

AN ETHNO-HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE
AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN
DOWNTOWN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE BEFORE
AND AFTER URBAN RENEWAL

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DEDICATION

To my children,

Rachel Anne Emmert and Blake Jorgensen Wahlert,

Love, Anne Mom

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ABSTRACT

Urban renewal programs that applied large-scale removal of community urban space and structures, have a long history of differential impact to its community members. These effects persist. Furthermore, current redevelopment projects continue to negatively adjust the landscapes for African Americans. Most research on these impacts tends to focus on the economic failure of downtown, or the displacement of community structures, such as businesses, homes, and churches. Less is studied on the human experience before and after the change. Based on an ethno-historical account of three African American communities in downtown Knoxville, Tennessee, this thesis examines the memories of the landscape before and after urban renewal from the perspective of former residents of The Bottom, Mountain View, and Morningside communities. By adding the combined concepts of racialization, spatialities and mobilities, this study provides a more complete understanding of racialized space that is lived. I argue that this memory provides insights for contemporary debates in urban planning and illuminates the invisible racialization of lived space.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADA Americans with Disabilities Act

ARL Archaeological Research Laboratory

CAG Community Action Group

ETHC East Tennessee History Center

IRB Institutional Review Board

KAT Knoxville Area Transit

KCDC Knoxville's Community Development Corporation

KTA Knoxville Transportation Authority

PAC Project Area Committee

ULI Urban Land Institute

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

It was just a *terrible* time and it disrupted people's lives. You can be *proud* of the community and lay-out [right now] but for people to have to be relocated twice and some were seniors. One woman grieved herself to death. (Informant A-20)

The above quote describes the disruption of the lives of the residents of The Bottom, Mountain View, and Morningside neighborhoods of Knoxville, Tennessee before the Riverfront-Willow Street, Mountain View, and Morningside urban renewal projects transformed the urban landscape of these African American areas. Both perceptions reveal the dichotomy that describes the former downtown community. On the one hand, there was an experience of improvement, but on the other, an experience of displacement.

An excellent example of American urban renewal and race is the case of Knoxville, in which African Americans in an economically mixed and racially segregated community in downtown Knoxville were displaced by three urban renewal projects and the constructions of Interstate 40 and James White Parkway. My research intersects race with theories of spatialities and mobilities to provide a more complete understanding of social exclusion and displacement in which the value of this experience is currently underestimated. Using life-historical interviews with former residents of The Bottom, Mountain View and Morningside areas, various archival data, and participant observation techniques, I examined the experience of racialized space and movement in the form of stories. Memories of the landscape contain peoples' present understandings of identities

while moving about in their current spatial world and add to contemporary debates regarding urban planning.

My research brings a new perspective to urban planning. Currently, urban planners' measure the value of the urban landscape based on its market-value or the monetary price a property may obtain in a competitive open market. My thesis goes beyond this techno-physical approach to look at how urban space can be differently valued, in particular how racialized space is lived. An ethno-historical approach helps us to understand the long history of how racial urban space is made and perceived. The concepts of race, space and mobilities provide a means to articulate how similar spaces are differently understood, such as how former African American residents of downtown Knoxville and urban planners viewed space differently.

This research is guided by several fundamental questions: Are revitalization efforts still marginalizing pockets of the Knoxville population from an active downtown experience? How do displaced African Americans identify their place in new spaces, such as the site of the Civic Coliseum? Does racial discrimination still exist, although perhaps in a different guise? How does urban renewal continue to negatively affect African American communities in Knoxville? In seeking to answer these questions, I found that downtown Knoxville remains segregated but in a different way in large part due to urban planning processes that continue to follow the prevailing status quo. This chapter examines the significance of this research and describes its framework. Subsequently, this section outlines the structure of this study in meeting those aims.

Anthropologists have applied the concept of racialization (Harrison 1995;

Mullings 2004; 2005; Low 2009a) to describe the differential experience of urban space and the hidden dimensions of race and racial inequality. Racialization can be defined most simply as the process of assigning racism. Often these studies of race and racial inequality examined the concrete structures and policies or explicit forms that institutionalize racism, in large part because this is how we have perceived the existence of racism. However, more recent attention is uncovering the presence of implicit forms of racism. One way to explore the current forms of hidden racism is to understand race as a lived experience. This analysis is available within an ethno-historical method, particularly in examining the experience of racism in relation to how landscapes, such as sites of urban renewal, are remembered. To understand race and racial inequality within this context of experience requires a brief historical context of urban renewal.

After WWII the United States possessed an overriding belief in the benefits of progress and technology. At the same time urban areas were displaying increasing signs of decay, primarily in the form of dilapidated building structures resulting from the neglect of urban landscapes. In an effort to preserve the economic vitality of the urban core, the federal government enacted Title I of the 1949 Housing Act and Title III of the 1954 Housing Act¹. The goal of both acts was the large-scale clearance of dilapidated

¹ The Housing Act of 1949 established the goal of “a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.” Furthermore, the act initiated the Urban Redevelopment (later called the Urban Renewal) program. It provided federal grants to districts to eliminate slums and blight by lowering the cost of purchasing the land, and it approved funding for public housing. The Housing Act of 1954 established a “workable program.” Communities were required to present their plans for redevelopment. As part of the Urban Renewal program, communities often used their funds for large-scale demolition before redevelopment. For an extensive critique of both acts see Teaford (2000), *Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath*, von Hoffman (2000), *A Study in Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of Housing Act of 1949*, and Gotham (2001,) *A City without Slums: Urban Renewal, Public Housing, and Downtown Revitalization in Kansas City, Missouri*.

structures and bleak landscapes to make room for new developments; both acts became synonymous with urban renewal. However, the differential impacts due to real-estate and housing discrimination² intensified with the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 and are still negatively felt by African Americans.³ An informant from the former Mountain View community in Knoxville explains the experience of the discriminatory real-estate practices by clarifying his comment on “forced segregation in terms of housing patterns”:

If there was a house for sale for a certain area, an African American would not be shown that house and even if they were, bought it, you gonna have some [difficulties]; but they wouldn’t be able to buy it in the first place because [they] can’t get a loan! Even if they did buy it, for example where the Beck Center is now on Dandridge Avenue there was a cross burning⁴ in that yard. (Informant A-19)

An additional historical perspective is needed to understand this description of racialized space. Two significant events occurred parallel to the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954: the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 and the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and

² Redlining was the unfair practice of restricting financial services to specific neighborhoods in which red lines charted their poor rating. More often these areas were in Black neighborhoods. The Federal Housing Administration also used these charts to subsidize housing construction. For an excellent overview of this and other discriminatory housing and loan practices, see Hirsch, Arnold R. (1983) *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960*. On racial zoning, read Silver, Christopher (1997) *The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities*. Urban planning and the African American community: In the shadows Pp 23-42.

³ In this paper I use the term “African American” to refer to Americans of African descent. However, the words “black” or “colored”: are also employed as non-offensive preferences by some informants and scholars in this paper.

⁴ This cross burning comment is a reference to the Ku Klux Klan, an organization known for its white supremacy doctrine and practices. The first recorded act of cross burning took place in 1915 in Georgia. It is a representation of racial violence and continues today often in the form of cross burning in the front yards of African American families. See Tsesis, Alexander (2004) Regulating Intimidating Speech. *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 41: 389 – 406.

1968. In the former, commonly called the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act, the interstate highway system physically split African American communities in larger proportion compared to the effects on predominantly white communities. In addition, the physical division further separated African Americans from the rest of the downtown area. Both types of separations made it extremely difficult for the African Americans to remain economically viable (Mohl 2002; Bullard et al. 2004; Avila and Rose 2009). In the latter, the enactment of Civil Rights Act of 1964 challenged the taken-for-granted perceptions of segregated racial space by prohibiting segregation of public places based on skin color. Expanding on this Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, also called the Fair Housing Act, provided a legal tool to combat discriminatory practices as it “prohibited discrimination concerning the sale, rental and financing of housing” (National Archives 2014). Specifically, it disallowed the use of federal funds for any programs that were discriminatory. Although those acts legally mandated that racial segregation could not occur, arguably the de facto experience of exclusion still lingered. Consequently, scholars began exploring the processes of urban renewal in the light of these conjoining events, in particular, seeking to understand how urban landscapes remain experiences of racially segregated space and how slum and blight are often viewed as racial landscapes (Hanlon 2011; Mohl 2002; Pritchett 2003) or as racialized space (Lipsitz 2007; Low 2009a, 2011a).

Why Study Urban Renewal?

There are four reasons to study urban renewal. First, current redevelopment projects continue to physically re-shape urban landscapes while negatively affecting

African Americans (Zipp and Carriere 2013). For example, the planning processes for projects in the Knoxville area still use language such as “blight” and “displacement.” As a result, the terms “slum clearance” and “blight removal” become common household discourse in which stereotypes of racial images remain. For example, the Old City area in Knoxville is still commonly referred to as a former place of crime and prostitution despite the fact that it was once a thriving location for many African American businesses. The black residents and business owners of this area referred to it as “The Bottom” because due to its location in the bottomland section of town. Also, formal archival research reported on the “vices rampant in the Bowery [Old City]” to suggest the deleterious changes that can spread to other parts of the city (Guymon 2007:5). This language represents fears associated with broader social issues, such as how we perceive conditions that appear different from the status quo but without adequately understanding the complexities of a social situation.

The displacement cycle is repeated in Knoxville redevelopment initiatives such as the Hope VI program,⁵ the Magnolia Avenue streetscapes project⁶ and, most recently, the public debate on the status of the Civic Coliseum. The Coliseum is one of five sites that the City of Knoxville has made a priority for redevelopment. It sits at the site of the

⁵ The Hope VI program involved the large-scale demolition of a predominately African American public housing area and replaced it with mixed-income, single-unit housing. Two worrying results are that: (1) the large majority of those renters displaced were unable to return, and (2) some former residents commented that the perceptions that they were lazy or criminals and that their homes were slums were thereby reinforced.

⁶ The Magnolia Streetscapes plan is based on recommendations the 2009 Metropolitan Planning Organization’s Magnolia Avenue Corridor Plan. In April 2014 the City of Knoxville held a public meeting and presented the street design. Some attendees verbalized concerns, such as wondering whether changing the infrastructure would be enough and the perpetuation of the image of East Knoxville as the most crime ridden area in all of Knoxville.

former Mountain View neighborhood, which was the second African American area demolished by urban renewal. As one former resident remarked:

Looking back and looking at how everything's been developed now, I just remember how it was; it's all good [pause], it's all good; so, I can say nobody has ever lived in any of the houses that I ever lived in because they all got torn down by the city. (Informant A-17)

Hired by the City of Knoxville, the Urban Land Institute (ULI)⁷ reported on five downtown development needs for the City. During a public presentation in October 2014, a member of the ULI consultant team introduced the need for “reversing the damage of urban renewal.” However, as a KnoxViews blogger noted, the space will become an excluded area:

I have little doubt Civic Auditorium and Coliseum was trashed but for one purpose: to make the parking garages and land available at low cost to the "developer community" upon which to build expensive condos with deeded parking deck spaces. (KnoxViews 2015)

Second, these early urban renewal programs provide insight into contemporary debates about urban planning and how it negatively affects African Americans in Knoxville. William Rohe (2009), a distinguished urban planner, summed up the three conclusions encountered by government officials, urban planners, and the general public during those early urban renewal initiatives: physical structures do not solve social problems; strong social networks exist within mixed-income African American

⁷ ULI is an international non-profit research and education organization with a focus that combines land use and real estate development.

neighborhoods despite pockets of poverty; and citizens need to participate in the urban planning process.

In reference to the last point, a large share of the urban planning process currently includes what are termed “social mix” policies. There are two types of mixed approaches. In the first, the urban design combines mixed-use structures into a single area. For example, residents of different income levels reside in the same area along with various kinds of businesses. In the second approach, the urban plan implements public input from a diverse representation of the population. The intent of both methods is to provide a voice for all residents and to be inclusive. However, the interpretations of those proposing urban plans can be ambiguous, and often residents observe an end product that does not correspond to the plans that were officially presented (Jones and Evans 2012). In addition, urban planner Henrik Gutzon Larsen and geographer Anders Lund Hansen (2008) described the impact of “social signifier” discourse, with a “gentle” approach to the replacement of a socially mixed community by a more homogenized and segregated urban area (2437). However, the tactic allows urban planners to avoid an inclusive planning process, thus often significantly traumatizing many former residents. What is going on in Knoxville is similar to these national trends in urban planning.

Third, there is a recent resurgence in scholarly articles about urban renewal, which demonstrates the importance of studying urban renewal. These urban redevelopment studies are using new theories and re-examining old assumptions. For example, professor of urban affairs and planning Derek Hyra (2012) critiqued the programs of mixed-income housing or forms of new urban renewal, such as Hope VI,

pointing out that segregation remains at a micro-level, which intersects race with class and gender. Other articles have exposed the process in which an ideology of private initiatives prevailed over public ones (Gotham 2001; Pritchett 2003). These studies demonstrated the intricate workings of racially segregated patterns that are produced outside the control of those directly affected. Other literature has acknowledged the strong relationship between race and spatial analysis. Race and racial inequality is “fundamentally a spatial relationship,” according to geographer Laura Pulido (2002:49). Furthermore, “the classification and segregation of spaces as White, Black, or Chinese spaces is one of the key ways in which we (re)create meaning – both about people and the spaces they inhabit” (Anderson, 1987 in Brahinsky 2011:147). Geographer James Hanlon (2011) applied spatial analysis in using the metaphor of “out of place.” This perspective explains how a small African American neighborhood is suddenly viewed as blighted and demonstrates the process of spatial purification by race. Finally, sociologist and racial politics scholar Brooke Neely and education scholar Michelle Samura (2011) provided an interdisciplinary framework of racial space to analyze the persistent characteristics of implicit racialization. Hence, the literature presented on race and the formation of segregated space has ample reason to continue to expand.

Last, there has not been enough scholarly attention given to Knoxville, and Knoxville is an interesting case study because it took three urban renewal projects from 1954 to 1974 to displace a prosperous downtown African American community, rendering it economically vulnerable today. Only two graduate theses have been written about urban renewal in Knoxville: (1) *A Case Study of the Consequences of Displacement*

Caused by Urban Renewal and Highway Construction on Minority Businesses in the City of Knoxville, Tennessee, which was completed by Comer L. Taylor in 1974, and (2) *Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal: A Case Study of the Decision-Making Process in Developing Renewal Plans for Knoxville's Morningside Area*, by Barbara Ann Hogan in 1975. Taylor's study concluded that the impacts associated with displacement required a much broader analysis. Instead of an analysis based merely on the physical structures, Taylor's research showed how former, especially smaller, minority businesses had experienced this displacement, leaving owners and employees wondering how to maintain "their livelihood":

Even though displacement provided many, many amenities to the community, and even provided such needed factors as more floor area and parking space, etc., to the displaced businessmen, it must be realized that displacement aided in depriving many businessmen of their livelihood. (1974:91)

Similar to Taylor's work, Hogan's study addressed the need to go beyond urban planning based only on the technical-physical aspects. Hogan's research examined the broader social issues during the Morningside Urban Renewal project conducted with the newly formed Project Area Committee (PAC). Participatory committees such as PAC became a federal requirement for any projects funded by the federal government, instigated with the intent of including the community in the decision-making process. However, as Hogan's study concluded, the narrowly defined role of urban planners limited the effectiveness of community participation. More importantly, the planners

lacked understanding of the dynamics of community communication. The role urban planners must expand beyond neighborhood meetings and press releases. Hogan identified another level of the communication barrier:

One of the problems experienced in Morningside was the lack of a vehicle of communication from the PAC back to neighborhood residents. From the Morningside experience, it cannot be assumed by the fact that each PAC member represented a neighborhood unit that the members had the time or resources to devote to this type of communication. Attending meetings is a time consuming responsibility when you also have other economic and social obligations. (127)

Forty years has passed since these two studies were published, and I would argue that the absence of a participatory voice is still a problem. According to sociologist George Lipsitz (2007), the urban planning process has the “appearance of democracy [but] without substance” (19). Although the formalities of public hearings and associated community forums remain in place (mostly as a result of these urban renewal lessons), their effectiveness and their impact on the community members has not improved. In addition, while the number of neighborhood associations has grown significantly⁸, their role in communicating with city governments, urban planners, and the general public still

⁸ The Office of Neighborhoods in Knoxville formed in 2007. On its website home page is the following mission statement: “The City of Knoxville has over 100 resident-led organizations that work to improve their neighborhoods, fight crime and blight, and create community. All are working to make Knoxville a more livable city.” For review on the origins of neighborhood associations and a discussion of racially-based, restrictive covenants see Logan, John R., and Gordana Rabrenovic (1990) *Neighborhood Associations Their Issues, Their Allies, and Their Opponents*. *Urban Affairs Review* 26.1: 68-94, and Gotham, Kevin Fox (2000) *Urban Space, Restrictive Covenants and the Origins of Racial Residential Segregation in a US City, 1900–50*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24.3: 616-633.

does not adequately address the negative impact still affecting African American community members. My research complements the previous two studies as well as other books or articles that have been written about the urban renewal experience in Knoxville but also adds a new dimension. More robust research needs to uncover implicit forms of race and racial inequality, and this can be done through the additional perspectives of racialization, spatialities, and mobilities.

Why Use an Ethno-Historical Approach?

There are three reasons for using an ethno-historical approach in this examination of how urban renewal continues to negatively affect African American communities in Knoxville. First, ethnographic and historical research on this topic provides the systematic and in-depth analysis required to understand race and racial inequality. This is the case because the United States has a long history of using race to explain differences and to maintain the current racial arrangement in which whites possess more economic, social and political power while blacks are left with less. This condition is manifested as inequality in the public representation of African Americans, and in the ways in which institutions exert racial attitudes in everyday practices such as employment, education, and housing. Otherwise stated, “race is essential to the way America has been organized” (Bertin Louis 2014, personal communication). According to urban anthropologist Setha Low (2011b), “there is a relationship between what is experienced and socially constructed by the users, and the circumstances that socially produced the space and its current physical form and design” (465). In other words, the formation of the built environment or the urban landscape is a part of this race-making history. For example, in

one urban renewal scheme Knoxville decided to build the Civic Coliseum but demolish the Gem Theatre (Figure 1). The Gem Theatre was one of two African American theaters in downtown Knoxville during the Jim Crow era⁹. Today, the Civic Coliseum is being considered for redevelopment, rendering the former site of African American culture in Knoxville even more invisible.

Second, an ethno-historical approach provides an emic perspective of urban renewal by those who were adversely affected by it. This method means personally engaging oneself with the subject to understand a particular culture or perspective from “an insider’s” point of view. Therefore, the impact of urban renewal can be holistically explored from the perspective of those who experienced the event. Adding a historical analysis of memories and other archival material helps illustrate how events are reworked and incorporated into ways of seeing and acting in the present (Alderman and Inwood 2013). Whether the memories are ‘true’ or ‘false’ does not matter – what matters is how the individual(s) see the experience. It frames our identities, or how we see ourselves and how others see us. As a result, Americans’ identity and views may divulge persistent forms of implicit racialization. For instance, the grounds around the Civic Coliseum in Knoxville were once occupied by African American residences of varying socioeconomic conditions. Currently it is a location for public entertainment events, and its future is presently undergoing re-evaluation by the Knoxville city planners. Anthropologist Lindsay DuBois (2014) described memories of the landscape as representing a past-

⁹ The Jim Crow era is generally considered the period from 1877 (end of the Reconstruction period) to 1950s (beginning of the Civil Rights movement). Southern states passed laws mandating the separation of whites from blacks which essentially involved every public facility. The U.S. Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) made infamous the phrase “separate but equal.”



Figure 1. Gem Theatre in Knoxville, Tennessee 1962.

Courtesy: Beck Cultural Exchange Center.

present relationship. Therefore, a more nuanced analysis of everyday thoughts and practices can show how white racial power erases memories of African American lives that are important.

Last, an ethno-historical approach can shed light on current events and is of value to an engaged anthropology. Besides revealing the hidden characteristics of racialization, the stories configured from an ethno-historical approach help former residents revisit their relationship with current planning processes. In other words, these narratives clarify how to best express a particular public opinion. Anthropologist Delmos Jones (1972; 1995) described how local social units and external institutions are related on multiple levels. This multi-scalar aspect suggests that what locals can do is a by-product or is framed by this relationship. For example, the viewpoints of the “insider” or of the locals based on a “unified” race may simply reinforce those of the “outsiders” or of a national urban renewal agenda and not adequately identify issues of social justice or allow for

voices of dissent within the group. Therefore, subjugation by race remains but is only experienced differently. The stories of displaced African Americans can (re)present real social value and add to the standard metrics of urban planning based on the value for profit of land. In sum, more scholars are turning to the interdisciplinary approaches of an engaged anthropology to understand the hidden forms of racism inscribed in the built landscape of America (Lipsitz 2007; Low 2011a; Mullins and Jones 2011; Tolia-Kelly 2010).

Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into five major parts. Chapter One provides an introduction to the significance of a study of urban renewal, race, and racial inequality in Knoxville, Tennessee. Chapter Two presents a brief background of several aspects of urban renewal: its national-local relationship, Knoxville's urban renewal past, current redevelopment plans in Knoxville, and how all of these affected African Americans. In particular, this study focuses on the City of Knoxville's recent feasibility review of the Civic Coliseum. Chapter Three presents a literature review of the theoretical framework of racialization and its intersection with mobilities and spatialities. The concepts help situate the production of memories of the landscape. To show how the theoretical framework builds on earlier works as well as illuminates recent applications, the literature review includes foundational, seminal, and new works. Chapter Four describes the methods used: the participant observation conducted, the various archival data examined, and the ten life-historical interviews completed. Chapter Five presents the research findings and conclusions. The conclusion contains several recommendations for policy and structural

changes as well as for future research, re-emphasizing the current effects of urban renewal on African Americans and how to best serve displaced peoples.

CHAPTER II

URBAN RENEWAL BACKGROUND

This chapter explores the differential impacts of urban renewal to urban landscapes. It uses the event of urban renewal to contextualize the hidden process of racialization which reflects inequalities between whites and blacks by briefly examining the perception, production, and language of urban renewal. In order to present this on-going experience of the urban renewal process, the chapter is divided into three parts: a general overview of the process of urban renewal, a history of Knoxville's urban renewal past, and a review of current redevelopment and urban renewal plans in Knoxville.

Nationally Driven, Locally Produced

"Urban renewal is urban renewal" commented one informant, who then added, "It was a national thing." Both statements tend to dilute the significance of an event that negatively affected African Americans at a particular time in the United States history and in a significant and enduring way. In another scenario, remarks about urban renewal were differently weighted: "Urban renewal in Knoxville, it destroyed the concept of community" and "[Urban renewal] built on top of black history" (Keim 2006). The dichotomy raises questions about the different accounts of the event.

The differential perceptions of the urban landscape represent different experiences. The prolific racial scholar and sociologist George Lipsitz (2007) framed the impact of national urban renewal programs on African Americans as follows:

Federally assisted urban renewal projects demolished 20 percent of the central city housing units occupied by African Americans during the

1950s and 1960s. People of color made up more than 60 percent of the population displaced by urban renewal. Ninety percent of the low-income housing units that were destroyed by urban renewal were never replaced.

(18)

According to sociologist Caroline Knowles (2003), these experiences present as memories or how a story is told and reflect the individuals' identities as well as broader social issues of the community. Notably, these memories of landscape are shaped by local and national politics of the present and guide future urban development agendas (Alderman and Inwood 2013). Therefore, how decisions will be made for Knoxville's Civic Coliseum are framed within these memories of the former urban renewal site because it is currently being re-assessed for redevelopment.

In addition to the social production of memories, the language of urban renewal is socially constructed. On a national scale, urban renewal programs define blight in terms of market value. In other words, the worth of property is based on its monetary potential: if a property is blighted it is a measure of declining market value. More dramatically, the term "slum" creates images of low-income, crowded, unsanitary, and crime-ridden structures and occupied by people of color, primarily black people. However, for many cities like Knoxville the process of urban renewal removed *all* structures: "stately houses, beautiful churches, countless businesses; this community is gone; [but] what replaced it?" (Informant A-8).¹⁰

¹⁰ The historian Jon Teaford (2000) provided a comprehensive overview of urban renewal processes and their numerous critics in his often-cited article, *Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath*.

Although the national level provided the composition for urban renewal, on a local scale its presentation was varied. Large northern cities, such as Chicago, New York, and Pittsburgh generally experienced the first wave of urban renewal schemes, while smaller Southern cities more often experienced urban renewal in a second wave. As a result, Southern cities had the opportunity to reflect on the mistakes made in the North, particularly the logistical problem of “defining blight and applying eminent domain¹¹” (Tighe and Opelt 2014:4). Hence, Southern cities displayed an assortment of urban renewal approaches (Judson 2014). For example, some chose to follow Northern models in which government officials and developers controlled the majority of the planning process. On the other hand, other Southern cities used a more inclusionary method so that residents and landowners had more influence on the removal process.

Knoxville’s Urban Renewal History

Arguably, the individual most credited as the official historian of Knoxville’s African American history is Robert Booker¹². In one of his many talks, Booker graphically described the impact of urban renewal on the African American heritage in Knoxville:

Urban Renewal Programs undertaken by the City of Knoxville and the Knoxville Housing Authority (now KCDC) beginning in 1959, were

¹¹ Eminent domain is a legal strategy used by urban renewal authorities to obtain private property and usually to resell to another private property and for the purpose of public development projects.

¹² “Robert J. Booker, a prominent civil rights activist in Knoxville, Tennessee. As a student, he organized the sit-ins in downtown Knoxville. He later was the first black elected to the Tennessee state legislature from Knoxville in the twentieth century. He was instrumental in establishing the Beck Cultural Center on African American history in Knoxville” (Accessed on 5-03-15 at http://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/view_collection.php?coll_id=1294).

devastating to the black community. In an effort to remove some areas of obvious blight, the plan got carried away and destroyed virtually everything in its path. As a result, fourteen churches, scores of businesses, and hundreds of homes fell under the weight of the wrecking ball. (Booker 2001)

Three Urban Renewal Projects in Knoxville

Three urban renewal projects were planned for downtown Knoxville. However, Booker's 2014 book on the history of Knoxville's African American communities relays that not much is known about these communities. The three urban renewal projects were named Riverfront-Willow Street (also called, Lakefront-Willow Avenue), Mountain View, and Morningside (Figure 2). The Morningside urban renewal project became what is the most eastern edge of the Mountain View project.

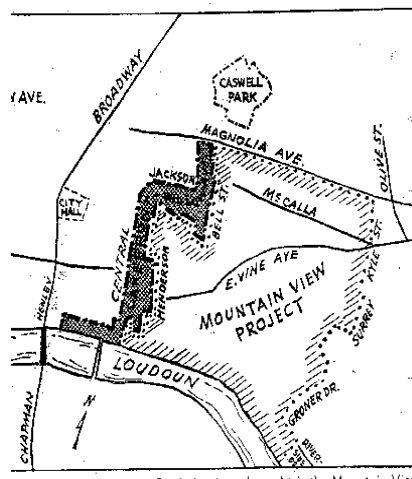


Figure 2. Three urban renewal areas 1960. Courtesy of Knoxville News-Sentinel.

Knoxville's first urban renewal project, Riverfront-Willow Street Project took place from 1954 to 1967 and was known as the. Local residents referred to this area as "The Bottom." Many sources identified this lowland as deteriorated. Second Creek ran along the edge of this part of downtown and was known to flood frequently. However, after looking over an old map of the area, one informant experienced the area as having a 'good time':

I'm looking for the creeks, used to be creeks as you come down Church; coming on up there was a creek on the right hand side, right on Cal Johnson Park. We'd get leeches on us and we didn't *care*...my mother said we were outside children. You moved...you could go and nobody bothered you. [The homes were] very small, usually three to four rooms, sometimes two and the houses were setting up that you could crawl under and play; it was cool under there...go under there and play and it's nice and cool. (Informant A-15)

This area, especially along Vine and Central Avenues, contained most of Knoxville's African American businesses at the time; it was also the location of the popular Gem Theatre described in Chapter I. The land section also consisted of a significant number of homes, the residences of a total of 508 African American families identified for removal (Knoxville Housing Authority 1954:23). However, as Booker describes, "the Bottom was one of the poorer sections of Knoxville and most of the population there did menial work" (2014:24).

There were two different perceptions of the urban renewal site. The Knoxville

Housing Authority, Inc. envisioned the “Re-development Plan” as a necessary improvement of the area designated as “misery” and “squalor” (Figure 3). On the other hand, a resident of the so-called “slums” would encounter a completely different representation (Figure 4). The difference is that the planners superimpose their values on a grid; the residents lived and worked in that neighborhood.

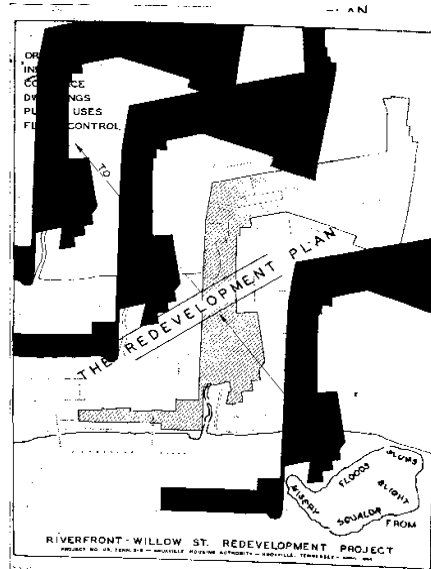


Figure 3. Riverfront-Willow Street Project 1954. Courtesy of Knoxville Housing Authority.



Figure 4. Willow Street residences 1960s. Courtesy of McClung Archives.

Another urban renewal phase, the Mountain View Project took place from 1964 to 1974. Unlike The Bottom, the Mountain View sector possessed a more typical neighborhood character. It was a predominantly residential area as compared to business center of The Bottom. According to records and informants, it contained both stately and modest homes:

Doctor [P] was my neighbor, I think I told you about his beautiful mansion besides my humble dwelling; you see at the time the professional black people and the less than educated segment of the population lived all together. Mr. and Mrs. [C] were my next-door neighbors; he was a barber and they came to his house to get their hair cut and then [Gs] were on the corner across the street from me...well-to-do in my opinion... (Informant A-25)

The Mountain View neighborhood also had the distinction of being the area in which the Civic Coliseum would eventually be built. A few homes remained occupied by the time the Civic Coliseum was open for business in 1961, but within a year these homes were also demolished. One informant remembered being in one of the last homes to move:

Ringling Brothers used to house their circus animals, the elephants, the zebras, and lions not like today where they come and they go underground at the Coliseum, they stayed outside in a big open area tent; as a youth I used to spend quite a bit of time because they were right across the street from the house; I could be sitting in the living room listening to television

and hear the lions in their cages roar and the elephants let out a squeal, of course...Holiday on Ice, used to come here [to the Coliseum], used to sit around and interact with the lot of performers; just sat on the sidewalk as they were coming and going; I guess they [the performers] kind of noticed a familiar kid there – *I just live right here...we were some of the last to leave.* [Informant A-17]

This particular area of Knoxville had national distinction as well. In 1960 the Mountain View area was rated the fourth poorest in the nation (Reston 1964). Creating national ratings was a powerful tool for proponents of urban renewal. But, as noted from one of America's first urban renewal projects – New York City's 99th Street¹³ - quality of life should not be judged by income alone. Several informants consulted for the current study suggested this quality of life is similar to how African Americans felt about living in downtown Knoxville: "everybody knew everyone," and "it was about helping each other." In an area commonly described as "mixed," housing residents from all socio-economic strata - lived together as a "mixture of professionals, middle class, and bootleggers that was proximal to one another," who were all "able to make a living" as one informant confidently noted (Figures 5, 6).

The third urban renewal project, Morningside, was "conceived as part of the Mountain View General Neighborhood Renewal Plan and was Knoxville's first attempt

¹³ In 1951, the urban renewal project of New York City's 99th Street became one of the first urban renewal projects in the United States and a standard for how eminent domain mistreatment would occur. Documented in a recent video by Jim Epstein and Nick Gillespie (2011), *The Tragedy of Urban Renewal: The Destruction and Survival of a New York City Neighborhood*, former residents criticized officials that declared their neighborhood area a "slum" and argued that instead their neighborhood was actually a tight-knit community.



Figure 5. Church Avenue before urban renewal. Courtesy of Beck Cultural Exchange Center.



Figure 6. Church Avenue after urban renewal. Courtesy of Beck Cultural Exchange Center.

at coming to grips with citizen participation in urban renewal planning” (Hogan 1975:iii). Residents of the Morningside community and members of the newly formed Project Area Committee (PAC) managed to save most of the neighborhood from demolition, in large part due to a change that allowed residents, many whom were from an educated class, to voice their concerns. However, setbacks to the effectiveness of keeping the residents adequately involved in the planning process still occurred due to lack of or faulty communication procedures, late grass-roots initiatives, and lack of cohesion among residents (Hogan 1975).

Knoxville’s Unique Urban Characteristics

Many factors made Knoxville different from other Southern cities during the time of these early urban renewal initiatives of the 1950s. Three factors relating to race will be the focus of the current analysis. First, race had an effect on residential mobility. Compared to the other two major cities in Tennessee, Nashville and Memphis, Knoxville did not have a large African American population (Table 1), but did have “pockets” of African Americans according to several informants. The main areas in which those pockets were located were nearest to downtown.

Table 1
Total Population and Percent African Americans. Source: 1950 U.S. Census Report.

City	1950 Total Population	% African Americans
Knoxville	124,769	15.4%
Nashville	174,307	31.4%
Memphis	396,000	37.2%

Second, race had an influence on employment mobility. The labor topography in Knoxville was different than that of other Southern cities in that it did not rely heavily on an African American labor source in the same way, for instance, that Memphis did with cotton. Instead, Knoxville had a wide range of businesses that employed African Americans. Furthermore, many African Americans owned their own businesses. In addition to the large downtown industry of Lay's Packing Company, the urban renewal area also contained black lawyers, doctors, domestic servants, hotel operators, morticians, and various small businesses. Table 2 provides a representation of the different types of businesses African Americans owned leading up to urban renewal in the Mountain View and Morningside neighborhoods from 1964 to 1974. It also illustrates which businesses survived post displacement. Therefore, according to one informant the incentive for removal of the downtown African American community was "profit of land," and not to eradicate blight.

Last, race relations in Knoxville were nationally admired for being relatively trouble-free during the turbulence of the Civil Rights era:

Race relations in Knoxville in the 60s differed from those in other southern cities. Knoxville was not a city in the "deep south" and less than 10 percent of the population was African American. Knoxville had a long history of open communication between local black and white leaders. (UT Knoxville 2011)

The East Tennessee History Center contains subject files on this period entitled *Black History in Knoxville*. The records show at least two early accounts of Knoxville's

Table 2

African American Businesses in Knoxville before and after Urban Renewal. Source: (Taylor 1974).

Type of Business	Number	Survivor %	Non-Survivor %
Eating & Drinking	13	46.2	53.8
Apparel	5	100.0	0.0
Automotive Needs	6	50.0	50.0
Food	9	33.3	66.7
Amusement	3	100.0	0.0
Hotel	7	0.0	100.0
Misc. Retail	2	50.0	50.0
Misc. Services	14	50.0	50.0

reputable racial status in the national newspaper, The New York Times, from 1963. In addition, several informants participating in this study made similar comments and, as one informant vividly described, “[t]he socialization of the drink has no color barriers” (Informant A-21). However, no other references from the open-ended interviews conducted for this study or from the archival records of several events of the time can be found. Instead, the state of race relations in Knoxville is more evident in the lack of notice it incited, probably due more to the relatively small population of African Americans in Knoxville and less to white progressive attitudes.

Present Redevelopment and Urban Renewal Plans in Knoxville

Urban renewal programs continue to be implemented in Knoxville, while the memories of the earlier urban renewal projects remain. Today, instead of large-scale removal, urban renewal initiatives select small areas or singular structures that are designated as blighted. Added to the focus on small areas are emphases on heritage and preservation. These criteria are noted in the City of Knoxville Ordinances regarding blight redevelopment. However, critical questions remain regarding the general trend in urban renewal programs, how to identify what structures should be kept and in what form, as well as who decides what stays, what is destroyed and what is “blight.” One very visible object of current attention is the Civic Coliseum.

Knoxville Civic Auditorium and Coliseum

A local television station described the Civic Auditorium and Coliseum area in the following way:

Civic Auditorium and Coliseum and its garage: The facilities, located on the corners of Howard Baker Jr. Avenue and Hall of Fame Drive, have featured thousands of world-class acts since opening in 1961. Its hosted circuses, theatrical productions, musicals, comedians, and major concerts, including the Rolling Stones and Stevie Wonder. The facility includes an exhibition hall, a ballroom, a 2,500-seat auditorium, and an arena that maxes out at 7,100 seats. The limited size of the *outdated structure* has caused some entertainers to steer clear of Knoxville. (My italics; Donila and Matheny 2015)

To address the outmoded condition of the Coliseum buildings and surroundings, the City of Knoxville implemented a market analysis in April 2014. The City hired the Urban Land Institute (ULI) to examine Knoxville's revitalization needs. ULI's last visit to Knoxville occurred ten years ago when the consultants' task was to provide recommendations for the "future development of the World's Fair Park, the proposed new Knoxville Convention Center and the revitalization of Downtown Knoxville" (City of Knoxville:8). Founded in 1936, the ULI "is an independent global nonprofit supported by members representing the entire spectrum of real estate development and land use" (Urban Land Institute 2014).

ULI's seven-member consultant team presented its findings and recommendations during a public forum on October 10, 2014. The meeting was held at the historic Bijou Theatre, which was a setting of some historical interest for that discussion. In 1930, the Bijou Theatre was the only white theater to admit African Americans, although they could enter only on the Cumberland Avenue side and walk upstairs to the balcony. At the 2014 public meeting I saw only one African American in the over-flowing room of white people; I also noted that one African American Knoxville resident was designated as a community consultant out of the more than fifty listed.

The ULI analysis of the Coliseum consisted of the following background information and guided questions:

Knoxville Civic Auditorium & Coliseum: This property was built some 50 years ago as a part of an early urban renewal and redevelopment plan for the east side of the City. Its future role in the community needs to be

explored, such as daily uses and connection to other public amenities. The City is engaging consultants on the feasibility of the facility and future uses of the site. This effort should be coordinated with ULI's recommendations.

1) How could this resource be better connected to its surrounding neighborhoods, area and downtown?

2) What additional uses could be considered for this venue? Are there daily uses that could be encouraged? How could the City market the parking resources for more daily use?

At one point in the PowerPoint presentation on Friday, October 10, 2014 a consultant introduced recommendations for the area with the phrase "reversing the damage of urban renewal" and ended with the suggestion to "make it re-residential." In addition, ULI's summary of recommendations includes the following:

Relocate those existing uses currently at the Knoxville Civic Auditorium and Coliseum to Downtown and engage in a public master planning process to create and envision a vibrant, desirable, mixed-income community that includes diverse housing types and households. (City of Knoxville:9)

However, other questions to consider must include: What kind of image-making will the new structures built after the Civic Coliseum create and for whom? Does this gesture reverse the damage done by urban renewal, an area that was predominately

African American before urban renewal and that included mixed-income and a variety of businesses?

Jones and Evans (2012) presented a form of rescue geography to show that the experience of place is important in redeveloping an area. Added to this selective preservation is Low's (2011b) description of conflicts that arise when redesigning basic urban structures when they are embedded with different symbolic meanings for various community members.

An Active Blight Policy

Another factor that contributes to the current urban renewal debate is found in the language contained in the City of Knoxville redevelopment proposals. Knoxville has an active urban redevelopment policy and maintains the language of urban renewal in its documents. The following three examples are taken from recent requests for redevelopment. The titles of these reports are phrased similarly as "[name of site] Redevelopment and Urban Renewal Plan" and are prepared by Knoxville's Community Development Corporation (KCDC).

The KCDC language states:

KCDC has prepared this plan as a result [...] and has submitted the plan as both a redevelopment plan under Section 13-20-203(B) of the Tennessee Code Annotated and an *urban renewal* plan under Section 13-20-211 of the Tennessee Code Annotated with a provision for tax increment financing. (My italics)

II. EXISTING CONDITIONS

The redevelopment area *clearly* is eligible to be a redevelopment project within the meaning of Section 13-20-202(a) of the Tennessee Code Annotated. Based on physical inspections of the area conducted by KCDC, the redevelopment area is blighted due to dilapidation of the building. The redevelopment area also *clearly qualifies as an urban renewal project* within the meaning of Section 13-20-212(a) of the Tennessee Code Annotated because the area, based upon physical inspection by KCDC, when considered as a whole, is blighted, deteriorated and deteriorating. *Blight is defined as* “areas with buildings or improvements which by reason of dilapidation, obsolescence, overcrowding, faulty arrangement or design, lack of ventilation, light, and sanitary facilities, excessive land coverage, deleterious land use, or obsolete layout, or any combination of these or other factors that are detrimental to the safety, health, morals or welfare of the community.” (My italics)

The policy adds actions for the relocation of residences and businesses as follows:

It is not anticipated that any residences or businesses will need to be relocated as a result of the redevelopment and urban renewal plan. However, in the event that any residents or businesses need to be temporarily or permanently *displaced* to permit redevelopment of the district, KCDC will assist such residents with relocation benefits and payments. If the need for any displacement arises, KCDC will comply with its own relocation policies and City relocation ordinances.

Additionally, in the event that any businesses must be permanently relocated or temporarily displaced during the redevelopment of the area, KCDC will use its *best efforts* to assist those businesses in identifying suitable replacement *space in close proximity* to the area they currently occupy. Any such relocations will be conducted in accordance with applicable policies. (My italics)

Current redevelopment and urban renewal programs operate on the premise that blight control still matters. The meaning and use of the word “blight” socially reproduces racial segregation and, according to racial scholar and geographer Rachel Brahinsky (2011), the urban redevelopment process is where race is reformed. The understanding is that land values will decrease and development improvements will not occur if blight is not taken seriously. However, the reality is that those areas, whether actually blighted or imagined as blighted tend to be (or imagined to be) African American neighborhoods. They are deemed blighted largely by white organizational bodies that possess the power to reshape the built environment occupied by African Americans. Even though the term is used for all redevelopment projects between different ends of the socioeconomic scale, it sends a message about what should be there and what should not (Low 2009a, 2009b).

Geographer Alan Gilbert (2007) examined the return of the term “slum” by governments seeking to attract funding for revitalization projects. However, Gilbert cautioned that this language recreates a particular image of peoples in association with dwellings that does not adequately represent them and the redevelopment campaign suggests “instant solutions to insolvable problems” (697).

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study, which combines the three concepts of racialization, mobilities, and spatialities. The combination provides a clearer understanding of the persistent characteristics of implicit forms of racism. The concept of mobilities explores schemes of restrictive shared movement while the concept of spatialities shows forms of differently valued urban space. In particular, the combined concepts illuminate how displaced African Americans have experienced the urban landscape of downtown Knoxville both before and since the Civil Rights Act of 1964¹⁴.

Race¹⁵

This first section presents a general background of race as a lived experience, examining race in Knoxville for two reasons in particular. First, an active African American culture existed during Knoxville's early formative years (Taylor 1974; Booker 1994; Guymon 2007). Second, although this African American community in large part functioned independently, it also made significant contributions to the larger population of Knoxville. Those relationships partly explain the present identification of African Americans in Knoxville but are little understood today.

Most scholars agree that race is a social construction in which arbitrary phenotypic expressions become associated with particular abilities of personality and

¹⁴ The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited segregation of public spaces based on skin color. Therefore, how urban space and movement is/was experienced can be reflected in the efficacy of the Act.

¹⁵ Race is not only discussing black people. It includes studies on the socio-historical construction of white identity or whiteness, and white privilege. See Peggy McIntosh (1988) *White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies* Privilege, Ruth Frankenberg (1993) *White Women, Race Matters: the Social Construction of Whiteness*, and George Lipsitz (1998) *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*.

intelligence, as well as to certain social and physical skills. This process of association has been used as a rationale for ranking different racial groups. In turn, the hierarchical rankings has led to social forms of inequality. Many scholars have attempted to address the social production of racial inequality by challenging the naturalization of race brought on by early misrepresentations of the scientific method. Some of the most important work has been that of anthropologist Clarence Gravlee (2009) showing biological manifestations as expressions of social inequality, the frequently cited overview by sociologists Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1986) that provided a framework for the historical formation of race's social production, and sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's (2003) seminal book noting the social features of color-blind racism. Despite these recent efforts, the hidden dimensions of racism persist and remain mostly invisible to the general public's common understanding.

A need to examine race beyond its social construction grew out of concern about the nature of that submerged racism. Ethnographers are being challenged to recognize that the social phenomenon of race and racism requires a more particular attention (Fassin 2011; Harrison 2008; Mullings 2005). Specifically, researchers need to explore how racism remains embedded in everyday social practices and in the language in which it is discussed. For example, even the daily use of common words can display hidden meanings. Anthropologist John Hartigan (1997) argued that the word "group" is associated with "Blacks" and the term "individual" is generally linked to "Whites." The habit of referring to races in dissimilar terms has broader impacts, such as maintaining

stereotypes and limiting the ability to see a person as a human. The remaining part of this section focuses on two broad qualities of race: relational and social (re)production.

Relational

Race is always in relation to an opposite. In other words, in acknowledging one type of race one also acknowledges that there must be the other(s), so that black makes white and vice versa. Most succinctly, this practice of Othering simply entails seeing something as different from that with which one is most familiar. However, most poignantly, Othering is often in relation to the dominant form. In that sense, these structures of dominance display the power of whiteness or of white privilege (Low 2009a; Brodtkin 2000). Anthropologist Didier Fassin (2011) explained this relational methodology as “the ascription to one’s skin color produces two racial subjects with one sentence: the one who is assigned to his blackness and the one who, by assigning, reveals his whiteness” (422). Furthermore, anthropologist and critical race theorist Leith Mullings (2005) described this coexisting relationship as “imposed from above and *experienced* from below” (682, my emphasis). As a result, the experiences of the Other are often invisible and the racial norm becomes normative, such as whiteness is normative in America.

A perfect example of this relational feature of racism as it relates to urban renewal is the practice of accumulation by dispossession, in that “all dispossession is inextricably connected to accumulation and that structured disadvantage is the inevitable foundation for privilege” (Mullings 2005:680). During the process of urban renewal, more African Americans as compared to whites had their land, businesses, and homes taken away to

create profit primarily for whites. Therefore, one technique to examine how racial inequality is embedded in the process of urban planning is to observe what structures - homes, buildings - are taken away, who identifies with those structures, and who ultimately benefits from the change. The Civic Coliseum area in Knoxville is undoubtedly identified with the city's east side and the African Americans who lived there both before and since urban renewal. During a public meeting held on March 30, 2015 to review the ULI's October 2014 recommendations, a packed audience was reminded of the intense attachment to the Civic Coliseum among the residents of the area. Several African Americans spoke elegantly about their memories of attending entertainment events, but also of their concern that profit is being valued over people when land is taken away, and they questioned the type of feasibility studies now underway regarding the Coliseum.

Anthropologist Brett Williams (2014) has written extensively on the complexity of the relationships of race, housing, and associated urban social issues. In particular, he argued that dispossession is often conducted via racial language that "devalu[es] the displaced" and that creat[es] stereotypes of displaced African Americans to legitimize their removal (212). Knoxville's urban renewal experiences contain narratives suggesting a public image of a clean and homogenous city as the preferred urban landscape in contrast to the former residents' memories of being in a helpful and peaceful community.

Reproduced

Social reproduction is most simply defined as the daily social practices that occur over generations. Consequently, it is our policies, structures, and discourses that socially

reproduce race. For example, the residential segregation maintained through processes of gentrification¹⁶ can socially reproduce racism. According to geographer and gentrification scholar Loretta Lees (2012), terms like “slum” and “blight removal” maintain the hegemonic dialogues of urban planning that are associated with the legacy of colonialism. Lees argues for a postcolonial perspective to understand the persistent negative human consequences of economic exploitation. Mullings (2005) defined this persistent making of race beyond structures as follows:

It works through modes of dispossession, which have included subordination, stigmatization, exploitation, exclusion, various forms of physical violence, and sometimes genocide. Racism is maintained and perpetuated by both coercion and consent and is rationalized through paradigms of both biology and culture. (684)

An example of the social reproduction of racism within urban renewal discourse is the language used to claim urban spaces, such as “blight,” “slum,” and “deteriorated.” A similar experience of language has been described by urban anthropologist Setha Low’s (2009a) study of racial inequality and how the concept of “niceness” assists in constructions of urban white space. The combined fear of racial Others like blacks and Latinos and the aesthetics of the “niceness” code “inscribes racists assumptions on the landscape” (79). In other words, “niceness” becomes the normative values of middle class whiteness. Along this line of inquiry, sociologist Malene Freudendal-Pedersen

¹⁶ Gentrification is generally defined as the demographic shift of a perceived debilitating urban core, in which low income and minority groups are displaced by higher income groups by rising rental prices and property taxes. It is a form of urban renewal.

(2009) examines the norms of movement in the community as a form of “structured stories.” Therefore, the narratives of the landscape are socially reproducing a belief that selects for an image of progress and technology as socially good for all members of a community. In contrast, the embedded memory of the Knoxville landscape before urban renewal is that everybody walked everywhere.

Mobilities

Transportation (im)-mobility adversely affected African Americans who lived in downtown Knoxville for several reasons. First, urban renewal programs opened the way for the federal highway system. Second, many displaced African Americans were later affected by the placement of the new roadways. Third, many streets that existed pre-urban renewal and were frequently used by African American community members no longer exist. Therefore, memories of the landscape are in relation to streets – those both used and those lost. The following briefly reviews the literature on the subject, introduces the concept of mobilities, and explores co-presence.

Mobility expression has become a vital form of inquiry in the field of anthropology. The seminal work of historian and critic of anthropological practices James Clifford (1997) reasoned that culture can be examined as the product of movement or routes rather than of roots as in the traditional view. This concept has been developed further by scholars with the emerging emphasis on migration, refugee, and disaster studies, which included global diasporas and identities (Cohen 2008), migrations and corporeal movement as multiple homings where experiences of return movements by second generations and beyond are examined against fixed notions of origins (King and

Christou 2011), and movement and migration in which movement displacement and belonging coincide (Knowles 2003). These research fields are similar to studies of displacement and urban renewal experiences.

Another study that transformed concepts of movement examined the relationship of the built environment and mobility in the United States legal system. Geographer and lawyer Matthew Dombroski (2005) claimed that the relatively recent and massive infrastructural changes of our roadway system caused by urban renewal and the Interstate Highway System redefined how movement is experienced. He further argued that the right to transportation should be acknowledged as a specific form of right to freedom. In other words, the ability to physically move around in the built environment should be understood as an equity issue and not in the current, and broader, interpretation of right to freedom of movement guaranteed by the Constitution.

Relevant to the study of mobility and displacement, the geographer Divya Tolia-Kelly (2010) characterized movement as always needing to respond as the Other. Otherwise stated, “the diasporic sensibility is a sensibility that develops from experience of a racialization, *and* a mobility combined” (5; my emphasis).¹⁷

More scholars are applying a mobilities framework to understand issues of inequity and to challenge notions of movement currently taken-for-granted. Minimally defined, mobilities are about plurality. Furthermore, mobility is not a static or bounded category, instead the meanings of movement are fluid and changeable and are social constructions that are always in relation to other multiple forms of movement (Jensen

¹⁷ For an excellent overview of anthropology’s relationship with the term mobility see Salazar (2010, 2014) and Salazar and Smart (2011).

2009; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2002). For example, anthropologist Noel Salazar (2010) explains that to understand the multiple meanings of a particular phenomenon, the imaginaries of mobilities in association with real physical movements must be examined. In other words, we need to explore the longitudinal subjectivities that are the result of movement. This change of perspective is important for a deeper understanding of Knoxville's African American community before they experienced urban renewal; memories of landscape can be collected through how residents sensed their wider neighborhoods and how they inhabited their homes, businesses, and churches juxtaposed to the center of downtown. Last, the study of mobilities provides a technique with which to view mobility beyond traditional statistical studies of distance and time and adds to current numerical records of race and racial inequality based on the number of lost job opportunities and other markers of discrimination. Although there are many factors that signify mobilities, the rest of this section will focus on the concept of co-presence, which is particular to the memories of landscape in the African American community.

Co-Presence

Sociologist John Urry (2002) defined co-presence as the “direct social interaction between peoples and social groups that constitute a proximate social structure” (256). Co-presence can contribute to the analysis of how mobility is racialized. In other words, co-presence combines the body (or corporeal) with an understanding of proximity. Despite advances in social media and telecommunications, in which close proximity is virtually sensed, Urry argued that physical proximity in the form of co-presence, even if it is only intermittent, is still necessary because it meets a need for trust and prevents non-self-

sustaining forms of privatization. A powerful example that illustrates the lack of co-presence in Knoxville is the case of a proposal to significantly cut governmental subsidy to the Beck Cultural Center, an African American heritage research center. It was eventually overturned but only after the Center supporters shared comments that policy makers did not know them or what they were about because city officials had never set foot in the Center.

Co-presence continues to be important to urban planning. According to urban architects Mulholland et al. (2014), three types of co-presence exist in the micro-politics of everyday contact. One type is shared urban spaces, called “equal spatial ownership rights,” such as public parks (756). A second type of co-presence is sites of social exchange, such as theaters. The last type is informal encounters of the kind that occur along streets or at bus stops. The authors argue that these sites of co-presence help remove “prejudices” and also “increase knowledge about the group” or that “these de-facto spaces of shareness¹⁸ rely on the multiple possibilities to experience the others functioning in various situations, through seeing and hearing them” (756-7). Hence, co-presence can be a critical form of social capital, in which social relationships result in productive benefits or what may appear strange or different becomes familiar instead.

The experience of movement in Knoxville before urban renewal was succinctly described by Knoxville’s historian of African American history Robert Booker: “grocery stores, barbeque stands, insurance companies - all manner of small businesses - lined the

¹⁸ “Shareness” is a notion that is in contrast to the term “division.” It relates to the built environment of urban spaces. The authors challenge urban planners to explore the practicality of “designed space” to assist memories of urban spaces of tension.

streets. Customers *could walk easily* from the shoe repair shop to the dry cleaner to the movie house” (Keim 2006). However, this form of mobility no longer exists due to urban renewal and the constructions of I-40 and James White Parkway and threatens to become worse with the removal of the Civic Coliseum.

Urban Space

This last section of the chapter examines how urban space is experienced. In particular, the landscape of pre-urban renewal is explored for several reasons. First, the language of blight and urban renewal transformed that earlier space, and that language is still used today. Second, the materiality, or the human relationship to material objects, of past urban design is in sharp contrast to how former residents sense their current space of displacement. Last, the former urban renewal site of the Civic Coliseum is undergoing revitalization again with limited reflection on the continued significance of the space to its former residents. The section presents a brief literature review, and explores the concepts of spatializing culture contested space.

Philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1991) provided foundational work on the meanings of urban space and an initial framework to spatially analyze present forms of implicit racialization. Lefebvre stated that the production of space is a social product in which the values we hold shape the spaces that are made, in turn framing how we see those spaces. In other words, space is not transparent but experienced in how we think it is made. Lefebvre referred to this phenomenon as a double illusion. Hence, space is made a certain way, and for particular reasons.

Many scholars have expanded on Lefebvre's ideas to explore the hidden disparities of spatial experience. In particular, studies have applied spatial theory to reveal the experience of social exclusion. Sociologist George Lipsitz (2007) employed spatial imaginary, a practice that can help us understand how the imaginaries of privileged populations are the ones that have access to public space. Lipsitz argued that African Americans have experienced the impact of social exclusion from urban renewal because of how they valued space as "use" or space as lived-in contrast to the dominant or privileged value of space as places of "exchange" or consumerism. As a result, an African American spatial imaginary is less valued, in turn maintaining spatial segregation because of urban planning perceptions based on land-for-profit versus how land is lived or experienced.

Sociologist Caroline Knowles (2008) explained that the making of race happens through space, suggesting that racism should be explored by means of a social analysis of race and space because oral narratives alone will not capture the complete experience. Historian Alan Mayne and archaeologist Susan Lawrence (1999) described the importance of collecting the lived "feel" of an urban renewal space through its objects, an approach that may help remove the myths associated with spaces negatively defined as slums. The authors advocated for an ethnography of place and explored the making of the "Little Lon" community, a former inner city neighborhood in Melbourne, in which the community's open relationship to public space can be easily overlooked when viewed from dominant views of space-making.

Urban anthropologist Setha Low (2011b) used the term “spatializing culture” to reveal systems of exclusion, such as the urban planning procedures that determine the type of structures to be built – a coliseum or gentrified housing. Spatializing culture incorporates the meanings and practices of social relationships within the “spatiality of those relationships” (471). The remainder of this section focuses on one aspect of the spatial experience out of the many available: contested spaces. Contested space relates to urban removal and memories of the landscape.

Contested Spaces

Setha Low (2014a) describes urban sites as contested when “the appropriation of land for urban redevelopment threatens to limit access to or exclude certain groups from using public spaces,” adding that “these plans may be contested by local segments of the population whose identity is variously bound to the site” (19). The former Mountain View area in Knoxville was just such a contested site. Although resistance to the project did not occur as overtly as with the Morningside community and the official formation of the Project Area Committee (PAC), contested urban space can also define the way in which similar spaces are differently understood. In other words, contested spaces can also refer to the subtle and often unwitting or hidden ways space is negotiated. Furthermore, “contested sites are often the stage upon which social memory is constructed,” and in which, “hegemonic schemes” like urban renewal play out (Low 2014a:20). In other words, social memory in Knoxville contains the tension of the city’s decision to build the Civic Coliseum during the course of an urban renewal project by tearing down the Gem theatre as well as the many homes in Mountain View. This tension can be seen in the

particular and general memories of contested spaces in Knoxville: “It was suddenly gone;” “Eerie, in one day you could walk right through Mrs. [C’s] house” (Informant A-25). According to evidence in the 1979 Oral History Project at the Beck Cultural Center in Knoxville, “[i]t was just all of a sudden seemed like that they all *vanished*; it seemed like it happened so sudden that I don’t see how it happened” (Interview 79.5). Last, this social memory is recycling in the current redevelopment plans for the Civic Coliseum. Therefore, the contested space in Knoxville remains a racially segregated space.

To conclude, an examination of the relational and the reproductive social properties of race and racial inequality that are experienced as contested spaces and the lack of co-presence all add to our understanding of persistent forms of implicit racialization. It allows us to understand how African Americans may continue to be segregated from a downtown experience, a condition that describes Knoxville now – a gulf between the east side, which is predominantly black, and the redevelopment of the Civic Coliseum, an area shaped by white hegemony.

CHAPTER IV METHODS

This chapter describes the exploratory and systematic methods used in the current study that are based on an ethno-historical approach. The methods employed were: participant observation, archival research, and one-on-one interviews. Each technique adds context to memories of a lived landscape.

Participant-Observation

Participant observation is a primary method of doing ethnographic research. This technique can best be described as way of acquiring insight into another group by taking part in the group's everyday activities along with observing and recording those activities as an outsider. Since, I was unable to interact in the African American communities that were displaced by urban renewal in the past, participant observation in this study occurred during three events. First, I attended the showing of a documentary film, *Found Footage: Say it Loud!*, presented at one of the Knoxville's popular First Friday events:

Unfinished Business: Then, Now & Going Forward, a year-long series of events commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act, "*Say It Loud!*", highlights Knox County Public Library's Tennessee Archive of Moving Image and Sound. (Knox County Public Library 2014)

I was invited to attend by one of the reference librarians because one section of the film showed WBIR-TV media coverage and amateur home movies of Knoxville's urban renewal efforts that emphasized the destruction of a community. The event was standing room only and mostly filled by long-time African American residents of Knoxville. One

aim of the filming was for community members to recollect the event and to share some of their own history of it. From participating, I collected several contacts for future research.

Second, I collected data from several additional events associated with Knoxville's urban renewal history: a public presentation by the Urban Land Institute on October 10, 2014 (described in Chapter II), the public meeting about the Urban Land Institute report presented by the City of Knoxville on March 30, 2015, and several meetings of the newly formed East Knoxville committee. All gatherings included discussion of Knoxville's urban renewal past in relation to new redevelopments.

In addition, my employment at the Knoxville Area Transit (KAT) on Church Avenue is located on the former Willow Creek and Mountain View urban renewal sites and is situated at the current borders of downtown and of east Knoxville; from my office window I can easily view the current location of the Civic Coliseum. I was able to engage in informal discussions and identify important areas in the landscape experience that needed further examination. It also allowed me to collect data and gain an insider's perspective of the landscape. Therefore, the actual number of individuals who offered their insights during numerous participant observation episodes far exceeded the number of more formal interview sessions; these unstructured interviews – also called participant observation – can occur essentially everywhere (Bernard 2006).

Archival Research

Archival research is a form of original or primary historical research as an indirect observation of experiences, thoughts, and actions. Therefore, archival research provides a

backdrop for the dominant discourse and contextualizes life histories. It is also a tool in reconstructing the history of urban renewal. In this research, material from the Beck Cultural Exchange Center, the East Tennessee History Center, and the Archaeological Research Laboratory offered useful context.

Beck Cultural Exchange Center

Formed in 1975, the Beck Cultural Exchange Center's (Beck Center) function is to preserve Knoxville's African American heritage and is generally considered a major research center for African American studies. It contains multiple resources on African American history in Knoxville and in Tennessee, such as numerous books by local authors, an assortment of early photos, several editions of early black newspapers, and a myriad subject files containing records from the different social organizations around Knoxville.

In addition to these resources, the three-volume file of 1979 Oral History Collections contains over eighty cassette recordings collected from Beck Center staff members. The recordings are of varying lengths but generally last one hour. Although the interviews were not fully transcribed, each recording includes an accession sheet with information about the interviewee and interviewer, date, place, status, and the subjects covered in the interview. By reviewing the interview subjects, I was able to identify sixteen interviews of possible relevance to urban renewal; nine complete cassette recordings eventually became part of this study. The type of information from these interviews included the following headings: "Lived before urban renewal," "Walking from Dora Street to Vine," "Street car memories," "Changes in Knoxville over the last 50

or 60 years, especially the uptown area,” and “Areas where a majority of blacks lived before urban renewal” - to name a few.

East Tennessee History Center

The East Tennessee History Center (ETHC) houses the Calvin M. McClung Historical Collection and contains historical and genealogical material for the department of Knox County Public Library. Material from four primary areas – Tennessee Books from the central stacks, Subject Files, the Sanborn maps, and the Calvin McClung Digital Collection –supplied both general and specific information about Knoxville’s past. Two books were particularly helpful: *Heart of the Valley: A History of Knoxville, Tennessee* (Deaderick 1976) and *Two Hundred Years of Black Culture in Knoxville, Tennessee 1791-1991* (Booker 1993). The Sanborn maps supplied period street maps, and the Calvin McClung Digital Collections house news clippings from the Civil Rights Era that include accounts of urban renewal projects.

I spent the most time exploring the large Subject Files, particularly the following topics:

Knoxville, Tennessee. City Planning. Through 1949

Knoxville, Tennessee. City Planning. Through 1950 – 1960

Knoxville, Tennessee. City Planning. Through 1961 – 1973

Knoxville, Tennessee. First Creek

Knoxville, Tennessee. Streets. Miscellaneous. Through 1969

Knoxville, Tennessee. Streets. Miscellaneous. 1970 – 1975

Knoxville, Tennessee. Streets. Miscellaneous. 1976 – 1979

Knoxville, Tennessee. East Knoxville

Knoxville. TENN. Urban Renewal

Knoxville, Tennessee. Housing

Knoxville, Tennessee. Black History. General & Miscellaneous.

Knoxville, Tennessee. Traffic Regulation 1960 – 1969

Knoxville, Tennessee. Black History. 1921 – 1959

Knoxville, Tennessee. Black History. 1960 – 1969

Knoxville, Tennessee. Transportation. 1950 – 1956

Knoxville, Tennessee. Streets. Downtown

Archaeological Research Laboratory

The Archaeological Research Laboratory (ARL) is a cultural resource center involved in assessment, research, and consultation. Specifically, the ARL conducted an archival inquiry of a section of the former African American downtown community as part of the planning project for the new Knoxville Area Transit center that was completed in 2010. The report, *Historical Documentation and Archival Research of the Proposed Central Station Transit Center Project* (Guymon 2007), contributed information to this study. Specifically, it provided an historical overview of the former African American community - time-frames of various changes to building structures, documented the continuous use in some part of this area by African Americans for 150 years, and showed the types of interpretative data language used to depict an area, such as “just beyond the project boundary near the iron bridge on Clinch Avenue is a saloon, no doubt an indication that the vices rampant in the Bowery and Marble Alley were spreading into

this area” (5). Furthermore, the front lobby of Knoxville Area Transit office displays artifacts and a description of the former community for public viewing.

Life-History Interviews

Primary data was gathered from ten life-history interviews collected during the summer and fall of 2014. Those informants included previous residents of the pre-urban renewal downtown Knoxville African American community. The open-ended, informal interviews provided an opportunity for these members of the former African American downtown community to share experiences about their urban space around the time of urban renewal. After a brief description of life stories, this section presents the three main steps in the interview process.

The foundational work on life stories by professor of human development Robert Atkinson (1998) defined these interviews:

A life story is the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another. (8)

The author added that a “life story is a fairly complete narrating of one’s entire experience of life as a whole, highlighting the most important aspects” (8).

I approach the life stories by highlighting the most important aspects. A life story study generally focuses on the complete life and then notes points of value along the life course; however, meaning can be derived from knowing about an event that most significantly affected a life course, such as urban renewal. In this sense, instead of

viewing the life history as a particular technique, it can be understood as an *attitude* the researcher enters into the interview process. Therefore, the memories of an experience may be revealed more fully.

Preparing the Interviews

Interviews were obtained by snowball sampling to select previous members of the urban renewal areas who may have had varying experiences due to where they lived, their age and gender, and the role they played in the community during the period of urban renewal. I found my first participant by chance while doing literature review for this thesis at the East Tennessee Historical Center. She led me to a childhood friend that lived in the pre-urban renewal area and moved to east Knoxville during urban renewal. After the initial contact, I acquired informants in several ways – a long-time community activist connected me with many associates, my employment at KAT allowed me to locate numerous former displaced residents, and my attendance at various events in which the different attendees got to know me, and one of my interview questions specifically asked, “Who are some people that I could interview about the community?” Therefore, snowball sampling is respondent-driven. The informants’ ages when I interviewed them were between the ages of 58 and 92 and lived in different areas at the time of urban renewal (Table 3).

Snowball sampling is used for “populations [that] can be hard to find or study” (Bernard 2006:192):

In the snowball technique, you use key informants and/or documents to locate one or two people in a population. Then, you ask those people to

Table 3
Demographics of Informants at the Time of Urban Renewal

Gender	Age	Residency	Position
(6) Females	(5) Preteen	(4) Willow Creek	(5) Students
(4) Males	(3) 30s	(3) Mountain View	(2) Government
	(2) 40s	(3) Morningside	(3) Education

(1) list others in the population and (2) recommend someone from the list whom you might interview. You get handed from informant to informant and the sampling frame grows with each interview. Eventually, the sampling frame becomes saturated—that is, no new names are offered.

(193)

This study employed ten interviews for several reasons: the main reason was finding people who were old enough and had lived in these communities; the in-depth characteristics of the interviews provided a point of saturation; this exploratory study anticipates a larger project. However, as noted above the list of informants grew exponentially and referred contacts will be retained for further research.

Several roadblocks arose during preparation for the interviews. First, logistical issues related to the IRB process resulted in a three-month delay. This re-evaluation of the IRB status prevented the timely completion of the last two interviews and follow-up questions on any of the previous interviews. Second, one potential informant declined to be interviewed, and several others changed interview dates more than once. It was not unusual to hear informants say, “I don’t want to talk about it now” or “I’m too tired.”

One reason for this delay was likely due to the fact that the urban renewal interviewees were an older population, most being in their late eighties or early nineties.

Several of the informants asked me to prepare for their interviews in specific ways. For instance, one insisted I visit the Museum of Education in South Knoxville to read editorials written by the informant on the subjects of teaching black history, parental mentors, and blocking I-40 construction through a neighborhood. Another informant requested I take part in a cultural event with which she has been involved for decades, which resulted in my attendance of a local operatic production. Another informant required I read a seven-page essay that he had written recently about urban renewal, commenting, “Let’s be efficient with our time so I will send you a short speech I delivered to the KCDC [Knoxville Community Development Corporation].”

Conducting the Interviews

It was important for each informant to choose the location for the interview session. However, I also wanted to elicit a physical sense of the space of urban renewal in a non-threatening way. Therefore, the informants were encouraged to pick a location that related to the urban renewal site, such as the Knoxville Area Transit Center (KAT), their current residence, or another downtown structure. Four informants chose the KAT facility: two worked at KAT, another was affiliated with KAT as a formal community representative, the fourth lived in the far west end of Knoxville but had frequent meetings at churches and other events in the downtown vicinity. Two informants preferred to be interviewed in their homes, which were at different borders of the former Mountain View urban renewal area. Interestingly, even though both homes were scheduled for removal,

they were among the last houses not affected during the final waves of urban renewal. Two informants, in addition to those who worked and were interviewed at KAT, were interviewed at their places of employment located at the edge of the urban renewal area. Another informant was interviewed at the ETHC where we first became acquainted. The last informant, who reported spells of exhaustion and an already busy schedule, requested to be interviewed by telephone at a later date while at home. Several weeks later when interviewed, this informant's conversation was very animated and lasted for over two hours.

The interview sessions all began with an introduction to the project. Then, I shared my specific interest in the urban renewal process and how I came to learn about the history of this community – particularly, the concerns of displaced peoples and my previous fieldwork on public transportation. Another few minutes were spent in preparatory conversation answering informants' varied questions; all informants had questions of their own. Those queries included: "What do you think about urban renewal?", "Were we unique?", and "How did you hear about urban renewal?". Next, informants were asked to sign a written consent or provide verbal consent prior to being interviewed (Appendix A). Informants at all times had the option to remain anonymous or identified by name and were able to change this option at any point. All informants had the option to decline to be interviewed or to stop the interview at any time.

During the interview I provided some material to facilitate further memories of the area. The maps were in two forms: a current KAT trolley map (KAT Trolley 2014) and a 1960 newspaper clipping (Cunningham and Winegar 1960) about Knoxville urban

renewal that contained maps. The trolley map featured a current picture of the area and good acuity, and it was recognizable to many of the informants. A few informants even marked places and homes they were especially familiar with on the trolley maps. The news article map depicted an image of the area at the time of urban renewal, though it was less clear (Figure 7). All informants engaged in conversation about their former community by using these maps.

The interview questions served as a channel to an open-ended, informal conversation. Not only does this form of inquiry have the advantage of uncovering

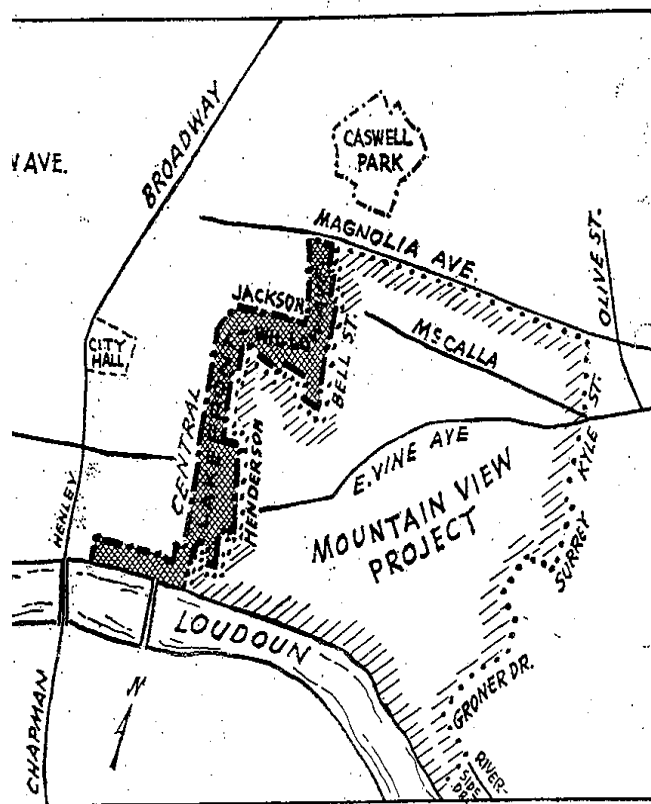


Figure 7. Map of urban renewal projects 1960. Courtesy of Knoxville News-Sentinel.

memories unique to the community members, it also encourages the informants to communicate their perceptions in their own manner. I positioned myself as listener to allow the informants to tell their stories in their words and only interjected to encourage the speakers to expand or to stay on track in expressing their experiences of their former urban space. Since the questions were similar as well as general, I would sometimes introduce the next question by phrases such as “Again these are broad questions...” or “You’ve already answered this but asking somewhat differently...”. The intent was to maintain a ‘flow’ with the primary question or purpose in order to inspire the informants to describe the community in their own words.

Broad questions were chosen for several reasons. First, they were used to collect the residents’ memories in relation to their experiences of the landscape, which required that the informant freely express whatever came to mind and avoid self-editing. Second, broad questions that invited the application of large concepts of spatialities, mobilities, and race illustrated the on going or back and forth analyses common in a mixed-method approach, in which ethnography and archival data are used. Last, this was exploratory research and broad questions can act as a guide for future research design. The general questions were as follows:

1. Describe the community.
2. What happened to those businesses, homes, other structures?
3. Describe the African American community at that time.
4. Was it an affluent community?
5. Describe how you moved around in the community at that time.

6. Who are some people that I could interview about the community?
7. Are there any additional comments?

Analyzing the Interviews

One technique for obtaining the experiences of residents of lived urban spaces is to itemize any significant phrases or words that arise during interviews. This step was achieved by locating repeated phrases or common words and placing them into their context. Next, themes that convey the story are identified. According to Atkinson (1988), this process involves going back and forth between details and the bigger picture, resulting in a coherent narrative instead of the rote comments that are most often influenced by social and news media. Since oral expression is integral to gathering the experience, I chose audio recording as the primary form of data collection. All interviews were transcribed by the primary investigator and all interviews were transcribed word-for-word except in the case of one interviewee who did not want to be recorded. However, this informant appeared quite at ease with my extensive note taking and encouraged me by offering me extra sheets of paper.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents an illustration of the interview and archival analyses. The initial analysis showed that memories of the landscape are embedded with a sense of forced segregation. Furthermore, these recollections are experienced as *being* in a community rather than *having an impression* of a city. Below are the interviewees' expression of community in response to three of the interview questions (describe the community, describe the African American community, and what happened to the community), followed by descriptions of race and racial inequality as lived experiences in two thematic narratives based on space and movement. The last comments are recommendations for urban planning. Those communities discussed include The Bottom, Mountain View, and Morningside.

Personal Reflection

"I feel I can walk outside and see your neighborhood now." I shared that comment with one of my first interviewees, and that sense of presence continued during this project. At first, I was unaware of the vibrant African American community that had once existed downtown, only discovering it four years ago while engaged in fieldwork about the perceptions of bus users in Knoxville. At that time, Knoxville Area Transit (KAT) was in the process of opening a new transit center on Church Avenue. I attended several of the monthly Knoxville Transportation Authority (KTA) public hearings leading up to this new structure and volunteered at a few of the open house events after the new transit center was completed. It was during these occasions that I learned about

the archaeological field surveys or surface appraisals required for any new developments and performed by the University of Tennessee's Archaeological Research Laboratory (ARL) in Knoxville. The ARL sought to ensure that cultural heritage and significant artifacts would not be adversely affected - or completely destroyed - by the renovation of the landscape.

As the pre-development inquiry continued, it became clear that an entire African American community had, in fact, been submerged by previous urban changes resulting from the constructions of the Interstate 40, James White Parkway, and the Civic Coliseum. At the KTA meetings, construction personnel for the transit site provided regular updates on the transit project delays that were due to the ARL archaeological excavation. ARL's research results provided visual confirmation that a community had existed at that site. At the new transit center and on display along a wall of the main lobby are encased several artifacts, time frames of residencies, and early street designs of this community. As a result of this process, a permanent historical record of these displaced urban landscapes is now available to all citizens of Knoxville to view.

Several years later, an informant for this thesis project led me out to the lobby after our interview session. He talked in detail about his family, pointing out specific names and homes on the display map. "You see, this is where my uncle lived; he worked at one of the upscale hotels downtown, as the main elevator operator. This job was highly regarded..." (Informant A-19). Therefore, a task for anthropologists should be to find ways to understand how the stories of the past shape present experiences and understandings and are of value today.

These stories have to be placed within the context of how the imaginaries or values of places are naturalized. Almost instinctively, the public can imagine that large urban structures go up and other, perhaps more personal physical structures, go down. Often these images of change are envisioned as natural causes, such as fires, storms, or accidents. To imagine that businesses, homes, or churches wear down and need repair or are rebuilt are easily imagined as well. A recent news article posted the comments of a local urban planner, who said that, “all buildings have a cycle,” adding temporal legitimacy by explaining how “for example, they don’t meet ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act) requirements.” My concern is not to suggest that ADA requirements do not matter; instead it is to draw attention to the power and fluidity such discourse provides for urban planners to ‘tear it down.’ Furthermore, demolishing an entire community in the name of progress does not seem like an act of good planning but more like the haphazard consequence of war or some form of natural mass destruction.

The urban space in which we live is culture that is learned; for that reason, we often do not “truly understand it because it is everywhere” (Lutz and Fernandez 2010:11). Urban space during the early urban renewal era was seen by urban planners as more valuable for road construction and large buildings than for the well-being of local African American communities. The present question is whether former members of this community retain any voice in regard to the future of this space, particularly when it comes to the City’s recent request for a renovation or market analysis of the Civic Coliseum.

Illustrations of Three Interview Questions

Sociologist Robert Emerson (1995) described writing field notes as “the fieldworker render[ing] the data meaningful.” The meaning of the informant’s story does not jump out of the data; rather, the data becomes meaningful as the researcher reflects on “previously recorded events and meanings” (168). In other words, the responses selected for interpretation by the researcher are related to the informant’s memories of *being* in a community. Furthermore, the depictions of those experiences are reduced to one word or a short phrase; the minimal expressions act as a point of storytelling for the informant. In this study, accounts of the experienced landscape are presented in three forms: those of a community, an African American community, and an absent community.

“Describe the Community”

The phrase – “describe the community” - began each interview session, providing the thematic position and introducing a relaxed direction for the rest of the interview. The ten informants’ responses were contextualized by how they inhabited their former communities. In particular, the memories shaped the identities to this area and at this particular time in history (Lems 2014; Inwood and Yarbrough 2010).

As a whole, the informants’ responses emphasized it was a mixed community of upper and working class members and as “helping others.” Each informant’s one word or phrase conveyed their understanding of the community and summed up a collective sense of “we had our own community” (Figure 8).

The descriptions used by the informants value the use of space. The importance of space is derived from the perception that everybody was “able to make a living.”

“Businesses” “Everyone knew each other” “Basically just neighborhood” “Dilapidated <i>and</i> stately” “Houses close [together] and old” “Integrated community” “Community conscious” “Everybody would pull [<i>sic</i>] their efforts” “On one accord” “A township”

Figure 8. Informants’ descriptions of the community before urban renewal.

Archaeologist and scholar of Black feminism, Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2010, 2014) used the term “home-place” to describe how African Americans could go anywhere and create their own space and their own identity. This conceptualization provides a conceptual tool to aid understanding of how a particular space is claimed.

“Describe the African American Community”

This query is similar to the first phrase however; it revisits the first account from a different identity. Dual identities of blackness and whiteness exist to become the features we think *with* as opposed to think *about*. It is ascribing a racial identity and deprives the individual of having multiple identities or “multiple belongings” (Fassin 2011:423).

Together, the informants’ responses elicited the paradoxical theme that “we could go where we wanted to go” and yet “could only live in a certain area.” The African American community represented a sense of place for each of the ten informants while also adding a quality of “forced segregation” (Figure 9).

“Vine and Central” “Church Avenue, people lived all along there” “Peaceful” “Heart of the community (Vine and Central)” “Were accustomed to and didn’t ask for much more” “All different jobs (listed)” “Close knit” “Quite a bit of black businesses downtown” “Unique [all lived in the same community]” “Crafters”
--

Figure 9. Informants’ descriptions of their African American community.

The concept of sense of place suggests that affect, location, and behavior matter. Lipsitz (2007) provided insightful examination of the “imaginaries of places” as a way to understand sense of place that is displaced. For example, former residents carry with them a history of the long-term effects of urban renewal but may lack power to control how their community is shaped by urban planners and used by the general public. As a result, the residents express an intensified connection to the former place of community. This strong affiliation presents as a political practice of congregation, in which a voice of belonging is figuratively expressed; therefore, the subjective experience of constraints and possibilities reveals the “*use value* of their neighborhoods” as opposed to the exchange value based on commodity because lived-place matters (11).

“What Happened to the Community?”

The focus in this question was to elicit the memories of the landscape before urban renewal in order to gain a better understanding of what that landscape meant to the former residents. Asking what happened to the community in relation to a lost

community revealed that the residents experienced a sensation of injustice. The combined views of the informants described what happened as a “city-driven thing” and experienced as “[we] just went somewhere else.” The ten individual responses speak of their experiences in language associated with destruction and supplements notions of being “pushed back” (Figure 10).

The experiences of displaced peoples are usually considered to have marginal meaning. Low (2011a) approached the concerns of social injustice by claiming a practice for engaged anthropology. In particular, Low looked to “systems of exclusion” to uncover racial inequality and as a necessary course to remedy a “Eurocentric” or colonial past (391). In other words, former African American residents of downtown Knoxville were systematically excluded by political decisions to build a Coliseum and a parkway instead of investing resources in understanding the complexities of spatial developments of community.

“Knoxville had its reasons” “Everything’s gone” “Destroyed” “Long term effects” “That’s the way of life” “City came through” “They tore it down and dispersed the people” “Squeezed these people in here down on top of me; all they wanted was the land” “Demolished” “Maximum profit”
--

Figure 10. Informants’ descriptions of what happened to the community.

Description of Landscape Memories

This section examines racialization to tell the stories of the communities examined for this study and how they were negatively affected by urban renewal. The thematic descriptions suggest movement as co-presence and structures as contested. Initial themes, such as – “*we walked everywhere*” or “*everybody walked*” and “*we had a nice house*” or “*you lose a legacy*,” suggest that redevelopment plans for the Civic Coliseum were an incomplete conceptualization. The design was incomplete because the value of a mixed community to the community itself and to the larger urban area was not well understood. For example, the misrepresentations of a walkable and a diverse community are more noticeable when failing to take into account the residents’ deep attachment to the neighborhood. Furthermore, these compositions of the individual narratives inform us about the dominant social narratives regarding the motives of the developers and those in power who supported development, such as “profit for land.”

“Hard to Tell People How to Get Around”

“Walked everywhere,” “everybody walked,” and “just walked” are phrases that were repeated by many of the informants. In other words, movement as walking was natural and had a sense of co-presence and knowing how to get around. As described earlier by sociologist George Lipsitz (2011) and anthropologist Noel Salazar (2010), imaginaries to place and movement are “places for congregation” as well as “meaning-making devices,” respectively. Out of the many scenarios communicated by the informants, the following are a few narratives that express common perceptions.

Little Pieces of Wood Left

They were building the College Homes so that must have been [in the] thirties; every day that I came home those carpenters would pile up in a corner all their extra pieces of wood and I would go every afternoon, after school and pick up those pieces of wood and carry them home; we lived across the street and, with the help of my brother and sister or maybe one of my friends we'd fill that place [bin under their home] up and we had enough wood to keep us warm for a couple of years; every day I would go [by] they had all their little pieces of wood; they had left, the carpenters building that College Homes - they put it in a pile. (Informant A-20)

As eloquently conveyed in the above quote, the physical sites near former residents' homes are places of knowing how to get around and you had a feeling of being connected to others. In the following description, another earlier resident communicated an impression of belonging to *all* of downtown.

Delivering Newspapers Downtown

I started carrying [my brother's] paper route, which basically consisted of downtown; he would pick his papers up right here at the old News-Sentinel Knoxville Journal building. He would start out at the Elliot Hotel [corner of Church Avenue and State Street], the Blue Circle [on Gay Street] which is where [the florist shop] is now, start carrying papers down Gay Street going north, there was a building,...it's called the Journal

building right there at the alley, where the Tennessee Theatre, and Farragut Hotel, the Hamilton National Bank which sets across from the corner, and which became First Tennessee; that was the second or third largest building in the city at the time; then down Gay Street, Market Square mall over to Walnut and actually half of the paper route consisted of the Medical Arts Building; the janitors according to their jobs was to turn the lights on in the hallways from the top down, but since he had to carry the papers in there, they would leave that up to him [laugh]; and he'd ride the elevator up - the way I was taught it - at the top and walk down and turn *their* lights on in the hallways on each floor coming down.

(Informant A-21)

A former resident fondly remembered travelling by means of the family's personal vehicle from their home at one end of the Mountain View area to the family restaurant at the other end. The different places provided the opportunity to come across others. Several other informants spoke of a family restaurant as a popular lunch spot to meet-up and get a good, quick meal when time was limited.

Drive Over to Restaurant and Nap before School

My dad drove us [a few blocks] over to the restaurant early in the mornings and the restaurant that my mom [owned], the building used to be set-up like a little grocery store; at one time, where you could buy fountain drinks, because I remember it had a long counter in it and then it had a little room on the side, a little room with space on the side because this is

where we had a little cot in there; because my mom had to get there early they opened it so we'd be in there; take a nap until it was time to go to school then get ready and we'd walk up the street to Green school; it was a little street right beside our place and we'd just walk up the street, straight up that hill and then make a turn and then walk up and ready for school.

(Informant A-17)

Thus, the types of co-presence that existed - congregate places and creation of meanings – are forms of lived experiences with rich human interaction. Communication of value to places that no longer exist might require a different perspective, however. Political scientist Kjell Engelbrekt (2011) explains the potential of “restorable reach” as a type of intermittent co-presence; in particular, the “human capacity to remember and imaginatively ‘revisit’ a space to which he or she has had direct and unmediated access sometime in the past” (39). This concept characterizes the multifaceted nature of lived experience but also suggests the importance that imagination can have when contact to former spaces are no longer achievable. In other words, it gives permission to remember.

“Nobody Can Say They Lived in Any of the Houses I Lived In”

Informants shared their thoughts on the changes: “then it didn’t seem like a good thing - it was a good thing,” “it throws you off,” “the streets [are] not there.” In their view, structures were boundaries and were contested. Booker (2014) commented, “[u]rban renewal destroyed east of all those streets except Church Avenue” (personal communication). As explicitly stated by several informants, this experience is one that

nobody can claim or reclaim. The vivid memories of individual residents emphasize the intimate relationship of place and past.

Holding the Back of the Street Car Wearing Skates

Well, I remember riding the streetcar. The only thing I remember vividly about the street cars is [laughs] they were largely slow moving and when you got a pair of skates, put your skates on and hitch onto the back of the street car and rode; and it'll pull you. (Informant A-15)

The former residents inhabit different urban spaces and the spaces become sites of memory even the spaces of exclusion, such as a library or a code of social behavior.

The Colored Library

And the public library, that's the only library we could go to; in order to use the downtown public library we had to get a permit, this was when I was in college, in Knoxville College; we would use the downtown library but we would have to have a permit from the Knoxville College librarian saying it was alright and it was alright for us to be there. It was a white woman; she would write us a permit to be able to use the downtown library. I remember my first visit at the Carnegie Library. I pulled one of the card catalogue drawers out; so hard, I dropped it out on the floor and I said to the librarian, "thank goodness there was a rod in it." Picnic every year; it was like an outing for our families, something like a sisterhood. (Informant A-24)

The colored library represents one of many forms of segregation based on the “separate but equal” laws. It required that African Americans have the same public facilities that whites did but those services must be physically separated from whites. However, often the ‘same’ services provided to African Americans were of lesser quality.

Patrolled by Black Policemen

The police was vital to that whole enterprise - bootleggers, and respectable group and civil too - alliance with. Patrolled by black policemen ‘walking the beat’ with call boxes at spots; *you knew the police and the police knew you*; parallel worlds, the schizophrenic phenomenon of black police yet can arrest whites. Not unusual to see whites arrested who were absolutely drunk; the anomaly of black officers arresting a white person, usually drunk. (Informant A-25)

The experiences of the former residents are acts of moving through their former community as well as being at special places. However, their exclusion from the movements and the places of the past can remain a form of persistent contestation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The experience of a landscape is more than the objects and categories selected by outsiders to describe it - it is a collective of personally lived experiences. Furthermore, memories of the experience are mirrors of larger social processes, such as implicit forms of Racialization, segregation and inequality. The displaced African Americans’ memories

of earlier landscapes can replace the selective perspectives from the general public and professional discourses that currently racialize the lived experience. This last section summarizes several recommendations for necessary policy and structural changes as well as for future research.

A By-Product of What Locals Can Do

Delmos Jones (1972; 1995) observed that the relationship of local social units and external institutions represent the by-product of what locals can do. In describing the limitation of “incipient organizations” in the planning process, Jones (1972) showed how the loyalties of marginalized groups are manipulated in favor of governmental or hegemonic causes. For example, one of the subjects from an earlier meeting of the newly formed East Knoxville committee was the market analysis of the Civic Coliseum and the recent loss of a Walgreens store in east Knoxville. A series of exchanges quickly formed between the moderator and several members of the packed audience, both African American residents of the east Knoxville area. As noted from the following dialog the strong desire from the audience to remain engaged with the urban planning process appears suppressed by the moderator’s interactions.

Moderator: Increase number of Section 8 recipients in east Knoxville; well, that money does not go back into the community; no other money or income to invest in the community.

Audience 1: How do we get this information? I felt offended, was talked down to. I took it to the media but was told to keep it quiet ...a gatekeeper.

Moderator: We need to be of one mind, to unify.

Audience 2: No, let him talk, let him talk.

(Lots of comments that expressed the need for money)

Moderator: Your comments are valid because that's how you feel. Need to take individual responsibility.

Audience 1: The City is bleeding *east* Knoxville dry without having to [invest] in [East] Knoxville.

Audience 3: How do *we* contribute?

Moderator: We need to do a better job to communicate outward, difficult to read and understand and communicate; come to the Chamber and visit.

Audience 4: Do we have a research and development committee in the community...and operated strategically and can we get one?

Moderator: The Neighborhood Association is good. *We need to move forward.*
We need to be of one mind.

Audience 5: But, [name of moderator], you realize there is going to be passion.

Jones faced a similar scenario above during his ethnographic work stemming from the existing internal struggles of the members connected to the Community Action Group (CAG) consisting of the board of directors, paid staff, clients from the community. A paradox unfolded in which the idea of racial unity, promoted both within CAG and as part of a national agenda, actually repressed any significant dialogues that were different. The predicament includes how the structure functions: the oppressed can make changes through the organization; however, the state is able to keep control through that same organization. Jones defended racial unity both ideologically and in his ethnographic

report. However, he needed to accurately present the internal and external forces causing oppression even if this meant that components of racial unity fostered some of these forces. Jones could not afford to apply only one approach – humanistic or scientific.

Disparate Impact Policies

A disparate impact policy is based on the premise that a seemingly neutral practice can adversely impact members of a protected class, as identified under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Furthermore, discriminatory intent is not required because it is the consequences of the act and not the motive that is identifiable damaging factor. This definition relates to this situation in Knoxville by noting the way a particular group of Knoxville citizens, the African American community, was adversely affected with urban renewal.

Scholarly debates question the value of policy on impact (Selmi 2006). However, it has merit as a tool to remedy racialization and warrants closer examination for several reasons: impact analysis has diagnostic rigor in other urban designs, such as multimodal plans; its supposed ‘failings’ may be due more to the set of impacts chosen versus attributed to a ‘weak’ policy; and how to quantify the results may seem difficult or unfamiliar when using a qualitative approach. These possible limits to using disparate impact assessments should not stop its use; rather it should encourage researchers to increase their knowledge of qualitative analysis and to adopt more combined parameters.

An example of a well-known disparate impact policy is the Kerner Commission of 1968, set up after the wave of race riots in 1967. Composed of mostly conservative, white politicians with a couple of African Americans, it was given the task to investigate

the causes of the unrest. Due to the racial disproportion, many African Americans were skeptical that the committee would engage in any substantive conversation. However, the Commission's final report concluded that white racism caused African Americans to be discouraged about the lack of economic possibilities and that police insensitivities to these issues led to excessive physical abuse. One suggestion was to invest in research aimed at ending residential segregation. This recommendation was never implemented at any point in the nearly fifty years ago since it was proposed. One way the Kerner Commission can benefit the displaced black people of the Knoxville communities discussed here is by providing subsidies for black businesses and home owners to move downtown. This act could increase economic opportunities as well as lessen the black spatial patterning of concentration of poor.

Contributions

This study is important for its applied capability or engaged anthropological approach, pointing out how knowledge about people's lived experiences of past events assist in changing current understandings of urban planning. Furthermore, combining life-stories with archaeological data (Mullins 2006) allows invisible racial landscapes to be seen anew, particularly the old corner of Vine and Central, the Civic Coliseum, and the associated parking garages. This technique is similar to "rescue geography," in which planners listen to the affective attachments to a site instead of completely disassociating that connection (Jones and Evans 2011). One way to maintain a sense of place identity that displaced African Americans in Knoxville is to permit the Coliseum to remain in its

current location - even if it means providing rental subsidies - as a way of showing support for how “people connect to their environment” (2328).

My study adds to current quantitative studies on the negative racial effects of displacement. By adding the qualitative concepts of spatialities and mobilities to race, my study helps us to more fully understand the experience of dispossession, in which certain groups are excluded from public spaces and where lack of proximity to others that are imagined different from ourselves results in unjustified mistrust and a lack of accurate knowledge about that group.

On a local level, the information collected from listening to African-Americans who lived or were connected to the urban renewal community can inform policy research on serving the displaced residents of the area and may be of interest to the Beck Cultural Exchange Center.

My research has broader implications by contributing to the continuing discussion within anthropology on persistent forms of implicit racialization. My study also adds to conventional tools of urban planning based on a techno-physical approach by applying a qualitative viewpoint. This different perspective can show how short term physical solutions do not solve broader social issues of racial inequality

The question now is how does the City of Knoxville make amends with African American citizens who were displaced by urban renewal. Several informants freely offered suggestions about *what to do now*. Two of those recommendations included the importance of neighborhood representatives and the naming of streets in addition to discussion of the Civic Coliseum redevelopment.

Street Names

While scholars have acknowledged a need for more “critical theory” research on place-naming (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu 2009), discussions with the informants in this study found that the names of the streets were valued. When they noted that the current system “throws you off” they meant that they still sensed the presence of a particular street but could no longer point to or name it; they cannot take someone on a walk or drive and identify their surroundings by street names. In addition, discussing “streets not there” prompted the residents to ask me “how can I tell someone where to go”; “people return to the area, they do not know where to go”. Both examples state the persistent and powerful relationship to streets for the former residents. During the interviews most informants preferred to name the old streets and often made some sort of reference to those old streets when describing the community. One informant offered practical suggestions for the problem – “streets can have dual names” as a way to incorporate pre-urban renewal names as honorary designations. Geographers Derek Alderman and Joshua Inwood (2013) examined a similar perspective based on street naming rights as part of the dynamics of belonging. They contended that examining the socio-political system of street naming – chosen by whom, for whom, and who is left out - can yield an effective tool of social justice. Put into practice in Knoxville, such as in the preliminary plans for the Civic Coliseum, this process could prevent further spatial marginalization of groups from downtown.

Neighborhood Participation

The problem with the Knoxville's urban renewal community group (PAC) was a lack of understanding and use of the multi-dimensional communication process that is required to keep those affected involved (Hogan 1975). Neighborhood Associations are encouraged by experts and officials to use the term blight to understand their neighborhood and its relationship to other areas in the city. However, sometimes lacking within the professionals' intent is a more inclusive language. Historic Preservationist Jennifer Robinson (2015) examined historical preservation trends and equity issues, with types of effective communication. One conclusion she found is the need of "sensitivity to neighborhood and racial histories" (83).

Anthropologist Setha Low (2011a) also argued that redevelopment or renewal programs still "restrict local participatory practices" (391). Low summed up the importance of challenging proposed changes by knowing the everyday understandings of place and space. Thus, a way to permit a more inclusive narrative also laid-out by Robinson is for community members to be considered planners and planners to be considered community members.

The Civic Coliseum

Low (2011b) described how the development or re-development of public sites, results in an observable "public forum" (466). The question that prompted the current study is an effort to participate in such a forum locally in order to consider how displaced African Americans identify their place in new spaces being potentially (re)made, with the site of the Civic Coliseum and the downtown experience as focal points.

This study found that although the Coliseum replaced the Mountain View community, it still has cultural value for many of the previous residents. However, planners see the site as representing the “wrongs done by urban renewal” and want to tear it down. Furthermore, this contested space becomes racialized when planners claim that the best function for the space should be based on a market analysis versus centered on its “use value” in the way Lipsitz (2007) has described.

To conclude, mobilities affect memories in its relation to urban renewal; in particular, transportation mobility - both literally and figuratively - transforms any community. In Knoxville, the literal interpretation refers to the streets being removed during urban renewal (“*streets not there*”), laid the foundation for the highway road system that bisected the community and segregated its neighborhood from the rest of the city. In the figurative sense, the transformation represents meaning for displaced peoples (“*you just went somewhere else*”); and points to the disruption of the lives of the residents of The Bottom, Mountain View, and Morningside neighborhoods of Knoxville, Tennessee. This study examines the hidden history of an African American community that most did not know existed given that it was demolished in the name of “progress” and replaced by predominantly white developers.

This research is important in its role as engaged anthropology: it should assist identifying structures worth saving and explain their value for their residents and the city as a whole. In addition, opening up discussions about what is currently hidden may help break the cycle of the racialization. Last, the results from this study can be used to expand on the literature and knowledge of race, space, and mobilities.



Figure 11. Site of the Civic Coliseum in the former Mountain View area.

The process for remaking the Civic Coliseum area is crucial to further identities of racism in Knoxville, Tennessee because the Civic Coliseum properties remain a contested space for white and black people. The redevelopment plans for the coliseum site is a contested space in the similar way that Setha Low described it as *local segments of the population whose identity is variously bound to the site*. The results from this thesis present a more nuanced description of the former residents' attachment to the Civic Coliseum properties (Figure 11). Their memories of the landscape reveal an unwitting biography. As such, the African American former residents still feel they are being “pushed back” for the benefit of predominantly white urban developers.

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APPENDIX

Ethno-historical Account of the African American Downtown Community During the Urban Renewal Period From 1955 to 1965, Knoxville, Tennessee

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You are invited to take part in a research study regarding an ethno-historical account of the African American community in downtown Knoxville during the urban renewal period from 1955 to 1965.

What the study is about: This study is designed to gain a better understanding of residents, business owners and other patrons of the African American downtown community during the urban renewal period from 1955 to 1965.

What you will be asked to do: As a participant, you will be asked to respond to various open ended, unstructured questions regarding your experience and memories of downtown Knoxville.

Risks and Benefits: There are no foreseen risks. Ideally, by participating in this study, the information collected from listening to residents, business owners and other individuals that experienced living, working, and visiting downtown Knoxville during the urban renewal period will be of worth to policy research on how best to serve the community of displaced individuals and may be of interest to the Beck Cultural Exchange Center. Finally, results from this study will be used to expand on the literature and knowledge of race and transportation.

Taking part is voluntary: Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose to be in the study you can withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may choose to leave for a particular question, or simply not contribute to the discussion for a particular question. Participating in this study does not mean that you are giving up any of your legal rights.

Your answers will be confidential: The records of this study will be kept private. Data will be kept on tape recorders and then destroyed once the discussions have been fully transcribed. Transcriptions of the discussion will be kept on a personal computer to which only the researcher has access. Any report of this research that is made available to the public will not include your name or any other individual information by which you could be identified unless you so choose, in writing, to be identified.

If you have questions or want a copy or summary of the study results: Contact the researcher at the email address or phone number above. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records. If you have any questions about whether you have been treated in an illegal or unethical way, contact the University of Tennessee Institutional Research Board chair, Sonya Sullivan at 865-974-7697 or ssulli20@utk.edu

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information and have received answers to any questions. Therefore, I consent to take part in the research study of an ethno-historical account of the African American community in downtown Knoxville during the urban renewal period from 1955 to 1965.

Participant's Signature

Date

VITA

Anne Victoria was born in Iowa on October 19, 1960, to the parents of Milford Ernest Jorgensen and Deborah Louise Chism. She is the second of four children: Joan Melissa, Ned Milford, and Matthew John. She graduated from the University of Iowa in Iowa City, Iowa obtaining a Bachelors of Science degree in Nursing in December 1983. Anne graduated with a Masters of Art degree in Anthropology at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, Tennessee in December 2015. She loves to run and bicycle for transportation.