideas found in his book, The Middle Path for the Future of Thailand: Technology in Harmony With Culture and Environment, were used to guide this study of Knoxville.

The EZ is the largest federally funded program devoted to community development in inner cities. The Clinton-Gore Administration introduced the program in 1994. Knoxville was fortunate enough to be designated as a zone in 1998. Its inner city has a great deal of potential that makes it an excellent choice for revitalization. Cities selected as Empowerment Zones receive a substantial amount of money over a ten-year period to rebuild distressed areas.

Since it was selected as an EZ, those devoted to empowering residents and rebuilding neighborhoods have primarily focused on the many advantages the inner city can capitalize on due to the federal program. While this is expected, organizers must also direct their attention to the area's sustainability after the program has ended. Twenty or more years from now residents will continue to

raise families, work, and shop in neighborhoods making up the Knoxville Empowerment Zone (KEZ). Whether the EZ succeeds or fall shorts short of revitalizing the community, efforts must be in place to support KEZ viability after the program ends. Therefore, the ideas presented in this study extend beyond EZ funding.

II. Purpose

EFR has been used to assist the KEZ. In earlier phases, zone residents participated in a Values and Visions Workshop in which they pinpointed unappealing aspects of their neighborhood and what can be changed to make healthier environments. While the residents' ideas were helpful in identifying lingering and potential problems affecting their environments, this research includes an in depth study of ideas that stakeholders may not have considered, or thoroughly explored. Hopefully, people will view this study as an additional tool to plan for the future, and maybe even carryout the process with more citizens invested in KEZ sustainability.

The primary goal of this study is to determine:

Can EFR produce viable scenarios that can be used to stimulate democratic discussion about the Knoxville Empowerment Zone community futures?

EFR can be beneficial as a planning mechanism because it includes inhabitants in an extensive participatory planning process about their future [the process is explained in depth in Chapter Two, Sections II and III and Chapter Three, Section

IV]. Communities are more likely to be sustainable if they have a shared vision of what they want their neighborhood to become. Change will occur with or without the residents' input, but if people want to shape growth so that it is conducive to their desires, they must contemplate and plan for the future. Inner cities across the country currently suffer unwanted consequences because stakeholders did not adequately prepare for what could unfold. EFR can help prevent unexpected outcomes as it intensely explores what is, what could be, and what should be.

An additional benefit is EFR's ability and potential to awake a dormant grassroots movement in American society. When the process is thoroughly executed, stakeholders have the opportunity to participate in public democratic discussion about the community's future. They have a greater sense of direction while becoming empowered to direct growth affecting quality of life. As a result, people have fundamental images of what to expect rather than being surprised about what takes place.

Studying the future is paramount to creating desirable endings. Futures research helps mold those endings, and also prepares people for undesirable events. Leading futurist Peter Schwartz, president of Global Business Network, wrote a thought-provoking book about "planning for the future in an uncertain world." Although his audience is directed towards corporate America, the principles found in The Art of the Long View, can be applied to any medium and are especially useful in anyone's life. Step-by-step, he shows readers how to

construct realistic scenarios in order to prepare for the unknown and make better decisions based on uncertainty.

Schwartz's guidelines were followed in this project to help informant, Alan Jones, create possible scenarios about the KEZ. In three scenarios defined by pessimistic, optimistic, and status quo futures, Mr. Jones was interviewed about the state of the area's existence in 2022. The unstructured interviews revealed many of Knoxville's treasures and demons. Despite numerous unfavorable aspects, the area harbors opportunities that residents, living in and near the zone, could use to their advantage.

III. Organization

The next six chapters include a description about EFR and how it compares to participatory planning (2); a description about residents, advantages, and drawbacks of Knoxville's EZ, Mr. Jones' biography, and my methodology (3); the optimistic scenario, which accolades Nine Counties One Vision, a visioning process ten to 15 years into the future involving East Tennessee citizens, and HOPE VI, a federal plan to revitalize severely distressed public housing (4); a poignantly grim pessimistic scenario (5); a combination of positive and negative outcomes in the most likely scenario (6); conclusion (7); and an appendix of photographs taken of the zone, including a map depicting the empowerment zone community.

Chapter 2

Ethnographic Futures Research and Participatory Action Research

I. Background

Ethnographic Futures Research (EFR) is an innovative tool in the social sciences originating from Futures Research. While Futures Research has been studied and practiced over the years in various fields ranging from business to technological sciences, EFR studies are less common and have never been tried in Empowerment Zone communities. Therefore, this project is important as an additional method for studying economically distressed communities. Sections II through IV of this chapter explain Robert Textor's book and how he used EFR to study Thailand; how EFR is connected to Futures Research; and the advantages of using EFR and Futures Research.

EFR may be considered a participatory research tool because its goals closely resemble those of participatory research methods. Participatory research is one term used to represent many ideologies devoted to democratization and social change. Since this study seeks to evoke democratic discussion in Knoxville's Empowerment Zone, it is important to include participatory research principles. Integrated in Sections V and VI are descriptions about Participatory Action Research and how EFR may be used as a tool in that genre.

Finally, in Section VII case studies relating to Participatory Action Research are included. These illustrations should give the reader an understanding of how

participatory research is executed and present a means for comparing it to the EFR study in Knoxville, Tennessee.

II. Ethnographic Futures Research

In an Ethnographic Futures Research Study, Textor collaborated with informant, Dr. Sippanondha Ketudat, to discuss Thailand's social, economic, and political future. They published their findings in The Middle Path for the Future of Thailand: Technology in Harmony With Culture and Environment. The book's purpose is to present positive and negative images of alternative futures in Thailand in order to increase its sustainability and quality of life and stimulate discussion about critical issues influencing public policy (Ketudat 1990: XXII-XXIII).

According to Textor's methodology, he collected extensive information about Thai culture prior to creating the scenarios, which offer three different perspectives on how Thailand may be affected if citizens fail to plan for the future. Written in 1990, the book uses EFR to present optimistic and pessimistic scenarios of Thailand's fate in 2020 to scholars and policymakers. The study involves Textor interviewing Ketudat for a total of 25-30 hours over a five-week period about Thailand's alternative futures (Ketudat 1990: XXIV).

III. Ethnographic Futures Research Evolved from Futures Research

Futures Research

Ethnographic Futures Research is a sub-type of Futures Research (FR), which is any general study of alternative futures or scenarios considered likely for a given population. Futures Research attempts to:

- Describe alternative scenarios possible for a certain population;
- Determine confidence and/or uncertainty in those scenarios;
- Identify probable consequences of that future;
- Give early warning signs of undesirable scenarios. (Ketudat 1990: 139)

Ethnographic Futures Research Originates from Futures Research

EFR stems from FR because it is a private, face-to-face, open-ended interview that tries to elicit images and values from participants through possible scenarios. The interview, including revisions and corrections of scenarios, normally lasts many hours (20 to 40) over a course of time. All interviews are tape recorded so that they may be transcribed later (Ketudat 1990: XLI). According to Textor, this is largely an ethnographic method because it is cultural, holistic, and comparative while considering the goals of FR. In addition, EFR does not study the future; instead it uses the participant's scenarios to influence "the process of change as the future becomes the present" (Ketudat 1990: 142).

Fundamental Components of Ethnographic Futures Research

There are five basic elements of every EFR project. They include:

- A description of the population investigated;
- An approximate date by which the scenarios will be effective;
- Broad categories or domains of culture the scenarios will focus on;
- The role technology plays in the population analyzed;
- Underlying assumptions about the population and/or culture. (Ketudat 1990: XLIII – XLV)

IV. Benefits of Using Ethnographic Futures and Futures Research

Civic Participation

Robert Domaingue, a university professor, suggests that one approach to organizing participation community developers should consider is EFR. In an article called "Community Development Through Ethnographic Futures Research" he claims that one of the most challenging concerns of community development is getting people more involved in choosing the fate of their communities. Because it explores an individual's general concerns in the future it "can serve as a catalyst for community development. The process generates feelings of ownership in the type of future people want most for their community" (Domaingue 1989). Once the interviewing and final report have been completed, it can be distributed to community members and discussed in public settings. Therefore, citizens have an opportunity to influence key policy makers while guiding critical decisions affecting community.

Empowerment

Yale University Futures Professor Wendell Bell asserts that "no social science . . . could be fully acceptable without a healthy dose of futures thinking." According to him, futurist methods include EFR and scenario writing. When people consciously think about the future they become more responsible for their actions. Because of this, futurists aid people in becoming "more competent, effective, and responsible actors in their personal lives and . . . societal roles." People cannot become more competent, effective, and responsible actors unless they know the consequences of their actions. However, because these consequences occur in the future, studying the future is necessary to bring end results to the forefront (Bell 1998).

Responsible Decisions

Future-oriented social research can help people make good decisions and effectively take action. Futures thinking broadens alternative possibilities before we have a chance to act one way or another. It encourages individuals to look past what is expected and search for opportunities; plan for the distant future; creatively imagine environments as they currently exist; and layout purposeful actions in order to achieve more desirable futures. "People can be taught to become more effective and responsible by their knowing and following some of the principles of futures thinking . . . by more fully investigating present possibilities for the future, by rejecting the idea that what is must be as it is and is

all that can be or could be, by more accurately forecasting probable futures, [and] by preparing for improbable as well as probable future events . . ." (Bell 1998).

V. Participatory Action Research

Action research is grounded in grassroots involvement. It evolved out of the work of psychologist Kurt Lewin. Frustrated by the limitations of conventional social science research methods for addressing difficult human situations, he developed the school of action research that encouraged active involvement of those affected by the problem in the research. This involved a "cyclical process of fact finding, action, and reflection, leading to further inquiry and action for change" (Minkler 2000).

Alternative revolutionary methods of research emerged in the 1970s mostly from work with oppressed groups in Third World countries. Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator, laid the philosophical foundation for such participatory action research techniques with his emphasis on "co-learning and action based on critical reflection." In addition, Fals-Borda applied and refined participatory research methods in Latin America, which further contributed to the theoretical basis and participatory action research (PAR) practices (Minkler 2000).

Researchers from various disciplines increasingly use these alternative methods for participatory processes and community development. Traditional methodology once separated the scientist from the citizen and resulted in ineffective community intervention; therefore, scholars have been prompted to

develop approaches often referred to as participatory research, mutual inquiry, community-based action research, participatory action research, and empowerment evaluation. Although these methods may differ in goals and theories, they share the same substantive principles and values that result in many scholars using the terms interchangeably. All these terms share a quest for knowledge. Knowledge being the "critical basis of power and control," (Kennedy 1996) the methods central to these terms seek to pass on power and control to community members. The term participatory action research has its own sets of theories and objectives, but is often the umbrella term for methods in "research practice that place the researcher in the position of co-learner and put a heavy accent on community participation and the translation of research findings into action for education and change" (Minkler 2000).

In his article "Participatory Research, Democracy, and Community," Peter Park cautions readers that within traditional participatory research "the experts' self interests are not always aligned with the common good of the citizenry." As a result, citizens must reclaim their innate abilities to determine what the problem is, devise workable solutions, and take the necessary steps to promote positive change. Public participation is a means for ordinary citizens to successfully solve community problems (Park 1997).

The center of research includes discovering problem-solving techniques that people need on an everyday basis. Effective problem solving requires accurate

information about the whys, hows, and whats of the problem. Participatory research addresses these questions by tackling practical issues that arise in people's constant struggle for a high quality of life. Even more important is that those affected, rather than the expert, label these as the problems that should be addressed. Then, the people affected by these issues do the actual research. A trained researcher who facilitates or guides may assist them while the people conduct and learn from the research. Lastly, the purpose of participatory research is to evoke social change. This occurs by social interaction, the essential factor of participatory research. Such research is "research of the people, by the people, and for the people" (Park 1997).

Participatory research (PR) has been questioned for its validity since those who have a stake in the outcome conduct it. However, it is important to note that doubt is due to the belief that knowledge represents reality, the core of what research reveals. Knowledge is valuable if it provides workable solutions for problems. It does not rely on "certified validity as the revealer of reality." In addition, because its goal is social change PR may disrupt the status quo (Park 1997).

Furthermore, Park emphasizes that not all knowledge available to us as social beings is representational based on reality. Reflective and relational knowledge are also needed in order for people to properly function in society.

Representational knowledge is an example of what natural science produces as it is about ideas we describe or explain as objects of knowing. It is usually based on observations that require the observer to be somewhat detached from the subject. However, reflective knowledge refers to human values that question what is right and wrong. It addresses how things should be rather than how they are. Reflective knowledge is normative "not . . . of conformity but of righteousness of action and is informed by thoughtful reflections carried out in social contexts" (Park 1997).

Reflection leads to empowerment. Individuals are empowered by participating in community organizations. Reflection activities such as researching issues, helping run a meeting, and engaging in public speaking are participatory activities contributing to empowerment. Reflection increases a person's "knowledge, emotional reactions, and critical awareness of community functioning" (Speer 1995).

Relational knowledge is how we relate to others in personal relationships. It is manifested in emotions that arise from being familiar with and close to another. Physical intimacy is the essence of relational knowledge. One who is in a relationship, experiences such knowledge (Park 1997).

In a model based on the Pacific Institute for Community Organizations (PICO), a community organizing network of organizations in 25 cities across the country, strong interpersonal relationships contribute to depth of social power. The model

emphasizes that "relationships based on shared values and emotional ties between individuals produce bonds that are more meaningful and sustainable than relationships based on rational or emotional reactions to community issues alone." When people rally around an issue rather than relationships, members of the group are more likely to go their separate ways rather than take advantage of the social power found in relationships (Speer 1995).

Like reflection, interpersonal relationships also foster individual empowerment. One-on-one contact with community members over a period of time develops trust and clarifies goals. Participants address areas of mutual self-interest, issues affecting them and the community, and hold each other accountable to act based on the issues (Park 1997).

Participatory research incorporates all these forms of knowledge, but its overall purpose often is conveyed in solving real social problems that require representational knowledge (Park 1997). As active members of a democratic society, citizens must be included in research processes that affect their lives. They must be able to express and determine what steps need to be taken for the good of their communities. People have to be willing to look beyond their own desires and demands toward what is best for the community as a whole (Fulton, 1996). Private meetings or individual decisions do not effect the common good. Ideas, beliefs, and values need to be discussed and debated in public arenas as a

means of "rational discourse aimed at shared understanding" for the good of society (Park 1997).

As a result, participatory research is educational. It is a means in which citizens can practice democracy by confronting concrete problems that directly affect them. Like EFR, it offers a medium to discuss what should happen, what problems should be addressed, and why. In this sense PR helps people develop reflective knowledge, and "acts as a problem-oriented training ground for participation in the public sphere" (Park 1997).

Citizens' active involvement in the "public sphere" requires a community, which is a network of people who regularly interact with each other and share common interests. Community is the foundation of meaningful democratic participation. A healthy democratic society allows citizens to be open and voice frank opinions about civic concerns while being listened to and their views respected (Park 1997).

According to the article "Using Participatory Action Research to Build Healthy Communities," PAR is:

> a systemic investigation, with the collaboration of those affected by the issue being studied, for the purposes of education and taking action or effecting social change. The research centers on community strengths and issues and explicitly engages those who live in the community in the research process. What is distinctive about PAR is . . . the active

> involvement of the people whose lives are affected by the issue under study in every phase of the process. Central to PAR approaches is their shared commitment to consciously blurring the lines between the researcher and the researched through processes that accent the wealth of assets that community members bring to the process of knowing and creating knowledge and acting on that knowledge to bring about change. (Minkler 2000)

The article continues to reveal PAR as a democratic process that is "community-driven, systematic, participatory, and oriented toward community and social change" (Minkler 2000). PAR offers great potential for increasing meaningful community involvement in research projects. Furthermore, participatory methods excite capacity building and community development while linking unequal participants in complex decision-making (Minkler 2000).

Central to PAR methods is community development, which increases "a community's capacity for taking control of its own development—building within the community critical thinking and planning abilities, as well as concrete skills, so that community members can replicate development projects and planning processes in the future." Effective community development seeks to meet a community's economic, physical, and social needs. It is also associated with empowerment (Kennedy 1996).

Empowerment is the ability to clearly define one's interests and devise a plan to realize them. It is the process of transforming one's reality in order to achieve specific objectives. Community development "is not a matter of money or physical capital . . . but of the capacity of a society to tap the root of popular creativity, to free up and empower people to exercise their intelligence and collective wisdom" (Kennedy 1996).

The social sciences tend to measure success by the numbers – number of houses built, clients served, jobs created, or the number of people whose income has risen above the poverty level. But, community development and participatory research include less measurable goals in their criteria for success. These goals involve empowerment and consist of:

- Power and control being more vested in community members;
- The number of people in the planning process who shift from being the object to the subject of planning;
- More competent, involved, confident community members;
- Valuing equity and inclusion. (Kennedy 1996)

VI. Ethnographic Futures Research as a Participatory Research Tool

Public Participation

EFR can be PAR tool because it increases public participation. When EFR is carried out in communities and the scenarios created are discussed in an open forum, residents are allowed the opportunity to express concerns about their

environment. Initial discussion can lead to further debate about what steps the community needs to take to realize their vision.

Using EFR helps community members to more seriously think about the future and "spark dialogue in the community" (Domaingue 1989). Therefore, citizens practice democracy by talking about and tackling specific problems that hinder progress. In addition to civic participation, citizens who participate in democratic processes become more critically aware about how their community functions.

Quality of Life

Like PAR, EFR also seeks to improve quality of life. This becomes possible when reliable information about what exactly is the dilemma, how it arose, and why it exists results in resolving community problems. Accurate information about the community is revealed in EFR by extensively analyzing current trends and how the area has been affected economically, socially, and politically.

Empowerment

Lastly, since EFR encourages participants to reflect on the community's present and how they envision their future, it promotes empowerment. Rather than accepting current circumstances and allowing change to haphazardly occur, residents decide what they want for their community. They then have greater ability to control what problems should be addressed, how change should occur, and why.

VII. Participatory Action Research Case Studies

Vancouver, Washington

Similar to the EFR process, citizens in a Washington community envisioned what their community may look like in the future. Teenage mothers, members of a Russian church group, and members in a local seniors organization made up a few of the community residents participating in a year-long visioning process in Vancouver, Washington. The project was called Vancouver's Clark County Community Choices 2010. While in focus groups, citizens answered questions like "What do you like most about your community?" "What are your hopes for your community's children 20 years from now?" and "Where would you put your energy to make the community a better place (Minkler 2000)?"

Texas A&M University

A book called Community-Based Ethnography: Breaking Traditional Boundaries of Research, Teaching, and Learning, compiles ethnographies collected by various graduate students in three classes at Texas A&M University. According to Dr. Ernie Stringer a community ethnography is:

> A form of qualitative research which is both academically rigorous and socially responsive . . . It is intrinsically participatory, so that the products of the research are not portrayals or reports written by an outsider, but collaborative accounts written from the emic perspective of the group.

> Such accounts, grounded in the hermeneutic processes of dialogue, negotiation and consensus, provide the basis of powerful group and community action. (Stringer 1997: 119)

The first course, Community-Based Ethnography, was offered during the spring semester in 1993. A similar course called Qualitative Research for Educators was taught the following summer. These two classes taught qualitative research methods that emphasized community building and action research.

One account in the compilation describes how high-school students become ethnographers and observed, analyzed and reflected on how different cultures relate to each other in their school and communities. In a three-month period, six seniors, two juniors, and one sophomore, representing White, African American, and Hispanic cultures used ethnographic research methods to study cultural diversity. The chapter entitled "High-School Students' Participation in Action Research: An Ongoing Learning Process," is told from teacher Sheila Baldwin's perspective, who also facilitates and actively participates in the project. The students used ethnographic methods such as unstructured interviewing, observation, and field notes.

The students and teacher met in the school library in the morning before school to discuss their findings. The students demonstrated great commitment to the project because although they were all involved in school activities and/or had part-time jobs they devoted what little time they did have to this ethnographic

account. The students as well as the teacher learned an immense amount of invaluable information about cultural diversity in their school and community with limited time. At the end of the project, Baldwin reflects:

> Being part of the study with students acting as ethnographers has had a great impact on my teaching philosophy. Throughout my descriptive account, I reflected on the student ethnographer's high interest in and serious commitment to this project . . . The subject of the study—school and community culture—was interesting and relevant to them because it dealt with their real lives. They were learning about themselves through ethnographic inquiry. Because of its relevancy, these high-school students became involved and took ownership and thus, were empowered. (Stringer 1997: 144)

She goes on to say that "just as research has changed my life as a professional, action research can revitalize the entire learning community . . ." (Stringer 1997: 146). Action research supports initiatives and ushers change because it is democratic. It gives a voice to the subject being studied and includes him in a participatory process. According to Baldwin, "it[action research] gives them purpose; they have a stake in it, and at the same time, they enhance their self-esteem and become democratically empowered. Learners see themselves as involved in constructive action rather than as passive recipients . . ." (Stringer 1997: 145).

Fairhill, Philadelphia

An article called "Help From Within: Participatory Research in a Low-Income Neighborhood" explores the effect of ethnography in needs assessment of multi-ethnic, low-income Philadelphia neighborhoods. The main goal of the study was to increase communication among area social service agencies in order to better serve Fairhill community residents. Anthropologists, a professor, a recent college graduate and students conducted the research. Community collaborators participating in the action-planning process included social workers, housing activists, ethnic leaders, job and economic developers, and local pastors (Curtis 1989: 213).

Area agency leaders made up the Advisory Committee responsible for overseeing the research, contacting potential study participants, reviewing research strategies, and contributing to the final report (Curtis 1989: 207). Researchers asked agency leaders open-ended questions in a semi-structured interview about their organization's structure and activities in order to learn more about the neighborhood (Curtis 1989: 215). Because the research team collaborated with the agency leaders throughout the project the Committee was encouraged to own the research findings and be more effective in facilitating follow-up activities. Hence, collaboration with the community provided useful information for the community in research and planning activities in order to promote social change (Curtis 1989:

203). During the follow-up phase, the Advisory Committee became an Action Steering Committee that directs the Coalition (Curtis 1989: 207).

The three census tracts studied consist of 24,000 residents, and were once a thriving industrial community that suffered due to the Depression and massive unemployment from 1950 to the middle 1970s (Curtis 1989: 205). Urban renewal complicated by suburban flight also contributed to the city's demise. The area has since been designated as an Enterprise Zone and two commercial districts have been revitalized in addition to housing rehabilitation in various sections of the community (Curtis 1989: 206).

Because the area still suffers from poor private and public infrastructure, abandoned buildings, and vacant lots, the community can benefit from more revitalization projects (Curtis 1989: 206). Therefore the purpose of the project was to analyze the relationship between the neighborhood's socioeconomic characteristics and human service environment and to help neighborhood leaders develop an action plan based on the data. The objectives of the neighborhood study and follow-up action planning process were to:

- Determine the major service-delivery, need and funding issues in the specific neighborhood for funders, service providers, planners, and neighborhood leaders;
- Provide a forum for participants to review the implications of the research for policy development;

- Help develop a communication network to encourage formal and informal interaction among local agency and organization directors and staff;
- Work with community leaders to create an action plan based on the study's findings and community needs. (Curtis 1989: 204)

The project is an example of collaborative research because it showed the community how to build capacity and solicit support with programs and institutions outside the community. According to the article, collaborative research in applied anthropology is ideal because it unites people with various skills and knowledge; clarifies the research process; strengthens research ability in communities; increases the chances that non-researchers will use research; and, improves the quality of research due to community involvement. As a result, the neighborhood was the subject studied and the chief beneficiary of the research (Curtis 1989: 213).

Elements of collaboration included:

- Consensus on the problem—lack of city funding and services;
- Agreement on the cause of the problem—lack of strong political support and advocacy;
- Understanding the importance of the research and documenting the problem. (Curtis 1989: 213-214)

Deana Lee Philbrook Henry, who contributed to Community-Based Ethnography with "Reaching Consensus and Writing Collaborative Accounts,"

reminds readers that older styles of research have been replaced by participatory, democratic processes that compliment shared authority and partnerships in decision making in order to create a shared vision. This is especially evident in community development (Stringer 1997: 106). Henry reasons that consensus as a part of collaborative ethnographic inquiry and narrative composition has "far-reaching implications" for adult educators, community development workers, and anyone involved in participatory research (Stringer 1997: 116).

The process of achieving consensus guarantees that the voices of all participants are heard and equally accounted for, which may lead to greater acceptance of democratic processes involving people in decision-making that directly affects their lives (Stringer 1997: 117). He says that participatory research traditionally has been neglected by prominent systems of inquiry that primarily perpetuate the status quo. In contrast, contemporary methods of participatory research "attempts to present people as researchers themselves in pursuit of answers to questions of their daily struggle and survival. It recognizes the need for an occasional special input of expertise and contribution of certain skills, but it rejects the myth of professionally trained experts as the only legitimate pursuers of knowledge." Unlike traditional research methodologies, participatory research is a collective process that discourages separating the researcher from the researched, while also rejecting the idea of an individual researcher deciding the purpose, method, and outcome of the study (Stringer 1997: 116).

Atlanta, Georgia

A community development plan aimed at civic renewal for the Atlanta region sparked citizen participation and collaboration. In 1991 the Atlanta Regional Commission, official planning agency, wrote a prospectus for the community called Vision 2020. The document involved creating a shared vision for Atlanta's ten counties through 2020 and formulating action plans to make the vision a reality. The capstone of the four-year project is a report called "Vision 2020: A Community's Vision Takes Flight," which outlines critical issues for the future decided on by thousands of citizens (West 1995).

The first phase of the project involved two years of intensive research about critical issues and trends relevant to future development of the Atlanta region. Results of the Delphi Survey were released at a 1992 conference. Keynote speaker Glen Heimstra, a leading futurist on strategic change from Seattle, applauded the region's efforts by emphasizing the importance of vision and the power in creating a preferred future (West 1995).

During the summer of 1992, the Vision Steering Committee drafted future statements of what could happen if the region did nothing to alter its current course and the possibilities awaiting the area with earnest intervention. The future statements were introduced to over 500 elected officials, private citizens, business leaders, and high school students at a Vision 2020 Regional Congress. Those

present began creating their own visions through thoughtful discussions in plenary and break-out sessions (West 1995).

In addition, a public outreach campaign that ran from January to May 1993 focused on informing citizens about options concerning the future and alerting them about the opportunity to shape long-term goals for the region. A Speaker's Bureau was created to give more than 100 presentations to civic, community, business, and government organizations. Twenty-three community forums were held throughout the area giving over 2,000 citizens an opportunity to be directly involved in creating a vision (West 1995).

The greatest discovery of Phase I was the common values shared by citizens from various cultures and income levels. Everyone agreed on basic needs and desires for their families and communities. Values such as personal safety, an effective school system, job opportunities, a healthy local government, and cultural understanding were profound issues that the region supported (West 1995).

The next phase involved establishing Initiating Committees focusing on ten key issues critical to the region's future. These issues included: diversity, economic development, education, environment, governance, health, housing, human services, public safety, and transportation. Ten to 15 people served on the committees that used the National Civic League's model to effectively handle local ideas and concerns about the specific issues. The committees later recruited

about 100 more citizens around the region to serve on Community Collaborative teams that examined the vision and create action plans (West 1995).

On September 8, 1995 the final report, A Community's Vision Takes Flight, Vision 2020: Key Initiatives for the Future was released at the Atlanta Regional Commission's Outlook Conference. It offered citizens a clear action plan for Atlanta to reach its greatest potential. Following its release the community began working on a set of benchmarks used to measure how well the vision is performing and to continue drawing out the excellence inherent to the region (West 1995).

Bronx, New York

The City of New York, the Borough of the Bronx, and the local community developed a shared vision for the Melrose Commons Urban Renewal Area. Although the original planning process didn't include the people it would affect, residents discovered the proposed plans and proceeded to take the process into their own hands. The Melrose Commons project includes a 30-block area in the South Bronx that has a large concentration of city-owned property intended for redevelopment. The development would consist of a new middle-income, home-ownership community. While redeveloping the area would boost the economic base, it meant displacing many of the residents whom inhabited the area (Strand 1996).

Approximately 6,000 people with a median family income of less than $12,000 a year live in the Melrose community. They were not consulted by the City during the planning process, but were still aware of the possibility of displacement. When rumors started circulating about the City's plans, the Bronx Center Project held a public forum to discuss pending developments. Homeowners, tenants, and business owners in the area used this opportunity to express their outrage about being overlooked and betrayed by their elected officials and city agencies. Stakeholders perceived their investments in the community as devalued and rendered worthless by the local government. They demanded to be included in the plans for an improved community (Strand 1996).

Community residents and business owners began to hold regular meetings to inform and incorporate more residents. In February 1993 they formed the We Stay/Nos Quedamos Committee and rallied around the motto "Be part of this committee and help save our community. Make changes for your own future, do not let your children down. Plan for your future and their future." As Bronx Center Project representatives began exploring resident's opposition to the Urban Renewal Plan questioning why stakeholders wanted to prevent it, Yolanda Garcia, chair of the We Stay Committee, responded:

> When members of our community realized the potential devastation that awaited our area . . . [we] joined forces and proclaimed that this proposed

> Urban Renewal Plan would not be certified. . . City agencies had once again determined our fate without ever engaging in conversation with the very people who were to be directly affected. . . the community was not opposed to prosperity . . . we welcomed development. . . we desired to be an integral part of the long awaited prosperity by remaining home owners, business owners, and residents of the Melrose Community. . . The Urban Renewal Plan removed us . . . and made way for new residents who would reap the rewards of our sacrifices. . . We Stay/Nos Quedamos is not only the name of our committee, but our mission statement" (Strand 1996).

Members of the area also questioned the affordability of the homes to the residents, opportunities for existing business to expand, the possibility of introducing health care, senior citizen, and youth services not already present, quality of construction, and appropriate densities to allow municipal services to continue and expand (Strand 1996).

Fernando Ferrer, the Bronx Borough President, convinced city officials to postpone approving the Urban Renewal Plan and begin to develop the Melrose Commons Urban Renewal Plan. A coalition was formed made up of Nos Quedamos, the City Planning Department, Housing Preservation and Development, Transportation, Environmental Protection, the Bronx Borough President's Office, the Mayor's Office, and the office of Congressman Jose Serrano. The group proposed a six-month period to redraft the plan (West 1995).

Nos Quedamos was responsible for developing the community's proposals for a new plan. Working sessions were held in a space in Melrose Commons donated by a resident. Residents met bi-weekly in the basement of a local church to stay abreast of progress made and discuss their concerns. Nos Quedamos met every Tuesday at their 811 Courtlandt Avenue Headquarters. Their goals were to:

- make Melrose Commons self sustaining;
- ensure that the community continued to participate;
- outline steps and determine standards for quality, the environment, and design. (Strand 1996)

Although the community's vision was different from the City, community members collaborated a participatory process that made life even better for the area. A grass-roots plan from the bottom up resulted in stakeholders walking the streets to learn more about effecting positive change and generating richer discussion. They understood and respected the community's "existing structures, form, and composition." The experts and residents did finally agree on one point: "the old ways worked best." The coalition devised new, sustainable, healthy plans based on old ideas. These plans resulted from taking the time to truly understand the affected community. According to Garcia, "the people of Melrose were the caretakers during a time when no agency cared to help. Today we are more than prepared to join forces and help our neighborhood flourish and thrive in a

collaborative setting. Our community is dedicated to assist in the process of rebuilding itself" (Strand 1996).

VIII. Summary

In summary, a quickly growing number of communities around the United States have implemented programs to help them envision their futures. These programs are highly regarded as participatory in nature. It is my belief that EFR should become a commonly used tool in community-based futures research because it is also participatory and produces scenarios that are richer in content than the community visions produced by standard visioning methods.

Chapter 3

Conducting an Ethnographic Future Research Study of Knoxville's Empowerment Zone

I. Initiatives to Improve Economically Distressed Communities

On December 21, 1994 the Clinton Administration elected 105 distressed communities around the country as Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZs and ECs). The Renewal Community/Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Initiative seeks to revitalize communities experiencing severe economic decline. Through public and private partnerships that attract investment necessary for sustainable economic and community development, dilapidated communities are expected to flourish again. The federal government administers tax incentives, grants, loans, and technical assistance to such communities hoping that residents within these areas will be empowered to help revitalize their neighborhoods. In addition, EZ residents will have access to more jobs, business assistance and services, youth and family programs, and improved healthcare, childcare, and transportation. An immediate result of the initiative is safer neighborhoods and greater civic involvement (U.S. 2002).

During a second round of designations in January 1999, the initiative expanded to include 20 more urban and rural EZs and ECs. In December 2000 the initiative was expanded once again through the 2000 Community Renewal Tax Relief Act,

which approved another 40 Renewal Communities (RCs) and nine EZs. More designations are expected to be effective starting January 1, 2002 (U.S. 2002).

II. Knoxville's Empowerment Zone

The designated zone in Knoxville (see Figure 15) includes more than 20 percent of the total geographic area of the city and almost 30 percent of Knoxville's population. It covers 16 square miles plus three developable sites totaling 939 acres. The community is situated entirely within Knox County and all but 0.7 square miles is within the city limits including the Central Business District (Prospectus 1998: 2). The diverse area, which is mostly located east of downtown, is a collection of urban neighborhoods. It comprises approximately 75 percent of Knoxville's black population. Upper, lower, and middle-class families reside in the homes ranging from a quarter of a million dollars to substandard decay. Avon Rollins, executive director of the Beck Cultural Exchange Center, says, "it is a real cross-section of the community" (Brewer 2002).

The community has been evolving for some time. It was a primarily black community from the start, but due to lack of economic opportunity the neighborhoods suffered decline and many experienced the sting of urban renewal efforts instituted by the Knoxville Housing Authority in the early 1960s. According to Rollins, urban renewal instigated the demise of many neighborhoods. He recalls, "before 1965, the nucleus of the community was where the Hyatt and the coliseum are now" (Brewer 2002).

Rollins is referring to the 184 acres taken for the Mountain View project area that now includes the Hyatt Regency Hotel, Knoxville Civic Coliseum/Auditorium, and Townview Terrace apartments among other development.

Although people often associate the negative with East Knoxville, the neighborhoods have a great deal to offer. It is described as significant to the historic, geographic, and economic heart of Southern Appalachia (Prospectus 1998: 5). A drive along Magnolia Avenue leads one to the Pellissippi State Magnolia Campus, a branch of the Pellissippi State Technical Community College (see Figure 3), which recently added a career center (Partnership 2000); the Knoxville Zoo; and Chilhowee Park. Interstate 40 is highly accessible throughout the area. Standing on numerous hilltops there are excellent views of the city and the Great Smoky Mountains (see Figures 12 and 13). Knoxville College (see Figures 1 and 2), founded in 1875 by the Presbyterian Church of North America (Booker 1993: 162), still exists in the heart of Mechanicsville.

The Mechanicsville neighborhood is undergoing major revitalization; through HOPE VI federal funds, College Homes, the oldest and most densely populated housing project in Knoxville, was demolished and new homes (see Figures 7 and 8) are being built. Mechanicsville is also home of the Center City Redevelopment Project that is redeveloping 150 acres of land as a commercial business park. The Knoxville News-Sentinel is relocating to the business park (Partnership 2000). In

addition, the Alex Haley Memorial (see Figure 5) sits in the beautifully landscaped Morningside Park (see Figure 6). There is a vast array of older homes built at the turn of the century still in excellent condition throughout various neighborhoods. Many of these homes exist in historic overlay zones or potential historic overlay zones.

The HOPE VI project will definitely serve as a catalyst for attracting growth to East Knoxville. While the current trend shows that the East Knoxville population is decreasing and relocating to West Knoxville, homes under construction in HOPE VI will spark newcomers' interest. The development is designed using New Urbanist principles. New Urbanism is an architectural and planning concept aimed at curbing suburban sprawl. The denser mix of housing, apartments, and commercial property complement interconnected streets and sidewalks, abundant lighting posts, and lush landscaping (Nolan 2002).

Through careful physical design New Urbanism can also bring residents closer to each other and the services they desire. The housing built in HOPE VI reflects the "developers' wish to draw the middle-class to the community. The beauty of the homes is expected to boost residents' pride, while front porches, sidewalks and interconnecting streets are expected to foster a sense of community in contrast to the high-crime projects the neighborhood replaces" (Nolan 2002).

Another revitalization project that will attract residents is the New Horizons Homes Development. The Knox Housing Partnership (KHP) has partnered with

the Knoxville Housing Development Corporation to renovate 146 substandard single-family homes. The two-year, $6.8 million neighborhood revitalization project purchased these rental properties from the Florence Monday Estate in 1998. KHP added new central gas heating and air conditioning units, replaced windows, and insulated the attics and walls. Some homes received third bedrooms and second bathrooms, but most have two bedrooms and one bath. KHP assisted current tenants and other buyers in obtaining grant funds in the form of purchase loans ranging from $2,600 to $25,000 to buy the homes (Rehabilitated).

Despite the many positive aspects East Knoxville has to offer, there is still much work to be done. According to the "Prospectus of Knoxville's Empowerment Zone," the area suffers form workforce obsolescence, low social capital, and poor civic attachment. There are several hundred acres of Brownfields characterized by vacant buildings and empty parcels. Furthermore, blight, dilapidated housing, and pervasive poverty distinguish almost every zone neighborhood (Prospectus 1998: 5).

According to the 1990 United States Decennial Census, there are 48,192 people in Knoxville's EZ. Forty percent of those live below poverty. Of the 19 census tracts, 18 have a poverty rate greater than 25%. The unemployment rate is 12% compared to 6% in Knox County. In addition, only 56% of residents 25 and older have a high school diploma compared to 71% in the City of Knoxville and 75% in the county (Prospectus 1998: 1). Nineteen percent of 16-19 year olds are high

school dropouts. Only 36% of the housing is in good condition. Although the EZ population is only 30% of the City total, almost 60% of Knoxville households receiving public assistance live in the zone (Prospectus 1998: 2).

III. Improving Knoxville's Empowerment Zone

Federal Funding

Federal investment in the zone is directed by nine fundamental goals:

- Increase business capital;
- Encourage business start-up and expansion;
- Create sustainable mixed tenure and income communities;
- Improve housing diversity;
- Enrich job readiness;
- Eliminate institutional barriers to economic opportunity and self-sufficiency;
- Strengthen family ties;
- Increase civic attachment and community building;
- Promote pride of place. (Prospectus 1998: 9)

Zone Advisory Councils

In order to accomplish these goals the KEZ is divided into six smaller geographic areas called Zone Advisory Councils, or ZACs. Each ZAC represents designated Knoxville neighborhoods that are responsible for determining the

needs of its area and what projects should receive EZ funding. The ZACs and their represented neighborhoods are as follows:

- North: Fourth and Gill, Old North Knoxville, Parkridge
- Central: Austin Homes, Downtown, Fort Sanders, Morningside, Old City, Old Sevier, Riverfront, Southside, Townview
- South: Vestal, Montgomery Village
- East: Chilhowee Park Neighborhood, Burlington, Five Points, Park City, Walter P. Taylor Homes
- West: Beaumont, Marble City, Mechanicsville, Ridgebrook, Western Heights (Zone 2001).

Some of the problems members repeatedly recognized in each of the ZACs include:

- Community businesses don't hire residents who live in the area;
- Successful area businesses could create more jobs for residents;
- Schools have a high transitional population;
- Illegal dump sites;
- Inadequate sewer lines, sidewalks, and other city services;
- Vacant properties should be redeveloped rather than building new construction;
- Several homes and lots are poorly maintained, many of which belong to absentee landlords;

- Drugs and prostitution (Zone 2001).

Values and Visions Workshop

Each of these ZACs participated in a Values and Visions workshop. The objective of the workshop was to encourage participants to think about the current state of their communities, what they care about, and what they want their communities to be. ZAC members were asked to ponder such questions as:

- What is my dream for our community?
- What do I want to change?
- What kind of community do I want to create?
- What are the community's major problems?

They were then asked to generalize positive vision statements that capture their values. Members of the East ZAC envision "clean, safe neighborhoods, educational and economic opportunities for residents, and strong community-based organizations keeping the neighborhoods together." In the next three to seven years, the East ZAC hopes that residents will unify to help each other and confront problems with drugs, crime, and a disinterested local government. They seek more youth opportunities and assisted living opportunities for the elderly. Because a major issue for residents is safety, they want police to eliminate the drug problem and create more neighborhood watches. In addition to safety, members want a higher rate of homeownership that promotes mixed-income levels. Lastly, members want greatly improved educational, health care, and

communications services. Services that they think are lacking include a good library with efficient computer and Internet capabilities, fitness centers, and doctor and dentist offices (Zone 2001).

Following the Vision and Values meeting the Advisory Board in each ZAC will use their members' values and visions to prioritize needs and opportunities in KEZ communities (Zone 2001).

Increase Economic Opportunities

A principal problem, previously mentioned, affecting many of the zone neighborhoods is lack of economic opportunity. Five Points is an example of what can happen to a thriving community that suffers from disinvestment. Five Points, an area that received its name because it was where five streets once intersected, lies west of where McCalla and Ben Hur Avenues and Olive Street intersect with Martin Luther King Jr. Avenue. Rollins remembers when many businesses crowded the neighborhood in the 1950s through the 1970s. A hardware store, lumber-yard, grocery, shoe store, dry cleaners, doctor's office, restaurants, and clubs are among some of the businesses he vividly remembers. All of these sites have since relocated or closed down except the Atlas Electric Co., Knox Plating Works, Carriage Dry Cleaners, and Burkhart's Amoco Gas Station. He now compares some areas in Five Points to a shantytown in South Africa (Brewer 2002).

Rollins attributes the demise of Five Points to Knoxville's 1982 World's Fair. He says, "when that whole collapse occurred, it stopped all that [business activity]. I think it stopped the meaningful dialogue between the African-American community and the community at large. There is nothing that exists that says African Americans benefited from the 1982 World's Fair in terms of business." However, Rollins, among other business owners and residents, strongly believes that the area can redeem itself as an economic corridor with the right mix of businesses (Brewer 2002). EZ funding, as well as support from the public and private business sectors, can help encourage the right mix.

Improve Relationship Between Citizens and Law Enforcement

Another problem in the community that the Prospectus does not directly address is the citizen's strained relationship with the Knoxville Police Department (KPD). Tempers flared in 1998 when 34-year-old Andre Stenson died after an altercation with four police officers. Police stopped Stenson for driving a car with the headlights off in the Five Points neighborhood. He was on parole and possibly out of fear, chose to run (Lackey 1998). He was apprehended in a field (see Figure 9) on Chestnut Street across from St. Lukes Episcopal Church. Residents in their homes heard screaming and came outside to witness the police beating him uncontrollably (Jones 2002).

According to the coroner's report he suffered from a heart condition that can be fatal during extreme physical exertion or excessive emotion (Lackey 1998).

Nevertheless, the community believes he died because of police brutality. After viewing the "bloody, battered condition of Stenson's head" relatives and leaders in the community believe that this was more than a routine arrest (Satterfield 1998). Stenson was also the third black man to die in seven months after involvement with the KPD (Lackey 1998). The officers involved in the beating were exonerated. Ribbons representing his memory still hang in the trees at the site of the altercation (Jones 2002).

The mayor task's force was forced to form a citizen's review board to restore trust in the police department. Citizens are appointed to the committee to review resident's complaints about the police. Skeptical residents who do not believe the task force is effective may find hope in a young man who films police while they confront residents. He wants to air his tapes on the Knoxville community television channel (Jones 2002).

IV. Methodology

Phase I

The first phase of this project was to collect a list of over 20 possible people to interview from the Center for Neighborhood Development (CND) Staff. The person chosen had to know the advantages and disadvantages characterizing the KEZ, how people living in the area have been and are currently affected, and be genuinely concerned about future sustainability, as well as quality of life. Mr. Alan Jones was selected as the informant. After one meeting, it was determined

that he was the best person to recount the inner city's history and contribute meaningful insight into the community's future.

Not only was he a resident of the KEZ for a number of years, but as a former employee of Knoxville's public housing authority, he frequently interacted with residents living in the zone. Therefore, Mr. Jones knows the area extremely well and many of the people comprising KEZ communities. Furthermore, working with the residents on community projects enhances his personal relationship with them. It comes as no surprise that during the initial meeting, he was enthusiastic about assisting with the study, and passionate about effecting change in the area.

Phase II

The second phase involved four introductory meetings in which history and current trends influencing different aspects of the community were discussed. Discussions largely consisted of situations he experienced while living and working in the zone, but were also based on prior research collected about the area from newspaper articles, "The Prospectus for Empowerment," the 1990 United States Decennial Census, and articles on the Internet. It was vital to research and study any available information about the KEZ, and talk to Mr. Jones about these findings during the introductory phase. This research, as well as Mr. Jones' experiences, constitutes the facts and current trends the scenarios are based on. For example, in the first paragraph of Section I in the optimistic scenario, Mr. Jones believes that in 2022 diversity can increase in the KEZ because of current

initiatives like Nine Counties One Vision, a visioning process involving East Tennessee residents, the mayor's diversity task force, and various religious denominations that work together to improve the community. All his ideas about the future are realistic since they are contingent on facts and current trends.

Mr. Jones was given a copy of Textor's book at the first meeting so he could refer to it while preparing for the next meeting. The Middle Path for the Future of Thailand was the only guide that described the EFR process in-depth, so Textor's model was used to tailor methodology in the KEZ study. In addition to reviewing Textor's book, the importance of constructing scenarios and how they may benefit communities was also explained to Jones. These explanations were outlined according to principles found in Schwartz's book, The Art of the Long View. The summary conveyed what scenarios are, their advantages, and the scenario-building process. The scenario-building process is based on five steps Schwartz identifies:

1. First consider images [about the EZ community] from all viewpoints: optimistic, pessimistic, and status quo.
2. Use the facts and current trends to build a story.
3. Each scenario will focus on the categories above.
4. Identify predetermined elements – the inevitables that will occur whether or not we are prepared.

5. Identify the critical uncertainties. These are events that will critically impact the community, but we do not know how they will develop. (Schwartz 1996: 106-123)

During the introductory phase, a drive through various neighborhoods making up the designation was an additional preparatory element. The tour prompted Mr. Jones to recall rich accounts of the community's past.

Phase III

In the third phase, there were six more meetings during which Mr. Jones created the optimistic, pessimistic, and most likely scenarios. Before starting the first scenario, we decided what domains, or categories each would focus on. We determined that broad topics were best because they allowed Mr. Jones to discuss in detail many ideas making up the general domains. Each scenario is based on six broad categories. They are: society, politics and government, economy, education, transportation, and technology. All categories reveal specific strengths and weaknesses characteristic to the community. Before any meetings, it was decided that the scenarios should be set 20 years from now in the year 2022. A minimum of a twenty-year time period allows for significant change to take place.

Prior to beginning the scenarios, I also encouraged him to be open about how the community's present and future impact its residents, and how its future may be improved upon. Once again, constructing realistic ideas about the future rely on

present circumstances and events occurring in the past. So, it was important that he was mindful of personal experiences, facts, and current trends.

The tape-recorded interviews were unstructured because it was important to base my questions and comments on Mr. Jones' ideas. While a few notes of questions to ask were made before meetings, the majority of the questions developed from his thoughts and concerns during the interview. Mr. Jones was encouraged to be open and honest while thinking about what might happen in the community from each standpoint: optimistic, pessimistic, and most likely. I helped him form the scenarios by asking general questions related to the domains. For example, some of the questions asked when discussing Society were: "Who will predominantly make up the population?" and "What role will gangs play in this area in the future?" When talking about Politics and Government I asked him questions like: "Do you think there will be more elimination of public housing like College Homes?" and "What kind of leaders do you think will exist?"

The tapes were transcribed after each interview. These early drafts were verbatim including all questions asked and their responses. A second revision was created, which eliminated the questions and improved the overall flow of the text. Further revisions followed after Mr. Jones was asked to clarify certain ideas, in addition to him supplementing more information.

Phase IV

The last phase consisted of two meetings in which titles that captured the main ideas of the scenarios were brainstormed and Mr. Jones gave final thoughts about the process.

Summary

Overall, there were 12 meetings over an eight-week period at the Burlington Branch Library. Over the course of these meetings, each lasting two to three hours, Mr. Jones was interviewed for a total of approximately 35 hours. The scenarios in Chapters 4 through 6 are Mr. Jones' personal ideas in his own words. Although many revisions were made to produce the final copies, first-person usage refers to Mr. Jones' thoughts and in no way represent interpreted ideas.

V. Mr. Alan Jones' Biography

Mr. Jones was born in the designated area and lived there until the third grade when he moved to Chattanooga, Tennessee with his family. Upon returning, to attend the University of Tennessee in 1974, he has watched the inner city evolve into what it is today. Mr. Jones has a wealth of knowledge concerning social, economic, and political issues characterizing the area. He has lived in many of the areas making up the zone including Morningside Heights, Burlington, and Five Points. In 1987 he left the community but continued to work at Knoxville's Community Development Corporation, the public housing authority. Some of his responsibilities at the Corporation included inspecting homes owned by the

housing authority, administering programs, and serving as the Administrator in Executive Management.

He also contributed to the housing portion of the Prospectus, a guide describing the area making up the KEZ and its goals as an empowerment zone; served as Chairman of the personnel department for CND; developed a Living Legacy project with Walter P. Taylor Homes youth and senior citizens; and, has participated in a host of other community projects and workshops. Mr. Jones is also a renowned visual artist and painter. He is currently the pastor of Asbury United Methodist Church in Clinton, TN and is working on obtaining his Methodist ministers' license.

VI. Ethnographic Futures Research Promotes "Prospectus" Principles

According to the vision statement in the "Prospectus for Empowerment," by 2010 "the Knoxville Empowerment Zone will be widely recognized as one of America's most desirable places to live, work, and raise a family." It goes on to give concrete examples of why this will be so: 2010 Census data shows significant increases in employment and high school graduation rates, and home ownership; the community development department successfully removed barriers to business expansion in the inner city; banks relocated to the EZ and gracefully extend their services there; residents peacefully congregate on front porches and enjoy strolling through the neighborhood; and housing values have skyrocketed due to New Urbanist infill development and rehabilitation (Prospectus 1998: 15-16).

Stakeholders envision that "ten years into the 21st century, the Knoxville Empowerment Zone is thriving and self-sustaining. The federal government's investment of HOPE VI and EZ funds has been repaid many times over in increased tax revenues, improved property values, and elimination subsidies . . . the area is no longer eligible for the Empowerment Zone program, and the forces of reinvestment and self sufficiency that were set in motion in the 1990s assure a bright future for Knoxville" (Prospectus 1998: 16-17).

The EFR study takes these positive projections one-step further by also considering a dismal and likely future. By producing an optimistic, a pessimistic, and the most probable scenario for this area, there is a vision similar to the blissful image portrayed in the Prospectus; however, the other two scenarios warn the EZ about undesirable futures that should be avoided. As a result, Mr. Jones' scenarios stretch the stakeholders' thinking.

Chapter 4

Optimistic Scenario: A United Front

This chapter, as well as Chapters 5 and 6, present edited and condensed versions of Mr. Jones' scenarios in his own words.

I. Society

There is great potential for diversity to increase. I think this mainly because of the fruitful initiatives occurring now. The religious community specifically, and the community at large, already tries to bridge the gap that divides us. The Nine Counties One Vision process of trying to capture the visions of everyone, including minorities, in various counties is an indicator that we're moving in the right direction. The mayor's diversity task force, which determines how to advance minority and female involvement in business, appears to be an honest effort to expand opportunity for various people. If the task force increases job opportunities for these groups in particular, it will change the perception of those who otherwise may not want to live here. So, through these efforts I see diversity changing significantly and the black migration away from Knoxville will diminish. As a result, Knoxville will become a diverse community believing in economic empowerment for its residents.

I believe ethnocentrism will decrease and more people will value diverse cultures. While racism plays a role in Knoxville, ethnocentrism prevents people from appreciating different cultures. For instance, minorities graduating from the

University of Tennessee (UT) and Knoxville College immediately relocate. They look for the best opportunities and it does not appear that they exist for minorities in Knoxville. I remember when I worked in human resources for the Knoxville Community Development Corporation (KCDC) there was a young lady from UT pursuing her doctoral degree in human resources. She wanted an internship, so I requested to my superiors that she receive one, but it was not approved. I believe this was a small attempt that could have helped her in the future. She could have interned there and later been the director of the department. That would have made a great contribution to the corporation, but I think partly because of ethnocentric views (not being able to appreciate people different from us), Knoxville lost another promising citizen. Nevertheless, I see those types of attitudes dissipating leading to more understanding and appreciation of diversity.

A sign of people embracing diversity, and racism taking a backseat to equality would be the day the Cherokee Country Club integrates. To my knowledge, the Cherokee Country Club has an entirely white membership. If you are of another race, you can wash dishes or serve food but you cannot be a member. As a matter of fact, Knoxville received negative coverage throughout the country when Wade Houston, a black coach, came here from Louisville, Kentucky in 1989 to coach basketball at UT. His son is Allan Houston who plays professional basketball for the New York Knicks. It was customary for the basketball coach to receive a

complimentary membership to the Club. However, it was announced when Houston came that he would not be able to join because of his race.

I think in twenty years the population will greatly increase by about 25%. Because the inner city will like other cities probably remain largely black, it will also include a greater mix of whites and Latin Americans. New Urbanism through the HOPE VI project will attract more whites who claim the inner city and want to live among diverse groups. One of the missions of HOPE VI is to develop a mixed income community, which entails mixed age groups. So I see this (Hope VI) as a catalyst to attract younger people, jobs, and empowerment. A varied population is evident now to a small degree in older neighborhoods. Mechanicsville is one area in our town where different races live.

Not only will the population increase, but the high school graduation rate will increase, too. The Pellissippi State branch location on Magnolia Avenue, which I believe is the first time a major college has located in East Knoxville, gives residents educational opportunities they may have never considered, like higher education. The school is in walking distance to two housing projects: Austin and Taylor Homes. It has programs that reach out to the community; it is not just in the community, but it participates in the neighborhood. Also, the Community Partnership Center at UT reaches out to the community by actively engaging citizens in churches and other community groups through experiential learning. I have been involved in some of those groups in particularly at a church I used to be

a part of. If these kinds of initiatives continue, young people will be encouraged to enjoy school and seriously pursue careers they are interested in; therefore, the graduation rate will increase.

A result of higher graduation rates is more positive youth. In addition to Pellissippi State, there are ongoing efforts to create a better future for children. One is America's Promise directed by Madeline Rogero. It is a nationwide effort to engage youth and provide safe places to live and have fun. We have an active chapter in Knoxville. America's Promise has had effective gatherings where they exhibit what the youth are doing in different areas. Colin Powell came down for one of the events they held in the World's Fair Park.

There is also a movement among churches, some of which are in suburbia, others are in surrounding areas, to minister to kids in the inner city. Eventually, I envision something like a Dream Center (inner city church ministry), which is already in the works, becoming a reality twenty years from now since ministries are actively working together. Churches and other uplifting programs geared toward the youth and families will be housed in one building in the inner city.

The church movement has been a sustained effort to get kids connected to a community church or another church. It is promising because they are not just recruiting kids for their church, but guide them in the right direction and connect them to the church of their choice. KICKO has one such ministry on Saturdays that is called SONDAY School. They have a van that opens up as a stage; they

play Christian music and kids play games. SONDAY School visits the different housing projects to minister to children. Various ministries like this are already evident and give kids an alternative to gangs, violence, and drugs notorious for capturing our inner city community.

As small as Knoxville and the population is in this community, you wouldn't think that there would be a problem with gangs and drugs, but because of the breakdown of the family, this type of violence thrives here. Gangs are a means for dealers to distribute their drugs. While working at the housing authority, I attended a presentation by a policeman who specializes in identifying different gangs. He affirmed that there is a gang problem in Knoxville evidenced by increased juvenile delinquency including drive-bys. He then showed us how to recognize signs of gang activity in the housing projects.

One situation involving ladies stealing drugs from a dealer ended fatally when the dealer threatened the ladies that if they did not return his drugs, he was going to hurt them. Since the drugs were never returned either he or he made someone set fire to the apartment in Taylor Homes where the ladies lived. As a result, four children died in the fire. The only child who survived is now a brilliant young man who I call my little Martin Luther King. He is so gifted and can do everything well. Because I worked at the housing authority, I was able to get the write up about what happened from the apartment manager. I also met the young

man's mother. This is just an example of the negative effect of gangs and drugs in our community.

I applaud Chief Keith for attacking the gang and drug problem. He, along with KCDC, has put together an initiative to reduce juvenile crime in the housing complexes. KCDC received several drug elimination grants to increase police surveillance in the public housing areas and to curtail drug dealing and gangs. Another grant called Crime Prevention through Environmental Design focused on increasing lighting and strategically gating the community to make it harder for drug trafficking. Because of these ongoing efforts Knoxville will greatly reduce gang and drug related crime. I think there will be more neighborhood policing so police and citizens will get to know each other and come together to protect and serve the community.

II. Politics and Government

The upcoming mayoral election in Knoxville can be a turning point for creating the optimistic future we are describing. We need to elect a visionary leader who is like a statesman and takes a stand on diversity. There is at least one candidate who can take us there. If a visionary leader is elected, I think power will be more evenly distributed. Strong leadership has an immediate effect on the zone because many of the representatives in our community are minorities. Representatives must be able to penetrate that status quo system in order to prevent much of what is needed in the area from being overlooked.

In addition to leadership, civic participation will also determine how many opportunities exist for minorities and how power is distributed. The EZ has incorporated ZACs to help citizens decide what happens in their communities. The EZ has been a catalyst to bring our community together in a manner that necessitates civic attachment. We must be engaged and aware of what our councilmen and commissioners are doing in city and county government. If we do not receive any more money for the EZ, the foundation has already been laid to continue what has started. A tremendous momentum has been established, in which twenty years from now will evolve into a wonderful, unified community realizing some of the dreams discussed during the early stages of the EZ.

I have seen a few attempts by the city government that indicates its willingness to extend opportunities to minorities. For instance, when Danny Mayfield, a young African-American councilman, passed away the mayor could have appointed anyone, but he appointed African-American Raleigh Wynn to take his place. And since then another African-American, Mark Brown, ran and won that seat.

When Danny began his career as a councilman, I believe other council members wanted him actively involved in the political process. More importantly, when minorities challenge the system in a positive way, there is more potential for shared power especially since it appears that some influential people encourage it. For instance, Mayor Victor Ashe has probably employed more African-Americans

in his administration than any other mayor before him. Furthermore, Sam Anderson, director of Knoxville's parks and recreation, is another example of a minority who has a great deal of power. He has transformed Knoxville's parks and recreation centers.

I picture a consolidated government in which the city and county merge into one metropolitan entity. Metropolitan government will be very positive for the entire community because it will reduce duplicate services and also unite some departments of government practicing petty politics. An example of petty politics is the existing situation between the Knoxville Police Department (KPD) and Knox County Sheriff's Department. It is no secret that they are at odds with each another. While at KCDC, we were working with the truancy center in a program to help youth in public housing skipping school get connected with proper agencies to return to school. Of the two law enforcement agencies, the KPD took the lead in making this happen. I heard that the Knox County Sheriff told his deputies if a deputy showed up at the truancy center he would automatically be fired.

Consolidated government would discourage conflict between the city and county officers. There would be a greater force to work together to reduce crime and maybe even our taxes will decrease. City resources will be conserved. I see this occurring twenty years from now because the initiative to consolidate has already begun. The issue has been on the ballot at least once. As state resources

get tighter and tighter, that will be the impetus to require government to push for metropolitan government.

The government will spend their money more wisely to eliminate densely populated public housing developments and implement more projects similar to HOPE VI. Our elected officials will be more sympathetic and implement more creative programs freezing rent so residents get ahead financially. I think the HOPE VI project in Mechanicsville in which College Homes, one of the first public housing developments built in Knoxville, was eradicated is the way of the future. As a matter of fact, when I worked at KCDC some of the housing directors as well as housing officials at the HUD office alluded to public housing developments all over the country mimicking HOPE VI. In the future, this project and others like it will set the standard to provide better public housing developments that respect physical design and the resident's economic and social needs. People with mixed income levels will want to move in these areas. There will be a resurrection of new public housing styles so that you won't be able to tell the difference between public housing and other neighborhoods.

III. Economy

Through visionary leadership and consolidated government, businesses will receive tax incentives to relocate to the inner city, which will foster an economic boom, but visionary leadership is the key. Visionary leadership will result in a resurgence of various businesses of all types, from low to high paying jobs.

Redeveloping brownfields is an opportunity to attract commercial industry to the area.

I see more industries similar to car and parts manufacturing plants like those at the Forks of the River, outside of Knoxville, relocating to the inner city because they receive a tax break. If you boost the breaks for commercial business to locate in these communities, residents living in the neighborhood may be employed and the unemployment rate is reduced. Residents also earn enough money to buy a house, then as a result property tax as well as sales tax collection increases. I see additional businesses like arena football, which was introduced to Knoxville by a former Globetrotter, and other sports related, entertainment ventures enriching culture and impacting the local economy. Our society needs more attractions that grow new markets for revenue production. Because Knoxville readily supports UT sports, it would be a great market for other sports and entertainment related enterprises.

There is no reason why we should not be able to tap into technical businesses with Oak Ridge thirty miles away. Oak Ridge, Tennessee presents a natural link in Knoxville for opportunity in technical businesses because it was developed to build the atomic bomb. The accessibility of scientists, technicians, and researchers in Oak Ridge in addition to science programs at UT and Pellissippi State creates opportunity for technical business growth. Tech 2020 is a new organization that may link Knoxville to Oak Ridge and other technical communities. The

Tennessee Valley Authority also helps with business development and maybe even technology as well. Therefore, the potential clearly exists to develop a technical business incubator that nurtures businesses of all types, but technology in particular.

I am encouraged that there will be more quality housing because KCDC continues to eliminate and renovate dilapidated structures in communities surrounding public housing sites. Also, the Pleasant Knoll subdivision (see Figure 4), built by a black contractor, is a new housing development. KCDC helped him to complete the project. Knoxville Housing Partnership evolved from KCDC. They teach people how to become homeowners and improve their credit. I think this agency will grow twenty years from now to help Knoxville further eliminate neglected homes. Community Development Block Grants offer money to rehabilitate old houses. A lot of renovation has occurred in East Knoxville because of these grants. Due to the housing programs that currently exist, I envision greatly reduced dilapidated housing and improved public and private housing throughout the city.

IV. Education

Knoxville College has experienced many downfalls over the years, but the president has an empowering vision that encourages her to develop powerful partnerships. One is with the Pilot Gas Station on Western Avenue. The convenience store employs students, while a portion of the profits go back to the

school. I think strong partnerships and the current trends revealing support from the private business community will impel it to become a thriving institution. Time, cooperation, and spirited giving from people like Jim Haslim of Pilot Oil Gasoline Station is a sign of what we need in our community, especially to sustain the College's success.

If Knoxville College ever fails, it will be a sign that Knoxville has failed. To allow the only black college, an historic institution, which was founded to educate freed slaves, to fail is the most dismal failure that any city can have. I don't see that happening in our city.

It would be very advantageous to the College if the president can develop her vision for creating a seminary program for ministers. It began as a Presbyterian college; so it is faith based and has a chapel on campus. Seminary is needed in the community because the closest accredited program is about 175 miles away. This would benefit a number of students. The ministers could serve the college and the surrounding community.

Austin East is another historic school. I think it will expand. The most dangerous time for Austin East was when the city and county school systems merged because county school officials wanted to close the school. I hope that UT and Pellissippi will link with Austin East to provide educational enrichment opportunities. Volunteers can show high school students that it is possible to go to college and expose them to different careers.

Pellissippi State is rapidly expanding since it moved to the building of the Old Catholic High School on Magnolia Avenue. The campus is in walking distance to Austin Homes and Walter P. Taylor Homes, which is great for the community. Now educational opportunities at the technical college level are extended to the disadvantaged communities. Because its system is geared to train students for particular jobs, it will continue to be successful and expand. I look for the Magnolia branch to expand into the business center next to it and across the street. A business incubator to train residents how to run businesses would be fabulous in that section.

Distance learning may improve greatly if high school students as well as continuing education adults are recruited and told about the possibility. It can increase Knoxville College's numbers once they regain accreditation.

V. Transportation

Knoxville is constantly improving the interstate system, which is great for attracting industrial business. The Tennessee Department of Transportation (TDOT) has plans to expand the interstate, therefore improvements will continue. I heard that there is a proposed light rail system, similar to Amtrak, connecting Atlanta to Chattanooga. I envision the plans becoming reality in 2020, and Knoxville taking advantage of this opportunity.

I picture greater competition and an efficient public transportation system twenty years from now. KAT will continue to expand and improve services.

There will be around-the-clock service. However, there is room for KAT to improve efficiency. Additional local taxi and shuttle services in the city would help productivity. Various public transportation services introduce healthy competition in the market, which will better meet the needs of residents at an affordable rate.

I also think employers will be increasingly understanding if their employees rely on public transit. My experience has been that employers are flexible with good workers who rely on public transportation. They know how difficult it is to find competent help, so they work with those who ride the bus.

I think rush hour traffic is an obstacle on the interstate. Because the city is constantly working on the highways, trying to expand them, and this takes time, rush hour traffic will be an important issue for the next few years. But once the work is complete it would have been well worth the headache. I do not believe this will affect the community since TDOT is proactive, maintaining the interstate by working on highways now.

VI. Technology

The public school system gives its students great access to computers. Also, an initiative, which I think is offered by Housing and Urban Development, called Neighborhood Networks tries to equip their basic centers with computers so it will be available to subsidized housing tenants. These efforts will help bridge the digital divide gap. In addition, computer access is available at public libraries and

some churches. More endeavors like these will continue in the future. As businesses, schools, and hospitals upgrade equipment I think they will donate their old computers to non-profit agencies that serve communities. Non-profits will in turn pass them out to service groups where needed.

Schools providing the latest equipment and offering vocational classes in computers are some further efforts to bridge the gap.

We will communicate in a digital world. For example, your phone, computer, television, and other electronics will be accessible through your watch or a bit in your eyeglasses.

The rapid development of security to offset felonies like cyber crime will result in micro-chip implants, which will store current information on everyone. Our bank accounts, health, criminal, and employment records will be conveniently accessible in one chip. Information about anyone with the implanted device could be scanned and downloaded. Such efficiency can serve to reduce crime and fraud everywhere, even in public housing. I am aware of many instances in which people apply for and receive public housing in one city or state, then travel somewhere else and acquire public housing there as well. Expedient security can prevent people from abusing the system.

Chapter 5

Pessimistic Scenario: Deferred Hope

I. Society

On the pessimistic side, the attempt to improve opportunities will become half-hearted. It could be possible that all the striving going on now to improve the situation for African Americans and other minorities, to attract them to the area and convince them to stay here, will fail. There will be more minorities who will leave after receiving an education. Even those who come to Knoxville from other cities will attend UT and Knoxville College, contribute to the community while here, but leave once they graduate because Knoxville does not have much to make them want to stay. They will only return to visit. I think that would be a serious negative result for our community.

Essentially, it will be a homogenized society. Impoverished people will remain so that the inner city will primarily be areas where the poor live. Society may become more chaotic than it is now because people get depressed when they loose hope, and turn to other things when they continually loose hope. Citizens who are stuck here will turn to more drug-dealing, gangs, and boot-leg businesses because they will still try to make a living, try to survive. With no way out crime and ignorance will reign. Members of the community are no longer motivated to change their lives for the better. In twenty years time, crime will not just be

contained in the inner city community. It will spread like cancer to other areas; people will only take so much for so long.

A negative aspect of the terrorism that people do not consider is that there are those in our own country who have been deprived for so long that they may take notes from the terrorists and decide to retaliate for all the wrong done to them. Terrorism is extremely unlike the black community, but hope deferred makes the heart sick. When you continue to wrong any people, you are asking for war. It has been 40 years since King [Martin Luther King, Jr.] was assassinated and we are still struggling for some of the same things we were fighting for 40 years ago. We recently discussed that when Denzel [Washington] and Halle [Berry] won the Academy Awards there was great glee over that, but here it is 2002 and we're celebrating crumbs! I cannot see that continuing in 20 years. I cannot see that kind of lack of progress for a race that has contributed so much to this country. And even more, I do not see African Americans sitting back over the years and taking it. Gangs, drug dealing, and violence in the inner city is a response to lost hope.

If Knoxville does not increase opportunities for minorities we will not only have African Americans who are disheartened, but there will be a larger Hispanic community to will follow suit, maybe even clashes between the two in this community. They will also lash out to surrounding areas, to the suburbs. The African-American male population is steadily declining in the inner city. Pessimistically, I believe that black males are approaching extinction. Procreation

will continue, but not in a way to strengthen the family unit. There will be more out-of-wedlock childbirths, everyone with a different father. Average, traditional families will stick out like a sore thumb.

II. Politics and Government

In 2022, I picture more of the negative that I witness now: selfish leaders, greed, control, unwillingness to share power, which inevitably leads to division among leaders and in government. For example, when the city police department and the county sheriff's office fail to work together to combat crime, safety in our communities is jeopardized. Division such as this leads to inefficiency and inability to control the soaring costs related to crime. Costs like litigation and incarceration can reach astronomical numbers. Criminals thrive and are able to do more harm when leaders are at odds. Unfortunately, we are left with selfish leaders who love control at the expense of security in our community.

Nevertheless the future of our government partly depends on voters getting out and voting for good leaders. Knoxville is blessed to have some potentially good leaders who can take us in a positive direction, but we also have some leaders who would be very detrimental to progress in the inner city and the community at large. A lack of good leadership will lead Knoxville to major economic problems, a lack of diversity, and an atmosphere in which the poor and disinherited are not encouraged to be financially self-sufficient. Apathetic leadership will not attempt to eliminate poverty or create self-help programs because more poverty brings

greater financial resources to social agencies; the agency exists to serve needs but the greater the needs the greater the funding. If the focus is the agency's financial security, leadership will want to increase the needs of the people they serve. Citizens are more dependent on public assistance.

In a small city like Knoxville, it is very important who the leaders are. An apathetic citizenry who chooses not to vote because it feels powerless is dangerous because any politician capable of soliciting enough money can buy a victory regardless of what he or she believes in. Money should never be the deciding factor of anyone receiving a leadership role in the community. It means that poorer communities, which do not have the means to financially support campaigns, will be neglected.

III. Economy

Businesses that currently exist in the EZ give up on the inner city and move beyond the zone area. An example is the Wendy's that used to be on Magnolia Street closed down and has not relocated within the zone. Mrs. Winners closed down as well, which to my knowledge, there is no economic reason for them to close down. It seemed that they both stayed fairly busy; I do not understand why they did not relocate.

In 2022, I believe that businesses that have closed their doors are bordered up for a period of time or are demolished and the sites are vacant. Also, there are more "businesses" moving in that feed upon the poor. Places like rental centers,

where you can rent furniture, televisions, and other appliances, flourish. Other businesses like pawn shops will multiply in our area. There will probably be more mom and pop stores run by people who make a profit off the community, but do not put money back in the neighborhood so our dollars are not turning over within the area.

I also see the government caring and investing less in this community because previous attempts have failed by their standards. I am basing my assumption on what I heard before I resigned from KCDC, which had a partnership with the Dollar General Store in Five Points. The store did not make a profit in the first year, which surprised the executive staff. If the business does not make a profit in the future, it may fail and the partnership is jeopardized. This could discourage future private and public partnerships, which are critical to boosting the community. Many situations like this will cause the housing authority and other government entities that would partner with private businesses in the inner cities to stop investing because it is not profitable in financial terms. However, the profit from social investment is not measured because it does not equate to the monetary value.

I think twenty years from now in the pessimistic scenario there will be more low-income people living in public housing because they are trapped in a downward spiral of poverty. More than likely a denser, mixed population, almost living on top of each other, will exist, which could bring in more crime and

cultural differences. Not only will there be the offspring of current generations, but there will be an influx of immigrants to our country. Immigrants like Hispanics will grow greatly in Knoxville and a large portion may reside in many public housing sites.

Federal and state money like Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds budgeted for the housing authority to improve the quality of housing will decrease significantly because money is transferred to national security. Therefore, the local housing authority will be crippled. It will not be able to maintain current housing nor expand new types of housing. If that money dries up, a rapid decline will occur in the physical quality of units.

IV. Education

Neither the state, nor the city has invested money needed to recruit and keep good teachers. If this continues education at the state and local level may slip even more in ranking, although it is low enough as is. If we continue to let kids misbehave so badly that teachers cannot teach, students who want to and have the potential to learn, will not. I know of students now who get good grades, but still do not feel like they are learning anything. That is terrible considering the money and resources available in education. A major investment in education must occur. Teachers have to devise creative ways of reaching kids on their level to make it fun to learn. Otherwise, drop-out rates will increase, juvenile delinquency will prevail, and kids will not know how to dream. Children will think of school

as irrelevant. They will not picture themselves as doctors, lawyers, or teachers because they can barely make it out of the eighth grade.

I have met kids who have written off college because they did not think it would be possible to go. If kids cannot dream about getting an education that will help prepare them for the future, then dreams turn into nightmares for society. Kids start to pay attention to the material assets of drug dealers and aspire to be like them. They turn to negative things in the community that turn a dollar. The absence of a dream is nothing but a nightmare. The cost of ignorance leads to tragic consequences.

Knoxville College's success or demise is a sign of what Knoxville is all about. If this city allows the College to fail, Knoxville has failed. It is critical to our African American community and to our entire community as an historical institution. The College's fate is a reflection of how closely knit Knoxville is as a community.

Even in the pessimistic scenario, I think Pellissippi will continue to grow. If the state does not invent ways to maintain and attract good professors, UT will continue to loose talented educators and the quality of education will decline. The reputation will decline and students will not want to come to UT.

V. Transportation

If KAT does not successfully provide adequate service to all areas in Knoxville, especially to industrial areas and where the jobs are, the community will be affected economically. Residents will not be able to sustain themselves. Money allotted to maintaining highways taken for federal reasons will cause the entire city to suffer because Interstates 40 and 75 are major thoroughfares. Thus far, the Department of Transportation has sufficiently maintained our interstates and the City has kept the streets in good condition; however, this must continue. Insufficient funds to maintain streets and highways could result in an inadequate transportation system causing increased traffic accidents and traffic jams.

Citizens will rely on alcohol and drugs due to lack of hope. Drunk driving will increase as a result of disinvestment in the zone, lack of civic attachment, and vulture-like businesses such as liquor stores popping up. Driving Under the Influence offenses will definitely thrive not only in the inner city, but will spread to and affect outer lying areas.

VI. Technology

Instead of the digital divide decreasing there will be a widening of the gap between those who have and have not. Youth in the EZ will receive the leftovers, especially in school, and will not be able to keep up with cutting edge technology. Positively, technology is improving so rapidly and is so user-friendly that anyone can use it. The down side of this is technology is so widespread that it is grossly

misused. People become tools of technology, rather than technology being tools of the people. It may be used to control poor populations in particular. I am familiar with a veterinarian office that has a chip the size of rice that can be implanted in between the shoulder blades of animals. The chip can track a pet wherever it goes so that when scanned, the animal's reference number is read and reveals everything about it.

Imagine the same scenario for human beings in the inner city. Everything about a person would be implanted in a chip and its effectiveness would be experimented on poor people who need subsidies like food stamps, public housing, and health care. In order for the person to receive the subsidy, the chip would have to be implanted. All sorts of information is available to authorities. This invasion of a person's privacy furthers slavery to the system.

There may be communication centers like our phone booths now. Communication will be wide open and highly accessible. This is positive but still causes people to be tools of technology. In addition, communication among residents is less personable. For instance, while at work, we send people electronic messages sitting next door to us rather than getting up and talking to them. We are depersonalized numbers, too dependent on the advantages of easy communication, and too busy to talk to our neighbors.

Chapter 6

Most Likely Scenario: Stunted Growth

I. Society

There is a more varied population because of New Urbanism and the different styles of housing that appeal to anyone. HOPE VI and New Horizons are examples of trends luring a diverse group like Hispanics, African Americans, Whites, and other minorities. Also the University of Tennessee attracts people from around the nation. Students from the University will spill over into the EZ communities. This is already evident in the Fourth and Gill neighborhood and South Knoxville. In addition to UT, Knoxville College will draw students and faculty from around the country.

Although the College is in the heart of Mechanicsville, I do not think it will buy private land in surrounding neighborhoods, forcing residents to move, like UT did in the Fort Sanders neighborhood. Mechanicsville area churches serve as social anchors; they retain African Americans. Therefore they will not allow the area to lose its most dominant residents. I see a positive community maintaining its beauty and historic qualities. Appreciation for how New Urbanism transforms the community will inspire residents to be empowered social activists.

The small black businesses that currently reside on University Avenue will most likely not exist because I do not believe they are receiving adequate support.

In the future, I think private, more stable firms with greater access to capital will most likely replace them. This does not have to occur if we prepare now.

The urban incubator developed by KCDC, the Chamber of Commerce, the Knoxville Utility Board, and other partners was supposed to train existing businesses like those on University Avenue so they would not be displaced. It started between 1999 and 2000, but ended around 2001. Perhaps the incubator should be revived so the community can retain mom and pop businesses. Partners wanted to build a structure large enough to hold all the economic programs. When plans fell through the momentum was lost. It is easy to lose focus and the drive to achieve goals. For instance, the Old City along Vine and Central Avenue used to have many black businesses. But, Urban Renewal caused them to close down. The area has not been the same since. Hopefully, Mechanicsville will not suffer the same fate.

Knoxville Promise, the Boys and Girls Club, and church ministries have devoted a great deal of time and energy to uplifting children. Thus, I foresee positive results for our youth. Experiential learning, educational and recreational enrichment, and religious guidance will increasingly engage youth living in the zone.

However, I do not think their most basic needs will be met. I am referring to needs like a stable family, positive parental guidance, and educational opportunities beyond high school. There will be more disadvantaged kids. Gang

activity will increase, but different from what exists now. It will engage more Hispanics and whites. I anticipate more drug problems. The youth will suffer greater hardship than they do now because we are not taking the necessary steps that will make a considerable, profound difference.

Unless there is a revival in family structure, Knoxville should prepare for the worse. I expect more single female heads of household – babies having babies. Disadvantaged youth feel hopeless.

The area must increase sustainable, effective church ministries that do not dictate, but attempt to understand different cultures. Some urban missionaries seek to change people into their image rather than Christ's likeness. We must rely on God's message while teaching indigenous populations to appreciate and celebrate their own culture.

Overall, there will be more low-income people in the inner cities. But, they take advantage of education, job training, and business opportunities. They continue to live in the area, but will probably move from one economic class to another.

II. Politics and Government

I picture continued division and inefficiency. Unified government is still postponed. Unfortunately, we will still have separate entities like a city mayor, city council, county commission, city housing authority, and county housing authority even though these and other offices can be combined into one. As a

result, more tax dollars will be needed for support – money spent inefficiently. There is no shared focus. Residents who can afford to will continue to move out of the city so they do not have to pay taxes. There will probably be a greater need for public assistance, but housing will be so diversified that you will not be able to identify subsidized housing. The improved housing stock will better meet the needs of low-income residents. The area may see an influx of people from surrounding areas because they are attracted to the pleasing structures: New Urbanism is successful in Knoxville.

The next five years are critical for local government; the immediate future will determine what will happen 20 years from now. Visionary leadership today will mean that we will most likely succeed in all areas twenty years from now.

III. Economy

Because terrorism continues to affect the national economy it will have a continued negative effect on the local economy. A positive outcome for local industry largely depends on the Community Bank started by the EZ, and similar nurturing programs (see Figure 10). I am skeptical that the community will provide the needed support to sustain the bank. Support refers to local bank relief, technical assistance, capital, and guidance from area bankers and government.

Those familiar with the press the Micro-loan Program, sponsored by the Inner City Church (see Figure 14), received may be more reluctant to help endeavors

like the Bank. Also, leadership has recently eroded to the point that it has undermined future success and sustainability of a Community Bank.

Other businesses in the zone may survive, but continued terrorism will stunt national growth. One example is gas prices being about a dollar not long ago and suddenly increasing to $1.50 for premium gas. The effect trickles down to the local economy. Our economy will be retarded because of what happens internationally. If economic growth is stunted, more domestic funding will be transferred to domestic security and the military. Anytime we are nationally depressed social programs like drug prevention, self-help, and subsidized housing are the first to be cut.

Unemployment will drastically increase, double what it is now. Powerful leadership has the potential to attract lucrative businesses to the area, which can improve employment trends. Leaders must pursue large enterprise activity, but also nurture local companies. Unfortunately, this is not the case, although small businesses have been the backbone of society from inception. If initiatives like business incubators and community banks that sustain small businesses are not supported we are painting a bleak picture for the local economy.

IV. Education

Fortunately, Knoxville College will survive. There has been a great deal of tangible support laying the foundation for future success.

Pellissippi will continue to expand and grow despite the economy. The military requires technical training that a Pellissippi education is geared towards providing.

I see problems for the University because the state is not unified. I think UT will lose some of its most prominent professors. Students will continue to enroll but leave once they graduate. UT will not reach its potential due to lack of financial support from the state.

Students in the public school system attending kindergarten through twelfth grade will suffer the most. The same lack of insight that currently fails to meet disadvantaged youth's basic needs will prevail. They do not value school because it has no purpose in their lives. Youth are robbed of hope when we do not expect their best in the classroom and fail to show them that it is realistic to attain a post-secondary education. Apathy and low expectations are rampant in inner city schools. For multiple reasons that are not justified, people demand less from children in a low social class.

Furthermore, schools still deprive their students of a quality education as witnessed by increased drop out rates and low school rankings. Even worse are the social problems that kids bring to school making it harder for teachers to teach. Administrators focus on how to sustain order and safety rather than educational excellence. It may be necessary for school officials to add a budget for school terrorism.

V. Transportation

I believe my comments about transportation in the optimistic scenario are what will most likely unfold. KAT will be vastly improved because of current attempts to improve. In addition, Knoxville will be connected to the proposed light rail system in Atlanta and Chattanooga. Residents will most likely rely on their cars and public transit for transportation.

VI. Technology

I envision many of the same ideas for technology in this scenario as in the optimistic and pessimistic scenarios. There will be great technological advances that could be to our benefit, but also to our detriment. Personal security is at stake because technology is used to control people. Criminals and disadvantaged groups will be targeted and feel like their privacy is invaded. New devices will be able to identify them wherever they go. While we are optimistic about the police being able to perform their jobs more efficiently, it is disturbing to know that those needing public assistance cannot receive it without waving their right to privacy.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

We have chosen each other

And the edge of each others battles

The war is the same

If we lose

Someday women's blood will congeal

Upon a dead planet

If we win

There is no telling

We seek beyond history

For a new and more possible meeting. (qtd. in Reagon 1995: 40)

I believe that this poem characterizes Knoxville's struggle. If citizens do not work together to solve pressing issues like increasing diversity, caring for the youth, eliminating drug and gang-related violence, and promoting a mixture of business activity, Knoxville will continue to stand still. But, if residents, leaders, and institutional facilities manage to unite, the opportunities for growth are endless. As revealed in Mr. Jones' scenarios, in particular the optimistic one, the city overflows with potential. The area is ripe for change, but people must choose to fight each other's battles in order to promote progress.

I. Knoxville's Greatest Challenge

Throughout my meetings with Mr. Jones, I realize that one of the biggest problems in the area revolves around social issues. I once read the results of a study conducted by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and Economic Policy Institute. It placed Tennessee fifth on a list of states with tremendous income disparities. The report stated that in Tennessee, the top 20 percent of residents earned more than 10.5 times as much as the poorest 20 percent. I do not know how Knoxville ranks, but the fact that in 1990 almost 60 percent of Knoxville households receiving public assistance lived in the KEZ, although its population is only 30 percent of the city total; and, of the 19 census tracts, 18 have a poverty rate greater than 25 percent suggests that the inner city has been extremely isolated and neglected.

The scenarios constantly reveal that minorities are not attracted to the area because it is not progressive. The majority of those who are capable of leaving do so as soon as possible.

Also, gang and drug-related violence has invaded most of the community. Although, law enforcement has made a considerable effort to decrease drug trafficking, it is still a major problem that adults and youth constantly complain about. Transactions may be witnessed on street corners and in shopping centers in the middle of the day. I do not live in any of these neighborhoods, but even I can

name a few areas that I have driven by and seen it take place – efforts are not great enough.

Until access to institutional resources improves, and equity is a priority for all citizens, Knoxville will never reach its potential. Progress depends on citizens challenging local institutions that maintain status quo systems. It seems as if this city continually caters to a minute class of influential and prestigious people who are reluctant to share power. They guard it and do not let go. Under these circumstances, minorities will never have a chance to be successful. The majority will continue to absorb as many benefits as possible, then pass on through. The city is at a serious loss when it comes to accepting, understanding, and appreciating different cultures.

Furthermore, issues plaguing the inner city affect everyone. Problems in these areas are not contained, so they can easily extend to the suburbs, like Mr. Jones suggests. The local economy, societal relations, and safety, among other concerns are compromised in an inequitable environment. People only scramble to react after unfavorable situations evolve into monumental problems. By this time, resources needed to repair damage are far greater than what they were originally. Proactive measures should be practiced on a regular basis.

II. Concluding Thoughts about EFR Methodology

This study has laid the foundation for encouraging profound democratic discussion about the KEZ. The overall process has revealed detailed information about what Knoxville can become. The research question, which is: *can EFR produce viable scenarios that can be used to stimulate democratic discussion about the Knoxville Empowerment Zone community futures,* has been partially answered. Hence, these are practical scenarios largely supported by trends in the inner city. They are not trivial ideas carelessly created. A large amount of thought, preparation, and study of the area preceded them. Knoxville's history was carefully analyzed so that what can be expected in the future is more clear.

However, in order for the process to be fully effective, the citizens addressed in these scenarios should discuss their ideas in a public forum. In this study, EFR as a community-based research tool must include the citizenry. Deliberate debate about improving the area's disadvantages, as well as, capitalizing on opportunities will further educate residents about their community and encourage them to direct its growth. Stakeholders can then reassess goals previously formed during the Values and Visions Workshop and construct a road map to reach them.

In order to promote democratic discussion in the community, this study will be distributed to the Center for Neighborhood Development and the Partnership for Neighborhood Improvement. Because these organizations are directly involved in guiding the KEZ process, they have the greatest access to area citizens. The

neighborhood groups will be asked to share the project with residents and stakeholders alike.

In addition, EFR largely depends on a respectable informant who understands the community. It is extremely difficult for a person to produce realistic scenarios about an area he is not familiar with. But the person interviewed must be more than familiar with the community; reliable informants have endearing ties to the area studied. Whether this occurs by living or working in the community, he has to be genuinely concerned about what is in the area's best interests. For these reasons, Mr. Jones was an exceptional informant. He lived and worked in the area for a number of years, and although he has since moved from the KEZ and retired from KCDC, he continues to regularly interact with residents at community workshops and events.

I have thoroughly enjoyed executing EFR in the KEZ. Interviewing Mr. Jones has given me a greater appreciation for Knoxville and I anticipate visiting the area 20 years from now. The preparation and research required to conduct this study has helped me feel more connected to the area, although I have only lived in Knoxville for two years. Overall, I believe the project has been successful, however the ultimate test of how great a process this has been depends on if citizens in the community can use the scenarios to envision their future.

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Appendix



Figure 1: Knoxville College, McKee Hall built 1895



Figure 2: Knoxville College, Wallace Hall built 1890



Figure 3: Pellissippi State Technical Community College, Magnolia Branch



Figure 4: Pleasant Knoll Subdivision



Figure 5: Alex Haley Memorial in Morningside Park



Figure 6: Morningside Park



Figure 7: Hope VI, Picture 1



Figure 8: Hope VI, Picture 2



Figure 9: Field where police officers apprehended Andre Stenson

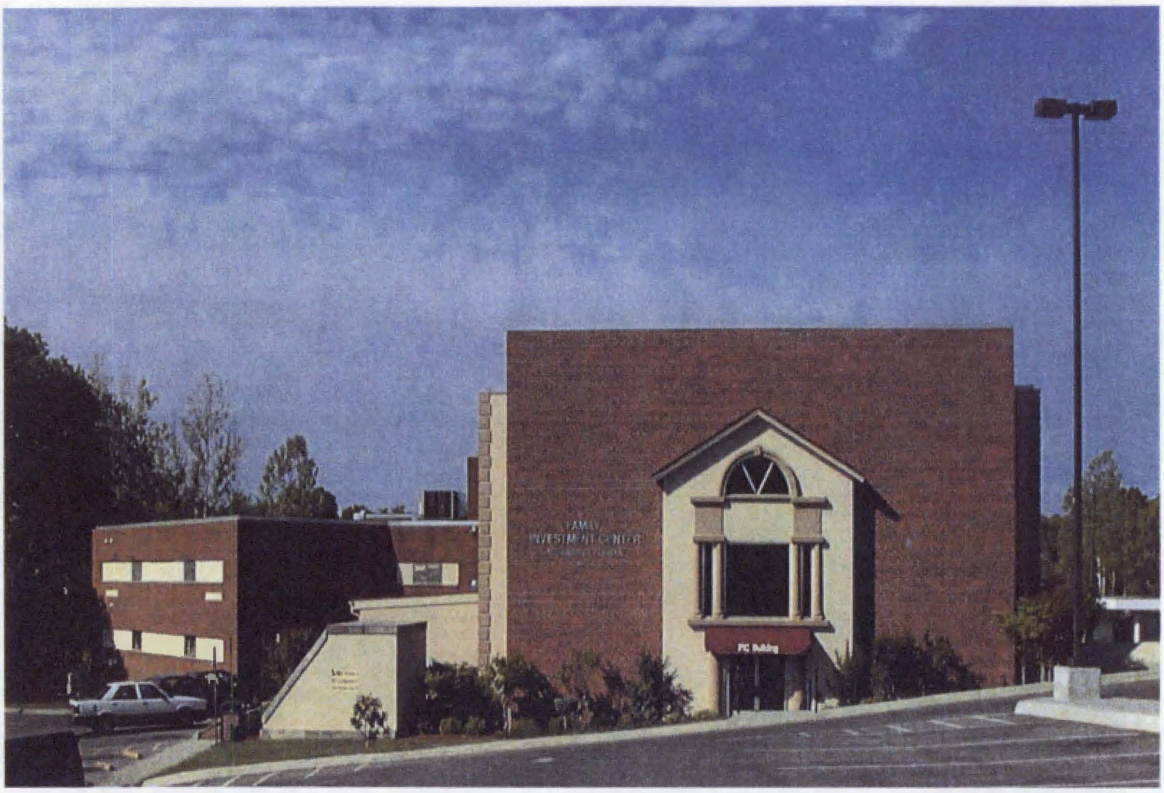


Figure 10: The Family Investment Center



Figure 12: View from Morningside Neighborhood of the Great Smoky Mountains



Figure 13: View from the Burlington Community of the Great Smoky Mountains



Figure 14: Site where Inner City Church once stood

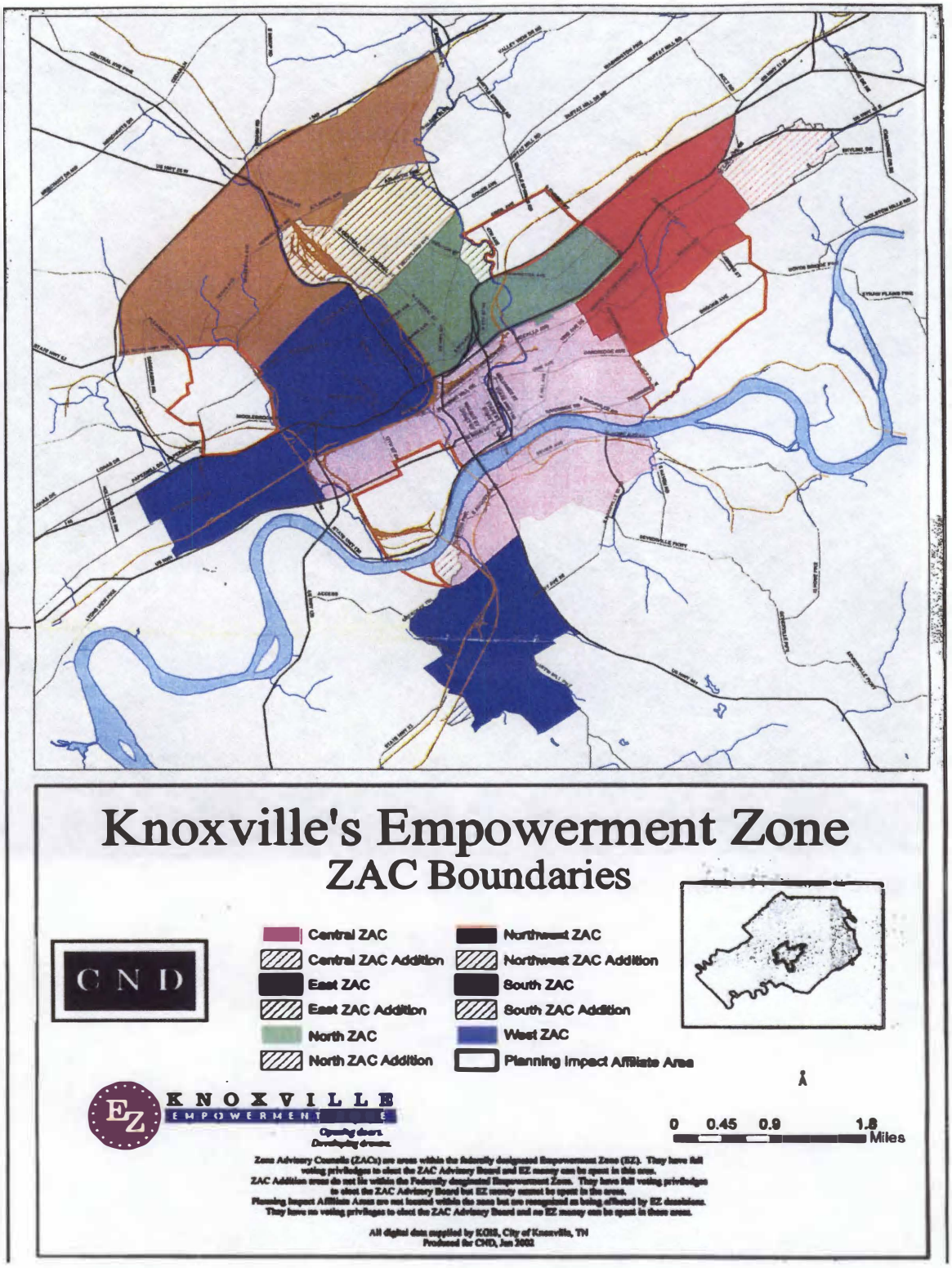


Figure 15: Zone Advisory Council Boundaries

Vita

Kendra Lorelle Saunders was born in Beaufort, South Carolina on November 26, 1976. She attended the Beaufort County public school system, where she graduated in June of 1995. Upon graduating, she attended and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English and Political Science at the College of Charleston in Charleston, South Carolina in December of 1999. Ms. Saunders entered the Graduate School Department of Urban and Regional Planning at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in August of 2000. During her time in the planning program she was a planning intern at the Knoxville, Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission.