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From Gay Street to Turkey Creek: Knoxville's Urban and Suburban Growth Machines

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Katherine Leigh Morris entitled "From Gay Street to Turkey Creek: Knoxville's Urban and Suburban Growth Machines." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Sociology.

Jon Shefner, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Paul Gellerg, Robert Gorman

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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**FROM GAY STREET TO TURKEY CREEK: KNOXVILLE'S URBAN
AND SUBURBAN GROWTH MACHINES**

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Katherine Leigh Morris

December 2007

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ABSTRACT

Using growth machine theory, this study examines the newly built "lifestyle center" of the suburban Turkey Creek development and the redevelopment of the Gay Street corridor in downtown Knoxville, TN. Growth machine theory is one of sociology's predominant theories used to understand development and growth projects in metropolitan areas, and although not specifically defined in current literature, I suggest there are many differences in suburban and urban growth machines. This study examines the local dependency and organization of pro-growth coalitions; the tactics, ideology, and culture used to promote development projects; and community reactions. Upon completion of this project, I found that urban and suburban growth machines differed in local dependency and level of community opposition, but utilized similar tactics, ideology, and culture. Furthermore, several themes emerged at the conclusion of this project- the attempts to structure social life around retail centers, suburbanization, and the increasing influence of growth language in everyday life- the further impact increasing pro-growth coalition influence.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALCOA	Aluminum Company of America
CBID	Central Business Improvement District
DKA	Downtown Knoxville Association
GLA	Gross leasable area
KCDC	Knoxville Community Development Corporation
MPC	Metropolitan Planning Commission
PBA	The Public Building Authority
TCLP	Turkey Creek Land Partners
TDEC	Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation
TDO	The Downtown Organization
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
UTK	University of Tennessee, Knoxville
WWI	Worsham Watkins International

CHAPTER I: THE CONCEPT

Statement of Purpose

This study examines both the newly built "lifestyle center"¹ of Turkey Creek and the redevelopment of the Gay Street corridor in downtown Knoxville. Turkey Creek is a development center that is split between the western boundary of Knoxville, Tennessee and the town of Farragut and consists of almost 400 acres of built and potential space for development. The Turkey Creek Land Partners bought the land in 1995 and this \$500 million dollar project will be the largest single development ever in metropolitan Knoxville. It is already home to Wal-Mart, Target, CarMax, restaurants, smaller boutiques, bookstores, an 18-screen movie theatre, and "the Cove"- an upscale residential community. Alternately, the Gay Street corridor is the main artery through downtown Knoxville. Once home to dilapidated buildings and abandoned businesses, redevelopment and revitalization have become the center themes of this area. Two performance theaters, large corporate businesses, local shops, restaurants, bars, and upscale lofts have all been either renovated or built to rejuvenate business, residence, and tourism to the center city.

Growth machines are sociology's current predominant theory used to understand development projects; and although both Turkey Creek and the Gay Street Corridor can be examined by growth machine theory, I suggest that there are many differences in the ideology and tactics, organization and local dependency, and community reaction to the pro-growth coalitions who guide, promote, and direct these developments. Current literature in growth machine theory does not specifically separate suburban and urban growth machine networks. Identifying this distinction, as well as the implications posed along the issues I raise, are the center of this project. The differences between suburban and urban growth, as well as the complex relationship that intertwines the two phenomena, are necessary to build theory on growth machines theory of development.

¹ "Lifestyle centers" are the newest trend in retail development. Definitions vary, but these centers tend to have an open-air structure that mimics the format of downtowns with a more upper-end ambiance and patronage. This is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter III.

Research Statement and Sub-Questions

The central research statement of this project is that urban and suburban growth machines differ in local dependency and organization; ideology, culture, and tactics; and community reaction. First, local dependency and organization is examined as an important component of growth machine theory. Local dependence has been defined as the "dependence of various actors- capitalist firms, politicians, people- on the reproduction of certain social relations within a particular territory" (Cox and Mair 1988: 307). Local dependence and organization is studied through research centered on entrepreneurs, companies, and individuals. Important questions include: How and when did the development projects begin? What role did the local governments play? What is the level of local dependency of the actors?

Second, this study examines the culture and ideology surrounding development projects, as well as the tactics pro-growth coalitions employ to promote their developments. Logan and Molotch, as well as the many critiques that followed, focus on the necessity for growth machines to promote pro-growth ideology. Themes such as progress, culture, nature, business, and "hard work and plenty of play" are all used to promote community unity while simultaneously promoting development. Important questions include: How are development plans promoted? What is the role of local media in development? What are the themes of development propaganda?

Finally, community reactions to development plans are studied to further understand the differences between suburban and urban growth. This examination looks at the initial reaction of community members as well as if and when community reaction changed.

The hypotheses for this study are twofold. First, urban growth machines will experience less community hostility, more local dependency, and more emphasis on local culture or historical heritage than the suburban growth machines. Second, suburban growth machines will experience more hostility by community members, more national or cross-national corporations, and less emphasis on local culture or historical heritage than their urban counterparts.

Life-Style Centers and Downtowns

Current literature framed by growth machine theory neither separates nor offers clear distinctions between urban and suburban growth, but this distinction is necessary to understanding development processes in metropolitan areas. Even in a defined area in a city such as downtown, there are different levels of local dependency, tactics, cooperation or competition of various growth coalitions, and community reaction, but I propose that these differences will be even greater when urban growth networks are compared to suburban growth networks. However, the differences and similarities in both urban and suburban growth should be analyzed comparatively as they are intertwined in the processes of urbanization and suburbanization. The history, present situation, and future of Knox County, the city of Knoxville, and Farragut should not be examined separately as growth, development, policy, and setbacks in any one of the areas conversely affects the other two.

Gay Street redevelopment in downtown Knoxville is compared to the suburban development of the Colonial Pinnacle in Turkey Creek to highlight these differences with in the complex relationship of urban and suburban areas. Furthermore, downtowns and lifestyle centers are compared in this study because, as with the municipalities, the past, present, and future of these developments are intertwined. There is no doubt that downtowns have a much deeper history in metropolitan areas, but the increasing number of lifestyle centers and the culture they embody are representations of trends in metropolitan life that began with suburbanization. Boosters of both lifestyle centers and downtowns attempt to organize social life around their developments by combining retail, business, and residential space, but there are many differences in the conditions and potential consequences of these two types of development programs. Downtowns are traditionally public spaces whereas lifestyle centers are private. Lifestyle centers aim to perfect the concept of downtowns, imitating many of the desired features such as open-air formats and variety of services, while controlling or obliterating the undesirable aspects of center cities such as homelessness, prostitution, protests, and crime.

Because they attempt to achieve the similar goals but with clear differences in condition, the two types of development programs can be compared to further understand

growth machines. Knoxville provides a unique opportunity to study both urban and suburban growth in detail because of the aggressive campaign to revitalize downtown and the massive development of the lifestyle center on the fringe of the city limit. Detailed analysis of both the Gay Street Corridor and the Colonial Pinnacle at Turkey Creek can shed light on the theories and potential consequences of urban and suburban growth and development.

The lifestyle center trend is the newest development in the evolution of retail, but the concept is reminiscent of the early suburban shopping centers of the 1950s. Cohen (1996) argued "when planners and shopping center developers envisioned this new kind of consumption-oriented community center in the 1950s, they set out to perfect the concept of downtown, not obliterate it" (1996: 1055). The layout and architecture of these retail centers mimicked the layout of traditional downtowns, romanticizing the open-air format and landscape while protecting patrons from the unwanted social structure of the city such as poverty, vagrants, and prostitutes. These retail centers aimed to provide not only consumption needs, but services and entertainment as well. And although the development of these retail centers evolved into the super regional malls, the concept has returned with the lifestyle center trend.

Cohen examined consequences of this shift, which included commercializing and privatizing public space. Tensions between the right to private property and the right to free speech escalate as retail centers replace downtowns as the center of community life. Cohen argued that:

Even while advocates for freedom of speech rightfully insist that private property owners respect free speech because their malls have become the new public places, ironically they are endorsing a restructuring of community that could undermine democratic freedom itself. The recent growth of self-taxing districts to clean, police, and upgrade neighborhoods, free of municipal oversight or public accountability, suggests some of the worrisome directions American society may be headed as once-public spaces and services become privatized (Cohen 1996: 1071).

Another potential consequence of the evolution of retail centers is a decrease in independent and small businesses. Local retailers and small businesses are directly affected by the lifestyle center trend. *Fortune: Small Business* ran an article in 2005 discussing the consequence of the latest development to local business. The new outdoor malls, designed to mimic downtown without the related urban problems, are displacing

traditional downtown stores. One local business owner was interviewed about a lifestyle center that had opened in Wilmington, NC:

As she walked the cute cobblestone streets, she noted the brick storefronts shaded by old-fashioned awnings and the jazz trio bebopping on a verdant patch of grass. Godier's anxiety grew with every successive detail that made Mayfaire's so-called Main Street nearly indistinguishable from the streets that front her own small shops. Behind the mall's cleverly constructed small-town façade were not independent businesses but outposts of national chains such as Linens 'n Things and Pier 1. "The architecture tricks you into feeling like you're shopping in a quaint old neighborhood," says Godier, who owns A Proper Garden, a pair of gift boutiques in the historic, picture-postcard neighborhoods of Wilmington and nearby Raleigh. "I felt like they were stealing my stores' edge ... their charm" (Gajilan/Cleveland 2005).

The privatizing and commercializing of public space coupled with the growing domination of national and international chains over local and independent businesses could prove to have severe consequences to the structure of American society. Lifestyle centers such as the Colonial Pinnacle in Turkey Creek are the embodiments of a process of evolution in retail development, but these consequences could reach far beyond simple local economic shifts.

Methodology

The majority of the research for this project involves document and network analysis. The three main components of growth machines that are analyzed are local dependency and organization; ideology, culture, and tactics; and community reaction. Primary sources for data gathering include the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, Knoxville's only daily newspaper, and *Metro Pulse*, a Knoxville alternative weekly.

I. Local Dependence and Organization

When studying local dependence and organization in this project, entrepreneurs, companies, and individuals are analyzed to understand why and when they began their development projects. For Turkey Creek, the initial actors are examined as well as who is involved in current development of the Colonial Pinnacle- who owns it, how many local businesses are involved, how many national or international businesses? Here, the relationship of government to the growth coalition is examined because Turkey Creek is a culmination of efforts by Knox County, Knoxville, and Farragut governments. Development in downtown is different because it is not owned, developed, or designed

by one coalition, but is a product of various factions of cooperating and contending people and organizations. How many actors involved in development projects in the Gay Street Corridor are local and how many are international or national? Government's involvement in zoning, tax breaks, and how they use restrictions and/or benefits to support or hinder the development process is also analyzed.

II. Ideology, Culture, and Tactics

One of the greatest powers of language used by growth machines is to shape everyday social life in such a way that growth discourse becomes a normalcy. Themes of progress, culture, nature, business, and "hard work and plenty of play" are all used to unite the community while promoting development. There are many tactics growth machines can employ to mobilize ideology. One such tactic is to capitalize on culture, i.e., revitalize downtown centers by promoting the historical appeal of a romanticized time. Another way is to promote "value-free development" by deemphasizing the connection between growth and exchange goals and reinforce the link between growth goals and better lives for the majority. Other tactics include the use of newspapers and local media, public art and street furniture, construction of heritage, posters, adverts, slogans, and inscriptions into the built fabric of the city.

The differences in the culture of suburbs and urban centers are also important for this study. The rural ideal of suburbs is utopian at best, but is none-the-less crucial to the study. Attempts by retail developers to restructure social life around new suburban retail centers mimicked the feel of downtowns, but without the urban related problems. The homogeneity of suburban architecture and design is another interesting factor. These neighborhoods and retail centers are designed without consideration to local culture or place. The same design guidelines are used whether they are built in Knoxville or Birmingham or Austin or San Francisco.

For both Turkey Creek and downtown, I examine local media to determine how the development projects were promoted, tactics used to reshape ideologies, and how culture was employed. To do this I look at how newspapers and other local media resources covered the development projects, what slogans or advertisements were used,

and how specifically culture was employed- i.e., the historical heritage with a modern twist in downtown and the safe, clean, utopian style of Turkey Creek

III. Community Reaction

My hypothesis is that community reaction and support will be much higher and favorable to the development efforts in downtown than in Turkey Creek. Using the same data resources as the previous two components, I look at how community members reacted to the developments of both Turkey Creek and downtown. There was a strong, negative reaction to the beginning stages of the Turkey Creek development as environmentalists and other concerned citizens fought the proposed plan. The Turkey Creek Wetland Alliance was organized to stop development of the retail center because of the danger it imposed on a 22-acre wetland. Despite the efforts of the protestors, the development proceeded as planned. This study will examine if, when, and why community support changed in relation to the Turkey Creek development. Community support of downtown appears to be different; most articles, blogs, and personal conversations all seem to relate that the center city was in desperate need of revitalization. Restoring and redeveloping dilapidated buildings and vacant lots seem to have the support of most community members. Although most people agree that the process as a whole is beneficial to downtown, do some projects that get more support than others? What are the differences in the levels of support?

Space and scale is important in initial reactions of community members. Often, urban development or redevelopment is limited by the physical infrastructure and previously built landscapes of the city. Some suburban development is not as limited by space because of the larger available land in suburban areas. This distinction is important to understanding community reactions, or at least the initial reaction. When community members are faced with dilapidated or vacant buildings on a daily basis, support for redevelopment will be much higher. Conversely, when community members enjoy open land and natural habitats on a daily basis, the reaction of some community members will be much more hostile. What I am interested in here is if there is a change in community support for each development project overtime. As the downtown development process continues and intensifies, community members may begin to question or withdraw

support if the design or purpose of the building or business does not fall into their vision of an ideal downtown. As the development of Turkey Creek continued as planned, overt community hostility waned. Did the opposing members continue to fight, give up, or did they come to support the development project?

Conclusions

The basic premises of growth machine theory are still viable, but subsequent critiques both expanded and narrowed specific tenants of the theory. Examining differences and similarities in suburban and urban growth coalitions can further understanding of pro-growth development projects beyond the local level. Governments at every level are increasingly centering on development and growth as a consequence of ever increasing globalization. This does not diminish the importance of local politics, but it does alter the scope in which they are examined. Furthermore, as the service sector is replacing traditional dominating industries such as manufacturing in the United States, cities have had to adapt to these shifting economic and social trends. In some cases, development and redevelopment programs are used to transform metropolitan areas into more desirable destinations for business and visitors.

The next chapter gives a brief history of Knoxville, with specific emphasis on the declining of the center city and subsequent revitalization strategies and the increasing suburbanization in west Knoxville. Chapter III lays out the theoretical framework used to understand growth machines, suburbanization, and changing trends in center cities. Chapter IV outlines the stories of three specific development proposals and two Knoxville entrepreneurs. Local dependency and organization of the growth coalitions is specifically highlighted as the stories are told. Chapter V examines the tactics the pro-growth networks employed and community reaction to each project. Specific emphasis is placed on the role of local media as both a source of news and as a development booster and on culture and ideology as both a tool for pro-growth networks and as an impetus for community reactions. The last chapter draws on the previous five chapters to try and make sense of Knoxville's urban and suburban growth machines.

CHAPTER II: THE PRECEDENT- A BRIEF HISTORY OF **KNOXVILLE**

This chapter focuses on the history of Knoxville, with specific emphasis on downtown development (or lack thereof), suburbanization, and retail processes. Although the central research statement of this project focuses on current suburban and urban growth networks- growth machines, development projects, and suburbanization, all of these are processes that involve social relations. These relations cannot be separated from past relations or from their material or ideological residues. It is for this reason that history is necessary in understanding the conditions of the present and possible consequences for the future. Without the linkage between Knoxville's history and present structures, many questions are left unanswered: Why were government officials and entrepreneurs obsessed with redeveloping downtown? Why is the redevelopment of the World's Fair site aggressively pursued? Why was the downtown declining demographically and economically while Farragut thrived? These are just a few questions that would be left unanswered if the story of Knoxville was not told. Charles Tilly (1988) argues for the necessity of history in sociology stating that:

The linking idea is simple and powerful: past social relations and their residues – material, ideological, and other wise – constrain present social relations, and consequently their residues as well. Once an employer has established ties with a particular source of labor, those ties affect his subsequent recruitment of labor, and may well reproduce themselves. Once developers have laid down a certain urban structure, that structure defines the opportunities for further development. Such processes produce connectedness within time and space that goes beyond simple temporal and spatial auto correlation; every existing structure stands in the place of many theoretically possible alternative structures, and its very existence affects the probabilities that the alternatives will ever come into being. In short, social processes are path-dependent. That is why history matters (Tilly 1988: 710).

This chapter will give a narrow and specific history of Knoxville, Tennessee. Not all stories can be told, not all individuals or organizations can be examined. This history focuses on the initial growth of Knoxville, the decline of the center city and the subsequent rise of the suburbs, and the obsession with downtown redevelopment.

The New South Turns Ugly

Founded in 1791, Knoxville has had her fair share of scandal, triumph, devastation, and stagnation. Once a rough and ramble town boasting more pubs and saloons than churches, it grew to be one of the major cities of the South by the beginning of the twentieth century. Knoxville is home of the 1982 World's Fair, James Agee, the 1910 Appalachian Exposition, Thunder Road, and the University of Tennessee. According to Bruce Wheeler:

Knoxville was more an Appalachian city than it ever was a southern one, a city that was a product- and beneficiary- of its region even as some citizens tried to free themselves from its forces. Thus Knoxville was- and in some ways still is- a product of the struggle between innovators and traditionalists, between those who embraced change and those who were threatened by it... And as the city grew, it simultaneously lost whatever sense of unity it previously had possessed, dividing into mutually suspicious socioeconomic and political camps that sporadically attacked one another but were not powerful enough to control (Wheeler 2005:2).

Before the Civil War, Knoxville was primarily a town through which travelers passed in search of better opportunities. The elite was primarily homogenous in class and tradition, consisting mostly of merchants, professionals, and owners of large tracts of real estate. Neither the land nor the economic structure supported large plantations, and therefore, other than some domestic servants, there were few slaves in Knoxville. By the beginning of the Civil War, Knoxville had a complex rail system that reached as far as New York, but traded primarily with other Southern States. Wheeler suggests that because the bulk of the trading relied on other Southern States, most elites in Knoxville had strong Confederacy sympathies (Wheeler 2005:4).

After the war, there was a strong movement of professionals, merchants, and bankers to create a New South. They sought to capitalize on untapped resources, a large labor force, and unrealized capital by increasing the railroad system, urbanizing cities, and building industry. The weakening of the planter elite in the South after the Civil War gave the boosters the opportunity to promote their new vision. Knoxville seemed to be a perfect place for many of these entrepreneurs to realize their dreams. The rail system was already in place and there was an abundance of untapped natural resources (coal, iron, and marble). These entrepreneurs coalesced with the older Knoxville elites to create a

strong economic and political association with great potential to promote and direct growth.

By 1885, Knoxville was the fourth leading wholesaling center in the South behind only New Orleans, Atlanta, and Nashville. By 1896, it was the third. Knoxville also boasted a fast growing manufacturing industry. Between 1880 and 1887, ninety-seven new factories were erected, raising the annual value of goods manufactured from just over nine hundred thousand dollars in 1870 to over six million in 1899. By the early 1900s, Knoxville was home to forty companies distributing coal and the largest clothing-manufacturing center in the South. Manufacturing continued to grow and in 1905 manufactured goods had increased over 100% in just five years (Wheeler 2005:18).

Population continued to grow as economic opportunities expanded. Many immigrants came from Europe and other states, but the majority of the new residents came from Appalachian communities. These in-migrants were often unskilled and uneducated, coming to Knoxville to seek opportunity and escape the devastating conditions of Appalachian communities. Wheeler describes the culture of the Appalachian in-migrants as such:

Few had left behind their Appalachian mores, their suspicion of government and authority at all levels, their rough and tumble democratic politics, their belief in the superfluity of education, their fundamentalist religions, or their hatred of those who possessed more than they did. The once-sleepy town turned into an increasingly violent and crime-ridden one, and the area from Central Avenue Wharf to Sullivan's Saloon became littered with pool halls, gambling dens, saloons, "cocaine schools," and houses of prostitution (Wheeler 2005:27).

Although city boosters continued to sing the praises of Knoxville, the social consequences of growth were escalating. As early as 1904, Knoxville's dirtiness could not be ignored. The use of coal in homes and factories created a grimy appearance and serious health problems. The lack of sewer systems or paved streets kept the city muddy and rank with foul odor. Besides the physical problems, the city was increasingly segregating by race and economic class. As the Appalachian and black in-migrants moved into the city proper and the sanitation continued to worsen, the wealthier citizens began moving west, a tradition that still exists today.

With the extension of the streetcar lines, wealthier residents began migrating from the poverty and problems that plagued the center city to new and fashionable enclaves.

Areas such as Fort Sanders, Looney's Bend (later renamed Sequoyah Hills), and Lonsdale became the preferred communities of both the elite and working class white. White flight from the center city was startling in the early twentieth century. The oldest wards of Knoxville experienced a dramatic decline in white population from 1920- 1930; Ward Five, located in the heart of downtown, witnessed a 77.88% decline of the white population in this time period. Western wards such as Ward Twenty-Four, home to Sequoyah Hills, experienced dramatic increases in population as high as 161.55% (Wheeler 2005).

City residents were not the only ones who noticed the physical problems of Knoxville. Odette Keun, a famous Belgian novelist and longtime lover of *The War of the Worlds* author H.G. Wells, visited Knoxville in the mid 1930s to research the newly formed Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Although she praised TVA and Tennessee in general, she called Knoxville "one of the ugliest, dirtiest, stuffiest, most unsanitary towns in the United States. I speak with feeling, for the summer and town combined have turned me into a haggard, desiccated old woman before my time" (cited in Neely 2004).

White Flight and Downtown Blight

After World War II, the national economy began to thrive again and Knoxville seemed to follow suit. By the 1940s, the birth of the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and the new city of Oak Ridge gave hope and a new economic base to Knoxville residents. As economic prosperity blossomed, redevelopment and beautification plans were promoted, transportation reforms began, the public housing authority formed, and a new airport was built. Statistically Knoxville was thriving, but the city center told a very different story. Elites continued to move farther away from the city center, leaving behind the unemployment, crime, and dilapidated buildings.

Knoxville's dirtiness became infamous with John Gunther's 1947 bestselling book, *Inside U.S.A.*, which documented his travels across America. Along with descriptions and stories of the towns and cities he visited, Gunther offered his opinion for

the cleanest, most romantic, bawdiest, and, of course, the ugliest city in America. His description of Knoxville states that:

Knoxville is the ugliest city I ever saw in America, with the possible exception of some mill towns in New England. Its main street is called Gay Street; this seems to me to be a misnomer . . . Knoxville, an extremely puritanical town, serves no alcohol stronger than 3.6 percent beer, and its most dignified taprooms close at 9:30 P.M.; Sunday movies are forbidden, and there is no Sunday baseball. Perhaps as a results, it is one of the least orderly cities in the South- Knoxville leads every other town in Tennessee in homicides, automobile thefts, and larceny (1947).

From 1940 to 1950, the center city remained depressed and growth was slow. Population in the city of Knoxville increased by only 7% in this decade, but the population located outside the city in Knox County grew by 45.1%, with residents typically being young and middle class. The population of whites in the center city decreased by another 10.6% over this decade. Median household income in the center city was at \$1,443, nearly \$1000 less than the average of the city as a whole (Wheeler 2005).

Although the physical dirtiness and crime of downtown played an important role in the increasing suburbanization of Knoxville, shifts in the economy throughout the '50s and '60s were equally damning. Between 1948 and 1960, the textile industry lost 3,000 jobs, 34.9 % of total textile workers. The lumber industry lost over 800 jobs, 57.1% of the total lumber workers, in the 1950s. Industries such as ALCOA, which were once the hope of Knoxvillians, suffered as well. ALCOA reached its peak in 1940, employing 9,300 people, but by 1960, the number of employees dropped to 3,500. The unemployment rate in Knoxville, which was normally consistently higher than the national average, rose from 5.8% in 1951 to 9.7% in 1958. Strategies to attract new industries failed. Of the thirty-five separate firms that expressed interest in moving to Knoxville between 1956 and 1961, not one chose Knoxville as their home. The main reasons given were cost and availability of industrial space and poor highway access.

By the 1950s, the nation as a whole was moving towards suburbanization and Knoxville was no exception. White, middle class residents had been migrating from the center city for decades, but with the growth of automobile use, bedroom communities began growing in size and numbers in the 1950s. The areas outside the city limits,

including the communities of Fountain City and Bearden, grew by 160.3% in this decade. Conversely, Knoxville's population declined 9.97%, but even more startling was the decline of men and women between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four from 31.6% in 1950 to 24.4% in 1960. This so-called productive group was typically "more fully employed, upwardly mobile, consumer-oriented, and pays a comparatively high proportion of a city's taxes" (Wheeler 2005:103). In this same decade, 80% of the city's population gain was members of the "dependent" population (those under eighteen and over sixty-five)

Knoxville's government responded to these shifting demographic trends with a massive annexation in 1962. Many communities fought to block these efforts, but a 1959 Tennessee state legislation made it permissible for city councils to annex contiguous areas without holding a referendum. Suspecting that government officials of Knoxville were only interested in an expanding tax base and would not be able to provide needed services, the members of the Fountain City community held a mock funeral service for their community in 1962, as one local businessman presented Knoxville mayor John Duncan with a sword of surrender (Wheeler 2005).

Retail also began suburbanizing in the 1950s. By 1960, there were ten large retail centers with an annual sales potential of \$15 million in suburban areas, primarily located in the north and west. And as the population increased in areas outside the center city, expanding as far as the Farragut-Concord area, twenty miles from downtown, suburban retail centers grew. Wealthier residents continued to avoid the city center and "what greeted those suburbanites who did venture downtown was a deteriorating city with poor automobile access, limited parking, smoke and coal ash, and growing slums" (Wheeler 2005: 107). The physical problems of the center city were numerous and the relocation of the two anchors of downtown retail, S.H. George Department Store and Miller's Department Store, further deteriorated the already damaged retail economy of the center city. In addition to the lack of parking, physical ugliness, and declining retail industry, the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 threatened the already weak structure of downtown's economy by increasing accessibility to suburban areas.

Determined to bring much needed change to the city center, downtown business leaders organized the Downtown Knoxville Association (DKA) in 1956. Although the initial projects of the DKA remained for the most part cosmetic and did little to boost downtown economically, by the 1970s significant improvements could be seen. The building of TVA's twin towers, the Summit Hill project, the new United American Bank building, and the Market Square Mall bolstered the downtown economically. Despite these improvements the wealthier Knoxville residents continued to avoid downtown and chose instead to shop in the new suburban centers.

From Scuffletown to the Sunsphere: The 1982 World's Fair

Throughout the 1960s and 70s, Knoxville's economic position improved as a national trend of both industries and people began moving toward mid-sized cities, increasing Knoxville's attractiveness. Unemployment shrank from 7.7% in 1961 to 2.8% in 1965 and remained under 4.0% in 1970. But the improved conditions of the city as a whole did not spill over to downtown. In 1972, West Town Mall was built in the Bearden area with 600,000 sq. ft. of gross leasable area (GLA) and ten new movie theatres opened in the western suburbs. Knoxville residents continued to chose these suburban developments and retail centers over their downtown counterparts. By 1978, every movie theatre in downtown had closed, the majority of restaurants suffered, and specialty shops began pulling out. Once again, government officials and the business elite began searching for a way to revitalize downtown.

Decreasing federal and state funds coupled with growing inflation threatened the fiscal health of the city. As dependence on the automobile continued to increase, streets and parking lots could not meet the increased flow of traffic. The dilapidated downtown drew little revenue and taxes, further burdening the fiscal health of the city. Developers and business owners began promoting redevelopment of the center city as the answer to the city's economic problems, arguing that such revitalization would stimulate further growth.

In 1976, a solution was presented by a group of entrepreneurs and government officials. Led primarily by Kyle Testerman and businessman Jake Butcher, the Knoxville

International Energy Exposition, Incorporated was formed to attract a World's Fair. This was to be the answer to their downtown development problems. The site for this fair would be the seventy-acre tract of land that ran south of Western Avenue to the Tennessee River, formerly known as Scuffletown. This area was home to slums and dilapidated houses, although most were torn down by 1972. This site was chosen because it lay between the university and downtown, and if redeveloped, the advocates argued that it could be the jump-start downtown needed.

Propaganda promoting the World's Fair began in 1976 and the claims of forthcoming benefits to the city of Knoxville were astounding. In 1977, the director for Knoxville's Community Development Corporation (KCDC) spoke at a meeting of the Clean Environment Council and declared that restoration of Knoxville's Second Creek, a dirty creek clogged with trash that ran along the proposed site, would be one of the great benefits of the World's Fair. Another benefit if the Expo came to Knoxville would be the creation of jobs. The original projection was the creation of 5,000 jobs, most of which would be temporary. This number quickly increased to 10,800 jobs with a fifth of those permanent positions, to 37,000 jobs of which almost half were permanent. Other benefits promoted were increased academic excellence for the university, resurrection of the inner city, improved highways, innovations in energy efficiency, and the opportunity for planned growth. Boosters even declared that all of these benefits would come at no cost to the city and the then "Mayor Randy Tyree, always able to go one better, was boldly to proclaim that Expo would not even involve any risk for the city and its taxpayers" (Dodd 1987: 9).

Although the claims of the boosters described a utopian Knoxville with the hosting of a World's Fair, citizens were far from convinced. Public opinion polls conducted by The University of Tennessee (UT) in 1977, 1978, and 1979 showed that an absolute majority of citizens were opposed to hosting a World's Fair. Furthermore, despite the 84% of citizens polled by UT who favored a vote and the 14,000 signatures of registered city voters gathered by Citizens for a Better Knoxville for a referendum, no vote ever took place (Dodd 1987). Concerns of the opposing citizens included actual, fiscal cost to the city, despite boosters claims of no risk and no cost; the social impact of

visitors numbering as high as 100,000 a day; and the shift of concentration of already limited city resources from center-city neighborhoods to the exposition. Furthermore, although the proposed site for the Expo did contain many abandoned and dilapidated buildings, it also contained two modern medical facilities that served the inner-city residents, two tire retailers, and a new veterinarian hospital. As public opinion was continually ignored, a disillusioned UT professor urged Knoxvilleians to stand and sing the hymn he wrote:

Softly and Tenderly
Expo is calling.
Calling for you and for me.
See in the papers
The benefits falling
Manna from Randy Tyree.

Knoxville! Knoxville!
Why are you doubting
So long?
Only believe in
Your Public Relations
And think not of what
Could go wrong

(Dodd 1987:10).

By the end, eighty million dollars of public money and known public expenditures were pumped into the World's Fair site and surrounding areas (Dodd 1988:6). Hotels were built, the interstate expanded, and the site of the fair itself was left in the city's hands after the fair closed. Although the underlying purpose of the 1982 World's Fair was the rejuvenation of downtown, when the fair closed, no one seemed to agree with what should be done with it. Condominiums or a public park were suggested, but consensus was never reached. As downtown development plans were discussed often but with little results, growth and development increased in the outskirts of town, culminating in the town of Farragut.

From Gay Street to Turkey Creek: Recent Development Programs

The town of Farragut, located at the western fringe of the city of Knoxville, was incorporated in 1981 and has remained a popular suburban residential destination for the

middle and upper class. By the year 2000, Farragut had a population of almost 18,000, an increase of 39% from 1990, and Knoxville had a population of nearly 174,000, growing only 5% in the same decade. Farragut residents have much higher median incomes and higher education levels (see Figure 1 and Table 1). 95% of Farragut residents 25 years or older hold a high school diploma and 54% have a bachelor's degree, almost double the average of college-educated residents of Knoxville. Furthermore, only 2.9% of individuals in Farragut fall below the poverty line, compared to 47.3% of downtown individuals and 20.8% of Knoxvillians. The residents of Farragut have much higher median household incomes, \$82,726 compared to downtown residents \$10,147. Farragut residents are more likely to be married, have a bachelor's degree or higher, and be employed. (Data from Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission 2002 and U.S. Census Bureau 2000).

While Farragut was growing in population and development, downtown development plans remained stagnant. Although several plans were imagined and offered, none came to fruition. Plans such as Renaissance Knoxville, that included a shopping mall, office tower, amphitheater, Cineplex, and hotel; and Universe Knoxville, a planetarium and educational center, were never adopted. Although these large-scale plans never made it past the drawing room, several small entrepreneurs and professionals began building their own downtown. People such as Kristopher Kendrick, Buzz Goss and Cherie Peircy-Goss, David Dewhirst, and Bernadette and Scott West began moving downtown, buying real estate, and starting businesses.

The turn of the twentieth century marked an aggressive new campaign for downtown revitalization. The Old City is experiencing revitalization and Market Square has been redeveloped as a shopping, eating, and entertainment center. Both the Tennessee and Bijou Theatres have been renovated. The recent erection of a new convention center sought to inspire economic growth through the building of hotels and increased revenues brought into the city with the major conventions. New housing units such as Sterchi Lofts, the Emporium, and the Phoenix are all modern lofts and apartments constructed in old warehouses and buildings and designed for young upper middle class residents. New businesses such as the Indigo, a clothing boutique, and Downtown Wine

Median Household Income: 1999

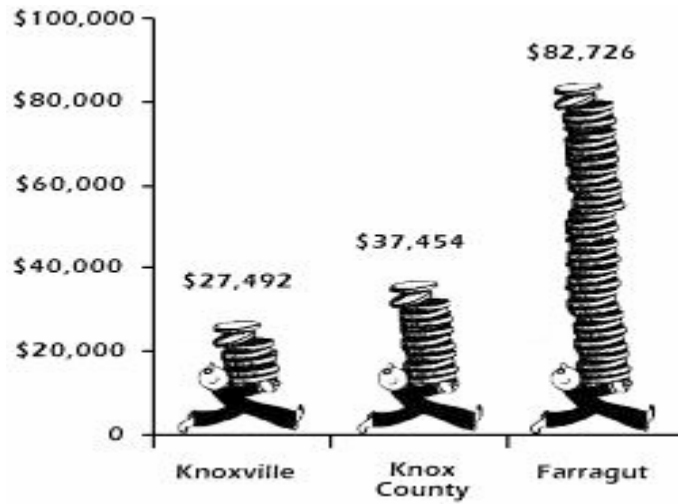


Figure 1: Median Household Income: 1999

Source: US Census Bureau, 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Summary File 3. June 2002

(Knoxville Metropolitan Planning Commission 2002).

**Table 1: Demographic Comparisons: Tennessee, Knox County, City of Knoxville,
Downtown Knoxville, and the Town of Farragut**

	Tennessee	Knox County	Knoxville	Knoxville's Downtown Residents ²	Farragut
Total Population	5,689,28	382,032	173,890	1,241	17,720
Percent of Male Population	48.7	48.3	47.4	58.5	49.1
Percent Female Population	51	51.7	52.6	41.5	50.6
Percent Under 5 years	6.6	6.1	5.9	0.5	5
Percent 18 and over	75.4	77.7	80.3	99	74.3
Percent 65 years and Older	12.4	12.7	14.4	12.4	12.4
Median Age	35.9	36	33.4	36.7	41.8
Percent White	80.2	88.1	79.7	80.9	93.9
Percent Black or African American	16.4	8.6	16.2	16	1.8
Percent High School Degree or Higher	75.9	82.5	78.4	62.5	95.2
Percent Bachelor's Degree or Higher	19.6	29	24.6	21.7	53.6
Percent Now Married, excluding separated	58.9	53.9	41.6	28.9	70.9
Per Capita Income in 1999 (dollars)	19,393	21,875	18,171	13,256	35,830
Median Household Income	36,360	37,454	27,492	10,147	82,726
Percent Unemployed	3.5	3.1	3.9	4.2	2.1
Percent of Families Below Poverty Level	10.3	8.4	14.4	22.1	2.6
Percent of Individuals Below Poverty Level	13.5	12.6	20.8	47.3	2.9

(Data from U.S. Census Bureau 2000)

² This data comes from Census Bureau Data from zip code 37902, which includes all of downtown.

& Spirits, described as a boutique wine and spirit shop; trendy bars such as Sapphire, a martini bar, and The World Grotto, an art gallery and music venue; restaurants such as La Costa, the Bistro, and Koi; and the retail shops of Market Square and Gay Street are marketed to the urbanites, professionals, and tourists.

Simultaneously, new development projects on the outskirts of Knoxville's city limits rival the redevelopment of downtown. Turkey Creek is a development center of over 400 acres, 300 of which are newly built and potential space for development. This \$500 million dollar project will be the largest single development project ever undertaken in metropolitan Knoxville. Turkey Creek is located on the western boundary of Knoxville, with half the development located in the town of Farragut. The Colonial Pinnacle at Turkey Creek, Knoxville's first lifestyle center, completed Phase II of development in April 2006. Built by Colonial Properties Trust from Birmingham, AL, a large real estate investment trust with property spanning throughout the Sunbelt from Virginia to Nevada, the Pinnacle spans almost 500,000 square feet (Casey 2004).

This historical background lays the foundation of Knoxville's growth and development in both the center city and suburban area. Development and revitalization have been the center themes of government officials, business owners, and entrepreneurs for the last half-century as population and sprawl continue to increase away from the center city. The history of Knoxville is crucial to understanding the various pro-growth coalitions as they contend for control of development projects. The next chapter lays out the theoretical framework used to study these growth machines.

CHAPTER III: THE FOUNDATION- THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

New urban sociology provides the foundation for my project, with emphasis on specific theories that have emerged from this tradition. The theoretical foundation is outlined by first examining the components of new urban sociology, followed by a more detailed examination of growth machine theory, processes of flexible accumulation through urbanization, and suburbanization.

The New Urban Sociology

Before we can understand what new urban sociology is, we must have a brief understanding of traditional urban sociology. Prominent names in traditional urban sociology include Max Weber, Frederick Engels, Georg Simmel, Robert E. Park, and Ernest Burgess. These researchers were fascinated by the growth of the modern city. Although the specificity of their interests differed, the core of their studies focused on the social relationships that develop out of the modern urban city. A very abbreviated list of concerns includes: modernity, how urban life affects individual consciousness; historical analysis, how the historical context of a city explains way of life; competition in the city; land-use patterns; and the social organization of space.

Although the study of urban phenomena can be traced to the beginning of sociology, the emergence of traditional urban sociology in the United States is primarily credited to theorists of the Chicago School in the early twentieth century. The University of Chicago was the first university in the United States to form a department of sociology and Albion Small and Robert E. Park, both students of Georg Simmel and Max Weber, held prominent positions in the new department. Both Simmel and Weber wrote extensively on processes and relationships in cities, but where Weber emphasized city formation and relationships within a historical context, Simmel:

was concerned with what is called *modernity*, or the transition from a traditional society characterized by social relations based on intimacy or kinship (known as "primary" relations) and by a feudal economy based on barter to an industrial society situated within

cities and dominated by impersonal, specialized social relations based on compartmentalized roles (known as "secondary relations") and by a money economy based on rational calculation of profit and loss (Gottdiener 1994: 103).

The conceptual advancements of the Chicago School theorists, heavily influenced by Weber and especially Simmel, are central to American urban sociology. A very abbreviated list of Chicago School scholars includes Robert Park, Roderick McKenzie, and Ernest Burgess. Park (1936) proposed that urban life was separated into the "biotic" and "cultural" level. Building on theories of ecology in relation to plants and animals, Park argued that the biotic level of urban life emerges and is sustained through competition. But whereas only the biotic level limits plants and animals, humans are further limited through institutional and moral structures, which Park calls the cultural level. McKenzie (1924) examined the ecological basis and the internal structure of communities as spatially distributed and territorially segregated as a result of competition. Burgess (1928) developed the concentric zone model as a pattern of industrial encroachment and residential escape to explain urban growth, social processes, spatial patterns, and competition. The importance of these researchers and theories should not be understated, but what is of most concern for this project is the new urban sociology that has risen out of the traditional field.

Mark Gottdiener (1994) describes the new urban sociology as the "socio-spatial approach." Its foundations also lie with Weber and Engels, but also draw heavily on the political economy of Karl Marx. Gottdiener proposes three additional dimensions that make the new urban sociology new: the global perspective, pull factors and political economy, and the role of culture in metropolitan life.

I. The Global Perspective

Globalization as a concept has infiltrated American society. Conceptualized as the growing integration of societies and economics driven by innovations in transportation and communications, the discourse of globalization can be seen in many academic fields, from sociology to law to environmental science. It has become a catchword in various media channels, from small town radio stations to the BBC website to Hollywood films. The last three decades have witnessed the integration of the concept

of globalization into normal every-day discourse, but the linking of cities through capitalism is not a new phenomena. International trade can be traced historically through the centuries, but what has changed is the speed and flexibility of capital to cross borders.

The last half-century has witnessed vast innovations in transportation, communication, and technology, expanding the global market and increasing competition between cities for investment. And where traditional urban sociology focused on the role of individuals in the planning and structure of cities, contemporary theories take a more global perspective in acknowledging the influence of international groups, corporations, and industries in the organization of cities. But although the structure of urban centers in an ever-increasing global society has altered, acknowledging the influence of globalization does not eliminate the influence of local actors, organizations, or government. A study of urban centers must examine local structures and systems within the global market.

II. Pull Factors and Political Economy

As stated earlier, traditional urban sociologists focused on the demand-side of urbanization, i.e., the role of individuals in the organization, planning, and structure of the city. New urban sociologists focus more on the supply-side of urbanization, i.e., "powerful social forces [that] can create opportunities that persuade people to follow a course of action that they might otherwise not" (Gottdiener 1994: 13.) Gottdiener details two such social forces that must be examined when studying urbanization.

1. The Role of Government in Development

The decentralized federalist structure of United States politics places the responsibility for wealth creation and accumulation on each state, county, and city, forcing governments at each level to actively pursue economic development. Each level of government is left alone to promote economic progress, further increasing competition for new sources of investment and employment (Cobb 1993). Because of this political economic structure of the United States, sub-national governments are increasingly becoming entrepreneurs, committing themselves to a public-private partnership that unites the expertise and management skills of industry with the resources and risk bearing

capacity of government (Eisinger 1990). The state seeks to enhance the market by discovering and creating market opportunities for private partners to exploit by the use of subsidies, incentive packages, and tax breaks to recruit new industry.

Understanding the separate roles of government and industry provides insight into the complexities of their relationship. Fred Block (1987) offers a theory of the state in which there is a distinct division of labor between those who accumulate capital and those who manage the state apparatus. Although often members of the same class, state managers differ from capitalists in that the ideological role of the state forces elected officials to maintain the legitimacy of social order and although not inherently a tool of capitalist elites, the state does most often serve capitalist needs. The structural mechanisms of the state reduce the likelihood that the state will act against the interests of capitalists and simultaneously rationalize capital accumulation and investment.

First and foremost, state managers are dependent on economic activity. The ability of a state to function relies on financing, taxation, and the ability to borrow. Individual state managers may want to adopt social programs or initiate policies against capitalist rationale, but because the ability of the state to function rests on healthy economic activity, state managers are often pushed to serve capitalist interests. In addition, state managers are elected officials and therefore need public support to sustain their power. Although capitalist interests often exploit workers and communities, public support of government officials drops quickly if there is a decline in economic activity. Because state managers must simultaneously seek public support and provide finance for the state, they must therefore maintain a healthy level of economic and political activity.

By maintaining power to invest in the state, capitalists are inherently influential in implementation of state policy. The economy of a state in a capitalist system depends heavily on private investment. Capitalists are able to exploit this dependence to influence state managers' decisions through campaign contributions, lobbying activities, and favors. Because of this power of capitalists, state officials are directly interested in using state power to facilitate investment and are conversely discouraged from implementing policies that could potentially decrease investment. If anything, globalization has

increased the threat of industry exit, increasing the power of capital in their negotiations with government.

This relationship between capitalists and government officials, as well as the role of the state, directly affects development at the local level. Local governments are dependent on tax revenues, but abandoned buildings, poor public infrastructure, and increasing retreat of businesses in a center city can affect the fiscal health of the city as a whole as property values and tax revenues fall. Government officials can use redevelopment of downtowns as a tool to attract industry, raise property values, and generate greater tax revenues. Government is also the vehicle through which zoning laws, subsidies, and building boards emerge, further deepening the relationship between capitalists and government as these policies and organizations directly influence development. Because of this, government officials play important roles in growth machine processes.

2. The Role of Real Estate as a Special Factor in Growth

Gottdiener describes the real estate industry as "the single most important source of special interests in the development of the metropolis" (Gottdiener 1994:14). This industry includes financial conduits, i.e., commercial banks, savings and loan associations, investment trusts, insurance companies, and mortgage companies; real estate brokers and chamber of commerce members; and public utility companies. Gottdiener emphasizes the role of both agency and structure in real estate. This industry is composed of both "*actors* interested in acquiring wealth from real estate and a *structure* that channels money into the built environment" (Gottdiener 1994:142). The role of real estate cannot be ignored in an analysis of urbanization and a deeper analysis of actors in this industry is included in discussion of growth machine theory.

III. The Importance of Culture in Space

Gottdiener argues that the study of culture and the role of objects as signs and symbols are integral to the new urban sociology. Spatial semiotics, the study of culture that links symbols to objects in the built environment, studies the city as a meaningful environment. People interpret buildings and spaces through symbols and functions. What

the new urban sociology focuses on is the integration of the "symbolic nature of environments with more traditional factors that comprise social behavior, such as class, race, gender, age, and social status. Space, then, is another compositional factor in human behavior" (Gottdiener 1994:16).

The Growth Machine

Logan and Molotch (1987) have written extensively on the urban process, focusing particularly on what they call the "growth machine." This theory begins with the conflict between use value and exchange value. Logan and Molotch describe this conflict as such:

An apartment building, for example, provides a "home" for residents (use value) while at the same time generating rent for the owners (exchange value). Individuals and groups differ on which aspect (use or exchange) is most crucial to their own lives. The sharpest contrast is between residents, who use place to satisfy essential needs of life, and entrepreneurs, who strive for financial return, ordinarily achieved by intensifying the use to which their property is put. The pursuit of exchange values in the city does not *necessarily* result in the maximization of use values for others. Indeed, the simultaneous push for both goals is inherently contradictory and a continuing source of tension, conflict, and irrational settlements (Logan and Molotch 1987:5).

The growth machine represents those entrepreneurs, pro-growth associations, and governmental units that strive to increase and obtain exchange values, i.e., profit. Logan and Molotch argue against theories that focus on city development through individuals or pluralistic factions of elite groups. Instead, they offer a theory that focuses on groups or associations of elites that often compete with one another and often disagree on issues, but commonly agree in growth and development. From the machine perspective, growth, whatever forms it's takes, is considered good.

Growth machines played an important part in the urbanization of the United States. Boosters, entrepreneurs, and elites in communities competed with other communities to attract industry, schools, government, and people. These groups sought to maximize exchange value through natural resources, labor, and capital. Historically, the entrepreneurs, boosters, and professionals comprised the community's elite groups, merging economic and political power to promote development. Historically, Knoxville's growth machine consisted of pre-Civil War elite families who later coalesced

with New South entrepreneurs, merchants, and professionals. Often, these men (and sometimes women) controlled powerful economic associations, politics, and social groups.

The growth machine still remains an important force in modern cities, but it "is less personalized, with fewer local heroes, and has become instead a multifaceted matrix of important social institutions pressing along complementary lines" (Logan and Molotch 1987:58). The organization of the growth machine is comprised of various groups, interests, and individuals. Typically, the majority of members are businessmen, with a concentration involved in real estate, investing, and land development. Government officials often work hand in hand with these businessmen, and the businessmen often support the politicians through substantial campaign contributions. Monopolistic enterprises, although not directly involved in development, are key players with the growth machine. This includes businesses such as local papers or utility companies that can only increase profits through further growth when they have already saturated the city limits (Logan and Molotch 1987:63).

Ideology and culture are used as tools in the growth machine process to bring the community together under a banner of growth (Logan & Molotch 1987, Cox 1999, Boyle 1999). Value-free development, as an ideological tool used by pro-growth coalitions, reinforces the connection between growth goals and greater quality of life for community members, and deemphasizes the link between growth and exchange goals (Logan and Molotch 1987: 62). Growth is espoused as good because it creates new jobs, expands the tax base, and promotes a healthy economy. Another ideological tool growth machines utilize is the community "we" feeling. Boosting civic pride in a community unites community members and simultaneously provides the opportunity for a "growth machine coalition [to] mobilize these cultural motivations, legitimize them, and channel them into activities that are consistent with growth goals" (Logan and Molotch 1987: 62).

Language is also instrumental in growth machine processes in that the "power of machine language to shape everyday social life . . . enables growth discourses to gain normalcy" (Jonas and Wilson 1999: 8). City slogans, billboards, advertisements, and commercials often employ machine language as they promote business, progress, culture,

hard work, and plenty of play. There are many other separate and various instruments through which socialization occurs that growth machines utilize to promote development (Boyle 1999). Local media is one of the most influential instruments used by pro-growth coalitions. Local newspapers, television stations, and magazines provide the foundation for the discourse of issues affecting the community. Other instruments include local sports teams, use of public art and street furniture, construction of heritage, and inscriptions in built fabric of the city.

Flexible Accumulation through Urbanization

Flexible accumulation through urbanization, or what has also been tenuously called postmodern downtown theory, developed as a critique of urban reorganization and redevelopment in the context of an increasingly globalizing economic structure. Beginning in the early 1970s, as innovations in technology, communications, and transportation systems increased at astounding rates, cities were forced to take more competitive stances in the global market or risk massive devaluation of fixed capital and built environments (Harvey 1989:259). One response of cities has been to attempt the creation of an ideal business climate to attract new business and industry. To accomplish this, an entrepreneurial stance is taken to create culture and consumption centers by renovating and rejuvenating the center city to make the metropolis appear more attractive to businesses, potential residents, and visitors.

The postmodern downtown produces a cultural reference of urbanity that can only be sold to one class of consumers: clean, friendly, beautiful, hip, accessible, and safe. The perfect blend of uptown culture and downtown street life, all in a controlled environment appeals to middle and upper income consumers even though this space is juxtaposed to low income and working class neighborhoods (Turner 2002:547).

Turner (2002) argues that as manufacturing and industrial production has moved out of urban centers and service and informational activities have become the leading forces in urban economies, cities have had to switch from a production to consumption based economic and social structure. City centers, faced with falling property values and low tax revenue, have had to employ adaptive reuse strategies to make their central

business districts appealing to tourists, professionals, conventions, and other visitors. The landscape of downtown has changed and become much more privatized.

The authority used to design and implement these policies can indicate who is making the development decision and what interests are likely to benefit. Increasingly, cities are relying upon privatized operations and financing through business improvement districts, tax increment financing, and public-private partnerships as the primary vehicles to pursue downtown development (Turner 2002:535).

The city center itself is the commodity and developers and city managers attempt to make the city more attractive through several means. One such mean is a tourist bubble that Turner describes as an insulated space, often divided from other parts of the city center, especially those sections that have not been renovated. These spaces work to camouflage the less attractive areas and residents of the city centers. Cities often try to remove or relocate less desirable residents through anti-panhandling ordinances, re-zoning to move homeless shelters, and relocating lower-class housing to other areas (Turner 2002:536).

Suburbanization

The evolution of Suburbanism in the United States can be traced to the Jeffersonian philosophy of the *rural ideal*; framed by a utopian belief that rural life provides the best structure for living without sin, creating a democratic community based on personal interaction, and control over local government. The antithesis of this ideal was then the cities: home of social disorder, corruption, and vice (Muller 1981: 21-23). And although modern suburbs are anything but rural, the romantic ideal of this way of life persists even today. Before discussion of modern suburbanization can begin, a brief look at the history of suburban evolution is necessary.

I. History of Suburbanization

Suburban communities can be broadly defined as:

The municipalities and places in metropolitan areas outside of the political boundaries of the large central cities. Suburban communities differ from central cities in the presence of sprawling, low-density land use, the absence of a central, downtown district, and the existence of a politically fragmented local government. They differ from rural areas in

that the economic activities of suburban residents and businesses are primarily in manufacturing and services, rather than in agriculture (Baldassare 1992: 476).

Baldassare (1992) divides the history of American suburbanization into four primary eras. The pre-industrial era of the nineteenth century consisted of few and scarcely populated suburbs, or small towns, in which only landed gentry or transport workers frequented and traveled back and forth to the main cities via railroads or dirt roads. The twentieth century witnessed the transition into the early urban-industrial era that proved to be a critical time in the evolution of the suburb. Although suburban population remained relatively small, limited automobile and commuter rail provided opportunities for people to move out of cities into "bedroom communities" (Baldassare 1992: 477). These communities were fairly homogenous, typically comprised of white, middle class, and family-orientated members. The rate of suburbanization began to increase and with it came the romanticism similar to the rural ideal of Jeffersonian philosophy.

Those early suburbs also captured the general public's imagination and were often spoken of in almost utopian terms by urban planners, politicians, and private developers. Their presumed benefits included urban decongestion, lower residential densities, greater separation from the city's business district and, importantly, homeownership. These early suburbs became the public's ideal for future suburban developments (Baldassare 1992: 477).

The 1950s and 1960s gave rise to the late urban-industrial era, categorized for the massive increase of automobile use, formation of highways, and rapid increase of suburbanization. The growth rate of suburbs increased 144%, as workers in central cities moved to the suburbs and commuted back for work. Currently, Baldassare argues that American society is in the metropolitan era, which began in the early 1970s, and is based on the relative domination of suburbs in American society. As of 1990, 48% of American society lives in suburbs.

II. The Suburbanization of Retail

Prior to the 1950s and the sharp increase of suburbanization, retail centers were primarily located in the central city or the core of residential communities. These areas were commonly located in downtown centers, where city residents could travel to purchase their consumer needs. But as the growth of suburbanization began its sharp

increase, commercial developers began an aggressive campaign designed to reach the new suburban communities, who "had higher median incomes and homeownership rates, as well as more children fourteen and under than the rest of the metropolitan population, all indicators of high consumption" (Cohen 1996: 1052).

Muller (1981) argues that retail deconcentration took two forms during the period of 1945- 1970. 1945- 1960 witnessed the consequent stage of retail deconcentration as shopping centers slowly began following the path of new suburban developments. Newly built shopping stores at first avoided locations in close proximity to competitors, but developers soon realized the advantages of large centers comprised of various competing stores. Following the normal development plan of downtown centers, it was more advantageous to meet competition "head-on" rather than dividing the local market (Muller 1981:123). Thus regional shopping centers became the normal retail development plan throughout the 1960s and 1970s, marking the catalytic stage of retail deconcentration in which developers recognized the expanding economic potential of these new suburban communities and adopted aggressive development strategies to penetrate these new markets.

These regional centers, designed to satisfy both consumption and community needs of the suburban population, were promoted and built by commercial developers. These retail centers were intended to supplement if not replace downtown centers as the normal consumption and service venues of middle class members.

As retail dollars moved out of major cities and away from established downtowns within the suburban areas, regional shopping centers became the distinctive public space of the postwar landscape. Suburban populations increasingly looked to the mall for a new kind of community life- consumption oriented, tightly controlled, and aimed at citizen-consumers who were preferably white and middle class (Cohen 1996: 1068).

Throughout the 1970s and 80s, retail centers gave rise to the super-regional shopping mall. Bigger was seen as better, and increased size became the most leading criterion of these new developments. Muller argues that in addition to size differentiating these new retail centers from their predecessors. There was a subtle, yet critical, shift in emphasis from mass selling to providing a venue that accommodates a variety of services designed to meet the needs of the consumers. Muller's argument contradicts the research of Cohen (1996) who details how the early suburban retail centers of the 1950s were

specifically designed to provide a variety of services beyond retail consumption, but what is important to emphasize is that retail developers throughout the history of suburbanization have attempted to restructure community and social life around retail centers.

The developments that were constructed in the 1970s and 80s were one-stop, all-purpose super-regional centers that became a cultural norm, creating a new kind of community in which consumers could shop, dine, be entertained, and gather in a social setting. Muller describes these centers as similar to "a movie stage or Disney theme park, a manufactured and manipulated environment in which only the best features of metropolitan life are retained while everything negative is filtered out" (Muller 1981:126).

These shopping centers continued to grow increasingly large, prompting a shift in the development of retail centers in the early 1980s. In response to increased cost of land and construction, high-energy use, and new regulations of the Environmental Protection Agency and local governments, retail developers adopted new strategies for shopping centers. Size of new developments decreased, while increased specialization was emphasized to target specific socioeconomic classes. Smaller, more intimate shopping centers became the normal development strategy of retailers.

The latest evolution in retail development is the "lifestyle center." In 1987, developers Poag and McEwan, of Memphis, TN, coined and copyrighted the name "lifestyle center" to describe their newly built shopping center, The Shops of Saddle Creek. Although slow to catch on initially, lifestyle centers have become the newest trend in retail development. The number of lifestyle centers has jumped from 30 centers in 2002 to 120 lifestyle centers in 2004. Between 2004 and 2006, up to forty new lifestyle centers were scheduled to open, whereas only eight regional malls were expected to open in 2006 (Bhatnager 2005). Average spending per patron per hour is \$80 in a lifestyle center, opposed to \$56 in an average mall (Weisser 2005).

Although definitions of what a lifestyle center actually is vary from source to source, the International Council of Shopping Centers gives several defining characteristics. First, lifestyle centers are located near affluent neighborhoods and

trading centers with median household incomes of shoppers at \$85,000, almost double the average for the nation as a whole (Baker 2003). In conjunction with the affluent location, the orientation and architecture of lifestyle centers must also be upscale with a traditional open-air, streetscape layout combining consumer stores and restaurants, with possibilities of entertainment venues, such as movie cinemas; homes; and offices (Mander 2001). Lifestyle centers typically range from 150,000 sq. ft. to 500,000 sq. ft. of gross leasable area (GLA) and must have at least 50,000 sq. ft. of national specialty chain stores (Boswell 2002).

III. Theories of Suburbanization

Baldassare (1992) argues that although numerous empirical studies have been conducted to analyze suburbanization, theoretical examinations are both underrepresented and urban biased. By urban biased, he suggests that many theories of suburbanization are framed in theories of urbanization such as urban sociology. Mieszkowski and Mills (1993) argue that traditional theories of suburbanization can be separated into two distinct, but not mutually exclusive categories: natural evolution theory and flight-from-blight theory.

The natural evolution theory of suburbanization postulates that development in cities takes place from the inside out. Development and population are first concentrated in the central business district of cities and only as these core areas begin to fill up does development move outwards. New housing that is built around the periphery of central cities is then bought by wealthier and more affluent residents and the older, less modern housing in center cities filters down to lower income groups. The natural cycle of the housing market leads to socioeconomic segregation in neighborhoods as middle and upper class members move farther from the center city to newer, more modern homes in suburbs, a trend that is reinforced by innovations in transportation and increased automobile use.

The second classification of traditional theories of suburbanization is the flight-from-blight theories. These explanations focus on the fiscal and social problems of center cities that encourage wealthier residents to move from the core to periphery areas. Affluent residents migrate to suburbs because they wish to escape high taxes, high levels

of poverty and crime, poor government services, poor education systems, and racial tensions.

Byun and Esparza (2005) argue that the flight-from-blight and natural-evolution theories are outdated and insufficient in explaining the causes of suburbanization. Instead, they offer a model in which spillovers³, political fragmentation, local growth controls, and sprawl work together to create increased suburbanization, especially in the last three decades. Heavily influenced by political economy and functions of the market, they argue that:

Spillovers are at the core of our explanation because they embody residential choice behavior (housing demand) and the business decisions of homebuilders (housing supply). But the process fueling spillovers begins with the imposition of growth controls and/or growth management devices in politically fragmented metropolitan regions as jurisdictions seek to dampen the negative impacts of growth and stabilize local budgets. Such efforts, made without regard for region wide consequences, channel spillovers to unregulated settings, eventually reaching the distant suburbs at or beyond the urban fringe where regulations are far less restrictive (Byun and Esparza 2005:262).

Briefly stated, restrictive growth controls and zoning regulations in center cities, partially in response to the "no or slow growth" movements that emerged in the 1970s, push development into nearby areas with less restrictions. Increased development and population in the new localities lead to new restrictions, growth controls, and regulations, which in turn pushes development into other nearby areas. Sprawl is then continuous in regions as developers seek less restrictive regulations that lower cost of development and consumers seek less expensive residences.

Conclusions

The principles of new urban sociology are central to an analysis of the development projects and pro-growth coalitions. Globalization, the role of government in development, and the importance of culture are central to understanding growth machines, downtown development, and suburbanization. This chapter has framed the analysis of Knoxville's growth machines in theory. The following chapter will provide

³ Byun and Esparza define spillovers as "the spatial shifts of residential development and population growth from growth-controlled suburban localities to adjoining localities having no such controls" (2005: 252)

the stories and actors of development projects with special emphasis on local dependency and organization of pro-growth coalitions.

CHAPTER IV: THE ELEMENTS OF DESIGN- STORIES AND ACTORS

Analyzing local dependency and organization of growth networks is highly complex. Examination of a single project involves a multitude of actors ranging from developers, contractors, architects, construction companies, government officials, finance institutes, and individual players. This section highlights the main actors- the organizations, government officials, and individuals- that are at the forefront of development projects. It is not possible in the scope of this project to outline every actor involved, What is necessary for this kind of analysis is an understanding of who is in the public's eye. Where do they come from? How are they organized?

To accomplish this, media sources were examined to understand the development projects⁴. By outlining organization and local dependency, the story of each development project is told. Dates, organizations, opposition, and individuals will be outlined in this first section to clarify the projects that will be discussed further in this chapter.

Gay Street Corridor

*"If you're not confused, then you're not paying attention,"
County Commissioner Madeline Rogero
(quoted in Silence 1997).*

Knoxville's history shows that downtown redevelopment has been a priority of business leaders and government officials for the last half century, but until the turn of the 21st century improvements were more booster's dreams than reality. To understand the organization of downtown growth networks, this section will first examine two large proposed projects and will then look at two specific entrepreneurs. The two entrepreneurs both call Knoxville home, both had dreams of redeveloping downtown, but

⁴ The information gathered for these stories came from numerous articles published between 1993 and 2007 from primarily the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, Knoxville's only daily newspaper, and *Metro Pulse*, an alternative weekly.

one envisioned large development projects costing millions of dollars, whereas the other pursued his dream one building at a time. Of the two large development projects, only one was ever built; and of the two entrepreneurs, only one accomplished transformation of downtown development.

The two large projects examined involved the redevelopment of the Gay Street Corridor since 1995. Although select businessmen, government officials, and media resources heavily boosted the projects, only one made it past the drawing board and its success, defined by boosters claims as the answer to downtown revitalization, is debatable. The two large development projects examined here are the justice center and convention center. The two entrepreneurs that are studied are Earl Worsham, Jr. and David Dewhirst. Both men call Knoxville home and both men became developers famous in their own ways. The scope of this project does not allow every detail to be examined, or every story to be told about each development project or entrepreneur. Instead, I will outline the proposals and the players as they influenced or attempted to influence redevelopment on Gay Street. Each project is separate but they all intersect at some point either by player, by site, or by opposition.

I. The Justice Center

The story of the justice center is heavily influenced by the role of government in development and differing cultures and ideologies of what an ideal downtown should be. The proposal for a justice center began with a late 1980s federal order stated that Knoxville had to build a new jail to deal with overcrowding. Over a decade later, the results included an ongoing lawsuit of one Knox County Commissioner against the Knox County Sheriff and other members of the Knox County Commission, the sudden and questionable removal of the "Godfather of Knoxville"⁵ from the Public Building Authority (PBA)⁶, and a \$9.3 million vacant lot. The story of the proposed justice center

⁵ Jim Haslam: "The Godfather of Knoxville," founder of Pilot Corp., University of Tennessee Trustee and executive committee chairman of the athletics board, chairman of PBA, board of directors for Tennessee Titans, father of current mayor Bill Haslam, chairman of the Leadership Knoxville Board of Directors, Downtown Organization, Knoxville Chamber of Commerce.

⁶ Public Building Authority (PBA): A non-profit government agency incorporated in 1971. It has an 11-member board with six appointed by the county and five appointed by the city. PBA's involvement in a project can be structured in one of four ways:

highlights the involvement of both city and county governments in development. More than any other development project examined in this paper, this project clearly shows opposition between different pro-growth actors in a growth network.

The project began simply enough in 1994 when a \$49 million justice center in downtown was proposed to answer overcrowding in jails and the public's need of increased security. For almost three years, the proposal lay dormant, but when it finally resurfaced it was much more than a jail. It was articulated as the answer to downtown's development problems. In November of 1996, the Justice Study Committee approved a \$132.5 million dollar downtown justice center plan that included an intake center and jail, county courts and offices, the sheriff and police departments, and an Emergency Management Agency. Among those committee members that approved the proposal were Sheriff Tim Hutchison, Judge Gail Jarvis, DA General Randy Nichols, and County Executive Tommy Schumpert.

One month later, the Knox County Commission accepted, in principle, the plan and the next step was to choose a site. Mayor Victor Ashe offered the Safety Building as a possible site and by January of 1997, it was favored by government officials. In February, County Executive Schumpert gave Ashe a deadline to decide terms of the sale of the Safety Building because Ashe was reconsidering offering the site primarily over concerns of potential damage to downtown business if the courts were moved from the heart of downtown to the edge of the central business district. In May, Schumpert pushed for the justice center to be located on State Street and Gay Street. The board of directors for The Downtown Organization (TDO)⁷, including members Jim Haslam, Victor Ashe, and Tommy Schumpert, endorsed this site stating that it would increase the number of

* PBA can own and construct the project.

* The municipality can own the project, and PBA can construct the project pursuant to an operating agreement. Construction and professional contracts are then in PBA's name.

* The municipality can own the project, and PBA can oversee construction as agent for the municipality. The construction and professional contracts are then in the municipality's name.

* PBA may act as a consultant, advisor and/or subject matter expert in completing studies, project plans and similar activities (retrieved from http://www.ktnpba.org/about/pba_resp.htm).

⁷ The Downtown Organization (TDO): Formed in 1987 as part of the master plan for downtown to manage and promote development in downtown.

jobs and boost the development of downtown. However, two weeks later, the Knox County Commission delayed the vote on the location and unanimously requested that Ashe reconsider his withdrawal of the Safety Building. This turn of events promoted Commissioner Madeline Rogero to comment, "If you're not confused, then you're not paying attention" (Rogero quoted in Silence 1997).

For the next few months, several sites were examined, taken off the board, put back on the board, and reexamined. By the end of October 1997, Officials unveiled the new plan for the justice center to the public. The site was bordered by Gay Street and most commonly known as the State Street site. The center, developed with help by county consultants and Carter Goble and Associates of South Carolina, would be completed in three phases with a new jail and intake center, sheriff's department, and potentially the Knoxville Police Department and State Supreme Courts all included in the first phase. Barber & McMurry Inc. of Knoxville was named the architect. Knox County Commission approved \$89 million for the first phase of the justice center on the State St. site two weeks later. The vote was 16 – 2, with only Commissioners Moody and DeSelm in opposition.

By February of 1999, everything was moving smoothly. Knox County officials had reached agreements or closed on 20 of the 27 parcels of land needed for the first phase of the justice center, estimated now at \$87 million. In April the first major conflict began as architects suggested that an additional 46,000 square feet should be added to the development. The estimate for the justice center jumped from \$89 million to almost \$106 million. Schumpert stated that any costs over the \$90 million proposed for justice center would have to come from other sectors in the county budget, most likely school projects. Two weeks later, the Construction Oversight Committee voted to cap spending at \$90 million, the original amount voted on for the first phase of the justice center, despite Sheriff Tim Hutchison's arguments for the necessity of the extra 46,000 square feet.

In the same month, the county commission began considerations to give Sheriff Hutchison more control of the development of the justice center, but keep the PBA on as a partial manager. PBA Administrator Mike Edwards warned that, "turning over a \$90

million dollar building project to the Sheriff's Department is like turning over control of the SWAT team to the PBA" (Edwards quoted in Silence 1999a). Chief Deputy Dwight Van de Vate argued that the sheriff's department would be able to manage the project at a lessened expense because they would be the ones to use the center and they were the best judges of what was needed. Furthermore, Hutchison was an elected official and would develop the project cheaper because he was accountable to taxpayers.

Sheriff Tim Hutchison was approved to oversee construction of the justice center by the Knox County Commission by 16 – 1 with only Commissioner Wanda Moody opposing. A few days later, the PBA voted to withdrawal from the first phase of the justice center because they would not be liable for a project they were not overseeing. They would have nothing to do with construction of the two buildings under the sheriff's management.

In June, Commissioner Moody filed a suit against Hutchison and the Knox County Commission. Moody argued that the state law gave Hutchison no authority to oversee construction projects on the county's behalf. Moody also argued that under state law, the county must appoint three to five supervisors to oversee jail constructions and those supervisors must take an oath as part of their duty. Two weeks later, the County Commission began considerations to appoint a committee to oversee construction of the justice center.

In a sudden move, the Knox County Commission voted 10 – 9 to deny Jim Haslam reappointment to the PBA. Although, the commission's Intergovernmental Committee had unanimously voted the prior week to approve the reappointment of Haslam, Mark Cawood, chairman of that committee, was quoted as saying, "if you are going to make some changes like that, you are not going to announce it a week in advance. You don't want to show your hand early" (Cawood quoted in Silence 199b). An editorial published on the same day suggested that the obvious motive behind Haslam's denied reappointment was PBA's withdrawal from the justice center project, but even more alarming was the message it sent to the members of the public who serve on such agencies and boards if they oppose the commission's agenda.

In September, DA General Randy Nichols spoke against the justice center to the County Commission's Intergovernmental Committee. He argued that the county did not need a \$90 million justice center, that for the most part only included a 470-bed maximum security jail and a new Sheriff' Department headquarters. Nichols stated that the county was only using about 74% of the jail beds available and 187 maximum-security beds were available in the old city jail. Nichols also stated that the county was in compliance with the federal order to reduce overcrowding in jails. The commission did not heed Nichols advice and voted to continue construction.

In response to a movement of some county commissioners who lived in the city to hold a public hearing on the need for a justice center, several other commissioners, who fully supported the development, threatened to withdraw county funds from the city's convention center project. Knox County Commission had agreed to commit \$1.5 million annually for Knoxville's new convention center but Commissioner Cooper said, "The votes may be there to rescind that action" (Cooper quoted in Silence 1999c). Commissioner Mills was quoted as stating, "I think enough is enough. Maybe we need to reconsider funding for the convention center" (Mills quoted in Silence 1999c). Commissioner Pinkston warned that if a public hearing passed, that warning would become a real threat (Silence 199c).

By January 2000, a large opposition movement against the justice center had grown and secured \$10,000 worth of print and airwave advertisements urging the public to fight the development project. County Commissioner John Schmid (2000) wrote a guest editorial against the justice center. He cited that Phase II and Phase III were all but dead. This \$90 million justice center had evolved into a \$90 million dollar jail and sheriff's office. No state or county courts had plans to move and Ashe had withdrawn any consideration for Knoxville Police Department to relocate. Schmid warned that by square feet, this justice center would be the most expensive downtown jail in the country (2000).

One week later, Sheriff Hutchison stepped down as construction overseer to the justice center. Hutchison defended his department and the justice center development, blaming the conflicts on downtown politicians who support the PBA. Hutchison wrote in

a letter to Commissioner Cooper that the commission appointed him overseer of the job last spring to "aid in the effort to save the taxpayers \$14 million in the construction of the facility"⁸ (Hutchison quoted in Silence and North 2000).

Nichols and Hutchison debated the need for the justice center at a public forum. Nichols accused Hutchison of unnecessarily closing down both the city jail at the Safety Building and the intake center at the City County Building as well as moving prisoners downtown to the jail in the City County Building, all to create the illusion of overcrowding.

To further add to the confusion, Commissioners lost a \$5 million parking garage in the proposed justice center. Although commissioners approved the construction of a parking garage, a major potential benefit boosted for the community in March of 1999, it did not end up in the final plans and commissioners did not remember voting on the change. Hutchison allegedly dropped the parking garage to save money and because he did not think it was needed in the first phase. Schumpert gave a blunt response saying, "I haven't seen anything on whether it is in or out. To be honest, since about February or March, I really don't know what all has happened" (Schumpert quoted in Silence 2000a). Schumpert was scheduled to take over for Hutchison as the construction overseer for the development project the next week.

After a highly dramatic January, Schumpert halted all work on justice center except demolition projects. Barber & McMurry architects stopped any further design work, Knoxville Community Development Corporation (KCDC)⁹ postponed the planned purchase of three parcels of land, and Turner Construction of Nashville stopped whatever

⁸ Unless The News-Sentinel had its months, days, and stories mixed up, this statement is rather misleading. The project estimate reached a high in April as architects argued that the facility needed 46,000 more square feet and, according to an April 1999 article, Hutchison is paraphrased as saying an extra \$14 million is needed because the planned 372,500-square-foot facility is inadequate (Keim 1999). In the same article the Committee on Construction Oversight voted to cap the project at \$90 million, a full month before the county commission approved Hutchison as the construction overseer.

⁹ Knoxville Community Development Corporation (KCDC)- The city of Knoxville established the Knoxville Housing Authority, known today as Knoxville's Community Development Corporation in 1936 and has expanded its role as a public housing authority to become the redevelopment agency for the City of Knoxville. It has a nine-member board with 5 of those members of the private sector who nominate their own successors who must be approved by County Commission.

it was they were doing. Molly Pratt, director of governmental affairs for the county, admitted that the county was not quite sure what Turner Construction might have been doing because they became involved with the project when Hutchison was overseer (Silence 2000b).

After several months, Schumpert announced that the county would look elsewhere for a justice center. So therefore, "after six years of countless meetings and votes, the final cost has been tallied on the now-dead plan for a downtown jail. The bill is \$9.34 million. And what Knox County has to show for it is a cleared city block in downtown Knoxville with an uncertain future" (Silence 2000c).

Culture in space played an important part in the failure of the justice center boosters to sell the project to citizens and entrepreneurs. Buildings and spaces are interpreted through symbols and functions. When the project plan included courts and police and sheriff departments, the symbolism of the space was defined by an idea of lawyers and judges and police officers. When the symbolism surrounding the justice center shifted so that it was interpreted as a jail, convicts, murderers, and vagrants defined the culture of the space. Downtown boosters were in the process of revitalizing downtown to attract new businesses, visitors, and residents, and the symbolic function of a jail in the heart of downtown did not fit with their visions of the ideal downtown.

The actors involved in the justice center process consisted almost exclusively of government officials, both elected and appointed. Although the project was first proposed to comply with a federal court order, the justice center quickly evolved into a plan that included much more than a jail. Government officials realized the possible potential benefit a justice center could have on the downtown economy. In the story of the justice center, government officials did not simply play important roles in the growth machine, but were the main members of the growth network. This will be examined in more detail in subsequent chapters.

II. The Convention Center

Of the two large development project proposals examined in this project, the convention center is the plan that came to fruition. This story also highlights the involvement of government in development, the culture surrounding space, the desire of

city boosters to make Knoxville more attractive to tourists and visitors. Furthermore, the physical residues of Knoxville's history greatly influenced both the boosters' claimed benefits and the selected site. The continued impact of the 1982 World's Fair is evident because although this particular story begins in the early 1990s, the idea of a new convention center, or at least remodeling or expanding the old center, began almost as soon as the original was constructed. The original convention center was built as part of the World's Fair, and according to Dodd (1988), it was one of the worst and most costly decisions of the Expo developers. This is telling in itself, as Dodd argues that most every aspect of the 1982 World's Fair was poorly designed and the booster's claims grossly inaccurate. A very brief synopsis of two of the largest projects of Expo '82, the U.S. Pavilion and the Knoxville Convention & Exhibition Center, is helpful in understanding the strategy and failures of the Expo promoters and developers.

Promoters claimed that the \$12.4 million dollar U.S. Pavilion was to be the showcase of the energy-themed world's fair and would be used as an energy research center after the fair closed. Despite the fact that the U.S. Department of Energy, the U.S. General Services Administration, and TVA all rejected the building, and despite the fact that the University of Tennessee Knoxville (UTK) would not commit to the facility, promoters refused to scale down the project to a temporary structure. (In the end, UTK rejected the building because conversion costs would have been too high). The U.S. Pavilion was built and in January of 1982, *Omni* magazine awarded the U.S. Pavilion the winner of its "Dim-Bulb Medal" as part of its list of the worst scientific achievements of 1981. Not only was it "not an energy-efficient building . . . the General Accounting Offices, the investigative arm of the U.S. Congress, called the pavilion a costly mistake. It has no established post-fair use" (Dodd 1988: 4).

Similarly, the convention center built for the Expo '82 is an example of poor planning and poor development. According to Dodd, the \$21 million office building and exhibition hall was built without a feasibility study and without the use of competitive bidding. There was no involvement of the public, the Tourist Commission, or Knoxvisit, the administrative arm of the Tourist Commission that primarily handled conventions. Even a staunch Expo booster, William Fortune, a tourism commissioner and president of

Rentenbach Engineering, questioned why the building should be a convention center. Fortune is quoted as saying that the mayor simply "began calling it that and tried to get the people behind it" (Fortune quoted in Dodd 1988:15). Furthermore, the exhibition hall had poor acoustics, limited access for exhibits, and was too small for most conventions. Less than five years after the 1982 World's Fair, plans to build a new convention center were being discussed.

In 1993, a study commissioned by government officials was released that showed if Knoxville would spend \$90 million on a new convention center it could receive \$44 million a year in visitor spending and \$1.9 million in added tax revenue. The *News-Sentinel* article in which this was revealed highlighted the necessity of a new convention center as well as listing the numerous benefits to the Knoxville community (Thomas 1993). For three years the project remained a loosely articulated idea, but starting in latter part of 1996, the debate began full force. By May of '97, the project became more than just a booster's dream. The PBA was assigned the leading agency in formulating the plan. On June 5th, a new study was released that showed the convention center could lose \$250,000 a year in operating costs, but that would be cancelled out by the overall impact on Knoxville's economy which could reach as high as \$20.3 million.

The next day the Downtown Organization's (TDO) board of directors unanimously voted to endorse the project. By June 19th, the Knoxville City Council approved a contract that authorized the PBA to select a site in the Central Business District and develop the facility. By July, the PBA had hired Spectator Management Group of Philadelphia, PA, who managed 86% of the nations' privately run convention centers, as a consultant for the development of the convention center. The PBA also set up a telephone bank and e-mail address for community members to offer suggestions or opinions about the development. By the end of August, only ninety-nine people had responded and the comments were mixed. Many worried about taxpayer costs, many supported the project, and some were concerned with the need for a new convention center. One caller was quoted in the *News-Sentinel* as saying the city was "putting the cart before the horse . . . Build up downtown before the convention center is built to keep people downtown" (Balloch 1997).

According to *News-Sentinel* reports, although the majority of Knoxvilleians support the convention center project, controversies arose as to where the site should be. Two sites led the debate, one located in World's Fair Park and the other bounded by Jackson Avenue and Gay Street. In the early part of January, 1998, Mike Edwards, administrator to the PBA, declared that World's Fair Park was the best site for the new convention center because the availability of large areas of land already owned by the government would make the project less expensive, the land was flat so development would be easier, and the location could tie in the original convention center (Balloch 1998a). Despite a growing movement of downtown business leaders, such as restaurateur Bill Regas, to build on the Jackson Ave. site, Mike Edwards' selection of World's Fair turned the tide. Although the PBA would not vote on site selection for another month, just days after Edwards' declaration, Regas admitted defeat and urged the community support the World's Fair site (Vines 1998a).

Even though Regas conceded, other Knoxvilleians were not so easily won over. On January 18, four letters to the editor were published in the *News-Sentinel* supporting the Jackson Ave site. Kristopher Kendrick, a prominent local developer, urged the Jackson Ave. site because it offered the greatest possibilities for downtown development. Paula West, President of the Old City Neighborhood Association, an organization dedicated to Old City revitalization, wrote:

The Old City Neighborhood Association wants to go on record as favoring a new Knoxville Convention Center located on Jackson Avenue between Gay Street and Broadway. The Jackson site is a natural for several reasons. It is near the Old City, which is a spot for shopping, dining and entertainment. It would clean up a part of the city which otherwise would continue to be an eyesore for visitors passing through on the interstates. And, located there, the convention center could turn Jackson Avenue into a vital link between the attractions of the Old City and the activities that go on at the World's Fair Park. Ultimately, we'll all benefit if a convention center can be used as an anchor for growth in the area near the Old City (Kendrick 1998).

Chris Delp of the Great Southern Brewery Company, located on Gay Street, wrote in support of the Jackson site because it would provide an anchor on the opposite side of downtown from the riverfront developments and would center traffic and visitors in the heart of the central city (Delp 1998). Published on the same day was a *News-Sentinel* editorial whole-heartedly backing the World's Fair Site.

On January 27, another letter to the editor supporting the Jackson Ave site was published. Harold McKinney, a downtown business owner, highlighted the fact that the city had already attempted to bolster downtown growth by developing the World's Fair site in 1982 and little or nothing was actually accomplished in terms of benefits to downtown. McKinney reiterates that the Jackson Ave site would provide a northern anchor to the southern developments already in process on the riverfront (McKinney 1998). The next day, the board of directors for the Central Business Improvement District (CBID)¹⁰ voted to endorse the World's Fair site as long as the proposals for increased parking and the entertainment complex were fully carried out.

Less than a week later, the *News-Sentinel* reported, "it appears there is a community consensus that a new convention center should be built in World's Fair Park" (Vines 1998b). Ten days later it was reported, "though a majority of citizens apparently favor the World's Fair Park as the site for a downtown convention center, it is drawing mixed reviews" (Balloch 1998b). According to Mike Edwards, slightly more than half of the 142 people who responded to the public opinion call supported the World's Fair site.

On February 19, it was reported that the PBA voted unanimously on the World's Fair site, placing the future of the convention center in the hands of Knoxville City Council. Jim Haslam, PBA Board Chairman and member of the TDO, was quoted as saying that he expects the city council to act quickly (Balloch 1998c). This is a deviation from the 1996 plan for downtown development laid out by TDO that fully supported a new convention center, but agreed that it should be located in the heart of the central city on Gay Street. There were, however, possible conflicts of interest as Haslam, nicknamed the "Godfather of Knoxville" and chairman of Pilot Corp., simultaneously served as PBA Board Chairman, co-chairman of TDO's Convention Center Task Force, and chairman of the task force dedicated to redeveloping World's Fair Park.

By the beginning of March, the city council unanimously voted to approve the \$127 million convention center development on World's Fair Park. The story of the

¹⁰ The Central Business Improvement District: Formed in 1993, largely because of the TDO, to enhance downtown Knoxville's existing assets and encourage redevelopment. The agency focuses on four areas: development, marketing and events, security, and parking/transportation.

convention center does not end there, but Gay Street was removed from the debate and in 2002 the Knoxville Convention Center opened in World's Fair Park. The claimed benefits by the boosters proved questionable. In an April 2007 *News-Sentinel* article, it was reported that although the Knoxville Convention center is bringing in twice the revenue of its first year, it is still costing city taxpayers almost \$12 million annually to keep it running. An interesting side note, the same article states that "on the upside, the adjacent Knoxville Convention & Exhibition Center has proven to be a valuable space for handling the spillover of larger events and should break even on its own operating costs for the year" (Hickman 2007).

III. Earl Worsham Jr.

Earl Worsham Jr.'s family's history in Knoxville can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Worsham's father is credited with the development of several of Knoxville's older buildings, such as the Hamilton Bank building and the Andrew Johnson Hotel on Gay Street. The Andrew Johnson was the last major hotel built in downtown Knoxville until Worsham Jr. developed the Hyatt Regency, which opened in 1972. Worsham had worked as the developer on projects throughout the country, in Europe, and in Russia. In the mid- 1990s, Worsham began his campaign to redevelop downtown Knoxville. His first plan, unveiled in the later part of 1996, was an entertainment park in the World's Fair site called "Tivoli Gardens." After this project was rejected, Worsham and his partner Ron Watkins, who together formed Worsham-Watkins International (WWI), began work on a second development project aimed to transform downtown.

In 1999, the PBA hired WWI to consult on a master plan for private development in downtown that would compliment the convention center facility. As consultants, WWI's fees would not exceed \$250,000 and they would have the opportunity to submit the first proposal for private development to the PBA. The plan aimed to connect the World's Fair Park to the Old City and waterfront; provide alternative methods for transportation and increase the opportunity and ease of pedestrian traffic; and connect and increase retail, residential, and business opportunities.

Nine months later, WWI unveiled their proposed private development plan. The plan identified four corridors to be redeveloped using \$250 million in private investment and \$130 million in city funding. The priority corridor linked World's Fair Park to the west side of Gay Street, with the initial purpose of increasing development between Market Square and the World's Fair Park. Some of the suggestions proposed were 300 new residential units, 500,000-square-feet of new office space, a new hotel, 215,000-square-feet of retail space, as well as new dining, entertainment, and parking space. Residents, business owners, and government officials for the most part supported redevelopment of downtown and the ideas of the consultants. The first conflict came in February, when it was discovered that WWI left out a detail of their plan when showing some groups whereas it was included in discussions with others. This little detail was a proposed glass dome over Market Square. Although PBA had not approved the plan that would then lead to a specific proposal, downtown residents, Market Square owners, and the City People Organization showed hostility to the idea of a glass dome over Market Square and questioned of the role of present Market Square businesses in the development plan.

On March 16, 2000, PBA approved WWI's development plan under the condition that any proposal that included the enclosure of Market Square would have to be thoroughly justified. According to the agreement in the original consultant deal, they had first shot at designing a specific proposal for the estimated \$250 million development project that had to be submitted in ninety days. In June of 2000, Worsham-Watkins unveiled their \$600 million proposal. Utilizing the principles laid out in the plan they previously developed, they extended the transformation project to include a total of 3.308 million square-feet, including a \$49 million hotel by Marriott International and a downtown cineplex. One of the most significant aspects of the proposal included the introduction of Stephen R. Coma, senior vice president and managing director of public finance for Merrill Lynch, the company that would arrange financing for the project.

The new proposal included \$310 million in private investment and \$290 million in public funds, which included the \$160 million for the new convention center in World's Fair Park and \$83 million for four major parking facilities. Although the total

proposed amount of public funds was a bitter pill to swallow, the Convention Center and Tourism Financing Act of 1998 had the potential to ease the public's digestion. This act provided a limited-time opportunity to pay off debt on public investments by using state sales tax revenue allowing a portion of all sales tax generated in the CBID to pay off the construction of the convention center and other infrastructure improvements.

One aspect of the proposal that was not mentioned at the grand unveiling was WWI plans for the city to acquire all the buildings on Market Square (by eminent domain if necessary) and lease the majority back to WWI. Market Square property owners and residents learned about that part of the proposal only after talk began circulating that it was posted on the PBA's website; one owner found out after a reporter's phone call. A consultant for WWI argued that the acquisitions were necessary to keep redevelopment cohesive and install some kind of artistic and commercial control. The Market Square owners were reassured that successful businesses would be allowed to stay open.

In July, WWI announced their proposal to pay for the Marriott Hotel, movie theater, and retail development with \$125 million in Empowerment Zone bonds. A sixteen-square-mile area of Knoxville was selected in 1999 to receive \$100 million for ten years through a federal program managed by the Internal Revenue Service for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Though some small business owners questioned using the bonds for one project, the executive director of the Partnership for Neighborhood Improvement that coordinates Knoxville's Empowerment Zone project, Sherry Kelly Marshall, said, "You need a huge project to meet the requirements on employees" (Marshall quoted in Vines 2000a). Worsham-Watkins agreed. A financial consultant for WWI, Perry Miles, explained that because it is expensive to issue bonds, it is better to do it in one large chunk. Philip Welker, another WWI consultant, proposed a different way of looking at it; the bond sale is extra money for Knoxville as a result of the Empowerment Zone (Vines 2000a). Of course, WWI would benefit because the bond is tax-exempt and would result in a lower interest rate.

Over the next several months, Knoxville's media was littered with opinions, discussion, and debates over the WWI proposal. The most serious conflict was over the suggested acquisition of Market Square buildings, and WWI made several attempts to

pacify, although not compromise with, owners and residents. A different type of conflict was introduced on September 10, but this time it was a question of conflict of interest. It was revealed that Tom McAdams, an attorney for the PBA, had been the attorney for Ron Watkins, of Worsham-Watkins. The two men had worked on numerous projects together including a Knoxville country club and residential development, as well as other projects out-of-state. Although the relationship of McAdams and Watkins was disclosed to PBA executives two years previously when WWI was selected as one of the five possible consultants and potential developers, the full PBA board, and the public, were not informed. Watkins assured that McAdams was not working with him on any projects at the moment and if there were any lingering doubts about the situation, former PBA chief executive officer Mike Edwards clarified that "this is probably a big deal to laypeople. To lawyers, it is not" (Edwards quoted in Vines 2000b). Although McAdams did not participate in the selection process, he did write the request for qualifications for the consultant position.

Although Watkins and some members of the PBA did not see any conflict of interest, other members of the community did not take it so lightly. Georgiana Vines, a member of the *News-Sentinel* staff who mostly writes on business and local politics, supported the integrity of McAdams as a lawyer, but questioned the methods employed by both the PBA and WWI. The PBA executives knew of the relationship but never disclosed this to the other members of the PBA and "it's the insider way of doing things in this community that makes outsiders cynical and suspect of actions taken by the government" (Vines 2000c). Vines specifically mentions that the owners of property on Market Square would have liked to have known about this relationship. McAdams has already met once with the owners and residents of Market Square to discuss the WWI's proposed acquisition of the Market Square buildings, but McAdams did not speak solely as counsel for the PBA, but also as an authority on the Historic Market Square Redevelopment Plan. Despite whatever possible entanglements exist, PBA officials defended and whole-heartedly supported McAdams.

On September 22, the Knoxville Area Chamber Partnership¹¹ approved to support WWI's plan and urged the PBA, Knoxville, and Knox County to quickly approve the downtown development proposal, with revisions based on public response. In October, the PBA received a preliminary report of a requested review of the WWI proposal from the Economics Research Associates of Washington, D.C. Among the findings were several questions on financial projections and investment. First, the consulting firm was not convinced that WWI would be able to lease all the available space. Second, WWI's request of city funds was much higher than most cities that entered into this kind of public/private investment. In other cities, public investiture as a percent of the total project ranged from 14 to 23 percent, whereas WWI proposed a 34 percent investment by Knoxville. Lastly, WWI showed an internal rate of return as 4.5 percent. This number is much lower than normal expectations of investors, implying that the project is not valid or there is a component of fiscal return not reflected (Balloch 2000a). In response, Worsham clarified that it appeared an intern supplied incorrect information about the internal rate of return to the Economics Research Associates, who further complicated the situation. The rate of return was expected to be higher than the number previously given (*The Knoxville News-Sentinel* 2000).

PBA requested an additional design review of WWI's proposal from collaboration between RTKL Associates Inc. and Urban Engineers Inc. The completed study was given to the PBA in December and though it included many questions and suggested changes, the overall conclusion was that the WWI proposal was a good one. One finding of the study was that single ownership of Market Square "appears to be the only viable choice if the Square is to once again become the focal point of downtown," but in conclusion recommended a pared down single "management structure" (Balloch 2000b). Other recommendations focused on parking issues and retail viability.

After seven months of discussions and studies, PBA administration/chief executive officer Dale Smith recommended a scaled-down version of WWI's original

¹¹ Knoxville Area Chamber Partnership: Began in 1998 as an effort to combine bring together the Greater Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Organization, the Knox County Development Corp., and the Knoxville Convention and Visitors Bureau. It was funded with public funds of \$200,000 annually until 2000 when Ashe and council approved a \$25,000 cut.

plan in February 2001. The project was renamed Renaissance Knoxville. The \$270 million plan focused on redeveloping Market Square as a "festival marketplace," but also included a movie theater, new office building, and 5,000-seat amphitheater (Vines 2001). PBA expected to move quickly into Market Square, utilizing eminent domain where necessary. Also proposed was a 14-month time period that banned business owners from their buildings as the structures in Market Square were brought up to code.

According to a report by the Economic Research Associates, Renaissance Knoxville could return an annual 6.23 percent on the \$151 million public investment (Barker 2001a). Less than two weeks after the release of these findings, the chairman of Regal Cinemas, locally based and also the largest cinema operator in the country, Mike Campbell denounced the idea of a downtown movie theater. Campbell stated that it was a risky venture for both private investment and the city, citing low success rates of downtown cinemas, an already oversaturated market in Knoxville, and incorrect estimated returns by the Economics Research Associates (Barker 2001b).

The next seven months was filled yet again with discussions, opinions, and studies. Market Square development remained central to the debate as residents and homeowners pitched their own development plan and WWI developers and subcontractors tried to convince the public and the government that Renaissance Knoxville would work. On September 15, 2001, it was announced that Worsham-Watkins International would not only cease all attempts to manage the redevelopment of Market Square, but that it was withdrawing the overall downtown development proposal from the PBA. The price tag for this proposal was almost \$1.4 million for taxpayers. Although the development plan of WWI that spanned from 11th Street all the way to Gay Street was abandoned, Earl Worsham had been working on another scheme since March with several Knox County Commissioners. And so concludes the story of Renaissance Knoxville and begins the tale of Universe Knoxville.

In April 2001, in the midst of discussion and debate about Renaissance Knoxville, it was announced that the Knox County Commission was expected to hear a proposal for a new destination attraction in downtown Knoxville. The estimated \$100 million plan, known as the "Universe Knoxville Project," included a planetarium, potential

involvement from the Smithsonian Institution, and a possible energy research and discovery center. The preferred site was the State Street site that had been cleared for the justice center that was never built and had been unused since (Silence 2001).

This proposal began about a month after the Knox County Commission shelved the last proposal for a justice center on State Street. Knox County Commissioner Larry Stephens approached Knox Area Chamber Partnership President Tom Ingram to discuss new ideas for the site on State Street. In January 2001, Stephens was asked to a meeting with Ingram and Earl Worsham where Worsham presented his proposal for a planetarium that would compliment the projects of Renaissance Knoxville.

Worsham credited a public television program that documented a new planetarium in New York City and realized that this could be Knoxville's response to the aquariums in both Gatlinburg and Chattanooga. Worsham projected up to 1.5 million visitors per year. The planetarium would be inside a large metal sphere under a large open pyramid with an apex 220 feet above Gay Street. Barber & McMurray Architects did the design.

By April 6th, the estimated cost was \$128 million for the planetarium and the developers asked the Knox County Commission for up to \$2 million in debt payments annually, a pledge for some future hotel tax revenues, a \$250,000 study, and a lease on the land at State Street for \$1 dollar a year. A non-profit organization would be set up to run the project. An independent study was released April 17 by Harrison Co. of Palm Springs, CA that declared the planetarium project "economically viable" and could draw 1.14 million visitors a year and net \$15.15 million (Barker 2001d).

A large movement of support began, which will be further discussed, and by April 24, the Knox County Commission approved (13- 6) \$200,000 for planning for the planetarium project. By May 22, the commission appointed a five-member committee that would decide how the non-profit corporation that would manage Universe Knoxville should be formed. Five months of the routine arguments, supports, and opinions continued until November when a new study was released declaring Universe Knoxville feasible, but only if the project was scaled down or private investment increased.

Furthermore, the estimated annual intendance shrank to 750,000 – 850,000 visitors (Silence and Barker 2001).

Getting the project moving proved difficult and county commissioners were split in deciding to fund one-third of the project, but on December 13, the commission's Intergovernmental Committee and the Economic and Development Committee voted to recommend the project to the Knox County Commission. On December 14, Mayor Victor Ashe, who had until this point remained quiet about the project, announced his proposal for \$5 million to help launch Universe Knoxville. One week later, Knoxville County Commission voted 12 – 7 to use county credit to borrow the \$36.5 million for Universe Knoxville. Two months later, Knoxville City Council unanimously approved a resolution for intent to give \$5 million for Universe Knoxville.

The project hit an obstacle in August 2002, as a self –described "downtown agitator" Brent Minchey took advantage of Earl Worsham's late reservation with the Secretary of State's office and appropriated the rights to the name "Universe Knoxville" (Barker 2002). For \$20, Minchey locked up the name indefinitely and declared that he had no intention of giving or selling the name to the developers. Instead, he suggested setting up an organization called Universe Knoxville as a watchdog to monitor public-private development projects.

After a year and a half of debates, it was suddenly announced in the end of September that the planetarium project would not continue. Knox County Mayor Mike Ragsdale cited new additional costs as the reason. Developer Earl Worsham disagreed with the decision and remained adamant that the private funds were there. Despite Worsham's arguments, the support by both government officials and community members had waned for the Universe Knoxville project. The initial interest, then extensive questioning, and finally diminished support were the typical pattern for Worsham's proposals that included Tivoli Gardens, Renaissance Knoxville, and Universe Knoxville. With his first plan unveiled in 1996 and his last dropped in 2002, Worsham spent six years attempting to boost almost \$1 billion in development projects for downtown, but none were ever made in reality.

IV. David Dewhirst

If looking at only the progress and successes of the large development projects, Knoxville would seem to have achieved little over the last fifteen years. But a stroll down Gay Street shows that something has been accomplished, and the entrepreneurs who are credited with this redevelopment are for the most part local developers who made change, one building at a time. In looking at growth machines, the local entrepreneurs are more difficult to study for many reasons. Because their projects are not as grand or expensive as the previously discussed plans and because for the most part they are done with primarily private funds, the development projects did not have to be sold to the community. Furthermore, although government is involved in incentives, zoning, and taxes, the relationship between the two is less intimate and complex. In the previously discussed projects, government involvement ranged from funding the entire project to a third of the project, which differs dramatically from the projects of local entrepreneurs.

Downtown development in Knoxville cannot be studied without discussing David Dewhirst. Dewhirst, now in his mid-forties, moved to Knoxville with his family in 1975. After graduating from the University of Tennessee with a degree in engineering, Dewhirst left Knoxville but returned in 1991 with dreams of living in downtown Knoxville. When he found limited options for downtown living, he did what he thought was best. Dewhirst bought a two-story building on Gay Street for \$75,000, renovated the top story into a loft, which he moved into, and built two offices down below, which he leased to two attorneys. This began Dewhirst's career as one of downtown's top developers. He worked on his first building for two and a half years on nights and weekends while he continued as an international sales manager for Regal Corp. He left Regal in 1999 to start his own firm Cor-Ten that makes timber guardrail for the National Park Service and other scenic highways.

Dewhirst has been a member and the chair of the CBID board of directors, the task force chair for Nine Counties, One Vision¹², and a 2003 Leadership Knoxville

¹² Nine Counties, One Vision. was an organization founded in 2000 to give community members in East Tennessee a voice and mechanism to implement ideas and programs that would benefit the entire region. It was agreed that the organization would disband after five years, which it did in 2005.

graduate¹³. Dewhirst is a current member of the Downtown Design Review Board, which consists of ten members appointed by the Mayor and approved by City Council. The board is responsible for reviewing and approving public and private development plans and to advising the Mayor, City Council, the MPC and the Historic Zoning Commission on means, incentives and programs to improve downtown design.

In the late 1990s, Dewhirst began renovations at 714 Gay St, a building that, constructed in 1848, was one of the only two buildings on Gay St. that predates the Civil War. In early 2001, Dewhirst bought the Emporium Building, built in 1903, at 100 Gay St. and three other adjacent properties. Other properties he has owned or renovated include Kimball's Jeweler's at 428 Gay St., J.D. Lee Building at 422 Gay St., and the Hubris Building at 113 Gay St. He has completed over 20 residential projects that include over 250 housing units. Kimball's Jeweler has been renovated as an upscale martini bar, Sapphire.

Throughout his development projects, Dewhirst has fought for financial incentives and alternate building codes to increase downtown development. As the city discussed new incentives to increase downtown residents in 2001, Dewhirst urged the city to follow through arguing that the plan would have a far greater impact than the Renaissance Knoxville proposal. "This is truly an investment in the city," Dewhirst said, adding that more residents downtown would increase property and sales tax revenues (Dewhirst quoted in Barker 2001c). Furthermore he believed that "depending on the amount of incentives, I think that would have a more significant effect on revitalizing our downtown than anything" (Dewhirst quoted in Flannagan 2001).

In October of 2001, the city announced the new incentive package available for developers who renovated historic buildings for residential use. The package includes tax abatements, a low-interest loan program, and reduced rates for obtaining permits. Knoxville Development Director Leslie Henderson highlighted that "the program is meant to help developers who want to provide affordable apartments, Henderson explained, not to subsidize luxury condominiums (Barker 2001e). Just one week later, it

¹³ Leadership Knoxville is a non-profit organization founded in 1985. Over 850 community leaders have graduated the annual 10-month program aimed to educate members on being a catalyst for positive change.

was announced that the city offered to rent office space from Dewhirst in the Emporium Building as part of the jumpstart of the new incentive package. The lease would provide Dewhirst and partner Adam Cohen's Management Development Group with \$186,725 annually for the next 10 years. In 2003, the developers transferred ownership of the Emporium to the Industrial Development Board which then leased the building back to the company; a process that allows developers to make payments in lieu of taxes. The renovation for the building was estimated to be around \$5 million.

Currently, Dewhirst is renovating the Hoslton building at 531 Gay St. The Holston, listed in the National Register of Historic Places, was built in 1913 and remains one of the tallest buildings downtown. It became the headquarters to Hamilton Bank in 1931. The building is being converted into 42 condominiums with 4,000 square-feet of business space on the floor level. The condominiums are already 70% sold and due to open in 2008. Prices range from \$215,000 for a one-bedroom condominium to over \$1 million for penthouses.

Turkey Creek

The development of Turkey Creek epitomizes the original conditions of growth machine theory. It emphasizes the conflict between use and exchange value through the conflicts over the destruction of the wetlands and tensions between the developers and surrounding neighborhoods. The Turkey Creek development highlights the role government plays in zoning and subsidies. The majority of actors involved were businessmen and entrepreneurs, and although boosted as Knoxvilleians, many were from other cities. The story of the Turkey Creek development began on February 19, 1995 when it was announced that 362 acres in West Knoxville had been sold to the Turkey Creek Land Partners (TCLP), a limited liability company, for \$7 million. The members included local businessmen Ray Hand, owner of Eagle Distributing company; Kerry Sprouse, president of First Commercial Real Estate; John Turley, principle of First Commercial Real Estate; Jim Bush, chairman Johnson & Gaylon general contractors, Coleman Bryan, owner American Clothing Company; Ray Hand, local businessman; Joseph P. Congleton, attorney; and Dr. Archer Bishop Jr., retired surgeon and chairman

of American Life Holding Company. The other members included J.R. Hyde III of Memphis, chairman of AutoZone, Inc., director of Services at FedEx, Chairman of Pittco Management LLC; and Julian Saul of Dalton, President of Shaw Industries, the world's largest carpet manufacturer.

By May, the Knoxville City Council approved \$4.1 million to build a road in West Knoxville to relieve traffic congestion and improve economic development. The road, Parkside Drive, would run through the property purchased by TCLP. Councilman Ed Shouse fully supported the project saying, "This piece of property to me is a sleeping giant out there. If this road goes through there it will be developed significantly and add just tremendously to the city tax rolls. There's just no way it could not" (Shouse quoted in Keim 1995). Kerry Sprouse was reported as being a longtime friend and campaign supporter of Shouse. Council members Ivan Harmon and Carlene Malone questioned the use of such a large amount of public money to benefit private development despite the \$3 million contribution of developers for right-of-way and utility easements. Malone moved to defer the vote for one month to allow citizens of Knoxville to be informed of the project before the city council voted to spend such a large sum of money, but the motion was defeated. TCLP also asked Farragut for \$410,000 and Knox County for \$990,000 to build the road.

Councilman Harmon argued against the city's approval of the \$4.1 million for the TCLP road saying that at least seven of the TCLP partners contributed to Ashe's re-election campaign. Harmon also argued against the idea that the road will alleviate traffic congestion saying, "His road to nowhere will be a road most people in our city will never drive. It will allow a small group of people to make more money, allowing them to subdivide land they recently bought it sell it off at a high profit" (Harmon quoted in Dean 1995). Harmon clarified that although this makes good business sense, it should not be partially funded with taxpayers' dollars. Developers and select officials continued to promote Parkside Drive as an answer to traffic congestion. A traffic study showed that the road could take 5,000 cars off Kingston Pike daily (Silence 1996). Less mentioned was the fact that the same study showed the development project itself will likely draw 38,000 cars a day (Neely and Mayshark 1997: 12).

One of the largest controversies began in March 1996, when Knoxville City Council rejected (7 – 2) a resolution that would save 22 acres of wetlands in TCLP's development. John Nolt, a professor at the University of Tennessee and president of the Foundation for Global Sustainability, asked the council to overturn a Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission (MPC)¹⁴ approval for the plan. Stephen A. Smith of the Tennessee Valley Energy Reform Coalition cited a letter written by the state's Environment and Conservation Department in December that named the city "deficient in environmental planning" on the Turkey Creek project (Dean 1996). Ijams Nature Center, the proposed manager of the wetlands after development, remained neutral in the argument, but it was noted that Kerry Sprouse sits on its board. Although neither the Environmental Protection Agency nor the Tennessee Wildlife Resources Agency had jurisdiction over the area, both agencies sent letters to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, one of the organizations that did have jurisdiction, urging the city to build a bridge over the wetlands instead of a road through it. Local biologists for the Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation (DEC), the other organization who had to approve the road, argued against the proposed site for the road highlighting the deficiency in environmental planning. It was reported that Mayor Ashe then contacted the DEC's commissioner, Don Dills, and complained about the lack of cooperation. Dills was reported back as assuring Ashe that he would personally be involved in the approval process (Mayshark 1997: 13). In the end, the DEC approved the proposed road plan that ran directly through the wetlands. This conflict continued as environmentalists fought the development and TCLP representatives assured that they would improve the condition of the wetlands, not destroy them.

¹⁴ The Metropolitan Planning Commission was established in 1956 by the city of Knoxville and Knox County. The agency is responsible for planning, zoning recommendations, reviewing subdivision regulations and site plans, and capital improvement studies. The commission has 15 members, seven of who are appointed by the city and the other eight are appointed by the county. Each member serves four years with no compensation. The MPC employs 40 staff members in four divisions: Development Services, Comprehensive Planning, Information Services, and Transportation Planning. The agency also works closely with Knox County and Knoxville Historic Zoning Commissions. Funding for the commission's studies and activities comes primarily from city and county appropriations, but federal grants are sometimes given for specific studies.

Debate on the Turkey Creek Development centered on the wetlands throughout 1996 and little action was made until February of 1997 when the Knox County Commission approved (17 – 2) \$1.4 million for Parkside Drive. Farragut never joined in the partnership for the road. Farragut Mayor Eddy Ford did not even forward Schumpert's request for \$410,000 to the town's board because he believed the majority of the board would oppose it and because "we've not helped any other developer with doing a development in the town of Farragut" (Neely and Mayshark 1997:12). By June, the developers were seeking rezoning for the area of land to be developed. The land was previously classified as a commercial (C)- 6 zone, but developers have asked for the area to be rezoned as C-3. Although both types of zoning allow similar uses, C-3 classification allows more freedom for developers. The Farragut Metropolitan Planning Commission approved an informal resolution to urge Knox County MPC not to rezone the development area.

Norman Whitaker, MPC executive director, said the zoning in place is a planned zone, which means MPC planners as well as city departments such as engineering can review site plans and place conditions on such things as curb cuts and landscaping. MPC planners generally recommend such a zone for major projects.

The zoning developers are requesting would not provide such safeguards, Whitaker said. "It's basically an unrestricted, highly commercial zone," he said (Marcum 1997).

Arthur Seymour, Jr., TCLP's attorney, argued that the development partners should be trusted to develop the land in a responsible manner. He argued that if the land was not rezoned, developers could not make quick decisions in response to land prospects. On June 13, 1997, Knox County/Knoxville MPC voted (7-2) to deny TCLP's request for rezoning. One month later it was announced that Knoxville City Council had overruled (8-1) the MPC's rezoning rejection and approved TCLP's request for the development area to be reclassified as C-3.

The following years were rife with small skirmishes as residents questioned or showed outright hostility to development plans, but despite any opposition, the development project was never stalled. Some conflicts arose from residents of subdivisions bordering the development, others from the clear-cutting of trees and continued wetland destruction. These will be further discussed in the following sections, but it is important to note that although the project may not have moved forward

smoothly, it nonetheless moved forward quickly. Parkside Drive opened in late 2000 and by early 2001 several stores had opened, including Goody's and a Wal-Mart Supercenter.

In late 2003, an \$80 million dollar plan for a lifestyle center in Turkey Creek was announced. TCLP and Colonial Properties Trust of Birmingham, AL teamed together to develop the Colonial Pinnacle at Turkey Creek, a project that spans 43 acres. The contractor for this development project was Brasfield and Gorrie and the architect was CHM Architect Inc; both groups are based in Birmingham, Al. Developers differentiated the Pinnacle from the rest of the Turkey Creek project showing that where the previous stores consisted of more discount and mid-priced merchandise, the Pinnacle would house more upscale and specialty boutiques and restaurants. The first phase of the Pinnacle that opened in 2005 included a \$15 million megaplex theater, built by Colonial Properties Trust and leased for 15 years by Regal Cinemas.

The second phase held a grand opening ceremony in April 2006. The almost 500,000-square-foot lifestyle center included space for 70 stores. There are currently seven department or super stores, fourteen restaurants or eateries, two home furnishing stores, a spa, a healthcare facility, a real estate office, and a plethora of apparel and specialty shops. Currently, Colonial Properties Trust is developing "The Cove," an upscale residential community located behind the movie theatre. Seventy-four homes are being built, with an average price of \$850,000. Although the website for Colonial Properties Trust boasts that the Pinnacle is "a unique center with an array of national and local shops and eateries to satisfy all your wants," at least 47 of the 56 stores listed are large, national chains.

Conclusions

Understanding the stories of these development projects is crucial to understanding the local dependency and organization of the growth coalitions who either supported or opposed the plans. From this initial analysis, it is apparent that government is heavily involved in each of the development projects. Government all initially proposed the convention center, justice center, and Renaissance Knoxville. Although not the main actors, government played an important role in the Universe Knoxville proposal,

Turkey Creek, and the projects defined by Dewhirst. Furthermore, the culture of space emerges as an influential aspect of the growth machine process. Culture and ideology surrounding the projects and the proposed sites impacted the reactions and level of support given by community members, entrepreneurs, and government officials. This chapter outlined the actors, organization, and stories to provide a foundation for the more critical analysis found in the remaining chapters. The following chapter will examine the tactics used by pro-growth coalitions to promote the various development projects, with specific consideration of the local media. Finally, community reactions to the development projects are analyzed.

CHAPTER V: THE PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN- TACTICS AND **REACTIONS**

The justice center, convention center, Turkey Creek development, and projects by both Earl Worsham and David Dewhirst are outlined in the previous chapter, but the stories of these development projects go beyond the key actors and organizations. This chapter first examines the tactics used by entrepreneurs and government officials to boost the downtown and Turkey Creek development projects. Next, local media is examined. The *News-Sentinel* and *Metro Pulse* are the two main sources used to examine each development project. The preceding chapter used coverage of the development projects by the local media sources to outline the stories and actors. This chapter will examine both papers, not only as sources of news, but as boosters or contenders to the development projects. Finally, this chapter examines community reactions to the development projects.

Value-Free Development and Civic Pride

Tactics of growth machines rely heavily on culture and ideology to sell their development projects to the community and government officials. To understand the strategies of growth machines, I examined the propaganda and claimed benefits of the boosters. Several themes were often repeated throughout each project and these are what will be examined in detail. Specifically, the idea of value-free-development and civic pride is used repeatedly to promote development plans.

Value-free development is one of the most often used tactics by development boosters. This strategy downplays the exchange value of development plans, i.e. the potential benefits to the boosters, and instead focuses on the benefits to community life such as new jobs, new revenues, and an expanding tax base. Each large development project was promoted as the answer to the community's development needs. Each development project, except those defined by Dewhirst, promoted the economic benefits the entire community would receive if the project were built.

Another popular tactic of development boosters is the invocation of civic pride, also called the community "we" feeling. With Knoxville development projects, this often comes in the form of comparisons of other cities, especially Chattanooga, Gatlinburg, and Nashville. With each project, several articles and commentaries were centered on other cities that have successfully completed development projects. In the same vein, boosters also condemned Knoxville residents for their previous aversions to growth, development, and planning. Highlighting the numerous failed projects over the decades, development promoters urged community members to finally come together and support growth plans that would, under boosters' claims, benefit the entire community. Local media comes into play here as long articles are published describing the successes of other cities and noting that Knoxville residents should take more pride in their community because if other cities can do it, so can we. The two tactics are often utilized to advertise a development project by simultaneously spotlighting potential benefits of the project while invoking pride in the community.

I. The Justice Center

In 1997, boosters for the justice center used value-free development as the primary tool to promote the project. Increased jobs and downtown revitalization were used in the first stages of propaganda to convince community members and business owners that the jail would benefit downtown economically.

TDO President Richard Cate said the center would bring several hundred jobs to the north end of downtown, and provide a boost to the Old City.

“This is the largest public project ever undertaken in this county and it is crucial that it is located in the core of our downtown,” Cate said (Silence 1997).

Other cities were also discussed as examples of how jails boosted downtown development and as warnings as what could happen with growing crime rates if the necessary facilities are not built.

If we do not plan for the future, a quick fix will mean that this same issue will be before us again soon, but only with a higher price tag.

This is what Charlotte, N.C., now faces. A \$77 million 1,004-bed county jail facility opened five months ago and is already full. Officials there are planning a \$62 million bond package to build 900 more jail beds (Moskos 1997b).

Numerous examples can be given of cities that have had positive economic development around new jail projects, with Atlanta being a prime example. But why look elsewhere?

Knoxville's last new downtown jail opened over 20 years ago next to an aging bus station that was noted for its red-light activity. Now it is surrounded by the Plaza Tower, Riverview Tower, Nation's Bank Tower, the Whittle complex and a prospering waterfront development. Most would agree that is not too bad of an impact (Arms 2000).

By 2000, the opposition movement to the justice center was steadily growing and project promoters continued to use value-free development to persuade community members and downtown entrepreneurs that the development project could initiate the revitalization needed in downtown.

Mike Arms, President of PBA:

Certainly the justice center is not intended to be an economic development project, but let's consider the impact of a new facility in an area of downtown that has seen no new development in over 30 years. Surely it could be very positive.

In fact, it could be exactly what is needed as a catalyst for the north end of Gay Street. (Arms 2000).

In the case of the justice center, the use of value-free development as a tool of the growth machine was not to promote community benefits over booster's potential returns. Instead, value-free development was used in an attempt to center community and business attention on the potential benefit the justice center would have on downtown and not on the \$90 million in public funds or the potential consequences a maximum-security jail could have on future development.

II. The Convention Center

Similar to the justice center, convention center boosters used value-free development to center attention on community and economic benefits and not the large amount of public funds needed to build the center.

The gist is that Knoxville needs a new convention center to be competitive in drawing convention business.

However, the greater benefit would be from money that visitors spend in the community. The consultants estimate total spending by convention center visitors at \$33.7 million annually for the smaller facility and \$44.2 million for the larger one (Thomas 1993).

Boosters of the convention center also emphasized how Knoxville needed the facility to compete with other cities. In 1996, government officials toured Nashville's convention facilities as the guest of Gaylord Entertainment, owner of Opryland Theme Park and Hotel. The intention of this visit was to convince the guests that "city convention and tourism officials contend that it is increasingly difficult to compete for

big events with other cities in the region, such as Nashville, which have upgraded convention and tourism facilities" (Chamis 1996). In the same *News-Sentinel* article, convention center renovation plans of Memphis, Chattanooga, and the Tri-Cities are described, coupled with a warning that Knoxville is not only losing business to cities in the state, but also to cities in Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia.

In June of 1997, Richard Cate of TDO announced that a study showed that the convention center would enable Knoxville to compete for 90% of convention business with cities such as Atlanta and St. Louis (Dean 1997). Less than a week later, the *News-Sentinel* ran an article promoting the center, which concluded by warning:

Practically every city of any size around us has better facilities than Knoxville.

In its comparison of facilities in fourteen comparable markets, Knoxville ranked near last in every category in the just-released Coopers & Lybrand convention center study. About the only facility that ranked lower in some size categories was Chattanooga. And Chattanooga, by the way, is enlarging and renovating its convention facilities. It is being funded through a sales tax increase approved by city voters (Thomas 1997).

Where justice center boosters had to contend with an unappealing image (i.e., a downtown full of criminals and bail-bondsmen), convention center promoters had to center community and business attention on benefits to the entire community despite the potential annual loss of the facility.

A new downtown convention center could lose \$250,000 a year, but its overall impact on the Knoxville economy could reach \$20.3 million a year, according to a consultants' study.

But such a center also would inject millions into the economy, including \$7.7 million in hotel spending, \$4.45 million for restaurants, a \$2.65 million boost to local retail business and other benefits, putting total annual impact near \$20.3 million (Dean 1997).

After the PBA recommended World's Fair as the preferred site for the convention center, some members of the growth machine that pushed for a center city site abandoned their opposition to support the development project.

Restaurateur Bill Regas, who had lobbied hard for a Jackson-Vine site for a new convention center, said Tuesday night the community needs to get behind a recommendation that the center be located in World's Fair Park.

"We lost but we're going to be good citizens," he said. "This is the greatest opportunity for Knoxville and downtown. We should all get behind it and make it happen quickly" (Vines 1998a).

Because the convention center, as well as the justice center, was to be funded entirely by public funds, value-free development was employed to focus on potential community benefits over monetary or social costs. Civic pride was also utilized with extra emphasis on the need of a convention center to compete with other cities that have successfully implemented development strategies aimed to attract visitors and tourists.

III. Worsham's Projects

Value-free development was used to promote Worsham's projects by emphasizing community benefits over both the possible fiscal returns for developers and potential social and economic costs to the community, because financial backing for both proposals included both private and public funds. Renaissance Knoxville was advertised as the catalyst needed to revitalize the center city and all of Knoxville. Beyond the physical transformation of downtown, promoters argued that the development project could reunite Knoxville as a community and boost Knoxville's image throughout the region.

"The project consists of 3.308 million square feet," Watkins said. "This isn't just redevelopment. This is transformation. We believe it will provide the momentum needed to reposition our city in the minds of all who visit and live in this region" (Balloch 2000a).

"Moving forward with this project is of profound importance to our region's future," former Mayor Randy Tyree said. "This project, just as with our World's Fair, will be the catalyst to bring us together as a community and return Knoxville to its rightful place of leadership in our region" (Balloch 2000b).

Value-free development was used to promote Universe Knoxville by highlighting the economic as well as educational benefits the project could have on the community.

[Tom] Ingram said the city would benefit from increased sales tax revenues, the creation of new jobs and increased traffic between Market Square and the Old City.

"The bottom line would be a revitalized downtown, which was the No. 1 goal in the 'Nine Counties. One Vision' process," Ingram said (Barker 2001d).

The Knoxville Area Chamber Partnership, a major backer of the project, has touted it as a wonderful educational opportunity for school children. In addition to the virtual-reality planetarium, it would include a children's discovery center, a TVA exhibition hall and possibly traveling exhibits affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution (*Knoxville News-Sentinel* 2001).

Worsham's project boosters relied heavily on value-free development. As with the convention center and justice center, fiscal benefits were highlighted, but promoters

of Worsham's projects claimed social benefits beyond simple economic possibilities. If Renaissance Knoxville was implemented, it would unite the entire community and bring prestige to the city. Universe Knoxville would provide enhanced educational opportunities as community schools and children, as well as the out-of-town visitors, could utilize the discovery center and planetarium to expand their knowledge.

IV. Turkey Creek

Tactics used to promote the Turkey Creek development project differed little from development projects in downtown. As with the previous projects, value-free development was used to center attention on the economic benefits for the community as opposed to the economic benefits for the developers.

"This piece of property to me is a sleeping giant out there," Councilman Ed Shouse said, adding, "If this road goes through there it will be developed significantly and add just tremendously to the city tax rolls. There's just no way that it could not" (Keim 1995).

"It will be a good asset to the whole community, not just the immediate area. It's an enormous economic development. The tax base alone will create an enormous benefit to both the city and council" (Sprouse quoted in Barrett 1996: 7).

The Turkey Creek development was funded almost entirely with private funds, but because public funds were needed for the construction of Parkside Drive project boosters emphasized the need for the road to relieve traffic congestion in addition to the economic benefits¹⁵.

Knoxville Mayor Victor Ashe also sees Turkey Creek's potential to be a tremendous asset to the region.

"The new road will . . . help relieve the traffic congestion in West Knoxville, and the development promises to pay dividends in increased tax revenues to both the city and county," Ashe said. "The project will also provide new land for development opportunities, which translates into jobs for our citizens" (Womack 1997).

Value-free development was also employed to emphasize the uniqueness of Turkey Creek and especially the Colonial Pinnacle as compared to any other retail center in East Tennessee. Furthermore, the development project would enhance the opportunities of both local consumers and business owners.

¹⁵ According to the Congestion Management System 2003 report by the Knoxville Regional Transportation Planning Organization, Lovell Road ranked sixth in congestion in Knox County and the intersection at Lovell Road and Parkside Drive was listed as a congestion hot spot.

Betty Sisco, president of the Farragut/West Knox Chamber of Commerce, said that this kind of development benefits both local consumers and business owners. Shopping, entertainment, dining and hotel accommodations will be readily available in one area," Sisco said. "Because of it being a lifestyle center, which is new to the Knoxville area, it is drawing stores and restaurants that are previously established in other areas, and now want to reach into and build in the East Tennessee market. The small, locally owned businesses can only see additional business drawn to them. Competition is positive and promotes business growth. It allows for more choices and better customer service within each business." And for all the citizens of Knoxville, Farragut and surrounding communities, both the site developers and public officials agree this lifestyle center is an innovative development, and that's why they worked together to make it happen (Patterson 2006).

"We realize being located here in Knoxville that Turkey Creek is one of those areas that's going to have huge amounts of retail, entertainment and dining-related business. We think it's going to be the hub of Knoxville for 15 to 20 years to come" (Nolan 2003).

Although the construction of Parkside Drive was boosted as a solution to traffic congestion, the majority of value-free development propaganda was used by Turkey Creek development boosters to overshadow the large exchange value expected for developers by emphasizing the economic and social benefits for the entire community. More jobs, an increased tax base, and further development were promoted in each of the preceding development projects as potential benefits for the community.

Local Media

Local media plays a large role in growth projects, often acting simultaneously as a source of news for the community and as a project booster for growth machines. Logan and Molotch highlighted the interest of local media in growth projects showing that if a media source had fully saturated the community market, the only way for the media source to grow is an expanded market. Furthermore, editorials are not the only means for local newspapers to promote development programs. Boyle (1999) argues, "newspaper coverage of local events (particularly local efforts to attract inward investment), is cited as one of the main vehicles through which UPPs [Urban Propaganda Projects] are mobilized" (1999:66). This goes beyond opinions of an editorial board to a direct influence on growth language and discourse centered on development projects. The stories that newspapers choose to tell, as well as the ones they disregard, and the tone in which the stories are written work to influence public opinion of growth projects. This is especially evident in areas with only one major newspaper.

The two primary media sources used for analysis in this project are the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* and the *Metro Pulse*. The *Knoxville News-Sentinel* is in the top 100 newspapers in the country in terms of weekly readership and circulation (Newspaper Association of America and BurrellesLuce)¹⁶. The newspaper has a daily circulation of almost 120,000 and a Sunday circulation of 150,000. The paper is owned by E.W. Scripps Company, a large media corporation that owns 18 other newspapers, 10 TV broadcast stations, 5 cable and satellite stations, and online search and shopping services such as Shopzilla.com. The *Knoxville News-Sentinel* is often criticized on their coverage of local media, an especially alarming claim because many community members rely on the daily paper for their news. In discussions of WWI plans, Councilwoman Carlene Malone is quoted as saying "I don't think they've done the investigative work. But I don't see their failure to do investigative work as uncommon for the *News-Sentinel*. I don't know if it's been good, but it's been consistent with their coverage" (Malone quoted in Tarr 2000b: 5).

Metro Pulse is an alternative weekly that began in 1991 and has grown to boost a weekly circulation of 35,000. For a period of time it was locally owned and a self-proclaimed alternative news source¹⁷, but the magazine was bought by E.W. Scripps Company in July 2007. The previous owner of Metro Pulse was Brian Conley, a major developer in Knoxville, who bought the magazine in 2003. To understand the role of the media in growth networks, editorials, specific writers, and themes will be analyzed.

I. Harry Moskos

Harry Moskos was the editor of the *News-Sentinel* from 1984 - 2001, but had been a part of the Scripps network since 1953. He often ran commentaries and editorials on development projects that worked to promote growth plans. He often focused on the controversial aspects of the development projects and utilized growth machine language and tactics to argue against the concerns of opposition movements while emphasizing the

¹⁶ In 2006, The Newspaper Association of America ranked the *News-Sentinel* as number 77 out of 100 in terms of weekly readership and BurrellesLuce ranks the *News-Sentinel* as number 89 out of 100 in circulation.

¹⁷ Some community members have argued the claim that Metro Pulse is an alternative weekly since the developer Brian Conley bought the magazine.

benefits for the community. Moskos addressed the Turkey Creek wetland controversy by emphasizing that developers were going to improve, not destroy, the wetlands.

While there is concern among some about the impact the extension will have on Turkey Creek wetlands in the area, we still see the project as a positive move from two key points: needed improvement to the traffic flow as well as a net increase in the wetlands. The road project, located between and parallel to Kingston Pike and Interstate 40/75, will provide a third east-west link from Campbell Station Road to Cedar Bluff Road. There is little doubt that such a road is needed.

At present there are 22 acres of wetlands located in seven different pockets. When the project is completed, there will be 33 acres of contiguous wetlands that will be there in perpetuity.

What now is a pocket of wetlands will become an environmental teaching center to be operated by the Ijams Nature Center. The springhead will not be disturbed by the road project or other developments (Moskos 1996).

In response to the growing concern of some county commissioner on the necessity of the justice center, Moskos condemned the officials for only focusing on short-term goals and not future needs of the community.

As a community, we have an aversion to planning ahead.

We will do anything to keep from looking at the big picture. Our officials seem more concerned about fixing today's pothole than making a commitment for the future.

The proposed justice center provides an example of failing to look ahead. What we delay doing today will only cost much more later.

That could be because, as voters, we tend to reward our elected officials for short-term fixes, although we are the first to criticize them for the absence of long-term planning.

A justice center is a long-term solution, and a short cut is not the path to take (Moskos 1997b).

Furthermore, he reiterated booster claims of the possible increased economic development in downtown if the justice center is built.

There is much potential for the downtown, if only we would coordinate the planning.

The State Street area again will come under consideration -- as it should -- since this site could easily serve as a catalyst for development of the north end of the downtown area.

The south end is already developed, and the Women's Basketball Hall of Fame will boost the east boundary, while the World's Fair Park serves as downtown's anchor on the west (Moskos 1997c).

Moskos further promoted the project by emphasizing that not only did Knox County need a new jail but also a federal court demanded that one is built.

Knox County is well along in the process of planning a new downtown jail -- a facility that is not only sorely needed but one the county is under a federal court order to get built.

Knox County, fortunately, is well along in the planning of the new jail, which is being designed by the Knoxville architectural firm of Barber & McMurry Inc. As distasteful as it sounds to the average citizen to pick up the tab for a new jail, it is a project that is needed, and the sooner construction starts the better (Moskos 1998).

Moskos fully utilized both value-free development and civic pride to endorse the convention center project.

The No. 1 priority, however, is to get it built since Knoxville must address its lack of adequate convention facilities. The success of such a project must include a united front involving city, county and state officials.

Knoxville is facing stiffer competition from our neighboring cities to attract conventions. Gatlinburg has built a new convention center. The Chattanooga/Hamilton County Convention and Trade Center was recently refurbished, and a \$50million Meadow View Conference Resort and Convention Center recently opened at Kingsport to serve the Tri-Cities area. That complex includes a \$19million convention center, a \$25million Marriott Hotel and a \$6million golf course.

Downtown Knoxville has much to offer.

It finally appears we are now looking at the big picture, which is not only good news for downtown but the entire community (Moskos 1997a).

Moskos used his editorials to promote and advertise development programs by employing common growth machine tactics such as value-free development and the invocation of civic pride. The development programs were boosted as necessary and/or beneficial plans for the community.

II. Frank Cagle

Frank Cagle is described as a political columnist, but his influence goes much farther. He has worked for the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* since 1982. In 1990, he was named assistant managing editor and in 1996 was promoted to managing editor. In 1999, he became Associate Editor, a position that included chairing the editorial board and overseeing the editorial pages. In 2001, he left the *News-Sentinel* to join Victor Ashe as Deputy Mayor. Currently he is editor of *Knoxville Magazine* and writes a weekly column for the *Metro Pulse*. His influence of media and Knoxville business and government elite should not be overshadowed by his conservative and often combative views that are widely read and often controversial.

In one of his more colorful articles, Cagle denounced the efforts of environmentalists working to save the wetlands in Turkey Creek. His article, titled

"Turkeys Want to Save Endangered Fescue"¹⁸," begins with comparing journalists to environmentalists. He suggests that anyone can call themselves a writer or an environmentalist, but true journalists and true environmentalists can be discerned by credibility of track records or organizations for which they work. He said the News-Sentinel had reported on many environmental groups over the years and they had learned to distinguish the responsible, credible groups from "who the crazies are" (1996). He goes on to praise the projects of several environmental groups and then accuse the Turkey Creek Wetland Alliance of undercutting efforts of other groups, wasting energy, resources, and public credulity. His article continued and the following are a few of his statements:

The cause celebre for these logic-impaired shouters is a flooded hay field in the middle of West Knox County between Kingston Pike and Interstate 40. You probably never thought of Lovell Road as a wilderness area on par with the Everglades.

They portray Parkside developers as Mother Nature rapers because the developers want to build another badly needed east-west traffic artery in addition to Kingston Pike and I-40 and develop that large chunk of property.

To the developers of this project I can only offer the cynical old adage that no good deed goes unpunished.

One hopes the business community doesn't judge their efforts by the obstructionist methods of the Turkey Creek Alliance (1996).

In discussion of World's Fair Park, the baseball stadium, convention center, and the justice center, Cagle recounted failed projects and the need for stronger leadership in downtown development. He argued against the constant proposals for development World's Fair simply because the government already owns the land. He suggested leaving the park alone and investing money in demolishing or renovating the older buildings in downtown that are an eyesore to visitors and residents alike (1997).

In response to the opposition mounting to the justice center, Cagle wrote "OhmyGod! There's a jail downtown!" (2000a). He begins the article stating:

I guess it's time to ask Sevier County if it'll build Knox County a jail¹⁹. It's going to be a hard sell and it will be awfully inconvenient to book a drunk driver, but if it worked for the Smokies baseball stadium, maybe it will work for the justice center.

¹⁸ Fescue is a genus of perennial grass that is used for lawns or hay. Cagle (1996) described the Turkey Creek wetlands as a flooded hayfield and implied that the environmentalists who opposed the development project were fighting to save a field of fescue, a common grass in East Tennessee.

¹⁹ In 1996, government officials debated building a new stadium for The Smokies, Knoxville's minor league baseball team, after the team's manager hinted at relocation unless the old stadium was renovated or a new stadium was built. The city council approved \$12 million for the facility but constant debate on the location of the stadium and increased estimated costs hindered the development project. After several

One of Knoxville's favorite parlor games is to name the most powerful 30 people in town. My answer is always any 30 people who wander in off the street at the last minute to kill any public project that is ever proposed. That appears to be happening again as a campaign is being mounted to kill the Knox County justice center, which has been at least five years in the planning (2000a).

Cagle continued on in a question and answer type format to which he affirmed that the jail was necessary, it would promote downtown development, and it would make downtown safer. He reaffirmed his position again a week later and simultaneously boosted the newest development plan of Earl Worsham:

Even a jaded cynic, who has seen forty-eleven futile development proposals for downtown Knoxville, has to be excited by the plan unveiled last week by the Public Building Authority and Mayor Victor Ashe.

The adjacent commercial development is built on very real and doable projects, not pie-in-the-sky proposals based on out-of-state companies possibly participating. Ron Watkins and Earl Worsham, the architects of the proposal, have proven track records and ties to the community.

I'm sure there are people who will find reasons why Knoxville just isn't capable of handling this project. But over 17 years after the World's Fair, or 6,500 days, as Jim Haslam puts it, I think the community is fed up with talk, promises and what-ifs.

There seems to be a feeling on the part of most people that Knoxville has to decide to be a city again.

Nashville didn't write off its downtown because everyone moved to Brentwood. Chattanooga didn't quit because everyone moved to Red Bank and Signal Mountain. And Knoxville needs to decide to be a city even if West Knox County²⁰ has become the center of population growth.

We have reached a point where boldness is the only option.

That's why, if the county needs to build a justice center, this area is ideal in the overall redevelopment proposal for downtown. A public project in this area rehabilitates an area that is unlikely to be privately developed.

New court buildings, clerk offices, sheriff's office and jail, moved from the City County Building, complement the development that is planned going west to the fair site.

The failure of the justice center project would leave a gaping hole between new development, which stops at Gay Street, and the Old City (2000b).

Cagle utilized the same tactics as Moskos, but his tone and condemnation for development challengers or obstacles were more blunt. For the Turkey Creek development, he ridiculed and demeaned the environmental activists as irrational and uninformed. In his discussion of the justice center, he again condemned the people who opposed the development project. In the last example he promoted both Worsham's

years, a \$19 million brand-new, state-of-the art facility was built for the Smokies; the only downside for Knoxville was that it was built in Sevier County, twenty miles down the road.

²⁰ A common but incorrect statistic used by Knoxville boosters in both suburban and urban development projects is that the statistical center of Knox County population has moved almost to Lovell Road in West Knoxville (Cagle 2000b, Womack 1997). According to Knox County MPC data, the statistical center of Knox County in 2000 was less than four miles from the center city and well over ten miles to Lovell Road.

proposal and the justice center by criticizing those who might oppose the project, urging community members to move forward, comparing Knoxville to Nashville and Chattanooga, and finally, emphasizing the potential benefits of the development projects to the community if built.

III. *Knoxville News-Sentinel* Editorials

The editorials of the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* show an unwavering support of development and growth. In growth machine theory, local media is shown as one of the monopolistic type enterprises that are not directly involved in development, but maintain key roles as boosters for growth projects. The following are editorials in which the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* utilized both value-free development and civic pride to urge community members and governmental officials to support the various development projects. Editorials supporting the justice center focused on Knoxville's continued reluctance to support development and government's need to move ahead.

Perhaps the justice center suffers from a common malady going around -- a lack of vision about the future of downtown Knoxville. There is no shortage of projects: justice center, convention center, women's basketball hall of fame and baseball stadium for the Knoxville Smokies.

Knoxville needs to begin realizing its potential instead of always being on the verge of doing something. In the case of the justice center, there is little question the project is needed; there also is little question that it will cost money (1997b).

With two committees voting in the affirmative, plans for a new justice center are headed to the full Knox County Commission on Monday, Nov 17. We urge the commissioners to approve the project and move on to the construction phase.

The commission's decision on Monday will be an important step in the community's history. We strongly encourage the commissioners to approve the project's location (1997c).

Subsequent editorials covering the justice center focused on how the project would boost downtown development and prove to be an asset for the entire community.

Work on the justice center could tie up or even close a portion of Gay Street with the current renovation project of the old Miller's building, the new headquarters of the Knoxville Utilities Board. The result is a double dose of progress for downtown.

Now we can look forward to the justice center nearing its construction phase, and we can look forward to downtown taking on a different look.

We also hope the cooperation that helped bring these plans nearer fruition will carry over into other phases of the county's business as well. That's something else we want to look forward to (1998).

The project is good for the county and the justice system, and it has the added benefit of improving the look of the central business district and possibly spurring additional development in a moribund downtown area. It could do for the north end of town what the present City County Building has done for the south end of town (1999).

The Turkey Creek development was also boosted by *News-Sentinel* editorials, which praised the economic and social benefits of the project while skirting over the controversies. Fiscal returns and new jobs were mentioned twice in the following editorial and although controversy over the building of Parkside Drive was hinted at without any specificity, the next sentence praised the development for protecting the environment.

The awarding of bids for the project is significant because that action will launch one of the largest commercial developments in Knox County's history, one that has the potential to generate millions of dollars in tax revenue and countless new jobs.

Parkside Drive itself is the key to the future commercial development center in the Turkey Creek area of Farragut. Yet, the building of Parkside Drive, controversial at times, is only one aspect of the entire project. Also involved are a cooperative public-private partnership that is making the effort work, innovations in planning commercial retail centers and an emphasis on protecting the environment.

The city, the county and the town of Farragut, of course, will reap rewards in the form of property tax and sales tax revenues. The creation of new jobs also will enhance the area's economy, not to mention the well-being of its residents.

We praise the joint effort of local government and private development that has enabled this project to move forward. We look for it to play an important role in the area's commercial life in the years ahead (1997a).

The convention center was promoted as a needed project that would boost the economy and attract thousands of visitors, most of whom would be part of professional and business groups.

There is little doubt the convention center is needed.

A state-of-the art convention center can have a positive ripple effect. That is why local businesses should accept a possible increase in the gross receipts tax to help fund the center or devise an alternative.

The new center will attract thousands of visitors from other parts of the country and perhaps the world who will spend money on food and lodging as well as gifts and souvenirs. We hope they will return home and spread the good news about Knoxville and its quality of life, encouraging other businesses and organizations to hold their conventions here and possibly consider relocating.

By the same token, we cannot expect to have a high quality of business and professional groups coming to Knoxville without a top-notch convention center. We need to keep our expectations high.

Those factors should make the convention center a project that merits the immediate attention of the business community and the city and county governments. Let this not be an undertaking that everyone desperately wants while waiting for someone else to act (1999).

Editorials for Worsham's project focused on the impact the plan would have on downtown development while simultaneously condemning Knoxvilleians for lack of pride and expectation in the city.

If redevelopment of downtown Knoxville could proceed at top speed, it would be nice to see the plan announced by Worsham Watkins International moving forward today.

This is the most comprehensive plan for downtown development since proposals connected to the 1982 World's Fair, and too many of those were lost. In the last 18 years, too often Knoxville has been a city of diminishing expectations. Too many have been waiting on someone else to make the move, do the work and, most importantly, pay for it. We hope the hearings will focus on the many positive aspects of the plan, enabling the developers to work out problems and close gaps before the proposal goes to the PBA and council.

If it is accepted, we can look forward to a revitalized and vibrant downtown (2000b).

The editorials for the *News-Sentinel* are clear examples of growth machine language and ideology. Value-free development and civic pride are used consistently to support and promote the various development projects.

IV. *Metro Pulse*

Metro Pulse's coverage of projects differed from the *News-Sentinel*. Whereas the *News-Sentinel* most often offered unwavering support for growth projects, *Metro Pulse* considerably questioned the proposed justice center, convention center, Worsham's proposals, and the Turkey Creek development. Discussion of development projects in the *Metro Pulse* was often more critical, with emphasis on both definitions of the word as the *Metro Pulse* often provided deeper insight and evaluation of projects and simultaneously was often criticized for severe judgment.

Metro Pulse joined the Turkey Creek debate late in the game, but in November of 1997, the cover story was the Turkey Creek development and the ensuing conflicts over the wetlands. Although there had been one small article published months before, the first extensive report on the development project written by Jack Neely and Jesse Fox Mayshark (1997) was titled "Supersize It! Local officials and a prestigious team of developers love the giant Turkey Creek development in far West Knoxville. Should the rest of us?" It began by questioning the stated need and reasoning (i.e. the solution for traffic congestion) behind Parkside Drive's construction, but affirmed that it seemed apparent that the road was built solely for commercial development. The article

continued by recalling the "cheerful" front-page story in the *News-Sentinel* that announced and promoted the development plan (1997: 11).

Metro Pulse took a less cheerful stance in discussion of the development project and proposed road. They questioned the use of taxpayers' dollars for the road despite claims by developers and officials that this was an excellent example of public-private partnership. Others, *Metro Pulse* claimed, called the \$4.1 million one of the largest subsidies of private development in the county's history. Neely and Mayshark also addressed an aspect that was never discussed in the *News-Sentinel*, the ideology or culture represented by developments such as Turkey Creek and consequences of such development projects. Their description of it is as follows:

The Turkey Creek project seems like the apotheosis of a certain philosophy of development. It is the biggest, the newest, the most suburban, the farthest west. (It even comes complete with an environmental controversy.) But it's also the kind of development that has come under increasing fire for furthering the demise of downtowns, the cannibalization of the retail center, the autocracy of the automobile. (Neely and Mayshark 1997: 12).

Neely and Mayshark also used another city as an example, but not to promote the development but to question the proposed benefits. Officials from Chattanooga, the often-used comparison in promoting Knoxville development, viewed development projects on the fringes of city limits as potential dangers to development strategies of the city as a whole. Chattanooga city council members had gone as far to threaten using city funds to pay developers not to build on large tracts of land far from the city center because the long-term consequences outweighed the boosted economic benefits. Karen Hunt, Chattanooga's director of comprehensive planning stated:

Obviously, new commercial development *seems* to bring in tax revenue, but one of the things that cities forget is that only so many people can buy so many things. Instead of bringing in new dollars, often you're just shifting them around. A new suburban development drains from the center city, and even from older suburban areas. When you look at what's left behind, the net result is often zero (Hunt quoted in Neely and Mayshark 1997:30).

Furthermore, the magazine faxed Howard Kunstler, a frequent contributor to the New York Times and author of several books about architecture and metropolitan planning, a copy of the *News-Sentinel's* glowing report on the Turkey Creek development. His response was that "this is exactly the kind of cancerous development that is going to lead to a spectacular collapse in suburban real-estate values. This kind of

development can be described as part of a social condition- I call it the *automobile slum*. This is the terminology that people should use when discussing this sort of proposal" (Kunstler quoted in Neely and Mayshark 1997: 30-31).

For the most part, *Metro Pulse* supported WWI's proposal initially, but it was often described with reservation. The alternative weekly agreed that something dramatic would be a strong catalyst for redevelopment for downtown, but they extensively wrote on the criticisms, opposition, and secrecy of plans. Failure to explain property acquisitions to owners, residents, in businesses in Market Square and a block on Gay Street were questioned extensively.

In anticipation for development plans by Worsham and Watkins, rumors were circulating over the glass dome in Market Square to create a shopping center. Again, *Metro Pulse* used another city to argue against this kind of development. A private developer built the Church Street Center in downtown Nashville in 1987. The 180,000-square-foot mall was an attempt to compete with suburban malls that had become the primary retail centers in the Nashville areas. It was hoped that the downtown mall would compliment the convention center and hotel connected to it, but the development project failed. In 1999, Nashville bought the building and demolished it for a public library. Gerald Nicely, executive director of Nashville's Metropolitan Development and Housing Agency explained, "It simply didn't make it. I think the general feeling was, rather than be anything unique to downtown, they tried to compete with suburban malls and it simply didn't work" (Nicely quoted in Mayshark and Tarr 1997:7).

Metro Pulse also supported the idea of a planetarium when it was first introduced. Despite a few comments questioning Knoxville's connection with a planetarium, the alternative weekly argued that it could be a viable destination attraction downtown. After several months, further reports were far from supportive. In an editorial eight months after Universe Knoxville was introduced, Jesse Fox Mayshark (2001) argued that that Worsham and the project boosters had progressed little in terms of actual planning and explanations of financing. His opinion was as follows:

I do not believe, and I flat out resent, their ongoing Chicken Little routine about how if Universe Knoxville doesn't happen, we're all doomed. This now-or-never, all-or-nothing, used-car-salesman shtick is the same game Worsham Watkins ran in trying to muscle through their last downtown Knoxville proposal (which fell apart almost entirely because

of their own fuzzy math and fuzzier thinking, whoever else they may currently blame for it.) ... The U.K.ers have gone on to mount an amateurish campaign that has seemed to consist mostly of printing up buttons and bumper stickers and advertising supplements so full of fluff they practically float. They have cajoled Chamber members, academics, politicians, and the media to join their impress-the-rubes marketing blitz, at the same time privately badmouthing anyone who raises questions (and periodically threatening to take the whole kit-and-caboodle over to Pidgeon Forge as punishment for Knox Countians; reluctance to just pay up and shut up) (Mayshark 2001: 5).

Metro Pulse continued its criticism of the Universe Project in February 2002, with comments on a City Council workshop on the development project that came less than a week before council members voted to approve \$5 million for the project. Scott McNutt (2002) applauded the developers and backers for their overwhelming confidence and commitment, but explained that when asked specific questions about the project, developers could not give answers. McNutt gives a random sample of answers to the project, which he explains that the questions themselves aren't important. The eleven answers follow basically the lines "I can't give you any specifics on that," "But we are committed to it," and "We're not sure" (McNutt 2002:5).

Community Reactions

Community reactions varied across projects as well as across time and as with pro-growth boosters, the reactions of the community were fragmented. The following section will outline basic reactions to the development projects. Deeper examination is given to these reactions later in the chapter.

I. Gay Street Development

1. Justice Center

The opposition movement to the justice center did not fully emerge until early 2000. Previous opposition might have been weaker because boosters for the justice center promoted the facility as a downtown development of courts and offices, more than a maximum-security jail. As the project continued and it was made clearer that the courts and offices would come much later, if at all and what was really being built was a \$90 million jail that included the sheriff's office.

Discussion of the justice center opposition movement must include the Internet group k2k. k2k began in October 1999 by Buzz Goss and Cherie Piercy-Goss as a forum for discussion on downtown development. As debate on the justice center increased, a core group in k2k began using the forum to push the opposition movement forward by planning strategy, announcing meetings, and pushing petitions. In less than three weeks, the group collected 3,000 petition signatures (Lyons 2004).

In January 2000, opponents of the jail raised \$10,000 for news and air advertisements to educate the public on the actual development plans and rally opposition. Many "letters to the editor" in January 2000, asked officials to rethink the justice center. Many people argued that the jail would hurt downtown development; others argued the need for a \$90 million justice center when schools are facing a \$53 million shortfall. Regina Rizzi, a graduate student at UTK, responded to Cagle's article "OhmyGod! There's a jail downtown!" by commending him on his ability to sidestep many pertinent facts. Rizzi also argued against Cagle's portrayals of opponents as a few members of downtown by collecting 100 petition signatures from members across Knox County in two days. Later that same month, over 100 people attended a public forum featuring a debate between DA General Randy Nichols and Sheriff Tim Hutchison. It was reported that the overwhelming majority opposed the project. The next day it was announced that the CBID directors voted to ask the County Commission to reconsider the downtown justice center. Community members, downtown activists and business owners mobilized to effectively make their voice heard.

2. The Convention Center

The convention center did not receive the level of opposition of the other development projects; the majority of the initial debate centered mostly on where the facility should be located. This is not to say that the public was in agreement on the necessity of the project, but the contenders against the project itself were all but drowned out in both the *News-Sentinel* and *Metro Pulse*. When the city council approved PBA's recommendation of World's Fair Park as the location for the convention center, debate then centered on how to connect the Park to the heart of downtown. This is primarily the basis of Worsham's involvement. When his proposal to transform all of downtown was

rejected, the necessary link for the park to downtown seemed to have been forgotten as well. Five years after the grand opening, the failings of the convention center are still discussed. The linkage was never developed and convention visitors have not made a considerable impact on the downtown economy. Jack Neely (2007b) described a visit to the convention center during a meeting when 18,000 students and family members came to Knoxville, but few businesses downtown benefited from their stay.

I wanted to grab them by their lanyards and explain a few things. The Convention Center was built, in large part, to draw you paying customers downtown. We need the sales-tax revenue from your purchases in the CBID, which is earmarked for rebuilding the budget. You are, after all, the ones who were supposed to help us pay for the damn thing (Neely 2007b).

This initial response is replaced as Neely described what he called "our blank face of welcome." There are no signs describing what lays beyond the six lanes of traffic and a visitor standing in the Convention Center plaza is given no information of attractions or entertainment in downtown. Support for the convention center has waned as the project fails to live up to booster's claims.

3. Earl Worsham

According to the Metro Pulse, it was an eclectic group of community residents and businessmen at the unveiling of WWI's initial redevelopment plan. Although the first two rows and box seats were filled with "shades of navy blue," those in the rear and balcony consisted of students, community activists, architects, retirees, and restaurants owners. As former PBA head Mike Edwards led the group through a PowerPoint slide showing the develop plan, the reaction of community members was not what the developers or businessmen had exactly expected. A few elements in the development plan such as a movies theater and possible Scripps media center drew applause, other elements were met with silence and "one, Edwards' almost buried statement that 'consideration should be given to an unobtrusive glass enclosure' over Market Square, generated scattered boos and hisses" (Mayshark 2000:5).

Furthermore, the public waited to see more finalized drawings and plans, but PBA and WWI developers were not forthcoming with details. At the unveiling, Edwards assured that they would be asking for public input on the development project, but as the

weeks went on a public forum was never scheduled. By February, many community residents and activists began demanding to see more detailed elements of the proposal, which was paid for by public funds and if approved would use large amounts of public funds to redevelop public places in downtown. Metro Pulse went as far as to file a Freedom of Information request in February, but PBA denied to release further information. PBA attorney Tom McAdams argued that the project was still in the development stages and releasing specifics would only "confuse" the public (Tarr 2000). Architect and developer Buzz Goss, a staunch advocate and activist in downtown redevelopment, continued his arguments for a more open planning process.

The process they have asked us to respond to is not the process they're going through. I don't know how we can have any faith in the process. If they come back with signed leases, how can we possibly believe [PBA and City Council] are going to listen the public input? It comes across as arrogance- 'Look we know what's best, we're going to do it, you're going to take it and you're going to like it.' That's certainly the way it comes across (Goss quoted in Tarr 2000a: 5).

Initial community reactions to Universe Knoxville in media reports looked favorable, but closer examinations show that there were a few people who did not believe the planetarium was all it was boosted to be. An anonymous group set up a website that closely mimicked the official website of Universe Knoxville, but included a few editorial changes. On the UnKnoxville website it changed the official slogan, "Reach for the stars, Knoxville" to "Reach for your wallets, Knoxville." Furthermore, instead of booster talk of benefits and such, the UnKnoxville website exclaims "the Universe Knoxville proposal offers a centerpiece in the nonexistent plan for the city . . . It will infuse new visitors into existing attractions, raising the number of infusions for everyone infused. It will provide endless hours of enjoyment for those who profit from it" (*Metro Pulse* 2001: 4). Worsham's projects drew initial interest and support from many community members, but lack of information and the size of the proposals impacted that support.

II. Turkey Creek

As mentioned in the prior section, the first and most hostile movement began in response to the construction of Parkside Drive over the 22-acre wetlands. The Turkey Creek Wetland Alliance, Tennessee Valley Energy Reform Coalition executive director Stephen A. Smith, Knox County League of Women Voters President Daphne Murdock,

University of Tennessee professor and President of The Foundation for Global Sustainability John Nolt, City Council members Carlene Malone and Ivan Harmon all were either frontrunners of or voiced support to the opposition movement. As environmentalists debated and protested, developers assured the public that they were looking to enhance the wetlands, not destroy them.

The *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, as the only daily newspaper in Knox County, must be credited for some of the failings of the environmentalists. It is arguable that the group could have ever succeeded in dealing with the developers and government officials, but the *News-Sentinel* coverage on the wetland controversy did nothing to help the environmentalists. Initial reports by the *New-Sentinel* examined both the developers' and the environmentalists' arguments, but by the end of 1996 stories began leaning much heavier towards the developers. Reports began focusing on how the developers were going to improve the wetlands, citing experts and consultants hired by the Turkey Creek Land Partners. One article written reported on a public hearing on the extension of Parkside Drive in which the three and a half hour forum that included over forty speakers. The journalist concluded that it was a good thing that the decision was going to be made by reason and not emotion because " A casual observer would have thought that the plan by the developers and the city of Knoxville would upset not only the ecological balance of West Knox County, but perhaps that of the entire Earth as well" (Womack 1996). Subsequent reports focused on how the road would relieve traffic congestion and the development would boost the economy. If the wetlands were mentioned it was primarily to show how the developers were going to enhance them.

Currently, Turkey Creek embodies the split in ideologies of suburbanites and center city supporters. Many community members enjoy the vast array of stores and entertainment options available in the development; others dislike the size and implied culture of the retail mecca.

David Dewhirst

The tactics, ideology, and community reaction to the development projects of David Dewhirst differ from the large development proposals. His projects were much smaller in scale and cost, referencing both cost to Dewhirst and cost to the community.

Dewhirst emphasized historical preservation and Knoxville's distinct history, which further influenced the manner in which he is perceived in the community. The projects of Dewhirst did not receive the amount of media attention that the larger projects did and mentions of Dewhirst are persistently favorable.

The drive to buy up older buildings in downtown Knoxville and the Old City has slowed in the past few years, said Buzz Goss, architect for Goss-Piercy-Goss at 1371/2 Gay St.

"When David and I met, the Old City was just coming on, and momentum was building in the renovation of the older buildings," Goss said. "When the baseball stadium fiasco and justice center problems began, the interest went away. What's refreshing is he still has the enthusiasm to continue."

Dewhirst's latest purchase is the Emporium Building at the corner of Gay Street and Jackson Avenue. The property was owned by Kristopher Kendrick, one of Knoxville's leading developers of historic buildings.

"Having a man like David who has youth, maturity and optimism, I was never in it for the bucks, and neither is he. It is a creative expression," Kendrick said.

Yet when he finished with that one building, he bought another -- Knox Jewelry and Loan at 137 Gay St " (Flannagan 2001).

Dewhirst focused on preserving the history of downtown and contended suburban type developments.

One of my sincere hopes is that we don't refer to Market Square "Mall" ever again. It does appear that this {WWI} plan is really being thought of in terms of convention center visitors first and Knoxville's residents second. I don't know if that's true, but that's the way it appears. (Dewhirst quoted in Tarr 1999:7.)

I can't imagine why anyone would want a mall-like structure over the top of probably the best jewel downtown has to offer. To try and give downtown a suburban feel, that doesn't make sense to me (Dewhirst quoted in Mayshark and Tarr 1999: 7).

Across the country people are rediscovering the intrinsic value of living, working and playing in urban spaces, and consequently, downtowns are experiencing rapid revitalization. Downtown Knoxville is uniquely situated to take advantage of this renewed vivacity for urban life due to its varied historic building stock and nearly ideal topography for urban success.(Civic Vision for Downtown Knoxville)

Dewhirst is examined in this study because he is an example of the type of developer who has succeeded in transforming downtown Knoxville. He is a representative of a group of downtown boosters who push increased downtown residents and preservation of heritage as the fundamental aspects of revitalization.

Conclusions

The tactics of growth machines, ideology, and culture are all important factors in community reactions and pro-growth coalition fragmentation. The stories of these projects show that there is not one growth machine or one community reaction involved in the development projects. The projects and proposals involve numerous groups and actors that make up a complex web of support, opposition, boosting, and hostility. No one group drives all the development, but there is a definite interconnection of actors and groups. This chapter analyzed the tactics used by growth machines, the special role of local media, and community reactions. The next chapter will examine conclusions that can be drawn from this project and possible avenues of continued research.

CHAPTER VI: THE EVALUATION

The central research statement of this project stated in the introduction was that urban and suburban growth machines differ in local dependency and organization; ideology, culture, and tactics; and community reaction. The hypotheses for this study were twofold. First, in comparison to suburban growth machines, urban growth machines would experience less community hostility, more local dependency, and more emphasis on local culture or historical heritage. Second, conversely, in comparison to their urban counterparts, suburban growth machines would experience more hostility by community members, more national or cross-national corporations, and less emphasis on local culture or historical heritage.

The three main components of the hypothesis were the level of local dependency and organization, the level of hostility or support by community members, and the level of emphasis on culture or historical heritage. Each of these can be examined to test the hypothesis. First, an examination of the level of local dependency and organization is necessary. Initially, Knoxvillians comprised the majority of the actors who proposed both Turkey Creek and the downtown development plans. But whereas local entrepreneurs still primarily drive downtown development, Turkey Creek and the Pinnacle are now mainly comprised of large, national corporations. The organization of the growth machines was also analyzed and I concluded that there is not a single growth machine that drove development in any of the projects studied. This is an important distinction that will be discussed further in a later section.

Second, the tactics used, and the culture and ideology employed, remained very similar in each project. The use of value-free development and the invocation of civic pride were the two most prominent tactics used to promote the development projects. Third, community reactions varied over time through each project, except those by Dewhirst, and geography and scale were important factors in the level of community hostility to the development projects.

My conclusion for this project is that my original hypotheses were in part right and in part wrong. Local dependency differed between the growth machines, culture and

ideology was similar for all the projects, and community reactions varied over project and over time. However, despite the inconclusiveness of my hypothesis, this project revealed other, perhaps more influential, factors in understanding pro-growth coalitions and development in metropolitan areas. Several specific themes emerged that greatly impact the influence of pro-growth coalitions and further examination of these themes can build on theories of development. Each of these interacts to compound consequences of development projects and strengthen pro-growth influence.

Growth Machine vs. Pro-Growth Coalitions

One of the most important themes that emerged in this project is that there is not a single growth machine that drives development. In the original growth machine theory it was *one* group that primarily drove development in a city, and even though there were tensions and conflicts within the machine it was still *one* group of entrepreneurs and developers. The projects and proposals I studied show that there was *not one* growth machine or group that drives development. It could be said that there are many pro-growth coalitions in Knoxville, and although the members of these coalitions do believe that growth is good, they have very different ideas of what this growth should look like. This is more than a tension in a growth machine, but outright hostility and opposition of some pro-growth boosters to other pro-growth boosters in debates and discussions of different development projects.

Entrepreneurs in Knoxville may all believe that growth is good, but they differ in their visions of what the growth should look like. This is more than a semantic differentiation, but a difference in culture and ideology. This differentiation is also evident in the involvement or opposition of government officials, community members, and media outlets. The *Metro Pulse* continually advocates development in downtown, but it is a very specific kind of development, i.e. they supported nothing that epitomizes the architecture and culture surrounding suburban-type developments. The original growth machine postulates that growth machine members believe that all growth is good and that there may exist tensions between individual members, the values and ideologies of the members remains the same. The stories of Knoxville prove that this is not true because it

assumes a common definition for the word "growth." Ideas of growth and development are not uniform or homogeneous, even within members of the same class in the same geographical area.

Government

Government is far more influential in the development process than I initially anticipated. The governments of Knoxville and Knox County were heavily involved as entrepreneurs in the development projects, and this involvement ranged from entirely proposing and funding projects, to approving funds or incentives to support development^{21,22}. The role of government in the projects or proposals of the convention center, justice center, and Renaissance Knoxville was of the initiator or main actor. Government was heavily involved in Turkey Creek, Universe Knoxville, and the projects defined by Dewhirst by approving and funding road projects, providing tax breaks, and contracting and paying for studies and proposals.

The level of support of government was not homogeneous for each project. Clear divisions between county and city government ideologies emerged specifically in the proposal for the justice center. Clear opposition and hostility can be seen in the large development proposals between individual members of Knoxville City Council, Knox County Commission, governmental boards such as the Public Building Authority, and various other elected or appointed officials. Here, it is emphasized again that ideas of

²¹

Public Money proposed and spent on each development project

Project	Highest Proposed Spending	Actual Spending
Justice Center	\$106 million	\$9.34 million
Convention Center	\$127 million	\$127 million
Renaissance Knoxville	\$160 million	\$1.4 million
Universe Knoxville	\$5 million plus \$2 million annual debt payment	\$200,000
Turkey Creek	\$5.5 million	\$5.5 million

²² Although David Dewhirst was not given direct public funds, he did receive tax breaks and reduced rates for obtaining permits as part of an incentive package designed to increase downtown residential development. As part of the governmental lease of the Emporium, Dewhirst and his partner received \$186,725 annually for ten years.

growth and development are not uniform even within governing officials in a small geographic area.

Geography and Scale

Geography and scale emerged as two important factors in understanding community reactions and conflicts over use and exchange values in the original growth machine theory. Geography and scale heavily impacted community reactions to the development projects. Because the downtown development projects examined in this study were, by definition, plans in the center city, debate and opposition was greater because they were located in a place in which many people live, own businesses, visit, or work. Scale was important because the more expansive the development proposals were, the more people became involved in the consequences, both good and bad, of the projects. This clearly highlights the division in ideologies of pro-growth coalitions. The justice center, convention center, Renaissance Knoxville, and Universe Knoxville were large development projects that would impact many community members, visitors, workers, and entrepreneurs, which prompted more debate. Dewhirst was able to avoid much of this scrutiny because his projects were smaller in scale. On the other hand, the more isolated location of Turkey Creek was in part an advantage to the developers because it minimized the reaction to the scale of the project. Despite the claims of the project boosters, the statistical center of Knox County was not at Lovell Road; it was on Western Avenue, a few miles from downtown. Therefore there were fewer businesses, residents, visitors, and workers directly affected by the proposal and construction of Turkey Creek in comparison to downtown. This ties directly into understanding conflicts over use and exchange value.

Geography and scale also impacted conflicts over use and exchange values, a central component of Logan and Molotch's original theory. Turkey Creek was far removed from the majority of Knoxville residents so the hostility that resulted in conflicts over use and exchange values was lessened. In downtown, the conflicts and opposition were much more pronounced, but they were not primarily centered on conflicts of use and exchange value between residents and entrepreneurs as Logan and Molotch stated. Many

of the conflicts that arose out of the downtown development proposals were between different pro-growth groups or specific entrepreneurs and the conflicts focused on a community use value of the center city. The different ideologies of entrepreneurs and community members created factions in the development process as many individuals and groups opposed proposals and projects that, despite the potential fiscal returns, would deter from what they believed downtown Knoxville was or should be. The success of the development projects by Dewhirst were in part supported because they were smaller in scale and focused on adaptive reuse and preservation of historical heritage.

Retail Centers

In December of 1998, when the Turkey Creek development was still in the planning phases, *Metro Pulse* ran an article titled "Deconstructing the Mall: Are shopping malls the only fragment of urban living we have left?" In this article, Joe Tarr examined the history of malls in Knoxville and the possible consequences of retail centers on social life. Tarr recounts the history of Knoxville malls with the opening of the \$12 million West Town Mall in 1972. One of the original tenants of the mall explained that prior to the development, most people did not know what a mall was or how successful it would be. In 1984, the \$50 million East Towne Mall (renamed Knoxville Center) opened and became the prime retail center in Knoxville until West Town reclaimed that role after extensive renovations.

Mark Schimmenti, an architecture professor at UTK, stated that what was most disconcerting about the mall phenomena was the increased dependency of automobiles and the negative impact these facilities have on the real public spaces. He argued that when West Town's parking and development space is added up, it almost equals that of downtown Knoxville. Furthermore, both West Town and Knoxville Center attempted to mimic downtown. West Town had Street Corner News, a small store that imitated the newsstands of downtowns, and the Regal Funscape, where the escalator to an entertainment center and movie theater was surrounded by cutout imitations of downtown Knoxville attractions. Knoxville Center had a hospital office and government center where citizens could get a driver's license or pay a fine. The article noted that "it's as

though, having helped kill downtown areas, malls are selling the nostalgia back to us" (Tarr 1998).

Consumerism is a way of life in the United States and the economic and social consequences of such a lifestyle could prove to be severe. In 1997, when developers and environmentalists were still fighting over the wetlands, Knoxville ranked number three in the nation for retail sales per capita (U.S. Census Bureau, for cities with population over 100,000 residents). Behind only Bellevue, WA and Clearwater, FL²³, Knoxville claimed third place with \$23,349 in retail sales per capita. The 2000 census reported that Knoxville's per capita money income was only \$18,171. Because retail sales per capita does not distinguish money spent by visitors or residents in neighboring communities to Knoxville's, income per capita cannot be directly compared to that statistic. What this does highlight is that retail is a central fact of everyday life for Knoxville's and residents of surrounding communities. This ranking was given before the Turkey Creek development and before the revitalization of downtown²⁴. The consequences of the fetish with consumerism and the transition of retail centers as the center of social life are examined further later in the chapter.

Suburbanization

Effects of suburbanization go beyond environmental degradation and simple displeasure to the aesthetics of the phenomena. Other consequences include the increased dependence on automobiles, which further increases air pollution, and rising taxes. As population continues to move farther away from city services such as fire,

²³

Top Five Cities by Retail Sales per Capita in 1997

	Population, 2003	Median household income, 1999	Per capita money income, 1999	Persons below poverty, percent, 1999	Retail Sales per capita, 1997
1. Bellevue, WA	112,344	\$62,338	\$36,905	5.70%	\$26,682
2. Clearwater, FL	108,272	\$36,494	\$22,786	12.30%	\$25,606
3. Knoxville, TN	173,278	\$27,492	\$18,171	20.80%	\$23,349
4. Costa Mesa, CA	109,563	\$50,732	\$23,342	12.60%	\$23,014
5. Torrance, CA	142,621	\$56,489	\$28,144	6.40%	\$22,224

(U.S. Census Bureau)

²⁴ At the time of this project, this is the most recent statistic.

police, sewer, and water facilities, the cost to taxpayers rises. A study conducted by the Urban Land Institute showed that residential developments in sprawl areas, in comparison to similar developments closer to the city center, can cost anywhere from 40% to 400% more to government and utility companies (Neely 2000). Other "theoretical" consequences include obesity, apathy, and isolation. In an article on sprawl in Knoxville, Jack Neely (2000) showed:

Authors have cited anecdotal cases to postulate that sprawl leads to political disaffection at a local level. While it's impossible to prove sprawl is a primary causal factor of apathy in Knoxville, which just logged a 20 percent turnout in an important mayoral election last year, the Knoxville example seems to fall right in line. As Knoxville residents have moved farther apart from each other, voter turnout in city and county elections has dwindled (2000).

In terms of architecture, Mark Schimmenti argued that there will always be people who want to live in single-family dwellings that are not supported by the structures of a downtown, but the problem is not in the construction of residential subdivisions but in the lack of planning. Suburban developments lack a center where residents can shop, dine, and socialize with members of their community. Schimmenti described the Bearden area as having the right ingredients; shops, restaurants, services, and residential developments all close in distance; but what it lacks is accessible alternatives to automobile traffic (Neely 2000). This consequence is felt most by individuals, but few are aware of this. Using data averages from the 2004 Bureau of Labor Consumer Expenditure Survey, "The Real Costs of Car Ownership" calculator shows that typical car ownership costs over \$7,000 a year. The geography of suburban developments can create isolation of suburban residents from other community members. The lack of a center and increased automobile dependence separates community members from each other and limits chances of socialization. This will also be further examined later in the chapter.

Growth Language

Growth machine ideology and language asserts that growth is good. Whether referring to a convention center, a lifestyle center, or a planetarium, the claimed benefits

remain the same. The projects will bring new jobs, expand the tax base, and improve community life. Growth machine theory cites local media as one of the most influential tools of growth networks and as the stories of Knoxville development projects show, this is increasingly problematic. When the idea of a company like E.W. Scripps owning the alternative weekly was almost laughable, *Metro Pulse* ran an article in 1999 that discussed consequences of local media owned by national corporations (Tarr 1999a). In the article several statistics are offered: the top ten newspaper companies, including Scripps, publish half of the 57 million daily papers; the nineteen newspapers owned by Scripps earned \$197 million in 1998, or 71% of the company's profits; despite an increase in average columns per issue from 118 in 1989 to 141 in 1999, local coverage in the *News-Sentinel* dropped from 39% to 31% in the same decade.

Mark Crispin Miller, a professor at New York University and media critic who helped start Project on Media Ownership, was interviewed to discuss consequences of corporate ownership of local media. He explained how investigative reporting is often discouraged because it is not cost effective and may negatively impact corporations and advertising. "But when you look at issues like the corruption of politics, TV violence, advertising as a social and civic blight—is a chain-owned newspaper going to look hard and critically at some of this if the chain is part of the problem?" (Miller quoted in Tarr 1999a). Furthermore, as corporations consolidate resources, newspapers around the country begin to look more and more alike. Miller compares it to being in an airport, explaining that the insides of airports are barely distinctive from one city to another.

This project has focused on media much more than I had anticipated, but there are many reasons why I have centered on this issue. Local media was the primary source for analysis on the development projects and growth machines. This was in part an issue of feasibility and time management, but more importantly local media was used as both a source for news and booster analysis because the *News-Sentinel* is the primary source of information for many Knoxville citizens. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Knox County ranked 155 in U.S. counties by population, but the only daily newspaper ranked 77 out of 100 for largest weekly readership.

Less than one month after E. W. Scripps purchased the *Metro Pulse*, the weekly paper ran a cover story on media ownership and agendas. This story differed dramatically from the 1999 cover story on media consolidation. Paul Ashdown, a UT professor of journalism, argues that media consolidation is a concern, but the greater danger is that newspapers are becoming irrelevant as less people read them (Henderson 2007: 16). According to *The State of the Media 2007*, the audience for newspaper products is higher than ever, but as online editions are growing in readership and advertising, print media is declining. The consequences of the decreasing revenue from print media are currently undetermined, but *The State of the Media* outlines potential community losses.

For now, metros have pulled way back from coverage of more remote areas. Unglamorous watchdog coverage of council and school board meetings appears to be suffering. Copyediting is being reduced. Already in 2007, several papers have collapsed business news and metro into a single department (*The Project for Excellence in Journalism 2007*).

Furthermore, as competition in the Internet increases and print media declines, ownership of media brings up several questions:

All those factors, both the problems and the long-term promise, seemed to manifest themselves in a flurry of ownership changes and the emergence of various private investors as a force in the transactions. But what does the arrival of the new private suitors portend? Are they investors for the long term and for the interest of the papers' home communities? Or are they rich magnates looking for a plaything? Or will they prove liquidators looking to flip a property? It is simply not clear yet (*The Project for Excellence in Journalism 2007*).

Biased coverage and lack of investigative reporting can easily be manipulated by pro-growth coalitions to further their agendas. Knoxville's newest alternative weekly, *Knoxville Voice*, commented on the *News-Sentinel's* biased reporting in local politics. In the 2007 election for four city council seats and city judge, only one challenger qualified to run against the incumbents²⁵. *Knoxville Voice* showed how in a *News-Sentinel* article on the elections, a color photograph of Joe Bailey, one of the incumbents, was pictured below the headline, "Not many candidates join up for city races." The article continued and repeated Bailey's name 13 times compared to the one challenger, Ray Abbas, who warranted only three mentions (Buckwalter 2007). Hindrance of democracy, biased reporting, and control of community discourse are all potential consequences of media

²⁵ In the mayoral race, there are two challengers to the incumbent.

consolidation and when examined with the increasing importance of retail centers and the growth of suburbanization, this is especially alarming in understanding developments in the city and possible consequences.

Conclusion

The initial hypotheses for this study focused on the difference in local dependency, tactics, and community reaction in urban and suburban growth machines. Results from this analysis show that these hypotheses are incorrect, or at least not completely correct. Knoxvilleians proposed all the downtown projects. The justice center and convention center were proposals by government and both David Dewhirst and Earl Worsham are local entrepreneurs, even though Worsham is also an international developer. In the Turkey Creek development, the majority of the initial TCLP land partners were Knoxvilleians, but these actors were mainly large business owners. As the development project continued, the local dependence of actors decreased. Colonial Property Trust is a real estate investment trust that owns enormous amounts of office, retail, and residential space throughout the Southeast. Large, national corporations own the majority of business in the Colonial Pinnacle at Turkey Creek.

Although there is not one growth machine in Knoxville, there is a definite group of community members, government officials, media resources, and business owners who believe that growth is good. Visions of what this growth should look like differ and this is the primary source for fragmentation in the growth machines. Although credited as key players in growth machines, local media and government are more influential members in pro-growth associations than I first anticipated.

The tactics, ideology, and culture of both urban and suburban growth machines remain remarkably similar. The emphasis on value-free development and the invocation of civic pride were used extensively by all the large projects and in those defined by Dewhirst. Community reaction varied across projects and across time and the most adamant hostility came from environmental concerns and the use of taxpayers' dollars to fund development projects.

Geography and scale is important when comparing growth machines involved in the development of the Gay Street corridor with growth machines involved with the

development in Turkey Creek. Turkey Creek is on the western fringe of city limits, in what used to be open land. This certainly created controversy because of the wetlands and also because of stigmas attached to sprawl and suburban development, but the location of Turkey Creek was also an advantage to project boosters. Unlike the downtown development projects, there were large gaps in media coverage of the retail mecca proposal and consequent development. *Metro Pulse* did not cover the project near as much as the downtown development proposals and although the *News-Sentinel* reported on it more often, it was usually a glowing report. Because Turkey Creek was farther removed from the center city and because it was funded primarily with private funds, the \$500 million dollar development project was able to escape much more of the public and even local business scrutiny than the other projects received.

The development projects of David Dewhirst were far less expensive, much smaller in scale, and centered on pre-existing buildings in the center city. For these reasons, Dewhirst is also able to avoid most community and business scrutiny and, at the same time, it is for those same reasons that he so influential in downtown development. The projects Dewhirst undertook centered on historical buildings and Dewhirst took caution to save that historical heritage through adaptive reuse strategies. His development strategy focused on one building at a time, with emphasis on residential and business space. Geography and scale both come into play here because it is likely that had Dewhirst chosen to focus on suburban development or projects in Turkey Creek his influence would not be as great as it was downtown.

The other three development projects were also influenced by scope and geography, but received more attention because of the large amounts of public funds involved in each proposal. Ideology interacts with geography and scale in downtown development projects and clearly shows fragmentation in pro-growth coalitions as well as community members. There is an apparent consensus in the corporate owned paper, the alternative weekly, the growth machines, government officials, local business owners, and community members that the redevelopment of downtown is a good thing. One reason for this is because the pre-existing development in downtown often consists of dilapidated buildings and areas. However strong the consensus that revitalization of the

center city is needed, these groups diverge in their ideologies. Jack Neely (2007) described a meeting of prominent downtown leaders that centered in part on development projects and the future of downtown and also to honor a longtime downtown booster who was retiring from the game. When the gentleman spoke, he offered a dire warning his colleagues on two plagues that he believed could destroy all of the revitalization efforts.

Some might have expected him to mention something about bad architecture, reckless development, or ill-considered highway construction. But here were his grim concerns: One was skateboarders, whom he called a hazard to pedestrians, and likely suspects in much of the vandalism of downtown buildings. The other threat to downtown Knoxville, to his mind, was the existence of newspaper boxes.

To him, a successful downtown would necessarily be a clean, tidy place, a place that looks just like it does in architectural drawings. Newspaper boxes were impertinent obstructions, clutter that mocked the beauty that architects and gardeners and street cleaners labored daily to create and maintain. The ideal downtown, some might gather, would be something like a perpetual-care cemetery, only with people who are still alive.

The old man got a standing ovation. Some who applauded hoped they were applauding the old man's worthy career rather than his closing comments.

It seems clear that some downtown boosters' ideal downtown, and other downtown boosters' ideal downtown, are often different and sometimes mutually exclusive (Neely 2007a).

The preceding story highlights how the scale, geography, and ideology of the downtown development proposals influence both community and booster's reactions and support. Many downtown business owners and residents supported the justice center when the project included three phases in which courts and offices would be constructed. As the scale of the project shifted from this large justice center to a maximum-security jail, much of the support became opposition. Where lawyers and judges would have frequented the justice center, the jail was perceived as a magnet for bail bondsmen and criminals. Several downtown boosters questioned the viability of the claim of other boosters that the jail would spark development in the center city. The contending boosters feared that the project would hinder revitalization and deter potential investors.

Many pro-growth boosters and community residents likewise supported the convention center. The first primary concern focused on the location of the convention center. Many boosters argued that the center should be built in the heart of downtown to maximize spin-off development. When World's Fair Park was chosen over Gay Street by the PBA and city council, downtown boosters argued that specific consideration must be made to link the convention center to downtown because World's Fair is located several

blocks away from the city center. This request was not heeded and the convention center remains geographically separate from downtown.

Worsham's development proposals were initially met with interest, but this interest was not long lived. Certain community members and business owners contended Renaissance Knoxville and Universe Knoxville, primarily because the scale of both projects was enormous. Worsham's projects were debated heavily partly because the scale was enormous and would transform a large portion of downtown Knoxville with emphasis on a certain ideology of downtown development.

Other themes emerged in this project that, although not initially stated as important components, should be focal points for continued study of the processes and consequences of pro-growth networks and development projects. These themes include the structuring of large retail centers as the center of social life, the theoretical consequences of suburbanization, and the increasing influence of growth language as a normalcy, which examined in conjunction, are essential in understanding growth machines in Knoxville. A majority of my conclusion draws on assumption but simultaneously outlines avenues of further study. Geography and scale are key factors in this understanding, as well as levels and mechanisms of socialization.

Downtown Knoxville was first developed before the era of the automobile and although cars are an undeniable fact in downtown life today, the design of the center city still promotes pedestrian traffic. Parking is limited in the downtown area and therefore after parking an automobile it is more efficient for a visitor, worker, or resident to walk. Furthermore, shops, restaurants, places of business, and housing units are all located sporadically within the area. The combination of limited parking and mixed-use development creates the exact opposite of suburban isolation and apathy. The "front porch" mentality of downtown creates a community in which residents, business owners, workers, and frequent visitors are in constant contact with each other. The isolation and apathy of suburban development is not as prevalent in downtown because the geography promotes involvement of community members with one another.

Developments in other areas of Knoxville do not support this involvement of community members, but isolation. Turkey Creek is massive and walking from one store

to another would not be efficient. Even though the Pinnacle at Turkey Creek is smaller and designed to mimic downtown, it does not promote pedestrian traffic like center cities. Why walk across the retail center when your car is right here and there is a plethora of parking spaces over there? A major theoretical consequence of this is the isolation of community members.

If isolation and apathy are indeed consequences of continued sprawl and if retail centers have truly become the center of many Americans' social life, the influence of local media in development projects increases dramatically. Media sources sold as commodities to advertisers and not as a source of news coupled with social life structured around consumerism creates the potential for growth machine discourse to be consumed by the public almost seamlessly. It can be argued that large scaled development projects in downtown failed because community members in the area were involved. Because workers, residents, and owners were in constant contact with each other, their information and debate was not based solely on coverage by local media sources.

I argue that downtown is more the exception than the rule in development projects in Knoxville. No other area promotes or encourages the level of community involvement that downtown does and this level of involvement is important in the success or failure of development projects. Further analysis should be made into the involvement of community members with one another in suburban type development projects and how this influences government and developers' strategies for growth. Connections could be possibly made between low voter turnout, development projects, isolation of community members, and government involvement in growth. These ideas should be studied further to better understand development projects and pro-growth coalitions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: MAPS

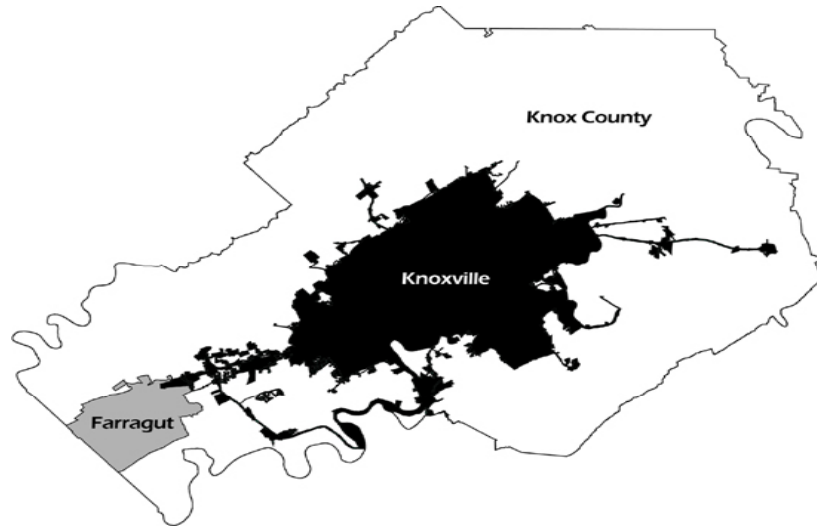
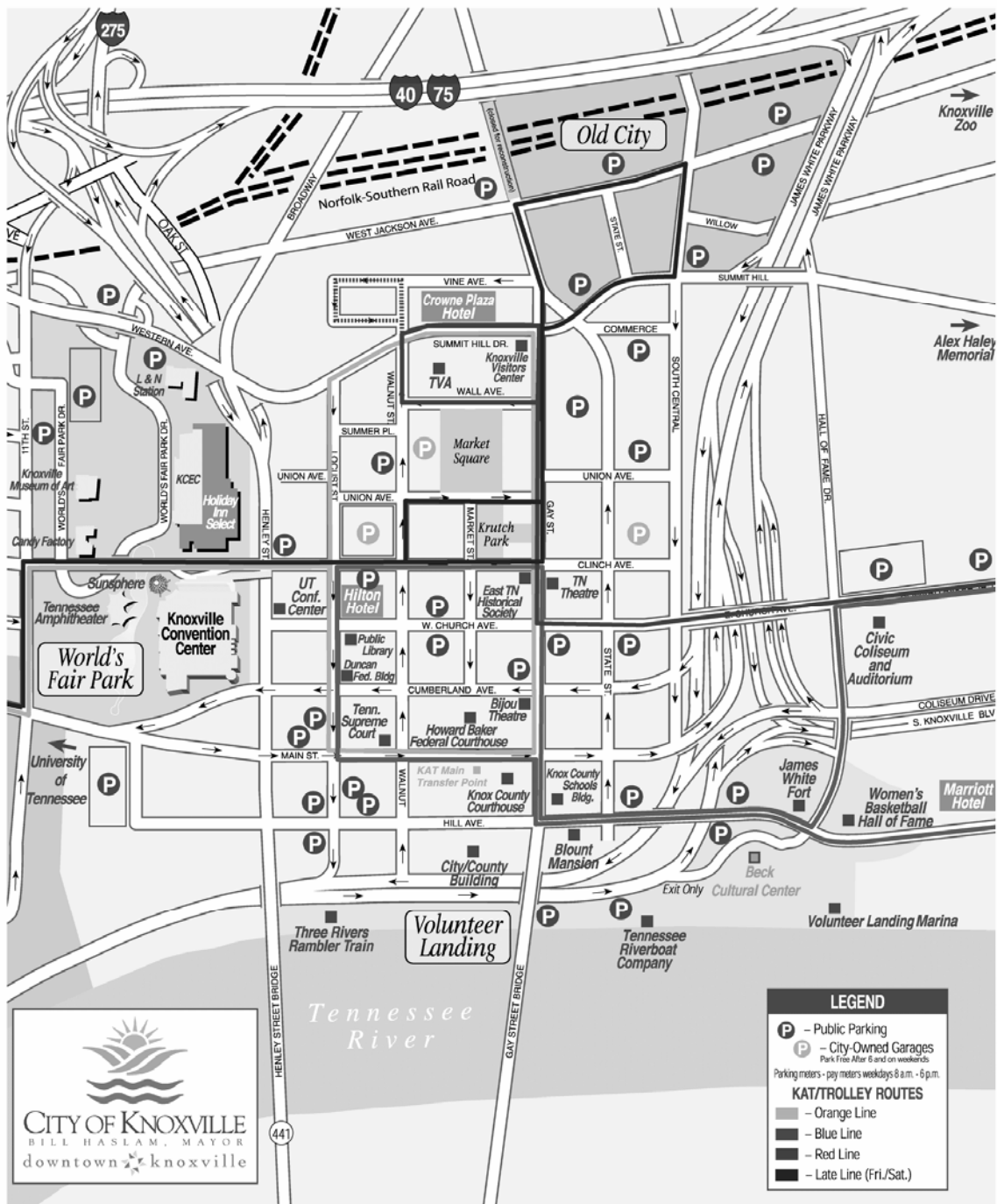


Figure 1:

Map of Knox County

(<http://www.knoxmpc.org/locldata/locdem02/locdem02.htm>).



(<http://www.ci.knoxville.tn.us/newcomers/maps.asp>)

Figure 2: Map of Downtown Knoxville



(<http://www.firstcommercialrealestateinc.com/turkeycreek/aerial.html>)

Figure 3: Aerial View of the Turkey Creek Development

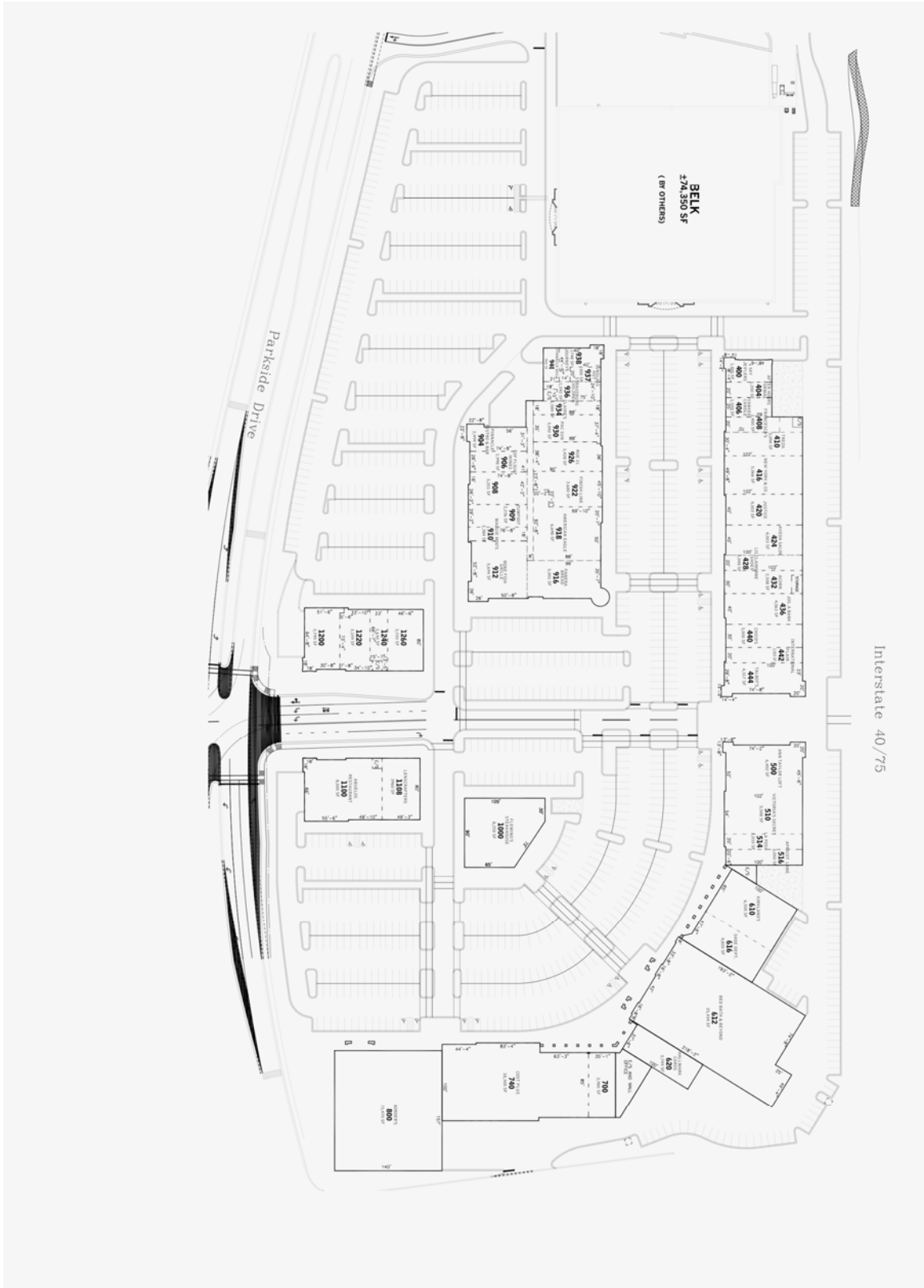
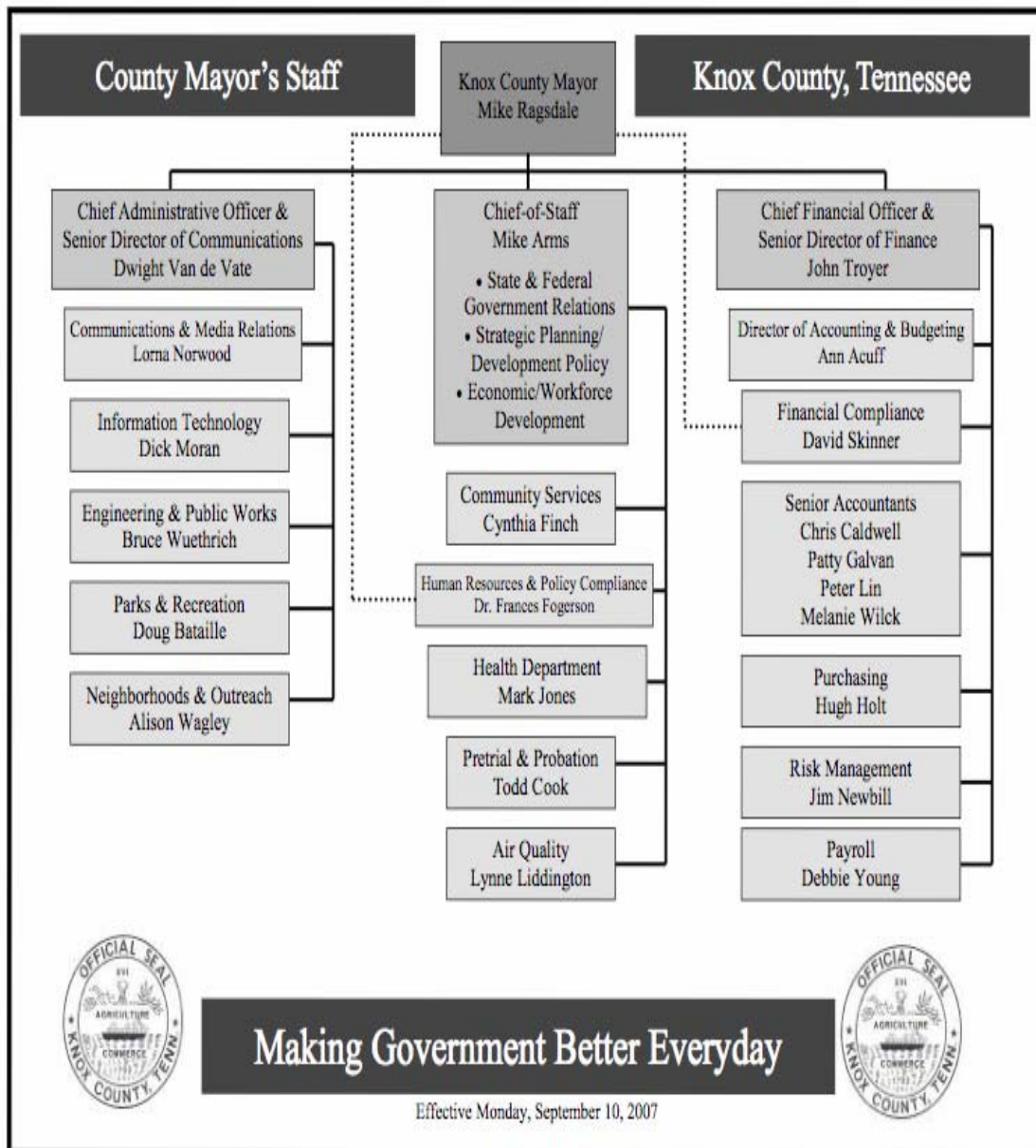


Figure 4: <http://colonialprop.com/property-info/leasing/available.php?cid=1270>
Map of the Pinnacle at Turkey Creek

APPENDIX II: GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

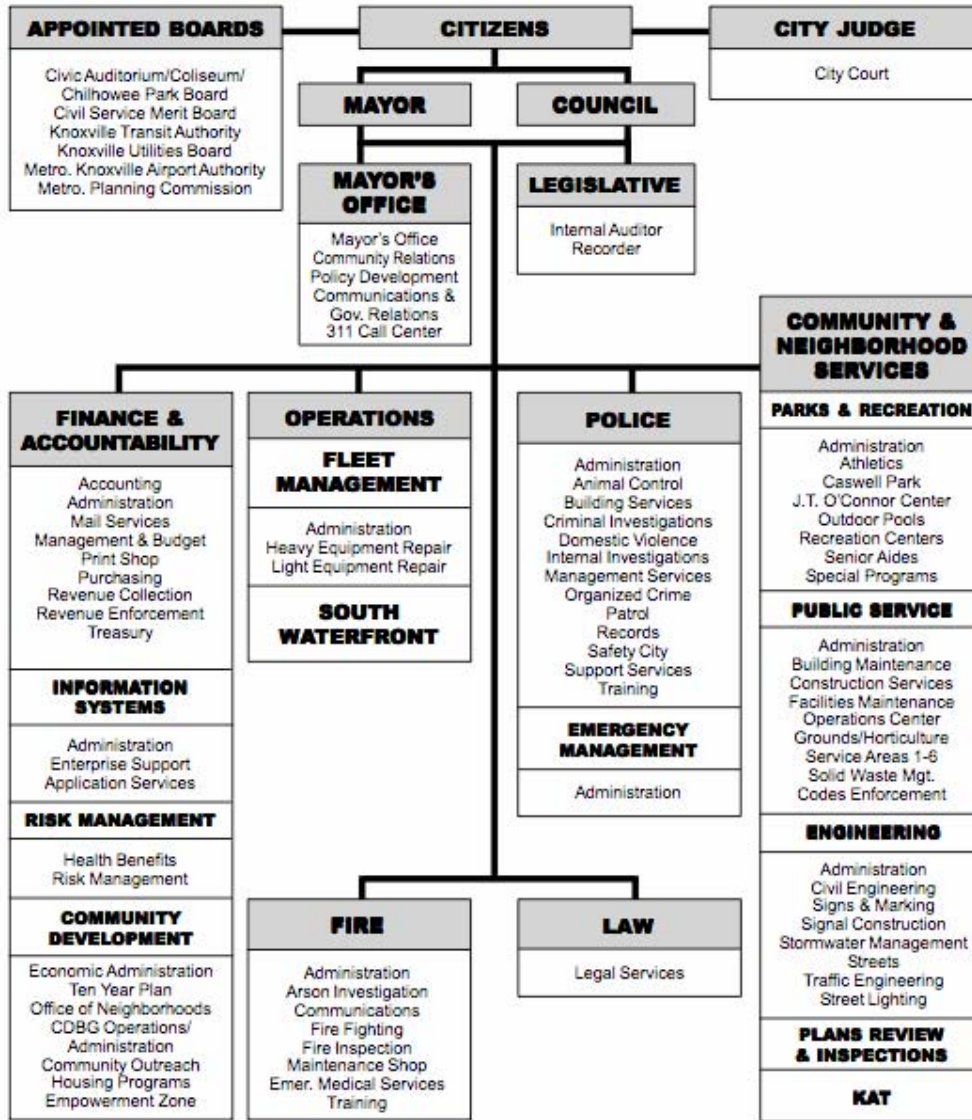


(<http://www.knoxcounty.org/index.php>)

Figure 5: Knox County Government Organization

CITY OF KNOXVILLE

Organizational Structure - 2007



(<http://www.ci.knoxville.tn.us/cityhall.asp>)

Figure 6:

City of Knoxville Government Organization

VITA

Katherine Morris was born August 24, 1980 in Knoxville, TN. She moved to Memphis, TN in 1986 and graduated from St. Mary's Episcopal School in 1999. She graduated from the University of Tennessee Knoxville with a BA in Sociology with a concentration in environmental studies in 2004. In 2007, she received her MA in sociology with a concentration in political economy.