

**Where Muhammad Ali Learned to Fight:  
Inventing a Sustaining Myth for a Place Called Louisville**

by

James A. Throgmorton  
Graduate Program in Urban and Regional Planning  
The University of Iowa  
347 Jessup, Iowa City, Iowa 52242  
Email: james-throgmorton@uiowa.edu

## **Where Muhammad Ali Learned to Fight: Inventing a Sustaining Myth for a Place Called Louisville**

Muhammad Ali, “the Greatest,” the man who in many ways became “the first, truly global hero of most, if not all, human beings on the planet” (Lemert 2003 p. 174), grew up in the predominantly black and largely low-income west end of Louisville, Kentucky.<sup>1</sup> And now, fifty years after the young Cassius Clay first learned to fight, a new Muhammad Ali Center for the Advancement of Humanity Worldwide is being built on the western edge of downtown. Other than for renaming a street for him, this will be the city’s first permanent acknowledgement of its most famous native son. According to its web site, the Ali Center is intended to be a cultural and educational institution that preserves and shares Ali’s legacy (Muhammad Ali Center 2004). Exhibits, media, personal dialogue, and other interactions will enable visitors to follow a motivational journey that translates the values and turning points of Ali’s life into personal growth for the individual and respect for shared humanity. “This building and plaza will come to symbolize many things,” said Jerry Abramson, newly-elected mayor of a newly-unified Louisville/Jefferson County Metro Government (colloquially known as “Greater Louisville”), at a June 2003, reception, “including Muhammad Ali’s ability to bring people together and create unity and celebrate diversity.”<sup>2</sup> “Above all, the Ali Center building will be a welcoming place,” the web site continues. “From the moment the visitor first sees the structure, he or she will be welcomed in a warm and embracing manner.”

Blacks have not always been welcomed in a “warm and embracing manner” in all parts of Louisville, and the people of the city have not always celebrated diversity. Historically known as “the Gateway to the South,” this relatively unknown border city in a former slave state has long been a site of “polite racism” where blacks have had to adjust to “living behind a veil” and to willingly accept “their place” in a complicated dance of race relations (Wright, 1985).<sup>3</sup> According to sociologist Charles Lemert it may

---

<sup>1</sup> Cassius Marcellus Clay was born in Louisville’s General Hospital on January 17, 1942, and he grew up at 3302 Grand Avenue. On November 12, 1954, he fought his first public amateur bout on WAVE-TV’s television program, *Tomorrow’s Champions*. After winning the light heavyweight championship in the 1960 Olympics, he became known as “the Louisville Lip,” the man who knew how to “float like a butterfly” and “sting like a bee.” Almost immediately after winning the world’s heavyweight championship in 1964, he announced that he was a member of the Nation of Islam, and he took on the name of Muhammad Ali. (See Dennis and Atyeo 2003; Lemert 2003; and Remnick 1998).

<sup>2</sup> In 2000 the people of Louisville and Jefferson County approved 54 to 46 percent a referendum merging their governments. The first consolidation in a major U. S. metropolitan area since 1970, this merger became effective in January 2003. (See Greater Louisville, Inc., 2002).

<sup>3</sup> For insight into the “polite racism” of Louisville’s white elite, see Sallie Bingham’s 1989 memoir about the Bingham family. Bingham characterizes Louisville as “a small town” (p. xv), “a Midwestern city with Southern pretensions” (p. 5). “To be a Southern

well be that, while the veil has become more porous, many of Louisville's whites still do not "celebrate diversity" and Louisville's African-Americans are still expected to know "their place." "What strikes one so about Louisville today," he writes, "is that in 2001, some 40 years after he [Muhammad Ali] made the city world famous, . . . Louisville today is as segregated as any border city can be so long after the rules changed. The West is black. The East is white" (2003, p. 7).

But Louisville is changing, and there is a sense of excitement and hope in the city-region that seems fresh and new. Battered by deindustrialization of its economy in the late-1970s and early-1980s, it has been shifting to a more service-based economy and emphasizing qualities of place that make it more attractive to service-sector workers. But is this enough? Is this course sustainable? One can argue that the Louisville city-region has come to a major turning point. The people of the city-region can continue to follow their current course, which arguably has merit, or they can consciously choose to move in an arguably more sustainable direction: instead of focusing almost exclusively on growing a post-industrial economy, they can explicitly try to reconcile at least three conflicting interests: growing the economy, distributing that growth more fairly, and in the process not degrading the ecosystem; that is, developing in a manner that is "green, profitable, and fair" (Campbell 1996).

Planners have a major role to play in shaping the direction Louisville takes. Most important, they have an opportunity to help construct a persuasive story about what Louisville should be. But their story cannot truly be persuasive to a wide range of audiences unless it makes space for diverse stories. In this context, the new Ali Center has a pivotal role to play. It can help the people of the Louisville city-region say they intend to go *this* way rather than *that*. In that sense, the Ali Center can act as a persuasive figure of speech and argument, that is as a *trope* in the story about what Louisville can and should become.

Thousands of miles away, one can find another museum in another formerly divided city. Daniel Libeskind's new Jewish Museum was built inside former West Berlin, just two or three blocks from the Berlin Wall.<sup>4</sup> Much like the new Ali Center in

---

liberal meant, in the end," she wrote, "to endorse change as long as it came from the top. Change which was not influenced by labor, by militant blacks, or by women was acceptable, for it did not threaten the white male elite" (Bingham 1989, p. 213). "My parents prided themselves on their fair treatment of Negroes and Jews. I saw the first black woman I had ever met who was not a servant at a luncheon in the Big House. Both parents contributed to organizations that worked for 'better relations,' as had the Judge [her grandfather, Robert Worth Bingham] in his time. Yet I knew which of my friends were Jews before I knew anything else about them. Blacks, I realized were simply invisible to most white people, except as a pair of hands offering a drink on a silver tray" (pp. 269-270). For a more positive assessment of Robert Worth Bingham, see Ellis (1997).

<sup>4</sup> The Berlin Wall used to mark a sharp Cold War divide and rigidly separated East Berlin from West Berlin. But the Wall fell in 1989, and now only a few small physical remnants of it can be found. And yet Berliners still carry "the Wall in the head": most former East Berliners (*Ossis*) still live in the east, and most Westerners (*Wessis*) in the west, and both *Ossis* and *Wessis* think and behave as if the socio-cultural wall still stands.

Louisville, it too concerns a group of people who have not always been met in a “warm and embracing manner” (see Schneider 1999), and it too acts as a trope in a potentially persuasive story about a city-region’s future. But strikingly unlike the Ali Center, it focuses not on an individual but on an entire group of people. Reflecting a brilliant application of “deconstructive” design principles, Libeskind’s museum seeks to help Berliners come to terms with their problematic past—their “disturbing and even sickening historical legacy” (Chametsky 2001, p. 247)—and do so in a way that enables the diverse people of rapidly-changing new Berlin to thrive. As architectural historian Peter Chametsky (2001) puts it, Libeskind wanted to design a building that would open up the uni-directional narrative of Berlin’s past to other perspectives; it would embody a matrix of connections associating past and present, absence and presence, especially by extending the building directionally toward locations associated with the 200,000 or so Berlin Jews murdered or driven into exile by the Nazis. The resulting building narrates, through architectural design, an intellectually and emotionally challenging story about the movement of Jewish people into and out of Berlin, about the massive loss of German Jewish culture, and about the loss to German culture in general that the Holocaust produced.

Daniel Libeskind himself says the task of designing and building the new Jewish Museum in Berlin, “in all its ethical depth requires the incorporation of the void of Berlin back into itself, in order to disclose how the past continues to affect the present and to reveal how a hopeful horizon can be opened through the aporias of time” (quoted in Schneider 1999, p. 19). While the recent history of African-Americans in Louisville contains no void equivalent to the Holocaust, it does reveal how “the past continues to affect the present,” and the act of designing the new Ali Center does open up the possibility of a “hopeful horizon.”

In what follows I will argue that the home of “the Greatest,” the site of a new museum celebrating the life of an African-American man, and (not that it matters very much) the town where I was raised, can—especially when juxtaposed against Daniel Libeskind’s new Jewish Museum and the Berlin Wall—tell us a great deal about how to plan for sustainable city-regions in a globalized networked society that is so complicated as to almost defy description.<sup>5</sup>

## **Over Ten Decades of Planning**

---

<sup>5</sup> For a fine introductions to the topic of sustainability, see Wheeler and Beatley (2004), Portney (2003), and Mazmanian and Kraft (1999). See also President’s Council on Sustainable Development (1999). For an extended discussion of what the effort to create more sustainable city-regions entails, especially in relation to narrative, see Throgmorton (2003a) and Throgmorton (2003b). For detailed discussions of the globalized network society, see Castells (1996), Dear (2000), Harvey (2000), Sassen (1991), Smith (2001), and Soja (2000).

For over one hundred years, professional planners have played a major role in constructing and maintaining Louisville's character as a "gateway."<sup>6</sup> With the partial exception of Carl Kramer's 1980 analysis of urbanization in central and southern Louisville up to 1932, however, no one has looked carefully at the planners' 110-year effort as a whole. When one treats each plan as part of a continually evolving story about the role of professional planners in Louisville, one could arguably interpret it as, in the words of planning scholar Leonie Sandercock (1998), an effort to tell a heroic, progressive narrative, an "official story" in which planning is the hero. From Frederick Law Olmsted's 1891 plan for new parks and parkways to the present, professional planners and designers in Louisville can be found – metaphorically at least – "slaying the dragons of greed and irrationality and, if not always triumphing, at least always noble, on the side of angels" (Sandercock 1998, p. 35).

But if it is true that planners in Louisville have thought of themselves as being "on the side of angels," it may also be true that their official story has, as Sandercock claims, lacked diversity and any critical/theoretical perspective. She argues that planning historians need to begin telling more inclusive stories, ones that include what she calls "insurgent planning histories." Sandercock's argument implies that an inclusive history of planning in Louisville would reveal how professional planners in "The Big L" (pronounced locally as Loo-a-vul) have played their own part in the complicated dance of race relations, and have helped ensure that blacks and whites both remain accustomed to living lives "behind a veil." But her argument implies as well that an inclusive history would also show how African-Americans have been agents in their own right, transforming the process of planning and the spaces of the city.

Drawing upon Sandercock, American studies scholar Barbara Eckstein (2003), and my own prior work (Throgmorton 1996), I have argued that planners need to be telling persuasive and constitutive stories about the future. But I have also emphasized that, to be persuasive to a wide range of readers, and hence be more sustainable, planners' stories will have to make narrative and physical space for diverse locally-grounded common urban narratives (Throgmorton 2003b). Moreover, they will have to juxtapose those narratives against one another in a way that defamiliarizes the place. And they will have to enable the actual geohistorical readers of the place to engage in fruitful dialogue with one another. In effect, a truly persuasive and sustainable story about "the Big L's" future will have to eliminate, transgress, or transform the narrative and physical walls that have long divided the people of the city-region.

As I have pointed out elsewhere (Throgmorton, forthcoming), walls separate *this* from *that*. They can be physical or they can be socio-cultural. Some occur naturally, whereas others are the consequence of intentional action. Many of these *intentional* walls establish clearly demarcated borders that seek to maintain or accentuate one primary difference between "us" and "the Other." Frequently those walls are designed to keep unwanted, unfamiliar, and fearsome others out (or in, as in the case of prisons), but walls

---

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Bartholomew and Associates (1929-1931); Bartholomew (1957); City of Louisville (1931); Initiative for a Competitive Inner City (2001); Kentuckiana Regional Planning and Development Agency (1999); Kramer (1980); Kramer (1988); Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission (1979); Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission (2000); Vogel and Nezelkewicz (2002).

also can aim to maintain and enforce an internal sense of similarity, community, identity, and security. Not all intentional walls are alike, and not all intentional walls are necessarily not bad. While walls separate *this* from *that*, for instance, all walls also link and connect. They accomplish this by incorporating gateways, passages, or bridges, and by providing sites of transition, such as meeting places, playgrounds, shared functions, and shared experiences. Moreover, the *meaning* of a physical wall is not an objective fact, independent of interpretation. Rather, its meaning depends on the narrative context (i. e., story) in which it is set (Throgmorton 2003).

One key story is the planner's. Guided by it, planners seek to shape the physical design and form of city-regions, which might include constructing physical walls of various kinds. The construction of such walls then affects the stories that can be told, and to whom they can be told. But diverse users of city-regions are guided by stories that differ from the planners', and hence often interpret the meaning of any given wall in ways that differ from the designer's. Consequently, insofar as multiple and contestable stories can be told about city-regions, a wall can act as a flexible *trope* (persuasive figure of speech or argument). In brief, stories construct walls, but walls construct stories.

One important set of user stories concerns the continuing resonance of the past in the present. As experiences in Berlin, Germany, and elsewhere resoundingly demonstrate, changes superimpose upon the visible surface of cities "an invisible landscape...of imaginative landmarks" (Buell 2001, citing Kent Ryden, p. 67). Moreover, as historian Brian Ladd puts it in *The Ghosts of Berlin* (1997, p. 1), "Memories often cleave to the physical settings of events. That is why buildings and places have so many stories to tell. They give form to a city's history and identity." When people with historical awareness walk along Walnut Street in Louisville near Eighteenth Street, for example, they might carry with them mental images of what that place used to be like eighty years ago. But whose "unseen layer" should be remembered? Which aspects of the past should be memorialized? How should that memory be embedded in the built environment? How should persuasive stories about the future make space for diverse stories about the past? A persuasive and sustainable story about the future of the Louisville city-region must be able to answer these questions fairly. Any effective advocacy for sustainability in Louisville will have to make sense in the context of the black Louisvillians' sense of place, past, and possibility.

In what follows I try to make narrative space for African-American stories that have affected the physical design of "the Big L" and the processes by which its plans have been prepared.<sup>7</sup> But I do not want to do so in a way that simply reinforces the hard old walls of identity politics. Rather, by having my narrative begin at the Ali Center and then move through other parts of the city-region, I intend to complicate and then reconfigure old boundaries and walls, whether they be physical or discursive. By doing so, I hope to point the way toward a potentially persuasive story about how to create a more sustainable Louisville city-region in an increasingly complex and troubling globalized network society.

## **Making Space for African-Americans in Louisville**

---

<sup>7</sup> I do so with some trepidation and with considerable humility for I am fully aware that African-Americans in Louisville know the details far better than I ever possibly could.

### *Downtown*

The Ali Center is being built at the northwestern corner of the downtown, just south of Interstate 64 and the Ohio River and just a few blocks west of “Spaghetti Junction,” the intersection of I-65, I-64, and I-71. Overlooking it just to the east is Riverfront Plaza/Belvedere, the idea for which first appeared in Harland Bartholomew’s 1929-31 comprehensive plan for the city, was refined by Constantinos A. Doxiadis in 1961, and was finally enacted in the early 1970s as an urban renewal project. The belvedere extends over the interstate and looks down on the river. In the years since completion, the belvedere and plaza have provided the site for many popular summer international festivals (Kleber 2001, pp. 764-765). “Statues, fountains, walking paths, facades, Louisville relishes its past, gathers herself in the present to go briskly into the future,” writes Nana Lampton, whose father Dinwiddie hired renowned architect Mies van der Rohe to design one of the plaza’s signature buildings.<sup>8</sup>

If one looks south along Fifth Street from the north center of the plaza, preparing to briskly walk into the future, one looks through a symbolic gateway to the downtown (and the South). Just to the right stands Felix de Weldon’s statute of General George Rogers Clark, who founded Louisville at the Falls of the Ohio in 1778 and who conquered the Northwest Territory during the Revolutionary War. Just past the gate to the left stands the six-story modernist American Life and Accident Insurance Company Building designed by Mies near the end of his life in 1969. Just behind it is the 40-story First National Tower building, designed by Harrison and Abramowitz in the early 1970s, and on the right stands the 27-story postmodernist Humana Building, designed by Michael Graves in 1982 and completed in 1985.<sup>9</sup>

As one who grew up in Louisville and who worked there until 1976, I can attest that its downtown has become, in important respects, a far more appealing and healthy place that it was in the mid-1970s.<sup>10</sup> But the transformation has taken time and effort, and it has not been easy. I would agree with J. William Thompson’s 1996 comment in *Landscape Architecture* that Louisville’s downtown was in the mid-1990s a “clean and safe” but also “sterile and eminently forgettable” place that became “a tomb” after 5 p.m. (p. 70). Fortunately, in Thompson’s view, old-family and corporate elites had been

---

<sup>8</sup> One of the most brilliant and influential modernist architects of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mies practiced in Berlin during the 1920s and 30s until he emigrated to the U. S. in 1938. (See Riley and Bergdoll 2001.)

<sup>9</sup> Graves won a design competition that included Norman Foster, who later designed the reconstruction of the Reichstag in Berlin, and Helmut Jahn, who later designed the SONY Center in Berlin’s Potsdamer Platz.

<sup>10</sup> Sallie Bingham (1989) offers an interpretation of downtown Louisville in 1977 that resonates with my own. “Now these same projects had proliferated,” she writes, referring to public housing projects that had been built in the west end, “but the old downtown had been nearly abandoned. Its main shopping streets had been converted into a pedestrian mall, but white people lived in the suburbs and came downtown only to work in offices, not to shop.... Only black people shopped on the downtown mall and were held responsible for its wig shops and general desolation” (p. 379).

joining forces to keep the downtown alive; in Louisville, he reported, “local movers and shakers have formed the nonprofit DDC [Downtown Development Corporation], which works with the city to keep the downtown viable as a center for offices, conventions, and Louisville’s booming health-care industry” (p. 73). As a result of the DDC’s efforts, downtown planning had turned away from the 1960s and 70s efforts to transform the downtown into a mall and was trying instead to create “a more pleasant outdoor ambience” for the 60,000 people who inhabited the downtown between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. They tried to do that in large part by emphasizing “place making” (p. 73). In part that meant reconnecting the city to the Ohio River and to the city’s own history. So far, so good. But for Thompson the effort also provoked a challenging question: “Can even the best design ideas infuse the pedestrian realm of an auto-oriented city with a sense of place?” (p. 70). This is an important question that can hopefully be answered affirmatively. Unfortunately, by foregrounding the importance of creating a high quality sense of place for the people who *work* in offices downtown, Thompson disregards African-Americans as pedestrians who have a sense of place, have contributed to the city’s history, and have an important role to play in shaping its future. Their voice is absent in Thompson’s brief about place-making.

If one listens carefully while looking through this gateway to the south, however, one can hear other voices that begin to reveal the black Louisvillians’ sense of place. Houston A. Baker, Jr., a scholar of African and African-American Studies who also grew up in the west end of Louisville in the 1950s, writes, “‘Gateway’ meant, of course, very different things to very differently situated people. For my older brother and me, it meant we could get out of ‘the South’ and greet freedom simply by crossing the Ohio River” (2001, p. 16). Moreover, “We paragraphed ourselves with bravado into Jim-Dandy-to-the-Rescue dapperness of spirit to carry us through white Louisville’s mean downtown streets unimpeded by youthful visions of snaggle-tooth, slow-drawling Blue Men [a fanged and ferocious mythical figure who stalked young black boys in Louisville] biting off our heads” (p. 5).

Just two blocks south of the Riverfront Plaza, at Fifth and Jefferson Streets, one can look to the west and see Louisville’s City Hall and the Jefferson County Courthouse. The courthouse, which was started in 1837 but not finished until 1860, was designed by Gideon Shryock, whereas the City Hall was built between 1871 and 1873. Standing in front of the courthouse is Sir Moses Jacob Ezekiel’s 1901 statue of Thomas Jefferson. Standing there one might hear Tom Owen, Louisville’s preeminent storyteller and currently an elected member of its new Metro Council, tell tales about the city, and one could read Jefferson’s words, which say in part, “Almighty God hath created the mind free. All attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens – are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion.” This spot has been the site of innumerable celebrations, including one on June 30, 1870, when Louisville’s African-American community rejoiced at the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. But it has also been the site of lynchings, 1855 Bloody Monday anti-Irish and anti-German immigrant protests, election riots, pro-secession rallies during the Civil War, slave auctions, brawls, and civil rights demonstrations.

Slave auctions and lynchings. The words move us more deeply into the past. In 1860 6,820 of Louisville’s 68,033 residents were black. Slave pens were located in the downtown area, and slaves used to be bought and sold on First Street. But almost 2,000

of Louisville's black residents were free in that year, and many of them lived between Second and Eighth Streets north of Walnut. These 2,000 black Louisvillians did not have the right to vote and they were prohibited from engaging in certain businesses. But they were free. During the Civil War almost 24,000 African-American Kentuckians fought for the Union Army, and Louisville became a primary induction center for black troops.

Slavery ended in Louisville on December 18, 1865, but racial segregation soon developed as a means of maintaining safe status differences between the races. Unlike in the rest of the South, however, blacks were never denied the right to vote in Louisville after the war. And in 1871 a federal judge ordered the city's streetcars desegregated. The city's black population continued to grow, and by 1900 a little over 39,000 blacks lived in the city, making it the seventh largest in the U. S. in terms of black population. (At that time Louisville was the nation's eighteenth largest city, with a population of 204,731 people.) Population growth prompted overcrowding and the emergence of several new black neighborhoods, including Smoketown, California, Little Africa, and (in the county) Berrytown and Griffytown. Louisville's upper class whites sought to maintain racial order and to make sure that violence designed to suppress black aspirations for change was done legally, by the police (Wright 1985). "Polite racism" authorized legal violence. Even so, the combination of a tradition of black self-help, politically-moderate community activism, the size of the black population, and retention of the right to vote gave Louisville's African-Americans sufficient bargaining power to force some concessions.

Prior to the early 1900s, blacks were not forced to live in any one specific part of the city. As historian George C. Wright (1985, pp. 107-108) puts it, "Whites were well aware that blacks were excluded or at least segregated from them in most aspects of city life and that social equality between the races did not exist. With racial segregation well entrenched in all other areas of black-white relations, there was little need for rigid segregation in housing." But the racial makeup of the west end began to change after 1900. Seeking to move into better neighborhoods, many blacks began looking in that direction.

### *Turning West*

Many African-Americans looked west along Walnut Street. It is located just two blocks south of Jefferson Street, running parallel to it, and it was renamed Muhammad Ali Boulevard in the 1970s. From the 1930s through the 1960s, the stretch of Walnut from Sixth to Thirteenth Streets was known as the "heart and soul of the black community" in Louisville. Nationally known jazz musicians used to play at the Top Hat Tavern. But urban renewal destroyed virtually all the buildings between Sixth and Thirteenth and thereby decimated the lively old area (Kleber 2001, pp. 918-919).

This destruction was, in part, a consequence of Harland Bartholomew and Associates' 1957 comprehensive plan for the city. Bartholomew's plan claimed that, to attack "the problem of housing," it would be "necessary to protect the areas that contain standard or good housing, rehabilitate and improve blighted areas, and rebuild obsolete areas" (pp. 81-82). Importantly, most of the "obsolete" areas were located in the pre-1925 portion of the city, and they were occupied primarily by African-Americans. Louisville created an Urban Renewal and Community Development Agency in 1959, and that agency initiated three major urban renewal projects in the early-1960s: Southwick, a 149-

acre project on the west side of the city; East Downtown, a 215-acre site; and West Downtown, a 316-acre site. Although Bartholomew drew no attention to the fact, the West Downtown renewal project planned to demolish the old Walnut Street District.

Lower-middle-class whites quickly tried to block this westward movement of blacks. In 1914, city officials adopted an ordinance prohibiting blacks from moving into predominantly white neighborhoods and whites from moving into blacks ones. But the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) contested the ordinance, and on November 5, 1917 the U. S. Supreme Court overturned it in *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60 on the grounds that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.<sup>11</sup> Soon the Russell neighborhood became all black, and blacks began migrating further westward. West end whites responded by drawing a sharp line at Thirtieth Street, primarily by forming neighborhood organizations, drafting a model restrictive covenant, and conducting harassing violence against any blacks who moved in (Wright 1985, pp. 118-122 and 231-238). As a result, few blacks were able to live west of Thirtieth Street until after 1950 (Wright, p. 243).

A truly sustainable Louisville city-region would be one that acknowledges these events. Its people would find ways to engage in a constructive dialogue about how they and their city-region have been transformed by them.

The Depression hit Louisville's black population hard, but it was also during this period that the African-American newspaper *Louisville Defender* started operation and the first black person (Charles Anderson) was elected to the Kentucky General Assembly. In this context Bartholomew and Associates (1932) submitted a report on "The Negro Housing Problem in Louisville" to the Planning and Zoning Commission. It placed the blame for bad housing squarely on the shoulders of African-Americans:

There are a number of obstacles that are fundamental to any scheme for improving housing conditions among Negroes. [These include] A lack of desire among a large portion of the population for something better than they are accustomed to... If it were possible to create among the Negro masses a real desire for decent accommodations, the slums would automatically eliminate themselves (p. 7).

A year later, in 1933, the Public Works Administration's Emergency Housing Corporation began construction of public housing projects in Louisville. That construction began with the Clarksdale project on the east side of downtown. From the late-1930s through the 1940s, it (and its successor agencies) built six low-rise public housing projects: College Court (all white), LaSalle Place (all African-American), Clarksdale, Beecher Terrace, Parkway Place, and Sheppard Square, with Clarksdale and Beecher Terrace being built as slum clearance projects. Construction of Iroquois Homes (all white) began in 1951, Cotter Homes (all African-American) was built a few years later. In 1956 12 African-Americans successfully sued to gain entrance to traditionally white public housing that had open units rather than have to remain on waiting lists for

---

<sup>11</sup> Louis D. Brandeis was one of the Justices. He was born in Louisville in 1856, attended Louisville Male High School in the early-1870s, and served on the U. S. Supreme Court from 1916 to 1939 as its first Jewish member.

complexes designated for African-Americans. Three years later construction was completed on Lang Homes, which became the first legally integrated public housing complex in Louisville (Kleber 2001, p. 734).

The structure of legal segregation in Louisville collapsed after WW II. In 1945, Eugene Clayton became the first black elected to the Board of Aldermen. In 1948 the Louisville Free Public Library was desegregated. In the late 1940s, the labor movement led by the local Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) opposed all segregation laws and began agitating for fair hiring practices at several of the region's major manufacturing facilities, including the International Harvester plant and General Electric's new Appliance Park.<sup>12</sup> By 1955 all local parks and golf courses had been desegregated. In 1950 the state legislature revoked the Day law, which had maintained segregated colleges and universities, and a year later all of Louisville's colleges and universities had been desegregated. In 1954, the Governor announced that the state would comply with the U. S. Supreme Court order outlawing school segregation, thereby causing the desegregation of Louisville's public elementary schools in 1956.

The population of blacks in Louisville hovered between 15 and 18 percent of Louisville's total and the young Cassius Clay learned to fight during this period. Meanwhile, other black men and women were learning to fight in their own ways.

While an 18-year old Cassius Clay was charming the world and becoming light heavyweight champion at the 1960 Olympics in Rome, a small group of black high school students formed a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and began making regular stand-ins at downtown facilities. The effort spread quickly. There were mass sit-ins at downtown restaurants and theaters. The police arrested more than 700 people, but the sit-ins soon forced downtown businesses to desegregate. At the same time, urban renewal leveled black residential areas on the east and west sides of the downtown, including the old Walnut Street district. Civil rights leaders pressed the Democratic governor and legislature to enact state civil rights legislation. In March 1964, just days after Cassius Clay TKO'd Sonny Liston to win the heavyweight championship of the world and within days of his announcement that he had joined the Nation of Islam and changed his name to Muhammad Ali, ten thousand people (including Martin Luther King, Jr.) marched for state civil rights legislation at the state capitol, and hunger strikers sat in the General Assembly's gallery. Two years later the General Assembly passed a civil rights law, the first such law in the south.

---

<sup>12</sup> The International Harvester plant was originally built during World War II as a Curtiss-Wright airplane plant, but it was sold to International Harvester in 1946. By 1950 IH's Louisville works was the largest wheel tractor plant in the world, employing 6,200 people, and by 1974 it was employing 6,500 people. In 1941 a new Naval Ordnance plant was built in southern Louisville, just west of what is now Standiford Field. At its peak, it employed 4,200 people. After the war, local industrial leaders began complaining that more land and better sites were needed for modern industrial plants that required large amounts of land for automated assembly lines and for employee parking. In 1953 the General Electric Company opened its huge new "Appliance Park" on a 920 acre site just outside the southeast edge of the city. By 1972, a peak of 23,000 employees at the park were assembling clothes washers, dryers, dishwashers, electric ranges, refrigerators, and air conditioners.

In 1967 an Open Housing Movement led jointly by the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), and the interracial West End Community Council, pushed for adoption of an open housing ordinance in Louisville. Many activists rallied at the Southern Conference Education Fund's headquarters in the west end. In that same year, there were nightly marches in the South End, which led to violent counter-attacks, more than 400 arrests, a mass sit in at Fourth and Broadway, and a threat to disrupt the Kentucky Derby.

The nightly marches took place primarily along Taylor Boulevard, which lies just below and north of Iroquois Park on the far south side of Louisville. The park was part of Frederick Law Olmsted's 1891 plan for a park and parkway system (see Kramer 1988). Olmsted had designed Iroquois Park as a place in which Louisville's urban residents could escape the city, engage in "recreative" strolling, and have passive contact with a dramatic and rustic natural environment (see Bennett 1998). In the late 1990s, a hundred years after Olmsted first designed the park, Andropogon Associates began restoring Olmsted's original vision while modifying it to incorporate the latest in ecological thought. Paul Bennett's 1998 article in *Landscape Architecture* rightly praises Andropogon's efforts, but it never mentions African-Americans as people who might want to engage in "recreative" strolling in the park, nor does it discuss what the park means to Louisville's African-Americans.

The African-American vote helped defeat a local Republican administration in 1967, thereby enabling passage of the open housing ordinance. Also in 1967, African-American students seized the University of Louisville's administration building, seeking to produce more changes in education. Young activists formed BULK (Black Unity League of Kentucky) and a local chapter of the Black Panthers to organize against police abuse of blacks. On Monday evening, May 27, 1968, two months after Martin Luther King Jr. was shot and nine months after Muhammad Ali was convicted for unlawfully refusing induction into the U. S. Army, a week of turmoil began at Twenty-eighth and Greenwood during a protest against police mistreatment of a black citizen. The turmoil took place just three blocks from Muhammad Ali's childhood home. Six African-Americans ("the Black Six") were charged with conspiring to blow up oil refineries along the river. Two years of demonstrations followed. At one point, hundred of marchers took over Fourth Street downtown, marched to the Courthouse, climbed de Weldon's statue of Thomas Jefferson, and raised a black flag. In 1968, the General Assembly passed a Fair Housing Act, the first in the South. In January 1968, Louisville's Mae Street Kidd became the first black elected to the Kentucky Senate.

By 1970, slightly over 86,000 blacks lived in the city, 16,000 more than ten years earlier. Since the city's total population had declined by 29,000, blacks now constituted 23.8 percent of the population instead of 17.9 percent as it did in 1960. Through court action, rallies and demonstrations, economic boycotts, nonviolent direct action, political activity, public education, and other social mobilization efforts, African-Americans and their white allies had set out on a brave and transformational journey that sought to turn the Louisville city-region in a better direction. Most blacks did not think the turn was sharp or fast enough. Much more needed to be done.

Just after the turn of the twenty-first century, more than 25 years after all the changes had taken place, much more still needed to be done in the west end. Recognizing this need, the City of Louisville hired the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City (ICIC) to

devise a plan for revitalizing the neighborhood's economy. Headquartered in Boston, the ICIC is a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization headed by Professor Michael Porter of the Harvard Business School. Late in 2001, the ICIC and the City of Louisville (2001) released a report indicating what needed to be done. Titled the "West Louisville Competitive Assessment and Strategy Project," this report indicated that 80,970 people lived in the California, Parkland, Park Hill, Chickasaw, Russell, Shawnee, Portland, and Park DuValle neighborhoods of West Louisville in 2000. Of that total, 77.1 percent were black. The unemployment rate was 9.5 percent, as compared to 3.5 percent for the rest of the Louisville region. Whereas the median household income was \$19,031 for West Louisville, it was \$40,886 for the rest of the region. An estimated 42.3 percent of West Louisville's population lived below the official poverty line, as compared to 14.3 percent for the rest of the region.

In the face of those distressing figures, the ICIC sought "to improve the standard of living and access to economic opportunity for the least well-off in the community" (p. 2). Arguing that the problems of the west end could best be understood through an economic perspective, and relying heavily on interviews with forty of West Louisville's top business executives, it devised a market-driven strategy to revert long-term disinvestment trends. Specifically, it proposed to increase the competitiveness of West Louisville as a business location and to stimulate growth of West Louisville companies and the region by identifying sustainable market-based opportunities. The resulting action plan identified three industrial clusters upon which to build: automotive, transportation and logistics, and medical devices and health services within the life sciences area. It also identified three competitive disadvantages (land assembly, business development services, and reputation and image of the west end) that adversely affected the west end's business environment, and it pointed to thirteen opportunity areas for the three clusters and three business environment disadvantages. The strategy would be implemented by the West Louisville Economic Alliance, which consisted primarily of the Louisville Development Authority, Greater Louisville Inc., the Riverport Authority, the Louisville Development Bancorp, the Louisville Business School Network for Urban Development, and several private corporations.

While the City deserves praise for commissioning the ICIC's report, the report itself failed to address the quality of schools and education in the west end, the continuing pervasiveness of racial discrimination, and the need for better public transport to jobs, and for improved social services pertaining to high school dropouts, teenage pregnancies, child care, drug addiction, and the like. These omissions provoke many questions. Where, for example, are the voices and stories of ordinary West Louisvillians and of community-based organizations? Will ordinary West Louisvillians, black or white, benefit from the strategies articulated in the report? What percentage of the new jobs created will actually go to current residents? Moreover, how much faith can be put in the strategy's underlying belief that "by restoring business you restore jobs and by restoring jobs you restore neighborhoods" (Burse 2002)? In sum, why should one believe that the same forces that produced the social and spatial segregation and the socio-economic disparities found in the west end are likely to eliminate those disparities?

The ICIC's strategy for the west end can best be understood as part of a larger effort by local business and political leaders to spur growth in the Louisville city-region

by aggressively competing for service sector industries.<sup>13</sup> Their aggressive effort to spur economic growth can, in turn, best be understood as a response to the deindustrialization of the city-region's economy in the 1970s and '80s. At its peak in 1973, 137,000 workers (about 27 percent of all workers) were employed by manufacturing firms in the Louisville area, but 26 years later only 18 percent of all workers were. Employment at the Naval Ordnance plant declined from 4,200 to 700 (in 1999); International Harvester collapsed during the 1970s and its Louisville plant was completely closed down in 1985; Brown & Williamson's tobacco plant at 6<sup>th</sup> and Hill closed down in 1982; employment at General Electric's Appliance Park declined precipitously from 23,000 in 1972 to 13,500 in 1984 and 11,300 in 1990. The consumption of bourbon also declined during the 70s and 80s, causing the distillery industry to compress. Deindustrialization revealed the extent to which the city-region's entire economic base might not be sustainable. It also left "brownfields" in its wake.<sup>14</sup>

While manufacturing was declining, the service sector was growing. In the early 1980s, United Parcel Service (UPS) chose Louisville as its international hub, and by 2000 it was employing 16,000 people and had become the largest private employer in the metropolitan area. Insurance and health care services have also prospered. Humana, a healthy services firm, employed around 4,500 people as of 1998. The beverage and food service industries grew as well, with Louisville becoming the headquarters of such firms as Brown-Forman, Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), and Papa John's Pizza.<sup>15</sup> The

---

<sup>13</sup> Logan and Molotch (1997) would call them the local "growth machine."

<sup>14</sup> Brownfield redevelopment represents the ultimate recycling of land: abandoned or underused contaminated sites ("waste" sites) are cleaned up and put to productive use. In the mid-1990s an Environmental Practitioners Group nominated Louisville's Empowerment Zone for funding as one of the U. S. Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA's) Brownfield Assessment Pilot awards. With a very modest \$200,000 grant, the city embarked on a two-year pilot program in late 1995. A new Brownfields Working Group identified a range of barriers to brownfield redevelopment, and suggested ways of overcoming them. Over 117,000 brownfield real estate parcels were included in a Geographical Information Systems (GIS) database of brownfield sites in the Empowerment Zone. But the Working Group also relied heavily on involving members of the Empowerment Zone neighborhoods. In 1999 Louisville's brownfield redevelopment effort received the Phoenix Award, and in 2002 it was named the Phoenix Award winner for EPA's Region IV. While redevelopment of brownfield sites is clearly a very smart thing to do, especially with regard to making economic opportunities more available to Louisville's African-Americans, there is no clear sign that the actual redevelopment will reduce energy consumption or the production of wastes. Nor is it clear that redevelopment will necessarily incorporate or cultivate natural design elements. Put differently, there is little reason to believe that market-based redevelopment of brownfield sites will be any more benign environmentally or progressive socially than the market-based industrial development that produced the brownfields in the first place.

<sup>15</sup> KFC is owned by Yum! Brands, which also owns Long John Silver's, Pizza Hut, Taco Bell, and A&W. It operates nearly 33,000 restaurants in more than 100 countries, has

Kentucky Fair and Exposition Center on the south side of the city became a major player in the “hospitality” industry. And a new 2,000-acre industrial park (Riverport) was established on the far southwestern side of the county.<sup>16</sup>

To counter the deindustrializing trend and to spur growth, the city-region’s political and business leaders created an “enterprise zone” (EZ) in 1982. At first the Louisville EZ was limited to a 3.75 square mile area immediately to the west and southwest of downtown, and it was designed to improve the quality of life of individuals who live in the EZ, to encourage economic activity in the EZ, and to eliminate blighted and deteriorated areas within the EZ (Lambert and Coomes 2001). In 1984 and 1986, however, local officials expanded the EZ to nearly 46 square miles. This expanded zone included Louisville’s major airport (Standiford Field)<sup>17</sup>, the Ford Motor Company’s truck plant on the far east edge of the county, Rubbertown and Riverport on the river southwest of the city, and some older residential areas on the east side of downtown. Importantly, however, it has proven very difficult to document any significant benefits to the original target area and residents. As Thomas Lambert and Paul Coomes (2001, p. 179) put it, “It appears that the original focus of the EZ program—to redevelop blighted

---

about 840,000 employees, and totaled more than \$24 billion in sales in 2002 (Yum! Brands 2004).

<sup>16</sup> Riverport was created in the early 1970s as a site for new industrial development, but it quickly became affected by the environmental movement and deindustrialization trend of the late-1970s and 1980s. Nearby residents initially feared that Riverport would become a polluted mess like “Rubbertown” just to its north, and they felt that yet again (as with mandatory school busing program, the Lee’s Lane landfill, and a federally-mandated sewer system) “the east end elite” was dumping on them. (The Lee’s Lane Landfill almost literally grounded this feeling. Lee’s Lane was a 112-acre site that had more than two million cubic yards of domestic and industrial wastes dumped into it from 1940 until it was closed for health and safety reasons in 1975. In 1983 Lee’s Lane was placed on the National Priorities List of “Superfund” sites. After EPA cleaned up the site, it was deleted from the National List in 1996. See U. S. EPA 2004.) They formed the Riverport Assessment Study Project (RASP) in 1976, and their efforts combined with the unanticipated deindustrialization of the city-region’s economy to cause Riverport to languish as a minor light industrial site until the early-to-mid-1980s. Reflecting the trend toward a service-based economy and Louisville’s growing status as a logistics and distribution hub, Riverport is now thriving. A majority of the 100 businesses currently in Riverport are distribution centers and warehouses, but several manufacturers and producers are located there too. Located roughly six miles south of the west end, Riverport and its jobs are marginally accessible to most west end African-Americans.

<sup>17</sup> From 1988 to 1996 approximately \$600 million in federal, state, and local government money was invested in the expansion of the Louisville airport. The expansion was part of what proved to be a successful effort to persuade UPS to expand its operations in Louisville; the number of employees at UPS grew from about 1,000 in 1981 to more than 14,000 in 1996, and Louisville became the major international hub for UPS’ airfreight shipments (Lambert and Coomes 2001, p. 176). UPS itself is a \$30 billion corporation which manages the flow of goods, funds, and information in more than 200 countries and territories worldwide (UPS 2004).

urban neighborhoods and to employ the disadvantaged—became blurred as Louisville and Jefferson County governments liberally used the EZ as one of many other economic development tools to support economic activity in disparate areas of the county.”

Muhammad Ali Boulevard ends at Shawnee Park, one of jewels in the necklace of parks called for in Frederick Law Olmsted’s 1891 plan for a new park and parkways system (Kramer 1988). As a student at Louisville’s Catholic and nearly-all-white St. Xavier High School, I competed against other high school golfers at Shawnee’s golf course in the springs of 1960, 1961, and 1962, and I made occasional visits to the city’s segregated amusement park, Fontaine Ferry Park, which was located just next to Shawnee and was first integrated in 1964.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps I golfed passed the young Cassius Clay without knowing it, for at the same time, according to John Powell, Jr., who had a shop near Ali’s home, the young Cassius Clay “would leave his house on Grand and head for the river, then circle around Shawnee and come back” (cited in Lemert 2003, p. 19). At that time, however, the name of the street changed from Walnut to Vermont at Thirty-second Street so that whites could distinguish their residences from blacks (Moffett, 2001). Moreover, fearful whites were fleeing the west end in droves for suburban communities south of Louisville. This meant they were fleeing the city’s public high schools as well.

### *Going South*

In 1971 the federal government ordered Louisville to desegregate its elementary schools. Over the next few years the school district submitted desegregation plans that were ruled unconstitutional, but in its 1975 *Newburg Area Council Inc. et al. v. Board of Education of Jefferson County, Kentucky*, ruling the U. S. Supreme Court denied an appeal and thereby affirmed a lower court order requiring racial balance in the elementary schools. This could be accomplished only through countywide busing and the consolidation of all the county’s schools under one new district encompassing 130,000 students and 180 schools. The consolidation and busing proved to be enormously controversial. When schools opened in 1975, more than 50 percent of students were absent, and on the second day a riot broke out that lasted all weekend and resulted in over 600 arrests and 200 injuries. The white rioters broke school windows, vandalized buses, and attacked police and state troopers.<sup>19</sup> The school district kept its schools open and

---

<sup>18</sup> Shawnee Park’s golf course was partially destroyed in the early-1960s to make space for a new I-64 bridge connecting Louisville to New Albany, Indiana, across the river. The bridge was named for Sheman Minton, who was born in New Albany and later served as a U. S. Senator for Indiana from 1935 to 1941 and as a member of the U. S. Supreme Court from 1949 to 1956. He joined with the rest of the Warren Court in issuing the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling of May 17, 1954. (See Kleber 2001, p. 624.)

<sup>19</sup> Of these demonstrations, Sallie Bingham wrote, “These angry people were the men and women from Shively and other city neighborhoods for whom the newspapers were said to be editing. I saw in their faces, in raw and hideous terms, things that had been subterranean, complex, carefully hidden” (pp. 348-349). In her telling, the “Shively housewife” stood for “all that is irrational, unreachable, and ultimately of no importance in the world of men” (p. 353). Moreover, the Shively housewife “was not only female. She was ‘country’” (p. 423). As Bingham’s saw it, fear of being labeled radical or

continued busing with police protection. This busing program continued until 1978, after which the district began relying less on mandatory busing and more on voluntary transfers. In 1991 the district abandoned mandatory busing altogether and replaced it with a complex system of magnet programs and specialized schools designed to attract a variety of students throughout the district. Now no school can have a minority enrollment exceeding 50 percent of the school's total enrollment (Kleber 2001, p. 148-149).

School desegregation. When I drive past Male High School just south of downtown, I suddenly find myself back in March, 1958, when I was an eighth-grader planning to attend St. Xavier High School. One night that March I watched St. X beat an all-black Central High team in a thrilling triple-overtime basketball game and thereby win the regional championship. I sat on the first floor on the northeast side of the court and joined St. X's cheerleaders as they rigidly chanted, "Two, four, six, eight, who do we appreciate? Bobby, Bobby, Bobby." But I also watched and heard Central High's fans, who were on the second floor at the south end of the building, move to a completely different beat: "Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, oh, get that ball, get that ball." The teams played just as differently. St. X ran set plays, while Central hurried up and down the court. It was like watching Snooky Lanson sing along with Chuck Berry, or, to be more place specific, like watching Randy Atcher sing with Little Richard (see Inman 2001). Maybe memory is playing tricks on me, but I recall feeling that my world had changed fundamentally, and for the better. And now I find myself wondering. Was Cassius Clay, a student at Central High that year, there that night? If he was, how does Muhammad Ali remember the game?

Busing was required in large part because the movements of white and black populations had embedded spatially-segregated housing more firmly into the Louisville city-region's landscape. If one travels to the southwest edge of the west end, however, one finds a very interesting effort to transform part of that landscape. There – in an area bounded by Shawnee Expressway (I-264), the Norfolk Southern railroad tracks, Cypress Street, and Bells Lane/Algonquin Parkway, and at what used to be the site of one of Louisville's most isolated and severely distressed pockets of concentrated poverty, crime, and hopeless – one can find Park DuValle, one of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD's) most successful mixed-income, low-density HOPE (Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere) VI housing projects. Originally considered part of Parkland – the neighborhood in which the young Cassius Clay learned to fight – Park DuValle included Little Africa, a community that was home to thousands of blacks in the years following the end of the Civil War. However, the shantytown of Little Africa disappeared with urban renewal and public housing (Kleber 2001, p. 688). In the late-1950s, the Public Housing Authority of Louisville built Cotter Homes on Thirty-fourth Street, and in 1959 it completed construction of nearby Lang Homes. Together those two projects housed more than 3,000 unemployed and underemployed people.

The Park DuValle HOPE VI project began in 1993 with planning for the revitalization of Cotter Homes, but it really took off in 1996 with a \$20 million HOPE VI grant from HUD to the Housing Authority of Louisville (HAL). This grant has subsequently been supplemented by over \$31 million in housing development funds, \$14

---

communist had kept her father, Barry Bingham, silent during the controversial trial of Carl Braden in 1954 (p. 353). See Braden (1999) and Throgmorton (forthcoming).

million in HAL development funds, \$10 million from the City of Louisville, and \$9 million in comprehensive grant funds for demolition and relocation. Planning for the project involved a coalition of HUD, the City of Louisville, Housing Partnership Inc., the Park DuValle Neighborhood Advisory Committee (upon whose board sit a number of neighborhood residents and organizations), and a number of private investors and lenders. This 130-acre site of about 1100 public housing units has now largely been redeveloped into a mixed-income neighborhood of approximately 1200 new homes, duplexes, and small apartment buildings, all intentionally designed to be compatible with traditional Louisville neighborhoods. It seeks to provide public housing for lower income families while simultaneously attracting middle-income renters and homeowners, partly by emphasizing the high quality of physical design. HAL's (2003) web site describes Park DuValle this way:

Traditional, tree-lined streets. A grassy boulevard curving through the middle of a stable residential area. A convenient place to live and raise a family, minutes from anywhere in the city. A vibrant, diverse neighborhood with high-quality housing. This is the vision for a new Park DuValle. A vision that builds on the best of a proud past. A vision that capitalizes on the natural advantages of the neighborhood—with Olmsted parks and parkways and the Ohio River nearby. A vision that recognizes the proven demand for attractive, affordable housing in West Louisville...and for the choice of owning a home with great amenities.

Community Builders, Inc., of Boston was chosen to be the master developer, whereas Urban Design Associates of Pittsburgh prepared the master plan and created a pattern book to guide the design of the housing and establish the physical character of the new neighborhood. The plan reserves prominent sites for open spaces and civic institutions, including a community center, a playground, and an education center, which used to be called DuValle Junior High School. The young Cassius Clay attended DuValle (then called Madison) Junior High until 1956, when he entered Central High. "By using the images and forms identified with successful, traditional Louisville neighborhoods," Urban Design Associates (2004) web site says, "Park DuValle has become attractive to a broad cross section of residents in the Louisville market. This comprehensive approach to place-making has reassured residents and stakeholders, turned their initial skepticism into support, and united a community that can take pride in its rebirth."

On the whole, Park DuValle appears to be a tremendous success. But it too provokes many questions. Will its local success benefit the people of the west end as a whole? Will its lower-income residents be able to access the skills required to fill jobs in nearby employment centers? Moreover, might higher-income residents of the west end move to Park DuValle while lower-income Park DuValle residents fill the spaces they vacate? Will destruction of Lang and Cotter Homes and construction of this recognizably beautiful neighborhood do anything to alleviate problems of poverty, crime, drug use, and inadequate education and job training services plaguing the west end? And will long-standing fears about the adverse health effects produced by air pollution from the nearby Rubbertown industrial complex undermine Park DuValle's ability to thrive as a vital neighborhood?

Rubbertown. During WW II the U.S. military decided that it needed large amounts of synthetic rubber. Luckily, distilleries produced the 190-proof alcohol required to produce synthetic rubber, and in the late-1930s many distilleries had moved into the town of Shively near the Ohio River just southwest of Louisville (primarily to avoid the city's taxes). With such a source of high quality alcohol readily at hand, the military decided to build a new butadiene and synthetic rubber manufacturing center just outside the southwest edge of the city next to the river. This new complex of chemical plants (Du Pont, B. F. Goodrich, National Carbide) and Louisville Gas and Electric's two new plants collectively became known as "Rubbertown." Nearly 4,000 people were employed there at its wartime peak in 1944. As the years passed the number of plants continued to grow, adding Rohm & Haas, American Synthetic Rubber, Reynolds Metals, and others. Now there are great concerns about lung cancer and other adverse health effects potentially associated with the Rubbertown complex, especially with regard to 1,3-butadiene, acrylonitrile, and chloroprene, which are used in the manufacture of synthetic rubber. The most recent investigations rose out of concerns by West Louisvillians—led by the Rev. Louis Coleman and the Justice Resource Center's Rubbertown Emergency Action program—that the air was making them sick (see Lewis, et al. 2003; Bruggers 2003a and 2003b).<sup>20</sup> In a report produced for the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry in 1988, Danielle M. Langmann and others concluded that "the Rubbertown industrial area poses an indeterminate public health hazard" (p. 1). Despite the facts that Rubbertown began operations more than 60 years ago, that the Federal Clean Air Act was adopted more than 30 years ago, and that Rubbertown has long been recognized as the most polluted part of the Louisville city-region, Langmann et al. found that "current air data are not available for this area [West Louisville]" (p. 2) and that "insufficient data are available to fully evaluate any causal links [between Rubbertown and adverse health effects]" (p. 4).

### *Turning East*

Far to the east of Park DuValle and Rubbertown, in the rapidly growing, far less polluted, nearly all-white and upper-income far eastern edge of the newly-merged Metro Louisville, one can find the site of the New Urbanist Norton Commons development. To get to Norton Commons, one might pass through the Cherokee district in the Highlands on the east side of the city. There one would find, in addition to a lovely traditional neighborhood in which I used to live and "a real community to which New Urbanism aspires" (Thomas 2003, p. 13)<sup>21</sup>, Roland Hinton Perry's 1912 statue of John

---

<sup>20</sup> An association of neighborhoods (the West County Community Task Force) and various local agencies are also playing significant roles. The U. S. Environmental Protection Agency has also initiated a West Louisville Community-Based Environmental Protection project.

<sup>21</sup> The Cherokee district thrived until the 1950s, at which time it started to decline. But it has since recovered, largely due to the work of the Cherokee Triangle Association, creation of the Cherokee Triangle Area Preservation District in 1975, adoption of a neighborhood plan in 1989, and formation of the Louisville Olmsted Parks Conservancy in 1990 (Thomas 2003). Hunter S. Thompson, the author of *Fear and Loathing in Las*

Breckingridge Castleman riding on a horse. Castleman had been a major in the Confederate Army under Gen. John Hunt Morgan but later helped develop Louisville's Olmstedian park system. He also served as a brigadier general in the U. S. Army during the Spanish-American War and as military governor of Puerto Rico. In 1893 he rode his mare Emily to victory at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Thomas 2003, pp. 169-171.) That Castleman's statue even exists exemplifies the fact that Louisville had become "a most 'southern' city" (Ellis 1997 , p. 17) in the years after the Civil War.

The Cherokee district began developing residentially in the 1870s, and it quickly became a place where the wealthy property owners of Louisville wanted to live. They were attracted by the cleaner and cooler air of "the highlands," by the serene beauty of Cave Hill Cemetery on the north, by the rolling woodlands on the east that soon became Cherokee Park, and by the fact that it was soon served by mule-drawn streetcars and (after 1889) by electric trams.

Among the many wealthy people who moved there was Robert Worth Bingham. From 1906 to 1915, he and his family lived in a newly-laid out suburb on the northern edge of Cherokee Park. In 1916, after the controversial death of his wife, Eleanor Miller, and his remarriage to an enormously wealthy widow, Mary Lily Flager, Bingham moved into the Seelbach Hotel downtown. In 1918, using funds inherited from his deceased second wife, Bingham purchased the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times*, perhaps the most powerful private institution in the state. Two years later he bought a big house in Glenview on River Road northeast of the city. There he and the other inhabitants of Glenview "created their own separate sphere, a compound for the wealthy, far different from any other community in Kentucky" (Ellis 1997, p. 103). Two years later Bingham purchased WHAS radio. From 1933 to 1937 he served as President Franklin Roosevelt's ambassador to England.

Robert Worth Bingham's family was much like the one that F. Scott Fitzgerald's fictional character Jay Gatsby ("The Great Gatsby") sought to marry into when he pursued Daisy, the love of his life. Gatsby met Daisy in Louisville in October 1917 when he was training to become a lieutenant in the Army at Camp Taylor on the south side of town. She was from a family in the upper strata of Louisville society, and she seems to have stood for what Gatsby wanted in life. Two years later in June of 1919, after Gatsby had gone to fight in France, Daisy married a wealthy man from Chicago. He brought a hundred people with him and stayed in the Seelbach Hotel. (In addition to being fabulously wealthy, Daisy's husband-to-be clearly was a racist who held Negroes and Jews in contempt.) Daisy later said that she and her friend, Jordan Baker, were "From Louisville. Our white girlhood was passed together there." (p. 24). Gatsby returned to Louisville after coming out of the Army, but by that time Daisy had already married, and all he could do was walk through a city that was "pervaded with a melancholy beauty" (p. 160). Having transformed himself into a self-made, self-invented, man who believed in the American dream of success, which he confused with Daisy, Gatsby wanted to marry Daisy, return to Louisville, and live in her house.<sup>22</sup>

---

*Vegas* and other works, grew up at 2734 Ransdell Avenue on the western edge of the district.

<sup>22</sup> After reading Sally Bingham's narrative about the Bingham family, one could easily conclude that Fitzgerald's Daisy might have been based in part on Robert Worth

Daisy spent her “white girlhood” in Louisville. If I count correctly, African-American individuals appear a total of ten times in Samuel Thomas’ recent 279-page book about the Cherokee Triangle. The text – much of which consists of quotes from the past – refers to them as “a negro man” (p. 59), “a small enclave of black families” (p. 86), “an old black gentleman named Gibson” (p. 106), “Clayton Longest’s servants” (p. 113), “Filmore...a wonderful black man” (p. 116), “his old nanny” (p. 124), “a butler (black)...a cook (black)...a laundress (black” (p. 128), a “coal tipper in alley” (p. 153), “a black maid, a very beautiful black woman” (p. 195), and “this marvellous black man who always wore a white coat and served” (p. 204). African-Americans appear in seven of the approximately 240 photographs in Thomas’s book; one of them shows Clayton Longest’s servants relaxing in front of their quarters. Polite racism. Life behind a veil.

The Bingham’s were not the only wealthy members of Louisville’s elite who lived in the Cherokee district. Frederick M. Sackett also lived near Cherokee Park, not far from Castleman’s statue. A very wealthy man who graduated from the Harvard Law School, Sackett served as one of the U. S. Senators from Kentucky from 1924 to 1930 and then as President Hoover’s ambassador to Germany from January 1930 to mid-March 1933 (Kleber 2001, p. 775). He was serving as ambassador when Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor on January 30, 1933.

The Norton family lived in the Cherokee district too, in the Alta Vista subdivision. George W. Norton Jr. built Norton Hall, for example, and three of his sisters built nearby Gardencourt, with the gardens of both homes being designed by the Olmsted firm (Thomas 2003, pp. 69-70). Norton’s son, George W. Norton III, later purchased a radio station, which he named WAVE radio, in 1933. Fifteen years later he founded WAVE-TV, the first television station in Kentucky. (It was Norton’s TV station that televised young Cassius Clay’s earliest fights.) Norton III also owned two large farms on the far east side of Jefferson County, one of which is now the site of the Norton Commons “New Urbanist” development.<sup>23</sup>

At that site Triad Development (which consists of David Tomes, Rod Henderson, and Charles Osborne) is planning to build a walkable neighborhood that contains a range of housing types and costs, provides greater accessibility to daily necessities, promotes a more ecologically-sustainable development pattern, and produces a stronger sense of place and community than does the conventional subdivision. As Samuel Thomas emphasizes, “In recent years, planners and developers have begun to emulate the urban attributes of Cherokee Triangle in massive suburban subdivisions... Whether it is possible for Norton Commons to instantly establish what, in the case of Cherokee Triangle, has evolved over the past 130 years remains to be seen” (p. 13).

---

Bingham’s daughter, Henrietta. On the other hand, some observers have suggested that Daisy was modeled after Emma Longest Moore, whose family lived on Cherokee Parkway and who Fitzgerald actually visited when he was on leave from training at Camp Taylor in 1918. One of the passages in *The Great Gatsby* seems to describe Gatsby and Daisy walking up Cherokee Parkway toward the Castleman statue (Thomas 2003, p. 154).

<sup>23</sup> Norton III’s wife, Jane Lewis Morton, was the sister of Thruston Morton, who served as a Republican member of the U. S. Senate from 1957 to 1969.

Planning for the neighborhood began with a 10-day charrette that Andres Duany and other members of Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company (DPZ) conducted in 1997. Participants in the charrette included government agencies, utility companies, planning officials, educators, business leaders, the new media, and nearby property owners (most of whom lived in conventional low-density cul-de-sac-style subdivisions) (Norton Commons 2004). Development required rezoning from R-4 residential to a new Planned Village Development zone, as called for in the city-region's new Cornerstone 2020 comprehensive plan (Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission 2000). Critics expressed a familiar array of concerns during the rezoning hearings, including claims that Norton Commons' density would be too high, that it would increase traffic congestion and air pollution, and that it would exacerbate soil erosion. In the end, however, the Planning Commission approved the rezoning in August 2000. Construction was originally scheduled to begin the fall of 2001, but financing difficulties delayed the start to \_\_\_\_\_, 2004. Its developers anticipate that Norton Commons will, when fully developed by 2012-2017, include approximately 2,880 housing units, 360,000 square feet of office space, and 200,000 square feet of retail.

The developers of Norton Commons deserve praise for turning away from conventional suburban design. Insofar as it is located on the far eastern fringe of Metro Louisville, however, one can reasonably expect that Norton Commons will exacerbate rather than alleviate exurban sprawl. Moreover, since it is located in a very wealthy and largely all-white part of the city-region, far from the lower income and mostly black west end, one can expect that it will do little to promote racially integrated housing.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, while many retail and office facilities will be located within the development, its residents and employees will be able to access the rest of the city-region only by auto or truck. Even though the Transit Authority of River City (TARC) has been doing long-range planning for a new "advanced transit" system, none of that planning will affect Norton Commons in the short run. And there is little reason to believe that it will in the longer run either.<sup>25</sup> The lower wage service sector workers who will be employed in Norton Commons will find the cost of housing in the development out of their reach and will be forced to drive to and from work. Lastly, the design charrette, which involved more than 500 participants, did not include low-income people or

---

<sup>24</sup> For an analysis of trends in spatial segregation in Louisville, see Cummings and Price (1997, especially pp. 619-620). They report that residential segregation as measured by a Segregation Index increased significantly from 70.0 in 1940 to 83.6 in 1970 but decreased substantially to 75.4 in 1990. Even so, the segregation index for 1990 remains higher than it was in 1950 (73.6). Moreover, according to the Brookings Institution (2002), the Louisville metropolitan area was, by this measure in 2000, the 52<sup>nd</sup> most segregated of 272 metropolitan areas in the nation.

<sup>25</sup> A Long Range Corridor Analysis had identified six corridors for possible "advanced transit" service in future years, with the south central corridor holding the greatest short term promise. TARC subsequently proposed to alleviate traffic congestion, reduce air pollution, and enhance opportunities for economic development by constructing a 15-mile, \$550 million light rail line serving south central Louisville from the downtown to Standiford Field Airport. (See TARC 2003; U. S. Environmental Protection Agency 2000.)

advocates of affordable housing and, consequently, was highly unlikely to generate a plan calling for a culturally and economically diverse place.

### *Returning Downtown*

From Norton Commons one can speed downtown Louisville by taking I-71. This interstate highway, which connects Louisville to Cincinnati and places beyond, leads past the new Waterfront Park, Extreme Sports Park, and Slugger Field and ends at “Spaghetti Junction” on the eastern edge of the downtown.

Waterfront Park is located on the river just to the east and west of the I-65 bridge and just north of Spaghetti Junction. The site upon which it is located used to support industries dealing with the transportation, storage, and distribution of materials required by an industrial city, and its landscape was dominated by warehouse structures, oil holding tanks, concrete silos, and piles of salt and other minerals. But deindustrialization of the region’s economy created the possibility of opening up the river’s edge to other uses. In 1986, the private Louisville Waterfront Development Corporation (LWDC) was created to do just that (Louisville Waterfront Development Corporation 2004). After inviting expert and public commentary, the LWDC hired Hargreaves Associates, a landscape architecture firm based in San Francisco, to develop a master plan for a new park and to reconnect Louisville with its river heritage. Hargreaves’ plan called for a two-phase development, with the first phase for a 55-acre parcel just west of the bridge being completed in 1999 (Hargreaves Associates 2004). It includes a wharf with docking space for riverboats and a seating area for festivals; a large green space, a water feature forming a series of pools and waterfalls, and a natural park running along the river and containing walking paths and a childrens’ play area, not to mention scenic vistas across the river. It has proven to be a tremendous success and has won awards from the American Society of Landscape Architects. Phase II will add 30 acres directly east of Phase I. Planning for the park was supported by an environmental impact assessment (Haynes 1994).

Intending to reduce miles drive and travel times in the Louisville city-region, the States of Indiana and Kentucky are planning to reconstruct Spaghetti Junction, add a new one-way bridge just east of the existing I-65 bridge, and add another bridge farther upstream. This second bridge will connect the Gene Snyder Freeway portion of I-265 with the Lee Hamilton Highway portion in Indiana, and thereby enable interstate truck traffic to bypass the downtown; e.g., facilitate shipments to and from the Ford Motor Co.’s Truck Plant on the far east side of the city. It will also open up large amounts of land in southern Indiana to new residential and commercial development. (See the Ohio River Bridges Project [2004] and Kentuckiana Regional Planning and Development Agency [1999].)

Planning for the ten-year, \$1.4 billion, two-bridges project forms an important part of the city-region’s overall transportation plan, which in turn has been shaped by two pieces of federal legislation: The Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA) and its successor, the Transportation Equity Act for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (TEA-21). Both of these laws were designed to encourage greater coordination and cooperation among governmental organizations at the metropolitan scale, in part by strengthening the role of metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs). The Transportation Policy Committee (TPC) of the Kentuckiana Regional Planning and Development Agency (KIPDA) has been designated the MPO for the Louisville city-

region. MPOs are required to develop short-term transportation improvement plans (TIPs) and long-term transportation plans oriented toward the development of an integrated transportation system and the regional scale. Federal funding may be withheld if the MPO fails to obtain certification. In principle, MPOs could help reduce sprawl, reduce social and economic inequities between inner city neighborhoods and exurban developments, and contribute to revitalizing inner cities.

The TPC, whose purview includes five of the Louisville city-region's nine counties, is supposed to ensure that the urban area transportation plan is coordinated with the area land use and air quality plans developed by other agencies. It has 19 voting members, all of them elected or appointed public officials, and it solicits advice from two standing committees: the Transportation Technical Coordinating Committee, which consists of technical staff, and the Community Transportation Advisory Committee, which involves a variety of public and private interests.

In 1993, the TPC approved a Regional Mobility Plan for the urbanized area. This long-range plan identified several possible high cost transportation improvements in a number of highly congested and heavily traveled corridors. An MIS for the east and south corridors was initiated in 1996, with the former being carried out by a 50-member Ohio River Major Investment Study (ORMIS) committee. In 1996 ORMIS recommended the two bridge option, and in 2001 a draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) was completed. The EIS noted that construction of the new downtown bridge would require construction on part of the new Waterfront Park. A separate MIS analysis, "Transportation Tomorrow," was conducted by TARC for a possible light rail line serving the south corridor. In 1999 the TPC included the light rail line in its long-range plan, and TARC initiated an environmental impact study.

In a recent analysis of the ORMIS process, Vogel and Nezelkewicz (2002) claim that the key to understanding the TPC's decisions, especially with regard to building two new bridges, is knowing that key political actors had taken fixed (and divergent) positions on the bridge issue before the MIS process even began. Once ORMIS proposed specific sites, they say, consensus about regional transportation planning began breaking down.

The central question this raises is: where is the African-Americans' voice and story in the very technical and highly bureaucratized effort to plan the transformation of the region's transportation system? To judge by Vogel and Nezelkewicz's analysis, their voice and story has been translated into political interests and technical terms such as origin/destination, modal choice, and vehicle trips per day. Because their voice is so weak relative to that of economic development interests and middle class exurbanites, Louisville's African-American population finds itself not well served by the city-region's transportation planning process. "If social capital is the basis for cooperation and coordination in a network," Vogel and Nezelkewicz argue, "then the cultural and regional divisions in the Louisville metropolis may indeed be the problems facing the MPO. Building social capital requires creating stronger ties among regional citizens and actors. Trust results from sustained interaction and dialogue" (p. 128). Moreover, the fact that Norton Commons will be virtually inaccessible except by private auto reveals the poor coordination between transportation and land use planning at the city-region scale. Indeed, as Vogel and Nezelkewicz put it, "The ORMIS process has avoided a broader discussion of regional growth and how the location of the bridge may spur more

suburbanization or hinder center-city revitalization. Instead, the focus has been on the need for a bridge to alleviate traffic congestion and the potential to facilitate economic development” (p. 125).

Physical development in the city-region is being guided in part by the new *Cornerstone 2020* comprehensive plan. This new plan begins by stating, “Cornerstone 2020 represents the vision of Louisville and Jefferson County, brought into focus by hundreds of citizens whose labor over seven years has produced a plan for a more livable, attractive, mobile, efficient and environmentally sensitive community” (p. 1). It explicitly seeks to “bring people together in livable communities, each with a distinct sense of place” (p. 1). In effect it seeks to make Louisville the kind of place that will attract the types of workers that its current and future service-sector workers demand.

Work on the new plan began in 1993 when 200 or so citizens spent three days discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the existing (1979) comprehensive plan and articulating a vision of what the city and county could be in 2020. In the fall of that year 600 people in 25 focus groups sharpened that vision. That led to the formation of four committees of about 50 persons each, focusing on four strategies: mobility, community form, livability, and marketplace. Fifty or so members of an advisory committee appointed by County Judge (and later mayor of Louisville) David L. Armstrong then reviewed a draft plan in 1998. A small committee including developers, neighborhood interests, environmentalists, government representatives, and planning commission staff revised the draft for submission to the Planning Commission. After holding a public hearing in 1999, the Commission sent a revised version to 13 legislative bodies that had zoning powers for review and adoption. The plan was approved in the middle of 2000.

Although the plan indicates that “we” authored the plan and that hundreds of citizens were involved in its preparation, the real flesh and blood author(s) is impossible to determine. The authors, whoever they might have been, seem to expect the plan’s readers to be trusting and extremely patient, or else not to read the plan at all. And most actual flesh and blood readers would find it incomprehensible or too tiresome to read. Moreover, by emphasizing harmony and by speaking with one voice, it displays no awareness of the fact that the text is open to multiple interpretations or that readers will conflict over how best to interpret it, nor does it indicate how those conflicting interpretations can best be resolved. Community stories, including those of African-Americans, simply disappear, displaced by “the plan” for “our community.”

Once one has navigated Spaghetti Junction and safely returned downtown, one can walk to the headquarters of Greater Louisville Inc. (GLI) on Main Street just a short distance away from the new Ali Center. Formed by combining the Louisville Area Chamber of Commerce and the Greater Louisville Economic Development Partnership in 1997, and then by merging GLI with the City/County Office for Economic Development in 1998, Greater Louisville Inc. has been trying to develop a “vision” for Louisville’s future through strategic economic planning. The effort began in mid-1996 when a “Visioning Committee” of more than 40 “community leaders” assembled to consider what needed to be done. It hired M. Ross Boyle, a nationally recognized economic development consultant, to advise them. Describing Louisville as “a nice average place to live and work” and as “a good example of the kind of place that makes American great,” he urged community leaders to strive for much faster, higher-quality economic growth in order to “make the Louisville area special, not average.” Inspired by Boyle’s advice, the

committee produced a Visioning Report in 1997 that included seven major strategies designed to transform Louisville into “an economic hot spot” (Greater Louisville 2002, pp. 2-3). These strategies, each of which included specific steps and performance measures, involved (1) building on the city-region’s existing advantages and making Louisville a national center for logistics and distribution services, and for biomedical research and health care services; (2) making Louisville a place “permeated with a culture of entrepreneurship” and hence a better place for creating new businesses; (3) linking the entire city-region into an internet hub; (4) improving the quality of the workforce and facilitating connections between potential employers and employees; (5) overcoming geographical and political barriers to economic development across the city-region; (6) maintaining existing strengths in agriculture, tourism, and manufacturing; and (7) creating one central agency for economic development, which came to be known as Greater Louisville Inc. (Greater Louisville, Inc. 2002).

It is an impressive effort, but one that provokes several observations and questions. First, it is silent about environmental matters and, by trying to enhance the Louisville city-region’s competitiveness “in a future certain to be characterized by global competition for economic development” (GLI 2002, p. 19), it presumes a degree of geopolitical stability at the global scale that seems impossible to obtain. Second, while it identifies several ways to increase economic opportunities for lower-income individuals, especially African-Americans, it overwhelmingly presumes that benefits will accrue to those people simply by virtue of regional economic growth. And third, by combining the Chamber of Commerce with the City-County Economic Development Office, it dramatically blurs the boundary between public and private action. How can citizens influence such an entity, and who can they hold accountable when things go awry?

These questions inevitably lead to the recent merger of Louisville and Jefferson County. In 2000 the people of Louisville and Jefferson County approved 54 to 46 percent a referendum merging their governments, in effect taking a big step toward accomplishing GLI’s fifth strategy. The first consolidation in a major U. S. metropolitan area since 1970, this merger became effective in January 2003. In November 2002, 15 Democrats and 11 Republicans were elected to the new Metro Council, and Democrat Jerry Abramson (who had served as mayor from 1987 to 1999) was elected mayor of the new merged government with 74 percent of the vote. Abramson has been characterized as a “born closer,” “a legendary salesman,” that “the closest thing Louisville has to a resident rock star” (Greenblatt 2002). Six of the 26 new council members were African-American. While important in its own right, the merger involved only one of the seven counties in the bi-state city-region. (See Brookings Institution 2002, and Greenblatt 2002.)

Shortly after voters approved the merger, the Community Foundation of Louisville organized a consortium to create “The Greater Louisville Project,” which would ensure “that Louisville’s entry into the top tier of American cities truly does improve the quality of life and opportunities available to all residents of the new Regional City of Louisville” (Brookings 2002, p. 2). As the first component of this effort, the Project commissioned researchers at the Brookings Institution to produce a report titled *Beyond Merger*. Published in mid-2002, it suggested “an agenda of transformation to a changing community—one with a resilient economy and high quality of life that are increasingly imperiled by economic change, persistent racial divides, decentralization,

and the relatively low education levels of its people” (p. 2). It argued that now is the time for “the true ‘builders’ in the community...to ensure that Louisville’s ascent into the top tier of municipalities leads also to its emergence as one of the most progressive” (p. 3). For the Brookings researchers this meant embracing “an expansive vision of ‘competitiveness’ that encompasses much more than just attracting and supporting businesses” (p. 4). It meant not just providing new jobs, but producing better jobs, lifting the skill levels of all workers, and growing the new city’s neighborhoods and towns “in smart, efficient, equitable, and environmentally sound ways” (p. 5). The Brookings Institution researchers advocated five strategies that they considered essential for making Greater Louisville “a truly competitive city”: first, fixing the basics (i.e., making sure that the city-region provided great schools, good services, and superior workers); second, building on assets (i.e., making its downtown and universities truly world-class); third, creating quality neighborhoods in every part of the city-region; fourth, investing in working families; and fifth, protecting the Regional City’s centrality, livability, and social health by leading a drive to manage growth on the city-region scale (p. 6).

With regard to the approved merger, the Brookings researchers argued that “the new City requires a new approach, one that does not ‘remember’ the old city-county line at every turn and decision, but rather develops strategies to help address every neighborhood’s particular challenges” (p. 50). “[A] truly transformative convergence will require a disciplined adherence to a wise policy agenda as well as a true reinvention of the local civic culture” (p. 77), they said. Furthermore,

The longer Louisville residents perceive that the old city and county boundary still exists in spirit and in deed, the further the region will be from true merger. The sooner citizens and their leaders understand that regional problems such as suburban sprawl, traffic congestion, pollution, and neighborhood support require regional solutions, the closer the region will be to success.... Consolidation, it might be said, is all about removing old barriers, and welcoming into a vibrant new American city all of the new people and new energies that will define it going forward (p. 78).<sup>26</sup>

Just across the street from Greater Louisville Inc.’s office, literally just a few steps away, the new \$43.5 million Ali Center is going up. The Parking Authority of River City has already completed the first phase, a \$10 million garage, and, if all goes well, the Center will be finished by November, 2005. Louis Straub of Bank One, one of the five lenders providing the construction loan for the project, says his bank views the Ali Center as “a keystone landmark and vital for the economic development and well-being of downtown” (Shafer 2004). It will help make Louisville an “economic hot spot.”<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> For a highly critical review of the Brookings report, see Mills (2003). “We deserve better from Brookings,” he says.

<sup>27</sup> Communication studies scholar Leslie Hahner (forthcoming) argues that Louisville’s political and business leaders are using the Ali Center to present a particular kind of hero, a “legendary figure,” who will help them revamp the downtown and improve Louisville’s tourist economy while systematically avoiding the problematic history of race relations in the city. In making this argument, she clearly distinguishes between Ali the real flesh and

## Conclusion

If all goes as planned, by the middle of 2005 one will be able to walk a few short steps from Greater Louisville Inc.'s office across Main Street to the newly-opened Muhammad Ali Center for the Advancement of Humanity Worldwide. When the black and white people of Louisville (and elsewhere) walk through that space, hopefully they will be able to learn not just the inspiring details of Muhammad Ali's life, though those details are important, and not just gain insight into how to resolve conflicts in other parts of the world, though that too is important. Rather, they should also, and most centrally, be able to learn that it is here in this place, *this Louisville*, this "Gateway to the South," this site of "polite racism" where blacks had to adjust to "living behind a veil" and to accepting "their place" in a complicated dance of race relations, that Muhammad Ali learned to fight. They should also be able to learn that Muhammad Ali was not alone, that other African-Americans in Louisville learned to fight too, and that they were able to—with the aid of non-black allies—part the veil, transform the dance, and reconfigure their place in the city-region.

But one should be able to do even more when walking through the new Ali Center. One should be able to learn how Louisville has, in many ways, been changing for the better. Guided by members of the city-region's "growth machine," a diverse array of planners have constructed a set of plans that collectively have sought to turn the flow of future action away from the despiriting downward spiral of deindustrialization and toward a service-sector-based "Greater Louisville" that can successfully compete in an increasingly globalized economy and thereby become, in M. Ross Boyle's phrase, "an economic hot spot." These efforts have had considerable success. Over the past decade or more, the city-region's economy has been substantially deindustrialized and transformed into one that is more service-sector based, its air and water have become noticeably less polluted, a modest brownfield redevelopment program has been initiated, the Olmsted system of parks and parkways has been extensively renovated, innovative forms of neighborhood development have been initiated at Park DuValle and Norton Commons, residential segregation has become somewhat less severe, many sites along the Ohio River have become far more appealing to recreational users, the downtown has been spruced up, efforts to acknowledge and celebrate the city-region's sense of place have been accelerated, and the governments of the city and county have been merged. For all these reasons, visitors to the new Ali Center would be able to detect a sense of excitement and hope in Louisville that seems fresh and new.

Having learned that Louisville has been improving, visitors to the new Ali Center might also be challenged to imagine how the city-region can be made even better and more sustainable. They would be able to see that market-led industrialization undermined the long-term prospects for Louisville by leaving in its wake public health problems of inadequately-documented severity and acres of contaminated "brownfields" that were thrown away during the rapid transformation to a globalized economic order. They would be able to understand that deindustrialization warrants recalling the thousands of industrial workers—black and white—who made their livelihoods at the plants in

---

blood *individual* and Ali the *figure* constructed through media and discourse.

Rubbertown and elsewhere. They would discover how the acceleration of residential and commercial development on the exurban periphery of Louisville is undermining the city-region's transportation system and the ability of lower-income residents—black and white—to access new jobs. They would think critically about the decision to expand the city-region's highway system rather than create a new light-rail system. They would be able to consider whether the city-region's efforts to promote economic growth are likely to succeed in the context of a geopolitically unstable global economic order, and they would be able to consider the possibility that, by ignoring adverse effects on the development potential of other parts of the world, contemporary planning in the city-region is undermining the long-term viability of development at both the local and the global scale. They would be able to discover that new migrants, especially Latino, have been transgressing the old black/white divide that has long characterized the city-region. They would be able to probe the extent to which African-Americans voices and stories have been able to influence the content of planning throughout the city-region, and they would be able to discuss the extent to which new projects—including the new Ali Center—are likely to benefit them.

By enabling visitors to learn about the legacy of “polite racism” in the “Gateway to the South,” about the transformation of race relations in Louisville, and about the challenges that still remain, black and white visitors to the Ali Center might also learn that in certain interesting and important ways Greater Louisville is not unlike Berlin, the capital of a newly-reunified Germany and the site of Daniel Libeskind's new Jewish Museum. In both cities, people are being urged to forget old boundaries and divisions, and to respond to the challenges of reunification in the context of a highly-competitive globalized economic order by reinventing their local cultures and by becoming truly global cities. But if visitors attended carefully to Berlin, they would learn that the collapse of old physical walls does not necessarily entail the disappearance of all important socio-cultural walls. In Berlin, people talk about “the Wall in the head” that still shapes the attitudes and actions of residents of the former east and west parts of the city long after the actually existing Wall was torn down. So too, one suspects, do many residents of Greater Louisville still have a “wall” in their heads.

With these associations in mind, visitors to the new Ali Center might be to begin imagining a persuasive story about Louisville's future, a story that makes space for African-Americans both physically and narrationally, a story that enables blacks and whites to peel back the unseen layers of history and memory and to transform the walls that remain in their heads.

In order for the people of Louisville (and elsewhere) learn these things, the Ali Center will have to provide a public space and transitional zone that enable safe and generative social interaction between black and white people on opposite sides of the veil. In this space, both sides would be able to recognize that each side contains a “plurality of identities” which cut across and work against the primary identities that the wall seeks to create (Sen, 2001). Black and white Louisvillians would be able to look carefully at their common history, treating their shared underworld space as a realm that fosters creativity and imagination and which houses memories, fears, and aspirations (Caldwell, 2002). Black and white Louisvillians would be able to listen carefully, as Peter Schneider does in his Berlin novel *Der Mauerspringer* (“The Wall Jumper”), to the stories of people who have migrated from one side of a wall/veil to the other.

In this space, they could collectively imagine new passages through those walls and ways of improving the quality of existing gateways, bridges, sites of transition, and shared experiences. In the present context, this would mean helping both black and white Louisvillians identify and understand their fears, helping them understand one another better, helping them engage in fruitful dialogue, and helping them build trust in one another. It would mean constructing physical and narrative space for the actual diverse people of the Louisville city-region to negotiate their differences, to negotiate their memories, and to imagine a more sustainable shared future.

In this space, black and white Louisvillians might ask: Who are *we*? What does it mean to be a “Louisvillian”? Whose story, what culture, what sense of community, and what collective identity does contemporary planning help sustain? What *should* it sustain? If the people of the Louisville city-region truly desire to devise a more sustainable story for their future, they will need to rely far more heavily on a form of collaborative planning that includes negotiations among a wide range of diverse stakeholders.

Sociologist Charles Lemert (2003) characterizes Muhammad Ali as a “trickster,” one of the most common figures in the folklore of “premodern” societies. The trickster is, he says, “a boundary crosser...always there, at the gates of the city and the gates of life, making sure there is commerce. He also attends the internal boundaries by which groups articulate their social life... Trickster is the mythic embodiment of ambiguity and ambivalence, doubleness and duplicity, contradiction and paradox” (p. 38). Trickster is a “culture transformer” who “transforms himself in order to remake the worlds at hand” (p. 41).<sup>28</sup> In Lemert’s view, Ali was “self-consciously a character in a story of his own invention” (p. 140), and Ali the trickster “queered” the world by working against the received cultural system when the political and economic powers were still so entrenched as to limit the hope of fundamental social change (p. 81).

My hope is that, just as Cassius Clay the trickster was able to transform himself into Muhammad Ali, the people of “the Big L” will be able to escape the bonds of traditional limits, set forth on a motivational journey that embodies respect for their shared life and humanity and which transforms their transnational place of polite racism into a city-region that welcomes all in a warm and embracing manner. My hope is that the elected officials, business leaders, planners, black leaders, scholars, activist critics, and people of the Louisville city-region will collectively be able to invent and live an energizing myth that makes space for diverse locally-grounded common urban narratives and thereby helps create a more sustainable city-region, a truly “Greater Louisville,” a worthy home for “the Greatest.”<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Lemert also describes Ali as one of many children “of generations of other-than-white colonial subjects,” and he emphasizes Ali’s importance as a *global* celebrity.

<sup>29</sup> I want to thank several Louisvillians who graciously met with a group of students and me on a field trip in October, 2002. Thanks go especially to former mayor David L. Armstrong, William Summers IV and Eileen Pickett of Greater Louisville Inc., Charles Cash of the Louisville Development Authority, Clark Bledsoe (former chair of the Planning and Zoning Commission), Dr. Tom Owen (associate archivist at the University of Louisville), David Tomes of Triad Development Co., and Susan Rademacher of the Louisville Olmsted Parks Conservancy. I also want to acknowledge my debt to students

## List of References

- Baker Jr., Houston A. *Turning South Again: Re-thinking Modernism/Re-reading Booker T. Durham*, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1929. *A Major Street Plan for Louisville, Kentucky*. Prepared for the Louisville City Planning Commission.
- Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1929. *Preliminary Report on Railroad Transportation for Louisville, Kentucky*. Prepared for the Louisville City Planning Commission.
- Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1929. *Preliminary Report on Transit Facilities for Louisville, Kentucky*. Prepared for the Louisville City Planning Commission.
- Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1930. *Zoning Report for the City of Louisville, Kentucky*. Prepared for the Louisville City Planning Commission.
- Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1931. *Preliminary Airport Plan*. Prepared for the Louisville City Planning Commission.
- Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1931. *A Preliminary Report on the Proposed River Front Development of Civic Art*. Prepared for the Louisville City Planning Commission.
- Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1957. *A Report upon Comprehensive Plan: A Part of the Louisville-Jefferson County Comprehensive Plan*. Prepared for the Louisville and Jefferson County Planning and Zoning Commission.
- Bennett, Paul. 1998. Ecologizing Olmsted: Andropogon Associates revise Olmsted's landscape for Louisville's park system in an ecological vein. *Landscape Architecture*, 88, 6 (June): 52-57.
- Biemer, B. 1999. How a city's pilot project can influence a state's brownfields program. *Journal of Natural Resources and Environmental Law* 13: 339-352.
- Bingham, Sally. 1991. *Passion and Prejudice: A Family Memoir* (with a new introduction). New York: New York: Applause Books.
- Braden, Anne. 1999 (1958). *The Wall Between* (with a new epilogue and a forward by Julian Bond). Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Brookings Institution. 2002. *Beyond Merger: A Competitive Vision for the Regional City of Louisville*. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy.
- Bruggers, James. 2003a. Air quality study alarms Louisvillians. *Louisville Courier-Journal* (May 23): 1.

---

who conducted research projects focused on Louisville as part of graduate-level courses I taught in 2002 and 2003: Matt Chambers, Emily Dannenberg, Chad Dipman, Colleen Evenhouse, John Finizio, Jean Finley, Justin Fredin, Miguel Gaddi, April Gutting, Leslie Hahner, Jessica Hlubek, Heather Johnson, Rob Keehn, Matthew Lepke, Saweda Liverpool, Deo Cephas Miningou, Kelli Moran, Danielle Murray, Patrick Naick, Daniel Nolin, Liz Perry, Claudia Regojo, Tim Sexton, Loreto Stambuk, Eric Tysland, Judd Vande Voort, Sarah Walz, Ben Warren, Erin Welsch, Jason White, and Maria Elena Anaya de Yeats.

- Bruggers, James 2003b. Study finds “huge” cluster of lung cancer in Jefferson. *Louisville Courier-Journal* (September 7): 1.
- Burse, Kim. 2002. *Annual Report 2001*. Louisville Development Bancorp. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.morethanabank.com/2001annrpt/2001annrpt.pdf>.
- Caldwell, David. 2002. Berlin from below: Film and the archaeology of urban imagination. Presented at the University of Iowa’s “Berlin in America” Symposium, Iowa City, Iowa (June 21-22).
- Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Chametsky, Peter. 2001. Rebuilding the nation: Norman Foster’s Reichstag renovation and Daniel Libeskind’s Jewish Museum Berlin. *Centropa* 1, 3 (September): 245-264.
- City of Louisville. 1933. *Comprehensive City Plan*. Louisville, Kentucky.
- Cobourn, W. Geoffrey, Leslie Dolcine, Mark French, and Milton C. Hubbard. 2000. A comparison of nonlinear regression and neural network models for ground-level ozone forecasting. *Air & Water Waste Management Association* 50 (November): 1999-2009.
- Coulson, David C., and Anne Hansen. 1995. The Louisville Courier-Journal’s news content after purchase by Gannett. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, 1 (Spring): 205-215.
- Cummings, Scott, and Michael Price. 1997. Race relations and public policy in Louisville: Historical development of an urban underclass. *Journal of Black Studies* 27, 5 (May): 615-649.
- Dear, Michael. 2000. *The Postmodern Urban Condition*. Cambridge, England: Blackwell.
- Dennis, Felix, and Don Atyea (with a forward by Jose Torres). 2003. *Muhammad Ali: The Glory Years*. New York: Hyperion.
- Eckstein, B. 2003. Making space: Stories in the practice of planning, in B. Eckstein and J. A. Throgmorton (Eds.) *Story and Sustainability: Planning, Practice, and Possibility for American Cities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Eckstein, B., and Throgmorton, J. A. (Eds.) (Forthcoming) *Story and Sustainability: Planning, Practice, and Possibility for American Cities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Ellis, William E. 1997. *Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique: From the Old South to the New South and Beyond*. Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press.
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott. 1995 (Scribner Paperback edition). *The Great Gatsby*. New York: Simon and Schuster. (Originally published in 1925.)
- Fosl, C. 2002. *Subversive Southerner: Anne Braden and the Struggle for Racial Justice in the Cold War South*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Greater Louisville, Inc. 2002. 2002 visioning report update. Louisville, Kentucky: Greater Louisville, Inc.
- Greenblatt, Alan. 2002. Anatomy of a merger: Greater Louisville is about to be born. How much greater will it be? *Governing* \_\_, \_\_ (December): \_\_-\_\_.
- Hahner, Leslie. Forthcoming. The Muhammad Ali Center: Planning with memory politics. *Poroi: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Rhetorical Analysis and Invention*. [On-line]. Available: <http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/poroi/poroi/index.html>.
- Hargreaves Associates. 2004. *Louisville Waterfront Park* [On-line]. Available: <http://www.hargreaves.com/projects/louisville/index.html>

- Haynes, W. R. 1994. *Final Environmental Impact Statement: Louisville Waterfront Park/Falls Harbor Development*. U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Louisville District.
- Harvey, David. 2000. *Spaces of Hope*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Housing Authority of Louisville. 2004. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.hall1.org/parkduvalle.htm>.
- Initiative for a Competitive Inner City, in partnership with the City of Louisville. 2001. *West Louisville Competitive Assessment and Strategy Project*. Louisville, Kentucky: MyRedPen.com.
- Inman, David. 2001. *Randy, Cactus, and Uncle Ed: The Story of the Golden Age of Louisville Television*. Louisville, Kentucky: Regency Books.
- James-Chakraborty, Kathleen. 2001. Kirchsteigfeld – A European perspective on the construction of community. *Places* 14, 1 (Winter): 56-63.
- Kentuckiana Regional Planning and Development Agency. 1999. *Horizon 2020 Transportation Plan Update Number II*.
- Kleber, John E. (ed.). 2001. *The Encyclopedia of Louisville*. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Kramer, Carl E. 1980. *The City-Building Process: Urbanization in Central and Southern Louisville, 1772-1932*. Ph.D. diss. Department of History, University of Toledo.
- Kramer, Carl E. 1988. *Louisville's Olmstedian Legacy: An Interpretive Analysis and Documentary Inventory*. Louisville, Kentucky: Louisville Friends of Olmsted Parks.
- Krier, Rob, and Christoph Kohl. 1997. *Potsdam Kirchsteigfeld: Eine Stadt entsteht (The Making of a Town)*. Bensheim, Germany: Verlag.
- Ladd, Brian. 1997. *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lambert, Thomas E., and Paul A. Coomes. 2001. An evaluation of the effectiveness of Louisville's enterprise zone. *Economic Development Quarterly* 15, 2 (May): 168-180.
- Langmann, Danielle M., Susan Moore, and Adele M. Childress. 1998. *Public Health Assessment: Rubbertown Industrial Area, Jefferson County, Kentucky*. CERCLIS NO. KYXCREP38000. Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry. [On-line]. Available: [http://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/HAC/PHA/rubber/rub\\_toc.html](http://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/HAC/PHA/rubber/rub_toc.html)
- Lemert, Charles. 2003. *Muhammad Ali: Trickster in the Culture of Irony*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Lewis, Richard, Grzegorz Rempala, Linda D. Dell, and Kenneth A. Mundt. 2003. Vinyl chloride and liver and brain cancer at a polymer production plant in Louisville, Kentucky. *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 45, 5 (May): 533-537.
- Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission. 1979. *The Comprehensive Plan: Guided Growth and Redevelopment for Louisville and Jefferson County*. Louisville, Kentucky: Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission.
- Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission. 2000. *Cornerstone 2020 Comprehensive Plan*. Louisville, Kentucky: Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission.
- Louisville Waterfront Development Corporation. 2004. About the Louisville Waterfront Development Corporation [On-line]. Available: <http://www.louisvillewaterfront.com/about%20us.htm>

- Mazmanian, David A., and Michael E. Kraft. 1999. *Toward Sustainable Communities: Transition and Transformation in Environmental Policy*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Meyer, P. and T. Lyons. 2000. Lessons from private sector brownfield redevelopers: Planning public support for urban regeneration. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 66: 46-57.
- Mills, Edwin S. 2003. Review of Beyond Merger: A Competitive Vision for the Regional City of Louisville. *Journal of Regional Science* 43, 2: 398-399.
- Moffett, Prudence Todd. 2001. Marching. In Kathleen Driskell (ed.). *Place Gives Rise to Spirit: Writers on Louisville*. Louisville, KY: Fleur-de-Lis Press, 77-79.
- Muhammad Ali Center. 2004. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.alicenter.org>.
- Mullins Jr., R. L., and John I. Gilderbloom. 2002. Urban revitalisation partnerships: Perceptions of the university's role in Louisville, Kentucky. *Local Environment* 7, 2: 163-176.
- Norton Commons. 2002. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.nortoncommons.com>
- The Ohio River Bridges Project. 2004. *The Ohio River Bridges Project* [On-line]. Available: <http://www.kyinbridges.com>.
- Potney, Kent E. 2003. *Taking Sustainability Seriously: Economic Development, the Environment, and Quality of Life in American Cities*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- President's Council on Sustainable Development. 1999. *Towards a Sustainable America: Advancing Prosperity, Opportunity, and a Healthy Environment for the 21st Century*. Available: <http://clinton2.nara.gov/PCSD/Publications>.
- Remnick, David. 1998. *King of the World: Muhammad Ali and the Rise of an American Hero*. New York: Random House.
- Riley, Terence, and Barry Bergdoll (eds.). *Mies in Berlin*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
- Sandercock, Leonie. 1998. *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*. Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sassen, S. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.
- Schneider, Bernhard. 1999. *Daniel Libeskind Jewish Museum Berlin* (tr. by John William Gabriel). Munich, Germany: Prestel.
- Sen, A. 2001. A world not meatly divided. *New York Times* (November 23), p. A33.
- Shafer, Sheldon S. 2004. Work to start on Ali Center. *Louisville Courier-Journal* (March 13).
- Smith, Michael P. 2001. *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization*. Cambridge, England: Blackwell.
- Soja, Edward. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Thomas, Samuel W. 2003. *Cherokee Triangle: A History of the Heart of the Highlands*. Louisville, Kentucky: Cherokee Triangle Association.
- Thompson, J. William (with photography by Kenneth Hayden). 1996. Rethinking River City. *Landscape Architecture* 86, 8 (August): 70-77.

- Throgmorton, J. A. 1996. *Planning as Persuasive Storytelling: The Rhetorical Construction of Chicago's Electric Future*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Throgmorton, J. A. 2003a. Imagining sustainable places, in B. Eckstein and J. A. Throgmorton (Eds.) *Story and Sustainability: Planning, Practice, and Possibility for American Cities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Throgmorton, J.A. 2003b. Planning as persuasive storytelling in a global-scale web of relationships, *Planning Theory*, 2 (2) pp. 125-151
- Throgmorton, J. A. Forthcoming. Where was the wall then? Where is it now? *Planning Theory and Practice* \_\_, \_\_: \_\_.
- Transit Authority of River City. 2004. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.ridetarc.org>.
- United Parcel Service. 2004. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.ups.com/content/corp/about/index.html>.
- U. S. Environmental Protection Agency. 2000. *Environmental Impact Statement on the South Central Corridor Light Rail Transit Project in Metropolitan Louisville, Kentucky*. Federal Register Environmental Documents, 65:206. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.epa.gov/fedrgstr/EPA-IMPACT/2000/October/Day-24/i27230.htm>
- U. S. Environmental Protection Agency. 2004. Kentucky NPL/NPL Caliber Cleanup Site Summaries: Lee's Lane Landfill [On-line]. Available: <http://www.epa.gov/Region4/waste/npl/nplky/leelanky.htm>
- Urban Design Associates. 2004. [On-line]. Available: [http://www.urbandesignassociates.com/project\\_Detail.asp?ProjectMainID=32&Section=2](http://www.urbandesignassociates.com/project_Detail.asp?ProjectMainID=32&Section=2)
- Vogel, Ronald K., and Norman Nezelkewicz. 2002. Metropolitan planning organizations and the new regionalism: The case of Louisville. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 32, 1 (Winter): 107-129.
- Wheeler, Stephen M., and Timothy Beatley (eds.). 2004. *The Sustainable Urban Development Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Wright, George. C. 1985. *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky 1865-1930*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press.
- Wright, Sharon D. 1995. Electoral and biracial coalition: Possible election strategy for African American candidates in Louisville, Kentucky. *Journal of Black Studies* 25, 6 (July): 749-758.
- Yum! Brands. 2004. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.yum.com>