POLICY MOBILITIES AND WEST DALLAS DREAM: CONSIDERING TRANSACTIVE
AND COMMUNICATIVE POLICY IDEAS
TESTED IN VANCOUVER AND ASSEMBLED IN DALLAS

by

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

JULY 2016

Acknowledgements

I first want to thank my wife Wendy, who I shared this journey into a new culture with and who's encouragement and support helped me along the way. I want to acknowledge my kids who also shared in our journey to Dallas and became helpful discussants. I want to thank my parents who supported various portions of my educational journeys and Wendy's parents and siblings who provided sage advice at various points in my education.

I want to thank the University of Texas at Arlington and Dr. Colleen Casey for her strong guidance and prompt advice through this dissertation. I want to thank my Committee for their critical input. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Ardishir Anjomani for his advice and Dr. Maria Martinez-Cosio for her early support and direction as I started my work at University of Texas at Arlington. I also would like to thank the University of Texas at Arlington for a number of scholarships that assisted with the prompt completion of this dissertation.

Thanks to Brent Brown of the bcWorkshop for allowing me to become immersed in the Workshop's activities. This provided me with a very helpful bridge into Dallas culture. I would be remiss if I did not mention the assistance of Dr. Eugene McCann at Simon Fraser University, who assisted me in obtaining a Visiting Scholar position at SFU and connected me to an intellectual community upon my return to Vancouver.

One of my most helpful and astute cultural bridges was Henry Wells, of Dallas. As a senior consultant at the Canadian Consulate in Dallas, Henry was an excellent interpreter of Texas culture. Henry also possesses a deep understanding of Canadian culture and the difference between the two. Henry and his wife Carol also provided excellent Southern hospitality on my return trips to Dallas.

Finally, it was with great sadness that I heard of the passing of Dr. Ben Agger – Chair of the Sociology Department at the University of Texas at Arlington. His explanations on critical theory and his supportive teaching style will be greatly missed.

July 10, 2016

ABSTRACT

POLICY MOBILITIES AND WEST DALLAS DREAM: CONSIDERING TRANSACTIVE
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The University of Texas at Arlington, 2016

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This dissertation considers contemporary urban development and urban change as framed by emerging forces of neoliberalism and globalization and applies critical theory lenses to discuss how policy approaches developed in Vancouver, BC are mobilized in Dallas, Texas. *Policy mobilties* describes the movement of policy ideas between cities, in frames of neoliberal governance and globalization (McCann, 2011-1). Policy agents promote the sharing of policy ideas through conferences, trade publications and the internet (Khirfan et al, 2013; McCann, 2011-1; Peck and Theodore, 2015). Receiving cities approach policy agents with expertise in markets known for planning innovation and bring these agents to new settings where they work with local professionals to advance hybridized adaptations of innovations in new settings (Khirfan et al, 2013; McCann, 2011-1; Peck and Theodore, 2015). Policy mobilities is not just about the receiving location. As McCann notes "policy mobilities encourages us to understand policy movement not simply as a geographic space, but also as a theoretical and temporal space" (2011-1).

West Dallas Dream (WDD) (City of Dallas, 2009), advanced by the Dallas Citydesign Studio (DCdS) is an example of policy mobilities and will be the focus of this dissertation. DCdS worked closely with Larry Beasley, Vancouver's former Co-director of Planning, who, through his work there, had developed deep experience delivering transactive and communicative planning processes. A comparison of the history of Dallas planning and the approach taken in WDD indicates that the more egalitarian and inclusive path WDD carves is a significant departure from how planning has been done over most of the history of the City of Dallas.

Using a methodology approaching global ethnography, I investigate the flow of transactive and communicative policy approaches between Vancouver and Dallas. I organize the investigation using Ostrom and Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework, which provides a scaffold for the theoretical back-story and context of this investigation. This theoretical back-story includes consideration of meta-themes, like neoliberalism and globalization. These meta themes provide the context for consideration of policy mobilities. Contextual positioning of a discussion of WDD also requires a description of the meta-theme, critical theory along with descriptions of key geographic theories, including policy mobilities, spatial justice and assemblage. It

also includes a review of urban economic theories such as Harvey's concept of the spatial fix, growth machine theory and gentrification. As the dissertation is focused on urban planning policy mobilities, the literature review provides an urban planning context by considering transactive and communicative planning and intercultural planning. This dissertation is executed through a case study methodology, however, place and case are more complex than just considering Vancouver as a supply site and Dallas as a demand community. The case is what happens in both of these communities, but the case is also about what happens between and the shaping of strategy and communications in the flow of policy mobilities (McCann, 2011-1). Finally, the case further explores the concept of assembled meanings from elsewhere, as new approaches land, to be performed in new contexts.

While the global ethnography precedes in a standard fashion, with in-person, open-ended interviews, I provided one methodological innovation – I employed a modified form of mini-charrette - Time-lapse Charrette Futuring (TLCF) with subjects in order to create a visual representation of their responses. To support consideration of charrettes and general urban design literacy, the dissertation also briefly reviewed charrette-focused literature and related concepts of co-design.

At the broadest level, this dissertation is about participatory democracy and the role urban planning plays in creating a world where all community members are able to participate in democratic deliberations. Seen through another lens, this dissertation is about managing planning in the neo-liberal era to allow for current social and economic regimes in the City of Dallas to continue, while only making slight adjustments.   I am interested in examining the links to Socratic and Habbermasian traditions of discussion and debate in planning as a means of moving towards a more informed and active citizenry, who through their interest, participate actively in community life.

While a certain tradition of this communicative and transactive form of planning flourished in Vancouver – at least for a time, its travel, through policy mobilities to Dallas meets with a radically different cultural and political context. Therefore, this dissertation must think relationally about the source and target communities and must deeply consider context and its formative role in the receipt, consideration and performance of mobilized policies.

Specifically, within these broader themes of participatory democracy and transactive and communicative planning, this dissertation asks:

1. How do policy mobilities work, with particular attention paid to what flows, what gets blocked and what mutates into hybrid forms of practice and development? This component builds case knowledge for policy mobilities. The dissertation found that policy mobilities occurred through Larry Beasley's leadership of the West Dallas Dream visioning process. These findings were derived from interviews with key informants who had participated in WDD. Additionally, a review of the case of West Dallas Dream revealed the extent to which private philanthropy drove the potential to seek innovative solutions. This aspect of the findings opens questions as to the potential of private citizens to shape policy

outcomes in a neo-liberal context where governments have shrunk from progressive incursions in policy arenas.

2. Is there a need to correct the course of processes and development triggered by WDD? The dissertation found community concerns for course correction to be complex. While some citizens were happy about the new developments in West Dallas, others were wary of the potential for continued change. They believed that changes in West Dallas brought new recreational opportunities to the community. Citizens and citizens' serving organizations were critical of the connection between new development in West Dallas and the community-focused policy commitments of WDD as a policy process. The research revealed findings in seven key areas, including:

    a. Process – related to the flow of a transactive and communicative planning process between Vancouver and Dallas – derived through consideration of the process pursued for WDD;
    b. Social and spatial justice – telling the story of broader considerations of social and spatial justice implications related to social and spatial justice;
    c. Issues of gentrification and protection as they relate to WDD;
    d. Consideration of the development control framework; and,
    e. Design and its implication within WDD.

3. In situations with racial enclaves, do transactive and communicative planning tools assist in creating spaces (spaces of dialogue, or physical spaces) that facilitate a more inclusive conversation about race and power relations? The dissertation found that transactive and communicative planning tools could lead to the creation of spaces for intercultural dialogue, but it also found that opening up these approaches to broader participation created expectations about the city's commitment to social change going forward. The research found that often in Dallas, the philanthropic sector filled a void left by governance.

4. Can a Time Lapse Charrette Futuring (TLCF) tool which considers visual change and then asks citizens to project forward, be useful and is this approach adaptable to other uses in the review of urban planning interventions? The testing of the TLCF proved challenging. Only a few individuals agreed to participate in the creation of a drawing and so the sample size on which to draw conclusions is small. However, from this small sample, it was clear that design professionals operate at a distinct advantage in a planning process. This stands in contrasts to the assertions made by Larry Beasley, who suggests that design is a unique leveling device in a planning process as visual literacy leads to greater clarity about design and it's potential. I found that those with design literacy were far more adept at the futuring aspect of this proposed method. A focus away from increased development may also reflect a general comfort with the status quo and a wish to not see significant change in these neighborhoods.

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

At its broadest, this dissertation seeks to understand how ideas move from place to place and how local, regional and national context impacts how new ideas are accepted. In the case under consideration, the ideas in motion – methods of transactive and communicative planning – communicated through both words and pictures - move from a verdant and progressive social and political context in Vancouver (Punter, 2003) to harsher ground in Dallas (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003). On this harsher ground, the very foundations of these transactive approaches to planning are challenged by a firmly established laissez faire approach to management of the public realm (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003). This examination seeks to further the extend understanding of the concept of policy mobilities through an examination of transactive and communicative policies that move through the execution of the West Dallas Dream (WDD) urban visioning process.

Larry Beasley, the urban planner who, together with Ann MacAfee orchestrated the post-industrial development of Vancouver before retiring in 2006, was brought to Dallas by a number of Dallas progressives who envisioned changing the Dallas urban planning environment (Thomas, Personal communication, 2016). Through philanthropic largesse, the City of Dallas was able to establish the Dallas Citydesign Studio (DCdS) as a city operation. Architect Brent Brown of building communities Workshop (bcWorkshop), a Dallas not-for-profit design and community development center, was hired as the director of Dallas Citydesign Studio and Larry Beasley was hired as lead design consultant. Their first project, initiated in 2009 worked with the local public to consider community aspirations related to emergent development in West Dallas. WDD set the stage for

subsequent efforts to change the approach in West Dallas, while thinking more broadly about changing the planning approach in the City of Dallas.

The approaches developed by Beasley and Brown were specific and can be described as transactive and communicative approaches to urban planning. These approaches build on a history of discussion about life and how to live it. Communicative planning is a discussion-based planning approach performed with some success in Vancouver in the 1990's through a deeply participatory CityPlan process (Punter, 1993). Among ancillary questions, this dissertation asks, "can a cosmopolitanism born of understanding advanced through critical engagement flourish in communities with deep historical and contemporary mistrust, marking racial and socio-economic divides? As well – in the frame of policy mobilities, this paper seeks to provide solutions to Peck's (2010) query about policy mobilities. He suggests that in studying policy mobilities, it is essential to consider the question "as these planning methods and approaches flow between places - what is received, what gets blocked and what mutates into something else" (Peck, 2010)?

While not providing definitive answers to these questions, the dissertation uses assemblage theory, which describes the improvisational and interactive elements of city building and living, to focus on the potential of space and place to bring about change (MacFarlane, 2011-1). In contemplating these possibilities of elsewhere informing urban change, I focus specifically on the development of spaces for intercultural expressions of community (MacFarlane, 2011-1; Robinson, 2013; Robinson, 2016). These intercultural expressions may foreshadow the potential to create locations of cultural convergence - a possible first step in building intercultural communication. This potential will be explored through investigation of a specific site which has been assembled in West Dallas.

However, McCann (2011-1) cautions us to focus not just on the case at hand, but on the broader case of the relationality between spaces in policy mobility. The policy mobility exercise is not just about Dallas and receiving, it is partially about Dallas leaders and their expectation of what made in Vancouver solutions can do for the City of Dallas. This approach also touches on the work of Robinson who asks urban theorizers to think about the relationality of ideas and space in the world and reflect upon how ideas performed in one place relate to ideas formed in another (Robinson, 2011; Robinson, 2015). This relational aspect is particularly important as it relates to the consideration of race and difference. The way that racial and cultural difference is approached in Pacific Canada sits in contrast to the way that race is considered in a city which is both of the South and the Southwest, This contrast creates a need to think deeply about the impact of cultural context on the flow of policy mobilities. The relative locations of Vancouver and Dallas in western North America are shown in Figure 1.
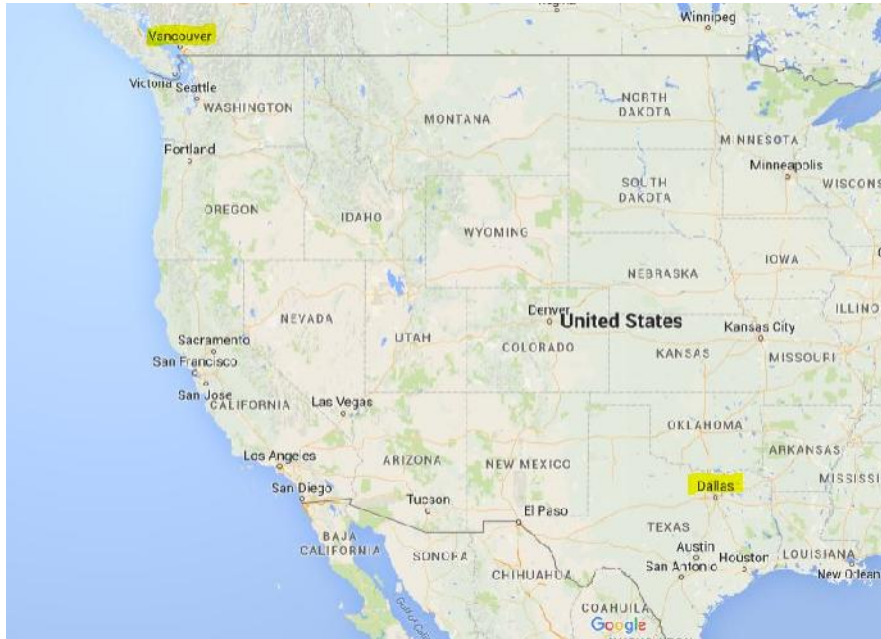
Figure 1. Map of North America - Vancouver and Dallas in North America (Google Maps).

At its deepest level, this dissertation considers how neoliberal tools – like triggering gentrification – relate to broader efforts to address the racial divide of American cities and the co-existence of socio-economic status divides in tandem with races. Relational thinking causes us to look back to the places of origin of these policies in motion to consider whether there is actually an opportunity for ideas formed on Canada's multicultural West Coast to find purchase in the enclaved neighborhoods of Dallas.
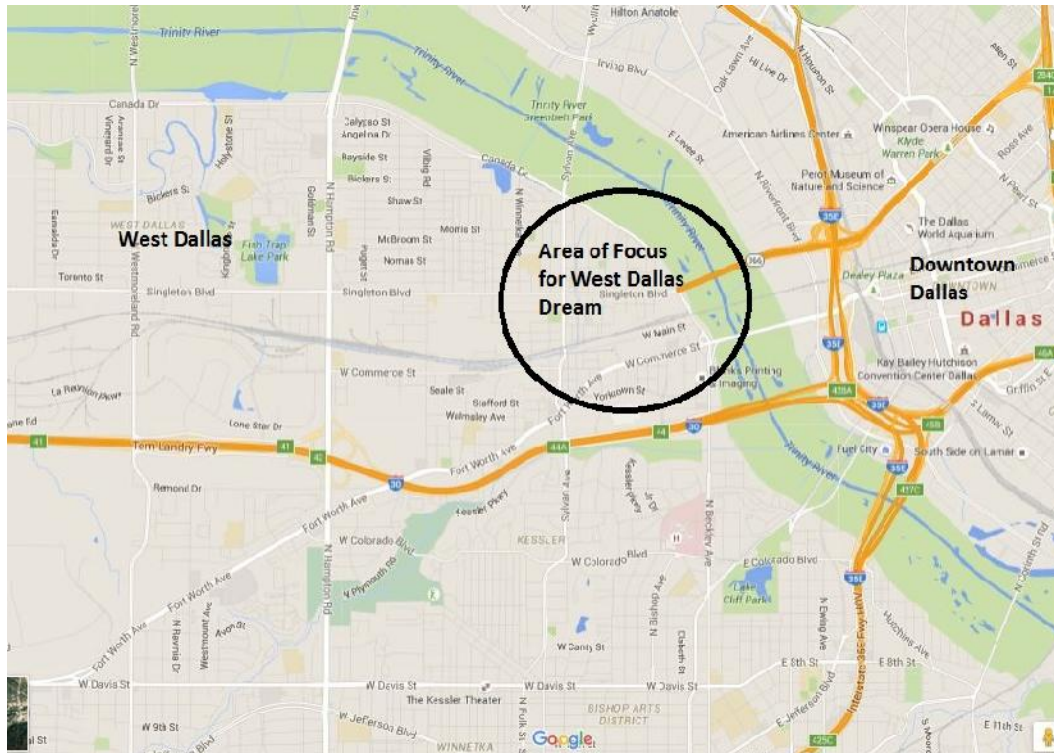
Figure 2. West Dallas -West Dallas in the City of Dallas (Google Maps)

West Dallas is a microcosm of a longer and broader conversations about race and

urban renewal in America – from Ferguson, Missouri to Savanah, Georgia, and from the

once again renewed urban renewal projects of Chicago's South Side, to recent tragic

events in Downtown Dallas where a gunman killed five police officers at a Black Lives

Matter march. By almost any metric, the population of West Dallas, which is 72%

Hispanic and 24% Black, scores lower than the general population of the City of Dallas

(http://www.servewestdallas.org/about/west-dallas-demographics/, accessed June, 25,

2016). Figure 2 shows the close proximity of West Dallas to Downtown Dallas. In Dallas,

the seemingly recent (re?)discovery of the value of urban living offers three paths. The

first is continued displacement of poor populations as has been the case throughout the

history of the City of Dallas (Fairbanks, 1998; Hansen, 2003; Graff, 2008). This outcome

would reflect previous urban upheaval and displacement, echoing the transformation of

the State-Thomas neighborhood to Uptown, where a previously all-Black neighborhood was pushed out, or in the gutting of the Little Mexico neighborhood (Personal communication, Brown, 2014; Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003). The second possibility is a situation where a virtual stand-off is intensified and the development continues as two solitudes – affluent white neighborhoods and poor Black and Latino families. In this scenario, development in West Dallas would continue unabated. There would be no opportunity for the long-term residents of La Bajada, the neighborhood most impacted by new development in West Dallas to benefit from the imposition of new services and jobs in their neighborhood. These jobs are often not available to the local residents and the services that they support are often beyond the budgets of local residents (Interviewee #1, Personal communication, 2016). The third path creates emerging shared spaces of intercultural inclusion and finds ways to integrate existing West Dallas residents into the emerging economy of the neighborhood. This new vision of West Dallas could contribute to broader intercultural considerations across Dallas. This more cosmopolitan approach would see the inner-city redevelopment of Dallas as an opportunity to foster interculturality through residential co-location and would seek to develop civic institutions and approaches that build on this potnetial

The approaches being tried in West Dallas are important for the City of Dallas, but they may also harbor clues for the future of American cities seeking to address longstanding racial enclavism and its particular socio-economic challenge for both Black and Latino populations (Duneier, 2016). History points to racial division and socio-economic exclusion as one of the most pervasive conditions of American urbanity (Duneier, 2016). This condition is perhaps most true in Dallas (Pendall & Hedman, 2015). While what happens in West Dallas is important to Dallas - especially those seeking progressive approaches, if the racial mix of neighborhoods in Dallas can be

changed, this may indicate possible policy directions for other cities with fewer challenges regarding enclavism. As others have noted, the potential to make choices about where one resides relates to other potential outcomes including educational attainment and economic standing (Duneier, 2016; Massey & Denton, 1993).

While there is the possibility of renewal leading to greater mixing of racial and socio-economic populations, these processes of renewal are not a panacea. The extent to which renewal is open to co-option and manipulation by power elites is crucial in determining whether changes in community demographics will lead to increased opportunities. The history of capitalism and gentrification point us towards the inevitability of the progress of some based on the limitation of others – but hope remains that a different course is possible.

Gentrification is invoked often in the dissertation as it has evolved from a condition in cities , to a tool associated with neo-liberalism, used by cities as a means to trigger economic reinvestment in a given area. Gentrification becomes a more central element in the arsenal of community reinvestment triggers, as cities, devoid of cash due to fiscal downloading from senior governments seek other ways to catalyze development (Lees, 2006). But gentrification's impacts are unwieldly and tend to hit groups within communities differentially (Lees, 2012). Gentrification often gives more power to the powerful while stripping power from those with fewer means to compete for space (Lees, 2012). However, gentrification harnessed for the power of good in a city can lead to positive growth in a community as evidenced in Vancouver (Punter, 2003).

Is it possible to transfer policies that unleash a virtuous circle of neo-liberalism driven urban intensification? Can such an approach lead to increased opportunities for inter-cultural relations? These ideas were formulated and practiced in one place, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada and were then brought to a radically different context, Dallas,

Texas, in the United States. To situate this conversation about place, context and the movement of ideas, I:

- Conduct a literature review that considers the context and history of each of the locations in this policy mobilities exercise;

- Continue this literature review to consider key meta-theories that create the conditions for policy mobilities; and then I

- Construct a series of theoretical frames through which to consider and critique the movement of policy ideas. I inform these critiques with interviews with citizens who participated in these policy mobilities exercises and who for a variety of reasons, are impacted by the movement of these policy ideas.

The dissertation seeks to answer four questions. These are:

a) How do policy mobilities work, with particular attention paid to what flows, what gets blocked and what mutates into hybrid forms of practice and development? This component builds on existing case knowledge of policy mobilities. For this question, I compare the histories of the two cities and review key planning documents, while speaking directly with planning officials, developers, community association leaders and local residents in Dallas to understand the flow of policies in this situation. Overall, this discussion revealed the importance of context in the movement of policy ideas. The fact that these policy ideas travel not just between cities, but between states and provinces and nations and between a coastal city and a plains city shapes the potential for receipt of the innovations offered through these policy movements.

b) Is there a need to correct the course of processes and development triggered by WDD? To seek an understanding of the need for course correction, in my interview with Dallas participants in the WDD process I ask about their

expectations at the outset of the process and their consideration of the work

completed to date. At the heart of the consideration in this section is the

question: who does the city belong to and what is the role gentrification plays in

shaping urban outcomes?

c) In situations with racial enclaves, do transactive and communicative planning

tools assist in creating spaces (spaces of dialogue, or physical spaces)

facilitating a more inclusive conversation about race and power relations? While

this question does not seek definitive solutions addressing spatial justice in

economically disadvantaged communities, the dissertation explores the

importance of public space as a means of creating the potential for intercultural

understanding as race and economic outcomes are closely tied in Dallas. This

piece is more speculative and builds on participant contemplation of special

spaces assembled in Dallas that depart from the approach to public spaces in

other parts of the city. The dissertation explores potential for these spaces to

influence future relationships among diverse groups.

d) Can a mini-charrette tool, Time-lapse Charrette Futuring, help citizen

understanding of visual change in communities and assist them to articulate

adaptations to urban design approaches? This question tests a form of mini-

charrette, incorporated with temporal visual data obtained from Google Street

View, to measure change and cast forward for the potential of course correction.

1.1. Theoretical Framework

This dissertation focuses on an extended case, transnational in nature and occurring

in an already complex area of urban engagement. If assemblage theory already notes

the dizzying complexity of urbanity, thinking about cities relationally and across national

and cultural boundaries adds further layers of convolution (DeLanda, 2006). Therefore, the approach taken contemplates options for simplifying relationships and focusing on key aspects of the story in this extended case.

To organize this complexity, I utilize Ostrom and Ostrom's (2004) institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework as a means of constructing an action arena in which these changes take place. The IAD framework provides a scaffold for theories and relationships that can be organized for review in complex institutional change initiatives. There are elements of institutional change in this situation, though they mostly appear at the far end of the receipt of policy mobilities and relate to the idea that these policies in motion are at least partly focused on changing the planning culture in the Planning Department at the City of Dallas. My adaptation of the IAD method focuses this tool on the earlier initial work of the Dallas Citydesign Studio (DCdS) in their 2009 visioning work for WDD. Three critical elements of the IAD framework include an action context, an action arena and an action situation that leads to patterns of interaction (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004). I use the action arena as a concept to set the context of these policies in motion in order to investigate the policies in motion, which constitute the action situation. I blend the IAD method with Buroway's (2001) notion of a global ethnography to construct a stretched notion of an action arena that includes space to consider the relationality (Robinson, 2011, Robinson, 2015) of the space in this stretched notion of a policy arena. This stretched space of relationality includes both actual and perceived ideas of how policies move (McCann, 2011-1).

I situate this stretched policy arena by reviewing key aspects of the planning and institutional history of each city, derived through a review of historical documents. With this institutional base as a foundation, I then contemplate three meta-theoretical contexts.

The first meta-theory is globalization, which provides a contemporary economic and relational frame explaining how cities work and relate to each other in the early 21st Century. While globalization may inform some of the work done in Dallas, it is actually more useful in setting the discussion for why policy mobilities occur. Globalization provides part of the frame for increased inter-city competition which helps to create demand for new ideas. Globalization also impacts the supply and demand locations of these policies in motion, as immigration continues to reshape the intercultural face of both locations. Dallas continues to receive new residents with ties to Mexico and Central America, while Vancouver is impacted by a continuous stream of affluent new immigrants, many of whom are able to participate at the upper end of Vancouver's competitive real estate market.

The second meta-theoretical frame is neo-liberalization, which describes the political and economic changes taking place over the last thirty years (Taylor, 1998). Neoliberalism provides the second component of the frame of theory that helps to explain why policy mobilities continue to emerge as a means of quickly sharing and implementing new policy innovations.

Crtical theory and critical urban theory provide a set of lenses for deconstructing power relationships associated with the movement of policy ideas in WDD and in the supply and demand cities of these mobilized policies. Finally, though not considered among the lenses of critical theory, the paper briefly touches on Bourdieu and his consideration of distinction as a method of conveying status.

Geographic theories considered include a discussion of policy mobilities, which were introduced earlier, followed by consideration of spatial justice. Spatial justice provides a lens through which to examine the application of justice across the city. By establishing a spatial lens for justice, we are provided with a tool for examination of the differential

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impacts of policy on people and space (Soja, 2010). Finally, the section on geography theory considers assemblage theory. Assemblage theory provides a complex new lens through which to envision urban interventions which has been associated with the creation of spaces of intercultural connection (DeLanda, 2006; Farias, 2010).

A review of urban economics literature includes detailing Harvey's illumination of the spatial fix in urban development. The spatial fix describes land development and the tendency for fixed capital in the form of buildings to find new spaces. While sometimes these spaces are on the periphery of cities, increasingly, the spatial fix is employed in situations of urban renewal. Logan and Molotch's growth machine theory (1976) is explored and is briefly compared to more recent literature framing the emergence of a sustainability-focused growth machine in the City of Vancouver (Brunet-Jailley, 2008).

The dissertation then explores planning, detailing its history to arrive at the point where transactive and communicative approaches to planning emerge. Transactive and communicative methods include an intense focus on information sharing and privilege the interplay between the planner and the participant as a learning interaction built on the goal of creating shared understanding. Transactive and communicative approaches are the planning processes that travel as mobilized policy between Vancouver and Dallas. These approaches were tried, with some success through Vancouver's CityPlan and other planning exercises. Beasley, the policy entrepreneur we follow in this policy mobilities exercise worked in transactive ways in Vancouver and brought these to Dallas. Also central to Beasley's thinking , is a focus on design as a tool for conveying information (Beasley and Bartlett, 2015). This dissertation engages design through a charrette exercise performed with interviewees.

Visualizing the IAD Framework
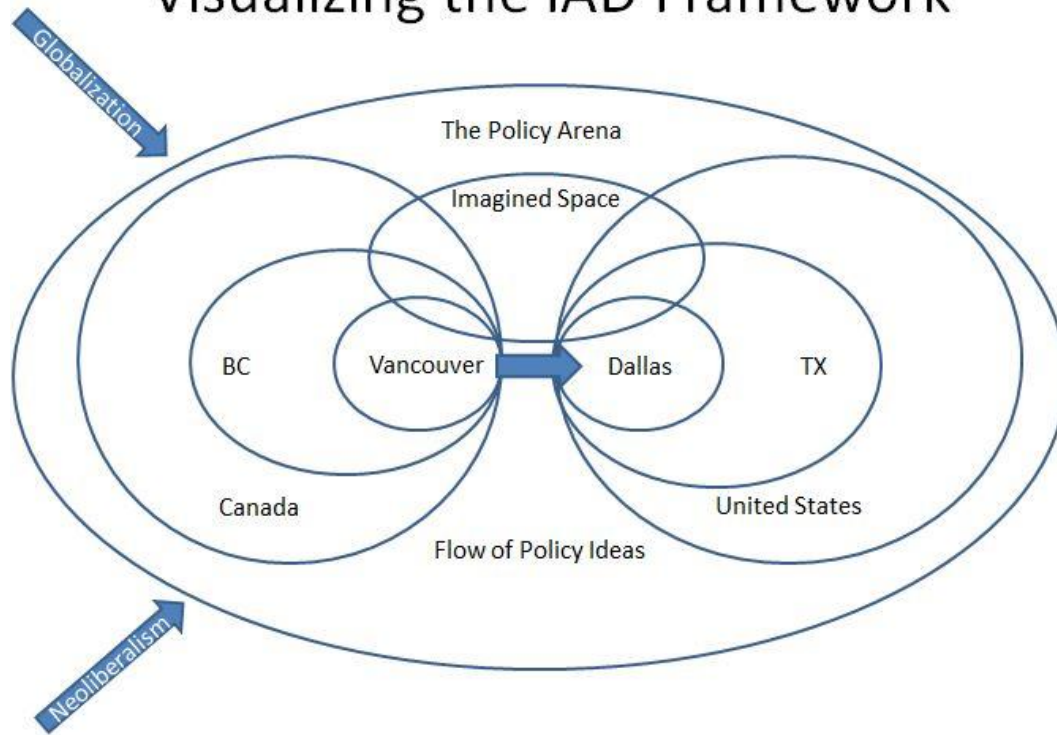
Figure 3. Visualizing the IAD framework and how it changes for policy mobiliites.

With these framing ideas in place, I outline the concept of a policy arena, defined by Ostrom and Ostrom (2004) as the field of play for analysis of institutional change. Though the policy arena focuses on ideas emerging from Vancouver and adapted to Dallas, the project is also set within a broader policy arena which includes consideration of how each of these cities are framed by their economic and social context including state/province and national frames which impact these local communities. Figure 3 represents the extended idea of the policy arena – so as to incorporate the limited form of global ethnography (Buroway, 2001) this dissertation seeks to engage.   Peck and Theodore (2015) note that these frames of context are vitally important in understanding the global flow of ideas in policy mobilities. A detailed review of the differences of the broader economic and social contexts of the supply and demand locations of the policy

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mobility under consideration is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however, I explore

the supply and demand cities of this exercise, Vancouver and Dallas while considering

the broader implications of the states, province and national contexts influencing this

mobilized policy. This exploration includes reference to geographic, temporal and

theoretical considerations and differences with the policy arena, but only touches briefly

on the broader international scope of relationality in this case.

Contemplating progressive transformation is central to the approach I take, because

even though I briefly explore neo-Marxist lenses of inquiry in the dissertation, I am not

advocating the overturn of current structures. This exploration is rooted in traditions of

urban planning, which is a method and approach work within systems to advance change

(Marcuse, 2012). The discussion is consciously pragmatic and embraces Rawlsian ideas

of wide-reflective-equilibrium (Harper & Stein, 2006; Rawls, 1971). That is, it draws from

a broad series of positions and understandings to advance solutions that address system

equilibrium and functioning (Harper & Stein, 2006). This pragmatism seeks to

understand how progressive change can be shaped in new settings; however, this

investigation always travels with the shadow of a history of urban exploitation. That is,

urbanity under capitalism has a tendency to exploit those with less power and hence,

there is a risk of continuation of a path set by unbridled capitalism towards inevitable

inequality in urban settings (Duneier, 2016; Harvey, 1989).

1.2 Building Case Knowledge for Policy Mobilities

Policy mobilities are an emergent way of thinking about the movement of urban

planning innovations and this dissertation seeks to contribute to understanding of this

new idea. The first question I ask is: "how does this policy mobility work?" Policy

mobilties describes the fast movement of policy ideas between cities (Jacobs, 2012;

McCann, 2011-1; McCann, 2011-2; McCann, 2013; Peck and Theodore, 2011; Peck and Theodore,2015). To answer the question about how policy is mobilized, I pay particular attention to Peck's (2010) question of what flows, what gets blocked and what mutates into hybrid forms of practice and development in a policy movement? Fast movement of policy ideas occurs in frames of neoliberal governance and globalization (McCann, 2011-1) hence the literature review touches on these meta-theories and their impact on policy mobilities. Various policy agents – architects, planner and developers - promote the sharing of policy ideas through conferences, trade publications and the internet (Jacobs, 2012; McCann, 2011-1; McCann, 2011-2; McCann, 2013; Peck and Theodore, 2011; Peck and Theodore,2015). At the same time, politicians and other civic leaders promote their city as a center of innovation through extrospective efforts (McCann, 2013). These extrospective efforts help position cities in people's minds, or in the 'global imaginary of cities' as places for business, investment, leisure, or sustainability (Berelowitz, 2005; Jacobs, 2012; McCann, 2011-1; McCann, 2011-2; McCann, 2013 Peck and Theodore, 2011; Robinson, 2011). Receiving cities approach policy agents with expertise in developed urban sites known for innovation and bring these agents to new settings where they work with local professionals to advance and support hybridized adaptations of innovations in new settings (Jacobs, 2012; McCann, 2011-1; McCann, 2011-2; McCann, 2013; Peck and Theodore, 2011; Peck and Theodore,2015).

WDD, advanced by the Dallas Citydesign Studio (DCdS) is an example policy ideas mobilized in one space initially and then exercised elsewhere. Mr. Beasley developed deep experience delivering transactive and communicative planning processes, while in Vancouver. Most notable was his experience co-directing Vancouver's CityPlan (City of Vancouver, 1996), a well-documented case of transactive and communicative planning

(Punter, 2003). I am not the first to detail Beasley's role as a policy agent as his work in Abu Dhabi and Seattle is also reviewed (Khirfan and Jaffer, 2014; McCann, 2011-1).

While WDD asked participants to develop a vision for West Dallas, WDD builds on a longer dialogue, managed by various groups, dating back to the initial signals of future opportunity in West Dallas with the announcement of the construction of the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge. WDD is the first action in a continued process that led to Dallas City Council's adoption of the West Dallas Urban Structure and Guidelines in 2013.

The Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge was planned to connect the Woodall Rogers Freeway, skirting the north of Downtown Dallas, and Singleton Ave, a main east-west thoroughfare in West Dallas. This bridge would replace the aging Continental Bridge and would directly connect West Dallas to the major north/south freeway through Dallas (Interstate 35) and in its link to the Woodall Rogers Freeway, would also directly connect West Dallas with the Geoge W. Bush Central Expressway (US 75) providing access to the most affluent suburbs of North Dallas. An area that was not easily accessible from the rest of the Dallas, would suddenly have much better freeway access. These transportation changes raise the profile and development potential in West Dallas, especially under-utilized industrial lands in the center of West Dallas.

In addition to this signature bridge, other bridges leading to West Dallas would be improved. These include two more crossings of the Trinity River to the north. All of this infrastructure development would be coupled with a complete rebuild of Interstate 30, which crosses the south flank of West Dallas. The Trinity River Basin crossing of Interstate 30, currently under construction, also includes a second signature Calatrava designed structure – this time a set of twin bridges which then lead to a completely rebuilt interchange between Interstates 35 and 30.

Figure 4. View of West Dallas – (Photo of the Author)

In Dallas – a city built on automobility – close access to the freeway commands higher value than lands further away and West Dallas' proximity to new infrastructure means this area is easier to access today, and will be even easier to access in the future. As a result of this change in the transportation convenience of West Dallas spaces, those purchasing before the development of the new infrastructure should experience a lift in values as a result. Figure 4 shows the relationship of the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge to West Dallas. This photo, taken from a tower in Downtown Dallas in January, 2016, shows West Dallas in the background, beyond the white arch of the Margaret Hunt-Hill Bridge. The picture shows freeways in the mid-ground, followed by the Trinity Basin separating West Dallas from Downtown. The Trinity Groves Restaurant complex is obscured by the soaring white arch of the Margaret Hunt-Hill Bridge. Apart from increased access to West Dallas by automobile, the Trinity River Trust Foundation is focused on renewing the Trinity River Basin as a site of culture and recreation for the City of Dallas. This new recreational amenity development improves the potential of West Dallas as a site of post-industrial housing development. Finally, the location of West Dallas, seen through the dramatic frames of these new signature structures and looking

east towards Downtown offers what USA-Today readers have voted the Dallas skyline as the best in the United States (viewed at: http://www.usatoday.com/picture-gallery/travel/2014/08/25/10best-readers-choice-best-international-skyline/14552949/ June 25, 2016). Figure 5 shows the dramatic Dallas skyline.

Figure 5. Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge (the tall arch to the left) and the sunset view of Dallas from West Dallas.

In the years that followed the announcement of the initial signature bridge, the Margaret Hunt-Hill Bridge, two things occurred. Developers, led by the partners at West Dallas Investments and planners, architects, designers, developers, academics and community leaders, weighed in on the appropriate new steps for development in West Dallas. Many saw the potential for intensive densification in West Dallas. It is important to remember that these discussions of development potential in West Dallas were taking place in the midst of the largest real estate bubble the United States had ever experienced. West Dallas Investments, led by restauranteur and entrepreneur, Phil Romano, commissioned a study by the Planning Department at the University of Texas (Austin). The model that depicts the findings of this UT Planning exercise is shown in Figure 6. The view of the model is as if one was looking to the northwest. The Margaret Hunt-Hill Bridge is the top bridge, the Grand Trunk Railroad is in the center and the Commerce Street Bridge is below. Downtown Dallas is to the right, outside of the frame. Interstate 30 crosses the bottom of the picture. That study suggested a number of towers could be developed in the land closest to the levy on the west bank of the Trinity River

Basin. West Dallas Investments had already engaged a number of major development

companies when the 2008 housing crisis hit and dampened the market for development

of new housing in West Dallas.
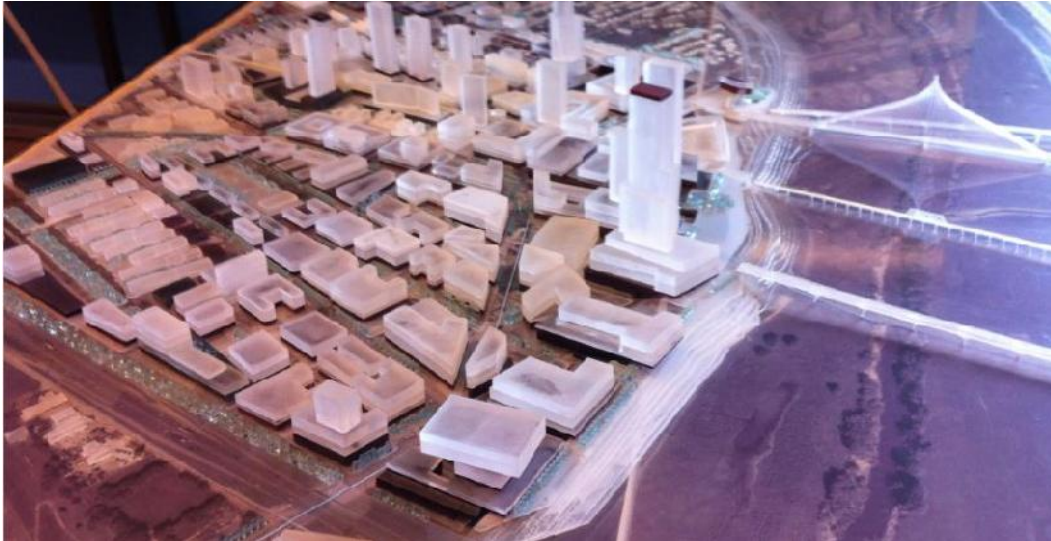
Figure 6. Model of West Dallas Urban Development Potential – Planning Program -
University of Texas at Austin (Photo of the Author)

At the same time, progressive leaders in Dallas expressed concern about the

potential for a renewed round of urban displacement in West Dallas, which they feared

would echo past injustices in Uptown and Little Mexico in the years before (Brown,

personal communication, 2014). This led to an invitation to Larry Beasley to come to

Dallas to speak with civic leaders and eventually led to a number of study tours in

Vancouver. These study tours oriented City of Dallas thought leaders and professionals

to the potential of working within existing planning systems to bring design to the forefront

of planning practice in Dallas while operating an inclusive and transactive form of

planning. The 2008 pause offered an opportunity for the DCdS to establish and emerge

as a player in conversations about Dallas planning in general and West Dallas planning

in particular (Brown, Personal communication, 2014).

On the Vancouver tours, which occurred over several days, the participants had a seminar/discussion of planning ideas and concepts each morning. In the afternoon, they embarked on a long walking tour of the city, before finishing the evening at restaurant where the day's sights and lessons were further discussed. A number of prominent citizens, along with design leader, and senior City of Dallas staff attended the study tours. In reviewing the routes of the study tours with the participants, it appears that the tours focused on Vancouver's post-industrial neighborhood revitalization. The pre-industrial state of Vancouver's False Creek[1] waterfront appears in Figure 7 and the same area after development is shown in Figure 8. These neighborhoods, developed after Expo 86 encapsulate the approaches to planning that Beasley espouses, including the importance of fine-grained urban design considerations, the value of an enhanced public realm and pedestal and tower model. These neighborhoods are also the site of negotiations between planning staff and developers which yielded significant public space investments in exchange for increased density. Figure 7 shows False Creek in Vancouver, as it appeared in 1982 at the outset of Vancouver's post-industrial development phase. In the photo, BC Place Stadium is under construction. The Granville Street Bridge and Granville Island are at the top, on the left in this photo.   Industrial operations, including sawmills and manufacturing operations ring False Creek. Log booms towed into place by tug boats cover much of the surface of False Creek. Figure 8 depicts the transformation of False Creek from industrial space into high density urban location. Granville Street Bridge and Granville Island are to the left in this photo. Downtown South and Yaletown neighborhoods are on the near side of the Downtown Peninsula. All of the industrial locations around the creek are replaced with high density condominium developments.

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[1] False Creek was named by British naval explorer, Captain George Vancouver in the 18th Century. He sailed into the waterway, thinking it was a creek and arrived at a tidal marsh rather than a creek or river, hence the 'false' moniker.

They are served by an extensive waterfront walkway that rings the Creek. The Central Business is on the shore at the top of the photo and to the left at the top is Stanley Park. Log booms on the surface of False Creek are replaced by pleasure boats and marinas.

As I consider policy flows in this dissertation, I look at several aspects of the policies in motion between Vancouver and Dallas, including:

- The transmission of transactive and communicative planning approaches to planning – generally the policy approach advanced in CityPlan in Vancouver mirrors the approach in WDD;

- Approaches to development guided by community consideration and vision – and whether or not the aspirations articulated in WDD can actually be implemented in Dallas. Here I was able to see some progress towards getting developers to engage guidelines, though the voluntary nature of participation may result in patchwork implementation; and,

- Processes to acknowledge racial and economic injustice and consider actions that might alleviate this injustice. While WDD deeply considered interculturalism, and the need to build social and economic bridges between races, I uncovered little evidence of a broader City of Dallas effort to support WDD approaches to building connections.

These findings clearly support Peck and Theodore's (2015) assertion of the central importance of context in the passing of mobilized policies. It is not enough to simply pass the main ideas from place to place. There is a broader structure of supports that help policies to arrive and become effective. The context of each city greatly impacted the

Figure 7. City of Vancouver and False Creek Industrial area, 1982. (City of Vancouver Archives)

Figure 8. False Creek today.   (City of Vancouver Archives)

potential to advance certain policy approaches in each of the cities reviewed in this

dissertation. This contextual realm includes consideration of the economy, the

geography and the formation stories of each city and the relation of these stories to

setting the dominant modes of urban planning. The framing potential of context is also

contained in regional traits – the fierce independence of Texas within the United States –

and the otherness and exotic nature of British Columbia in the Canadian context. Then,

beyond contextually, further national differences are layered onto these civic and regional

differences. The fact is that the national lives of the United States and Canada have

created citizens with differing sets of core values. It is not just the difference of mottos –

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, versus, Peace, Order and Good Government.

There are fundamentally different approaches to governance and the role of the power in

systems that mean that the acceptable approaches in each country may be very different.

1.2 Is there a need to correct the course of processes and development triggered by

West Dallas Dream?

    While this research informs policy mobilities theory, and is positioned within broader

theoretical discussions in critical urban geography, it is also rooted in the praxis that

urban planning practice presents. That is, urban planning is not simply a theoretical

consideration of what should be - or an evaluation of a situation - it is involved in the

messiness of action in the real world, which includes the public, politics and various

lobbying groups. As such, my review of policy mobilities and WDD considers the place

where social, economic and geographic theories meet in practice in real projects in the

city. In planning, theories land in real space and are manifest in built forms. Theory

meets practice as we observe the relationships these built forms influence. My line of

questions focused on the WDD process as it was advanced and sought insight into

whether it preceded as planned – or as hoped. After examining the key aspirations advanced in WDD, I ask participants and practitioners to reflect on successes and shortcomings of the process through open ended interviews. Based on their input, I answer the question of whether WDD is proceeding as envisioned, or whether there is a need to address specific shortcomings with policy adjustments.

It is not possible to review the WDD process without linking it to the emergence of the DCdS and the engagement of Larry Beasley by a group of leading Dallas citizens. This review evaluates the success of the vison of WDD and by extension, reflects on the emergence of and the role the DCdS has played to date. In considering WDD, there is an early opportunity to reflect on the DCdS and broader efforts to adjust Dallas' planning culture. Ultimately these changes may be the best lens through which to consider these policy moblities over the long-term. That stated, the DCdS is a supporting player in a physical and spatial drama in one neighborhood. The initial aspirational co-learning of WDD may have led aspects of the conversation, but the broader story includes a number of other players and relationships advancing new development and managing change in a complex setting.

In providing details of the context of development and change in West Dallas, there are two important things to understand. The first is the physical geography envisioned in the WDD vision and subsequent design guidelines. The plans in WDD are really only focused on the easternmost portion of West Dallas, east of Sylvan Ave., north of Interstate 30 and bordered to the east and north by the Trinity River Basin. However, the geographic scope of the lives of those engaged in discussions stretches beyond this area of initial impact, to a broader section of West Dallas, continuing on to Route 12 on the west, although the focus of engagement remains on the north of Interstate 30. Secondly, thinking about West Dallas and its relation to the greater city of Dallas is not a new

situation (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003). The interventions of WDD are part of a long

line of initiatives addressing housing, health and economic challenges in West Dallas.

West Dallas, an area of the City has long been the place where the city places both

industries and people that the elite of the City do not wish to have close proximity to

(Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003; Phillips, 2006). Figure 9 shows a street of typical

LaBajada houses. The houses are generally modest, with well-kept yards.

Figure 9. Houses in La Bajada (Google Street View, 2016)

By course correction, I explore whether the community vision articulated in WDD is

actually being met. Are the plans and developments executed having the desired

outcomes, or is it a situation whereby the best intended plans come up against the

inevitable path dependency of the capitalist system which leads to repeated negative

outcomes for those with fewer means. This tendency in capitalism is discussed at length.

As well, it is often suggested that gentrification occurring in situations similar to those

experienced in West Dallas may lead to new opportunities for area residents. The

findings consider the potential of the changes taking place in West Dallas to provide

opportunities and how this plays out in reality.

I found that there was not so much an appetite for course correction with the WDD

project, but rather, there was an appetite for increased community benefits resulting from

the projects. Programs that would connect existing community members to increasing

opportunities could go far toward increasing the local level of acceptance and support for

WDD. I asked whether other cities would be able to learn from the experience in Dallas

as they sought to bridge intercultural divides. In this area, it would seem that the provision of shared public spaces by people of various cultures and various socio-economic groups may play a greater role in normalizing intercultural communication and understanding than efforts to create a transactive and communicative urban planning process.

The investigation of WDD revealed that the initial assertions of planners led participants to believe that there was the potential for citizens of West Dallas to benefit from the new investments taking place in West Dallas. In the experience of those participating, this generally did not take place. Some also expressed concern with the pace of implementation of WDD and the design guidelines that followed. With an early concentration on design, some noted the design problems with developments that came after WDD. This includes the new Sylvan 30 development blocking Downtown views from the Belmont Hotel (Anderson, Personal communication, 2016).

1.3 Do transactive and communicative planning tools assist in creating spaces (spaces of dialogue, or physical spaces) that facilitate a more inclusive conversation about race and power relations?

A third area of consideration focuses on the establishment of inter-cultural connections in the public arena, coupled with the mixing of socio-economic stratas and racial groups. The reinvigoration of American inner cities is driven by emerging Millennial trends like living alone (Klinenburg, 2012), but in the midst of renewed pressure on the development of inner cities, how do planners and developers enable spaces for inter-cultural convergence? Vancouver's experience informing measured attempts to create intercultural understanding (Sandercock & Attilli, 2003) may be the most essential planning proposition emerging from WDD. Understanding how intercultural convergence

is received and performed could inform other communities entertaining options for addressing inter-cultural relations.   It may resonate in other policy arenas, found in other large American cities grappling with the challenges of racial and economic inclusion. The conversations at play in West Dallas are a crucial to step that the United States must take to address the longstanding racial inequality and its manifestation in urban space (Duneier, 2016). Understanding how transactive and communicative planning approaches advanced in Vancouver are received and actioned in Dallas may have broader applicability in conversations about how to reinvigorate inner-cities in the United States. Are transactive and communicative steps towards inter-cultural inclusion actually transferable to Dallas? If they work in Dallas, could these approaches work in cities experiencing racial violence as a result of the development of white and black enclaves, economic inequality and the difficult racial history of the United States (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 2009; Zinn, 1995)?

Through a social and spatial justice lens, how do cities in the United States calculate interests in integration with the likelihood of displacement? Is the linking of race and opportunity tied too closely to tease these apart? That is, if a lack of social and economic integration is part of the challenge plaguing American cities, particularly Dallas, efforts must be made to build opportunities for Caucasians to move into formerly Black and Latino areas, while Caucasians must welcome more Black and Latino neighbors (HUD, 2015).

To investigate the question of enclavism and the potential for interculturalism in Dallas, I had interviewees comment on the Continental Bridge. In my review of the spatial distribution of amenities in Dallas, I believe that the Continental Bridge is a significant outlier. The physical positioning of the Continental Bridge, as an asset mainly approached from the West Dallas side of the Trinity River and located close to the Trinity

Groves restaurant project made it a place that had special potential for intercultural mixing. I asked residents and individuals from community groups serving West Dallas to comment on where in the community they might go to get pictures during a Quincenara or at another milestone event. In asking these questions, I sought to understand if this space played a symbolic role in the community and to what extent cultural bridging took place at this location. The Continental Bridge has special potential as a cultural bridging location because it is in West Dallas, but it serves people attending Trinity Groves and it serves citizens of West Dallas.

My questions generally led to discussions about the Continental Bridge and its emerging place in the community.   With City officials and interviewees, I asked about the use of the Continental Bridge. I varied my line of questioning in the conversations. In some cases I noted my own hunch about the bridge, while in other cases, I looked to see if others saw the same potential.

Interculturality and its potential in Dallas forms part of the focus in this dissertation. Initial discussions of efforts to rebuild public housing in Chicago point to complexity, racial tension and a lack of inter-cultural understanding which is tangled with class differences that at times even supersede racial difference (Joseph, 2008). Can early efforts to densify West Dallas provide information about how economic and racial integration works in communities in early stages of neighborhood change? Or do the actions in West Dallas point to the creation of two solitudes within one neighborhood, where new residents of West Dallas never interact with the existing residents? Finally, are there pragmatic remedies which may address enclavism and build bridges to shared opportunity and understanding?

1.4 Is Time-lapse Charrette Futuring (TLCF) a suitable method for reviewing urban planning interventions?

WDD shared transactive and communicative planning approaches with Vancouver's CityPlan. Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) suggests that while these two planning actions were enormously different in their scope, they are part of a family of practices, meaning that they share certain attributes and approaches. But CityPlan and WDD also share a focus on design as a tool for communication and advancing understanding of the possibility of planned urban spaces. Both CityPlan and WDD spawned significant charrette focused planning sessions. Therefore, the testing of a method of planning that uses urban design and charrettes as its base is most appropriate.

As a means of testing the use of co-design planning as a post-process evaluation method, I use an adaptation of urban design charrette drawing employed in both Vancouver's CityPlan process and the charrette process used in WDD. CityPlan used Stanley King's Co-design process, a form of an urban design charrette using drawings completed by an artist/interviewer as a means of visually interpreting people's understandings and aspirations for built form. A form of urban design charrette was also used in WDD. Co-design is a form of charrette drawing where a moderator/communicator acts as an artist for one or a group of individuals engaged in a planning process. Participants outline their desired changes for a community through urban design decisions. In Co-design, drawing becomes a tool for arriving at shared understanding and approaches Forrester's notion of "design as making sense, together" (1989).

In examining changes in West Dallas, I became aware of an opportunity provided by Google's ongoing documentation of urban spaces through Google Street View. Google

Street View is a visual archive of physical locations obtained through a cataloguing of all street spaces, which is achieved by driving all the gazetted public roads in the world and taking full panoramic pictures. As if this fascinating documentation was not enough of a gift to urbanists, Google went further, and continued to document spaces, thereby creating a temporal element, that tracks urban change over time. The Google Street View Car drove the streets of West Dallas in 2007, 2008, 2012, 2014 and 2015 and thereby created a time-sequenced archive of urban change. Figure 10 demonstrates what the sequence of Google Street View images looks like. This site, south of Commerce Street, near Chicken Scratch starts as a rural setting near a trailer park (2007) and ends as a street with three story apartments (2105).

Figure 10. Google Streetview - Haslett Street in West Dallas (Google Street View)

I conceived of time lapse charrette futuring (TLCF) based on my own training in charrettes under Stanley King during the Vancouver CityPlan process in 1993. Then trained again and practiced as an artist in the development of a Downtown Plan for the City of Penticton. The Co-design method was executed in a plenary session, where the main group of participants was asked to divide into groups of approximately five participants. These five participants were asked to develop a timeline of their daily activities and were then asked to reflect upon what the space that they completed certain activities would look like. So if the group began to focus on going out for dinner, they would reflect on what the space they were eating dinner in looked and felt like. The drawer would, through a series of questions, elicit and build a shared understanding of this imagined ideal space.

Through my experience using the Co-design method, I saw the value of using a visual process to gain understanding of the hopes and intentions of groups that would face change as a result of plans. The existence of regular pictures documenting urban change across the city became the impetus to exploring a method that viewed changes and then projected forward to an understanding of the future.

The temporal sequencing of images provides a sort of stop motion view of a location as neighborhood changes occur. Hence, the result is a chronological sequence of images, with the last photo image focused on the current or most recent state. I worked with interviewees to develop a drawing representing a desired future state, thereby tying the review of changes occurring in the neighborhood back to one of the key facets of planning practice, the imagination of and deployment of resources in the move towards desired future states.

1.5 Summary and Description of Conclusion

Through my exploration of the WDD case, I detail the flow of policy ideas between Vancouver and Dallas and consider the policies mobilized through WDD. I detail how ideas get blocked, or mutate to be accommodated in new circumstances. However, I also seek a broader forum – the transferability of transactive and communicative planning policy approaches as a tool for promoting inter-cultural understanding. Given Peck and Theodore's (2015) comments about the importance of context, the success of CityPlan (Punter, 2003) cannot be separated from its execution in Vancouver, a city which at the time had a 20 year history of transactive and communicative policy practice. This is contrast with the current situation in Dallas, where more egalitarian approaches to planning and power only briefly shone brightly in the Goals for Dallas Plan of the mid-Sixties, which was developed under the direction of Mayor Erik Johnsson in the years following the assassination of John F. Kennedy in Dallas (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003). These types of processes only re-emerged recently and this time only through a major philanthropic gift (Brown, Personal communication, 2014).

While the DCdS is now a permanent fixture within the City of Dallas Planning Department, time will tell if the Studio is able to change the design culture of the City. Currently, only those projects seeking tax increment financing (TIF) are required to participate in the design review process . It also remains to be seen whether Dallas has the interest in applying significant resources to build interculturality.   Vancouver's CityPlan was widely touted as a planning process seeking to build consensus about urban development goals to build towards racial and economic inclusion (Beasley, Personal interview, 2016; Punter, 2003). Racial and economic inclusion considerations in WDD form part of our understanding about the flow of transactive and communicative planning approaches. While the longer arc of history may point to a more nuanced

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understanding, early consideration of CityPlan and subsequent sub-processes suggest that the approach built greater inter-cultural understanding and the potential for creating integrated neighborhoods (Punter, 2003; Sandercock & Attilli, 2003).

The dissertation concludes by using the information learned about the policy flow to Dallas to better understand the nature of policies in motion and policy mobilities generally. While examining what transfers, what gets blocked and what mutates, I seek to understand where ideas executed initially in Vancouver, are re-interpreted for a distinctly different Dallas context. To the extent possible, I explore how these messages were received and interpreted. I gather this information through a variety of methods, including site observation at key nodes, documentary evidence review and in-depth interviews with key participants.

Geographically, I focus on sites of community gathering and intersection and on housing stock and its renewal. Neighborhood residents suggested that they may, in time, be forced to leave their local neighborhood. While some suggested that residents have the opportunity to trade their existing older property for apartments in the new development, most believed that they would not be able to afford this option and that they would be forced to move away. At the same time, there is almost universal praise for the intercultural potential of the Continental Bridge – the walking bridge retrofitted after it was replaced by the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge. Though it relies heavily on public programming, the Bridge has the potential as an urban public space where different races come together. I pay attention to the inclusionary and exclusionary nature of housing, gathering spaces and businesses. In examining these various factors, I provide commentary and analysis supporting policy mobilities theory, or suggest modifications that may be investigated in future studies.

Part two of the conclusion will discuss opportunities for course correction in WDD. WDD occurred over six years ago and in the intervening time, completion of public infrastructure, new developments and the opening of new businesses have occurred as a result of the development signals embedded in WDD. Discussing these signals with community representatives, developers and civic leaders may lead to considerations for course correction as the vision of WDD continues to be implemented. Is WDD performing as intended, or are there adjustments to be made?

Part three of the conclusion focuses on interculturality and the broader national and inter-national conversation about how to create communities in the United States that are less socially, economically and racially segregated. WDD's sensitivity to the existing community and efforts to build a more integrated community may be instructive to other communities grappling with these challenges. Does WDD have process ideas to offer to other cities grappling with difference and economic, social and racial exclusion? The final element in the conclusion relates to the methodological adaptation of the charrette to a research function which I employ as part of the interview process. I conclude by evaluating whether or not this approach added value and discuss adjustments or changes that could lead to other uses of this methodology in other planning and innovation research.

People's memories of the process are less detailed and precise than they might have been if this project was initiated a few years after WDD. Specific memories of the process elements of WDD were clearer for those who were closest to the process, and for those who were involved in similar processes and had a group of experiences on which to reflect. With less potential to focus on the specifics of WDD, I am using WDD more as a sketch of possibilities rather than as a clear articulation of goals. Even though WDD has a document that clearly outlines goals, most of the participants, after all of this

time, really only have impressions of what they thought would emerge from the approach

taken. As such, the prescriptions for course correction are generally macro level

adjustment, rather than calling for adjustments that address a deep and specific issue

which may have been more top-of-mind, had this dissertation followed more closely on

the completion of WDD and it would perhaps also be different, had the dissertation

broadened its focus to consideration of the West Dallas Design Guidelines that emerged

from a session following WDD.

Chapter 2 THE POSITION OF THE AUTHOR

Sprague (2005) notes that hiding the authorial voice behind a veil of discrete professionalism is an attempt to create a position that appears dispassionate and neutral, when it is anything but neutral. In order to be intellectually honest, she suggests the author reveal positionality to provide a true account of their research. My authorial voice was developed through formative experiences and I want to briefly frame my understanding of communities and how they work. One is not confined to the lens of their framing experiences, but to provide an honest account in this study, I believe providing this framing reference is important as it relates to my own conceptions and delivery of the theoretical frameworks informing this dissertation.

I first describe my understanding of communitarian approaches and diversity, developed through my early school experiences and my exposure to my local community. Second, I discuss my understanding and deep interest in geography. Third, I consider my interest in, appreciation for, and understanding of civic boosterism and urban development. Fourth, I will discuss my career and its relation to my understanding of community and urban development. Finally, I outline my path to Texas and a PhD program and my learning about differences between southern and northern culture in the United States and further, about differences between the United States and Canada. All of these experiences frame my understanding of the investigation this dissertation undertakes.

First among the elements framing my authorial position is my upbringing and my family of origin. Both of my parents grew-up in East Vancouver in small houses with many siblings. My grandparents were employed, but were often impacted by interruptions in their employment. My parents made numerous sacrifices to create a

stable home and an enriched upbringing for me and my brother. In 1972, we moved to DeCosmos Village Housing Co-operative in East Vancouver, the first government-sponsored housing co-operative in British Columbia, where we lived for 12 years. Federal housing policy provided a secure location for the formative years of my brother and I and from that affordable space, my parents were able to save and enter the housing market. DeCosmos Village was among the first developments of Champlain Heights, an experimental neighborhood of mostly townhouses, developed in the early days of Vancouver's progressive post-freeway debate era. I attended Champlain Heights Community School in the newly developed neighborhood. I was exposed to inter-cultural communities from a very early age. Roughly, one third of my classmates were Oriental, one third South Asian and the rest Caucasian. My early life in a co-operative housing development gave me a taste of the potential of collective action. I have also been immersed in social, racial and economic diversity for almost as long as I can remember.

I want to stress that this upbringing and its context leads me to certain positions with regard to interculturality. I believe that there is power in mixing both class and racial groups in a very localized way. I believe that to do otherwise, in a city, leads to economic isolation for certain groups. This economic isolation can include the building of rich enclaves where one is removed from the reality of everyday life of all individuals. It can also lead to a concentration of the misery of poverty.

Sitting on the steps above our kitchen, at about the age of five, I recall my parents and grandparents showing me a map of our recent trip to my grandparents' new home in the British Columbia (BC) Interior. They showed me on a map where we were and the route we took to get to their new place. From this introduction, I gained a keen interest in geography and spatial relations. In Vancouver – geography and geographic limitations

frame everything. From a very early age I was thinking about spaces and how they sit

together and how space, place and land impacted peoples' lives.
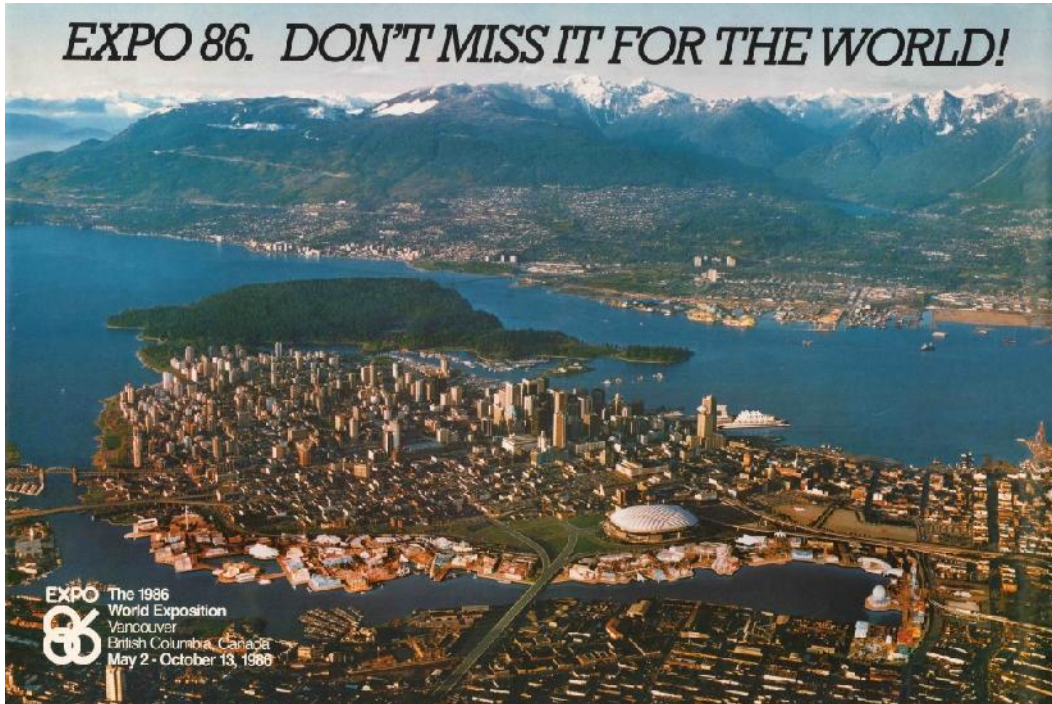
Figure 11. Promotional Posters for Expo 86 held in Vancouver

This early time also marked the beginning of my understanding of development. I

keenly watched the television news and recall the afternoon in the early 1980s when

Premier Bill Bennett unveiled plans for BC Place Stadium and announced BC's intention

to host Expo 86, Vancouver's World's Fair. A promotional poster for Expo 86 appears as

Figure 11. Numerous public mail-outs showed how the then industrial False Creek

waterfront would be transformed into urban neighborhoods adjacent to downtown. I

looked at these exciting new transformations and saved the various reports on the

progress of changes to False Creek. In the meantime, over the course of my childhood, I

saw my own neighborhood, in the furthest corner of the City of Vancouver, snake its way

down the hill, creating a townhouse and greenspace antidote inspired by the *Garden*

Cities of To-morrow by Ebenezer Howard (1902). This new neighborhood stood in

contrast to the suburban tract housing that was spread across South and East Vancouver.

In 1984, my family moved to a detached house in Surrey, which at the time, unconnected by rapid-transit, seemed like a far distant suburb of Vancouver. Surrey is now a vibrant and multi-cultural community with diverse characteristics. At that time, Surrey was known for crime and poverty. I went to school in an area known for these issues. However, an alternative scene brewed beneath the surface in Surrey. We spent our teen weekend evenings in Surrey, dancing to alternative dance-pop and punk music at one of Metro Vancouver's few teen-oriented night clubs.

Upon graduating and showing a talent for drawing and painting, I went to Emily Carr College of Art and Design. In the early 1990s, Emily Carr was in the middle of emerging conversations around critical theory. I painted cities and suburbs, in particular, chronicling the booming car-oriented suburbs that were now my home. At this time, my path also intersected with Mr. Beasley and the CityPlan process. Through the City of Vancouver, I was trained to facilitate charrette drawings as part of Stanley King's Co-design method which was used in the development of CityPlan. I also participated in CityPlan public meetings. I have a distinct memory of sitting at a round table, with six women, recent immigrants from Hong Kong, who bemoaned the slow pace of Vancouver and wondered why there were so many regulatory impediments to business.

I met my wife at Emily Carr College of Art and Design and after a few years, we became what our friend called "the nesters", with our two little kids in tow. We moved to Calgary so I could pursue a Master's in Environmental Design in Planning. I went in the door of the University of Calgary with an interest in design, but left with an interest in community economic development.

I pursued community economic development work for four years in the BC Interior before returning to Vancouver after taking a job with the federal government. In Canada, federal employment allows you to have several careers with one employer and I got to work in homelessness programs, employment programs, economic development, strategic planning, and federal policy development.   In my ten years with the Government of Canada I also gained first-hand experience of the neoliberal move towards reporting and accountability frameworks.

I was honored to have the opportunity to work with and visit First Nations across British Columbia and acknowledge that the place of my birth, Vancouver, is the traditional, or as some would say, un-ceded territory of the Coast Salish Nations, the Musqueam, the Squamish and the Tsleil-Watuth. My work with First Nations has been informed by my own indigeneity – with ties to the Metis settlers of British Columbia and their marital unions of the French and the Okanagan in the early settlement of British Columbia.

When I joined the federal government, Wendy and I moved back to Vancouver and invested in a house, but in a suburb. We wanted to be closer to the city, but could not afford a location which provided urbanity and what we perceived as a safe environment to raise children. After ten years, I left the federal government and took a job as Manager Economic Development with Coquitlam, where we lived. I left Coquitlam after two years and pursued consulting work. At this time, I also joined the Egg Farmers of Canada Board of Directors as their representative for the Consumers' Association of Canada. Again, as I had in my position with the Government of Canada, I was able to gain exposure to and participate in national debates on policy and honed my understanding of the inter-regional balance required to make Canada work as a nation and Canada's

unique, almost Marxist-based supply-management system, that continues to thrive while it flies in the face of neo-liberalism.

With our kids leaving for university in other provinces, Wendy and I contemplated an adventure. She took a position with Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs office in Dallas, where I would continue to consult, while pursuing a PhD. We lived in Dallas for two and a half years and have since returned to Vancouver.

I tell this story not as an autobiographical text, but as a means of positioning myself and my orientation to my two subjects and to the global ethnography approach I discuss in this dissertation. This qualitative investigation, with aspirations of global ethnography touches on two geographic points. I spent more than half of my life living in one, Vancouver, and two and a half years living in the other, Dallas. I am intensely interested in learning about place and about how history shapes the character of a place and I found opportunities to immerse myself in Dallas culture. In Dallas, we lived on the most amazing little street with friendly neighbors who helped us understand Texas and the culture of the southern United States in its many forms. They welcomed us with open arms and we are grateful for their hospitality and friendship when we were away from home and family. In Dallas, we also met Mr. Henry Wells, senior advisor to the Canadian Consulate. Henry was raised in the Texas Panhandle and spent his early years of his career in journalism there. Henry has worked for the Canadian government for over 27 years and has been to more places in Canada than most Canadians. Henry understands Canada and Texas and has assisted me as a cultural translator. I am grateful for his input and friendship.

I like Dallas. I like the food and the friendly people – oh - and the weather. While Dallas summers may be unbearably hot, the long spring and fall are pleasantly warm. Winters are variable. However, I also studied Dallas, and perhaps not more deeply than

when Brent Brown of the DCdS and bcWorkshop invited me to work on their Affordable

Infill Model for Dallas (AIM for Dallas). In this project, bcWorkshop sought solutions to a

very un-Vancouver problem – building affordable housing on the 20,000 vacant lots in the

City of Dallas. The webpage of bcWorkshop, showing their many engagements in the

community appears in Figure 12. I am grateful for the experience because it allowed my

immersion in the deep tangle of challenges that American communities face as they seek

to guide and trigger positive change. I have great respect for Mr. Brown's commitment

to building change from within Dallas and for the energy and creativity of the staff at

bcWorkshop.
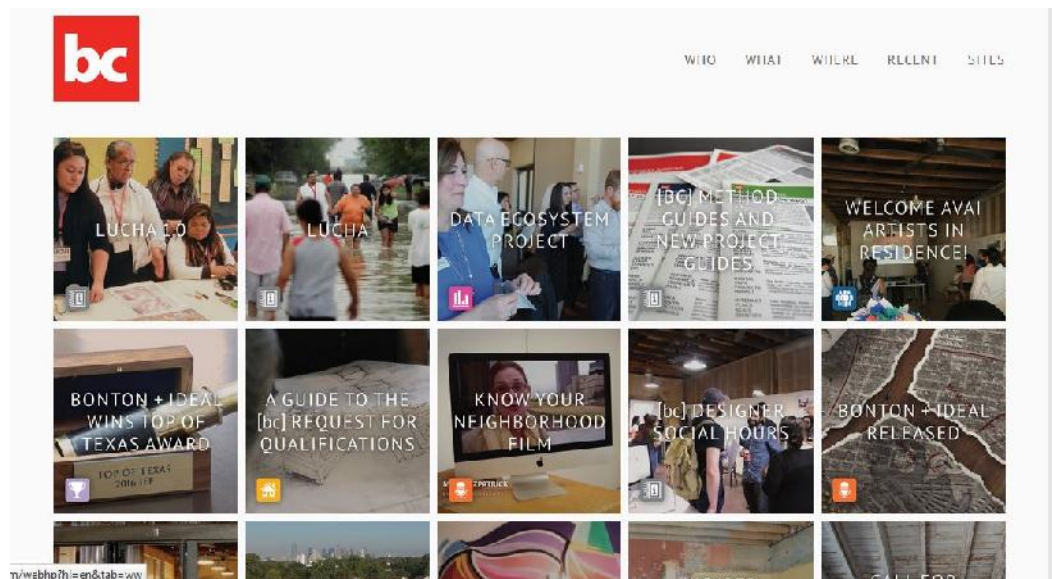
Figure 12. bcWorkshop: bcWorkshop is a design focused not-for-profit agency working in Dallas, with satellites in Houston, Brownsville and with a recently opened office in Washington, DC. (Accessed June 27, 2016 at http://www.bcworkshop.org/recent-work/)

Studying Dallas also means knowing about the City's challenges, the lock-step march

of income inequality and racial segregation (Graff, 2008; Phillips, 2006). It means

knowing that Dallas is operated by a white minority who hold sway electorally (Graff,

2008, Phillips, 2006). It means knowing the challenges of the Dallas Independent School District (DISD), the food deserts of South Dallas and the poverty of West Dallas, which all contribute to an image of a city divided by race and wealth. I continue to be aware of the story of race and division, however, my work in Dallas also provided me with an opportunity to see a community in transition – a city culture that was continuously challenged by progressive thinking and a cadre of committed community builders who were interested in bridging divides and ensuring equal access to opportunities. I worked with dedicated longtime residents genuinely interested in creating positive community change.

Finally, as a resident of Metro Vancouver for much of my life, I experienced the positive and negative aspects of Vancouver's growth. On the negative side, during my life in Vancouver, I lost countless hours sitting in traffic and paid an exceptional price for my housing. On the positive side, as a homeowner, I experienced the strength of the Vancouver housing market and the windfalls of strong growth in the housing sector. I had great access to an excellent quality of life and incredible outdoor recreation opportunities, just minutes from my house. But I have also seen my childhood neighborhood evolve beyond recognition. My learning and my experience in community development work is steeped in interculturality and has fostered my understanding of it as a challenging, but positive force in creating communities. I bring this 'mixed bag' of experiences to my examination of the policy mobilities that flow between the City of Vancouver and the City of Dallas.

Of this mixed bag, I need to comment on at least one point. That is, I need to explain my relationship to gentrification. Gentrification in Vancouver has taken place in different ways. The model suburbs my mother grew up in were postwar creations of the Canada's Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Not really social housing, but housing with a

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social development focus that was available to returning war veterans at affordable prices. My grandparents moved into their house in 1950 and moved out in 1980. Over that time, their house increased 14 fold in value. They moved out through a wave of urban gentrification that saw these primarily Caucasian communities become increasingly Chinese. Today, the streets have the same name, but it is difficult to find one of the post-war houses from that area still standing. Many of my cousins lived in housing in close proximity to this house purchased in 1950, but by 1990, all of my relatives in this neighborhood now lived in far flung suburbs – generally in larger houses with better amenities. In this situation –we all gained better housing, but we also lost the close connection of family in all of its potentially positive or negative forms.

The wave of Chinese and Korean immigration that hit the City of Coquitlam, following our move there in 2001, meant that again, our house more than doubled in value over ten years and made it possible to take my young family to Europe on a five-week vacation. I could not afford to live in the neighborhood of my youth in the City of Vancouver and I was pushed to a suburban location, but I am still the beneficiary of later waves of immigration who have continued to keep pressure on the housing market, driving prices upward. Am I a victim of gentrification because the neighborhood of my childhood is no longer there? Or am I a beneficiary, the receiver of new wealth as a result in the lift in values? The point here that I want to make is that my own relationship to gentrification is complicated and is based on my economic, social and geographic position. Gentrification is complex and perhaps as Lees notes, we need to find a more nuanced language to address its complexity (2000).

When we decided to go to Dallas, we based this decision on very limited knowledge of the city. We were provided with four choices, all cities that were ideologically and physically closer to Vancouver – Denver, Seattle and Minneapolis. I was not a stranger

to the United States, having spent one semester of my undergraduate degree at the Minneapolis College of Art and Design and I expected that my experiences in Dallas would be somewhat similar to Minneapolis. I was aware of race in US cities and I expected my experience of race to be similar. I was also used to freeways and the traffic of a large American city. Though I lived on the outskirts of Downtown Minneapolis, I went there with a car and I used it to explore the city. Our immersion in Dallas was swift, aided by friendly neighbors and blind exploration of the City. I soon realized that in the 1990s when Billy Bragg joked that he included Minneapolis on his Canadian tour because it actually fit better in a set of Canadian cities, he was right. I was not prepared for the depth of cultural differences, both positive and negative that I would experience living in a city that is at the same time, a community of the south and the southwest.

Vancouver is my home, but I am not uncritical of my city. I am a Vancouver liker, not a Vancouver lover and as time passes, I find the city less and less desirable. I have experienced both the benefits and the challenges of Vancouver's unique urban design history and its current neoliberal, globalization induced bargain, which I discuss at length in the dissertation. While I am critical of my adopted city, Dallas, I understand that my own positionality in relation to Dallas is not informed by a longstanding knowledge of the City. Mostly, I know Dallas as a result of my own life there, my limited exposure to the City and through my study of Dallas's history and socio-economic divisions.

I am aware of the potential of planners, with their certain proclivities as a profession to advocate for particular forms of development and to be critical of others. My own understanding of planning might point me to being more critical of the car oriented, sprawling nature of Dallas and the racial divisions of that city. One might expect that I would suggest Vancouver cannot learn from Dallas, but that is not the case. Although the policy mobilities I investigate tend to flow in one direction, there is much that

Vancouver could learn from Dallas about conviviality, business promotion and promotion of the arts.

With that stated, I am looking at policy ideas in motion between two cities of western North America, which could not be more different in their histories and composition. Dallas, born of hubris and entrepreneurial chutzpah in a location with few defining geographic advantages, and Vancouver, with its deep natural port situated at the end of a transcontinental railroad linking a liberal nation to the Asia Pacific Region emerging as a nexus of opportunity. I am open to learning about the changes taking place in Dallas and arrive in the City with an open mind, ready to learn about differences and similarities in these places and how the flow of information and knowledge between these two cities contributes to our understanding of policy mobilities.

I have been employed as a booster of both the Canadian approach to policy as an employee of a regional development agency and a student of Canadian government approaches to intervention in society as both a student and in my professional life. In addition, through my more recent employment, I played an active role in bringing the Vancouver message of urban sustainability to internal audiences and external ones. I was part of the boosterism apparatus of Vancouver described by McCann (2013). As one that is part of that system of external delivery of messages of the potential of Vancouver's densification and lifestyle mix, I must also note that I am positioned to also be an internal critic of what has been called the "Vancouver achievement" (Punter, 2003). My own critical lens is developed through the time I spent living in Vancouver's suburbs, where I experienced who ultimately pays for Vancouver's sustainability focus. The burden of Vancouver sustainability approaches is uneven, with some experiencing greater impacts than others. These impacts include longer commutes, a less than

optimal transit system and less access to the things that Vancouver builds its boosterism on – quality of life.

While I write from the position of knowing and experiencing the outputs of the policy approaches tested and executed in Vancouver, I arrived in Dallas, a completely different context. The received truths and shared beliefs of Vancouverites, differ from citizens in Dallas. It is questionable whether the reach of governments into the lives of citizens as expressed in Vancouver would ever be acceptable to Dallas citizens. I travel with these policies and have attempted, through interviews, reading and site investigation to determine the way that policies arrive and are accepted, rejected or morph. The story I tell is directly related to these new approaches and how they are received.

Discussions of race and power in the United States are complex. I know that my understanding of the Dallas context is as a traveler with the ideas I seek to investigate. As such, the interviews I conduct offer me a particular insight into the state of intercultural and class issues in West Dallas. These interviews ground my analysis in the various realities experienced by different people in West Dallas and Dallas.

I am excited to contribute to advancing understanding of Dallas, while using my reflections on the relationality of Dallas and Vancouver, and the United States and Canada as a means of reflecting on pathways forward for both cities and both countries. Finally, I am interested in contributing to the body of work that explores policy mobiltiies as a new way in which ideas move in our contemporary world.

Chapter 3 LITERATURE REVIEW

The dissertation uses a variety of lenses and approaches to examine the flow of information and to understand the perceived impact of the WDD process. As a framing device, I engage Ostrom and Ostrom's (2004) institutional analysis and development framework. The IAD is a method of investigation of complex situations of institutional change. Utilizing Ostrom and Ostrom's IAD framework, I describe three framing literatures situating this project, before delving into specific literatures related to geography, the economy and planning (2004). The three framing literatures, globalization; neoliberalism and critical theory are central to contemporary understanding of how economies and development operate in the early 21st Century . Armed with these broad literatures, the dissertation is positioned to look deeper into specific areas of practice and action related to WDD. These framing literatures and the deeper specific areas of literature pertaining geography, the economy and planning provide the base for consideration of the policies in motion.

The IAD framework describes an action arena, which is the space in which the policy change takes place. As noted, I stretch Ostrom and Ostrom's (2004) conception of the action arena to include consideration of both the providing and receiving spaces of the policy mobilities, but also the spaces in-between. To describe the providing and receiving spaces, I offer an abbreviated history of both Vancouver and Dallas, with particular attention paid to issues of race and interculturality and the urban planning and development history of each city. To discuss these in-between aspects of policy mobilities, I also provide a brief explanation of urban imaginaries and considerations of elsewhere in policy formation (Berelowitz, 2004; Robinson, 2011). These are the images of cities which we carry with us and inform our understanding of cities alone and cities in

series. The caricatures of cities contribute to our understanding, but they are founded on actual characteristics of spaces and those inhabiting those spaces.

While I utilize the IAD theory as a scaffold on which to arrange many lenses of inquiry used in this investigation, I understand that to a certain extent, it is at odds with the theories of urban critical theory, especially those in the realm of policy mobilities that conceive of the policy arena as not a particular geographic space, but rather as the whole space of the mobilization of the policy. As such, the space of the policy arena, to use the Ostrom's phrase, is actually both spaces – Vancouver and Dallas - and the space of ideation between and a temporal space which considers urban change over time (2004).

Figure 13 shows my stretched conception of the policy arena and the impact of way that the whole arena is impacted by both neoliberalism and globalization.   The conception of the policy arena for policy mobilities stretches beyond Ostrom and Ostrom's (2004) ideation of the policy arena as a single site of reception. This arena conceives of a space which includes both the supply and demand cities, framed within their respective states and nations. The policies flow from Vancouver to Dallas. Floating above the space of actual passing of policy ideas is a relational space – which allows imagining of the potential for ideas to flow between locations. The whole policy arena is influenced by globalization and neoliberalism.

However, the contemplation of the policy change is mostly confined to the point of reception, Dallas. So the interviews and interpretation of the flow concentrate on that part of the overall policy arena. I attempt to stretch the conception of policy change away from a strictly geographic interpretation of change happening as a result of an institutional adjustment which would feature a policy vision in motion in a particular place and time. Instead, I want to – based-on McCann's assertions (2011-1), stretch the idea of the policy arena to include consideration of both the origin space of some of these policy

approaches – the space of travel between origin and receiver, which includes aspects of geography, time, technology, people and learning, to think about a globalized policy arena. In stretching to this conception, I can move closer to consideration of urban assemblage as a theoretical framework for this investigation. I discuss the IAD and its use in this dissertation at greater length in the methodology chapter. For now, I introduce, through a brief discussion, the three framing meta-literatures and how they relate to this investigation, before discussing geographic, economic and planning theories.

Visualizing the IAD Framework
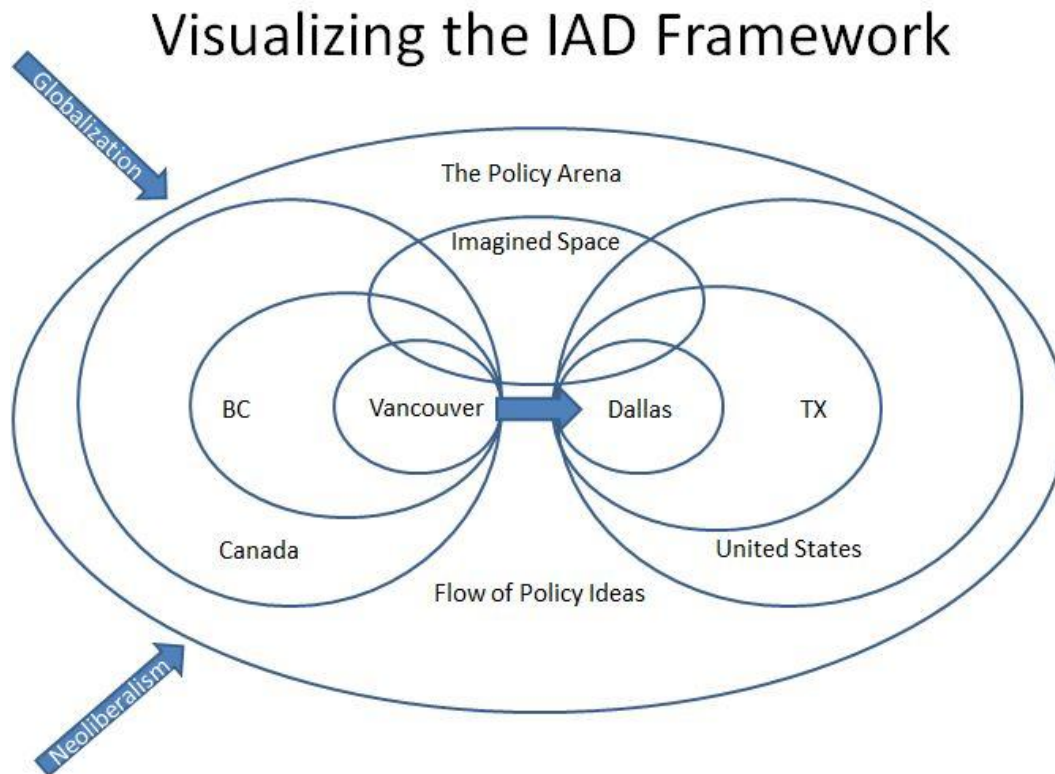
Figure 13. outlines the meta theories, theory groupings and sub-theories that constitute the theoretical framework through which WDD will be examined.

Figure 14. Lenses of Investigation for West Dallas Dream

Macro Lenses	
Globalization	Globalization is an essential lens for discussing why policy mobilities occur. Cities seek solutions to increase their competitiveness in an increasingly globalized and competitive array of cities.
Neoliberalism	Neoliberalism is also a driver of policy mobilities. Its role in advancing creating the conditions for policy mobilities will be briefly explored.
Critical Theory	Critical theory is an umbrella term for a series of critical lenses that were developed in response to the positivism of modernism. Critical theory's lenses assist in the deconstruction of power relationships in systems, including urban ones. Critical theory is therefore essential to critical urban theory's deconstruction of urban interventions. These critical theories will be used in the examination of WDD
Theories - Geography	
Policy Mobilities	Policy mobilities is the central theory under examination in this dissertation. The review of policies mobilized from Vancouver to Dallas are the focus of this investigation. Policy mobilities refers to the fast transfer of policy ideas between cities through lenses of globalization and neoliberalism
Spatial Justice	Spatial justice is the concept that ties decisions tied to the spatial aspect of geography to consideration of justice. Spatial justice provides the lens for considering the fairness and equity of a particular policy decision.
Assemblage	Assemblage is an emerging theory which invites us to consider how objects in space have agency over each other, leading to consideration in an urban realm of how interventions in a city are performative an interactive.
Economic Theory	
Growth Machines	Growth machine theory suggests that urban regimes are calibrated to become an instrument for making money and that in doing so, urban regimes orient themselves toward enabling business.
Spatial Fix	The spatial fix is Harvey's notion of the need to the economy to find new spaces to develop. Essentially, in the absence of actual frontiers, cities fold in on themselves and begin to find new places to invest capital.
Gentrification	Gentrification is the movement of more affluent populations to formerly less affluent locations. The result is neighborhood change and reinvestment. Ultimately, gentrification leads to poor citizens being pushed of neighborhoods
Urban Planning	
Transactive and Communicative Planning	These are the planning concepts that see planners moving away from a top-down rationalist model and evolving toward a model of planning that includes substantial community input.
Interculturality and Diversity	This concept frames the approach of how nations and cities work with and between cultures to share space and economic opportunity.

Two of the three meta-theories– neoliberalism and globalization - provide the high

level framework for considering policy mobilities related to WDD. The remaining meta-

theory, critical theory provides a primer for examining power relationships and structures of knowledge which impact urban development, geography and urban planning. Neoliberalism outlines the socio-political landscape of contemporary urbanism and accounts for various reasons that cities are disciplined into competition. Globalization outlines the structural economic adjustments impacting the world economy and provides scope for thinking about the inter-relation of cities in an increasingly world-focused setting. The combination of neoliberalism and globalization provides an explanation and underpinning for the conditioning of cities to respond in certain ways to contemporary urban inter-city competition for resources, talent and other opportunities.

The third meta-theory, critical theory and its companion, critical urban theory provide a series of deconstructive lenses through which to explore the power relationships inherent to urban development. Following discussion of the meta-theories I will focus on geographic theory, economic theory and urban planning theory.

The use of land in an urban context is central to this complex intersection. As such, I turn to discussion of the geographic theories informing the subject of urban development and change. First among these theories is policy mobilities - the fast flow of policy ideas between locations (McCann, 2011-1). The second geography theory explored is spatial justice (Soja, 2010), which combines social justice considerations with a geo-spatial element and is a useful lens for thinking about who wins and who loses across geographies as a result of urban interventions. Consideration of spatial justice is especially important in situations where existing community power imbalances contribute to uneven participation in community goal setting and governance (Soja, 2010). A third area of geography theory outlined in the dissertation is assemblage - an emerging concept in social studies, that is particularly useful in urban studies as it describes the

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contingent nature of urban development and "the continuously unfolding simultaneity of the city – which is not static, but is constantly interacting" (Farias, 2010, p. 10).

The literature review then investigates key concepts in urban economic geography, including those of Harvey (1982; 1987) and Logan and Molotch (1976). I discuss Harvey's theories on urban development and depreciation and how these qualities in urban development - particularly fixity and permanence contribute to limitations for the renewal of urban spaces. I explain Harvey's theory of the spatial fix which he proposes as a major driver of continuous urban change. I use Logan and Molotch's (1976) concept of cities as growth machines as a frame and device for considering the composition of urban regimes and the community change actions of both Vancouver and Dallas.

I then discuss planning theories underpinning WDD. The section on planning history provides a quick overview of the evolution of thought in planning, but I mostly focus on transactive and communicative planning practice (Innes, 1995; Friedmann, 1973) and interculturality. Transactive and communicative planning practices best describe the aspirations of the planning approaches undertaken in Vancouver's CityPlan, which were then adapted for performance in WDD. Interculturality describes how race and ethnicity frame development in cities of the United States and Canada (Sandercock and Attili, 2003). Contrasting approaches to interculturality in the United States and Canada provides a backdrop for considering how progressive interculturalism and cosmopolitanism are received and performed in Dallas.

Then, the dissertation reflects-on design and its role in transactive and communicative planning as a means of communicating ideas. As part of this discussion of design, I use a limited form of charretting is used to test a novel method of considering urban change and course correction in planning, called Time Lapse Charrette Futuring (TLCF).

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The literature review provides a broad theoretical grounding for a deeper exploration of the policy mobilities at play in WDD and to understand the complex action arena in which the changes catalyzed through this process takes place.

3.1 - Defining the Action Arena: Vancouver and Vancouverism – Exceptionalism and Extrospection
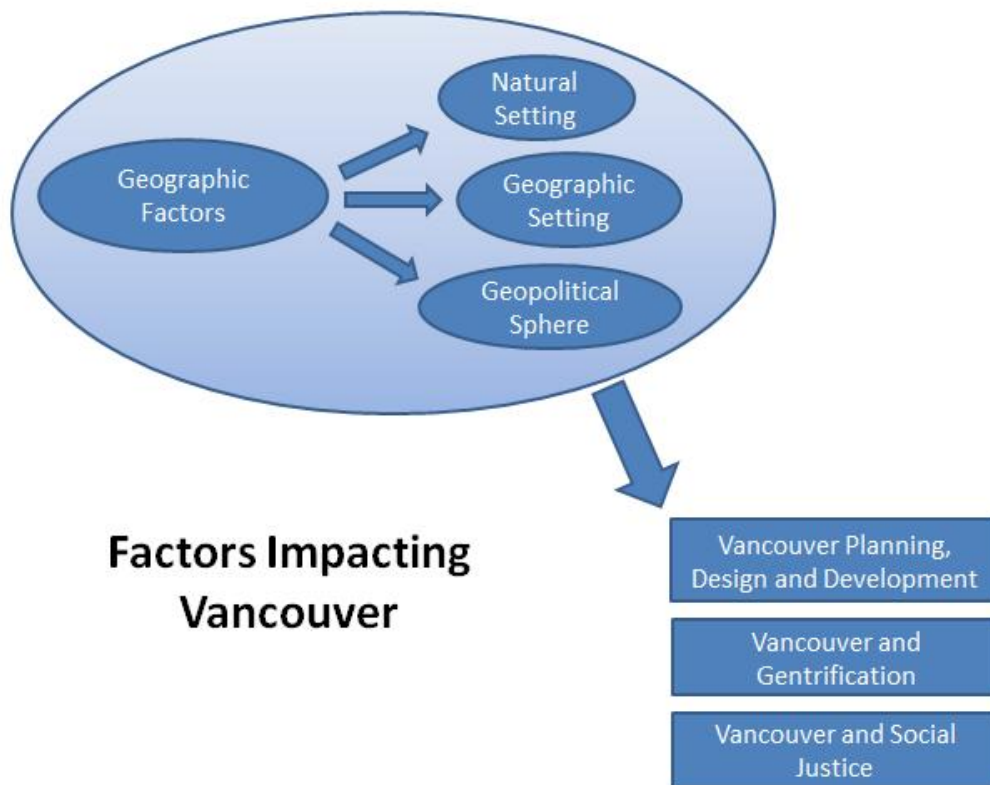
Figure 15. Factors Impacting Vancouver

Peck and Theodore (2015) note the importance of context in policy mobilities. Context is both about the supply and demand side of the policies in motion. To understand how Vancouver policies land in Dallas, we must first understand the context that contributed to the evolution of Vancouver's special planning circumstance.

3.1.1 Geographic Factors Impacting Vancouver

Vancouver is Canada's third largest city and sits on the Pacific Coast of Canada, 140 miles north of Seattle. The City of Vancouver has 600K residents, while Metro Vancouver has 2.3M residents (Statistics Canada, 2011). Vancouver is Canada's Pacific city, more temperate than any other place in Canada. This makes Vancouver a continual destination for in-migration from other Canadian provinces and places the city in a particular place in the imagination of young Canadians. A Canadian city with summer beaches, winter skiing and close access to outdoor recreation potential means that many young people are attracted to the city from elsewhere in Canada. It would not be a stretch to say that Vancouver holds a similar place in the Canadian imagination to the place that California holds in the American imagination.

Livability and an international reputation of openness to new immigrants created a continuous stream of citizens, despite the fact that the underlying economics supporting this continuous growth do not appear to be there (Ley, 2010). People move to Vancouver for perceived lifestyle attributes and for opportunity and are willing to trade larger spaces for smaller living spaces that have excellent access to amenities (Grant, 2009).

The Coastal Mountains sit like a curtain wall across the north side of the city. They limit development to the north, while at the same time offering nearby natural amenities including world renowned mountain biking, hiking, snowshoeing and both downhill and cross country skiing. All of this is literally within a 20 minute drive of the center of the city. Nature also crosses the City to the west. Though urban east Vancouver is situated on the City's large harbor, to the west of Downtown, English Bay is ringed by public beaches. Almost the entire Vancouver waterfront outside Vancouver Harbour is set

aside for public use. This means that waterfront pathways and trails are accessible from much of the city. This natural setting contributes to Vancouver's outdoor recreational ethos.

Vancouver's natural setting is a constant reminder of the interface of western culture and the frontier (Kataoka, 2009). It is possible to go from Downtown Vancouver and within a half an hour, be completely lost in the impenetrable wilderness of the mountains overlooking the Metro Vancouver while still in clear sight of the homes of a million citizens. While in other cities, it might just be possible to consider the built environment and its relation to nature, in Vancouver, the mountains always hover above beckoning both recreational possibility and a form an environmental ethos which almost takes on a religious tone (Grant, 2009).   In fact, Vancouver has developed a unique stand-in for the symbolic role that the suburbs play in connecting citizens to the natural environment (Grant, 2009; Kataoka, 2009). "Vancouverism promises to satisfy the drive to be 'close to nature' without rolling over nature, and so in a sense it is more able to realize the suburban dream than the suburbs themselves" (Kataoka, 2009, pp. 44).

It appears that Metro Vancouver citizens are consistently willing to trade backyards and personal outdoor space for shared outdoor space coupled with views of the mountains, ocean, or the Fraser River (Grant, 2009). Urbanites respect for the environment facilitates what Kataoka calls "Vancouver's livable city paradox" (Kataoka, 2009). This paradox allows a city built on resource extraction to spawn Greenpeace and expound environmental approaches such as the City's Greenest City Initiative which aims to make the City the world's greenest by 2020 (Aronsen, 2010, City of Vancouver, 2010). Finally, it is important to note that this focus on the environment also contributes to Vancouver's consistent ranking as one of the world's most livable cities (Grant, 2009).

3.1.1.2 Geographic Restrictions

These same natural features that ensure access to waterfront and mountains also act as a barrier to development. These geographic limitations set Vancouver's development path apart from other cities. Like its neighbor to the south, Seattle, Vancouver is punctuated by a series of water bodies that limit growth and necessitate the construction of bridges. These limitations have tended to promote densification as bridges become points of congestion that impede the flow of commuter traffic and add to commute times. Crossing bridges takes time and in a city with the worst traffic in North America (according to Garmin) time savings in commuting are valued.

The steepness of the terrain to the north of the city, coupled with extreme winter snowfall make these mountains great for skiing, but limits their potential as locations for development above a certain elevation. Vancouver is also limited by the American border, by car, 35 minutes to the south. So while Toronto has 1500 square miles of land within 35 miles of the center of Downtown, and Dallas has closer to 3200 square miles of land within 35 miles of its Downtown, Vancouver, which has just 700 square miles of available land for development within the same 35 mile radius.

As well, Vancouver is in a unique position as a city at the end of the road. The coastal roads that extend north south through the United States ends in a parking lot in Lund, just a few hours north of Vancouver. At this point, it is more economical for ferries and floatplanes to service the hamlets on the remote fjords of the British Columbian coastline. Vancouver also sits at the western end of Canada's national highway, the Trans-Canada Highway, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. As a place that is, in a sense, the terminus city of this route, the point to note is that there is very little through traffic to manage. Proposed freeways through Vancouver were defeated in

1969. In many ways, these freeways are not required as regional traffic bound for other points simply skirts the urban core.

3.1.1.3 Geopolitical Position

Vancouver is the terminus of Canada's transcontinental railways and is a city oriented to the Pacific Rim as both a gateway and a departure point to the Far East. Longstanding connections with the Pacific Rim were initiated through the Empress Steamship Lines which connected the Canadian Pacific Railway terminus to British Commonwealth holdings including Australia, India and Hong Kong. These early ties were part of the lines of travel followed as Asians migrated to Vancouver (Punter, 2003).

The provincial and federal governments see Vancouver and its congestion challenges in a broader economic framework focused on Vancouver's role as an international port and a key asset in national economic strategies. Through the Asia Pacific Gateway lens, Vancouver is seen as a key linkage point between markets and manufacturers in eastern Canada and customers and products from the Pacific Rim. Central to their considerations are the transportation of goods and port capacity. This lens seeks to invest in strategic infrastructure alleviating transportation bottlenecks while supporting port efforts to expand capacity. For the most part, transportation improvements aimed at facilitating goods movement are pursued outside the corporate limits of the City of Vancouver. So the Federal and Provincial governments pursue a number of projects aimed at improved efficiency, while vocal groups of City of Vancouver citizens deride these improvements suggesting that they will lead to the type of auto-focused transportation system that Vancouverites have long fought to avoid.

These two lenses co-exist and in a strange way, create equilibrium between local interests in sustainability and national interests in facilitating trade, however, the voice of

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suburbanite residents of the region is sometimes ignored in favor of a more heroic story of a victory for sustainability.

Vancouver has created a unique form of sustainability driven by globalization (Friedmann, 2005). Vancouver's sustainability is one part environmental ethos, one part growth machine, with a particular geography, national and global position that make it both an anomaly and a model for policy transfer (Aronson, 2010; Brunet-Jailly, 2008; Friedmann, 2005; Logan & Molotch, 1987; Punter, 2003;). There are a number of factors contributing to Vancouver's unique form of sustainability, including a constrained urban area, the nearness and visual representation of wilderness (Kataoka, 2009), and the region's heavy reliance on residential growth driven by new immigration (Ley, 2010; Ley & Murphy, 2001).

3.1.2.1. Vancouver Planning, Design and Development

As was noted, these geographic factors, related to the city's natural setting, its geographic setting and the geopolitical positioning of Vancouver lead to a very particular planning context.

The City of Vancouver's progressive planning approach emerged in the late 1960's and culminated in the election of The Electors'Action Movement (TEAM). TEAM was a local political affiliation composed of a group of progressive leaders that included academics and planners. Together, TEAM led the 1969 public campaign to reject the possibility of freeways in Vancouver's core. Once elected in 1972, TEAM set about changing how planning was executed (Punter, 2003) as they planned significant new projects transforming former industrial lands and installing diverse, family-oriented housing options close to the urban core (Grant, 2009). Through the 1970's, this

progressive approach to planning was accepted as politicians of all stripes committed to advancing livability (Punter, 2003).

It is important to note the role of scholar activism in advancing a progressive agenda in the City of Vancouver. Transportation Planning and Public Policy Professor V. Setty Pendakur and Geography Professor Walter Hardwick both served on Vancouver City Council in the 1970's. The School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia led early scholarly activism in Vancouver and they have been joined by a number of researchers in Geography and Urban Studies programs at Simon Fraser University. Scholarly and community discourse around planning and community development issues has created a forum for discussion of community issues. Vancouver newspapers cover city issues and there are a number of writers on urban issues in Vancouver. Beyond these frames, community dialogue around civic issues is advanced through the media. The local affiliate of the Canadian Broadcast Corporation in Vancouver has intensive coverage of civic issues and there is a high degree of local knowledge about planning and development issues.

Planners were also able to ensure an element of family housing and affordable housing as these new developments were built. The then federally funded Co-operative Housing Program was building a large number of homes in this era and some of these were part of the initial offerings on Vancouver's reclaimed industrial waterfront, False Creek. The Vancouver approach to planning created spaces for families to flourish, close to the city core and as such, Vancouver did not experience middle-class flight from urban areas, the way that cities in the United States did (Punter, 2003).

Vancouver faced a number of planning issues that created a necessity to embark on some sort of planning exercise. First, there was widespread recognition that the region would continue to grow. Its unique position as the city with the most hospitable climate in

a colder country – Canada - coupled with the city's strong connection to the Pacific-Rim was predicted to continue to influence growth (Punter, 2003, Grant, 2009). While the City of Vancouver was led to consider sustainability by TEAM, the City and the Metro Vancouver region sought to enshrine sustainability and livability in a number of key planning documents (Punter, 2003). Finally, a second key remake of the industrial areas of Yaletown was already underway and was in the midst of creating an intensified downtown, which is the area that Mr. Beasley was actively involved in planning (Friedmann, 2005, Grant, 2009).

However, the City needed to provide planning guidance in other areas and it was clear that a number of proposed changes to single family neighborhoods were becoming bemired in local skirmishes with a strong focus on "Not in my Backyard" or NIMBY (Punter, 2003). In addition to work in single family neighborhoods, the city needed to plan new neighborhoods including some which would be built on vacant and underutilized industrial lands (Punter, 2003). To meet the planning challenge, the City of Vancouver embarked on CityPlan.

For CityPlan, Council identified four key requirements for the consultation.

They stressed the need:

- To cover the full range of planning issues under the city's control;
- To present a broad vision for the city's future, rather than a detailed policy document or a strategic land use plan;
- To have deep public involvement in the process reaching out beyond conventional participation efforts to as many people as possible and exposing citizens to the inevitable conflicts and necessary trade-offs required to resolve the hard choices the city faced in planning matters; and,
- To ask citizens to resolve the hard choices the city faced in planning matters" (Punter, 2003, pp. 155, 156).

In some senses, the planning approach described moves beyond planning to a form of public education. Citizens' participation is not facile – it is deep. Citizens are immersed

in realistic conversations about the real trade-offs in creating quality of life. By not tying the results of these conversations to particular locations, the ideation of how to achieve sustainable urban development was not tethered to a particular location. This allowed a situation where 'not in my backyard' sentiments were limited.

From 1992 to 1995, planning staff elaborated on the consultation model by involving thousands of residents in the process of creating CityPlan, the long-term vision for Vancouver (Grant, 2009). Staff saw their role as facilitating engagement and documenting its outcomes, allowing City Council to identify the consensus and set policy (Grant, 2009).   The planning process was structured, so that as citizens began learning through their engagement, Council members would progress along a parallel engagement and learning process (Punter, 2003). Key among the learning documents was a tool kit that included one to two page briefs about 48 different issues impacting Vancouver's planning process (Punter, 2003). These briefs informed participation and helped create public awareness of a number of the issues impacting planning considerations. Citizens were provided with the knowledge to fully participate and understand the trade-offs that planners would go on to recommend. This added realistic element to the deliberations of citizens. With new knowledge and understanding, critical dialogue could take place within groups as the group members gleaned from their briefing packages and set about thinking how they would, in Friedmann's (1973) words, turn this new knowledge into action. The importance of these briefs, available in multiple languages, cannot be stressed enough. The planning literacy of the community was significantly enhanced and conversations about the potential of overall choices about density and personal space impacting the public realm could be entertained.

Equity, diversity, and urban form concerns intertwined in this process, leading staff to develop new techniques to inform their approaches and to development new ways to

describe their successes (Grant, 2009). Beasley argued that the commitment to urbanism grew naturally out of this process as community members learned with staff (Grant, 2009).

CityPlan spawned a series of high level recommendations which are not positioned, because of provincial legislation, to be the formal planning document for the City of Vancouver (Punter, 2003). However, the intention was to use CityPlan as the framing document to embark on a more localized consideration of land-use regulations through neighborhood processes which would also include a high degree of citizen involvement (Punter, 2003). The CityPlan process evolved to deeper conversations about specific actions in neighborhoods. Punter (2003) states:

> CityPlan helped make a large number of residents aware of the dangers of NIMBY thinking, and of the need to both allow significant diversification of housing stock and to reinforce neighborhood centres throughout the city (pp. 166).

However, he goes on to note that:

> CityPlan left a number of issues unresolved including: the restrictiveness of single-family zoning, the restraints placed on secondary suites and other forms of low impact intensification, the acceptability of intensification along arterial roads, the rezoning for multiplex housing and the design of neighbourhood centres (Punter, 2003, pp. 166).

Phase Two of CityPlan, initiated in 1996 sought to take plans to the next level. In this phase, planners worked with citizens to develop neighborhood visions which were not plans. Visions were "a document which has words, drawings, pictures, and maps to show how the community proposes to meet its needs and to move forward on CityPlan directions over the coming decades. City Council's outline of the Neighborhood Plan process was highly prescriptive and states:

> The specific roles on the community, city planners and council were described alongside that of a liaison group to represent a wide range of community interests and act as a watchdog on the process. A group of respected individuals from across the city was to comment

on how each community vision met CityPlan objectives. The process concluded that with a setting of vision priorities, their endorsement by city council, and subsequent implementation through various corporate and departmental initiatives. Each vision process would be tailored by each community and would specialize as necessary (Punter, 2003, pp. 167).

It is important to note that the process outlined is still controlled by Council. So while the process outlined is transactive, council is not wresting all control to citizens. Yet, the process articulated moves high up Arnstein's ladder of community participation, allowing the citizens aspects of community control within a strong and understandable planning framework (Arnstein, 1969; Punter, 1993).

CityPlan's transactive planning approaches resulted in a number of policy decisions. First, Punter notes that the CityPlan process played an important role in vindicating the planning principles advanced by the City of Vancouver Planning Department over the twenty-five years preceding the end of CityPlan Phase I in 1996. Efforts to, in Friedmann's words, "predjudice the local and regional over the national and transnational" (1973) were brought to the very local level of the neighborhood. At CityPlan tables, there was intense sharing of viewpoints. In my own experience sitting at a table for CityPlan, I saw new Canadians being introduced to Vancouver's ideas of progressive urbanity, while I, as a long-time resident, gained understanding of the motivations and concerns of new Canadians. From a transportation perspective, Vancouver's no freeway policy and the city's focus on public transportation at the expense of individual automobility was also enshrined in policy (Punter, 2003). The City with its highly consultative process could safely fend off those that wished to change the commonly held congestion friendly, sustainability and transit focused transportation ethos of the City (Grant, 2009).

'Vancouverism' is supported through a series of planning decisions that led to a situation whereby developers are willing to turn their heads to some practices which

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might in other cases be challenged. In particular, the "voluntary amenity contribution" stands out from the acceptable planning methods in other jurisdictions. Developers seeking to develop land enter into a negotiation with the Planning Department that focuses on a brokering of amenities including streetscape improvements and other sanctions in exchange for density bonuses. The result is a high degree of control by the planning department balanced by an implicit public interest in increasing density. In Vancouver's egalitarian and sustainability focused realm, if the public goes along with specific increases in density, there are benefits that accrue to the public realm through the creation of dense urbanity and a high quality streetscape.

The specific planning decisions made in Vancouver led to challenges for those advocating for transportation choice. The region has created the right environment to allow forms of public transit to flourish and there are special spaces (waterfront and Stanley Park) at and near downtown Vancouver that allow residents to enjoy quality of life attributes. These same attributes are not necessarily available to Metro Vancouver residents living at more suburban locations. This has led to a form of tension between urban elites and a broader less politically engaged population. Urban elites rally and oppose any attempts to increase automobile capacity citing the fact that automobility is inconsistent with sustainability goals. But those in more suburban locations with more limited transit options are often forced to deal with city traffic and long commutes. As such, the spatial justice triumph that Vancouver sometimes heralds is actually much more complex. When the realms of urban and suburban communities are considered, we see a spatial justice that favors urbanites – while potentially penalizing those in more suburban locations with less access to transit options.

With real estate speculation as perhaps the overall framework for all land use considerations, there are two distinct lenses for development that emerge. The first is the

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sustainability lens. It is reflected in the 1996 Livable Region Strategic Plan, the planning framework for Metro Vancouver and in the Greenest City Action Plan, the political and economic development blueprint for the City of Vancouver which advances the green economy and a strong focus on sustainability. Both of these planning frameworks assume that growth will come and that the key action of planners and politicians is to shape growth to ensure various community values are maintained. Under this approach, development is assured and has been for 30 years. There are relatively few needs to catalyze development because it will be coming, at almost any location in the city, no matter what Council or planners do.

To add new residents, cities can densify or they can expand (Kaplan, 2009). In Metro Vancouver, new housing appears in both forms – as densification and as sprawl. But housing in Vancouver continues to be expensive and the competition continues and most Vancouverites must make significant sacrifices to participate in the housing market (Gold, 2013; Robinson, 2012). Vancouverites must decide what they are willing to give up – travel, educational investment, commuting time, space for a family – in exchange for housing. In Vancouver, 2009 average income per resident was just under $44,000 (C$), but the average cost of a detached home in the City of Vancouver is $1.16M (C$) (Gold, 2013). A housing market tied to a world audience pushes some to the suburbs. Others, it pushes into smaller spaces, imagining an existence which may not include traditional avenues (Robinson, 2012). Kids and minivans are traded for dogs and high end bikes as young people forgo or delay parenthood. The economic impact of housing which is framed in world prices results in a strained social fabric and creates an urban core with very different values from those in the suburbs.

All levels of government have invested to bring Vancouver to the world stage (Boddy, 1994; Punter, 2003). Meanwhile, historical and continuing relationships to the Pacific

Rim make Vancouver among the world's most multicultural cities (Friedmann, 2005; Sandercock, 2003). Its unique natural setting and culture influences Vancouver's position as one of the world's most livable cities (Friedmann, 2005; Grant, 2009).

Vancouver's growth machine is calibrated towards urban sustainability (Brunet-Jailley, 2008) and sustainability, as demonstrated in the establishment of urban density, forms one aspect of Vancouver's civic aspirationalism (McCann, 2013). The City of Vancouver appears to have done what no other city in North America was capable of – it has built a publicly focused livability that blends dense urban living with civic amenities (Sandercock, 2005). The City focuses on sustainability and livability as cornerstones of its urban brand (McCann, 2013). The City and the Province of British Columbia have used global events like Expo 86 and the 2010 Winter Olympic Games as a springboard to economic development and parlay the image of sustainability and livability to audiences abroad.

But all is not bucolic in Vancouver. At the same time as livability and sustainability are at the forefront of considerations of spatial justice in Vancouver, the City's lens is also shaped by concern for a resident population of street involved homeless people that congregate in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. They are attracted to Vancouver from other cities and rural communities for the same reason that others are. They seek the city as a temperate place of refuge in a cold country. Beyond this group of hard to house citizens who are the focus of resources, only recently has conversation turned to the impact of urban housing affordability on the overall functioning of the regional economy and its institutions (Yan, 2015).

To comprehend Vancouver's sustainability ethos, it is also important to understand the City's engagement with the growth machine, which Logan and Molotch (1987) define as policies and actions driven by a land rich elite who seek to drive economic growth and

expansion to further their personal interests. The regional economy was historically

based on resource extraction is fed by a steady stream of migrants from colder parts of

Canada and from immigration from the Pacific Rim (Grant, 2009), but more recently has

focused on intra-provincial migration and immigration to feed its growth machine (Punter,

2003). To further the city's role as an economic toehold for Asian companies seeking to

do business in North America, Vancouver's growth machine engaged in two major world

events, Expo 86, the 1986 World Exposition and the 2010 Winter Olympics (Punter,

2003). Events as a springboard to urban regeneration have long been utilized to bring

about urban change (Smith, 2012).

As noted, Expo 86 catalyzed the development of a substantial upscale urban

neighborhood stretching across the south side of Downtown Vancouver (Friedmann,

2005: Kataoka, 2009). The Concord Pacific Lands, as they were known, came to market

at the same time as Hong Kong citizens, worried about the impending return of Hong

Kong to China in 1997, sought to secure a safe landing in the event that the Chinese

regime brought in draconian changes to Hong Kong's highly entrepreneurial culture

(Boddy, 1994; Grant, 2009). Concord Pacific properties were marketed both in

Vancouver and in Hong Kong and resulted in a substantial increase in the number of

Hong Kong born New Canadians settling in the already multicultural city (Friedmann,

2005).   A similar building project near downtown housed Olympians during the Games

and went to market just after the Olympics.

Some cities begin to use hallmark events to leverage federal and sub-federal

investment in urban cores. Vancouver exercised this strategy initially in 1986 when it

hosted the World's Fair and again in 2010, when Vancouver and Whistler hosted the

Winter Olympics.   Boosterism has a number of strategies associated with it, but the

hosting of hallmark events – without major incident – is a way of building the profile of

your city and raising global public awareness of the potential value of your locale (Smith, 2012). Cities host world expositions, the Olympics and key world meetings. Again, this is not to say that these things were not done in an earlier era. Rather, it is to say - cities interested advancing their growth machines now take on these events with an explicit linkage between boosterism and the catalyzation of growth (Smith, 2012). Venues are developed with their after-event-life envisioned at the outset. In Vancouver, the national pavilion at the world's fair becomes a convention center; the new transit-line to the airport ensures movement between Olympic venues and creates new locations for intensified development in the years following the event. In the case of Vancouver, the Olympic Games themselves, with their sustainability theme, were positioned to deliver on Vancouver's extrospective positioning as a global sustainability and innovative policy leader. At the same time, hosting the games helped Vancouver securing federal investment in the infrastructure that would further the city's position as a center of sustainability (McCann, 2013). Vancouver leveraged its mix of urban intensification and egalitarianism to deliver a series of key messages about the potential of the Vancouver model in other markets. McCann (2013) called the efforts of Vancouver Mayor Gregor Robertson to brand and position the City of Vancouver as the "World's Greenest City" a form of "extrospective boosterism". Other examples of Vancouver's urban extrospection were exercised in Texas in 2004 when Vancouver architect Bing Thom worked with Fort Worth planners, politicians and developers to develop the plan for Trinity River Uptown (McCann, 2011-1). The model of the Thom Plan for Trinity River Uptown appears in Figure 16. Though the plan was not executed, Thom is quoted as saying that he wished to bring Vancouver to Fort Worth (McCann, 2011-1).

Figure 16. Bing Thom's Trinity Uptown Plan for Fort Worth - The Trinity Uptown plan included the development of substantial waterfront amenities on the Trinity River. (Accessed at http://bingthomarchitects.com/project/trinity-uptown-plan/ June 27, 2016).

It becomes clear as we consider extrospection related to urban design that we are sometimes looking at a repeat of the exponents of Vancouver's urban development processes – walkable streets and a balance of the public and private realms of the city. It is important to understand that these elements, and this design structure, did not spring from the pens of urban designers or architects. The design elements Vancouver employs, are derived from a particular cultural milieu, which has to do with Canada, the West Coast, and the interplay of the natural and urban. These designs are also the product of land scarcity, driving up values and creating opportunities for more intensified development. Design elements cannot be transferred, without consideration for the progressive social justice elements that contribute to a culture that values walking. The Trinity Uptown proposal by Bing Thom Architects in Fort Worth has elements of Vancouver's False Creek and seeks to turn Trinity River into the urban amenity, that triggers and supports urban intensification. In Vancouver, the Seawall, Stanley Park and distant views of the ocean and undeveloped mountains, offer a place of respite from the intensity of dense urban spaces (Kataoka, 2009). The repetition of the pattern of

development, results in one approach to policy mobilities, but the more recent connection, between Vancouver's former Co-director of Planning, Larry Beasley and the City of Dallas offers an example of the transfer of urban design methods, rather than the repetition of specific design models. Beasley's methods emerge from his 30 years of work in Vancouver's unique planning environment.

Design differentiates Vancouver's urban planning approach. While my own questions and understanding of what transpired in WDD focused on the potential emancipatory efforts of a transactive and communicative planning approach, in actuality – the real drive was towards a design forward approach to urban planning. The valorization of design has been built into the planning process through Vancouver's establishment of an Urban Design Review Panel (Punter, 2003). The purpose of the Review Panel is analogous to the DCdS. It is intended to weigh in on the subject of good design as a community value. A second example of the fore fronting of design is the CityPlan process of 1991 to 1996 included several co-design charettes that invited up to 12,000 citizens to participate in planning design processes (Friedmann, 2005; Grant, 2009; Kataoka, 2009; Punter, 2003). Urban design literacy is generally high in Vancouver if it is measured in the frequency and intensity of postings and arguments about Vancouver projects on the planning and development blog, Skyscraperpage (www.skyscraperpage.com).

Barnett and Beasley describe what this approach has netted in Vancouver:

> In Vancouver's inner-city, the is an emphasis on amenity, attractive architecture and landscape, protected views of mountains and water, shelter from weather, culture and community facilities, nightlife, a vivacious sidewalk culture, and a domestic feel in neighborhoods. Almost all of this commonwealth of amenities is secured from new projects as developer contributions, and almost no capital funds have had to be drawn from the tax base or public borrowing. (2015, p. 4)

Barnett and Beasley go on to describe their approach to city building as eco-design – which is an approach to planning that marries concepts sustainability and concern for natural systems with urban design (2015). Barnett and Beasley suggest that there are four key components to creating an eco-design framework:

- Adapting development to already inevitable climate changes while protecting the environment for the future;
- Balancing transportation modes to relieve traffic congestion while supporting more compact and better organized places;
- Replacing outmoded development regulations and government incentives that continue to steer urban growth in the wrong directions, including the need to reshape consumer trends to drive change; and,
- Reshaping streets, public spaces and public buildings to make a livable environment available to all, rather than just the affluent people living in a few special areas. This includes shaping the public realm for environmental, social and economic benefits. (2015, p. 9)

The Barnett and Beasley approach is one that understands the suburbanization challenges of North American urbanism and sets about to create new systems of development that address these challenges. At the top of mind in these approaches is the creation of balance between transportation infrastructure and human scaled infrastructure.

Barnett and Beasley go on to describe six axioms of an eco-design approach, including:

- The embracing and management of complexity;
- Making population and economic growth sustainable;
- Making all design processes interdisciplinary;
- Always requiring public involvement;
- Respect both for the natural and built contexts; and the
- Drawing on many design methods. (p. 10-13)

The approach Barnett and Beasley espouse, performed successfully in Vancouver focuses on the development of layered complexity which allows densification. This

densification is not pursued without public input. It is built upon a long conversation in which citizens actively consider planning choices as a result of informed conversations.

Barnett and Beasley have much more to say about the development of communities based on eco-design approaches, but for the purposes of this dissertation, our conversation will only highlight one further element and that is the creation of 'third spaces' (2015, p. 186). 'Third spaces' are those spaces outside of the realm of home and work that become the place where the rest of our lives are lived (Barnett and Beasley, 2015). These spaces and the way that they are developed can play a central role in shaping society (Barnett and Beasley, 2015). Barnett and Beasley quote Ray Oldenburg who speaks about the importance of those public spaces that are in-between work and home (Barnett and Beasley, 2015). "Oldenburg call the cafes, coffee shops, bookstores, bars, hair salons and other hangouts at the heart of the community "the great good places" (Barnett and Beasley, 2015, p. 187). They go on to note the importance of the public realm as an area in which anyone can engage, which "offers the pathways and the potential for paths crossing" (Barnett and Beasley, 2015, p. 187). They note the importance of configuring space to accommodate this social function. The key point is that design plays a central role in setting up these spaces and ensuring their function contributes to the overall conviviality which influences livability.

It is not just geography that sets Vancouver on a different path from other cities. Vancouver citizens also organized and rejected attempts to build freeways into the city in the late 1960's. This means that today, there are no freeways leading into the Downtown. One freeway crosses the corner of the City several miles east of Downtown. And a trip north over thousands of miles of interstate highways is punctuated as one enters Vancouver from the south and encounters a four lane and sometimes six lane arterial which takes you on the final eight miles into Downtown.

The Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) was under the left leaning New Democratic Party provincial government in 1973 and was intended to ensure that agricultural land would no longer be encroached upon by new housing and other development. The ALR was implemented across the province, but in Metro Vancouver, it meant that the rich agricultural land of the Fraser Delta and Fraser Valley were now no longer ripe for future suburban development. The ALR is representative of a different relationship of private and public rights. In Canada and in British Columbia, the collective interest in preserving farmland is more important than the individual rights of those that own farmland to maximize their potential return in selling their land for housing. Therefore, the Province implemented the ALR and it has remained in place through successive governments of various political stripes.

Vancouver hosted two major hallmark events, Expo 86 and the 2010 Winter Olympics and leveraged the assets developed for these events to intensify development and to secure the city's position as a destination for immigration and investment. Expo 86 cleared the railyards and lumber mills on the south side of Downtown Vancouver. These lands were then sold to one developer, Li Kai Shing, who over 25 years, developed an intensely urban neighborhood adjacent to Downtown Vancouver. These developments were particularly attractive to Hong Kong residents seeking a safe landing spot in the lead to and following the 1997 British handover of Hong Kong to the Chinese. Vancouver also leveraged the 2010 Winter Olympics to support development of the Olympic Village neighborhood, also located close to Downtown.

Over 110,000 people live on Vancouver's Downtown Peninsula. Since the late 1950's, Vancouver has pursued a strategy of urban intensification near Downtown, which gives the City a decidedly lively and safe feeling, 24 hours a day. There are a number of factors that make the type of intensification delivered in Vancouver possible, but key

among these are the significant amenity investments made in Downtown Vancouver. On the western edge of the Downtown Peninsula is the 1000 acre Stanley Park that provides an ample recreation space for urban residents. Vancouver's Downtown is also ringed by a substantial seawall that provides access to Stanley Park, Vancouver Harbour and to False Creek.

3.1.2.5 Vancouver, Culture and Social Justice

The particularities of the Vancouver market are not the only point of distinction between Dallas and Vancouver. There are also significant broader cultural differences between the United States and Canada. While Canadians and Americans both exploited frontiers in tandem, the Canadian motto of peace, order and good governance nets different outcomes for urbanity than American's life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Canada is focused on the peace and management of the 'group' while surviving the frontier, while America is focused on the striving of the individual and conquering the frontier (Atwood, 1972; Saul, 1997). The countries are also divided in their separate racial histories. The United States remains challenged by the ongoing contestation of race relations and equality that stem from the nation's colonial past. While Canada shares difficult relationships within its colonial past, particularly in its relationship with First Nations, the urban aspect of these challenges is perhaps most apparent in Prairie cities that have larger per capita urban Aboriginal populations. Vancouver's urban Aboriginal population is relatively small on a per capita basis, compared to Winnipeg or Regina. That is not to say that Vancouver's urban Aboriginal populations achieve on par with its non-Aboriginal populations. Rather, I am noting that the city's Aboriginal population tends to blend in to neighborhoods facing intensified gentrification. There is an urban Aboriginal population and there is, to a degree, ghettoization in Vancouver, but

in the City, this community is not physically isolated, even if it faces social and economic isolation.

While CityPlan was criticized for its expense, progressive planning professionals argued that the planning process was a success (Punter, 2003, pp. 183). Punter suggests that many believed that the process was strongly aligned with Sandercock's epistimologies as expressed in Towards Cosmopolis (1998).

> Talking and listening, mutual learning and the reflective practitioner as a "community ally," promoting community agenda-setting and empowerment but maintaining a critical distance and developing an awareness of wider planning responsibilities are evident in CityPlan These ideas are predicated on notions of multiculturalism, equal citizenship, and distributive justice, which all underpin the CityPlan process (Punter, 2003. pp. 183).

This section considers the impact of Vancouver's environmental growth machine and examines how Vancouver's approach creates unique outcomes in urban settings. An exhaustive discussion of these unique outcomes is outside of the scope of this dissertation, so the dissertation will focus on three outcomes. These are:

- Urban densification accompanied by significant amenity investments;

- Stratified spaces and eco-density; and,

- The valorization of small, well-designed spaces.

In Vancouver's densified areas, the competition for space increases rents and creates demand that drives the development of new product (Punter, 2003). Vancouver's growth machine oriented civic regimes work closely with the development sector to shape and build new projects to meet continuous demand (Grant, 2009). Vancouver's highly discretionary planning process means that the City and its planning department have much to say about what gets built and what it looks like (Grant, 2009, Punter, 2003). Developers are willing to pay voluntary amenity contributions because they believe that the market will continue to grow and will support prices that have a significant investment

in civic amenities built-in (Grant, 2009, Punter, 2003). The City, in turn, invests heavily in outdoor spaces creating appealing amenities in neighborhoods and support major civic amenities like the Seawall, Stanley Park and neighborhood community centers (Friedmann, 2005, Punter, 2003). These investments help to increase the perceived livability of Vancouver, but these additional costs for amenities drive increased costs for consumers and decreased affordability (Bula, 2012).

In Vancouver, citizens associate density with amenities and access to transit (Friedmann, 2005). Dense neighborhoods tend to have more services available and reduce the necessity of owning a car (Friedmann, 2005). Car expenses can be spent on additional rent or on accessing services such as bars and restaurants. Alternative forms of car ownership have flourished in Vancouver. The Vancouver Car Co-operative is joined by private car borrowing companies including Zip Car, Evo and Car2go. The reduction in the number of cars and the increase in available public transportation options mesh with Vancouver's unique environmental and sustainability sensibilities that co-exist with the sustainability focus of the Vancouver growth machine (Brunet-Jailley, 2008; Grant, 2009).

3.1.2.3 Vancouver and Gentrification

Glass coined the term gentrification in 1964 and the literature review outlined gentrification's march from specific urban areas in what we now call 'world cities', such as New York and London (Glass, 1964). Gentrification's rise has been documented and urban theorists have battled about its definition as it continues to increase through the neo-liberal period (Lees, 2000). Until recently, there were two key theories explaining where and why gentrification occurs (Hamnett, 1991; Rérat et al, 2010;). The first is Neil Smith's rent gap theory which suggests that gentrification is the revanchist return of the

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middle-class to inner-city housing that had been long passed over by the middle class (Smith, 1979). The second is David Ley's post-industrial theory which suggested that aesthetes and the avant-garde were responsible for re-populating 'cool' spaces near downtowns setting a process of gentrification which sees areas eventually become safe for more risk-averse upper-class buyers (Ley, 1986). Gentrification has become generalized and many now connect gentrification processes to the rise of globalization as it creates centers of intense investment (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Lees, 2000). Vancouver is one of the centers of investment (Gold, 2013).

Vancouver's housing market creates two societies (Mendez, 2011). The first is a class of homeowners, who, depending on when they entered the market, ride some part of a wave of thirty years of scarcity driven price increases. These owners have many options, including trading their existing single family home for a high-rise or condominium in one of Vancouver's upscale urban neighborhoods, or purchasing a newer and larger home in one of Vancouver's suburbs (Grant, 2009). Others spin their significant home equity into recreational properties in locations like Whistler, the Sunshine Coast, or the Gulf Islands. Those retiring may opt to trade their Vancouver windfall for a home in the Okanagan Valley or on Vancouver Island. Those in the market ride a wave of increasing value, while those outside of the market see the affordability of owning a house continue to diminish (Robinson, 2012). Finally, the intergenerational transfer of home wealth sees parents contributing to down payments for their children, so families with economic options can pass these on to successive generations. What is clear is that Vancouver's housing market has a direct impact on income inequality in the region.

Basement suite living is another way that Vancouver addresses housing scarcity (Ley & Murphy, 2001; Mendez, 2011). Overleveraged homebuyers monetize their basements by converting them to suites which improve homeowner bottom lines (Ley & Murphy,

2001). Basement suites lead to localized benefits and challenges (Mendez, 2011). Local

neighborhoods increase their populations without adding significant new infrastructure

and without changing the character of the neighborhood. Businesses also benefit

through the provision of a larger customer base (Mendez, 2011). But this ready market

for renters also leads to neighborhood instability as homebuyers play the market and buy

and sell properties, impacting renters (Mendez, 2011). There are negative outcomes for

children who must move continuously because of Vancouver's unstable rental market

(Oliver et al, 2007). More recently, home rental applications, such as Vacation Rental yy

Owner (VRBO) and Air BnB have further disrupted the available housing stock.

Housing scarcity increases the value of the available housing stock (Bluestone et al,

2008). Vancouver creates a ready market for densified housing stock including

apartments and condominiums, many of which were built on the downtown peninsula

which is now home to 110,000 residents (Barnett and Beasley, 2015; Grant, 2009). In

neighborhoods ringing the Downtown and further out into Vancouver's single family

neighborhoods, owners further stratify their own homes and create basement suites, lofts

and granny flats (Mendez, 2011). In fact, the City of Vancouver's policies have adapted

to facilitate these neighborhood changes. Former Mayor, Sam Sullivan copyrighted the

term Eco-Density to describe an urban planning methodology facilitating housing infill in

urban neighborhoods, including laneway housing and the legal full stratification of

existing homes. Home owners may now retain and improve their existing structure, while

building opportunities to benefit from new investment facilitating densification.

Recognizing that the Vancouver market was pricing out many potential homebuyers,

innovative lenders like VanCity Credit Union have developed new products that facilitate

co-ownership of un-stratified homes by more than one couple, or by un-connected

buyers. These new tools expand the creative solutions available for those seeking a toe-
hold in a hot market.

Vancouver's steady rise in home values has also seen the establishment of home
barons, as confident investors amass multiple houses utilizing the equity of previous
investments. As noted, basement suites are built and subdivided leading to steady
streams of income (Mendez, 2011). This further adds to market scarcity and turns what
might otherwise be single family purchased homes over to the rental market. Rose
(1984) coined the term of 'the marginal gentrifier' to describe individuals who put sweat
equity into their rented properties to create better living spaces. Ley (1986) documents
the outcomes for these members of 'the precariate' who note that the improvement of
rental properties impacts security of tender, as owners will sell improved properties
turning renters sweat equity into profits.

The final result of Vancouver's globalization influenced approach to sustainability is a
strong focus on design (Grant, 2009; Kataoka, 2009). Larry Beasley notes that 'good
design' is essential to creating the right kind of development that facilitates
Vancouverites' willingness to trade personal outdoor space for group spaces and access
to amenities (Grant, 2009; Kataoka, 2009). Well-designed interior spaces that make the
most of limited space coupled with a vibrant city that is easily accessed are, in
Vancouver, a reasonable trade-off for many (Kataoka, 2009). For those that don't want
to, or can't complete this trade off, there are more affordable options in Vancouver's
suburbs, though these spaces may have longer commutes and are subject to the spatial
justice challenges noted earlier. Developers continue to re-build and densify and citizens
are able to feel that their sacrifice of space contributes to sustainability under what Bunce
(2009) calls "gentrification's cloak of sustainability". That is, Bunce (2009) notes that

gentrification and intensification are framed as positive forces leading to sustainable

development, even though they may push out existing populations.

3.2 - Dallas and 'BIG'

In Vancouver, growth is rather like a tap which the planning and political system

chooses to open - or close and may direct as policy dictates. Dallas is different.   Born of

the Plains and at a location offering a narrower crossing of the Trinity Basin and a fertile

surrounding region, there are not many other reasons giving the siting of Dallas

advantage over other locations (Fairbanks, 1998). The minimizing of the importance of

the physical location of Dallas gives at least part of the rise to the notion that the city was

driven by the entrepreneurial zeal and tenacity of its residents and by its position in

relation to emerging wealth in Texas (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003).

Dallas presents interesting challenges when it comes to consideration of the right to

the city and the potential for gentrification to bring about change. It has a long history of

spatial injustice as it managed racial populations (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson,

2003; Phillips, 2006). On the one hand, resident racial populations sit at the end of a

series of displacements as history and racism have forced Black populations to move

around the city. These parts of the city may be needed for industrial expansion, as was

the case when Black populations were moved quickly in anticipation of the runway

expansions at Love Field. In other cases, it was the unanticipated long-term impact of

slow changes, which found their roots in progressive attempts to foster interculturalism.

Many are critical of the top-down nature of planning in Dallas (Fairbanks , 1998;

Hanson, 2003; Graff, 2008; Phillips, 2006). There is a deep and continuous history of

urban displacement in the City of Dallas (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003;

Phillips, 2006). There are a number of books outlining the history of Dallas and each

takes aim at the unique consolidation of power in the urban elite of Dallas. While this dissertation could go extensively into the back story of this consolidation of power, for the purposes of this dissertation, the dissertation focuses on power within the urban development process and its evolution in Dallas over time. The City's intercultural make-up connects to both the history of the American South and the history of Texas (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003; Phillips, 2006). Finally, the dissertation focuses on Dallas' understanding and delivery of public spaces, particularly related to urban design and the creation of spaces for intercultural mixing. In providing this history, I reflect on a number of issues outlined in the literature review, including growth machine theories, the spatial fix, gentrification and spatial justice. Through a view of Dallas considering these and other lenses, I offer a framework for considering specific interventions associated with West Dallas Dream and its related follow-on initiatives including the development of design guidelines. The intent is to establish a position from which to speak critically about next steps in the West Dallas development process and in Dallas planning generally.

West Dallas includes most of the 75012 postal code sitting between a large bend in the Trinity River Basin which flank the area on the north and the east. Interstate 30 presents a firm dividing line on the south and Route 12 to the west. This area comprises approximately 11.2 square miles of land – which was annexed by the City of Dallas in 1952 (http://www.servewestdallas.org/about/west-dallas-demographics/ accessed June 30, 2016). West Dallas is home to 24,063 of the 1.2 M residents in the City of Dallas (2010 Census). In West Dallas, 72% of the population is Hispanic and 24% is Black (2010 Census). This compares to the City of Dallas, where Hispanics make up 46% of the general population and Blacks constitute 23% (2010 Census). Per capita income is also much lower in West Dallas. The average per capita income in West Dallas is $9,813

and the average for the City of Dallas is $24,273 (2010 Census). Just 5.6% of West

Dallas residents are college graduates, compared to 27% for the whole city of Dallas

(Census, 2010).

When West Dallas joined the City in 1952, the City of Dallas worked to eradicate its

older ghetto areas through the provision of public housing in West Dallas, in what is now

known as one of the largest concentrations of such housing in the United States. Poor

health outcomes ensued for residents and continue to this day. A large lead smelter

which received and processed spent car batteries, contributes to poor health outcomes

as it was located close to schools and the new neighborhood (Johnson, et al, 2014).

Health and cognition problems associated with lead exposure exist in West Dallas and

soil disposed from the lead facility has found its way to properties across West Dallas

(Johnson et al, 2014).

WDD exists in dialogue with the City of Dallas power structure - historically and in its

contemporary form - and the approach that the City takes to urban planning. Fairbanks

notes that the City of Dallas, though now presently near the size of much older cities, is

actually a much younger city than many cities in the United States and so it reached

certain stages in its development during different eras – especially when compared to the

older cities of the Atlantic seaboard. Fairbank states:

> Even though the Dallas population in 1900 of 42,638 resembled the size
> of New York City in the 1790s, New Orleans in the late 1820s, or
> Louisville in the 1850s, Dallas leaders' response to urban problems in
> 1900 imitated the approach taken by these cities in 1900, not the
> approach they took when they were the size of Dallas. An interest in a
> more ordered environment, as well as an effective and responsive
> government, typified the new concerns of urban leaders around 1900, no
> matter if their cities contained 40,000 or 400,000 residents. (1998, p.11)

Dallas is a city largely developed during a later era and so in many ways - Dallas

owes more of its lineage and physical constitution to rational comprehensive planning

approaches to cities than most others cities of more northern and eastern cities in the United States, simply because much more of the city was actually built during this era. In this sense, Dallas is more analogous to other cities of the west and southwest. Cities like Phoenix and Los Angeles which saw their most substantial growth in the era of Interstate Highway development and the broad distribution of air conditioning. As a result, Dallas tends to sprawl.

While Fairbanks (1998) distinguishes the difference between Dallas and New York, or Dallas and Buffalo, the age of Vancouver and Dallas is actually similar. The choices made in Dallas were not just about the age of the city, but also about the position of the city in a North American context and in an American context. While some of Vancouver's key foundation myths are found at the juncture between modernist and post-modernist thinking, with the 1969 rejection of freeways, the rise of the environmental movement, and the gradual foregrounding of a land-ethic based spirituality (Saul, 1997), again, Dallas is different. In Dallas, the foundation myth is largely reflected in an article in Fortune magazine in 1959 which posits that the City of Dallas had no geographic reason to exist, and so instead exists on the exceptionalism of its entrepreneurial class, who through sheer will, drove the expansion of the city (Fairbanks, 1998).

If we use 1931 as a pivot point on which to discuss the history of Dallas, we can see two distinct epochs. The first begins with the initial establishment and settlement of the city in the 1840s, following the establishment of the Republic of Texas. Overtime, Dallas secures itself as the center of commerce for a region stretching across north central Texas and into Oklahoma (Fairbanks, 1998). The city manages to attract the regional Federal Reserve Bank in 1912, however, it is important to note the ongoing difficult relationship between Dallas and the federal government which are at times based on liberal vs. conservative ideologies, but at times, also reflects a libertarian streak in Dallas

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which calls for a minimization of the role of the nation/state in the affairs of communities (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003; Graff, 2008).

However, the Dallas origin myth that focuses on wealthy industrialists leaves out key facts about the growth of the city. The early history of Dallas is built not just on the industrious spirit of the early pioneers of Dallas, it is also built upon the enslavement of black people and on the relationship between blacks and the white establishment following the 1865 Emancipation Proclamation (Phillips, 2006). Phillips explores the troubled relationship between whites and blacks in the City of Dallas and outlines how black populations were scapegoated and dealt injustice, again and again (2006). Perhaps the most significant incident is the 1859 burning of the city during a long hot Summer (Phillips, 2006). This fire was blamed on black slaves and on Northern abolitionists who were viewed as agitators, upsetting of the proper order of things (Phillips, 2006). A certain understanding of a natural order, which placed whites at the top of society and other races and groups, Mexicans and American Indians in subordinate positions, can perhaps be partially explained by the fact that many of Dallas' original elite hailed from the rich Northern states of the old Southern Union (Phillips, 2006). The wealth of these states was built on the backs of the slave trade and its labor (Phillips, 2006).

In this first epoch, which arrives at the notion of 'the city with no reason for being' a second idea begins to dominate planning and civic governance and that is that planning and city building must focus on the 'the city as a whole'. With a view of 'the city as a whole', a group of wealthy industrialists concentrated their efforts on efficiently delivering on a variety of improvement programs including land-use plans, industrial development plans and flood control initiatives (Fairbanks, 1998). Fairbanks suggests caution with our consideration of the 'city as a whole' rhetoric, noting its omissions. He states:

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> Despite a rhetoric that constantly referred to the city as a whole, not all
> urban citizens received equal treatment: blacks, Mexicans, and the poor
> in Dallas did not benefit from local government to the same degree that
> downtown businessmen did. (Fairbanks, p. 4)

In 1931, these leaders moved to make major changes to Dallas' systems of

governance, through a 1931 change to 'city-manager/council' governance, from the

commissioner system which had been in place for decades. 'City manager/council

governance was seen as a way of removing the political from discussions and focusing

on efficiency in program delivery. Fairbanks discusses the election that contained the

referendum on the governance change initiatives. He states:

> The day before the election, a News editorial probably best reflected why
> the city's boosters supported city manager government so strongly.
> "Dallas is now at the parting of the ways," the editorial observed. "It can
> remain in the small class or go up into the big city class. The Kessler
> Plan, the Ulrickson Plan, Industrial Dallas, Inc., the Levee District, the
> Trinity Canal Association, the City Manager Plan—all are part and parcel
> of one great program for making Dallas bigger, better and busier than
> ever before." Support of the city manager plan was critical to this growth
> program. (Fairbanks, 1998, Pp. 71-72)

Shortly after the change to councilor-manager rule, the Citizen's Charter Association

(CCA) fielded a full slate of council candidates for the 1931 election (Fairbanks, 1998).

Each was a longstanding Dallas resident and the approach the CCA took to electoral

politics was unorthodox:

> In one of the strangest campaigns in the city's history, the CCA refused
> to write a platform, asserting that the quality of the men on the ticket
> "constituted a sufficient guarantee that they would give the city the best
> government possible under the conditions." In addition to no platform, the
> good government group forbade its candidates to speak—rather, it held
> rallies in different sections of the city to garner support. Speeches and
> platforms, according to the CCA, smacked of politics, something that
> group wished to avoid. (Fairbanks, 1998, p. 176).

Dallas historians note the city's focus on the enhancement of private interests over

public interests, except in cases where public resources are put into play to enhance

business development (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003). Hanson states:

> The civic culture of Dallas is anchored in a strong preference for the private corporate over the public sector. Over several decades, the national business press has celebrated its hospitality to commerce. Since the good things in the city life flowed from the business, maintaining a friendly business climate was the epitome of public interest. It was central to the ongoing campaign to attract relocating firms. In the words of (former Dallas) Mayor Ron Kirk: "Our business is making money." (2003, p.22)

Hanson goes on to describe the impact of this form of corporatist thinking on the public sphere:

> In such a city, it followed that business leaders would have a better grasp of the public interest than mere politicians would. And throughout its modern history, Dallas has looked to business for leadership of civic initiatives, funding for important projects and legitimization of policies. This privately held public interest was wary of the use of local government for any but routine tasks: keeping the peace, protecting property values, providing services that kept the city clean, safe and up-to-date, and holding tax rates down. With rare exceptions, mayors were business executives and Dallas developed no separate political class. (2003, p. 22)

Hanson outlines the impact of these policies on public planning, noting "city planning was confined to facilitation of private development (2003, p. 22). This concentration on the image of the city as a good place to do business has had the tendency to stifle debate. Hanson notes the focus on what is good for business often leads to a suppression of public dialogue, as decisions were made behind the scenes – directed by the city's business elite (2003). The result for public dialogue often saw solutions emerge from behind closed doors. From that point forward, a marketing campaign was executed to advance the desired solution (Hanson, 2003).

These methods of working were challenged after the 1963 assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas, but they found their way into the election of Mayor Erik Jonsson, behind closed doors following Mayor Cabell stepping aside to challenge the arch-conservative Bruce Alger in an upcoming Senate race (Hanson, 2003). While Jonsson is

lauded for his 1964 Goals for Dallas planning process, he still fit the mold of earlier

corporatist leaders of the City as a business leader who actually ascended to the Mayor's

chair in a closed door meeting of officials following Cabell's resignation (Hanson, 2003).

This corporatist approach to governance meant that the orientation of the City of

Dallas to spatial justice, was primarily seen through the lens of what was good for

business.   Through a business lens of an all-white leadership – and through the lens of

maintaining the property values of elites, the separation of black and white populations

made sense to a point. It was only when Dallas began to be seen as grossly out of step

with the rest of the world on issues of interculturality that changes in attitudes began to

take place. Notable is former Mayor Ron Kirk's (the first black mayor of Dallas) 1997

address, echoing of the sentiments of previous mayors, before subtly outlining a

challenge, not just for Dallas – the 'city as a whole', but a challenge back to Dallas elites:

> Dallas is one of the most entrepreneurial cities in the country. The
> evidence is the fact that we're here. We're not a port. We don't have
> mountains. We don't have oceans. There is no reason for us to be here,
> except the fact that we decided that since we're here, we're going to
> make the biggest city in Texas... Our challenge is to embrace globalism
> in an everyday living, cultural and religious sense of what it means to one
> of the most pluralistic cities in the world… I start with the presumption
> that cities that are more diverse are going to be more competitive and
> more successful in this new world economy than cities that are less so.
> (Hanson, 2003, p. 19)

Former Mayor Kirk acknowledges and underlines the fact that the Dallas growth machine

must embrace its racial plurality, rather than just simply working to manage it. WDD as a

process introduces a new way of working with racial diversity – a way that acknowledges

that there is value beyond simply eliminating what is older and misunderstood, in favor of

advancing what is shiny and new.

WDD is not the first effort to address issues of poverty and housing in West Dallas.

In fact, it can be placed within a long history of interventions in West Dallas, dating back

to the 1940's when the area was unincorporated (Fairbanks, 1998). Once West Dallas

joined the City of Dallas in 1952, it became a constant source of concern for local

leaders.

> A1950 survey of black housing conditions found about 7,000 African American families living with other families. Additional black families flooded into West Dallas, an unincorporated tract separated from the city's downtown by the Trinity River. Located on the flood plain that had been "salvaged" by the levees, the housing site remained susceptible to seasonal flooding due to drainage problems in the lowlands.   A 1948 survey found nearly 25,000 whites, blacks, and Mexican Americans living there, more than four times the area's population in 1940. Before the war, 1,400 blacks lived in the eastern half of this nine—square mile area. By 1948, over 9,000 blacks resided in this setting of flimsy shacks, abandoned gravel pits, garbage dumps, open toilets, and shallow wells. (Fairbanks, p. 192)

The burgeoning post-war population exacerbated the significant health and social

problems plaguing the area.

> Conditions in West Dallas were grim. Fewer than 10 percent of West Dallas dwellings contained an indoor toilet in 1948, while only 15 percent of the houses had running water. Tenants drank from shallow wells often located in the same area where human waste was disposed. Problems with inadequate water and sewage help explain the area's disproportionally high number of typhoid, tuberculosis, and polio cases. (Fairbanks, 1998, p. 192)

Eventually, a site in West Dallas was chosen for what would become the largest

concentration of public housing in the United States (Fairbanks, 1998).

> In 1952, an 11.5 square mile area was annexed by the City of Dallas with the promise of federal funds for public housing. Two years later, the Lake West developments were completed and were considered state-of-the-art housing for low-income families. More than 3,500 new units removed the eyesore of the old slums, but also had the effect of not only concentrating people in the heart of West Dallas, but locking them into a cycle of poverty. Infamously, this type of development became known as "the projects." When completed, these projects represented the largest concentration of public housing in the United States. (Johnson, et al, 2014)

Figure 17 shows recent income distribution in the City of Dallas and Figure 18 shows the location of the White population of Dallas. West Dallas is indicated by an arrow in the Figure 17 and the neighborhood of LaBajada is outlined in Figure 18. The tract immediately below is also in the area under consideration in this dissertation. Note the dramatic northerly focused distribution of affluence in Dallas. When comparing Figure 17 and Figure 18, notice how race and income track almost precisely.

The efforts to address housing and in particular, housing for the city's Black population are longstanding and became strangely twisted in battles over federal oversight of funds and interference in local decision making. These are battles that continue to this day – with the federal Housing and Urban Development administration sanctioning the City of Dallas in 2012 for its site selection practices in the location of social housing, which houses more Black and Latino residents than Caucasian. Historically, Federal housing funding considerations in West Dallas became linked to efforts to expand Love Field, which required the levelling of much of the Elm Thicket neighborhood and a substantial loss of Black homes in the 1950s (Fairbanks, 1998). Some of the most frustrated black citizens protesting the Elm Thicket plans, had been
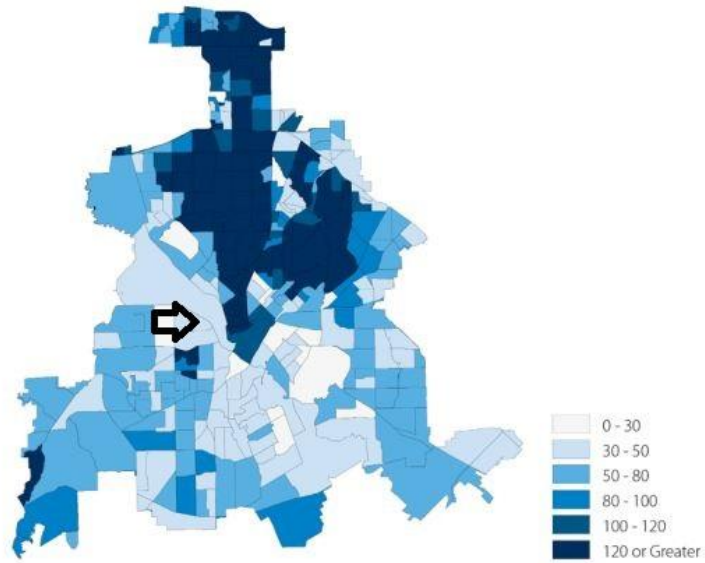
Figure 17. Median Income for City of Dallas - 2010 (AIM for Dallas, 2016 Webinar, bcWorkshop).
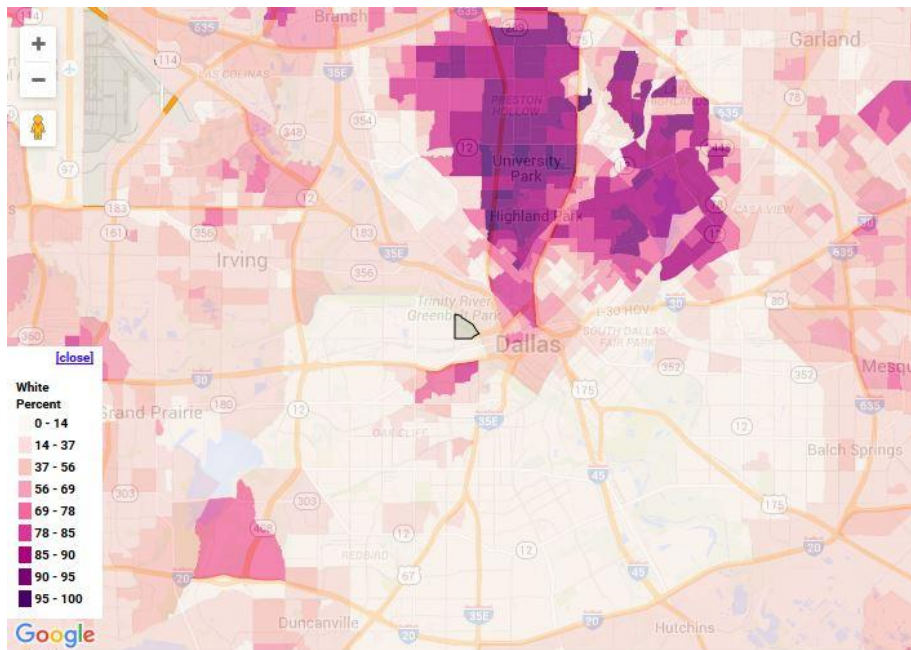
Figure 18. Distribution of White Population in City of Dallas. (accessed at: http://www.justicemap.org/index.php?gsLayer=white&gfLon=-96.7995224&gfLat=32.7865193&giZoom=12& , July 15, 2016).

moved years earlier in the expropriations associated with the development of the Central Expressway (Fairbanks, 1998). Some of the families in Elm Thicket moved to newly constructed urban renewal housing in West Dallas (Fairbanks, 1998). Again, the long history of displacement in Dallas is part of the spatial justice narrative playing out in West Dallas.

West Dallas public housing considerations are part of a broader rubric which has seen the city in continuous contentious dialogue with federal authorities. These dialogues have coalesced around three key issues, the location of airports, the de-segregation of schools and the location of housing for Black residents, and in particular, housing supported through federal housing program (Fairbanks, 1998). In each case, the Dallas governance system has come up against the evolving federal will which has the potential to impact federal investment in Dallas.

In fact, the accosting and assault of Lyndon Johnston - then running mate to John F. Kennedy in 1960 by a group of Republicans, the assault of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson during a visit to Dallas in 1963, two events that occurred in the lead-up to the 1963 assassination of President Kennedy are linked to disputes between conservative Dallas residents and the federal government which was seen as being too socialist in its approach and too soft on communism. A prevailing distaste for federal intervention saw Dallas leaders lean towards 'made in Dallas' decisions to address issues of race and the location of urban renewal focused housing. 'City as a whole' thinking prevailed in urban planning and policies that led to the containment of poorer populations to certain areas received tacit acceptance in Dallas (Hanson, 2003).

A full treatment of this subject is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but in considering the policy arena of these policies in motion, it is important to understand how

urban planning worked in the City of Dallas and how West Dallas has long been the focus of urban renewal efforts in the City. This part of the examination must also be cross-referenced with the history of racial relations in the City of Dallas.

So WDD marks an effort to address the intercultural relations in the development process. One of the first and most significant actions in the more recent racial history of West Dallas is the Neighborhood Stabilization Overlay of the LaBajada neighborhood. This initiative ensures that this neighborhood will not be impacted by the gentrification which so worried Dallas progressives. LaBajada sits in the blocks adjacent to the first new developments of West Dallas Investments, including their adaptive re-use of warehouse spaces to create an innovative food hub at Trinity Groves.

While LaBajada has been home to Latino families for over 100 years, until 1970, the size of the Latino population in Dallas had been relatively small. That changed around 1970 and has continued to change sine, to the extent that Latino's now constitute the largest group in Dallas. Before that was the case, the primary focus of race relations in Dallas was the relationship between black and white populations. The plight of black citizens in Dallas was not tied to a general vision of the importance of equality. Fairbanks notes:

> The civic textbook, *Our City—Dallas*, written for the Kessler Plan
> Association in 1927 by Justin F. Kimball and required reading for the
> city's fifth graders, made this point in its chapter on "Zoning and
> Housing": since "many of the colored people work in the homes of the
> whites," Kimball observed, "the importance of good housing of the negro
> is a very vital matter to the welfare of white homes since ill-housed
> blacks could carry contagious diseases such as diphtheria, scarlet fever,
> and tuberculosis to the homes of their employers." (p. 151)

So the importance of the social welfare black populations in the City of Dallas is tied to their potential to bring harm to white populations.

This story suggests a continued division as the Latino population in Dallas increased through the 20th Century (Phillips, 2006). Further, it was noted that the minority Latino and Black populations tended to work against each other and seemed unable to band together to form an effective opposition coalition (Phillips, 2006). Phillips states:

> Throughout its past, Dallas' leaders faced a series of pitched battles for political supremacy with a long line of dissenters. In each case, elites ultimately prevailed, but they controlled official memory more completely than they did the city's populace. In place of history, a myth of consensus arose in which a white male elite, ruling for the good of the "city as a whole" created a community "with no reason for being" as an act of macho will. Past acts of political resistance contradicting this story got cast into an Orwellian memory hole. This Origin Myth justifies a continual dominance by white business elites and insinuates that African Americans, Mexican Americans, and others directly challenging the city's power structure are embarking on a dangerous deviation from past success. (p. 3, 2006)

With these myths and the power structure of Dallas in mind, the dissertation turns to consideration of the various interventions the philanthropic sector, working with the city, put into play to influence different outcomes in West Dallas and an evolution of planning practice across the city.

That stated; the City of Dallas is also positioned to advance change in Texas, while working with a broader field of influencers across Texas. As the subject of this dissertation demonstrates, the challenges of Dallas's planning history and other aspects of its social and racial history mean that injustices must be addressed before there can be trust which supports the convening of more advanced design conversations.

More recently a number of initiatives have sought to adjust the planning culture in Dallas. The City of Dallas planning culture is in a process of evolution and under the current regime, has advanced a number of projects. bcWorkshop was established in Dallas in 2005 and concentrates on design-focused community development work in Texas. It has satellite locations in Houston, Texas and Brownsville, Texas and a recently opened office in Washington, DC (www.bcworkshop.org, accessed June 14, 2016).

bcWorkshop completed mapping exercises, community development work, house-design

and building, community activism and community storytelling (www.bcworkshop.org,

accessed June 14, 2016).

> The buildingcommunityWORKSHOP is a Texas based nonprofit
> community design center seeking to improve the livability and viability of
> communities through the practice of thoughtful design and making. We
> enrich the lives of citizens by bringing design thinking to areas of our
> cities where resources are most scarce. To do so, [bc] recognizes that it
> must first understand the social, economic, and environmental issues
> facing a community before beginning work. (bcImpact, 2015,
> bcWorkshop, p. 2)

Supported by philanthropy and fee for service, bcWorkshop inserts itself into spaces

that might in other jurisdictions be otherwise been occupied by activist governments. As

a contractor working for bcWorkshop, I came to understand the organization as a multi-

faceted entity.   It played an important role in providing an operating space for design

oriented activism, played an active role in developing design and community

development skills for young graduates. At the same time, it advocated for spatial and

social justice in Dallas. Brent Brown is the Managing Director of bcWorkshop

(www.bcworkshop.org, website accessed June 14, 2016). Mr. Brown, an architect by

training, is also the Director of the DCdS. The Studio focuses on the development of

neighborhoods and development along the Trinity River corridor and was established in

2009, through a grant from the Trinity Trust Foundation (funded by Deedie and Rusty

Rose) (http://dallascityhall.com/departments/citydesignstudio/Pages/default.aspx,

accessed April 10, 2016). The initial grant provided full funding for the DCdS when it was

established and over a period of five years, the philanthropic support would diminish in

increments while the City's share of funding would increase (Thomas, Personal

communication, 2016). Following Year Five, the City of Dallas would cover all costs for

the Citydesign Studio (Thomas, personal communication, 2016). Mr. Beasley's role is

central to the DCdS. The DCdS website reads:

Larry Beasley, one of the world's top urban planners and the city planner that helped to establish the City of Vancouver as one of the most livable cities in the world, serves as Urban Design Special Advisor to the Citydesign Studio. http://dallascityhall.com/departments/citydesignstudio/Pages/default.aspx , accessed April 10, 2016).

The objectives of the DCdS are:

- Raising awareness about the importance of urban design to city building and the future of Dallas
- Providing advisory services on urban design issues through development of urban design policies for the city, peer review of significant projects, and input into development applications
- Direct urban design services on projects to other departments within the city on significant projects and collaborating on urban design consultancies with the City
- Development of urban design programs for areas along the Trinity Corridor (accessed April 15, 2016 at http://dallascityhall.com/departments/citydesignstudio/Pages/def ault.aspx)

In their capacity as an advisor and a developer of urban design policies, the DCdS

Studio, through WDD and subsequent processes developed the Urban Structure and

Guidelines (West Dallas Urban Structure & Guidelines-guidebook introducing it as a the

shared vision of West Dallas for future development (accessed April 15, 2016 at

http://dallascityhall.com/departments/citydesignstudio/DCH%20Documents/pdf/WD_Urba

nStructure_guidebook-eng.pdf).

3.3 Chart of Key Theories in Literature Review

Figure 19 provides an overview of the macro theories, broad theories and sub-

theories reviewed in this literature review. While the dissertation focuses on policy

mobilities and, to a lesser extent, on design charrettes, overall, these theories are

subsets of broader applications of theory and some of the key macro-consideration of

thinking in our time. Together these theories provide the lenses through which the

subject: the mobilization of policies tested in Vancouver and assembled and performed in

Dallas, can be considered.

Figure 19. Table of Major Theories

Meta-Theory	Area of Theory	Theory
Globalization		
Neoliberalism		
Critical Theory		
	Geographic Theory	
		Policy Mobilities
		Spatial Justice
		Assemblage Theory
	Economic Theory	
		Growth Machine
		Spatial Fix
		Gentrification
	Planning Theory	
		Transactive and Communicative
		Interculturality and Inclusivity

3.4 Globalization

Globalization is a key frame for considering policy mobilities as the intensification of

competition among cities in a globalized age causes cities to seek innovative solutions.

Globalization has changed supply chains and systems of production and profoundly

impacted many cities.   In this increasingly competitive environment, officials and policy

experts from cities noted as having certain success at priming their growth engines are

looked to for policy advice. As McCann (2011-1) suggests, increasingly, cities are

looking beyond nearby cities and are scoping internationally for examples and policy

leaders who can replicate success. It is this internationalism that sees Dallas

progressives looking to Vancouver for design and planning solutions.

While Harvey (1989) notes that globalization is simply a continuation of the age of

exploration and the mixing and bridging of cultures that colonialism and imperialism

triggered, the changes caused by globalization have intensified over the last thirty years

(Herod, 2009). The more recent history of globalization intertwines with emergent forces, including shifts in transportation infrastructure and methods, digital communications and neo-liberal governance to create the era of history that we now refer to as the era of globalization (Fainstein, 1990). Globalization is relevant to the investigation pursued through this dissertation because it represents a structural change in economic systems which leads to increased competition among cities. This increased competition in a globalized era is cited as one of the key reasons for the evolution of policy mobilities as a new way of pursuing policy innovation. Vancouver is positioned as a supply city in policy mobilities because it has demonstrated success in a North American context, creating livable communities that welcome interculturalism and can contribute to broad talent attraction for the city.

3. 4. 1 Globalization and Keynesianism

In the 1930s, John Maynard Keynes, a prominent British bureaucrat and scholar asserted that nation states had an active and necessary role in setting national economic policy and as such, governments should be comfortable intervening in the economic sphere (Taylor, 1998). Keynesian or egalitarian liberalism emerged following the Depression and reaches full stride following the Second World War (Taylor, 1998). Keynesianism sees "planning as operating in a political context with a broad consensus between the political parties of the left and right which is described as a 'social democratic' consensus" (Taylor, 1998, p. 131). Taylor states "post-war social democracy significantly extended the state's role in overseeing and managing market capitalism in order to achieve certain socially desirable goals such as full employment, fair wages and greater social equity" (1998, p. 131). Keynesian thinking informed President Roosevelt's New Deal and helped to establish the emergence of nation states as a key driver of

economic policy. In Canada, Keynesian thinking survives in many ideas and institutions including Fiscal Equalization and supply management of certain farm sectors.

At the end of the World War II, pent up demand precipitated by the Great Depression and the World War II led to an unprecedented period of growth which lasted for over 25 years under a broad consensus on government delivered via Keynesian approaches. Following World War II, nation states employed Keynesian solutions to address economic restructuring, growth control and growth direction. Taylor notes, at some points in the 1950's and 60's, the certainty of nation states using Keynesian policy was simply taken for granted (1998). It was expected nation states would take an active role in shaping economies and economic intervention, including taxation, tariff walls and preferential markets. Corporations were taxed to pay their fair share as it was clear they benefitted from market stability and growth - the right conditions for continued increases in consumption (Taylor, 1998).

Keynesian approaches were well suited to high growth times, driven by a post-war baby boom, but when faced with recessionary economic restructuring, nation states found that these Keynesian efforts only resulted in increased debt as generous spending required strong growth (Taylor, 1998). In 1973, the Keynesian period began to end. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Counties (OPEC) nations imposed an oil embargo on the United States, which when coupled with a downward adjustment of demand based on falling birth rates - precipitated an economic malaise. This economic malaise triggered a re-examination of many principles of the Keynesian era as falling revenues and continued draws on budgets created deficit situations. Recessionary times opened the possibility of new political solutions to economic malaise (Hackworth, 2007). These came in the form of Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the United States (Taylor, 1998). Together, each scaled back the Keynesian nation state, reducing costs and services

while promising that tax cuts to the wealthy would 'trickle-down' to the middle and working classes through investment in new business growth (Taylor, 1998).

In the United States, the piling on of these policy decisions and outcomes, an increased reliance on individual transportation and greater postwar growth led to a nation more dependent on oil, which was therefore more vulnerable to the systemic shocks triggered by the 1973 oil embargo and crisis (Jackson, 1985). Stagflation brought about structural unemployment and tilled the soil in which the seeds of neo-liberalism would be sown by the end of the 1970s (Hackworth, 2007).

3.4.2 Changes in Structures of Production

Winding down Keynesian control of nation states also meant a move away from tariff walls and barriers to trade. The globalization era is marked by a series of free trade agreements between the United States and Canada initially (Canada US Free Trade Agreement -1988), later adding Mexico (North American Free Trade Agreement - 1994) and then followed by a number of other agreements that in aggregate lowered barriers to capital movement. The once leading industrial cities of the Rust Belt, already impacted by reduced demand, now faced the prospect of offshoring as domestic manufacturing production shifted to lower cost centers, like the communities of Northern Mexico. Meanwhile, other companies decamped older American communities, opting for the tax incentives and sunnier climates of the US Southwest. Dallas is beneficiary of this trend. Major companies such as JC Penney and American Airlines moved to DFW, drawn by sun, talent and housing affordability.

Globalization also led to changes in corporate finance and control, which result in geographic decentralization of production, globalization of financial markets and the internationalization of the giant corporations (Fainstein,1990). These changes increase

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the vulnerability of places to disruptions in markets of commodities on which they are dependent (Fainstein, 1990).

Sassen (1990) outlines the adjustment from an economy based on raw materials and manufacturing where the location of raw materials influences city location and centers of wealth creation to an informationalized economy which, enabled by computers, has encouraged the "financification of the economy" (Sassen, 2000). This "financification" is manifest in an increasing focus on financial transactions and flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) – investment in companies and infrastructure flowing from one national economy, to another. Cities, also begin to seek opportunities to engage more broadly and investigate avenues for attracting FDI. Locations that control these flows of investment sit at the apex of this new globalized economy (Sassen, 2000). Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1990) both note that these world cities play a central role in shaping economic investments and outcomes that have impacts around the world. One impact of globalization is a change in the location of manufacturing (Saunders, 2010). Through the 1990s and 2000s, FDI is able to travel to places with lower costs of production, undercutting traditional centers of manufacturing (Sassen, 2000). This is further facilitated by a reduction in travel costs as air travel increases. For instance, in Canada, a workforce from the Maritimes regularly commuted to Fort McMurray, Alberta to work in the oil sands. In this way, a downturn in the Alberta oil sector can have social and economic impacts that ripple to several time zones away. This globalization impacts the cities and locations where investment lands.

The remarkable economic rise of China is one such manifestation of these changing patterns of investment (Saunders, 2010). Globalized growth distributes wealth to new nations and helps create new markets, but these new globalized structures of production have hastened an already evident decline in manufacturing in what has been called the

post-Fordist, or post-industrial era. A myriad of changes have been foisted onto domestic

patterns of production in the United States, which have impacts cities. These impacts

include evolving modes and patterns of production, shifts in, and, or erosion of

manufacturing clusters and bold reconsideration of supply networks impacting cities far

beyond the Rust Belt. Cities are also impacted by the transnational movement of people

and some economies have been radically altered by the transnational flow of people,

creating new centers of production and new patterns of development. Sassen (2000)

states:

> When we focus on place and production, we can see that globalization is
> a process involving not only the corporate economy and the new
> transnational corporate culture but also, for example, the immigrant
> economies and work cultures evident in our large cities. (p. 35)

The lenses through which cities are examined can therefore be told through a local

lens of actors and actions, or through a broader range of world events that have shaped

cities (Fainstein, 1990).   The key consideration of globalization is that it has hastened the

decline of the Fordist model of production and has created new winners and losers in the

global economy. Cities best able to seize new opportunities created by new patterns of

world commerce are able to benefit from these changes. Cities that sit by and lament for

the passing of an old economy may be cast aside, ill-equipped to focus on and seize new

opportunities.   Part of the challenge to economic developers, is to align a city's

aggregated thought processes, as reflected by its leadership and focus on emerging

opportunities. From the city's leadership, through the business community and on to the

citizens, cities have been focused on the local, while maybe occasionally considering

state and national contexts. Now cities must shift considerations to align to a broader

global context (Smith, 2005). But the global and the local aren't mutually exclusive. A

balanced economic development approach focuses both on local systems of opportunity

while reaching out and considering global economic systems and flows. Smith (2005)

worries that our current theoretical constraints suggest a global/local dichotomy where communities are either locally or globally oriented. He warns that this dangerous conception limits our ability to see to new solutions. Smith (2005) asks if we can have a more dynamic conception of what is local? But overall, this notion that cities must act, or they will be cast aside in favor of places more innovative and better able to act as honeypots for talent and investment.

The instensification of globalization occurs in lock-step with the emergence of neoliberal governance (Hackworth, 2007). Globalization creates new fields of competition, not just between nation states – as those familiar with the modern era will recognize, but also between cities, who begin to vie for investment and human capital in a more competitive global sphere (McCann, 2013). It is in this context that city leaders may begin to look inward and note what their cities are missing – and then look outward to identify opportunities (McCann, 2011-1). In a world oriented towards innovation, the prognostications of Richard Florida about the importance of culture and the creative class are seen as an important aspect in the economic development plans of many cities (2002). Establishing the right environment for fostering cultural creatives is seen as a way of seizing economic control in an era where tying your economic balloon to resource extraction only might be perceived as reckless (Florida, 2002).

3.4.3 Globalization and Its Impact on Communities

These global forces set about changes in the spatial order of cities. Many cities grew through the attraction rural populations, in the form of far flung suburbs, or shanty-towns. Consolidation also led to increased concentration of economic and service sectors in certain locations. Vancouver saw its position as a regional hub for the forest sector subside due to a downturn in the logging sector, the diminishment of logging sector in

British Columbia and the decreased need for centers of control to be located close to extraction sites. This same principle has allowed the concentration of a highly specialized international mining sector to grow in the wake of a domestic flat-lining of new mining opportunities. Houston, despite what the television program 'Dallas' might lead one to believe, emerged as the center of oil production for the world and New York became further entrenched as a major banking center. While Dallas saw the fall of its savings and loan sector, the northern part of the DFW Metroplex saw a continued increase the arrival of companies as a part of a broader movement of companies from the Rust Belt to the southwest. Dallas and its suburbs continue to incent businesses to move, while offering affordable housing and a warmer climate.

Globalization impacts locational theories in geography. It has changed command and control regimes for sectors (Sassen, 1990; Sassen, 2000) moving away from national models described in Harold Innes's staples theory (Hayter and Barnes, 1990; Innes, 1995; Linsley, 1995-2) and allowing control to extend further afield while encouraging the consolidation of industries and opportunities in the most strategic locations (Friedmann, 2007; Harvey, 1989; Sassen, 1990). Again, this creates new economic orders accelerating growth in some places, while leaving other locations to languish (Friedmann, 2007; Sassen, 1990).

Saunders (2010) suggests that many cities across the globe have evolved into receiving zones where new citizens from elsewhere adapt to the dominant culture of their new adopted home. Arrival cities allow for new citizens to access the opportunities of advanced economies while still allowing these new citizens to connect to their cultures of origin and sometimes remain connected to these locations either through investments, or remittances (Saunders, 2010). The notion of arrival cities is pervasive across Metro

Vancouver. The whole region acts as an arrival city in Saunders' conception of the term (2010).

Globalization also relates to an urban imaginary where cities strive to be recognized in the upper tiers of the global imagination. Again, turning back to the prognostications of Richard Florida, image and lifestyle intertwine as cities seek to establish themselves as places where activities occur. Facetime for cities on national and international stages becomes important. Vancouver reflected as a beautiful, not so cold location of urbanity and multi-culturalism in the 2010 Olympics was an important aspect of the City's extrospective focused positioning as a leader in global sustainability (McCann, 2013).

So clearly, globalization, its impact on methods and systems of production, its reorganization of supply chains and the general changes for communities have created a complex set of new relationships and needs for cities. It is in this realm that cities now look out to other cities for policy innovation. But globalization is not alone in causing these impacts. Shifting political approaches, including the rise of neoliberalism have contributed to cities imposing self-discipline in the pursuit of goals.

3.5 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism "is an ideological rejection of egalitarian liberalism in general, and the Keynesian welfare state in particular, combined with a selective return to the ideas of classical liberalism most strongly articulated by Hayek and Friedman" (Hackworth, 2007, p. 9). Hayek and Friedman argued for the sparing use of government "in very specific circumstances, rather than the interfering within the marketplace" (Hackworth, 2007, p. 9). The environment was ripe for a dismantling of Keynesian interventions, because as Jacobs (1961) and others noted - the pseudo-science and high-handedness of

interventions through the structuralist and modernist period led to both spatial injustice and bad development (Taylor, 1998).

As noted, the discrediting of Keynesian style interventions coincides with a general economic downturn and reduced opportunities for Keynesian inspired investment to catalyze urban infrastructure. Urban growth coalitions looked to market-based interventions, such as business improvement zones and enterprise zones to catalyze new development (Hackworth, 2007; Ward, 2007). Urban development, fueled by savings and loan money, and then later by mortgage-backed securities, intensified the focus on housing and suburban growth to fuel the city's growth machine (Logan and Molotch, 1976). Entrepreneurial focused regimes were stripped-down versions of governance that attempted to build coalitions of support for projects from a broad sector of participants, including governments, government agencies and the private sector (Hackworth, 2007). Often these broad coalitions of interested parties were necessary to get governments to commit to broader strategic investments (Savoie, 2003).

Globalization and neo-liberalism are intertwined and, react to and reinforce each other (Hackworth, 2007). The intensification of the impact of globalization occurs because of an increasing focus on externalities of world markets. This focus is forced in a sense, by a series of economic and social crises that call Keynesian economic approaches and the nation state apparatus into question (Hackworth, 2007; Taylor, 1998). In the last quarter of the 20th Century, Neoliberalism supplants Keynesian governance structures, which held sway through the middle decades of the 20th Century (Harvey, 1989; Taylor, 1998). Public debt financing was no longer seen to be the partner of growth as inflation increased in the 1970's and created a crisis requiring governments to reduce expenditures (Taylor, 1998).

Federally, the Thatcher (Britain), Reagan (United States) governments and later the Chretien government (Canada) ushered in an era of reduced taxes and decreased services (Taylor, 1998). Financial and governance systems were disciplined by international financial bodies, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, who forced new forms of fiscal restriction (Stiglitz, 2003). As major cities teetered on bankruptcy, many nations and their major cities were no longer positioned to invest in urban renewal (Hackworth, 2007). They began to seek other ways of catalyzing, triggering and shaping development (Hackworth, 2007; McCann, 2011-1; Peck and Theodore, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2015).

3.5.1 What is Appropriate Public Intervention?

Through the neoliberal period, governments examine the appropriate role for public intervention and imagine new ways to turn government responsibilities over to private entities which neoliberals believe may be able to deliver services more efficiently (Hackworth, 2007; Taylor, 1998). For planning agencies, this might include any number of strategies aimed to adjust the cost of planning and change the way that planning is completed. One strategy is to reduce the number of publicly employed planners by and to turning more planning work over to the private sector. In such a scenario, the salaries and ongoing costs of planners are removed from the public books. Staffing costs are instead attached to specific projects.

At the macro level, senior governments throughout the neoliberal period have been concerned with barriers to commerce and sought to re-order economic relations (Hackworth, 2007; Sassen, 1990; Sassen, 2000; Taylor, 1998). Neoliberal regimes sought and continue to seek world-wide trade liberalization through establishment of agreements removing tariffs and barriers to trade (Hackworth, 2007; Sassen, 1990;

Sassen, 2000; Taylor, 1998). In the United States, the 1993 creation of the North

American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is associated with declines in manufacturing

in the United States and Canada and the rise of decentralized production (Savoie, 2003).

These changes in trade flows upset existing supply chains and set new ones (Fainstein,

1990). These agreements led to changes in world markets and also impacted modes of

corporate finance and control as financial markets and large corporations became

increasingly globalized (Fainstein, 1990).

Classical liberals believed egalitarian liberalism acted as a disincentive and that cities

needed to become more entrepreneurial (Hackworth, 2007; Taylor, 1998). The findings

of Harvey (1989), further discussed in the section on economic geography echo this

emerging neoliberal policy approach. Cities, along with many senior governments, faced

very real concerns about capital flight, were forced into restraining their budgets

(Hackworth, 2007), leading to governments' increased focus on an entrepreneurial

approach (Taylor, 1998). In this situation, shrinking budgets are brought about by

restraint at senior levels of government and the flight of the manufacturing base and

associated tax revenue to lower cost locations (Fainstein, 1990). These shrinking

budgets conspire with consistent or even greater demands for service and crumbling

infrastructure necessitating the turn to a more entrepreneurial approach to governance.

3.5.2 Neoliberalism and Discipline

Shrinking budgets tie neoliberalism to globalization, as globalization led to offshoring

and international finance, creating a continued concern for the loss of local business

(Hackworth, 2007; Sassen, 2000). It is not just lower costs in other nations that drive the

constraint of budgets – it is also the tendency for cities to undercut each other with

promises of incentives and tax holidays (McCann, 2011-1). This increased competition

forces cities to focus squarely on their own bottom lines. Anything that is viewed as superfluous is removed from budgets and taxes are held steady or decreased to compete with other jurisdictions (Hackworth, 2007).

However, the move to neoliberal governance is not just about globalization and competition. Hackworth describes an internal force pushing municipal governments towards neoliberal policies (2007). He argues that neoliberalism is "less the result of an organic shift to the right made in the face of capital flight than it is the result of an institutionally regulated (and policed) disciplining of localities" (Hackworth, 2007, p. 17). From the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in developing countries, to bond-rating agencies (Moody's, Standard and Poor) we see "specific institutional mechanisms that carefully socialize and discipline decision-makers into a neoliberal mindset" (Hackworth, 2007, p. 19).

The lens through which those espousing neoliberal governance see the role of planning interventions is different from that of decision-making in previous planning paradigms. Neoliberalism seeks to address economic decline and regeneration, but it may employ market mechanisms to advance regeneration, such as the development of public amenities that trigger gentrification (Hackworth, 2007). Such an approach is generally at odds with Davidoff's (1965) considerations of equity planning, as the triggered gentrification may lead to differential provision of services and opportunities, while at the same time, targeting investment in underinvested areas. This may lead to impacts on members of those underinvested areas, such as the negative impacts associated with gentrification (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Wylie & Hammel, 2005; Vigdor, 2002). From the outside, it may appear that cities abandon egalitarian principles as they feel forced to advance development in the face of increased competition. It is in this frame that the attraction of identifying and adapting successful solutions from other

locations is set. It is easy to move from competitive solution finding to the kind of

mobilized policy first described by McCann (2011-1). Peck et al state that we can see:

> Neoliberalization as interurban phenomena, dependent upon circulatory
> systems that connect cities as policymaking sites, and the concomitant
> movement of techniques, discourses, models and actor-facilitators
> across interurban space (see Peck and Theodore, 2010; McCann and
> Ward, 2011; Peck, 2012b). (2013; pp. 1096)

> Why are cities compelled to search for these kinds of solutions which do not

emerge from the history of a given place? Peck et al (2013) describe the pressure on

cities. They state:

> City elites are confronted by intensifying pressures to act (and to be seen
> to act) on urban problems, including localized poverty and
> unemployment, faltering growth, environmental degradation and social
> inequality, and to do so in ways that connect, pragmatically and
> presentationally, to dominant lines of policy development and financing,
> even if the capacity to achieve meaningful leverage over these issues
> routinely exceeds the scale of the urban. Urban policymaking has
> therefore become 'over-responsibilized', even as the limitations of
> prevailing modes of intervention become increasingly evident. Under the
> threat of legitimation crisis, these conditions, in turn, contribute to the
> speed-up and accelerated churn of regularly made-over, relaunched and
> rebranded policies, helping to constitute a ready audience for new
> models and putative 'solutions'. This is an interurban condition. (Peck et
> al, 2013)

This interurban competition is the field of play for policy mobilities. Faced with

increased competition and need to react in an increasingly globalized world, cities seek

solutions and want experts who can guide them to innovative solutions.

3.6 - Critical Theory

In many ways, Dallas is perhaps among the purest expressions of the concentration

of post WWII modernist urban development. The City's most significant period of

development happened in lock step with postwar growth. In Dallas, this modernist

approach is more intensely expressed and as such has held on more than it has in most

cities. Critical theory offers a series of lenses through which to consider the resolutely

modernist approaches to city development advanced in Dallas. Critical theory's various lenses of inquiry provide a vehicle for turning a discerning eye on the power structures inherent in Dallas. Power relationships are inherent in planning, urban design and inter-culturality fields at play in Vancouver and Dallas, and they are of particular concern to the dissertation as I assess impacts and received policies in West Dallas. To explore critical theory, I outline a series of general lenses, including considerations of conversation, language, symbolism, class, taste and before embarking on a more targeted consideration of the relationship between critical theory and urbanity. These lenses are essential to deconstructing power relationships at play in the modified global ethnography this dissertation undertakes. The second aspect of critical theory is that it provides the vital lenses through which to consider urbanity in critical urban theory. Many of the lenses that consider power, symbols and relationships are simply tied to the urban realm.

In the last quarter of the 20th Century, critical theory emerges as a series of approaches that deconstruct the unitary and authoritative vision of modern thought. Critical theory takes aim at structural functionalist thinkers who asserted methods of calculation and deductive reasoning could lead to optimal solutions (Agger, 1991). If the Enlightenment is a rejection of mysticism and an embracing of the certainty of scientific reason, critical theory plays the same role in rejecting the certainty of scientific reason. Through a series of incremental movements, it calls the certainty of reason into question, revealing that both modernism and scientific reason are constructs which ensure the viability of existing power structures.

Critical theory and its cousin, critical urban theory use lenses through which to discuss the changes taking place in cities as a result of globalization and neoliberalism and to examine the differential impacts of these changes on various urban populations. But this is not an exercise in dismantling certain approaches to planning and leaving a

vacuum. WDD is rooted in planning rather than pure theory and so it is operating in the world of praxis, where planners must make real decisions about how to intervene in development and economic systems. However, in the case of DCdS, the modernist structures that they are trying to tilt are in the very bedrock of the Dallas political culture. This section outlines the set of tools of analysis available to critique modernism and to examine power structures with a mind to exposing pathways for altering them towards spatial and social justice.

I discuss post-structuralist theory, including Derrida's assertion of the contingent undecidability of text (Agger, 1991). Postmodern thought, includes consideration of class, race and gender and its writers open a number of concepts which can be evolved to policy tools that attack systems of power, systems of signs and value systems (Agger, 1991). To support the consideration of these tools, I unpack Foucault's assertions that power is inherent in all systems (1984) and briefly discuss Barthes, who intones us to see the City not just as a place, but as a form of discourse. I examine Baudillard who investigates sign values and systems and Bourdieu who discusses the aesthete and their role in leading waves of gentrification (Agger, 1991; Bourdieu, 1984).

Critical theory offers a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1961) in thinking away from the certainty of reason, towards a multiplicity of viewpoints and a more nuanced understanding of the world and allows multiple avenues of critique of the broadly witnessed failures of the modernist project (Agger, 1991). These critiques challenge the certainty of expert knowledge in the modernist project in their delivery of improvements - urban renewal, freeway automobility and suburbanization (Agger, 1991).

3.6.1 Critical Urban Theory

With this background of paradigms, Marxism and a general history of critical theory

reviewed, the discussion narrows to what critical theory does for urban planning theory

and urbanism generally. Marcuse reviewing Brenner states

> Neil Brenner suggests critical urban theory has four key aspects. His
> points, slightly reformulated, are:
>
> - Theory: Critical theory is explicitly theoretical, and attempts
>   generalizations, explanations causes.
>
> - Reflexivity: Critical theory has found theory itself to be
>   conditioned by material and historical circumstances, and is
>   reflexive in examining its own work;
>
> - Consideration of Alternatives: Critical theory has found it
>   necessary to take into account alternatives to the existing, both
>   in explaining and in concluding/evaluating;
>
> - Substantive Reason: Critical theory has found the distinction
>   between instrumental and substantive reason a useful tool in
>   evaluation (2010, p. 6);

So, critical urban theory becomes a tool for exploring urban situations, their causes

and their relationships to other possible outcomes. Theory is of course, central to critical

theory as it is the "attempt to understand causes and develop generalizations as to what

has happened in the past - why it has happened, as a result of whose actions, and with

what effect on whom" (Marcuse, 2010, p. 9).

Reflexivity refers to the connectedness of outcomes to context. It is particularly

important for the critical examinations undertaken in this dissertation, because context

frames so much of the urban work performed in Vancouver and Dallas and context is one

of the clearest items on which to draw distinctions between these approaches (Brenner,

2009). Marcuse, again, examining Brenner states reflexivity is important:

> Because history has shown the ideas of any generation are linked to the
> dominant forces of the societies that produced them and to the conflicts
> generated by those forces. That view applies to critical theory itself,

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which is linked to the new possibilities generated by a technologically advanced capitalist society. (2010, p. 6).

Brenner notes the importance of the creation of alternatives in approaches to urbanity. Critical urban theory offers a way of getting into the roots of approaches to examine how we have arrived at certain circumstances. Armed with this information, it becomes possible to imagine alternatives and map out their potential for implementation (2009).

A key consideration is the point that critical urban theory is not just oriented to noticing and remarking on the potential for change, in its best sense, it joins praxis to move toward the potential of implementing change (Bridge, 2014). This is an important distinction of the planning profession and sets it apart from other forms of scholarly analysis. Theory guides the work exercised in planning, but action is continuously performed 'out there' in real world situations (Bridge, 2014). In this sense, there is a tension as critical theorists seek to apply the potential of deep critical thought, while at the same time, engaging with a need to turn critique over to a world that still marches on. Bridge invites the potential of melding pragmatism with critical theory to move a practical vision of change forward (2014).

Change considered must be incremental and knowledgeable of a particular political field. Without critical knowledge of that field and the potential to advance innovation, a planner may put their own credibility at peril. Providing advice too far outside of the perceived norms of an organization may create challenges for planners who need to be able to stay another day to give further planning advice. This praxis orientation and the embeddedness of planning within capitalist and neoliberal systems causes some to question the very nature of planning as an emancipatory field (Foglesong, 2003). If planning systems simply push the status quo down the road into the future – is it really a

profession oriented to advocacy, or is it simply a handmaiden of state capitalism (Foglesong, 2003).

The concept of praxis comes to mind and frames the work of Larry Beasley and Brent Brown in West Dallas. Armed with theory and with a commitment to certain outcomes advancing a certain set of progressive values, they still operate within an action arena limited by the system's inherent power. Critical theories lenses and approaches to deconstruct power relationships may provide a degree of insight into the existing power structure and the attempt to suffuse it with both design and egalitarian thinking.

Armed with critical theory lenses, planners are able to imagine alternatives for change, which Brenner sees as being essential to critical theory (2009). Brenner also believes critical theory needs to focus squarely on substantive reason, avoiding the dominance of a scientism that favors the goals of dominant forces. Critical theory urges us engage our Foucaultian lens, to look behind systems to examine the power structures inherent in action in the world. Marcuse positions critical theory as an inherently critical take on the world. He states:

> The critical character of critical theory is thus not an arbitrary choice of a value position, but rather a conclusion drawn from carefully pursued historical analysis and logical thought, substantive reasoning. (Marcuse, 2010, p. 8)

However – this kind of analysis may be difficult in a region where the planners' careful consideration might be considered excessively liberal and out of step with the political constitution of the region. In other words, the employment of a lens of critical theory and its acceptance as critique can only find root in a context where such critique is valued and considered. Being too progressive in a given context may simply position a planning professional as outside the agreed upon status quo. Proposed changes need to be strong enough to address path dependency but weak enough to still be considered within the realm of possibility.

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Marcuse suggests that critical theory's value as an approach is in its potential to:

> Help expose the roots of immediate problems in conditions of long
> duration and structural to the prevailing systems of economic, social, and
> political power. Thus, it can clarify what the chain of causation is that led
> to the problem, and what the strengths and weaknesses of the forces
> that stand behind and benefit from the problem, and those harmed by it.
> [Critical theory] can thus help identify the point at which the problem
> should be realistically be addressed: short-range, middle-range, long
> range, ultimately. (Marcuse, 2010, p. 9)

Brenner discusses the potential of critical theory to assist in understanding the

organizational context of the situation, and to, while guarding against co-option, identify

strategies and politicize conversations, exposing the structures inherent in systems.

(2009). This orientation towards the understanding of context may be the potential of

critical theory, but it can be difficult to achieve. With an understanding of critical urban

theory in hand, the paper turns to consideration of key aspects of critical theory, including

the notion of paradigm change, the construction of the Marxist lens and an examination

of some key aspects of critical theory which inform our discussion of the policies in

motion in this dissertation.

3.6.2 - Kuhn and the Structure of Scientific Revolutions

Kuhn's (1961) Nature of Scientific Revolutions is an essential framing document for

discussions about scientific and social scientific investigation. It is important to our

discussion of WDD and policy mobilities because the framing paradigms of the planning

culture of each city in this investigation impact upon the potential for change. In a sense,

WDD and DCdS are attempting to influence a paradigmatic shift in the approach to

governance and city-building in Dallas.

Kuhn's chapters deconstruct the nature of scientific change and paradigm shifts

(1961). Kuhn (1961) questions the accumulative nature of history and outlines the

importance of outliers of evidence as potential avenues to new theories. Outliers are

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explained as anomalies which do not impact the central structure of a given theory (Kuhn, 1961). Over time, if enough such anomalies occur, a theory may be called into question and a search for new explanations takes place (Kuhn, 1961).

Paradigm shifts occur when contradictory evidence accumulates and forces the predominant view to come into question (Kuhn, 1961). If we think of history as a series of phases where people shared certain approaches to their understanding of the world, we can see various important paradigms of thought and juncture points our ideation of the world switched.

The shift from modernism to post-modernism is one such paradigm shift, advanced with a series of theoretical tools applied to critical investigation of relationships in the world. In this paper, I argue that there is a geographic and temporal element to paradigm change and that there may be locations where an existing paradigm hangs on in a location long after other places have moved on to new ways of thinking. In this sense, the historic approaches to planning in Dallas would seem to be more aligned with historic modernist approaches (Graff, 2008). A historic lack of focus on urban design and consideration for the street culture of urban locations leads to the development of a city that is less walkable and more drivable.

Critical theory teaches the lenses of investigation allowing the reader, the viewer or the participant to deconstruct the (at times hidden) authoritative voice appearing to invoke power in writing and other forms of text and representation, without critical considerations. Critical theory opens the door to the employment of a variety of political lenses. We can now see - to understand what's best, we need to employ a series of lenses of inquiry, feminism, ageism, multi-culturalism, sexism, poverty, economic inequality, social justice and spatial justice to name a few – to be able to fully understand

the shape of a problem. While there is certainly the possibility of entertaining a broader range of lenses in this dissertation, I will focus on spatial and social justice.

What follows is a short review of key elements of critical theory contributing to the tools that facilitate an insightful critique of the official documents to examine the power structures at play in a given situation. I elaborate on these tools in later sections focused on critical urban theory through geography and urban economics, touching on topics including, but not limited to, spatial justice and interculturality.

3.6.3 - Structural Functionalism and Systems Thinking

By the mid- 20th Century, there was an increasing belief in the primacy of systems thinking which coincides with a general positivist take on the economy and society[2]. The success of systems thinking led to Allied victory in WWII and increased the appetite for these approaches. Somewhat aligned with systems thinking, structural functionalist theory emerged in the 1940's as a framework to consider and explain social and economic hierarchies (Davis and Moore, 1945). Derived from Durkheim's theories of social solidarity which stated that social structures have latent functions of control that most do not recognize or appreciate. Parsons and other structural-functionalists examined structural relationships and hierarchies (Abrahamson, 2003). The prevailing belief was that systems mediate towards maintaining equilibrium (Kaplan, 1967). However, from Durkheim through to Parsons, there is a tendency to ignore "differential interests of competing groups" (Abrahamson, 2003, p.45). As such, structural functionalism either ignored power relationships or placed power relationships in a "special (i.e. out of the ordinary) category" (Abrahamson, 2003, p.46).

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[22] I am using positivism and modernism interchangeably here.

The same systems thinking influencing the complex defeat of multiple foes around the world during World War II, now was applied to developing housing, managing traffic and to other domestic issues. Talcott Parsons, a leading sociologist scholar asserted that stability was an essential goal of systems and "regarded change as worrisome because it could compromise system imperatives" (Abrahamson, 2003, p. 145). Parsons deduced that social systems had "social control mechanisms designed to safeguard the socialization process" (Abrahamson, 2003, p. 144). These social controls contribute to the achievement of systemic equilibrium (Abrahamson, 2003). With a belief in the importance of systemic equilibrium, structural functionalist thinkers sought and encouraged conformity (Abrahamson, 2003).

Structural functionalists also believe that systems are not designed to provide equitable outcomes, only equitable opportunities (Abrahamson, 2003). Hence, within structural functionalist thinking, there are no tools to address the impact of structural inequity, like differential access to services, education and lending. So while structural functionalists were warning through sociology that individuals need to conform in systems, urban planning was suggesting an expert planner was positioned to tell a waiting public the best policy choices. The expectation was that the public would and should accept the dictates of these experts. I will discuss this at length in my section explaining these City of Dallas, but essentially, Dallas is a place that in many ways manages to operate within a structural functionalist paradigm and the community development work advanced through WDD is partially an effort to bring the City of Dallas forward to the point where there is political will to apply critical urban theory and think about aspects of justice in the policies the city pursues.

3.6.4 The Lenses of Critical Theory

I do not offer a full description of all aspects of critical theory. My intention is to take a sample of some key theories to utilize in my assessment of WDD. Derrida is a poststructuralist writer focused on text as a way of deconstructing meaning. Derrida "does not regard deconstruction as a method to be applied to texts, but rather as a style of reading, or criticism, which works by teasing out the internal logics of the text" (Macey, 2000, p. 93). His interest is less on methodological tools and is more focused on destabilizing the certainty of empirical methods, which rely, at least to some extent on the certainty of meaning in words (Agger, 1991). Derrida's assertions about language are particularly interesting, when considered in relation to our understanding of the meanings of words. Agger notes that "Derrida insists that every text is *undecidable* in the sense that it conceals conflicts within it between different authorial voices – sometimes termed the text and subtext(s)" (1991, p.112). Undecidability refers to the fact that we cannot define words without the use of other words and this leads to instability, as the other words we use to define the first word also need definitions. This undecidability undermines the precision of empirical thinkers, because even if we are able to rely on the data calculations supporting a particular approach, there is no certainty that we truly share a common understanding of language. Hence, certainty is elusive. The elusiveness of certainty is important as we consider urban prognosticators. There is power in language and the subtle uses of language and the difference in language between the supply and the demand city is an important aspect of these policies in motion.

Foucault, like Derrida, focuses on discourse analysis as a means of deconstructing meaning, but Foucault is more interested in unravelling the power systems existing within systems. Foucault builds on Kuhnian notions of paradigm change and notes in our

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engagement with social subjects. He believes that knowledge can be traced through an examination of "everyday experience and ordinary language to define the parameters of these paradigmatic knowledges (Agger, 1991). Foucault delves into the knowledge and structure of prisons and sexuality "offering rich and varied accounts of how these modes of knowledge and practices were constituted historically, by way of discourses through which they were made problematic" (Agger, 1991, pp. 117). The universality of modernism is replaced with a multiple perspectival notion of the world in which Foucault argues that "every knowledge is contextualized by its historical and cultural nature" (Agger, 1991, pp 117). This contextualization echoes the assertions of Theodore and Peck (2015) who note the centrality of context to the study of policy mobilities.

Baudrillard explored the emerging importance of sign values at the end of the 20th Century and sought to determine why certain brands, were able to stand in for more than the actual commodity they represent (Agger, 1991).[3] These commodities acquire *sign value*, where they come to signify wealth, or taste (Agger, 1991).   He goes on to discuss the emergence of a world of simulations, where certain articles are imbued with qualities that signify their value, even if they are not actually that thing that they signify. He calls this simulation and sign value: *simulacra*. Perhaps the best, or perhaps the most ironic of such forms of simulacra is the wood paneling board, once popular in basement suites, where an actual piece of wood has a photo of a piece of wood applied to make it seem that it is a more valuable grade. Baudrillard's consideration of brands informs our discussion of housing product and its value in both the supply and demand side of this policy in motion. The notion of location as a determinant of value will also be explored.

From signs and simulation, I turn to Pierre Bourdieu and his sociological writings which inform our knowledge of the value placed on signifiers in our contemporary world.

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[3] So it is not just a pair of jeans, these are 'Guess Jeans'. This is not just a car, a form of transportation - it's a BMW.

These signs have implications for individual decision-making with regard to space. Numerous writers built on Bourdieu's research – discussing how his concept of distinction is an element at play in urban choice (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu performed studies of people's taste in art, food and other areas where taste and expertise may act as markers of distinction (1993). What Bourdieu found was that there were direct correlations between stylistic or choice tastes and socio-economic standing (1993). It was possible to predict how one's tastes would evolve based on a variety of factors including wage levels and education levels (Bourdieu, 1993). This codification of taste in the urban realm led others, like Lloyd (2006), Ley (1996) and Zukin (2012) to explore urban choice making around location and style of accommodation. What emerged was a structure of taste related to authenticity and proximity (Ley, 1996; Lloyd , 2006; Zukin , 2012). These citizens sought 'distinction' (Bourdieu, 1993) whereby they would distinguish themselves from other citizens through their enlightened movement to more marginal neighborhoods – while others were heading to what could be considered more bland, suburban choices. This lens of distinction for Vancouver and Dallas will be compared and contrasted.

Finally, I want to reflect on the work of Habermaas who asserted communicative action was essential to working through problems in a democratic setting. Habermas is critical of Marx's failure to divine carefully enough the difference "between knowledge gained from causal analysis and knowledge gained from self-reflection and interaction" (Agger, 1991, pp. 110). In his communication theory, Habermas "attempts to shift critical social theory, like all western philosophy, from what he calls the paradigm of consciousness to the paradigm of communication (Agger, 1991, pp. 110). Forrester is largely responsible for bringing a Habermasian discourse to urban planning, where his notion of design as making sense together, resonates (Forrester, 1989).

The dissertation turns to discussion of three areas of consideration for the urban interventions of West Dallas Dream. The dissertation considers three areas of theory, geography, urban economics and planning theory and will touch upon three topics in each of these sub-areas. The first area of theory for consideration is geography theory.

3.7 Geography Theory

This dissertation is framed within critical geographic theories that analytically engage globalization and neo-liberalism and utilize multiple lenses of critical theory to arrive at positions questioning the status quo. The status quo may relate to considerations of urban planning, or to land use and power within governance systems. The section on geography theory unpacks geographic lenses assisting an examination of WDD related to a global field policy ideas movement and to specific consideration of development taking place in West Dallas.

The first geographic theory reviewed in detail is policy mobilities. As noted, policy mobilities is the conceptualization of this fast movement of policy. Conceiving of policy mobilities as a contemporary approach does not deny the fact cities shared policy ideas are learned from each other through most of the 20th Century. Rather, policy mobilities literature suggests that globalization and neoliberalism combine to intensify inter-city competition (McCann, 2011-1; Peck and Theodore, 2015). Increased competition results in cities disciplined by various structures to optimize their competitive position (McCann, 2011-1; Peck and Theodore, 2015). This competitiveness extends to cities production urban realm and domestic realms. So Dallas builds and heralds the largest arts district in North America and Vancouver focuses on trails, waterfront and views. Cities generally enhance attributes that lead to them maximizing their competitive advantage over other locations.

The second aspect of geography theory discussed in the dissertation is spatial justice. Spatial justice is a deeper consideration of issues of equality and distribution of the benefits and challenges of living in the city (Fainstein, 2010; Soja, 2010). The dissertation provides a primer on spatial justice as a means of preparing for consideration of spatial justice in an analysis of WDD and will relate spatial justice to general discussion of segregation and economic exclusion in the United States.

Finally, the dissertation focuses on the emergence of assemblage theory as an approach to conceptualizing urban change and understanding how new development affects the existing urban landscape. Assemblage also speaks to the dynamic and contingent aspects of urban development and portrays the city less as a monolithic thing, but rather, envisages it as a continuously unfolding process and performance - constantly in motion (Farias, 2008). This lens will prove useful in discussions of the changes that take place as a result of WDD and the continued incremental changes taking place there.

3.7.1 Policy Mobilities

As noted, policy mobilities refers to fast movement of policy in contemporary frames of neoliberalism and globalization and is considered separate, though related to more traditional policy transfer literature. More traditional transfer literature sees the passing of policy innovations in regional contexts and a gathering of best practices passed vertically from provincial or state levels to federal levels and then traded horizontally among nation states (Peck and Theodore, 2015). Policy mobilities ignores the vertical structures of state and federal governance and seeks solutions from other jurisdictions with innovations seen as filling a policy gap (Peck and Theodore, 2015). As a result, the local context of a development becomes that much more important. As noted earlier, cities, disciplined by neoliberalism and open to more global influences, move beyond their initial

sphere to entertain experts from further afield. In the case of Vancouver, it looked to Copenhagen and Bern for drug policy innovation (McCann, 2006). Fort Worth looked to Vancouver architect Bing Thom for advice on its Trinity Uptown area and Dallas has worked with former Vancouver Planning Co-director, Larry Beasley (McCann, 2011-1).

McCann first advanced these theories with an examination of Vancouver's drug policy innovation search and followed the development of a research agenda based on a short discussion of the Vancouver-Fort Worth connection through Bing Thom (McCann, 2006; McCann, 2011-1). Ward investigated the movement of business improvement area policy innovation in Europe (2006) and Khirfan and Jaffer (2013) and Khirfan et al (2014) examined the flow of policy ideas between Toronto and Jordan and Vancouver and Abu Dhabi.

The research agenda outlined by McCann notes it is difficult to complete policy mobilities research as it is expensive and time consuming to follow the policy as it moves from place to place (2011-1). He and others highlight how events, conferences, travel and the internet all play a role in broadening exposure to policy innovations (McCann, 2011-1; Peck and Theodore, 2015). Leaders travelling may become convinced the policy idea enacted in another place should be implemented in their own community (McCann, 2011-1). The consideration of policy mobilities is most closely tied to the methodological choices made in this investigation. In the section on methodology, I seek to tie the challenges of investigating policy mobilities to my proposed research methods.

There are two tracks of consideration for policy movement. The first track, studies of policy development emerge from political science, public policy and public administration. This track considers formation of public policy and the way governments – often at national and sub-national level - work to create policy. There are numerous texts outlining this form of policy creation and there are elements of this lineage that transfer

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on to policy mobilities. Peck notes a change from this more plodding form of policy

generation towards what he calls "'fast policy' regimes (2011), pp. 773). Peck states:

> Contemporary policy-making processes have promiscuously spilled over
> jurisdiction boundaries, both 'horizontally' (between national and local
> political entities) and 'vertically' (between hierarchically scaled institutions
> and domains). They also seem to be accelerating, as measured by the
> shortness of policy development cycles and the intensity of cross-
> jurisdictional exchanges. (2011, pp 773).

This horizontality is owed to a number of factors including the internet and increased

air travel (McCann, 2011-1; Peck, 2011). Urban leaders see more of the world on their

screens and in person. The second track of consideration for policy mobilities can be

traced back to the turn to neo-liberal approaches to policy and city operations. This

catalytic approach to urban policy can be traced to efforts to turn urban planning away

from regulation and the restraint of free enterprise to position planners as instigators

(Taylor, 1998). This era also sees an unprecedented shift in industrial production away

from dense urban agglomerations towards suburbanized industrial growth and later the

rise of off-shoring as trade restriction relaxations lead to new opportunities to

manufacture in lower-wage developing economies. This leaves a number of cities

wondering what to do with their former inner-city industrial lands. Hence, Vancouver's

apparent success with transforming inner-city industrial lands to urban neighborhoods

would bring many to the doorstep of the city, and its repeated efforts to become more

familiar in both an international sense, through high profile events like Expo 86 and the

2010 Winter Olympics and the fact that many use Vancouver as a jumping off point for

cruises to Alaska, means that many North Americans who would have never found their

way to Vancouver now spend at least one night in the city.

This second track of policy mobilities lineage can be further traced to the work of

Harvey (1989) who documents the trend, initiated in the Thatcher-Reagan era away from

a managerial form of city management and towards an entrepreneurial form. This

entrepreneurial form of city management leads to an increase in a neoliberal focus to the

development of government. Large scale urban redevelopment projects use various

tools including density bonusing and public private partnerships to catalyze development.

Cities, facing decline due to various economic factors including the move towards

offshoring as the era of globalization emerges. Cities begin to compete with each other

to gain scarce resources. Some cities undercut their competitors, while still others move

to show why their city is better than others. Hence, boosterism rises as the need to

compete against other communities increases. This is not to say that boosterism is

entirely new, rather, the neo-liberal period sees an intensification of civic efforts to

position cities in relation to their competitors (McCann, 2013). Hence, the imaginary

positioning of cities in the world takes on increasing importance (Berelowitz, 2005,

Robinson, 2014).

Harvey notes the turn to a reliance and focus on specific locational traits and how

cities then work to feature these traits to desirable audiences (1989). He outlines a

number of strategies related to arts and amenities planning, which have emerged to give

cities a break (1989). Seen through the lens of competition, cities must increase

amenities and operating efficiencies in order to compete against other cities (and their

own suburbs). As a result of this turn, a focus on policy innovation emerges and cities

with neoliberal strategies that are able to tap market potential are sought (Harvey, 1989).

Khirfan et al set out to "examine power relationships" (2013, p. 4) among the actors,

whether they are in the policy acquiring context, or beyond in the international area by

focusing (their) research of policy transfer processes within the wider context of power

and authority relationships. This aligns their research within a critical theory context.

Khirfan et al take a "socially constructivist approach" (2013, p. 5). This approach relies

on interpretation of social considerations in the policy receiving context. In the case of the transfer of policies between Vancouver and Abu Dhabi, policy agents condition planners to new norms. The expert, while providing advice, also plays a role of smoother in the political context. The agent, in some cases referred to as a guru, relies on their policy reputation, to carry weight in debates about policy direction.

Finally, policy mobilities thinkers have explored what happens when policies arrive in a new context. Peck (2011) asserts that "policy mobility and mutation would appear to be simultaneous processes (pp. 781). That is, policies transferred have the potential to mutate when they arrive in new circumstances. Efforts to replicate policies in communities with different social, economic and political circumstances end up being flavored by these new circumstances. It is important here to distinguish between a policy which is mobilized and an actual design. If we look to Thom's efforts to transfer a Vancouver design to the City of Fort Worth where the design has a particular look and feel that are born of Vancouver's relation to nature and outdoor space, the fact is that the transfer of urban design policy mobilities instructs the enlightened practitioner to pay careful heed to the unique locality, economy and social setting. The resultant designs may have Vancouver's planning ethos engrained, but physically, may look nothing like what is generated in Vancouver.

3 7.2 Spatial Justice

Considerations of spatial justice frame an investigation of West Dallas. As a neighborhood in Dallas – it is impacted by multiple layers of concerns about just treatment. Soja (2010), McCann (2011-1) and others note a spatial turn in thinking about contemporary society. The spatial turn theorizes that urban space is not just impacted by

social and historical factors, but is also shaped by spatial factors (Soja, 2010). Spatial justice thinking encourages consideration of urban space and how it relates to the unequal distribution of the costs and benefits of living in the city (Soja, 2010).

Historically, spatial justice was viewed through a modernist structural functionalist lens, which sees the system as meritocratic (Davis and Moore, 1945). According to this view, the causes and solutions to black segregation and a lack of economic opportunity are black people's lack of work ethic, their lack of persistence towards outcomes and failure to use educational opportunities (Wilson, 2009, p.16). In a Canadian context, similar arguments would be used against Aboriginals. Historically, structural functionalists would assert the individual's power to overcome systemic constraints through hard work, talent and perseverance. To support their argument, structural functionalists point to a number of exceptional individuals who have successfully averted poverty. Statistically, these exceptional individuals are just that - exceptions to the rule. Structural functionalists would point to homeownership disparities as neutral outcomes of systems which self-reinforce as time goes on. O'Sullivan (2012) notes the "self-reinforcing principle in the economy" which dictates that segregation is self-perpetuating (p. 210). This structural continuation is piled on to deliberate historic injustices, more recent overt discrimination, and continued veiled discrimination (Jackson, 1985; Duneier, 2016).

3.7.3 Assemblage Theory

Assemblage theory is closely associated with Actor-Network Theory (ANT). ANT asserts that all things, whether animate, or inanimate have agency (DeLanda, 2006; Farias, 2010). From this arrangement, it is possible to think as urban environments interacting with themselves, and creating contingent happenings, even when no one is

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there -as weather changes and the sun transits through the sky over the day. When the dynamism of human involvement is added to this situation, the possibility of inter-reaction becomes more complex. Farias explains that the notion of urban assemblages:

> allows and encourages the study of the heterogeneous connections between objects, spaces, materials, machines, bodies, subjectivities, symbols, formulas, and so on that 'assemble' the city in multiple ways: as a tourist city, as a transport system, as a playground for skateboarders and free runners ('parkour'), as a landscape of power, as a no-go area, as a festival, as a surveillance area, as a socialization space, as a private memory, as a creative milieu, as a huge surface for graffiti and street artists, as a consumer market, as a jurisdiction, etc. (2010, p. 14).

The city is all of these multiple forms at once.

Assemblage theory is an emerging theory of society drawn from the writings of Deleuze and Guattari who set out to establish new conceptions of the world around us (DeLanda, 2006, MacFarlane, 2009). Deleuze and Guattari deliberately wrote theory which was not static and their writing style reflects the conceptual ground they wished to cover (DeLanda, 2006). It's meaning shifts and is the result of the interactions of not only the key early writings of Deleuze and Guattari which write around the concept, but it also extends on through writers such as MacFarlane, DeLanda, Bender, Farias and Dittmer who take elements of assemblage thinking and apply it to geographic and urban considerations.

Dittmer further considers the potentialities of the contingent considerations of assemblage theory. He states:

> Assemblages can be defined as 'wholes characterized by relations of exteriority' (DeLanda, 2006: 10). These relations of exteriority mean that component parts of a whole cannot be reduced to their function within that whole, and indeed they can be parts of multiple wholes at any given moment. The parts are nevertheless shaped by their interactions within assemblages, and indeed it is the capacities, rather than the properties, of component parts that are most relevant in understanding resultant assemblages. While the properties of a material are relatively finite, its capacities are infinite because they are the result of interaction with an infinite set of other components. (2014, p. 387)

These contextual factors echo the sentiments of policy mobilities scholars who suggest that policy reception in new locations is deeply context dependent (Peck and Theodore, 2015). These are contingent and based on the experiences and understanding of those that come to use them. Despite our best intentions, these new resources may, or may not be used as planners had intended.   Assemblage provides a tool for understanding how interventions ripple into the landscape and create new forms of innovation and understanding (Farias, 2010). Assemblage becomes the travel companion for our consideration of flows, mutations and blocks in the policy mobilities process.

Engaging assemblage as one in a series of philosophical approaches, I adopt McCann's (2011-2) approach of taking a positive view of what assemblage theory can do to further urban theory, while avoiding questions that the wholesale adoption of this theory might present (Brenner et al, 2011). I align myself with Brenner et al, who caution against a "naïve objectivism" (2011, p. 225) of assemblage, taken as a fully formed rejection of other structured means of theorizing urbanity, even if they have elements of organismic thinking.

Assemblage theory moves beyond the ecologically-based terms of organismic wholes, and invites new lenses through which to consider the urban world (DeLanda, 2006, MacFarlane, 2011-1; McCann, 2011-2,). Organismic theories of urban growth, first postulated by the Chicago School of the 1930's, theorized that cities had natural features of growth and succession, that were predictable like biologic systems (Burgess, 1930). Organismic theories of Talcott Parsons and Herbert Spencer, posited that cities and communities hold qualities akin to organisms, with wholly formed constituent parts, that possessed specific purposes (DeLanda, 2006). From these organismic beginnings, Chicago School urban theory concepts of growth, blight and retraction are compared to

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city processes which are then described as organic, lending to themes of cycles of birth, growth, aging and decay (Burgess, 1930). These processes are then considered as inevitabilities of time, rather than considered as potentially contingent on specific change oriented factors. What is lost in this organismic viewpoint is the ability to see how finer grained interventions, may actually catalyze changes (DeLanda, 2006). The organismic view is more akin to other forms of urbanism, that see waves of blight or gentrification overtake neighborhoods.

In DeLanda's (2006) conception, the organismic view gives rise to the notion of the nature of interiority, where wholes, comprised of parts, interact with other wholes, comprised of parts. DeLanda's (2006) example is of the warrior, horse and staff, which when assembled form a killing machine. Assemblages are different, as wholes are comprised of contingent parts that may or may not interact depending on the performance of parts (DeLanda, 2006). Assemblage can help to explain why seemingly similar urban interventions, in different places, act differently and cause different reactions as urban interventions act differentially on spaces based on a myriad of factors. Again, assemblage points back to the Theodore and Peck's (2015) caution to pay attention to context.

Through an assemblage lens, we can look more closely at specific interventions and construct theory about how specific actions, build towards community empowerment and change. In contrast, the lens of assemblage is marked by an increased consideration of contingent and emergent elements in plans, by a focus on territorialization, or situatedness of elements of urbanity (DeLanda, 2006). Assemblage stands in opposition to an organismic whole and suggests wholes characterized by relations of exteriority – so wholes are plugged into other wholes where their reaction/action causes a contingent outcome (DeLanda, 2006).

While DeLanda turns more often to Deleuze than Guattari, DeLanda does take care to review Guattari's concept of agencement – which is the French term that is ultimately translated to assemblage (2006). Agencement in Guattari's assessment, refers to collective agencies of annunciation, or to be more general - communities, institutions and organizations (DeLanda, 2006). In this sense, the original intention of assemblage thinking is pulled back to the assembled communities of action and governance (DeLanda, 2006). What is built into the whole of the Delueze-Guattarian concept of assemblage, is that assemblages are contingent, and in this sense, are tied to ANT, in that the assemblages and their constituent parts have agency (DeLanda, 2006). Assemblages are contingent, as they act on one another and on other bodies. DeLanda states that an assemblage is not just a collection of things rather, it is a grouping of things that move beyond the functions of their constituent parts.   (Video featuring DeLanda lecture - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J-I5e7ixw78 accessed on 11/21/15) (11:15 minute mark).

DeLanda reminds us that realizing this combinatory emergent potential is not new, and that John Stuart Mill posed these very questions in the 19th Century as he pondered the contingent nature of hydrogen and oxygen, which both feed fire, but when combined, can be used to put out fires (2006). DeLanda notes a whole emergent philosophy that sought to understand elements of emergence (2006).

Seen through a lens of combination, contingency and emergence, assemblage lends to a reading of the city as "a space of continuously unfolding simultaneity" (Farias, 2010). The city as an assemblage is both contingent and in-motion, lacking any stasis (Farias, 2010). In this conception of the city, there are multiple points of view, multiple vantage points and a dizzyingly complex interweaving of people, machines and space (Farias, 2010).

Assemblage theory is also an important consideration in theories of interculturality. As DeLanda notes, assemblage theory lends itself to considerations of urban difference as its theoretical focus provides new ways of considering the situatedness of communities and the materiality and expression of community. DeLanda describes two concepts derived from Deleuze and Guattari (DeLanda, 2006). The first is the concept is a horizontal line of a continuum, where material community appears on the left and expressions of that community appear on the right. On the material side are the brick and mortar that a city neighborhood is comprised of. On the expression side are our conceptions of neighborhood as a place where people share a similar set of values. Assemblages, be they neighborhoods or groups can be both brick and mortar locations, but can evoke a community feelings of shared values.

MacFarlane (2011-1) suggests that assemblages are important components of progressive urban cosmopolitanism, which can be likened to Sandercock's notion of interculturality (1998). He leans on Featherstone's argument that "cosmopolitanism is not identitarian in the sense of 'being together', but in the mobile relation sense of 'becoming together'" (MacFarlane, 2011 -1). Hence, cosmopolitanism is a relation of encountering, managing and negotiating difference (Featherstone).

MacFarlane argues there are four parts to cosmopolitanism:

- Knowledge – of how difference might be negotiated, or of how mutuality across difference might operate.

- Disposition – either a progressive orientation to urban cultural diversity, or as a regressive exclusionary sensibility deployed in relation to other cultures.

- Resource – as a means of coping, getting-by, surviving and managing uncertainty in the city.

- Ideal – an openness to and celebration of urban diversity and trans-local connection and togetherness that is to be worked towards. (2011-1)

One could extrapolate from MacFarlane's (2011-1) description of the parts of

cosmopolitanism, that there is value in cities, or philanthropic bodies playing a leadership

role in the management of intercultural relations. Armed with the right attitudes, two

things can occur. First, the possibility of the potential of mixing populations and building

a comfortably cosmopolitan neighborhood is possible. Secondly, there is the possibility

of having a built in defense of difference, in which citizens stand and defend the values

that allow difference to flourish.

McCann (2011-2) cautions us to be careful as we piece together these assembled

bodies:

> The point is that if concepts are to be assembled for particular purposes,
> they must be brought together carefully, recognizing their provenance
> and situatedness, compatibilities and incompatibilities, and their
> capacities and limits. (McCann, 2011-2, p.145).

So it is not simply mashing elements together. Rather, it is thinking hard about how

to assemble and manage relations in an environment that appreciates diversity and

realizes that there is value in existing and emergent forms of community.

MacFarlane describes this cosmopolitan value, not as sympathy for social and spatial

justice, but rather as a progressive approach espousing connections. He states:

> The response is not simply an espousal of sympathy, but an attempt to
> enter into the assemblage of a more socially just city. One image of the
> reassembled just city, then, is a progressive, cosmopolitan urbanism that
> constantly invokes an alternative, more inclusive urban commons based
> on mutual recognition, solidarity and resistance. (MacFarlane, 2011-1,
> pp. 220)

This form of social justice must come from within the city and must set the tone for how

citizens work together to create broadened human flourishing.

3.8 Urban Economic Theory

As policy mobilities and spatial justice enter the policy arena of urban change, it is important to review key urban economic theories providing vital lenses for understanding WDD. The dissertation focuses on three main components of urban economic theory as a means of exploring the WDD planning process and its outcomes. While generally, the dissertation leans towards Marxist interpretations of economic situations impacting cities, the last section departs from this to apply a critical theory lens that poses questions about the relationship of gentrification to spatial justice considerations in Dallas. The section on urban economic theory begins by examining Logan and Molotch's assertion that city regimes are, through their need to perpetuate themselves to the future, growth oriented regimes, driven by the city's urban elite (1976). The dissertation then turns to consideration of Harvey's notion of the spatial fix, paying particular attention to his comments about the special nature of the built form, particularly its fixity and its permanence as a form of investment (1981). Finally, I turn to the neoliberalism lens to discuss the role that gentrification plays in the production of new urban spaces in the late Twentieth and early Twenty-First Centuries. I discuss the history of gentrification, outlining both Smith's rent-gap theories (1979) and Ley's urban aesthete theories (1980) which were expanded on by Zukin (1982, 1998, 2008, 2010), to unpack the dynamics at play in gentrification. In applying a critical theory lens to the gentrification at play in WDD,

I hope to establish a platform from which to discuss the challenges inherent in creating inter-culture spaces in a city with fewer public realms for inter-cultural mixing. While gentrification is maligned for its tendency to displace populations, a different frame of consideration might ask how to build towards maintaining opportunities to minimize displacement, while looking deeper into the nature of displacement. Are those displaced finding better housing options, and is the adjoining of new other-raced citizens to existing

racial enclaves, a necessary and valuable step towards creating integrated and inter-culturally sensitive communities? Further unpacking the dialogue related to gentrification and urban change, linking it to themes of spatial justice and broader themes of interculturality in the United States. The section on gentrification does not provide answers to these questions, but instead articulates frames for future investigation.

3.8.1 Growth Machine Theory

Circuits of capitalism are harnessed by urban regimes in what Logan and Molotch call the urban growth machine (1976). They theorized that civic regimes arrange themselves to further civic growth and hence, there is a direct connection between the business lobby of a city and its political field. Brunet-Jailey explores the notion of "Vancouver's sustainability focused growth machine" (2008and suggests Vancouver's growth machine is unique as it rests on an approach marrying progressive policies with a pro-growth agenda.

Growth machine theory emerged as an explanation of the primary growth-focused motivation of cities and their elites (Molotch, 1976), and outlines how growth occurs and how elites engage to encourage growth. Molotch discusses a "land-based elite - seen to profit through intensification of the land use of the area in which its members hold a common interest" (Molotch, 1976, p. 309).   The growth machine exists to create jobs and generate income furthering the economic prospects of a city and like gentrification, the impact of the growth machine is uneven and tends to favor elites (Molotch, 1976). Growth is the "key operative motivation of politically mobilized local elites" (Molotch, 1976, p. 310) which include both local media and local boosters, (Molotch, 1976) and leads to "increasingly intensive land development, higher population density and increased financial activity" (Molotch, 1976. p. 310).

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3.8.2 Growth and the Spatial Fix

I turn to consideration of the system of urban regeneration advanced by key economists, most notably Harvey (1982, 1989). Harvey links emerging postmodern thought to spatial considerations and in doing so helps to outline some of the most essential tensions in the competition associated with urban land use (1989). Harvey (1989) states that cities act on a continuous cycle of rebuilding in which structures or ways of living quickly become outdated and necessitate destruction and subsequent reconstruction of urban environments (Harvey, 1989).

Harvey (1981), through his reading of Hegel and Von Thunen comes to assume that these contemporaries must have been in dialogue and together discussed the inherent structural flaw in the capitalist system. This structural flaw occurs as economic benefits accumulate with the holders of land and machinery, while the broader group was paid a subsistence wage (Harvey, 1981). Hegel theorizes part of the solution to this challenging situation lay in the imperialist system of colonization, which allowed a spatial fix for problems of over-accumulation (Harvey, 1981). Von Thunen theorized isolated states - that is – colonies – provided a perfect testing ground to derive what the appropriate wage should be (Harvey, 1981). In an isolated colonial state, competition for labor is the actual reality of colonial industrialists (Harvey, 1981). They must pay a wage that keeps their workers from leaving and pursuing other opportunities, such as the establishment of their own colony (Harvey, 1981). In such a situation, to reach equilibrium, the fair wage which is a subsistence wage (a) is equal to production (p) (Harvey, 1981). Equilibrium is described as a situation whereby there would be no inevitable class strife, because both groups would be taken care of (Harvey, 1981. Harvey explains "Social harmony can be achieved directly wherever the frontier is open and the mobility of labor and capital

guaranteed (1981, p. 5). The notion of frontiers is important in the discussion of the

urban spatial fix. New frontiers for capital are required in order to allow the renewal of

capitalism.

Harvey elaborates on his use of the term 'fix':

> In my own work, globalization has largely been interpreted in terms of a theory of "the spatial fix". This term (and the theory it centers) is in need of clarification, however, since different interpretations have been offered leading to confusions if not serious errors. In part the differences reflect an ambiguity of language. In English, the word "fix" has multiple meanings. One meaning, as in "the pole was fixed in the hole", refers to something being pinned down and secured in a particular locus. The idea is that something is secured in space: it cannot be moved or modified. Another, as in "fix a problem", is to resolve a difficulty, take care of a problem. Again, the sense is that things are made secure, but by returning things to normal functioning again (as in "he fixed the car's engine so that it ran smoothly"). This second meaning has a metaphorical derivative, as in "the drug addict needs a fix", in which it is the burning desire to relieve a chronic or pervasive problem that is the focus of meaning. Once the "fix" is found or achieved then the problem is resolved and the desire evaporates. But, as in the case of the drug addict, it is implied that the resolution is temporary rather than permanent, since the craving soon returns. (Harvey, 2004, p. 24)

Harvey goes on to explain the relationship of the fix to over-accumulation:

> The basic idea of the spatio-temporal fix is simple enough. Over-accumulation within a given territorial system means a condition of surpluses of labour (rising unemployment) and surpluses of capital (registered as a glut of commodities on the market that cannot be disposed of without a loss, as idle productive capacity, and/or as surpluses of money capital lacking outlets for productive and profitable investment). Such surpluses may be absorbed by: (a) temporal displacement through investment in long-term capital projects or social expenditures (such as education and research) that defer the re-entry of current excess capital values into circulation well into the future, (b) spatial displacements through opening up new markets, new production capacities and new resource, social and labour possibilities elsewhere, or (c) some combination of (a) and (b). (Harvey, 2004, p. 64)

The notion of the 'spatial fix' is arrived at via an examination of the colonial situation.

Essentially, cities faces with deteriorating zones abandon these areas to apply new

investment elsewhere (Harvey, 2004). Cycles of investment, followed by disinvestment

occur, over time, because the 'spatial fix' is continuously focused on new places for capital to land. This relationship to a renewed urban form of colonization connects the notion of the 'spatial fix' to gentrification (Harvey, 2004). In this sense, capital may turn to de-valorized space in an effort to find new areas for re-investment. This is the case in West Dallas. Lands that were once used for industry are turned over for renewal.

3.8.3. Gentrification

Gentrification is explored at length in this paper because it is a key neoliberal tool for urban development in the face of diminishing public budgets for other interventions. Clark defines gentrification as:

> A process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital. " (Clark (2005) in Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010, p. 25).

A number of scholars frame gentrification as a destroyer of neighborhoods (Brown-Saracino, 2009; Drew, 2011; Freeman, 2006; Hamnett, 2003; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015 Smith, 1992; Smith, 1996; Vigdor, 2002; Wylie & Hammel, 2005), or as a harbinger of hipsters (Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2006, Zukin 2010). Our understanding of gentrification has evolved since Glass (1964) first coined the term as she looked at changes in the late 1950s in the London neighborhood of Islington. For this examination of the impacts of gentrification in this flow of policy mobilities, I focus on four key aspects of gentrification. I reflect on gentrification as an act of colonization and racial control and as a honey-pot for creatives and the urban hip.   Through this section, I also entertain whether there is a difference between Canadian forms of gentrification and those experienced in the United States.

3.8.3.1 Gentrification as a Neoliberal Tool

Faced with fewer options for collective investment in projects, cities in frames of new neoliberalism influenced management, seek new ways to arrange resources to trigger gentrification. One way to do this is to improve access or re-orient an asset to recreational use. This strategy has been used countless times in schemes that seek development of new neighborhoods in formerly industrial neighborhoods. This post-industrial re-use may involve the rededication of waterfront locations to linear trail uses. The re-orientation of assets to recreational uses, key in the redevelopment of the False Creek waterfront in Vancouver shifted from full industrial use, to almost no industrial uses over a span of forty years.

Still, for those without secure tenure, the gentrification process is very real. The turnover of properties due to speculation associated with gentrification can have profound personal impacts (Ley, 2003) and can also have broader societal impacts that can significantly impact outcomes for an entire community that echo on to affect the health and education of children (Oliver et al, 2007). Gentrification can also deeply impact businesses and often leads to business displacement and population loss (Atkinson, 2004). Subdivided housing units are assembled into larger units (Atkinson, 2004). Cities have developed policy responses that accept gentrification while attempting to manage negative outcomes related to displacement (Atkinson, 2004). But tracking business displacement can prove to be difficult. As Kennedy and Leonard note:

> Because gentrification occurs at such a localized level, it is often hard to detect by relying on city-level data sources. For example, the City and County of San Francisco do not collect business changeover, commercial vacancy and rent increase data at the neighborhood level; instead, the Mission Economic Development Association collects these data by hand in the rapidly gentrifying Mission neighborhood of San Francisco. (2001)

Displacement is not just limited to local services and local populations. The increase

in land values may also lead to changes in other sectors such as manufacturing (Curran,

2007). Following the arch of manufacturing through its significant decline in the 1980's

through to the adjustment of urban policies to invite gentrification into select locations,

Curran details a process which sees former industrial areas reconstituted as hip new

neighborhoods with a built-in patina of authenticity (2007). Curran points to both the local

impacts of these shifts in tenure and the broader national impact of industrial decline

(2007). Curran's thoughts echo those of David Ley's post-industrial theory which will be

discussed later. While industrial decline occurred for a variety of reasons tied to the

global economy, this process of de-industrialization brought in new groups with new

tastes and purchasing habits, while at the same time, displacing "middle-class business

owners who employed a relatively unskilled workforce" (Curran, 2007, p. 1428). The

result was a significant adjustment to neighborhood character.

These waves of gentrification were not necessarily predatory. In many cases, the

industrial decline left many locations vacant. However, this industrial displacement led to

adjustments in land economics which may play a role in pricing out industrial users.

Zukin (1982, 1987, 2008, 2010) studied the impact of the post-industrial incursion of loft-

dwelling gentrifiers in the Williamsburg area of Brooklyn. Conducting interviews with the

gentrifiers and the displaced, Zukin attempts to understand the situation by speaking to

those that are the agents and potential subjects of waves of change. She is also careful

to note that gentrification is a process which over time may see the displacers turned to

the displaced as prices rise through waves of gentrification.

Gentrification is seen by some as a negative concept destroying lives in the name of

creating pleasing spaces for the middle-class and rich. However, this view has evolved

for some. In Britain, Lees, Smith and others note the emergence of the Urban Task

Force report Towards an Urban Renaissance which "interweaves urban regeneration policy with gentrification practices and environmentalism" (Lees, 2000, p. 391). Lees notes the shifts in housing policy away from the provision of assistance to low-income individuals and families and the one size fits all approach of federal urban policy touting gentrification is actually not suited to all communities (2000). Some communities have the right assets to employ neo-liberal development strategies, but the research suggests that not all cities are able to partake in this type of development. As such, gentrification as macro-urban policy is likely inappropriate (Lees, 2003). Still many communities are employing gentrification as a development strategy. Makagon notes:

> The role of the planner and other urban professionals changes with the implicit support for gentrification. If gentrification is the tool for impacting urban change in the neo-liberal era, then there is an emergence of "architects, urbanists, planners as doctors of space". (2010, 39)

Lees summarizes this trend towards seeking a neo-liberal solution and quotes Peck's (2010) concept of "'fast' urban policy formation" (2012, p. 160), which is another way of saying policy mobilities. In this sense, the work of policy agents in policy mobilities lends itself to Makagon's notion of a doctor of space (2010). These agents, through their precision application of policy prescriptions can trigger opportunities. Lees states:

> Fast policies are designed to travel fast, they are post-ideological (and this is important because it means that they can be co-opted by those in any part of the political spectrum), pragmatic and will propagate themselves spatially. Gentrification is sold to us as something that is creative, it is about urban 'renaissance', the rebirth of the central city. Creative neoliberalism is a feel-good term that is hard to argue against (Lees 2012 paraphrasing Peck, 2010).

Lees (2012) argues in favor of a post-colonial era of gentrification study which moves away from comparing London and New York, which in many ways are very similar (McFarlane, 2011), and advocates for finding approaches to 'comparative urbanism' (Harris, 2008) that looks at the international impact of gentrification.

A number of scholars have noted the increasing reach of gentrification and suggest that it has emerged as a concept that is now inter-twined with globalization and its trans-national movement of people and wealth (Atkinson, 2003; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Davidson, 2007; Rofe, 2003). The proliferation of gentrification means that economic development professionals in cities wishing to attract new populations must be keenly aware of how their city is perceived in the market of world cities. They must be willing to capitalize on their particular attributes their city possesses, to set it apart from competitor cities in a world market. Economic development professionals in these cities must also ensure that national immigration policies are aligned with local economic development and wealth creation policies to ensure the seamless attraction of new citizens.

In the global competition for investment, politicians, economic developers and planners have honed their skills at harnessing the potential of gentrification to lead to community regeneration and economic investment goals (Makagon, 2010). The gentrification that results from flows of capital and human capital can have similarities to earlier waves of gentrification, but often leads to new forms of development that do not displace longstanding populations, but instead grafts on an odd branch to a neighborhood that has very little to do with the current population (Davidson, 2007). Davidson speaks of developments like these on distant west docklands in London where luxury towers have been constructed on the shore of the Thames in an otherwise lower income neighborhood (2007). These new residents, professionals from around the world, appreciate the prestigious riverfront view, but they report not shopping or partaking in services because they fear the local streets (Davidson, 2007).

Increasingly, the link between sustainability and gentrification becomes clearer. Bunce, in her review of plans for Toronto's waterfront, suggests that sustainability may act as a cloak for gentrification (2009). Neo-liberal policies are easily advanced as the

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environmental left and the social justice left are split on the right course of action (Bunce, 2009). In a region receptive to arguments for sustainability, it is possible to court the entrepreneurial densification elite and the environmental elite together. They are on the same page.

Through the 2000's, evolving monetary policy has also impacted gentrification. In the United States and elsewhere, a heavy reliance on mortgage-backed derivatives, which included the pooling of financial instruments, led to the housing boom that burst in 2008 (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010). What Lees calls "financification" of the building and real estate sector also led to a building boom and bust for gentrification.

Lees notes the recent turn towards a corporatized approach to development (2000, 2012). In many locations, the sweat equity of earlier generations was replaced by a corporate focus on identifying purchasable areas and driving gentrification through the development of upscale locations with significant amenities.

In 1986, Williams stated that:

> Gentrification is not a conspiracy by a set of secretive capitalists. Rather it is a process that emerges from the interaction of a whole set of relations, which include the conscious will of individual capitalists, competition between capitalists and the capitalist class as a whole"
> (p.75)

It would appear that Williams' assertion is no longer true. Increasingly, gentrification is a confirmed strategy for advancing economic changes in neighborhoods in certain cities (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010) and the development sector is taking a lead in renovating existing spaces and plugging-in (Lang, 2005) residential buildings and catalytic infrastructure. The most successful developers are often able to predict, with some confidence, the emergence of gentrified neighborhoods.

As was noted earlier in the dissertation, neo-liberalism is a contemporary approach to city administration in which cities utilize, to market instruments and public/private

partnerships in an era of diminishing budgets and citizens who are concerned about over-taxation (Hackworth, 2007). Atkinson and Bridge (2005) state that the spread of gentrification is assisted by an increasing neo-liberal approach to city administration that sees the great majority of communities employing economic development and regeneration strategies that lean on gentrification.

This new era of civic management is much more complex. It includes attempts to address inner-city revitalization as before, but now also includes efforts to address renewal of first-tier suburbs.   It also proliferates to communities of all sizes, in locations around the world.

Of course, it is less difficult to address gentrification in an era when there are fewer individuals and groups questioning its role as a driver of economic and social displacement. In many places, there is broad political support for gentrification (Neidt, p102) where it is seen as one of a series of policy tools designed to assist cities to address needs for renewal. Neidt notes that:

> Over the long term, the ascendancy of homeowner organizations, growing hostility toward welfare programs and recipients, and, deepening divisions along the lines of class, race and housing tenure have provided much better soil for revanchist public policies than for affordability-oriented ones. (2006, 117)

The cooperative relationship between corporate developers and the neo-liberal state has facilitated gentrification's continued spatial diffusion during recent years (Smith & DeFillipis, 1999). In many cities, most low-risk neighborhoods with large rent gaps – often neighborhoods close to the urban core – have been gentrified (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010). Niedt (2006) believes that government plays an active role in removing risk for business, allowing them to take on riskier developments in more marginal areas.

3.8.3.2 - Gentrification and Race

Gentrification and race intersect in a number of ways. African-Americans first dealt with the well documented abandonment of the American inner-city from the 1950's to the 1980's (Massey & Denton, 1993). Then, as urban areas came back in fashion, African-Americans were squeezed out of gentrifying neighborhoods (Taylor, 1992). Some have stated that gentrification brings new jobs to urban communities, but the research suggests that while gentrification may increase opportunities for urban residents, these jobs may not go to the local residents (Lloyd, 2006).

Gentrification brings populations with very different histories and socio-economic circumstances into close contact, but it does nothing to create neutral spaces where connections can be built between groups. Drew investigates the use of cross-racial dialogues as a form of building bridges between gentrifiers and existing populations in the neighborhoods of Northeast Portland, Oregon. "The Restorative Listening Project (RLP) brings together between 20 and 100 people each month to engage in dialogue about racism and gentrification." (Drew, 2011, p. 100). This project acknowledges neighborhood changes and creates a space for dialogue. Such dialogue can create connections between those who gentrify and the original residents of a community, but this dialogue does not relieve the economic displacement that can come with gentrification.

3.8.3.3 Gentrification in Canada and the US

Though the literature is largely silent on this point, the difference between Ley's theories of a culturally driven gentrification and Smith's theories of a rent-gap based theory seem to be at least partially explained by the difference between American and

Canadian cities. The difference between their theories is also partially explained by the difference between cities founded in the Eighteenth Century in contrast with cities that emerged in the late Nineteenth Century. Smith advanced his rent-gap theory based on observance of gentrification in Philadelphia's Society Hill, where Ley's study of gentrification emerged from his consideration of reform politics in Vancouver and the resultant innovative public and private approaches to advancing inner-city living. Caulfield's conception of the 'emancipatory city' is derided by those who suggest that his critique is blind to impacts on the displaced (Lees, 2000), but over time, it appears that what Caulfield saw occurring in Toronto may have been the first wave of a neo-liberal approach that is widely applied today.

In 1994, Caulfield posited a "deliberate riposte to the dominance of Marxist/structuralist interpretations of gentrification" as he argued that 1970's and 1980's gentrification in Toronto there "was a collective middle-class rejection of the oppressive conformity of suburbia, modernist planning and market principles" (1994). Slater (2006) suggests that Caulfield is uncritical of the displacement such changes bring. Ley (1984) and Mills (1988) discuss Vancouver's reform politics of the 1970's and trace their impact on the development of Vancouver's Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes neighborhoods. However, the idea of urban emancipation may be a uniquely Canadian theory (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010). In many cases, these cities never experienced white flight and continued and sustained segregation. So there may be an uptick in the overall economic status of neighborhood as gentrifiers move in, but the economic displacement is not limited to or isolated to one socio-economic or racial group.   Lorinc (2008), a Canadian writer states "we are a nation that watched the emptying out of U.S. cities and decided that we didn't want to abandon our downtown neighborhoods" (p. 55-56). Though Lorinc's assertion is an over-simplification of a very complex dialogue of histories, there is

an element of truth to this. The revanchist approach suggested by Smith (1986) never really occurs in the Canadian context because the Canadian middle-class did not abandon the inner-city for the suburbs to the same degree as the American middle-class in the United States. Even before the waves of gentrification documented by Ley, the City of Vancouver and the Government of Canada, through taxation policy driving the development of apartments, actively encouraged the replacement the mansions of Vancouver's West End. Though it may not have been thought of as gentrification at the time, Vancouver's densification of the West End through the 1960's and 1970's looks very much like our broader contemporary conception of gentrification - except for the fact that former once grand houses of what was a rich neighborhood were demolished in favor of a variety of apartment buildings, large and small.

There are a number of reasons for this different urban outcome in Canadian cities, but the lack of abandonment is at least in part because there was not a large-scale freeway program (Ley, 1980, 1986, Perl and Hearn, forthcoming). The racial constitution of Canadian cities is and was far more varied, meaning that ethnic enclavism coupled with economic exclusion did not stand as a barrier to middle-class re-investment in neighborhoods (Lees, 2000). Finally, as Ley (1986) notes, Canada actively invested extensively in urban housing for all-incomes through the federally funded Co-operative Housing Program.

While Caulfield has been called down for seeing gentrification though "rose colored glasses" (Lees, 2000), the fact is, his assessment of the Toronto experience echoes emergent policy pursuit of governments around the world. Today, cities seek to understand the gentrification processes and wish to harness the potential of gentrification to re-invigorate cities and neighborhoods through the utilization of market systems, while minimizing large-scale public investment (Hackworth, 2007; Smith, 2006).

Gentrification generalized refers to an observation by Smith (2006) which suggests three waves of gentrification. The first is the period of 1950 to 1970 which he describes as "sporadic gentrification" (Smith, 2006). It happens here and there, but there are no discernible patterns. He then suggest that the subsequent phase, from the 1970's to 1989 is an "anchoring phase" in which a number of cities begin to experience gentrification based on a variety of local factors that differ from city to city. He suggests that this is followed by a third wave of gentrification which has notable new characteristics, including policy support from both national, state/provincial and local levels of government and an increasing relationship of urban renewal to global movements of people and finances.

This policy support in Canada is forthcoming because in Canada's largest cities, there is an increasing understanding that the pursuit of urban sustainability requires a reinvestment and reinvigoration of urbanity and densification is a key tool to achieve that urbanity.

3.9   Planning Theory

This section outlines planning theory history and discusses the dominant changes in thought.   This discussion leads to consideration of current approaches to planning as they impact practice in Vancouver and Dallas.

3.9.1. What is Planning?

Planning is different from other professions in that its core area of operations is not strongly defined. It developed as a system and an approach in reaction to the negative outcomes of the industrial revolution. Urban overcrowding and tenement housing was the bane of turn of the 20th Century politicians. Planning and its appeal to orderly development was a counterpoint to unbridled urban economic development.

While planning has been around in many senses, for thousands of years, the era of planning contemplated in this paper focuses on the time following the industrial revolution when cities sought means to develop in orderly ways to maximize public health and commerce. Following World War II rational comprehensive planning (RCP) approaches, fueled by the success of systems thinking during the war, leads to the establishment of RCP as the dominant planning paradigm. In the 1960s, Jacobs, in her epic battle with Robert Moses of the City of New York, surgically deconstructs the hegemony of RCP and ushers in an era when other forms of planning, including those pertaining to justice (Davidoff, 1965) and the value of conversation and co-learning (Friedmann, 1973; Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004) begin to dominate planning discourse.

Transactive and communicative planning practice is germane to West Dallas, because these approaches are seen as an appropriate antidote to the challenges of rational comprehensive planning. Dallas can be seen to be locked within the rational comprehensive paradigm in which urban planners are technocrats who simply manage processes, the following of a challenge by those advocating transactive and communicative approaches can be seen as a late play of the same history advanced at an earlier time in other cities (Hanson, 2003).

While theories of geography and urban economics frame the changes taking place in West Dallas, actual consideration of the planning model adopted for WDD requires a deeper understanding of the move from functional structuralist forms of planning, which are the realm of the technical expert, to a broader learning-based form of planning practice envisioning planners and the public as equal participants in a highly contextualized co-learning process. The theory suggests that working together, citizens and planners create better decisions, while invigorating political debate in decisionmaking.

Charrette processes are related to transactive and communicative planning methods in that they offer an approach that has both transactive and communicative aspects. These approaches were employed in Vancouver for the CityPlan process and in WDD. A modified form of charrette drawing is utilized and tested in the methodology of this investigation of WDD.

3.9.2 Planning History

Modern urban planning emerges out of reactions to the negative impacts of the industrial revolution and seeks to address urban problems, occurring as the result of rapid urbanization, over-crowding and the co-location of deleterious urban uses like factories with housing. Progressives in the early part of the 20th Century, focused on the alleviation of over-crowding in tenement housing in major cities. In response to health problems in these cities, various approaches, including the City Beautiful and the Garden City movements sought to bring order to what appeared to the chaos of urbanity, while offering places of respite from the grind of urban densities and substandard health amenities, such as insufficient sewerage systems and a lack of fresh water.

City planning addressed the challenges of urban conditions. It evolved into a profession which sought the orderly construction of cities, and in many ways, worked to improve the conditions of urbanites in cities. Confidence in the ability of science to address the challenges of modernity intensified, in the wake the successful application of scientific principles in the efforts of Allied countries to win World War II. The positivist belief in the power of science was applied to urban systems, and initially, it would seem with positive results. Positivist solutions included the development of urban highways through the Interstate Highways Act of 1956 and slum clearance through the Fair Housing Act of 1954.

Structural functionalist thinking frames RCP, a method of planning approaching planning subjects comprehensively and applies rational decision making processes. Banfield outlines the rational method where planners list opportunities for action, identify consequences of actions and then select a preferred approach (1959). The RCP planner faces a dizzying array of potential solutions and finite resources for the consideration of decisions, including time, cost, etc. (Banfield, 1959). However, this simplified method of decision making is not particularly useful in examining future complexity. In this approach, a planner is a neutral overseer of process, but they are framed within their own conceptions of the world and may have trouble exercising empathy across racial, cultural and socio-economic divides.

Davidoff (1965) enters the dialogue raising distributive justice as an important consideration for planners and asks if planning actually serves diverse interests. He questions if there is a single and definable public interest as suggested by RCP (Davidoff, 1965). He asserts the public is not a unified whole, but a series of differing interests (Davidoff, 1965). Based on this, Davidoff concludes planning decisions tend to prejudice outcomes for one group over another (1965).

RCP continues on in many places as a way of doing planning in places without vigorous political debates intent on advancing progressive points of view. RCP is attacked for being content-less, and top down (Taylor, 1998). When RCP planners – like those operating in Dallas under the policy of advancing what is best for 'the city as a whole' - operate with the idea that there is a singular consensus, they do disservice to the actual pluralistic nature of society (Hanson, 2003). RCP planners also remain one step removed from the development process, essentially setting the table for development, but the real act of building is exercised through the development sector.

RCP is called into question throughout much of North America as a result of various crises emerging in the 1960s, including the social and economic aftermath of systemic class and race discrimination and the rise of various social movements – Vietnam War Protests, Civil Rights, Black Power, Feminist Movements, Student Movements, Free-speech Movements – which represented groups that were disenfranchised from the American dream. Critics, led by Jane Jacobs (1961) and *the Life and Death of Great American Cities*, chronicling modernist planning's assault on neighborhoods and , Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), noting the negative impacts of pesticide use, mark the beginning of a series of texts questioning the certainty of the scientific method.

3.9.3 *Transactive and Communicative Planning*

In 1968 Friedmann asserts "planning is that professional practice that specifically seeks to connect forms of knowledge with forms of action in the public domain" (Friedmann, 2011, pp. 3).   Based on Davidoff's (1965) assertion - there is not one single base of power - there is a need to connect with multiple forms of knowledge. In this conception of planning, communication must be the basis for understanding the multiple stores of knowledge required to achieve equitable planning and believes that adjustments to planning must seek to build communications (Friedmann, 1973, Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004).

Transactive planning is seen as a solution countering RCP (Friedmann, 1973). The transactive and communicative stance is developed because breaks in links in communication make it difficult for planners to move from knowledge to action (Friedmann, 1973, Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004). Planners are able to overcome these barriers through dialogue, empathy and authenticity and that they must do so in a spirit that accepts difference and conflict (Friedmann, 1973, Innes, 1995, Innes

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and Booher, 2004). Communication is total in that it is both the spoken and the unspoken (Friedmann, 1973, Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004) The intention is to work through communication to establish a dialogue that can lead to a (Friedmann, 1973, Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004). Friedmann asserts planning is a process of mutual learning, and the special skill of the planner, is to learn quickly about systems and then to apply some sort of ordering, to help make sense of these systems (Friedmann, 1973, Friedmann, 1987).

While historically, planners may have held technical and specialized knowledge, in the transactive or communicative paradigm, the planner engages with clients, or with the public, as a form of facilitated shared learning (Friedmann, 1993, Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004).

The key concept to be valued is social learning and social learning is not a one-way flow of information where planners provide information and elicit feedback (Friedmann, 1973, Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004). Rather, transactive or communicative planning seeks critical feedback that helps to shape outcomes (Friedmann, 1973, Innes, 1995, Innes and Booher, 2004). It is not a secretive form of planning and it is broadly available for criticism and comment (Friedmann, 1973). The type of planning described is also aligned with both Brown (Personal communication, 2014) and Beasley's (Personal communication, 2016 description of the desired process for WDD.

Innes notes planning processes prescribe an approach to planning seeking the public's point of view, but provides no real power to citizens beyond what is available to them at the ballot box (1995). The real power to make decisions is still held within the power elite of the council or other elected body (Innes, 1995). Planning becomes a process of rubber-stamping, where citizens are called upon to approve pre-ordained approaches (Innes, 1995). This is perhaps most true in the neo-liberal era, where cities

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may play only small roles in dictating how development occurs and are faced with agreeing to an investment in its proposed form, or forgoing the investment. The DCdS and the planning and development systems of the City of Vancouver are intended to break up the certainty of these outcomes, offering opportunities for designers and in some cases, citizens to weigh in on planning decisions. This citizen involvement occurs in Vancouver (Sandercock, 2005), but generally it is not part of the conversation in Dallas (Brown, personal communication, 2014).

The discussion of planning in this section, has really skirted two inter-related choices. The first seeks to set the appropriate process for development – ensuring that the right people are involved so as to make decisions. Whether we are discussing RCP, or transactive planning, we are really just talking about how planning is done. The second choice for planners is based on values. Planners and politicians want to reflect the values of their communities and want to fairly and completely allow for those various voices to be heard. Even advocacy planning, as an approach is focused on making sure that those that lack a full voice in planning processes are able to have their interests considered in planning decisions.

Increasingly, this communicative approach finds its way into negotiations under neo-liberal regimes where planners and developers trade off, behind closed doors, determining what benefits the city may be able to obtain as a result of a given development. This version of communicative action is the process utilized in Vancouver, where planners negotiate a 'voluntary' contribution from developers in return for the provision of increased density or other relaxations (Beasley & Barnett, 2015).

Goonewardena (2003) entreats planners to stand up and rail against neo-liberalist development, suggesting real planners will face the negative powers of the anti-humanist neo-liberal approach. What an act of defiance against neo-liberalism looks like is

unclear. If we look to the work that the DCdS advances in Dallas, we might see their work as an effort to stand up against neo-liberalism at its best, or if it is not successful, it may just be framed as an effort to defend against a continued employment of RCP.

Foglesong outlines the role that planning plays in maintaining the market system. He notes that Harvey says that this happens because of the uniqueness of land as a commodity (1986). Foglesong (1986) suggests that planning emerges from capital's interest in socializing the control of land and that it plays an active role in maintaining the capitalist system of control of resources.

3.9.4. Planning and Design

Forrester pushes communication to the apex position in his writing on planning (1980).   In Forester's 1980 piece, "Critical Theory and Planning Practice", he quotes Habermas extensively as he describes the importance of communication and warns planners to be aware that they are communicating even when they do not actually believe that they are. Any omission, or act, will be seen as a part of communication which goes beyond mere dialogue.

Habermas states that effective communications must be comprehensible, must communicate something, must be sincere and must be seeking to come to an understanding with another person. These four provisions of effective communication become the normative ideal for establishing and operating a participatory process of planning. Forrester believes that planning is fundamentally communicative and that planners must play an active role in facilitating the information process, including taking great care to expose distortions and misinformation (1980). He suggested that while the root of the communicative turn may have been and tied with Marxist interpretations, the fact is that practitioners must take a more pragmatic approach, or as Forester says,

"getting their hands dirty" in processes requiring pragmatism and trade-offs. Increasingly, this communicative approach finds its way into negotiations under neo-liberal regimes where planners and developers trade off, behind closed doors, determining what benefits the city may be able to obtain as a result of a given development. This version of communicative action is the process utilized in Vancouver, where planners negotiate a 'voluntary' contribution from developers in return for the provision of increased density or other relaxations.

3.9.5 - Interculturality and Inclusivity

Many scholars point out that separation of racial groups also leads to socio-economic differences (Massey & Denton, 1993; Manning-Thomas, 1998; Wilson, 2008; Duneier, 2016). This negative impact for enclaves is pronounced across many American cities and is certainly apparent in the socio-economic make-up of the City of Dallas (Pendall & Hedman, 2015). Some might argue that there is value inherent in enclavism, provided that it is connected to equality of opportunities as it creates cultural cohesion. Interculturalism argues for a middle space that does not lead to societal fracturing by culture or to enclavism (Cantle, 2013). Instead, Sondhi (2009) suggests it is a middle way between assimilation and multiculturalism. He states:

> The basis of this approach lies in the creation of a new kind of living dialogue – creating the space and opportunity and the inclination for two different entities to know a little more about how to reassureand interest the other while also avoiding those things that might insult or alarm them, thus minimizing the potential obstacles to the transaction. But it is more than just a tool of communication – it is a process of mutual learning and joint growth. This implies a process of acquiring, not only a set of basic facts and concepts about the other but also particular skills and competencies that will enable one to interact functionally with anyone different from oneself regardless of their origins. This implies a different way of reading situations, signs, symbols, and of communicating which we would describe as intercultural literacy. This indicates the acquisition of an intercultural competence, a certain frame of mind, which in a

diverse societybecomes as important a competency as basic numeracy and literacy (Sondhi, 2009)

While there are many positive things that can be said about the value of homogeneity, it is clear that something gets traded when diversity is lost. Moving to consideration of what we wish to advocate for, as planners, Friedmann offers his conception of the "good city", which he sees as based on foundations of human flourishing and multipli/city. He suggests that four pillars of material foundations provide a base, including housing, adequate healthcare; adequate remunerated work and the provision of the earlier three points to even the weakest citizen (2008).   He suggests that a system of good governance will create a self-organizing civil society, active in making claims and resisting and struggling on behalf of the good city within a framework of democratic institutions. He points planners to other writers to consider issues of spatial layout and design and freely admits that his vision does not yet provide a frame through which to examine the relationship of sustainability to utopian thinking (Friedmann, 2008).

Friedmann discusses utopian thinking at length and calls for planners to take an active role in transformative practice, borrowing Sandercock's notion of the insurgent planner (2008). Utopian planning, which is grounded in emancipatory practice offers a critique of current practice and then sets about building practices that lead to emancipatory situations, where all citizens are free to be engaged politically and have the right to what Friedmann calls human flourishing. Friedmann suggests:

- Every human being has the right, by nature, to the full development of their innate intellectual, physical and spiritual potentials in the context of wider communities.

- Suggests that this is engrained in the liberal democratic ethos (Friedmann, 2008).

Friedmann concludes his arguments by calling for good government, which he sees as a responsive form of governance that places the primacy of civil society at its apex

(Friedmann, 2008). But before he concludes, Friedmann suggests that multiplicity (or diversity) is essential to the development of "The Good City.

Critical theory's considerations of otherness and voice are applied to the critique of technocratic planning, informed transactive and communicative planning practice and lead to the emergence of conversations about differential treatment in policy processes. It became clear, that the political nature of planning meant that it was impossible to arrive at one single point of view, representing the public interest. Instead, the public interest was a kaleidoscope of competing positions and value declarations with no one idea holding certainty (Friedmann, 1973). Through the learning conversations facilitated by transactive and communicative planning, through the multiple lenses of inquiry developed through critical theory and through considerations of spatial justice, planners needed to reconsider decision-making processes.

If a single decision or action impacts women, children, the elderly, new immigrants, or even particular racial groups in a differential manner, then planning practice should consider these differences. Planning also needs to consider the new citizen, along with the longtime resident and needs to fold in how issues such as immigrant access to resources and opportunity, are reflected in cities. Applying an intercultural lens means thinking about these multiple lenses of inquiry and folding these into the conversation, even when goals are in conflict (Sandercock, 1998).

Iris Marion Young discusses inclusion in democracy (1990). She suggests that the problem with identifying groups with similar attributes, is that these individuals are often denied a political voice, because they are assumed to have the voice and opinions common to their group (Young, 1990). She warns that reducing politics rooted in difference, to identity politics, sidelines these opinions. She quotes Charles Taylor's theory of the politics of recognition which states that preservation of culture is important

to groups, and so recognition of groups' rights to exist and assert their interests, is important (Young, 1990). She notes that African Americans issues are often identified identity politics, but states these issues are more found in the realm of structural inequality, and as such are less cultural issues, and more justice issues (Young, 1990). Then, citing indigenous peoples and rights for gays and lesbians, she continues to divine best politics of group-conscious identity and those claims that relate to the assertion of a just society (Young, 1990). She goes on to examine Elshtain's politics of difference, noting that these would seem to deny the possibility of a common good, rather, the public realm is simply the competition among private interests (Young, 1990).

In Walking in Another's Shoes: Epistemological Challenges in Participatory Planning, Karen Umemoto discusses the challenges of mediating between cultures in a multi-cultural planning process (2001). She notes Sandercock (1998b) who suggests six ways of knowing that constitute an epistemology of multiplicity for planning practice:

- through dialogue;
- from experience;
- through gaining local knowledge of the specific and concrete;
- through learning to read symbolic, nonverbal evidence;
- through contemplation; and
- through action planning.

She and others who advocate "planning for multiple publics" (Sandercock and Forsyth 1992) argue for a celebration of difference while addressing the problems of inequality and exploitation.

An authentic approach to intercultural planning must acknowledge previous injustice if it is to arrive at suitable solutions and this acknowledgement forms part of what Friedmann refers to as authentic communication (1973). An intercultural approach to planning suggests that decisions are made in ways that acknowledge both the history of difference and injustices related to the management of difference. Friedmann (1973) suggests an authenticity in practice that acknowledges historical injustices and suggests pathways to approaches that avoid making missteps in the future. Friedmann's invocations echo earlier appreciation for urban complexity from Jacobs. She states:

> The tolerance, the room for great differences among neighbors -
> differences that often go far deeper than differences in color - which are
> possible and normal in intensely urban life, but which are so foreign to
> suburbs and pseudosuburbs, are possible and normal only when streets
> of great cities have built-in equipment allowing strangers to dwell in
> peace together on civilized but essentially dignified and reserved terms.
> (Jacobs, 1961, p. 72)

Later versions of intercultural communities that now spill beyond the walking streets of urban neighborhoods to car oriented suburbs that suffer from a lack of spaces of continuous interface.

Young (1990) suggests that communities of sameness actually mediate against the potential of building intercultural communities. Hence, the strong ties, built on sameness in a community may actually lead to exclusion and barriers to interculturalism. Young states her hopes for a different type of urbanity that begins to embrace difference:

> As an alternative to the ideal of community, I propose an ideal of city life
> as a vision of social relations affirming group difference. As a normative
> ideal, city life instantiates social relations of difference without exclusion.
> Different groups dwell in the city alongside one another, of necessity
> interacting in city spaces. If city politics is to be democratic and not
> dominated by the point of view of one group, it must be a politics' that
> takes account of and provides voice for the different groups that dwell
> together in the city without forming a community (1990, Pp. 251)

Young goes on to quote Barber in stating why such mixing is important in arriving at a shared consciousness of the community.

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> Barber also takes shared subjectivity as the meaning of community.
> Through political participation individuals confront one another and adjust
> their wants and desires, creating a "common ordering of individual needs
> and wants into a single vision of the future in which all can share."
> Strong democracy seeks to reach a "creative consensus" which through
> common talk and common work creates a "common consciousness and
> political judgment". Some theorists of community, on the other hand,
> replace commonness in the meaning of community with mutuality and
> reciprocity, the recognition by each individual of the individuality of all the
> others. (Young, p. 230)

If we follow Barber's assertions through Young, Friedmann's concept of human flourishing can permeate to all corners of the City, not to be limited only to those areas with the means. If human flourishing – as a broad urban goal is indeed a goal, then one of the first actions to undertake, would be to build understanding of the other. Such understanding happens in many cities, because there are numerous places in the public realm where citizens, from all races and stations, are able to meet and mediate space, thereby creating understanding. From the subways of New York to the farmer's market in Fargo, there are public spaces, not shielded by large tariff walls or security forces.

Chapter 4 Methodology

The methodology of this paper builds on the blending of two theoretical frameworks to arrive at a hybrid frame in which to organize the analysis in this dissertation. McCann (2011-1) suggests that the completion of a global ethnography (Buroway, 2001) offers the best opportunity to capture the unique field of policy mobilities which includes both a site of policy innovation and a receiving site for that innovation. These physical spaces are also attached to temporal and theoretical frames (McCann, 2011-1). I utlilize aspects that approach the ideas of a global ethnography, but I add to this a secondary framework, the Ostrom and Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Design Framework and their notion of a policy arena (2004) to organize the theoretical fields I elaborate on the subject of this paper – the policy mobilities delivered to West Dallas through West Dallas Dream (WDD) utilizing these theories to examine this stretched notion of policy arena – which includes the policy ideas moving between cities and an understanding of the frames of these two cities. To inform the review of these key theories related to the policy movement within this combinatory policy arena, I interview individuals representing citizens, community leaders and professionals involved in the WDD session.

4.1 – Research

Policy mobilities are fast moving policy ideas traded between cities that compete for capital and investment in a globalized neo-liberal context (Jacobs, 2012; McCann, 2013, 2011-1, 2011-2; Peck, 2010). This dissertation examines the flow of transactive and communicative planning process approaches between Vancouver and Dallas through the actions of one policy entrepreneur, Larry Beasley. This investigation yields results in four distinct areas. These include:

1. Research on policy mobilities contributes to the body of research discussing how policies travel and what changes may occur when a policy idea is adopted in a new setting. ;

2. Better understanding of the reception and implementation of WDD in West Dallas and an understanding of community sentiment about the types of changes occurring as a result of the signals WDD sent to developers and the community about the future of this area;

3. A broader reflection on how cities in the United States pursue urban spatial justice in the face of a largely economically and socially segregated urban population, including a discussion of gentrification managed in a transactive and communicative framework as a possible necessary solution for building social, economic and racial integration; and

4. Consideration of Time Lapse Charrette Futuring, which combines charrette methods with emerging information available from Google Street View to project forward on possible future change in neighborhoods.

In this section on Methodology, I elaborate on:

- The setting of this investigation and how as a policy mobilities exercise, it must consider both the supply and demand side of the policies in motion to provide an adequate understanding of the movement of ideas in the investigation this dissertation undertakes;

- The populations under investigation, which is mostly focused on the receiving community, but does include reflections on the supply location as well;

- Data sources which include readings, interviews, site visits and a review of primary documents related to the WDD process;

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- Ethical considerations, including an accounting of my own biases and a consideration for the fallibility of learners within the process;

- Reflection on the research design, which includes considerations in following a modified form of global ethnography;

- A considering of instrumentation, including the reasons for choosing an open ended interview approach;

- A review of the interview instrument and how it is used in the dissertation;

- A review of the data analysis strategy, including reflection on how data will be compiled and utilized in this exercise;

- A discussions of the limitations of this research; and,

I discuss the merits and drawbacks of concentration on a single case study, noting the research of Yin, Fyljberg and Platt. I then use Peck and Theodore's (2015) methodological review of their own 'Policies without Borders' project, to explore Burroway's (2001) notion of a global ethnography. I explain the IAD method, how I use it as a framework for this study, before launching into a description of the action arena, this dissertation considers. Then, I discuss my specific plan and methods for completing this dissertation, which include a modified form of targeted interviews, with a number of key informants. I discuss how these interviews were conducted, the line of inquiry, and some specific commentary on the charrette method pursued through the interview process.

4.2 – Setting

As has been noted, the fact that I exercised a method that approaches global ethnography, means that I travelled with the policies in motion. I understood their crafting and application in their initial setting and observed and conducted interviews to learn

about their arrival in a new setting. Though both of these settings are tethered by real geography, they also occupy a nether space of the global imagination, where Dallas policy learners come to understand aspects of Vancouver policy innovations to prepare them for advocacy in a policy movement, which is also part of a larger cultural change exercise at the City of Dallas.

Robinson builds a model of understanding that encourages us to move beyond the comparison of like and the grouping of like cities and encourages us to examine not just where things move to and fro, but also to consider how policy ideas are recombined in context (2013, 2015). She suggests that this comparative method needs to consider the genetic and the generative nature of policy innovation, examining both the genesis of innovation, but also looking at the combinatory aspects exercised in generating new policy approaches (Robinson, 2015). Where possible, I weave Robinson's notion of relational thinking into the methodological approach (2011, 2015).

Hence, the setting of this dissertation is not just the physical spaces of Dallas and Vancouver, but is also the imagined spaces of potential for opportunity and change that embody both of these geographic spaces and extend past the physical performance and manifestations of the WDD plan and the operation of the City of Dallas Citydesign Studio (DCdS) into the operational structures and the culture of the City of Dallas as a corporate entity. They are both set in a land which is separate from, and yet intrinsic to their broader national narratives. In a sense – these cities are the hyper-expression of the liberalism and progressive tendencies of one country and the fierce individualism and entrepreneurial rigor of the other. This imagined space also forms an aspect of the geographies explored.

To examine the transactive and communicative planning process of WDD, and the policies in motion that support it, the research focuses on policy processes, through the

work of one particular policy expert, Larry Beasley (former Co-director of Planning for the City of Vancouver). There is extensive scholarship on Beasley's work in Vancouver generally (Berelowitz, 2005; Grant, 2003; Punter, 2003) and more recently, a number of scholars have framed Beasley's work, within the bounds of policy mobilities (Khirfan and Jaffer, 2014; McCann, 2011-1). In the words of policy mobilities scholars, Beasley is a 'policy entrepreneur' (McCann, 2011-1). Beasley's work in transactive and communicative methods, reached a critical apex in Vancouver's CityPlan (1996). He has completed consulting work in Seattle (Boddy, 2004; McCann, 2011-1) and Abu Dhabi (Khirfan et al, 2014). More recently, Mr. Beasley was hired as a consultant for the DCdS and completed WDD process in 2009, followed by subsequent charrette meetings, all of which led to the development of Design Guidelines for West Dallas. He remains the Design Advisor for the DCdS and continues to work on urban planning processes with the City.

There is also a temporal setting to this dissertation in that it not only looks at two spaces and the imagined space between, it also exists and evolves over time, so that the setting contemplated at the initial performance of WDD evolves into something which increases in complexity as time goes on. Meanwhile, the lens of time allows further opportunity to reflect on the policy implications of Beasley's earlier work in the City of Vancouver.

4.3 – Populations

As McCann (2011-1) notes, the notion of policy mobilities stretches and creates a policy arena that includes both the supply and the demand sites of these policy ideas in motion. Central to the discussion is the policy entrepreneur in this situation, Larry Beasley, whose work connects both the supply and demand cities. In this broader

conception of the policy arena, I am able to understand the supply situation through a number of primary sources, including scholarly articles and a book which details the CityPlan process and its outcomes (Punter, 2003). West Dallas has historically been a community which has been poorly served by government (Hanson, 2003). While this may be evolving, there is a long shadow of poor zoning, health crises and grinding poverty which have plagued the neighborhood (Hanson, 2003). Any work with the local populations of this area must start with an awareness of inequality and the stain of injustice in West Dallas.

West Dallas is 66% Hispanic and 30% Black, with a smattering of other populations through the area (Census, 2010).   This Latino population is up from 62% in 2000, while the Black population is down from 34% that year (Census, 2000). The subject area, which is the site of the WDD plan, is a mix of older industrial buildings, recently constructed apartments and one predominantly Latino neighborhood, LaBajada. According to Dallas County, over 25% of the houses in West Dallas are substandard (AIM for Dallas, 2016, bcWorkshop). The individuals living across West Dallas are not strangers to displacement. Many of the predominantly Black families living further west in West Dallas in federally funded Housing and Urban Department housing have experienced displacement from other parts of the City over the last 70 years. These movements were precipitated by industrial expansion, such as the expansion of Love Field runways, in the 1950s, or they have happened as a result of gentrification, such as the erosion of the State-Thomas neighborhood and the emergence of what has come to be known as Uptown (Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003; Phillips, 2006).

While these displacements apply to many of the broader populations of West Dallas, those living in the subject area, families in La Bajada have lived in this area for up to one hundred years and the same is true for the few remaining homes south of the Grand

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Trunk Railway line along West Main St. These populations are poor. Average annual income is below $24,000 per year (Census, 2011).

As new housing is developed, the age and ethnicity profile of West Dallas is changing, however, there is no new census data to pinpoint socio-economic standing or ethnicity within these newly arriving groups. Anecdotal information suggests that the new apartment owners represent a broader mix of citizens, more consistent with the intercultural mixing of populations that takes place outside the city limits of Dallas.

Within the city limits of Dallas, populations are divided by race and it should be noted that in Dallas, race and socio-economic standing track closely. That is, if a neighborhood is affluent, it is likely to be a predominantly white community and if a neighborhood is poor, it is likely to be predominantly Black or Latino (Census, 2011)[4]

4.4 – Data Source(s)

The data for this investigation of policy mobilities between Vancouver and Dallas is drawn from a number of locations, including a review of books, reports and historical documents. On-site analysis was also conducted, especially through the use of Google Street View as I obtained images for the investigation of the TLCF, but also through driving and walking through West Dallas. I also conducted personal interviews with twenty individuals involved in the WDD process. These data sources were compiled and reviewed and form the body of information that is reviewed and considered in relation to the theoretical exploration undertaken in the Literature Review.

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[4] Figure 17 and 18 detail the information about the racial characteristics of Dallas.

4.5 – Ethical Considerations

In this dissertation, I address situations where there are significant imbalances of power. Dallas has a long history of managing populations to ensure racial separation (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003; Phillips, 2006). Discussions need to be sensitive to this history. Ostrom and Ostrom suggest that participants in a process may be hampered by power imbalances that may not allow them to fully participate to the level that others do (2004). With the exception of three interviews conducted with community members, my interviews were with individuals from the planning and development sectors and from community representative organizations. I conducted a number of interviews with individuals working with community service organizations, including churches and not-for-profits to gain a sense of the impacts of development in West Dallas on the broader community. I triangulated the responses of these representatives with the responses of local citizens to ensure that the representatives were sound in their interpretation of the community perspective.

Race frames discussions of inequality in Dallas. (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003; Graff, 2008; Phillips, 2006).   Through my line of questioning of interviewees, I sought to be factual, yet sensitive to the impacts of the racial divides of Dallas on its citizens. Racial injustice is part of the history and continues in the unfolding stories of this neighborhood. In my interviews, I was clear in my understanding of the racial situation in West Dallas, but I did not dwell upon the racial factors that impact outcomes for West Dallas residents when they steered the conversation away from these issues.

Finally, West Dallas, especially the lands to the west of the target neighborhood for WDD, has experienced significant impacts as a result of historical urban planning decisions. There is general distrust of the City, which, has continued to use West Dallas

as a destination for deleterious industry and as a receiving zone for the cities poor populations (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003; Phillips, 2006).   The decision to co-locate the largest social housing project in the nation in the shadow of lead smelter and battery disposal facility means that many residents of West Dallas have faced long-term exposure to toxins and there are a number of Federal Environmental Protection Agency Superfund sites in West Dallas (Johnson et al, 2014). Citizens, including individuals interviewed in this process have suffered as a result of these historical injustices that have left long-term scars in the community.

The ethics of investigating development in Dallas occur within a certain relationship to the history of race relations in the South and in particular, these relations in Dallas. Again, race relations conversations are suffused with power imbalances. I must also wrestle with the notion that race relations in Dallas, both historic and contemporary are framed not just by the macro level indications of ongoing segregation, or in specific racist acts, but also in the many relationships in Dallas that mediate against these trends. While broadly, there may be racial division in the City, there are numerous places where individuals from various races come together, in workplaces, in shopping spaces, in arenas and stadiums, and even in City Hall.

While a white Dallas resident working in Dallas, or even a white Southerner working in Dallas may first need to acknowledge their relationship, or seat of privilege in relation to power in Dallas, as a Canadian, I am removed from the particulars of southern relations. Still, I exist within a broader framework of colonial relations and acknowledge my place within this broader framework. I am also aware that while I may know that I am from somewhere else, disconnected from the history of southern relations, those who don't pick up on the subtlety of my Canadian accent will still see me as a member of the dominant group.

In thinking about the role that community residents play, I pay close attention to the fallibility of learners in the context of West Dallas as there seems to be a marked distinction between the participants' capacity for engagement in the citizens participating in the planning process advanced in Vancouver and the participants in Dallas. Ostrom and Ostrom divine between those participants that have well-ordered preferences and complete information that allows them to maximize their utility in decisions (2004). In Vancouver, the participants in the CityPlan process were urban residents, conditioned to appreciate increased densification through their experience of successful urban neighborhoods like the West End and False Creek South (Grant, 2009; Kataoka, 2009; Punter, 2003). Additionally, new citizens, represented by recent immigration to Vancouver, were dominated by Hong Kong nationals who sought a safe place to land in advance of the planned 1997 Chinese takeover of the British colony (Punter, 2003). Hong Kong residents left one of the densest cities in the world to come to Vancouver. These affluent Hong Kong urbanites came with their own expectations about suitable urban density and their economic power placed them on par, or in an advantaged position vis-a-vis existing Vancouverites (Ley, 2011; Punter, 2003). Various actors in Vancouver's CityPlan were open to increased density and understood the potential of building amenity rich urban neighborhoods (Punter, 2003).

By contrast, West Dallas is a predominantly Black and Latino neighborhood (City of Dallas, 2009). The West Dallas population has less income, lower health outcomes, experiences more crime and is generally more challenged than other areas of Dallas (City of Dallas, 2009) - a city which is characterized by extremes in wealth and poverty (Graff, 2008). In addition to the historical resident population of West Dallas's lack of power in political systems and barriers such as language and culture, and in some cases, general distrust of governments as many West Dallas citizens some may have entered

the WDD process without sufficient understanding of the U.S. systems of urban planning.
In particular, those who arrived to the United States illegally will likely avoid engagement
in public processes. While I engage planners trained in understanding urban processes,
the resident population may not be able to participate in my study at the same level, just
as they may not have been able to participate in WDD at the same level. My solution has
been to tap the leadership of the local community, who have connections and
understanding of local circumstances and who are able to participate in higher-level
conversations about the nature of the changes underway. I also engage directly with
West Dallas citizens as they are they experiencing gentrification to gauge their feelings
about how WDD has changed in light of the development completed to date.

To assess the issue of trust and the fallibility of learners, I built-in questions about
how those executing the WDD process advanced the understanding of participants from
West Dallas, given the significant cultural and economic divides involved and the
potential for mistrust of government led processes.

Finally, these interviews were conducted before the events of July 7, 2016, when five
Dallas police officers were shot by a sniper perched above a Black Lives Matter parade in
Downtown Dallas. This paper has not considered the implications of these recent events
on the potential for interculturality in the City of Dallas.

4.6 - Research Design

The methodological approaches of scholars studying policy movement fall into two
types. The first is policy transfer, in which political science and public administration
consider the flow of policy ideas, mostly vertically through governments and then
horizontally between states, or nation states (Peck and Theodore, 2010). The second,
policy mobilities conveys a unique approach distinct from a long history of policy transfer

literature (Peck and Theodore, 2010; Peck and Theodore, 2015). McCann (2011-1, 2010) McCann and Ward (2011) ;Peck (2010); and Peck and Theodore (2010; 2015), lay the ground for the consideration of policy mobilities as something different from policy transfer. Healy, while not using the precise wording for the concept of 'policy mobilities', talks about the transfer of policies in urban planning and suggests ways to move beyond the blind transfer of ideas devoid of their original critical content (2011).

McFarlane (2010) and McCann and Ward (2012) introduce the concept of assemblages to the dialogue on policy mobilities, suggesting that new policies are not off the shelf, but rather, are an assembly of solutions, that are placed in a new context. While each of these papers and books cites cases, the consideration of the case is secondary to theorization and linkage of the concept of policy mobilities to broader intellectual dialogues that intersect geography, political science, urban planning and public policy. Their consideration of context focuses on the emerging policies mobilities debate, and the state of contemporary practice, which is contrasted with a more historical straight intergovernmental transfer process (Peck and Theodore, 2015).

The second type of research focuses on qualitative case studies seeking to peer inside a policy mobilities process. These papers build on the research agenda outlined by McCann (2011-1) and reiterated by others. McCann's examination of policy mobilities considers both inbound (2006) and outbound (2011-1) mobilities. He examines Vancouver leaders as seekers of policy innovation in his piece on harm reduction drug strategies (McCann, 2006). In this case he delves into the pull factors of policy mobility, exploring what motivates the search for innovation and how the process takes place (McCann, 2006). This pull piece demonstrates a more nuanced search process which relies on attempts to investigate a number of potential purveyors of policy innovation (McCann, 2008). His push, or extrospective piece focuses on the City of Fort Worth and

efforts to identify someone who could deliver a certain type of pedestrian centered

development (McCann, 2011-1). However, McCann's examination, by his own

admission, is not in-depth and only briefly considers the context and the reception of the

Fort Worth case.

In 2011-1, McCann outlined a policy mobilities research agenda, where he states:

> This discussion suggests that our understanding of urban policy
> mobilities can benefit from a "global ethnography" that entails "a shift
> from studying 'sites' [e.g., Vancouver] to studying 'fields,' that is, the
> relations between sites" while maintaining one site as a "primary
> perspective" (Gowan and ´O Riain 2000, xii; Burawoy 2000, 30–31). This
> "extended case" method involves ethnographic engagement with
> participants and processes, careful attention to the external forces and
> connections shaping specific sites, and, as a result of this work, the
> extension of theory (Burawoy 2000, 26–28; Burawoy et al. 1991).

This dissertation will utilize an intention to pursue the "global ethnography" Buroway

(2000) first describes and McCann outlines and devises a method to address the need to

consider 'fields' – the relation between sites while using one sight as a "primary location"

(2011-1). This dissertation examines Dallas as the primary receiving location of the

policy mobility, but aspires to a global ethnography methodology, as a means to tack

back and forth between the supply location, and the receiving location of the policy

mobility.

4.6.1 Global Ethnography

Global ethnography is a standard ethnographic process marked by deep

engagement in local networks to understand a situation. I soften the term global

ethnography and refer to an intention to pursue it, to illuminate the fact that this study

lacks deeper resources to do a full immersive ethnography. That stated, there remains

an opportunity to operate with the intention of a global ethnography, based on a belief,

similar to that expressed by Peck and Theodore (2015), which suggests even a partial implementation of this method, can yield insights and contribute to knowledge building.

> Clearly it is not always possible to "be there" when in the study of global policy networks there is a constant imperative to also "be" somewhere else. But moving between sites and folding back lessons from each of them allows for a different kind of triangulation and verification from that associated with extended copresence; it provides a means of exploring meaningful geographical and institutional variations, and tensions and tears in the policy-making consensus. (Peck and Theodore, 2015, P. 37)

Buroway et al (1991) note global ethnography is a means of exploring processes of globalization from below, by engaging in ethnographic techniques which engage local communities to better understand the impacts of globalization forces on local realms. While I am interested in how policies processes performed in Vancouver can be used as a template, and arrive in Dallas to be transferred or blocked, or mutate into a hybridized assemblage, which borrows and adapts useful elements, while disposing of those parts that cannot land, because of the differences in reception communities. Understanding the nature of the reception of these policies in motion in a new setting, will inform policy mobilities scholarship, global ethnography scholarship, and helps to shape our understanding of how policy innovations may need to adapt to flow. Global ethnography also provides a lens through which to explore the difference in the fields in which policies are implemented.

McCann's (2011-1) mention of global ethnography is echoed in later papers (Khirfan et al, 2013; Khirfan and Jaffer, 2014). McCann (2011-1) suggests that the entire policy mobilities process, from its ideation and inception, through to its implementation and beyond are the appropriate arena for a global ethnography approach. The 'global' sense of this ethnography is arrived at through consideration of the global interplay to forces in the policy arena – where it is possible to "follow the policy" (McCann, 2011-1, p.121).

In the research agenda piece, McCann acknowledges the need for deeper ethnographic consideration of policy mobilities, including actions to peer into instances of policy travel and conferences (2011 -1).   Since 2011, only a few papers take the deeper approach to global ethnography that McCann (2011-1) espouses. These include works by, Khirfan and Jaffer (2013) and Khirfan et al (2014). More recently, Peck and Theodore have engaged more deeply in a global ethnographic approach detailing the spread of participatory budgeting and the spread of policy innovation through post-communist Eastern Europe (2015). Other works have sought new methods to trace networks in policy mobilities processes, by seeking to trace the movement of bus rapid transit (BRT) innovation around the world.   Only the Peck and Theodore (2015) piece successfully digs below the surface, to investigate policy mobilities.

Khirfan et al (2013) focus on Vancouver's transfer of sustainable urbanism to Abu Dhabi and a concurrent connection between Toronto and Jordan. These papers have much in common. They are written by the same authors and focus on the transfer of policy ideas between Canada and the Middle East, with both papers outlining the connection of Vancouver to Abu Dhabi. Of these two papers, I will focus on Khirfan et al (2013) because it is a single case study that seeks to advance "global ethnography" (McCann, 2011-1, p. 121). The Khirfan and Jaffer (2014) paper, while instructive, does not use global ethnography to address policy mobilities. The Khirfan and Jaffer (2014) piece uses grounded theory approach to work backwards from both primary and secondary data to arrive at a conclusion that supports the extension of policy mobility theories.

The Khirfan et al (2013) paper engages in a deeper ethnographic investigation, through a single case study, although it is mainly focused at the level of the planning professionals, involved in the process. In this sense, the paper lacks the deeper

embedded nature of an actual ethnographic approach.   Khirfan and Jaffer are concerned with understanding the flow of knowledge between professionals engaged in the process, particularly as the flow relates to the agent/receiver relationship (2014) and the process is transactive in that it creates a conversation space for planning professionals. They are primarily interested in the agent's status as expert and the power relationship inherent in a seemingly colonial exercise of bringing forward innovation (Khirfan and Jaffer, 2014).

Khirfan et al have much to say about planning policy mobilities and the role of the planning agent in the process. They suggest that the planning agent, in combination with in situ planners can create a bridge of interpretation and understanding that allows the new policy ideas to adjust to local circumstances.

Based on the findings of Khirfan and Jaffer (2014), and the more recent work of Peck and Theodore (2015), I believe it is possible to complete an approach, that aspires to global ethnography in order to create new knowledge that will be useful in advancing both our understanding of policy mobilities and will also be useful in other conversations about how to build more harmonious and positive relations in increasingly intercultural communities. I will now turn to a discussion as to the value of focusing this dissertation on a single case before returning to a deeper discussion of global ethnography.

Platt reviews the history of case study inquiry and contrasts it with probablistic and predictive methodology (1991). She notes, that in urban situations, the potential of predicting a policy outcome is impacted by the differences in cities (Platt, 1991). Complexity, means straight predictability is difficult to gain (Platt, 1991). She belies that single case study is very appropriate when it is applied to a test of theory but cites Yin (1989) when she suggests that qualitative inquiry, like all tools of research, should be employed in circumstances where it is the most appropriate tool for gaining insight into a

problem, rather than applying it because of an ideological commitment to qualitative enquiry (Platt, 1991).

Yin and others note with some caution, the potential of single case studies to contribute to the development of new knowledge (Yin, 2014; Fljyberg, 2006). They state, within some academic circles, there is a need to provide multiple simplified cases as proof a process is occurring (Yin, 2014; Fljyberg, 2006). Flyvbjerg (2011) suggests that there are several misunderstandings of case study methodology and outlines how it, as an approach creating knowledge, has been instrumental in building our contemporary understanding of the world. He states there are five key misunderstandings of case study method including:

- General, theoretical knowledge is more valuable that concrete case knowledge;

- One cannot generalize on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development;

- The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses; that is, in the first stage of a total research process, while other methods are more suitable for hypothesis testing and theory building;

- The case study contains a bias towards verification, that is, a tendency to confirm the researcher's pre-conceived notions; and,

- It is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 302).

As I examine policy mobilities, I am not seeking to prove that the phenomenon exists. I know that it exists as a practice piece, and I am able to trace the similarities in outcomes between earlier Vancouver planning exercises, and the planning exercises undertaken in Dallas. Secondly, I am not concerned with the lack of generalizability of the case. This goes back to Platt's (1991) considerations of the case study methodology. I am not seeking proofs, but rather, I am seeking understanding. I am aware and nonplussed that

the knowledge I am seeking to develop, is part of a frame of multiple papers utilizing single cases to build conversations among theorists, to lead to the establishment of theories based on a number of single cases. By going deeper into the study of a particular case, I am seeking to understand how certain particularities, lead to different outcomes. With a strong understanding of the Dallas case, I may be able to take a deeper look at other cases, such as the work McCann (2011-1) documents in Fort Worth in 2004.

While the knowledge I develop may advance understanding of policy mobilities and assemblage, it may also be useful in framing the potential of WDD and may assist the City of Dallas, in its efforts to consider next steps in West Dallas and to contemplate the impact of the DCdS.

Urban environments are complex, and proving that phenomena occurring in one situation, will occur in another, is difficult. One way urban theorists begin to prove consistently occurring phenomena, is through the accretion of case studies. For instance, the study and attempts to locate the field of gentrification, as discussed, presents a similar case for the study of policy mobilities. The study of gentrification is traced to 1964, when Glass notices a phenomenon – a single urban case - occurring in London. While some suggest gentrification existed for hundreds of years, Glass sees gentrification and gives it a name. Over time, practitioners and scholars begin to see gentrification occurring in other areas and circumstances. Then, over the next fifty years, scholars examine particular cases of gentrification and use them as points of departure or coalescence for theory building, to the point where in 2011, Lees et al (eds.) published a 400 plus page compendium including 45 years of studies that trace our evolving understanding of gentrification – *The Gentrification Reader*.

A single case study (extended in this case, through global ethnography) allows me to look deeply into a policy mobility process and understand its reception in a new location. I am not looking to prove anything, in a scientific sense, instead, I am just seeking to learn about how the process worked in a single situation. I am interested in understanding what results from the process, and whether the movement towards a transactive planning process flowed, was stuck, or mutated. In a sense, I am seeking to understand the 'stickiness' of the new policy approaches, and the potential for landing in new environments. In particular, I am interested in learning how policies, presented as norms in Vancouver's context, are received when they arrive in a new context, where they may seem more radical. Is there enough commonality, so some transfer occurs, or are aspects of what is being communicated, lost in translation. I believe my experience as a learner in motion between the two sites of this investigation, gives me a unique vantage to understand the flow of ideas. Through structured interviews, I gained insight into this particular aspect of the information exchange. I also believe there are current and emerging geographic locations within West Dallas, that, are manifestations of WDD and learning about how these new locations operate, fit into the community and add to, or detract from the lives of long-term residents would be important. In this sense, I need to ask about how changes are received, and if they are actually being used by the participants, in the ways that WDD imagined, or are there other ways these changes to the community, are understood by the local population.

The case I consider is common, in that it is similar to a number of other cases where Canadian planning practitioners have sought to deliver knowledge of Canadian approaches in foreign contexts. In this sense, the common nature of the case under consideration provides an opportunity to go deeper, in an effort to contribute "to accelerate knowledge and theory building by confirming, challenging, or extending the

theory" (Yin, 2014, p. 51). While the project fits into contemporary considerations of policy mobilities as a process of city to city exchange in the frame of globalization and neoliberalism, the overarching national, state or provincial and local political arenas shape the flows of policies and their reception. As such, this case also speaks to broader conversations about the differences in Canadian and American policy arenas and how these differences shape understanding of issues such as transactive planning, the right to the city, urban sustainability and spatial justice. This case also builds an opportunity to engage in a longer-term study, at some point in the future, taking advantage of this initial data to investigate the West Dallas subject, longitudinally.

The fact the knowledge I build is context dependent is not lost on me. I understand having knowledge of the Vancouver/Dallas case may not lead to better outcomes for the next time that Vancouver planners go to work with a city in the US South and Southwest. That stated, I am confident this work will lead to at least some observations, that may with other studies, contribute to building theories about how cities from different contexts may share some parts of their policy ideas, while leaving others out. As Flyvbjerg notes, "knowledge may be transferable even where it is not formally generalizable (2011, p. 305).

4.6.2 Theoretical Framework

The dissertation utilizes Elinor and Vincent Ostrom's (2004) institutional analysis and development framework (IAD) as a scaffold for organizing the complex interplay of elements that shape WDD. The Ostroms begin by distinguishing between frameworks, theories and models and illuminate the nested nature of "multiple levels of analysis and the complexities and dynamic aspects of public choices" (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p.66). Frameworks are the broadest theoretical category and "provide a meta-theoretic

language that can be used to compare theories" (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 66). A

framework is characterized by "universal elements that any theory relevant to the same

kind of phenomena would need to include" (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 66). These

broadest elements help to situate public interventions and may suggest a direction for

inquiry as one initiates analysis (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 66). Knowledge is

accumulated from empirical studies and frameworks, become useful ways of organizing

and considering emerging information (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004). As I consider WDD,

there are a number of frameworks into which my analysis can be placed, including

globalization, neoliberalism and critical theory. I describe these framing theories in the

literature review.
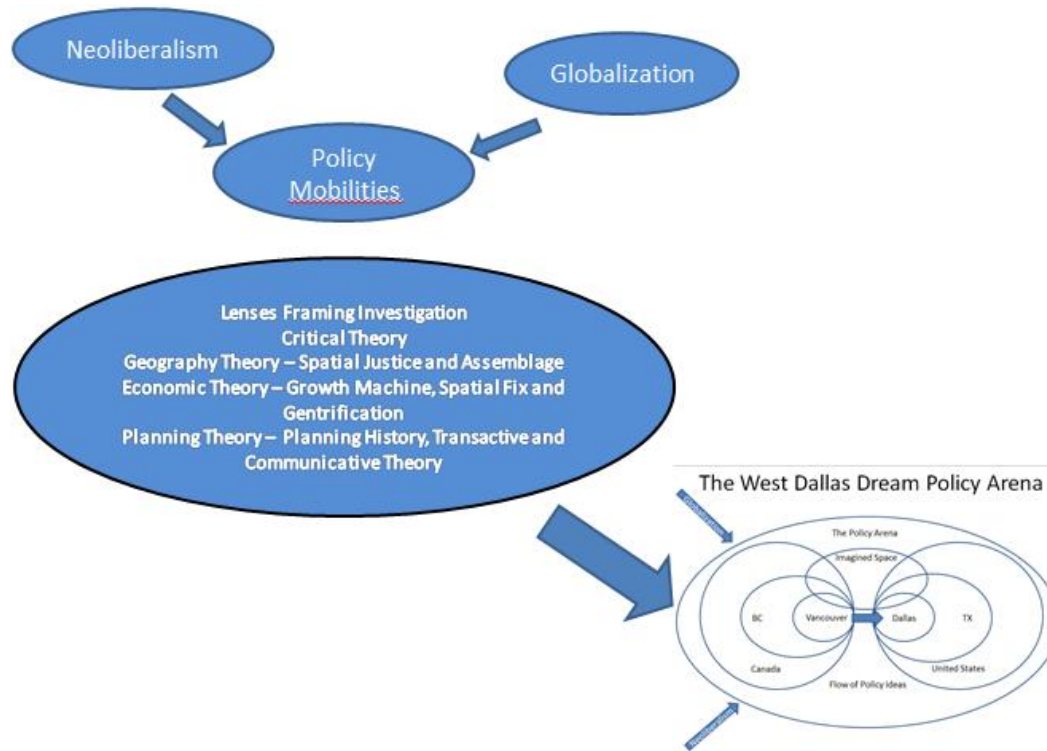
Figure 20. Model of the theories and their application

Theories are abstractions that assist the analyst to investigate and "diagnose a phenomenon" (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 66), and a number of theories may fit within a particular framework. Theories are nested in frameworks, and "enable the analyst to specify which elements of the framework are particularly relevant for certain kinds of questions and to make general working assumptions about these elements" (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 66). Key theories I address in this dissertation include, policy mobilities, assemblage theory, communicative and transactive planning and the Co-design charrette method. Models are actual implementations of theories and "make precise assumptions about a limited set of parameters and variables" (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 67). So, Ostrom & Ostrom suggest that if a particular community with certain demographic characteristics was to employ a theoretical approach in the same way in to separate instances, a model would suggest that, with all other things being equal, one could assume the same outcome in each instance. While changes in the inputs of parameters and variables may change outcomes within a model, these changes do not generally impact the structure of the broader theory through which the model was generated (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 67). I do not engage with this second part of Ostrom and Ostrom's supposition regarding models and their replicability. The multiplicity and complexity of cities means that no two are the same and so it would be difficult to provide completely replicable models. At most, models may work well for different city typologies – a coastal city, a capital city, etc.

The IAD framework was developed as a tool to assist policy makers and scholars and provides "a multi-tier conceptual map… to organize diagnostic, analytical and prescriptive capabilities" (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 67). IAD is a way of systematizing and allowing comparison, to assist development of recommendations (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004). The frameworks and families of theories deduce complexities to more simplified

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structures which, when coupled with models, are calibrated to the task at-hand, providing useful tools for policy analysis (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004).

In this case, the model under consideration is transactive and communicative planning, though related models, such as a design focused approach to planning and the incenting of public benefit through density increases could also flow with this model.

The IAD framework's multi-tier conceptual map includes an action arena, in which interaction takes place (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004). The action arena consists of two parts - action situations and actors (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004). Ostrom & Ostrom (2004) suggest that defining the action arena is the first step in analyzing a problem. The action arena is the conceptual unit that can be "utilized to analyze, predict and explain behavior in institutional arrangements" (p. 68). In the case of WDD, the action arena is the physical space of West Dallas and the interplay of various organizations and actors, but it is also the broader political sphere of the City of Dallas, and the broader sphere of Dallas is also a proxy for other cities with history of socio-economic exclusion that have contemplated urban regeneration strategies that include driving greater racial and socio-economic integration. However, the global nature of the ethnography to be undertaken in this dissertation also means that the action arena has tentacles that reach out to other places. It includes the real and perceived potential of the Vancouver model to deliver different approaches to design in Dallas. The action arena also includes the diaspora of nations that contribute to the populating of West Dallas and the arena also includes the places where the policy was advanced initially. Part of the complexity of the effort to at least approach a global ethnography is that the action arena is actually a montage of arenas which includes multiple sites and situations that contribute to the contingent nature of the reception of new policies. As such, the assemblage theory and bricolage discussed earlier may assist in understanding the multiple, contingent and complex

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nature of WDD and the interventions that it directed, signaled and triggered. In this sense, the action arena of the global ethnography is multi-sited and reaches out to the multiple locations that Beasley, as the mobilizer of this policy has worked. Therefore, the policy arena of this intervention in Dallas also links to Beasley's work in Abu Dhabi and in other projects.

I am also aware that the action arena must contain not just locations, but must also articulate the temporal and theoretical location of this policy mobilties action.   In this sense, the policy arena also includes Vancouver and considers changes occurring in Dallas over time. It also must pay particular attention to the cultural differences of the supply and demand city in this policy mobility action. Vancouver and Dallas are different cities and the United States and Canada are different countries.   In this sense, Beasley is positioned as a human bridge between cultures – able to interpret and understand the sociological and cultural underpinnings of the approach taken in each city.

Ostrom and Ostrom note that the action arena includes:

- Participants;

- Positions;

- Outcomes;

- Action-outcome linkages

- The control the participants exercise

- Information; and,

- The costs and benefits assigned to outcomes (2004, p. 68).

While a structured investigation of the action arena in a discrete institutional change exercise may be a reasonable indication of the construction of the action arena, the fact is, that by nature of the fact that this dissertation embarks on a global ethnography, it touches on both the action arena of the receiving agency and the changes that may or

may not take place there. But more broadly, it considers the whole of the policy

mobilization, which encompasses the learning spaces of magazine articles, the policy

travels of policy learners and the active participation of those participating in the visioning

exercise. It includes the exponents of those outcomes, but it also embodies the

expectations of participants and their understanding of the latitude of the vision to impact

outcomes. Here, the policy arena is constrained by the path dependencies of various

institutional frameworks and existing operations within the policy arena. Additionally,

there is a temporal aspect to the policy movement discussed here as the visioning takes

place at one time, but the pipeline for development is actually a few years ahead of the

vision. This means that the buildings built in 2012 are likely a reflection of visions in

place in 2009. There are expectations that need to be managed in such a situation.

This action arena is impacted by externalities, including physical/material conditions,

attributes of the community and the rules in use (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004). The action

arena dictates patterns of interactions that lead to outcomes, which in turn may lead to

further impacts on the externalities which exhibit force on the action arena (Ostrom &

Ostrom, 2004). The IAD framework turns a critical eye on patterns of interactions and

outcomes to consider if alternate inputs into the IAD framework might result in different

outcomes.

Patterns of interactions in Dallas are framed by the social, political and economic

history of the city. These patterns also guide actors in the action arena. Graff turns a

critical theory lens on the City of Dallas (2008). In his book he dismantles the history of

the City and its entrepreneurial zeal, illuminating a city that is at once bold in its large

gestures, but perhaps is still learning to explore scales and interventions that make small

differences in the lives of individuals with fewer social and economic choices.

Consideration of the broader action arena gives rise to consideration of the political and

social histories of the arenas from which the West Dallas citizens arrived and to the subtle and less than subtle differences between the receiving community and the community sharing the policy innovations.

The action arena is the place where the policy action takes place. This policy action leads to a pattern of interactions and an outcome. In the case of WDD, the pattern of interactions takes place, before, during and after the 2009 WDD process. As a researcher, I can ask about the pattern before WDD and during to get a sense of what WDD hoped to achieve. In examining what happened following WDD, I gain understanding of the policies in motion through WDD. In theory, the transactive and communicative aspects of these planning conversations should result in a degree of demonstrable empowerment for those that came to the original WDD process with less power. That stated - the broader action arena creates forces that may shape these results.

These patterns of actions and the resulting outcomes can be evaluated and may be the basis for influencing changes in the action arena, or in changes which may impact the action arena, including changes to physical/material conditions, attributes of community and rules in use (Ostrom and Ostrom, 2004).

In the action arena, there are assumptions about four clusters of variables:

- The resources that an actor brings to a situation;

- The valuation actors assign to states of the world and actions

- The way actors acquire, process, retain, and use knowledge contingencies and information, and

- The process actors use for selection of particular courses of action (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 68).

Actors participate and interact within an action arena (Ostrom and Ostrom, 2004). Ostrom and Ostrom (2004) note that "considerable theoretical work in the public choice

theory tradition focuses only on one arena and takes the variables specifying the situation and the motivational and cognitive structure of an actor as givens" (p. 68-69). They go on to note that the definition of an action arena provides a limited situational framework into which to predict the behavior of individuals. In my dissertation, I consider the time following the completion of WDD as the temporal framework for my investigation.

Ostrom and Ostrom (2004) note the action situation consists of a common set of variables which includes:

- The set of participants;

- The specific positions to be filled by participants;

- The set of allowable actions and their linkage to outcomes;

- The potential outcomes linked to individual sequences of action;

- The level of control each participant has over choice;

- The information available to participants about the structure of the action situations; and,

- The costs and benefits – which serve as incentives and deterrents – assigned to actions and outcomes (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004, p. 69).

These variables, once defined, act as givens in the consideration of results emerging from the action arena. For instance, this aspect of the IAD could be used to construct an understanding of how certain participants, with unique attributes might interact, or react in a given situation within the action arena.

Ostrom and Ostrom remind researchers that not all participants in a change process are equipped to participate equally (2004). There is a need to consider those that may not have the same education, experience, or language to fully participate (Ostrom and Ostrom, 2004). They refer to this differentiation among learners in a process as the fallability of learners (Ostrom and Ostrom, 2004). They also note that there may be

significant mistrust in an action arena, particularly when principals in previous processes

may have acted inappropriately towards local communities. To address the issue of trust

and the fallibility of learners, I ask questions about how those executing the WDD

process advanced the understanding of participants from West Dallas, given the

significant cultural and economic divides involved and the potential for mistrust of

government led processes.

While I engage planners trained in understanding urban processes, the resident

population may not be able to participate at the same level. My solution was to work

through the leadership of the local community, who have connections and understanding

of the local circumstances and who are able to participate in higher-level conversations

about the nature of the changes that are underway. I also engaged directly with West

Dallas citizens as they are they experiencing gentrification and have their feelings about

WDD changed in light of the development completed to date?

4.7 – Study Participants

The investigation combines ethnographic interviews with key participants, visual

surveys of West Dallas, comparative surveys using Google earth and city development

records. These investigations provide the critical input that allows a review of the

execution of WDD as contrasted with the vision set out in the WDD document. The

interviews will be adjusted to include a visual component that will be based on design

charrettes.   The visual component will include an opportunity to have the interviewer act

as an artist to draw some of the relationships outlined in the interview. It is anticipated

that these visual interpretations can further enhance the understanding of the impact of

the design process and the flow of policy ideas between cities.

4.7.1 The Interviews

Interviews were conducted with twenty individuals directly involved in the WDD process. The method for determining interviewees was based on an initial review of the WDD project report which listed event attendees. Individuals on this list were investigated through available web sources to determine whether they were from community organizations. The list is included in Figure 21, along with a description of the purpose of each interviewee's inclusion. This assessment actually indicated a high preponderance of city staff. I did not probe to determine why there were large numbers of city staff there.

Figure 21. Table Listing Interviewees and the Purpose for their Inclusion

Interviewee	Purpose for Inclusion
Larry Beasley	Mr. Beasley is the former Co-director of Planning for the City of Vancouver and is the consultant Gail Thomas contacted after she read the Sandercock article in the Harvard Design Monthly. Mr. Beasley came to Dallas, spoke and went on to become the Design Consultant for the City of Dallas and directed the establishment of the Dallas Design Studio. Mr. Beasley led both Vancouver's CityPlan process and West Dallas Dream.
Brent Brown DCdS and bcWorkshop;	Mr. Brown is the Director of the Dallas Design Studio and is also the Director of bcWorkshop, the Dallas-based design/community development organization. Mr. Brown is an architect.
Cholanda Jackson-Mangwiro (DCdS)	Ms. Jackson-Mangwiro leads public relations for the Dallas Design Studio. She plays an active role in engaging West Dallas residents and provided information about West Dallas Dream participants and the process.
David Whittley (independent planner, formerly of the DCdS)	Mr. Whitley is the former Assistant Director of the Dallas Design Studio. He is now in private practice. Mr. Whittley participated in the initial policy tours of Vancouver which were hosted by Mr. Beasley.

Ann Bagley (independent planner and member of the Dallas Planning Commission)	Ms. Bagley is an independent planner in Dallas, who participated in West Dallas Dream
Jeff Howard	Mr. Howard participated in West Dallas Dream and lives in West Dallas, west of Sylvan and outside of the areas under consideration in West Dallas. Mr. Howard is a community leader.
Pastor Wilson (West Dallas Community Church)	Pastor Wilson is a long-time resident of West Dallas. He provided excellent insight into the history of the community and the relation of West Dallas to Dallas.
Monte Anderson (West Dallas developer, responsible for re-development of the Belmont Hotel)	Mr. Anderson is a developer who has strong ties to the Neo-traditional and Smart Growth planning approaches. Mr. Anderson played an active role in the set of the Fort Worth Avenue TIF, further west in West Dallas. He is also responsible for the restoration of the Belmont Hotel, which has become a cultural and culinary attraction in West Dallas. Mr. Anderson has since sold the Belmont and is working in other parts of Dallas, west of the Trinity River. He participated in West Dallas Dream.
Interviewee	**Purpose for Selection**
Larry (Bud) MacGregor (West Dallas Investments)	Mr. MacGregor works with West Dallas Investments and is among the partners that established the Trinity Groves destination food operators. His partners include restauranteur and franchise developer Phil Romano and former Dallas Cowboys quarterback, Roger Staubauch. Mr. MacGregor participated in West Dallas Dream.
Regina Nippert	Ms. Nippert is the Executive Director of the Budd Center: Involving Communities in Education at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. Ms. Nippert is an architect by training and participated in West Dallas Dream.
Gail Thomas (Trinity River Foundation and founder of the Dallas Institute for the Humanities)	Gail Thomas is the Executive Director of the Trinity River Foundation and is the founder of the Dallas Institute for the Humanities. Ms. Thomas initiated contact with Mr. Beasley, built coalitions of interested individuals and worked with private philanthropists to identify funding options for the development of the Dallas Citydesign Studio. As a recent graduate, Ms. Thomas participated in the 1964 Goals for Dallas process under the leadership of Mayor Eric Johnnson. Ms. Thomas spearheaded the Dallas official's policy tours to Vancouver.
Debbie Solis (Voices of Hope Ministries)	Voices of Hope Ministries works in West Dallas and Ms. Solis runs an afterschool program. She participated in West Dallas Dream.

Dustin Thibadeaux (West Dallas Chamber of Commerce	Mr. Thibadeaux is the President of the West Dallas Chamber of Commerce. He is a local business person who has also played an active role in advancing West Dallas tax increment financing initiatives. Mr. Thibadeaux did not participate in West Dallas Dream, though his organization was represented.
Randy Skinner	Spiritual and community development leader in West Dallas, who is responsible for significant fundraising on behalf of West Dallas causes.
Mark Grace	Spiritual and community development leader. Mr. Grace lives in West Dallas.
Cheryl Mayo Williams	Ms. Mayo Williams works for Children's hospital on initiatives relating to West Dallas. She participated in West Dallas Dream.
Doug Heyerdahl Blanks Printing	Mr. Heyerdahl participated in West Dallas Dream and represented his organization, Blanks Printers, which is a major landholder in the area.
Rosa Lopez	Ms. Lopez is the Executive Director of Vecindos Unidos, a community development organization working in West Dallas. She participated in West Dallas Dream.

In addition to these interviewees, three additional interviews were conducted with community members. These community members represented diverse areas of West Dallas, including West Main Street, LaBajada and Los Altos. Interviews were conducted through two methods, phone interviews and in-person interviews. Most were contacted by phone or e-mail initially. Some interviews were conducted by phone and a follow-on in-person meeting was scheduled – so as to complete the drawing, which was developed as an in-person exercise. This approach overcomes some of the shortcomings of earlier papers relying either on only a few interviews (McCann, 2011-1), or confined their interviews to only a few participants in a certain role within a planning process (Khirfan et al, 2013).   A general script was developed for the e-mails/initial phone calls (Appendix One) and a second script, with questions, some of which were designated for particular respondents, was developed. The interview script is Appendix Two.

The interview questions and set-up and the list of groups contacted, were approved

by the Internal Review Board (IRB) of the University of Texas at Arlington.[5] The initial

interview focused on the questions set out in the interview script, though the interview

was open-ended and allowed to flow with the conversation. Both the interviewer and

interviewee deviated from the script when there were opportunities for additional learning.

During a second interview I attempted to get participants to partner in the production of a

TCLF drawing.

4.8 Design Charrettes

A charrette is a form of transactive and communicative planning whereby citizens

engaged in the planning process work directly with designers. In Stanley King's Co-

design process, groups of participants are seated with artists and in the process, the

artists become the visual scribe for the participants, seeking to develop a drawing

outlining a desired future state. While I do not use the Co-design method, I adapt the tool

of a shared drawing, with the investigator as the scribe/artist in this dissertation. While

the charrette process is often conceived as part of an overall planning exercise, the

conversations leading to design decisions in the charrette can usually result in a number

of drawings that detail the collective and coordinated will of the participants. As such,

charrette drawings can be powerful artefacts that can detail the aspirations and interests

of a community in a way that words can't. Participants know how they feel about

particular spaces, but they may not have the words to articulate it or the drawing skills to

render it. Completing a drawing can assist in making the ethereal real in a design

conversation. The act of drawing and design charrettes are squarely situated in

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[5] One interview – with Brent Brown of the DCdS and bcWorkshop, took place in 2014 and informed the continuation of this investigation (Investigation Protocol # 2014-0536).

alignment with communicative and transactive planning. The means of the transaction may even facilitate a greater flow of information and more creative problem solving.

Lennertz (2003) notes the potential of charrettes to assist planning processes. I have been involved in charrettes both as a participant and as an artist. I have respect for these processes and their potential to create an engaged and educated community that is able to move through consideration of design choices to arrive at a strong and defensible image of what they think the community should be. The only concern might be that the charrette organizers must take pains to ensure that a broad net is cast for potential participants.

For the TLCF component, I developed a series of ten Google Street View time-sequenced photos. I have not included all photos, though I have included links to the locations. From these links, it is possible to review the sites under consideration in this dissertation and to review the multiple years of photos from the same location. These time-sequenced photos relied on the fact that the Google Street View car had returned to take pictures at the same location over a period of eight years, meaning that Google Street View images would provide the opportunity to use these images to contemplate the changes taking place in West Dallas between 2007 and 2016. The pictures were intended to be the precursor to a fourth image, that I would take their direction to draw. This drawing method was based loosely on Stanley King's co-design approach, which I had learned as a young art student in Vancouver's CityPlan process.

For the TLCF, I needed to establish locations for drawings. My choices were determined by reviewing sites by driving around West Dallas initially. Then I went to Google Street View to review the chronological history of areas that I determined had been impacted by recent community change. Through these two approaches, I was able to identify key locations in West Dallas. In some cases, I took the recommendations of

interviewees in the initial interview and tried to identify locations that were suitable to participants. In one case, I interviewed Chalonda Jackson-Mangwiro of the Dallas the DCdS. She had access to a computer and a printer and was able to review streets in West Dallas to identify a suitable location. She chose an older neighborhood in LaBajada, based on her own work with the neighborhood residents and on her knowledge of issues in LaBajada (Jackson-Mangwiro, 2016). She chose a location at Guam Street and Herbert Street.

The images I chose were for the following locations in West Dallas:

- Sylvan Avenue, north of Fort Worth Avenue, looking west (September, 2007; October, 2008; July, 2015) – While relatively little change takes place at this location, the Belmont Hotel guest rooms remain. An architecturally stunning house, built by one of the original policy travelers who went to Vancouver to learn from Beasley, appears on the bluff in the July, 2015 photo. (Google Street View : https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7706281,-96.8365013,3a,75y,251.36h,90.78t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sJXDLYaANxvjNntWnDAParA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656 accessed July 9, 2016)

- 2215 Haslett St., looking north (September, 2007; November, 2012; June 2014; July 2015) – This sequence of four photographs shows the change from a rather rural setting, with a trailer park among deciduous trees, to the removing of the trailer park and much of the vegetation from the site in June 2014, followed by the completion of the Alta West Apartment development. These three story apartments push to the outside of the lot. Street parking, sidewalks and plantings are also present. (Google Street View: https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7716527,-

96.8291897,3a,75y,5.84h,80.55t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sNp4BltPqMOvbFh4MlLK8Vw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1 accessed July 9, 2016)

- Formerly Canada Drive – now the parking lot for the Continental Bridge, looking southeast (September, 2007; March 2012; July, 2015) – This area is re-contoured and raised. Initially, in September 2007, Canada Drive descends to pass under Singleton.St. The signature, Calatrava designed, Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge is not yet there. In the second photo, preparations are being made for the Continental Bridge and the land is raised to meet with the bridge deck. The Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge now looms above the scene. In July 2015, we can see the canopy infrastructure on the Continental Walking Bridge, along with trail and parking leading to the bridge. (Google Street View: https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7800071,-96.8266273,3a,75y,144.88h,87.95t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sSi7DWH1Q2w4QK8usa4iLIA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1 accessed July 9, 2016)

- North Beckley Ave – near Blank's Printing, looking south (August, 2007; May 2012; January 2016) – In each scene, this picture remains largely un-changed. (Google Street View: https://www.google.ca/maps/place/Dallas,+TX,+USA/@32.7729684,-96.8227957,3a,60y,193.36h,88.21t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1s1oS_qFLTKxXX0URMlNLGHg!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!4m5!3m4!1s0x864c19f77b45974b:0xb9ec9ba4f647678f!8m2!3d32.7766642!4d-96.7969879!6m1!1e1 accessed July 9, 2016)

- 487 W Commerce St. – near Chicken Scratch, looking south (August 2007; May, 2012; July, 2015) – In August 2007, Chicken Scratch appears to be an under-utilized industrial structure. To the left, the trailer park is obscured by

215

trees. By May, 2012, Chicken Scratch utilizes the former industrial site

converting it to a destination outdoor restaurant and bar. Some of the trees

that once obscured the view of the trailer park have been trimmed. The park

appears to have a number of trailers.   In July 2015, Chicken Scratch

remains, however, the trailer park is replaced by the completed Alta West

Apartments. At the corner, a large building – designated as a future site of a

restaurant, remains under construction, though it appears that it will adopt

the open air concept of Chicken Scratch in this new construction. (Google

Street View: https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7730591,-

96.8315645,3a,75y,147.6h,87.41t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1scrpOnAy-

3rMEsRu3p1yLiQ!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1 accessed July 9, 2016)

- 409 W Main St (September, 2007; March, 2012; June, 2014) - This bucolic

  scene is difficult to reconcile with the fact that this is Main Street in Dallas,

  Texas, four blocks west of Downtown. It has the look and feel of a rural

  country road. (Google Street View:

  https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7753133,-

  96.8288818,3a,75y,265.89h,86.88t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sFXgv1osYl06NVo

  _vfa-S1g!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1 accessed July 9, 2016)

- 408 Bedford St. – looking west towards the cement plant (September, 2007;

  November, 2012; June, 2014; July 2015) – In the September 2007 image,

  the a rural looking road is flanked on the right by a large aging aluminium

  warehouse. The lot on the left look unused and a large pile of dirt covers the

  next lot. By November, 2012, the scene is changing. The warehouse

  structure has received a new false front, suitable to signage and a covered

  front porch. The lots on the left are now gravel parking lots with landscaping

and the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge now appears on the horizon. By June

2014, the landscaping on the right has matured. The warehouse now sports

a large neon sign for Babb Bros BBQ. By July 2015, the trees on the left

continue to flourish, however, Babb Bros. BBQ is gone. It has relocated to a

site behind Trinity Groves. All that remains is the concrete pad that used to

be the site of the warehouse. The site has been cleared in anticipation of the

development of apartments on this site. (Google Street View:

https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7777966,-

96.8291415,3a,75y,108.57h,87.06t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sbyue6Co1SCDEq

Jp3kc4XaA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1   accessed July 9, 2016)

- 403 Toronto St. looking east towards Downtown Dallas (September, 2007;

    November, 2012; July, 2015) – In the September, 2007 photo, Toronto St

    appears as a rough pseudo industrial area bordering on an area of older

    houses. By November, 2012, significant improvements to the streetscape

    make the area appear to be cared for. There is significant sidewalk

    infrastructure at the left of the screen and the cross street is now marked as

    a bike route Warehouses in the background appear to have been painted,

    and the Margaret Hunt Hill bridge dwarves even the tallest of the towers of

    Downtown Dallas. In July, 2015, significant landscaping at the edges of the

    industrial sites appears to be underway. (Google Street View:

    https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7796296,-

    96.8303757,3a,75y,97.24h,77.99t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sGoOOmqdaqmN8

    ORMkRwAQPw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1 accessed July 9, 2016)

- 3015 Bataan St. looking south (September, 2007, November, 2012; June,

    2014) – Relatively little changes in this scene. (Google Street View:

https://www.google.ca/maps/@32.7793541,-96.8320948,3a,75y,156.1h,97.04t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1sylDmH5hOaUP7KGVko1SqaA!2e0!6s%2F%2Fgeo3.ggpht.com%2Fcbk%3Fpanoid%3DylDmH5hOaUP7KGVko1SqaA%26output%3Dthumbnail%26cb_client%3Dmaps_sv.tactile.gps%26thumb%3D2%26w%3D203%26h%3D100%26yaw%3D234.9884%26pitch%3D0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1 accessed July 9, 2016)

- 1932 Sylvan Ave. looking west down Fort Worth Avenue to Downtown Dallas. (September, 2007; August, 2011; July 2015) – In the first scene, the Alamo Drive-in Sign is still in place. It is difficult to see what is on the site kitty-corner to the camera. One the site across Sylvan, some sort of soil conservation appears to be underway. The Dallas skyline is prominent on the horizon. In August 2011, the scene is relatively unchanged, however the Alamo Drive-in site is now cleared, grass has returned to the site across Sylvan and the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge now appears on the horizon. By July 2015, the scene is radically different. The Sylvan 30 project dominates the right hand side of the picture. It includes a number of retail offerings and a large apartment complex. The Dallas skyline is still visible in the photograph; however, a small construction crane now appears in the middle of that space. . (Google Street View, https://www.google.ca/maps/place/Dallas,+TX,+USA/@32.7701673,-96.8363566,3a,75y,70.96h,80.29t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1sYbRdgxAvFosraaMJtvftvg!2e0!6s%2F%2Fgeo1.ggpht.com%2Fcbk%3Fpanoid%3DYbRdgxAvFosraaMJtvftvg%26output%3Dthumbnail%26cb_client%3Dmaps_sv.tactile.gps%26thumb%3D2%26w%3D203%26h%3D100%26yaw%3D126.64941%26pit

These sites were chosen for a number of different reasons. In some cases they

provide a strong understanding of the changes that are taking place in West Dallas. In

other cases , these photos demonstrate the relative stasis of development, even though

there is potential for development in the coming years. In other cases, during my first

interview, interviewees expressed a preference for drawing s in certain locations. Finally,

in one case, where I interviewed Chalonda Jackson Mangwiro of the DCdS, she had

access to a computer and went to Google Street View and chose a particular site for a

photo rendering. She was able to print off her selection and we used it in the creation of

a drawing.

4.8.1 Testing the Time Lapse Charrette Futuring Method

I tested the Design Charrette Futuring method by creating a beta version in my own

neighborhood in Vancouver. I then asked two family members to test the method. This

beta version of the set-up of the drawing appears in Figure 22. Through this test, I was

able to identify some drawbacks to the use of the Design Charrette Futuring, including

the fact that Google Street View images are limited in their perspective as they are taken

from a vehicle which travels in the street. Any view is from the orientation of a vehicle.

On streets with on street parking, this tends to obscure the view of storefront. I surmised

that this would be less a problem in West Dallas where there is relatively little on street

parking.

In the in-person interviews, I asked participants to choose a sequence of drawings at

a single location and to use these drawings to project forward to what a given space

would look like in the future.   I operate under the assumption that study participants are

oriented to thinking about the future of their community and that an opportunity to envision design solutions becomes a way of reflecting their aspirations for the community. So while all may have some sort of vision of how they hope the city will develop, not all have the drawing skills to reflect that. This is a way of drawing together with an interviewee to elicit that vision.

As a tool, TLCF could be a useful tool in measuring the extent to which community participants are happy with the outcomes of a given planning project or process. Planners armed with this information may be positioned to influence course correction on projects.
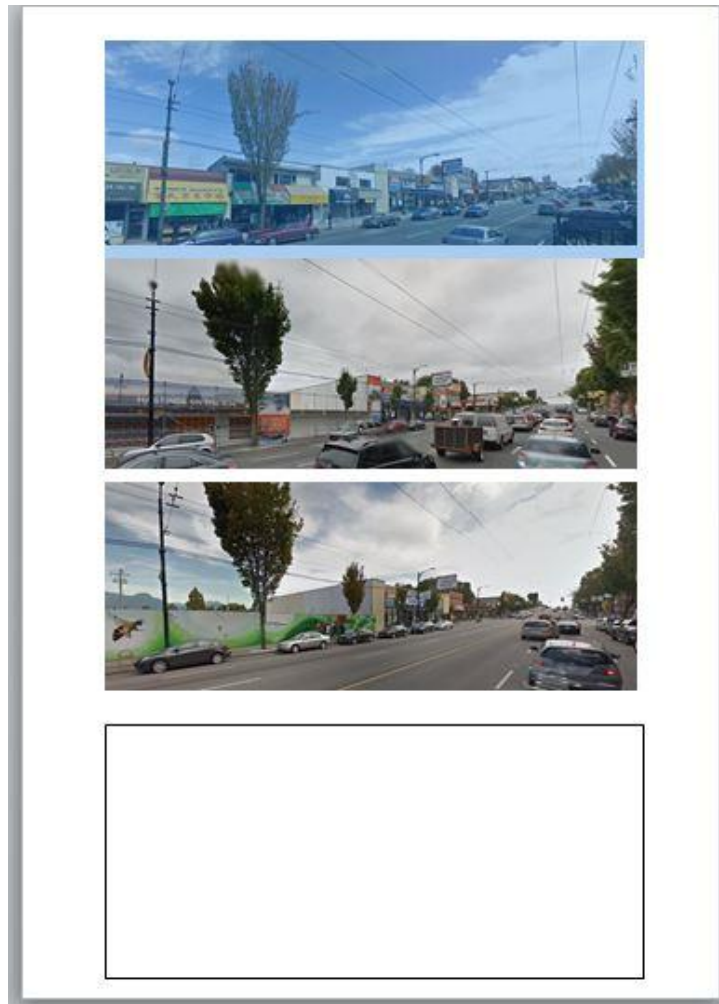
Figure 22. Beta test of Time Lapse Charrette Futuring.

4.9 – Interview Instrument

The interview instrument utilized in this dissertation was an open-ended, 45 minute interview based on a set of pre-determined questions. The interview questions were designed to elicit responses contributing to the understanding of policy mobilities and with the questions posed to the Dallas participants, the questions posed sought understanding about the reception of mobilized policies. In particular, the policy mobilities focus was designed to elicit understanding of whether policies flowed, were blocked, or mutated.

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. In some cases, the initial interviews were held in person. Generally, there was not a particular pattern to the interviews. The interviews were generally completed in late 2015 and early 2016.

In some cases, when conducting the second interview with the TCLF, I attempted to triangulate desired locations for these drawings in conversations with the participants. That is, I asked them if there were particular locations where they would like to focus the futuring drawing. For the drawing interview, I allotted 15 minutes. In executing the drawing, I anticipated that the participants would also reflect on other aspects of WDD and the changes taking place in West Dallas.

4.10 – Data Analysis Strategy

Data was gathered through the interview process. This data included tapes of the interview and notes taken during the interviews, as well as reflections following the interviews. The majority of the interviews were transcribed, though some of the secondary interviews extended far beyond the initial 15 minutes allotted for the TLCF actions and did not provide significant information beyond that which was provided initially. For these interviewees, I only created one initial interview. The exception to this was my interviews with Gail Thomas and Larry MacGregor, each of whom provided additional information. The second interviews were not transcribed, however, all interviews were reviewed a second time.

I structured the interviews to focus on issues related to:

- Gentrification;

- Race;

- Employment opportunities;

- Policy flow;

- Public space; and,

- Development systems.

The method I used to review the texts was historical discourse analysis (HDA). That is, I read the text "focusing on tracing the interrelatedness of knowledge and power in studying a historical process through which certain ways of thinking emerged" (Perakyla & Ruusuvuori (2011).   I read the interview transcripts through for each interview. I then re-read each interview and coded them. In the case of questions about the planning process, I was looking for evidence of actions and considerations that indicated an approach similar to the negotiated and design focused approaches documented by various authors, including Punter (2003). I also looked for evidence of an increased design focus in the interviews.

I also read and listened with the intent of understanding:

- The extent of the potential impact of gentrification and its actual management overall within and adjacent to the WDD process,

- The nature of interculturality and the potential of spaces to impact community perceptions and outcomes related to interculturality.

For consideration of interculturality, I also focused explicitly on the potential of the WDD process to create conditions that would lead to increased opportunities for local residents.   To better understand the nature of racial socio-economic issues and their impact on West Dallas, I asked participants to further elaborate on specific issues that may have impacted interculturalism. In particular, I looked generally in the interview data for evidence of the use of processes and approaches to urban planning in West Dallas that were similar to those practices I recognize from the City of Vancouver.

Through matching the responses of the interview participants to the types of planning approaches, I was able to determine the extent to which "made in Vancouver" planning approaches arrived in Dallas. I paid attention to both the methods of the planning process and comments about the action of the city and other participants in the process to better understand the extent to which these new approaches found purchase in a new setting. Discussion of processes also netted an indication of a specific attempt to tie emerging amenities to performance-based planning. I managed to triangulate both sides of that conversation and through that, was able to gain understanding of both the pitch for performance-based approaches and its reception by a member of the Dallas development community.

To consider the impact and the need for course correction in the WDD process, I paid close attention to language regarding impacts on the community. Key words searched included gentrification and employment opportunities. There was a distinct set of promises around the potential of the process and searching under these terms provided a strong indication of the impacts.

To understand the nature of emerging interculturalism, I asked interviewees about their engagement with the new services that were available in the community (Trinity Groves, Chicken Scratch. I also asked specific questions about the re-newed Continental (Pedestrian) Bridge and its importance in the community as a place of gathering. That line of questions usually led to some discussion about the racial and economic mix of the populations standing on the Continental Bridge.

4.11 – Limitations

This study includes limitations related to the size of the samples and the depth of immersion available to me as the researcher. I have read deeply about the history of

Vancouver, Dallas and West Dallas and I have conducted interviews with individuals who participated in a process, along with others who, while not participating, lived close to the areas under consideration in this investigation. These limitations are in some senses driven by the nature of this project. I was able to talk to key individuals driving processes, individuals from organizations that worked in neighborhoods in West Dallas and individuals with connections to West Dallas residents. All offered their opinions.

Despite the limitation of not being fully immersed in West Dallas culture, it is possible to build knowledge through the more limited form of qualitative research, this dissertation engages. A qualitative approach to the West Dallas case should provide knowledge which contributes to policy mobilities theory building, because, as Flyjberg's asserts, a deeper investigation of one case can, in combination with other cases, help build theory (2011). The fact that I have experienced living in both locations means that I am uniquely qualified to understand some of the pieces and approaches that are flowing between Vancouver and Dallas as a result of Mr. Beasley's work in Dallas. Specifically, as one who lived in and was deeply immersed in the communicative and transactive approaches of the City of Vancouver, including spending my childhood in a model alternative neighborhood, and even participating in the CityPlan process, as both a participant and a volunteer, I am positioned to understand the flow of both planning approaches and assembled planning actions in new contexts. In a sense, my position is approaching bilingualism, where I am able to grasp the language of both sides of this conversation. My global role is not just to translate, but to also take stock of what gets lost in translation. In this sense, I am offering a case which helps build the case study base, on which policy mobilties literature is currently advanced.

The limitation of the interview sample size impacts each of the key questions under consideration differently. The two most concrete aspects of this investigation relate to the

answer of question one, which asks about policy mobilities and whether they are occurring. The limitations of sample size are not particularly relevant to answering this question as the main intent of the question was to understand how policies arrive, get blocked, or mutate. The people that I talked to, many with deep knowledge of the policy process, were able to provide succinct answers from which I am able to draw conclusions.

While I am unable to fully immerse in the current development arena of Dallas, however, I was able to participate in life in Dallas, for over two and a half years and so was somewhat immersed in the macro culture of Dallas. Further, I was able to work for bcWorkshop, the sister organization of the Dallas Citydesign Studio (DCdS) that shares Brent Brown as a leader. The more limited ethnography I practice is well suited to investigation of policy mobilities, in that I am a product of the supply environment for these policies in motion, but I am, better than a general outsider, able to understand the tensions and inner workings of Dallas. Still, that does not afford me any of the insight a deeper immersion in the daily life of West Dallas residents would provide. However, as a researcher keenly aware of the racial and economic divides of Dallas, I have continuously turned the lens of my own experience in that City, to the examination and understanding of these power relationships and how they shape and are shaped by urban form in Dallas.

The second question asks whether a course correction is required for WDD, given that we are now seven years past its initial actions. In this case – rather than hard and defensible data, I was looking for a survey that might address some key issues for further probing and investigation. The sample is of an adequate size to provide the required impressions. The third question asks whether other cities can learn from the efforts advanced in Dallas. To answer this question, I turn to the interviews but I also triangulate

these responses with other data, including reports and visual analysis. The final question offered a sufficient data pool on which to draw conclusions about the potential of Design Charrette futuring as a tool for assessing the impact of change in neighborhoods and projecting forward for course correction.

The passage of time is also a limiting factor of this investigation. The fact is that this intervention was executed in 2009, almost seven years ago. Respondents noted that they only had their very deepest recollections of the process advanced by DCdS. Their memory of the details of these days is sketchy at best. Those involved in establishing and delivering the process were perhaps best able to describe the details of these days. Those opposed to the WDD process were likely more able to note their concerns with the overall process.   The limitation of the passing of time, means that unless participants had a deeper reason for remembering the events of that day, it is quite possible that they will have forgotten details.

Peck and Theodore offer a number of methodological warnings that I will heed in my own investigation (2015). They note that in Buroway's (2001) outline of the extended case method (ECM), the researcher goes to those involved in the case to ask questions, rather than passively observing (Peck and Theodore, 2015). This opens a series of methodological challenges I must consider. First, I will engage those with a vested interest in the process. Their intention, conscious or otherwise, is be to paint their approaches and participation, in the best light (Peck and Theodore, 2015). In some cases, I triangulate sources, and make best efforts to dig below the official lines for 'hidden transcripts' (Peck and Theodore, 2015, pp. 34). Peck and Theodore note:

> In-depth interviews enable researchers to probe contending accounts and evaluate protoexplanations among a range of knowing interlocutors; they provide opportunities to excavate the social and political content of decision-making, to delve into the "reasons for reasons', and perhaps most importantly, to pass back and rearticulate narratives and emergent explanations for verification, qualification, or rejection. (2015, p. 35)

In structuring these interviews, I am also aware that I must move beyond what Peck and Theodore refer to as "corner offices" (2015, p. 35), to engage with those without a professional interest in the outcomes.

Peck and Theodore caution the researcher traveling in these policy networks to:

> Not become another creature of those networks, of making sense of fast-moving "best practices" without losing sight of prosaic practice; of taking account of phenomena like policy tradeshows without succumbing to explanatory dilettantism, or some kind of methodological tourism "just tripping around from site to site" (Buroway, 2001, p. 48). (2015, p. 37).

Given my own history as described at the outset of the dissertation, I must be careful to keep my own biases in check. Further, I am not espousing to work within full networks, but rather, I have chosen to deeply examine a single strand of connection within that network. In examining this single strand, I must still avoid "explanatory dilettantism" (Peck and Theodore, 2015). I believe I may run this risk anyway. I worked for bcWorkshop, the Dallas-based community development and design organization closely aligned with DCdS, through their sharing of direction by Brent Brown. I also sat at tables and volunteered as a charrette artist in the CityPlan process. I run the risk of appearing as what McCann calls a "policy booster" (2013), or what Peck and Theodore call a "policy dopestar" (2015).

However, I am critical of Vancouver's neo-liberal bargain and believe the city trades on a sustainability label, pitting a suburban middle-class against its urban elite – harshly staring down those that are not willing, or able to afford to fully engage in sustainable and urbane lifestyles. Further, the selling out Vancouver to foreign interests has led to a disruption of family networks and communities (Ley, 2010).

My research design overcomes some of the barriers presented by my chosen theoretical area (time, expense, etc.), and the case study I believe represents an opportunity to advance understanding of theories of policy mobilities and transactive

planning, through a thorough examination of one case. My research methods improve on

the limited scope of interviews pursued by Khirfan et al (2013) and attempts to examine

not only the process to the policy in motion, but also looks at the implementation of the

policy mobility in an effort to better understand Peck's assertion of flows, blocks and

mutations (2010) . The number of interviews I undertook is potentially a limitation to the

development of this project. With unlimited time and resources, I could have completed

additional interviews, however, I believe the scope of the interviews and the consistency

of the stories told among participants would lead me to believe that I have sufficient

interview material to explore the considerations of citizens, the organizations that serve

them, the DCdS and the developers who are constructing new buildings in West Dallas.

This scope is sufficient to give new insight into the flow of policy mobilities through WDD.

    While there are these limitations, the passage of time has also opened opportunities

to other areas of investigation. Specifically, with almost ten years passing since the first

Google Street View images of this area were publicized, we now have significant visual

data on which to explore the nature of change in the community.

 4..12 - Summary

    This research methodology provides a sufficient base from which to examine the

policies in motion from Vancouver to Dallas and provides this dissertation within this

policy mobilities case. My position as a practitioner and scholar in both locations

provides me with a unique insight to the supply and demand side of this policy mobility.

The Ostrom and Ostrom Institutional Analysis and Development framework provides an

adequate scaffold on which to hang various theories that assist in our interrogation of the

subject matter, however, the nature of policy mobilities and multi-sited, temporal and

imagined spaces rely on adaptations of their initial concept (2004). The action arena is

both here, and there and in-between and in imagined spaces is contained also within the

hopes and aspirations for community change. This more complex use of the IAD

stretches the concept to address policies in motion. Through the combination of a review

of key documents, through interviews with participants in the process and those close to

the outcomes of that process and through a review of the built environment that emerges

from this visioning process, the paper seeks to assess these ideas in motion, the ways in

which the initial vision delivers on its promise, the potential of others to learn from this

case and the potential for a design tool to assess community change as it is understood

by those participating in the process.

Chapter 5 - Results

This section discusses the results of this dissertation, through a reflection on and evaluation of the findings in relation to the theoretical framework set in the Literature Review, which informs the policy arena through which these policy mobilities take place. My intent is not to reflect on every theory in relation to every grouping of findings emerging from the research. Instead, I will choose to reflect on those theories that are most closely concerned with the findings at hand.

As I noted in the Data Analysis section of the Methodology, after reviewing and coding the interviews, I divided the findings into six categories, including:

- Gentrification, control and LaBajada
- Race
- Employment
- Public space
- Policy flow; and,
- Development systems.

Six of these participants also participated in the creation of a Time Lapse Charrette Futuring (TLCF) drawing, informing conclusions about the utility of this planning tool. The policy arena constructed earlier, which includes consideration of the planning cultures of both Dallas and Vancouver will be examined through the theoretical framework, which focuses on three meta themes and a number of sub themes that allow deeper consideration of these transactive and communicative policies in motion.

The West Dallas Dream Policy Arena

The Policy Arena

Imagined Space

Globalization

Neoliberalism

BC   Vancouver → Dallas   TX

Canada   United States

Flow of Policy Ideas
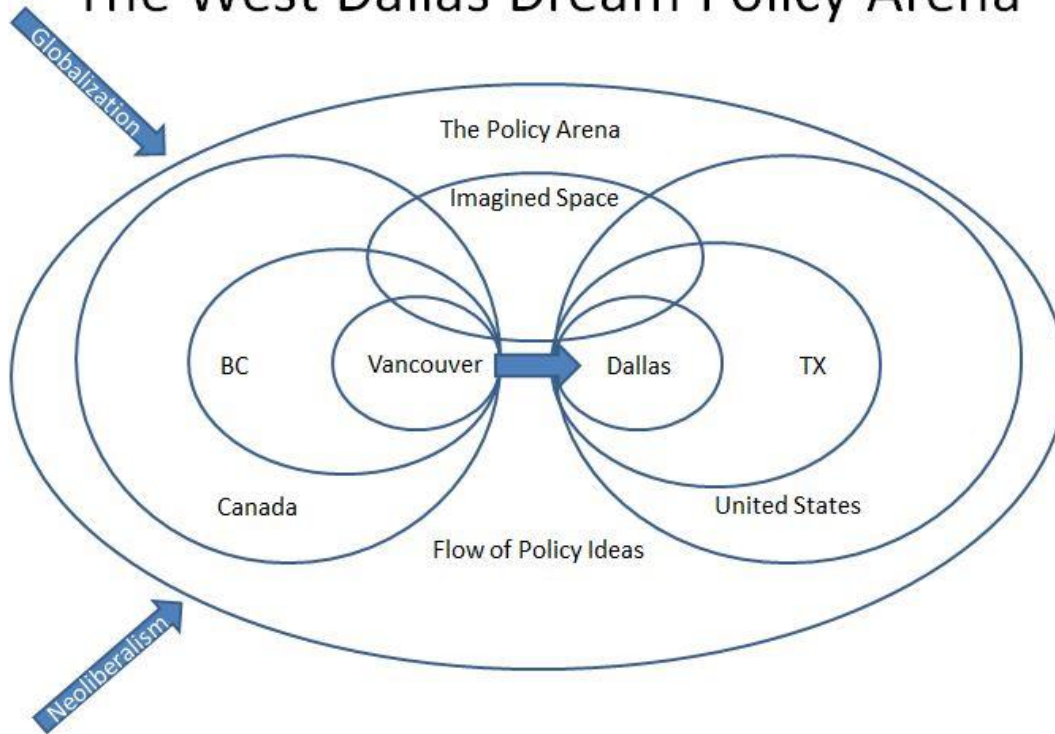
Figure 22. The Policy Arena Under Consideration for WDD

As noted earlier, the policy arena (Figure 22) for this policy change exercise greatly exceeds an arena as first envisioned by Ostrom and Ostrom (2004). They envisioned a method for policy change taking place within a single entity or a single location. This investigation stretches far beyond to encompass both the supply and demand city of these policies in motion, the theoretical constructs under which this policy change action occurs, the temporal dimension of change initiatives and the imagined space of potential for policy changes to occur.

With an understanding of this policy arena and the movements taking place within in it, I will be positioned to reflect upon and build conclusions to the four key questions that this dissertation sets out to answer, which were:

1. How do policy mobilities work, with particular attention paid to what flows, what gets blocked and what mutates into hybrid forms of practice and development? This compoenent builds case knowledge for policy mobilities.

2. Is there a need to correct the course of processes and development triggered by WDD?

3. In situations with racial enclaves, do transactive and communicative planning tools assist in creating spaces (spaces of dialogue, or physical spaces) that facilitate a more inclusive conversation about race and power relations?

4. Can a mini-charrette tool which considers visual change and then asks citizens to project forward, be useful and is this approach adaptable to other uses in the review of urban planning interventions?

As noted in the methodology, I completed twenty interviews with individuals from a variety of backgrounds, including:

- Employees and former employees of the City of Dallas;

- Members of the Dallas development community;

- Representatives of community service organizations working in West Dallas;

- Representatives of more broadly-based community organizations;

- Representatives of West Dallas business organizations;

- Local citizens; and

- The policy advisor involved in this policy mobilities exercise, Larry Beasley.

To structure the results I have created a table that includes the key theoretical frames I plan to apply in the results section and the groupings of findings that emerged from my research. These groupings provide a frame for the reporting of the results.

Area of Community Impact	Gentrification	Race	La Bajada	Employment	Public Space	Policy Flow	Development System
Theory							
Derrida Language					x		
Foucault Systems	x	x				x	x
Baudrillard Simulacra							
Bourdieu Distinction	x						
Policy Mobilities	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Spatial Justice	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Assmemblage					x		
Growth Machine	x						
Spatial Fix	x				x	x	x
Gentrification	x	x	x		x		x
Transactive and Communicative		x	x	x	x	x	x
Interculturality	x	x	x	x	x		

Figure 23. Theories and Findings Matrix

Figures 23 is a Theories and Findings Matrix providing a framework for the review of key theories related to findings. This table shows the theories I reviewed on the y axis and the areas of my findings on the x axis. The table provides a means of organizing which theories I will focus on each of the areas of findings. I have attempted to ensure that for each of the elements on the x axis, I have provided some commentary based on the framing theories on the y axis, when the appropriate box is marked with an x.

The section on findings reflects key informant interviews performed as part of this dissertation. While these findings relate to the Dallas setting, the relational nature of this

dissertation – the fact that the global ethnography is designed to track back and forth between supply and demand context for these policies in motion means that the results section also has a relational element. While I may discuss Dallas results falling from the interviews, I connect these back to the source policy area – Vancouver and then discuss potential relationality through the WDD and the continuing work in West Dallas.

5.1 Results - Gentrification, Control and LaBajada

Gentrification is found in both Dallas and in Vancouver, but the nature of gentrification and displacement in each of the cities under review is shaped by the racial make-up and segregation that exists in each city. In Vancouver, gentrification is a well-documented phenomenon, occurring since the rise of the Live First campaigns of the 1970's, when the city sought to make affordable housing for families available in close proximity to Downtown. This intensification of family housing was partly in response to a dramatic rise in the number of apartment buildings built in Vancouver's West End neighborhood, adjacent to Downtown, in the late 1960s.

The contrast is stark, because at the same time Live First started in Vancouver as a further intensification of urbanism, Dallas was in the midst of a long exodus of White urban populations to new suburban locations facilitated by rapid development of freeways (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003; Phillips, 2006). In the spaces vacated, Latinos moved on masse to Dallas (Census, 2010). While forming just 3% of the Dallas population in 1970, by 2010, Latinos comprised 42.8% of the Dallas population (Census, 2010). The black population of Dallas also increased. Neighborhoods close to Downtown included Black enclaves like State-Thomas and mostly Mexican neighborhoods like Little Mexico (Brown, Personal communication, 2014). Over the

history of gentrification in the City of Dallas, both of these neighborhoods were eliminated – completely subsumed by an influx of mostly White urban professional populations who sought proximity to the Downtown and an emerging bar and restaurant scene.

There are ways to manage gentrification, yet as Harvey (1989) notes, there is an inevitability to capitalist processes which drives towards ceaseless renewal when land values increase. In West Dallas, WDD addresses an existing trigger for development, sets some direction and indicates an interest in future civic investment that may trigger other investment. Brown noted the need to re-calibrate and revisit WDD and course correct if necessary (2014, personal communication). That course correction may include a discussion of how to manage gentrification and address things that we see as being inevitable outcomes of capitalist processes.

Gentrification is an increasingly important factor in the re-establishment of urban living in the United States and Canada and increasingly, we are able to apply a Foucaultian like lens to it and see it as a system, like other systems. Gentrification as a concept is at play in Vancouver's waves of urban redevelopment, dating back to before gentrification was first noted as a concept in the mid-1960s.   In Dallas, gentrification has been a factor in the redevelopment of Uptown, the re-establishment of Lower Greenville as a hip-neighborhood and in the artist led revival of the Bishop Arts District.   It should be noted - each of these earlier waves of gentrification played a significant role in displacing local, socio-economically challenged communities often also defined by their non-white race. In these cases, we also learn the succession of populations took place over a period of time and that for a brief intermediate period, these locations represented a hopeful and unique mixing of populations. Thomas (Personal communication, 2015) spoke of the State/Thomas area and its intermediate roll as a cultural bridge, before successive waves of gentrification fully expunged the former population. In this sense,

the neighborhood met an intercultural sweet spot, before the wave of gentrification overtook the neighborhood and subsumed the once resident population, taking a piece of culture along with it.

Gentrification is tied to considerations of spatial justice. In the City of Vancouver and across Metro Vancouver, land owners hold significant equity, while basement suite renters – the urban precariate – or marginal gentrifiers, as Rose (1984) calls them, live without security of tenure. This lack of security of tenure is then reflected in outcomes for Vancouver youth – some of whom must move on a regular basis to secure adequate housing. The point here is that there is that socio-economic standing and race are differently aligned with gentrification and change from city to city and there is a radical difference between the racial constitution of Dallas and Vancouver.

Caulfield, reviewing the gentrifying force of an influx of professionals into Toronto's neighborhoods suggested that Canadian gentrification lacks spatial injustice (1984). Many called him to task, suggesting he was overlooking the power relationships involved in Toronto's gentrification. In Vancouver, the spectre of large off-shore investments adjusts Caulfield's narrative and creates new winners and losers as a result of gentrification. As noted, long-time Vancouver residents can cash-out after receiving a significant windfall as a result of property value increases. Offshore buyers continue to purchase and in some cases hold properties without living in them – creating knock-on impacts for local businesses that serve a diminishing local population base (Yan, 2015). The injustice visited upon the Vancouver housing market has a racial element, but it is actually less important than the inter-generational conflict that the Vancouver housing market creates as many Vancouverites compromise on where they live and contemplate leaving the city for more affordable options.

What also seems clear about many urban revanchist actions in Canada is that they are tied to Bourdieuian pursuit of distinction, which is tied to the gritty urbanity of post-industrial settings (Ley, 2003, Zukin, 2010). Ley writes extensively about a succession in Vancouver gentrification – that starts with artists populating underutilized areas – making minor improvements through sweat equity and making these neighborhoods cool (2003). Eventually, corporate interests follow and over time complete the cycle as the neighborhood eventually evolves into less distinct, corporate-dominated environments. So when a neighborhood gets a Starbuck's, its "jumped the shark" to use the parlance that describes a television show that has run out of new ideas.

Gentrification and spatial justice was a key lens for Thomas as she sought solutions to development challenges in Dallas (Personal communication, 2015). Her own experiences with gentrification influenced her pursuit of innovative approaches for working in West Dallas (Personal communication, 2015). WDD is a project which tries to bring a different approach to intercultural relations in Dallas. Thomas (Personal communication, 2015) notes her own experience as a facilitator of the initial trigger in the gentrification of the State-Thomas neighborhood which Dallas residents now known as Uptown. She relayed a situation which occurred in Dallas in the 1980s, when the Dallas Institute brought another influencer to town (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015). This influencer, in doing what many would consider to be the right thing to do, may have actually triggered gentrification in Uptown. Thomas explains:

> We brought in Dr. James Hillman from Zurich, he was a famous psychologist, they called him in Zurich, the heir to CG Jung, the psychologist CG Jung, and he came. And when I asked him where he wanted to live. He said, well, I want to live close to the Dallas Institute. And so I drove him around and he said, well I like this area. And it was Hibernia and Routh St. I don't know if you know that area. Well it was all Black, 100% Black. Well Dr. Hillman, it's an all-Black area. And he said, perfect, that's where I want to live. And he purchased his home. And then, Curtis and Patricia Meadows, Curtis was the head of the Meadows Foundation at the time, and his wife, Patricia Meadows, who

started D Arts Magazine and they bought a house on State St. and that started the integration into that neighborhood, that was actually quite extraordinary and quite wonderful, but it was not protected (Personal Communication, 2015).

As Thomas (Personal communication, 2015) described it, the changes that occurred first brought a number of white professionals to the area, and for a time, the area teamed with vibrancy. Then, the scales tipped and the black population of the community diminished, until there were none of the original residents living in the area (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015). As an individual sensitive to the cultural aspects of her work, Thomas (Personal communication, 2015) expressed dismay about the situation that evolved in Uptown and drew a comparison to the forces that were emerging in West Dallas.

It was with this in mind that she met with the developers from West Dallas Investments, who as noted, prior to the 2008 downturn, had entertained a massive development on the west shore of the Trinity River Basin, inspired by a design by students from the University of Texas at Austin (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015). This design conceived of West Dallas as a tabula rasa, where there would be no consideration of existing populations. She met with the West Dallas Investments team (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015). Having experienced the full cycle of gentrification in Uptown, Thomas (Personal communication, 2015) was concerned that plans for West Dallas would not be sensitive to the existing populations and she sought to change that.

Citizens have united to create a neighborhood stabilization overlay in the LaBajada neighborhood, limiting the height of any new developments in the area (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Community member #1, Personal communication, 2015; Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). The overlay effectively protects the LaBajada neighborhood from future encroachment. The ethics of investigating the development

system in Dallas and the relationship of historic development to current development conversations requires careful consideration of the power imbalances inherent in the development system. Consideration of the historic relationship needs to acknowledge that decisions taken by previous officials and administrations placed citizens in harm's way. This consideration must also acknowledge the passive harm associated with a development system that leans toward the rights of developers and fails to acknowledge the impact of historic actions on those with fewer means.

It is this threat of a racial succession that spawned the idea to protect the LaBajada neighborhood from gentrification, but the very nature of this action may not act in the best interests of all citizens in this neighborhood. MacGregor (Personal communication, 2015) suggests that those living in LaBajada have been denied the opportunity to sell their homes for a profit because of the height restriction overlay that is aimed at keeping the neighborhood from changing. The tool intended to save the neighborhood freezes it and in the fullness of time, may contribute to further deterioration over time (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2015). The jury is still out on this case and there are varying opinions as to the importance of the overlay, as either a limitation to citizens, or a limitation to developers. What is clear is that regardless, the overlay, with its 80% threshold to allow for change, may be over the neighborhood for a long-time.

Vancouver's urban achievement was largely reached through building on former industrial lands and at increasingly dense scales. It was only when there was threat of these residential spaces eroding the stock of office spaces through residential conversion of office spaces, that Vancouver placed a moratorium on the conversion of industrial and commercial lands to new densified residential development. This again points to the fact that land scarcity in Vancouver contributes to high land valuation and creates the

potential to provide innovative solutions while extracting amenity payments in exchange

for a portion of the increased profits that come with densification.

The post industrial development in Vancouver was perhaps the area that most

impressed the Dallas visitors to Vancouver.

> It was incredible how whole areas of the city were reclaimed from
> industrial uses. Old plants, many of them abandoned, into beautiful
> residential areas. And that was an inspiration to all of us. (Thomas,
> Personal communication, 2016).

This form of gentrification is probably not possible in Dallas, where building

allowances are already generous and where the economics of building don't allow the

movement away from stick frame construction, except in the most urban of

circumstances (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; MacGregor, Personal

communication, 2015). MacGregor, speaking about the DCdS and WDD states:

> You know – their ideas are fine. What we envision is – it's nice to have
> ideas – what can happen and everything – but it has to be an
> economically feasible deal – there's some real nice buildings drawn out
> here – but that would never get built because of the economics.
> (Personal communication, 2015)

So while WDD was born out of a fear of a new round of gentrification and although

Dallas looked to Vancouver for solutions that would build towards the types of streets that

Vancouver has created, clearly, at this point, there is not a sufficient economic imperative

to build to the densities built in Vancouver. An important planning question might be –

can that change? The issue that mediates against Dallas initiating Vancouver like-

development is the fact that in the area around Downtown, there is an abundance of

space, so all spaces are less valuable. The opposite is true in Vancouver where scarcity

imbues each space with particular qualities including proximity, distance to transit and

views.

In Vancouver, the Downtown peninsula is de-limited, hemmed in by water, except on

a narrow strip to the east and set in by mountains to the north and with the conical and

majestic Mount Baker on the far horizon to the south east, there are significant vistas that influence land value. This creates a number of development opportunities. First, there is a limitation of space on the Downtown peninsula, so the property values are higher. Secondly, there are numerous waterfront sites which serve as locations for amenities like waterfront walkways and ensure water views. In Dallas, there are a few sites that have land value differentiations that would facilitate intensified and densified development. The first area is near Klyde Warren Park and close to the Arts District. The development of the deck park over the Woodall Rogers Freeway represents a significant urban amenity set in an already remarkable cluster of facilities in the Dallas Cultural District. Spaces close to the Klyde Warren Park are now creating a walkable destination eating area, adjacent to both Klyde Warren and the various facilities of the Cultural District. Klyde Warren Park proves that it is possible to facilitate residential densification based on the development of new amenities in Dallas.

Many agree that in West Dallas, it might be possible at some point in the future to build to the kind of densities available in Vancouver, but two things would need to change. The orientation of the City of Dallas towards the rights of developers to develop to the full extent possible would have to evolve to a conception that included capping current development rights. If markets dictate an increase over the course of time, then those increases should only come through negotiations with the city for an increase in allowable densities and those densities should be exchanged for amenity payments. Amenities lie at the crux of changing the development face of Dallas and there is nowhere that this is more apparent than near the Trinity River Levee. If the plans of the Trinity Trust Foundation come to fruition and the Trinity Basin is re-purposed as a significant destination amenity and particularly if it is possible to have some water-based amenities there, then proximity to that amenity may completely change the economic

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equation on of the land closest to the Trinity River, including land in West Dallas.

Thomas of the Trinity Trust Foundation discusses the relationship of the improvements in

the Trinity Basin to Downtown Dallas and to West Dallas (Personal communication,

2015). She states:

> It's just staggering to count the lanes of freeway and high speed traffic and huge trucks and vehicles that go between Downtown Dallas and the Trinity River corridor, and here we are, trying to build our park. Our central park, in the Trinity River Corridor, and I think we can do it. The Continental Bridge is a good place for people, but in the corridor, even with all the rains and the flooding, we can build places. You know, we'll build them up and mound them up and make them up, making mountains, you know, peaks, that are up above, and permanently out of the flood water, so that they are never flooded. They can always be dry. We can build these places. The difficulty, I think is just getting to them from Downtown Dallas. You know, West Dallas and Oak Cliff have excellent access and I can just see that in 2050, West Dallas will be the perfect place to live and work and have a house, for small business, for places to eat, because the access to the park, is readily available. (Personal communication, 2015)

Gentrification is a key element framing any investigation of West Dallas development

in the last ten years, because over this time, it is increasingly clear that gentrification will

occur in West Dallas. What is interesting is that this time, the gentrification of an urban

neighborhood in Dallas is different than when the last major wave of gentrification – the

redevelopment of Uptown took place. This time, citizens of Dallas, the Dallas

professional elite and the citizens living in communities are all aware of the potential for

gentrification and there is collective action to consider and address its impacts.

WDD marked an effort to corral the public imagination regarding changes, but in and

of itself, it was not the trigger of gentrification. However, from a review of available

documents and as a result of conversations with the various participants, it would seem

that WDD represented the best actions to bring forward principles of transactive planning

where citizens participate in plan making, rather than being subjugated to the limitations

of the plans made by others.

Dallas's actions towards gentrification, and the management of its impacts on less empowered communities, could mark a measure of the success of the WDD initiative. Essentially, if those standing at the front of the room at the outset of WDD got it right, then the continued planning of West Dallas, into the future will consider the voices and needs of all citizens in the community. However, as the population of West Dallas begins to change, with the influx of young professionals into new apartment spaces recently developed, it will be interesting to see how the voices of these new residents and the long-term residents are reflected.

From the center of the City of Vancouver, and moving out five miles in any direction, one would be hard pressed to find lands considered under-developed, but scarcely four blocks to the west of the Trinity River Basin – at 400 West Main Street, the bucolic scene looks like a rural country road running through a village where the general store had closed decades before. This kind of contrast in development is documented in other places, but overall, the sentiment among white elites in Dallas – for many years – West Dallas as a no go zone for the city's elite population (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015). It was not that people didn't live in West Dallas – rather - it was that there was a significant social, economic and racial divide between West Dallas and the parts of Dallas to the east and north of Downtown (Brown, Personal communication, 2014). These locations to the north and east of Downtown Dallas were generally more affluent. So for many, West Dallas was a no go zone, and for the citizens of West Dallas, their physical separation from neighborhoods of wealth meant that there were fewer immediate local opportunities for employment (Wilson, 2008). West Dallas operated as a series of communities where Latino and Black citizens of Dallas could live and in many ways, their lives were beyond the purview of the Dallas elite except through the eyes of newscasts detailing malfeasance.

The area of concern for West Dallas Dream and its subsequent design processes was the area furthest to the east of West Dallas and closest to Downtown Dallas. This is an area that had, through its early years, been the site of grinding poverty, dysentery and conditions generally not thought to still exist in urban North America (Phillips, 2006).

We know that gentrification will be triggered and from initial interviews, it is clear that the Dallas Citydesign Studio is partially engaged to participate and influence the policy arena of West Dallas. One of the key means to do this work, is the West Dallas Urban Design Guidelines. The Guidelines are just that, guidelines, but they have the impact of doing two things. First the articulate a shared vision of the community. Second, they attempt to, through a design advisory process, encourage developers to participate in a design review.

The Citydesign Studio explains the purpose the Urban Design Guidelines:

> The planned Urban Structure for this community represents a shared vision derived from a year-long collaborative community dialogue. Capitalizing on existing assets such as a well-defined neighborhood, abundant land near the urban core, and current investment in public infrastructure is a means toward achieving this vision. Re-positioning the area's industrial heritage into manufacturing for creative arts and crafts reinforces a culture supportive of creative and innovative development. This also affords an opportunity to showcase the area's cultural heritage through production and marketing of indigenous arts and crafts from local residents. Redevelopment also brings a mechanism to meet the much-desired local retail and service needs of an economically diverse population. This Structure captures a snapshot of the community's vision that will certainly evolve over the decades to come. The detailed conceptual plan presented later in this guidebook is an illustration of only one of the countless potential development scenarios that embody the three fundamental objectives underlying the plan. (City of Dallas, Citydesign Studio, 2013, p. 4)

The DCdS goes on to explain the key objectives of the Urban Design Structure and Guidelines:

- Enhance and protect La Bajada

- Allow for incremental development

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- Focus high density development along the Herbert Street corridor

- south of Singleton and foster key development nodes (City of Dallas, Citydesign Studio, 2013, p. 4)

The document presents an aspirational goal for the overall process:

> This Urban Structure represents a shifting perspective on a number of fronts, not only in the process and focus of the plan, but in the type of development envisioned. To realize this vision will require an equal shift in the manner in which it is delivered through the redevelopment process. This will take diligent efforts on the part of the residential, business, and development community, along with the City and other organizations working within the area. This process and product represents a new horizon for the City of Dallas, and new potential for creating great urban places. (City of Dallas, Citydesign Studio, 2013, p. 4)

Finally, the plan has some guarded advice for politicians. It states:

> Conveying development rights onto property that allows for the realization of this plan is a necessary and critical step in this process; however, it must be done in a measured and strategic way that allows for development to be delivered in a time and manner that the market can provide. If development entitlements get too far ahead of the market, it can have the unintended consequence of arresting redevelopment by falsely increasing expectations of land value. A skewed perception of the market can prevent the type of incremental and organic growth that this plan lays its foundation upon. These intermediate steps build toward larger redevelopment initiatives down the road. (City of Dallas, Citydesign Studio, 2013, p. 4)

A full discussion of the Urban Structure and Design Guidelines is outside the focus of this dissertation. That stated, as an exponent of WDD, and as the likely tool for putting some of what was expressed in the WDD vision into reality the Guidelines are an important element to consider as an element linked to WDD. It will be interesting to understand, through the fullness of time, whether these possible changes that could guide the development of West Dallas and the potential triggers of gentrification will catalyze the type of virtuous circle of development similar to that advanced in Vancouver. Additionally, it will be interesting to see that if such a circle was to be developed, would it

be positioned politically to ensure that benefits derived from this project were turned to public purposes.

When CityPlan is compared with WDD and we look at the articulation of each plan's key goals, the only word that CityPlan does not have, that WDD does, is 'incremental'. The word 'incremental' is important in the overall conception of a move away from 'city as a whole' thinking as incremental approaches suggest value in adjusting development systems to ensure new development doesn't quickly over-run existing populations. One example of incrementality in West Dallas is the neighborhood stabilization overlay in LaBajada, just to the north of the Trinity Groves Development and east of Sylvan Ave. Through a petition initiative, community members of LaBajada were able to collectively come forward with a petition to minimize the potential height of new housing in the neighborhood. In effect, this creates a limitation on the development potential of LaBajada and keeps this area from selling to development interests. The neighborhood stabilization overlay has the desired impact of ensuring that changes happen in an incremental way, though there were conflicting opinions about whether the overlay represented a positive, or a negative outcome for area residents. In some senses, it depends on the lens one dons to view the situation.

Butch MacGregor, partner of Phil Romano at West Dallas Investments states:

> Yeah – I mean, you don't know. You know the problem with LaBajada is they put that neighborhood stabilization over there and that's an unfortunate thing at this point – because you have to have an 80% sign-off on taking it off. Before you can – it's as bad as a historical designation. (Personal communication, 2016)

When speaking about the impact of the overlay on local citizens, he presents a view in opposition to those that seek to protect LaBajada :

> It's their property and they can do what they want with it. But, at the same time, let them get as much out of it as they possibly can and the city shouldn't hold them back. You know, it's zoned residential, right

now. It's totally unnecessary to put that NSO over it. (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2015)

For LaBajada, the situation regarding the NSO and the potential for citizens to use their properties is complicated. The NSO limits the potential to change these properties from how they have been historically, but it also limits the potential to improve these properties in significant ways. First, it keeps the values of these properties artificially low, meaning that the wealth generating potential of these properties is diminished or eliminated (MacGregor, 2015). It may also impact the potential to borrow money for homes in a neighborhood where 25% of the properties are deemed by Dallas County to be in disrepair (bcWorkshop, 2016). That stated; the fact is that the NSO allows this community to continue to exist, even in the midst of substantial change nearby. From that perspective, it freezes the community in time and ensures that it will not be overrun by the changes taking place nearby.

West Dallas and the emerging restaurants there represent a possible significant Bourdieuian inspired force of gentrification, through the combination of new food amenities, affordable housing and proximity to the Continental Bridge and new park amenities on and in the future, in, the Trinity Basin. While WDD, in its art work, its designs and the community it envisions encompass the mix of walkability, street friendliness and conviviality of good streets (Jacobs, 1984), the fact is that the development rights conferred to West Dallas Investments, in advance of the development of WDD, represent standard Dallas doughnut apartments, with little concern for establishing retail at the street level.

Arguably, for the Dallas elite, only the high cost of new infrastructure and the tendency in an emerging post-Keynesian era, to need to monetize this new infrastructure impedes the seeming success of Dallas modernity. Although even here, the imposition of toll roads lends itself to the furthering of the comfort and success of the Dallas elite who

are now able to, through the paying of a toll, whiz past those with lesser means who sit in traffic on the failing overburdened infrastructure of the Interstate era.

Rather than distribute the spoils of wealth broadly across the City, philanthropy is often focused on the creation of signature facilities. There is evidence of this in the Dallas Arts District. A community of wealthy individuals is happy to invest back into the community that spawned their success – in fact it is in some senses, expected (Hanson, 2003). Dallas citizens are proud of their community and strive through philanthropic contributions to make it better (Hanson, 2003). The City generally does not look to federal or state largesse, except perhaps where road infrastructure is concerned (Hanson, 2003). So while Dallas modernism is not strictly Keynesian, it relies on a form of external investment that has a similar look and feel to the investment of a senior level of government from an earlier era. The result is that Dallas has significant reserves to draw on in the creation of an urban environment. This is not to say that there are not investments in other less visible areas of Dallas, but instead, simply highlights the depth of philanthropic wealth and its availability for civic change.

Spatial justice and segregation impact the growth machine story in Dallas and ensure continued growth to northern suburbs like Richardson, Plano, McKinney, Allen and Frisco, to name a few.   Five thousand new employees move to a new Toyota facility in Frisco to the north of Dallas. Also to the north of Dallas, six thousand new employees have arrived at a huge new State Farm Insurance complex in Plano. On the west of the Metroplex, two thousand are employed at a new Samsung facility in Fort Worth. This type of growth has never happened in Vancouver. On top of these instances of Dallas growth, the former Texas Governor, Rick Perry made trips to California to tell companies there, reeling from higher taxes and more stringent environmental regulations, of the incentive packages that might attract them to Texas. The Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex

continues to spread, mostly to the north – across a seemingly endless supply of rural farmland that acts as a safety valve to keep housing prices lower across the region.

These kinds of economic development investments are absolutely unheard of in Vancouver, where economic developers pursue narrow niches of technology industry and creative industry businesses who can afford to pay their employees more money, thereby allowing them the financial wherewithal to live in Vancouver. Concomitantly, these employees are not attracted to Vancouver for its family friendly lifestyles and instead come to ski, sail and enjoy other outdoor recreation pursuits. The city is forced to focus on lifestyle potential as its key economic driver.

This conception of Dallas, a city with an active growth machine sits in contrast to Vancouver – a city with a geographic location ensuring the inevitability of growth. Vancouver's economic development approach is like that line from Field of Dreams – "if you build it – they will come".   Geography conspires to create a kind of inevitability of growth in Vancouver. A sustainability ethos supplants modernism early and events help to organize and publicize the orchestration of post-industrial space into the city that is lauded today. But there is inevitability to growth in Vancouver guarantees a continuous input of new residents and an expansion of the service economy, while the limitations on the spread of the region ensure that this growth will be higher density.

 While some may balk at the trade-offs of space and opportunity that come along with living in Vancouver, the fact is that there are ten more people wanting to escape a winter in Ottawa, or Winnipeg – ten more people looking to leave smaller cities for the tolerance of Vancouver and its large gay community. And there are offshore millionaires willing to pay a relatively affordable price for a toehold and possible landing space, should anything go awry in foreign lands (Ley, 2010; Yan, 2015). Though each purchaser may have different circumstances, the following sketch of a potential

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purchaser is offered to explore the overseas purchaser motivations. A home purchaser who lives in an apartment in Hong Kong purchases a relatively inexpensive Vancouver home and makes an investment while ensuring a place to land should the 1997 transfer of Hong Kong to China prove to be tumultuous. Buyers in aggregate begin to change the look and feel of the neighborhood, meeting Kennedy and Leonard's (2001) criteria for gentrification. They replace aging housing stock with new houses maximizing lot potential (Ley, 2010) and through tree removal they change the character of Vancouver's residential neighborhoods (Mitchell, 1991). More recent reports, completed by Andy Yan of UBC and SFU, are buoyed by Census Canada findings and recent sales data and suggest that offshore investors may be utilizing tax loopholes to minimize their exposure to Canadian taxation (Gold, 2015).

Through the application of a critical theory lens, we can see these circumstances from a number of different perspectives. For Vancouver's elite, we can see growth machine-induced housing investment leads to positive outcomes as homeowners benefit from the increasing value of their land.   The values of business and land holdings increase and there are more customers to serve. Turning the lens to the middle class, we have a mixed picture where citizens are impacted and may be compensated, dependent on their position in the market. The potential for compensation depends on how early owners entered the real estate market or if they entered at all. Vancouver's employment of growth machine theory has led to what would seem to be positive outcomes as overall, the City experienced only a slight decline in local real estate prices following the 2008 economic crash. Economic buoyancy resulted from investment and construction in advance of the 2010 Olympics. While this economic buoyancy meant jobs for some, it meant continued high-housing costs for others and as such the picture is actually more nuanced. Those in the market missed the catastrophic failure of the

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market in 2008, but so did those outside the market. The housing market without substantial correction remains out of reach for many.

Vancouver's middle class is not forced to leave the City, but neighborhoods, schools, businesses and social networks are in constant flux. Middle class homeowners may trade older homes closer to the City for newer homes in the suburbs, or newer condos in the City, or they take their equity and invest in their aging houses. For those with the means, they may take their Vancouver-gained windfall and move out of the reach of the Vancouver market, to Vancouver Island or to the Okanagan. If they leave, they are, in a sense, displaced, but like sellers in Kennedy and Leonard's (2001) gentrified neighborhoods, displaced homeowners cash in their appreciating assets and are compensated for their displacement, though they may face smaller living spaces or increased commutes.

Harvey writes that there are multiple circuits of investment in communities and that one of these is the development of fixed capital – buildings. As discussed, the spatial 'fix' attempts to overcome two problems – the challenge in maintaining and renewing fixed assets in building, which are fixed in space and the problem of how to address economic over-accumulation when opportunities become scare as frontiers close. Makagon (2010) and Smith's (1995) discussion of the use of frontier ideology to convey the changes taking places in gentrifying neighborhoods is germane. The spatial fix demands that new spaces for investment to capital can be engaged when there is a frontier.

The limitation of fixed space – precipitated by Vancouver's various geographic limitations (water, mountains, borders) means that there a fewer opportunities for such renewal. Specific locations are the obvious next choice for densification. For instance, with densification completed on all sides of Downtown Vancouver, but to the east, the

next obvious neighborhood to be impacted by Harvey's notion of a spatial fix is the Downtown Eastside.

Understanding the next location of the spatial fix in Dallas is more complex, because rather than there being one obvious next place for capital to go, there are several and the dispersion of sites leads to a dispersion of product and potential. Exceptional product is developed at Southside, in South Dallas, but there is a lack of critical mass to trigger a virtuous circle of neo-liberal urbanism. Sales are slow – profits are presumably marginal and around Downtown Dallas, in almost any direction, there are pieces of land with similar position and amenity value, with no one property exhibiting attributes to place it in a position above any other.

5.2 Results - Race

WDD was designed to address intercultural deliberations in planning (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). WDD begins by acknowledging the power structures inherent in the historic situation and how these are manifest in the current situation, and invites broad participation, regardless of the size of the stake of various participants. In this sense it takes on Foucaultian lens in that it considers and attempts to re-order power systems.

It is not clear whether the approach to ensuring broad and intercultural participation was driven by good planning practice, as Brown suggests, or if in some ways it emerges from Beasley's experience as a young planner in the highly inter-cultural context of Vancouver (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Beasley, personal communication, 2016). Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) build's on Brown's description of intercultural sensitivity and suggests that language is a key barrier in a planning. Though not directly invoking Derrida, Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) notes that

language can be used by those more powerful, through education or otherwise, to dominate a dialogue.

WDD was designed to address intercultural deliberations in planning (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Beasely, Personal communication, 2016). WDD begins by acknowledging the power structures inherent in the historic situations of West Dallas and how these are manifest in the current situation, and invites broad participation, regardless of the size of the stake of various participants. Chalonda Jackson Mangwiro discusses the scope of the planning exercise:

> At each step in the process we made sure that there were, because there are a lot of Spanish speaking residents in West Dallas - we wanted to make sure that there were not any barriers to anyone who wanted to, participate in this process. So we always made sure that everything was available in Spanish and English and we always had a translator at the meetings to be there if anyone needed translation, so we tried to remove any barriers for people participating and that included the documents and ensuring at the meetings there were and we met at a number of different times in a number of different places to allow as many people as possible to be involved in the process. (Personal communication. Chalonda Jackson Mangwiro, 2015).

So the WDD process operated with an initial intent to engage broadly and to in some senses, operate in ways counter to the planning history of the City of Dallas, which is noted for its tendency to put the rights of private property holders and business ahead of the rights of citizens (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003; Graff, 2008). Larger landowners noted – with some irony in their comments – that "the process was democratic in the sense that the owner of a 3,000 sq ft lot in LaBajada has the same say in the conversation as a landowner who has assembled 65 acres" (Personal communication, 2015, MacGregor).

Interculturality in Dallas is a tricky subject. Officially, segregation ended in the United States almost fifty years ago and yet its persistence is marked in Dallas. For a century before the end of segregation, blacks lived in separate neighborhoods with separate

facilities (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003; Phillips, 2006; Gruff, 2008). The persistence of

economic differences means that the some areas of Dallas experience have diminished

outcomes for citizens (Pendall, 2015). The challenge in Dallas is that the areas of

diminished outcomes track almost precisely to race, with Black and Latino areas scoring

lower on a variety of indices. Dallas remains a segregated city and is perhaps more so

today, than it was at the official end of segregation. White flight coupled with rapid

suburbanization in the period of largest growth in Dallas, through the 1970s and 1980s,

created the conditions for rapid succession to new ethnicities in urban Dallas.

The Texas Theater in southwest Dallas, where Lee Harvey Oswald was

apprehended was not in a predominantly Latino neighborhood on that day in 1963.

Today, almost every business on Jefferson Avenue caters to a Latino population. In

West Dallas, racial enclaves – connected to churches and other institutions still mark the

distribution of populations. There is a tendency toward racial agglomeration in the United

States that reinforces positive or negative ties within each group. In these situations,

success leads to greater success, while failure creates more failure and the separation of

populations tends to reinforce these relationships (Duneier, 2016).

With regard to the egalitarian approach of WDD and the need for the City of Dallas to

address enclavism, Brown points to WDD as a potential roadmap to create a mix of

populations (Personal communication, 2014). In this sense, if WDD is done right and

starts to result in the types of outcomes the City wants to see, then it will likely be

adopted more broadly, with similar processes emerging in other parts of the City. With

that stated, a consistent criticism of WDD has been that there is a lack of programming

aimed at bridging the existing population to the emerging population in West Dallas

(Personal communication, Community member #1, 2015; Beasley, Personal

communication ; 2016). This bridging could be anything from the provision of

employment opportunities to the creation of events that build the potential for interculturalism in West Dallas. Without updated Census data, it is unclear what the most recent population mix in West Dallas will be. What does seem clear is that there is little connection between the emergent populations that will occupy the new apartments of the emerging West Dallas and the historic populations of the community.

WDD created space for a longer conversation where emotions are allowed to come forward and initial visions are heard and acted upon, thereby creating a dialogue which Friedmann called a transactional approach (Friedmann, 2005, 1973). Mangwiro-Jackson goes on to describe the thorough nature of the emerging WDD process:

> We were very diligent in making sure everyone's voice was heard. And we had the information correct and we had the ideas – and in confirming the ideas, so I think that played a key role in the engagement part. (Personal communication, 2015)

Mangwiro-Jackson, the public affairs officer of the DCdS notes the role of public education in advancing WDD:

> I would say that most people came in not fully understanding the process, or really, what we were doing. I know for the first couple of meetings, people just thought these were regular public meetings and they were really unsure about what we were doing, and so there was a lot of educating and that was done at the meetings and it was done one on one. It was done visiting people. Sometimes people would call and they would say I don't really understand what you guys are doing. Even, talking to people after meetings, there was a lot of education. (Personal communication, 2015)

Enclavism and the process of ghetto formation are inter-twined as concepts. In one sense, enclavism results from a historic clustering of populations following immigration. This statement is true for most populations. For the poor citizens of West Dallas, many of whom are Black and Latino, enclavism represents the tightening of community bonds, in lock step with economic and social isolation from the outside community. While in some situations protection from the outside is a welcome respite from racism, where citizens

are free to deepen their cultural ties. However, in larger cities, enclavism also creates

geographic isolation which in some cities also runs together with economic isolation. So

enclavism is positive in that it reinforces community ties – and assuming that these ties

are positive, this leads to positive outcomes for communities. However, the potential for

enclavism to lead to reduced economic opportunities is also significant.

This brings us around to consideration of enclavism in West Dallas, which at some

locations leads to economic isolation and in others may lead to a local economy of small

business owners that supports community needs. For instance, across parts of Dallas,

there are tire repair services that play an active role in recycling available tires to ensure

citizens needing tires have access to a cheap source.

CityPlan attempted to facilitate a local dialogue among citizens at a crucial point in

the immigration history of the City of Vancouver. Geo-political situations impacted the

local situation of Vancouver, as the reversion of Hong Kong to Chinese rule in 1997,

caused great concern for those who lived under British rule. With the impending hand-

over date in 1997, many Hong Kong residents investigated a potential landing location

(Boddy, 2004; Punter, 2003). Li Ka Shing, a Hong Kong billionaire negotiated with the

Province of British Columbia for the former Expo Lands on the North Shore of False

Creek (Boddy, 2004; Punter, 2003). His company, Concord Pacific would go on to build

thousands of new high-density residences creating new downtown housing across the

entire southern flank of Downtown Vancouver (Boddy, 2004; Punter, 2003). CityPlan

addressed intercultural relations between a new Chinese population and the existing

Vancouver population and sought to build consensus about density going forward

(Boddy, 2004; Punter, 2003).

New neighborhoods near urban centers, where young professionals are more willing

to mix, introduce an exciting potential to spaces like West Dallas. In these spaces, there

is the potential for intercultural mixing that is not found in other areas of Dallas. What this mixing looks like, over time and whether it facilitates greater intercultural understanding is still up for debate, but it at least, creates the conditions for that potential.

As noted earlier, Bridge invites the potential of melding pragmatism with critical theory to move a practical vision of change forward (2014). Where one falls on this argument is a crucial indicator of how one conceptualizes the planning profession. While critical geographers like Brenner enjoy the luxury of ideological purity, urban planners' fields of play are more practical and practice orient. Planners are confined by the political and social context of the communities and organizations they serve, free to make moves that are as progressive as their context allows. Dallas planner David Whitley reflected on the practicalities of planning practice and its tie to real world decision making in an interview. He states:

> Planning actions fall in the real world and are subject to not just the decisions of Council, but also to the interpretations of the planning analyst sitting at their desk (Whitley, personal conversation, 2015).

WDD is a planning exercise executed in a racial enclave that would soon face challenges faced by other racial enclaves in Dallas. It was clear before the start of WDD that changes would occur in West Dallas and that it was likely that these changes would lead to new populations moving into the area (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Thomas, Personal communication, 2015; Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). Given that these changes would impact existing populations, WDD proposed an approach that would engage what would soon emerge as an increasing interculturality in the neighborhood.

While I have detailed the efforts to address interculturality in WDD and I can point to Vancouver's work with CityPlan and other planning processes as a comparator which suggests planning ideas of managing interculturality flowed between Vancouver and

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Dallas, the situation of emerging interculturality is radically different in West Dallas. There is a significant power imbalance between the residents of LaBajada and West Main, the developers and the incoming populations and customers in West Dallas that make the West Dallas situation substantially different from what was experienced in Vancouver, where an affluent set of immigrants entered a market and through their investment changed that market. That stated, the WDD process sought to address power imbalances through a number of means.

Spatial mismatch is a term related to spatial justice and describes a situation where the provision of jobs and services are located so as to limit options for certain groups (Massey and Denton, 1993). In Dallas, a spatial mismatch manifests itself in a generally under-developed South Dallas and a highly developed area to the north of Dallas. Spatial mismatch occurs when populations' homes are far from their places of work, creating situations where citizens need to have cars and take on longer commutes (Massey and Denton, 1993). Spatial mismatch is a generalizable condition within North American cities, but is perhaps more pronounced in Dallas where there are food deserts and considerable underdevelopment in parts of the city. Some respondents noted the challenges of spatial mismatch in West Dallas. When speaking in favor of the development of a drug store in the southwest corner of LaBajada, MacGregor noted that citizens of West Dallas need to drive several miles and out of West Dallas to arrive at a full service drugstore (Personal communication, 2016).

Large under-utilized neighborhoods close to Downtown have potential to be major contributors to the social, cultural and economic life of the City and the region. If executed through a lens that acknowledges power relationships and that invites a broader constituency, development of South and West Dallas could lead significant growth, but without countervailing policies aimed at controlling gentrification, these

policies may also lead to displacement. West Dallas now sits at a critical juncture point and spatial justice must be an element of the conversation going forward. What constitutes spatial justice in West Dallas and how it is achieved will be performance measures that at least some will invoke in their assessment of WDD as a process and more generally, Dallas' efforts to manage growth, addressing neighborhood conservation and the impacts of gentrification, which I will speak about in more detail, later in the dissertation.

Discussions of spatial justice brings the conversation around to land – who owns it, who develops it and who wants specific pieces of land at particular points in history. If we think of land in both Dallas and Vancouver, we can see that these issues of land desirability, ownership, rights and power are intertwined. Examining these intermingled strands proves useful for considering power in both Dallas and Vancouver. In both cities, spatial justice becomes intermingled with considerations of interculturality, which will be explored later.

In thinking about spatial justice, it is clear that every city, by nature of its sociological constitution, its economy, its history and its spatial constraints and opportunities, presents a different equation for social justice (Soja, 2010). To put it another way, spatial injustice manifests itself differently in various communities and this manifestation will be to some extent, based on consideration of inequality in a given community. Vancouver has a recent history of urban intensification with little concern for housing costs. These housing costs are believed by many to be partially impacted by the introduction of offshore investment to the City (Ley, 2010). Spatially, the impacts of outside investment are intensified by a lack of available land – attributable to mountainous geography meeting a coastal setting, the international border which lies 35 miles to the south. The availability of land suitable for development is further constrained by the Agricultural Land Reserve,

which was established in 1973 as a system for protecting valuable farmland in British Columbia (Boddy, 2004). This investment and a sometimes racially focused reaction against it may challenge Vancouver's position as a leader in inter-cultural community building.

.Meanwhile, Dallas has a history of socially separating ethnicities, leading to differential outcomes for different racial groups in the city (Leslie, 1964; Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2006; Phillips, 2006; Graff, 2008; Pendall and Hedman, 2015). Access to opportunities for education, health and employment are radically different in various corners of the city (Leslie, 1964; Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2006; Phillips, 2006; Graff, 2008; Pendall and Hedman, 2015). Race and socio-economic achievement are tied and this issue is a defining discussion in American society (Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 2009). The broader spectrum of America's racial divide is intensified in West Dallas, where certain neighborhoods have experienced a long history of discrimination and economic challenges brought on by both segregation and the long shadow of both black and white relations and Latino and white relations in the United States.

As this dissertation considers WDD, the tension between new development opportunities and the existing population of West Dallas must be viewed through the lens of spatial justice. A spatially just approach for WDD would call for development of public amenities benefitting not just to the broader city of Dallas, but specifically targeting West Dallas and its existing residents. Policy actions would need to consider ways to integrate the historic and currently existing population of West Dallas into the broader community, socially and economically. Public investments would need to create value for area residents and there may be value in creating venues that build understanding of old West Dallas while exploring the potential of an emerging inter-racial West Dallas. While it is arguable that WDD operated with a spatial justice lens in the ideation and planning

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phase, this dissertation will provide some understanding as to whether this occurred and continues to occur in the implementation phase. Part of my investigation of WDD will explore the nature of the value created by WDD and whether individual communities see these amenities as valuable assets.

Beyond the basic consideration of segregation in the City of Dallas, a significant area of consideration for spatial justice in Dallas relates to the availability of spaces of inter-racial convergence. In Dallas, there are relatively few public spaces owing partly to the era in which the city was built and partly to the weather in Dallas, which is, at certain times, too hot for many outdoor activities. Most public spaces are actually private spaces and many of these spaces are indoors and air conditioned. These include Downtown plazas and suburban shopping malls. As noted previously, while many might point to the recently opened and highly successful Klyde Warren Park (Figure 24) as an example of a successful public space, it must be noted that the Park relies on significant systems of control which may exclude certain populations. The development of the Continental Bridge and its walking path connecting Dallas and West Dallas and encouraging increased recreational use of the dykes of the Trinity River, may be the first instance of the development of a piece of major public infrastructure broadly available to the public. The fact that these amenities arrive in West Dallas, is of significance to the investigation in this dissertation, as these new pieces of public infrastructure create a physical space for the interaction of people from different races and socio-economic groups.

Figure 24. Klyde Warren Park (Accessed at klydewarrenpark.org Photo credit, Thomas Connell.

The lens of spatial justice in West Dallas is different from the one that might be applied to South Dallas, which has a higher concentration of Black citizens. Many are concerned about black socio-economic achievement in the United States, troubled by longstanding gap in homeownership (Collins and Margo, 2011) which only intensified following the 2009 economic downturn (U.S. Census Bureau News, April 27, 2011).   In West Dallas, especially in LaBajada and Los Altos, the Latino residents are from families which may have been in the neighborhood for 100 years. These families tend to own these properties, though the property is often impeded by uncertainty in the ownership brought about by missing deeds, unclear lines of inheritance and family dynamics (Personal interview, Larry MacGregor, 2016; Personal interview, community member #1). So while families own homes, their uncertain structures of ownership mean that are not positioned to leverage home equity to better themselves.

The residents of West Dallas face a spatial mismatch, though this mismatch is

perhaps less pronounced than the mismatch faced by South Dallas residents. Major

employment centers in Dallas are located to the north of Downtown. Most of these

locations are across town from South Dallas, further disadvantaging these populations

through an increase in commute times and through the construction of a situation,

whereby by potential workers must have well-running automobiles to shuttle them to

employment opportunities. Figure 25 shows the length of commute times in Dallas. West

Dallas is less challenged by this as major employment centers at just across the Trinity

basin to the east and north. One needs a car to access the broad cross-section of entry

level positions across the region.
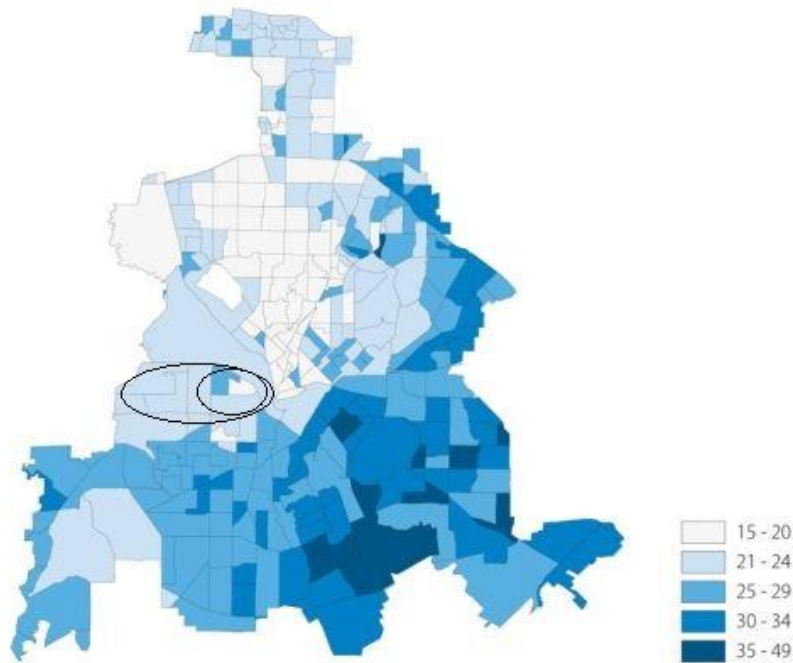
Figure 25. Average Commute Times in Dallas (bcWorkshop, 2016).

While West Dallas is generally closer to centers of employment, the urban poor of West Dallas may be impacted by the slow de-industrialization of West Dallas. As employment generating businesses give way to housing, primary service opportunities may replace some employment, but it is not clear these new opportunities will go to West Dallas residents, nor is it clear whether these new service sector positions will pay as much as the former manufacturing positions.

Average commute times in Dallas tend towards longer commutes for residents of South Dallas. In the map, the larger circle covers all of West Dallas and the smaller circle covers the area under consideration in West Dallas Dream. For West Dallas residents, the relative proximity to Downtown lowers its commute times, but also increases the likelihood of gentrification at this location.

To lay the lack of spatial justice in West Dallas at the feet of the WDD process is to give the process too much power over change. WDD has few levers to effect changes already set in motion, whether those are the buildings at Sylvan 30, the Alta West Developments or the new offerings of West Dallas Investments (Brown, Personal communication, 2014). In fact, the WDD process, runs the risk of overstating its potential to bring about change and in doing so, erodes the standing of the DCdS as a vehicle for community change. Some expressed frustration at the gulf between the stated intentions of WDD and what it has been able to achieve initially (Anderson, Personal communication, 2016). In more recent development applications, WDD and its design guidelines are only invoked when a developer seeks TIF as part of their project. In many ways, the City of Dallas planning system in its generous allowance to developers lacks the teeth to institute community-focused solutions – as the needs of the city's growth machine may trump other considerations.

A seeking of spatial justice is perhaps reflected in neighborhood stabilization overlay in LaBajada. At least that neighborhood, which is adjacent to all of the changes taking place in West Dallas, will be allowed to stay in its current form. Though some suggest the overlay has the effect of limiting the potential for re-investment in housing in West Dallas as it keeps the prices on these houses artificially low. Time will tell how those in LaBajada are impacted by the other developments taking place in West Dallas. Certainly, there are early indications of a generational renaissance as former West Dallas residents move back to an area that is less seen as a no go zone by many Dallasites and is now seen as the place to be for the Dallas foodie-elite.

Spatial justice is not just specific to a time and a place. There is a temporal element to it. In the Woodward's development, which is perhaps the most significant development in Vancouver, this century, a drive in movie sized photograph depicting the Gastown Riot stands over the main public space. The Gastown Riot pitted hippies at a 1970 marijuana smoke-in who were provoked and then arrested by the police. In this scenario, in a Vancouver sense, the police were not seen to be on the side of right. These dialogues are part of the news, part of art and part of national and local reflection about a history of justice related to the space Vancouver occupies. It would seem that there are at least two elements to moving past these historical injustices. The first would be to acknowledge a history of injustice. The second would be to take action to ensure that injustice did not continue. A third piece, would be – to – even in a state of reconciliation, realize that the symbolic representation of past injustices in contemporary acts stands can be taken at least as a form of disrespect.

If we consider spatial justice today, but it must also acknowledge how the history of spatial justice frames the current situation in a particular locale. Therefore, consideration of spatial justice in Vancouver reflects on the wrongdoings committed against Japanese

Canadians during World War II. It reflects on the turning away of the Komagatu Maru, the ship full of hopeful South Asians who were seeking a new land. It reflects on the Chinese head tax and on other racists policies, and crucially, it reflects on the un-ceded First Nations lands upon which Vancouver is situated.

Vancouver, British Columbia and Canada attempted to address First Nations role as a foundational community within the conception of the city through the recognition and inclusion of the Four Host First Nations within the hosting of the 2010 Winter Olympics. This recognition attempted to fold in consideration of First Nations and their ongoing presence in the conception of the city in a very public and formal way, to an international audience. It is among a series of attempts, in a public context to recognize the nature of colonization in British Columbia and its impact on First Nations peoples. The intent is not to bury that history – but rather, it is to contextualize our evolving understanding of the relationship between different groups and to acknowledge that the dominant group transgressed and that there is a need to admit that transgression as we think, collectively, and creatively about moving beyond it.

Through the lens of spatial justice, it would be important for the City of Dallas and its related institutions, such as the Dallas Housing Authority to adopt a lens of urban reconciliation when it comes to working with West Dallas and South Dallas. In both cases, the history of segregation and the ongoing challenges of economic exclusion of these communities has made it difficult for some to gain opportunity to pursue life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Through a spatial justice lens, there are far fewer opportunities to move beyond the economic and social bounds of local neighborhoods and participate in the broader economy. This may be the result of the spatial mismatch between jobs and populations seeking work. It may be the lack of basic services in some areas of the City. A lens of reconciliation as applied in South Africa and currently under

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design as Canadians seek to address longstanding injustices for indigenous community could place Dallas in a leadership position among cities wrestling to deal with the historical stain of prejudice.   This prejudice may be economic, related to the provision of services, or as it has and continues to be in some communities – between the police and citizens. A reconciliation lens requires citizens to support governments that move beyond working towards equality of services – to the point where there are investments that work to reverse the current development situation in the communities at hand.

The changes taking place today are not taking place in isolation – for the people of West Dallas – they occur in dialogue with a continuing history of displacement and disregard. The lead processing facility in West Dallas and the harm it has brought to West Dallas residents – residents who still suffer with the long-term impacts of lead exposure – frames any movement of industrial properties into West Dallas. It is not to say that West Dallas can never have industrial uses – it can and it does. It is only to say that such uses need to be carefully thought through and observed not just for their actual state – but for what they symbolize in a community that has every reason to distrust the Dallas power elite.

I am talking specifically about the plans to move the cement factory, located at the eastern end of the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge from its current site, to a site further West and adjacent to a West Dallas middle school. While this new facility may be, as Butch MacGregor of West Dallas Investments states: "the cleanest and most state of the art facility of its kind in the United States" (Personal communication, 2016), the fact is that this industrial incursion fits into a broader temporal frame of spatial injustice. A degree of sensitivity to the symbolic nature of actions taken by developers in West Dallas could go some distance to beginning to erode the longstanding mistrust existing there.

5.3 Results – Employment

A second element of spatial justice relates to the potential of West Dallas residents to access economic opportunities. With the new amenities and developments available as a result of the improvements made in West Dallas, there should be new business and employment opportunities. Many interviewees pointed to the interruption of the local economy and efforts of West Dallas residents to extend the informal economy of West Dallas into new spaces such as the Continental Bridge. These citizens brought their food carts onto the bridge but encountered competing sanctioned food vendors who turned them away (Solis, Personal communication, 2015). Citizens of West Dallas recognize that there are entrepreneurial opportunities emerging as a result of changes taking place, but they are not necessarily positioned, either with capital, skills or risk tolerance – to take advantage of these opportunities. The fact is that the opportunities available in West Dallas will likely accrue to those from outside the neighborhood, who are endowed with the right mix of assets to take advantage of available opportunities.

Some noted that the jobs available in some of the Trinity Groves facilities tended to require more training and experience and so they were generally not suited to individuals with language barriers or other challenges to employment. Others noted that there were some jobs available to citizens. For instance, the head a West Dallas community association who in his volunteer capacity was involved in direct dealing with Trinity Groves is now employed by the facility. There were other anecdotal suggestions talking about employment of West Dallas residents at Trinity Groves, but there was nothing concrete. Larry MacGregor (Personal communication, 2015) noted a number of residents who had returned to West Dallas to live with their families. He talked about

their entrepreneurial pursuits and suggested that part of their return related to the fact that West Dallas was an increasingly attractive place to live.

A spatial justice critique of both the development in West Dallas and WDD would suggest that City interventions into the area need to include bridges to opportunity for local residents. Bridges to opportunity could include vocational training, entrepreneurial assistance or even loan programs. Without such programming in place, the additional opportunities available in West Dallas will accrue to those who already have the skills and work experience and a vital opportunity to bridge the existing West Dallas economy to the emerging neighborhood economy will be lost.

5.4 Results – Public Space

At a certain time, urban conviviality in the south might have meant enjoying the shade of an outdoor porch. The notion of how public urban spaces were arranged changed as growth erupted in post-war Dallas suburbs. The growth of cities in the southern United States before the 1950s tended to be restricted by extreme heat. Though the shoulder seasons of summer create excellent opportunities to take advantage of outdoor spaces, newer southern cities were slow to expand until the advent and broad distribution of indoor air conditioning. The City of Dallas expanded most significantly after the 1950's as air conditioning made otherwise unbearable summer temperatures reasonable.

The challenge with creating air conditioned spaces was that they tended to be private and indoors. The cultural commons of places to gather was reserved for larger events, like football games (which are restricted to those that can afford tickets), but the general effect was to create a city where private air conditioned spaces were the most likely places to go to be in a quasi-public realm. These spaces ranged from indoor eating courts Downtown and underground and overhead passageways between buildings. The

most significant place to participate in public walking is actually North Park Mall, with other malls, including the Galleria also taking on the role of a public (though actually private) space. This sectioning-off of populations means that it is quite possible to live in white enclaves of Dallas and only encounter working class or poor Blacks and Latinos as cleaning staff, pool cleaners or as yard maintenance crews.

The new bridge marks both a physical change for West Dallas, opening direct access to the Woodall Rogers Freeway (US 75) and to Stemmons Expressway (I-35) and a psychological change for all Dallas residents, who now see at least the other end of the Margaret Hunt-Hill Bridge as a point of safe landing (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015). This perceptual change for Dallas' economic and cultural elite allowed restauranteur Phil Romano to advance the concept of Trinity Groves, a restaurant incubator and culinary destination located in the first blocks to the west of the Margaret Hunt-Hill Bridge (MacGregor, 2015). The location of the restaurant incubator also contributes to the successful repurposing of the adjacent Continental Bridge – the former connection to Singleton Ave. now serving as a destination parkway connection West Dallas and the Dallas Design District on the east side of the Trinity River basin.

The west end of the bridge is a symbolic point of arrival in the city and an important vista from which to view the city's remarkable skyline. This is especially true towards sunset when the long beams of the setting sun bounce of the abrupt uprising of glass towers that is Dallas' famed skyline. This view and the point of pride it represents in a boldly entrepreneurial city should not be brushed off as inconsequential. Owning a piece of this view is similar to real estate in Vancouver with a view of the mountains and the ocean. The Dallas skyline represents a manifestation of Dallas values of commerce and entrepreneurship. However, understanding the deeper history of West Dallas requires one to look away from the city and towards the postal codes that stretch to the west.

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West Dallas was separate from the City of Dallas until the 1950s and had long been considered a dumping ground for industrial uses, including a lead smelter (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003; Graff, 2008). The neighborhood is home to a number of Environmental Protection Agency Superfund sites (Thidadeaux, Personal communication, 2015).

As noted in the Literature Review, MacFarlane (2011-1) and DeLanda (2006) interpret the complicated writings of Deleuze and Guattari and bring these to considerations focusing on the urban. These issues include the assemblage of solutions and the nod-to Actor Network Theory which suggests that all things – animated and inanimate, have agency – the potential for change. Bringing the discussion back to policy mobilities and assemblage, one piece of infrastructure and subsequent investments create a linked assemblage which in aggregate, may be sufficient to become far greater than the sum of its parts. The findings here are somewhat speculative and are based on the comments of interviewees who all noted the intercultural potential of the Continental Bridge

Assemblage also provides a vehicle for consideration of the contingent nature of the interventions proposed through WDD. The fact is that WDD happened, at a particular time and involved particular participant's means, that WDD was not just a process and a resultant document - it was also an event, (Farias, 2010) meaning that it was a performative action that is both locational and temporal.   WDDs multiplicity of forms ripples out into various aspects of the community creating events that echo through time. Assemblage theory challenges city thinkers to envision city-making as muddy-work which is performative in nature, constantly in flux and continuously interacting with new stimuli and adapting to new ways of living. Specific elements of WDD and related projects can

actually be conceptualized as assembled parts that seek to re-jig the performance of urban Dallas and the contingency of these actions.

Figure 26. The Continental Bridge (Photo of the Author)

The Continental Bridge (Figure 26) was built in 1933 and crosses the wide basin of the Trinity River, which was both prone to catastrophic flooding and to seasonal muddiness that impeded vehicles. As noted, the Continental Bridge was replaced by the Margaret Hunt-Hill Bridge, which is situated just slightly south of the Continental Bridge and connects to the Woodall Rogers expressway and Interstate 35–E.   The Continental Bridge was retained as a pedestrian structure. Both bridges link Downtown Dallas to West Dallas. The Continental Bridge deck design is part linear corridor and part urban park. The bridge represents one of the first actions aimed at claiming the Trinity River as a community amenity. The Continental Bridge is activated through a series of events throughout the year.

For almost its whole history, Dallas has sought to first control and then to ignore the Trinity River basin (Graff, 2008). The Continental Bridge is connected to the broader initiatives of the Trinity River Basin executed through the Trinity Trust Foundation and its

leader, Gail Thomas. The Foundation orients the City of Dallas towards the use of the

Trinity Basin as a location of recreation and respite, rather than exclusively as a

mechanism for flood control. The Continental Bridge project is not expressly connected

to the WDD visioning exercise, advanced in 2009, however, the objectives of advancing

the Bridge as a recreation facility are consistent with WDD.

As an assemblage, the Continental Bridge trail/linear park is functional today. What

is perhaps more interesting is to consider the potentialities of this assemblage. The

conversion of the Continental Bridge as a walking asset required civic investment in an

aging asset, but its real value lays in the future link of the Continental Bridge to the very

popular Katy Trail, which currently links Uptown to Highland Park. Dallas citizens are

interested in getting on their bikes and in running and the existing trails are crowded. The

Continental Bridge creates a strategic crossing of the Trinity River basin aligned to one

day connect to the end of the Katy Trail. The eventual efforts to link these trails across

the I-35E highway represent a significant expansion in the capacity of recreation space in

Dallas as it connects affluent northern neighborhoods to the Trinity River watercourse.

The Bridge also creates development opportunities, served by increased public amenities

at both the east (Downtown) end of the Continental Bridge and at the west end of the

bridge in West Dallas.

In a dissertation considering WDD, MacFarlane's (2011-1) cosmopolitan notion of

becoming together is an important one. Already, West Dallas is seeing a blending of

existing populations and new populations that are moving into new apartment offerings

across the area. Businesses in the area have also been a site for inter-cultural

convergence, though many of the offerings are focused on incoming and not long-term

residents.   Efforts to manage the emergence of cosmopolitanism will be important and in

this, there are likely key locations to focus on, including the Continental Bridge walkway

and the Trinity River levy. In these locations, assembled new public amenities offer the possibility of non-formalized inter-cultural normalization. How the city and the neighborhood orient themselves to these new opportunities to blend populations will be important to the long-term stability of existing populations in the community. Essentially, cosmopolitanism should build a constituency of individuals predisposed to seek and value connection with individuals from different socio-economic and racial groups.

As such, the assemblage may be a significant action catalyzing gentrification on both sides of the Continental Bridge. Saving the Continental Bridge as an asset is a supreme action in anticipating/directing what comes next and it ties to McFarlane's notion of assemblage (2011) and its relation to cosmopolitanism and Featherstone's idea of 'becoming together' (2011). Featherstone (2011) suggests that by creating a public space – free to the public and touching on both poor and affluent communities, we create a space of opportunity for cosmopolitan convergence. While it remains in use as a physical bridge, in the sense that it has the potential in the future to connect a trail from Uptown Dallas to a landing location in West Dallas means many have noted that both the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge and the Continental Bridge also act as metaphorical bridge (Personal communication, G. Thomas, 2016; Chalonda Jackson Mangwiro, 2015). In this sense the Continental Bridge as a public space, represents its own potentiality as a space of intercultural convergence.

> I think that the Continental Bridge is one of the more promising,
> you know, sociological type bridges to bridge the gap with ethnic and
> income and sociologic groups, because you see families – you see a lot
> of Latino, Black, White families that inter-mingle and become engaged
> together, where otherwise they pretty much keep their communities
> separate. So for example in West Dallas, which is 70% Latino, 28%
> Black and 2% White, those are still these separated communities,
> excepted for where the new housing is. Then they're very diverse – but
> The Bridge is where everyone comes together and is – you really see
> community – and the more events they hold, you really see community.
> (Skinner, Personal communication, 2016)

Mangwiro-Jackson from the City of Dallas DCdS states:

> I think that has been a bridge physically and metaphorically. You see a lot of different people on the Bridge and now that the City – you know – the City is doing a lot of different programming there where they have movies – and just many different activities on the bridge and so you see people and not just people from LaBajada neighborhood, West Dallas people and folks from other places and especially, you know, we had a lot of rain this year and so there were a lot of people just looking at the Trinity River and I went on - I actually went on twice and there were tons of people bridge was so full of people from many different backgrounds. (Personal communication, 2015)

WDD is interesting because in a sense, it speaks to a socially progressive agenda as it tries to build a planning process addressing historical injustices. The challenge for WDD is that even if it does everything right, it may create the situation that results in negative outcomes for the community. This is because the project unleashes the forces of the market and neoliberalism. While spaces like Trinity Groves and Chicken Scratch/the Foundry may create cool urban spaces concentrated in West Dallas, there is a risk the vision in play may move beyond its initial intent, creating development pressure which may ultimately push out the resident population of the La Bajada, the neighborhood adjacent to the Continental Bridge.

So while the project improves the cachet of the neighborhood, from a Bourdieuian perspective, ultimately the triggering of redevelopment may unleash unforeseen outcomes as development cascades into the future. In this sense, an assembled set of actions, unleashed through a policy mobilities creates potential, but also risk as subsequent policy decisions and the willingness of cities to stay the course with growth oriented policies shapes outcomes. In this sense, the observation of WDD at this particular juncture represents a snapshot in time, but it is only through continued observation that one would be able to determine the ongoing interaction of these assembled actions in the city. And of course, creating the potential for a more

cosmopolitan interculturality does not guarantee that it will occur.   It might be just one in a series of actions aimed at changing West Dallas.

However, these potential outcomes may bring us back to notions of cosmopolitanism as expressed by Featherstone (2011). Given cities' limited resources to trigger revanchist outcomes, might the unleashing of these forces result in a "shoot now, ask questions later" approach. Is this actually a responsible way to move rapidly towards a more cosmopolitan city? In cities saddled by their own diverse and conflicted histories and set within broader debates about intercultural relations, it is ironic that the unleashing of the forces of gentrification through assemblages which include convergent space, may be the most progressive way to move towards a more cosmopolitan interculturality, given that in many other cities, this triggering action often ends in the homogenization and yuppification of space.

From an analysis of events and visual images from the bridge, it is too early to tell if the Continental Bridge will be fully embraced by the public. It departs from an under-developed area to the west of Downtown Dallas and remains unconnected to the popular Katy Trail. It arrives in West Dallas as a pleasant location with ample public infrastructure, but it has not enjoyed the instant success afforded to Klyde Warren Park.

A second item of assemblage is the punch-throughs which are streets which travel north south under the Grand Trunk Railway. These punch-throughs are additional infrastructure paid for through a bond initiative and connect the almost rural West Main Street in Dallas and Commerce St. to the south, with Singleton Avenue to the north. This is important, as there is a half-mile stretch between Beckley Avenue on the east and Sylvan Avenue on the West, where it is not possible to cross the railroad tracks. This means that properties that streets close to the rail line, that might be very central in West Dallas and are relatively close as the crow flies, currently have a rural feel. The addition

of the punch-throughs will make these streets greater focal points in the overall circulation of traffic through West Dallas and will change the property values and potential of the lands near them. As an assemblage, the punch-throughs also have agency to change the overall development landscape of West Dallas.

One leader of a local community organization expressed concern that the opportunities the bridge might afford to local entrepreneurs could not be met because of the imposition of health regulations on food trucks on the bridge (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015). The more informal economy of West Dallas, where local citizens might fashion a bike to itinerantly sell Mexican food through the neighborhood was turned away from the Continental Bridge.

Derrida's exploration of text and sub-text is useful in these deliberations as these concepts can be applied to the use of words and the subtle differences in meanings in words. In particular, the word public; has a slightly nuanced conception in the City of Vancouver as opposed to Texas and Dallas. In Vancouver, a public space is a space in which anyone is allowed and which is generally open to the public without policing. Vancouver even allows practices of what Sennett describes as disorder, which either leads to increased empathy among citizens, or inversely, to a willingness to turn a blind eye towards disorder and accept it as an element of the urban condition (1970). Mild forms of disorder are tolerated including public drunkenness, panhandling and discreet drug use. There are spaces in Downtown Vancouver where such behaviors are generally not tolerated, but the public space of Downtown streets generally includes business people, shoppers, local residents, those living in shelters and even those that sleep rough. The conception of public in Vancouver is broad, tolerant and generally includes difference, including cultural, linguistic and socio-economic differences.

As a result of my investigation of public spaces in Vancouver and Dallas, I suggest that there is a regional inflection to the meaning of words and that the idea of 'public' within discourse is shaped by local understanding of the public sphere and public interest. It seems, through this research, the meaning of 'public' in Vancouver is different than the meaning of 'public' in Dallas. Could these subtle nuances in meaning contribute to the potential of a policy mobilized to land in a new location? Within this dissertation, consideration of how we use the word 'public', as in 'public space' takes on special meaning as we consider Dallas and its planning. Dallas is a very private city, in the fact it is the product of structural functionalist era modern architecture which consists of privately held concourses and subterranean malls in the Downtown and a culture in which most people drive (enclosed in a mobile private space) (Hanson, 2003).

While Vancouver's notions of public space were not among the things that were to be measured as I considered policy mobilities, it is important to note that a number of respondents, especially those involved in the urban design field were impressed with Vancouver efforts to effectively use its waterfront and its focus on the development of amenities.

The notion that spatial justice was being addressed in the consideration of public spaces through this dissertation will to some extent, depend on how gentrification evolves in West Dallas in the years to come. While there is a great possibility that there will be a significant public space available for all citizens, if local populations are eventually pushed out as a result of this new development, there is potential for spatial injustice going forward. With regard to the impact of spatial justice on emerging public space in West Dallas, it is too soon to tell.

If we use a Derridean lens to investigate the meaning of the word 'public', we may find that there are different considerations for what the term 'public' means. Therefore, in

examining a celebrated Dallas space, Klyde Warren Park, through a Dallas lens one might suggest this is an excellent example of a highly successful 'public' space. However, the size of the space and the degree of control exercised over the space may mean the true meaning of the word 'public' is less than certain in this location. If we base our notion of public on conceptions derived from elsewhere, where the control of space is not as strong, or is based on conformance to group norms, we may then infer that Klyde Warren Park is a good private space, or at best, a publicish space , because it lacks some of the organic freedom and expression of public spaces. Klyde Warren Park lacks the potential to use what Sendra (2015) calls the assemblage of disorder – a truly public space where interactions are not managed and there is the possibility of disordered intercultural understanding. Sendra, quoting Sennett (1970), suggests that these disordered interactions are essential to advancing intercultural understanding (2015). These interactions happen literally millions of times daily, across Metro Vancouver on a daily basis. Though I have no count, my own experience was that these types of interactions happened far less in the City of Dallas as citizens were generally, less often in the public realm.

Consideration of public is less apparent in Downtown Dallas. Homeless and street involved citizens tend to be herded and brought away from the center of the city each morning, spending their days near the Bridge Shelter society on the south side of Downtown. A reversal in the ways that communities need to serve the indigent requires adequate spaces to shelter homeless citizens from heat (in Vancouver there are Cold/Wet Emergency Shelters). In the most successful new park Downtown, Klyde Warren Park, significant programming means that the space operates as a middle-class public space. The elements of control are enough to keep marginalized citizens, the mentally ill and those addicted to drugs or alcohol, away from these spaces. Away from

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Downtown, parks are well used and take on a more public function. For instance, larger parks, like those near White Rock Lake are crowded with extended families, often of Latino descent, who host barbeques.

Many of these planning approaches that led to the Dallas notion of public space find their genesis in the 'whole of the city' concept for planning in Dallas which initially emerged in the 1930s. 'City as a whole' dictated actions taken in the City would be for the betterment of the whole city and not one distinct group or another (Fairbanks, 1998). 'Whole of the city' thinking was dominant in Dallas at least until the 1964 Goals for Dallas process (Fairbanks, 1998). What 'city as whole' thinking managed to achieve, was a focus on advancing the city's growth machine at the expense of addressing particular areas, groups and their specific problems. This is perhaps best manifest in Dallas' repeated attempts to 'fix' West Dallas and by the City's challenge to find suitable locations to build affordable housing for its Black populations (Fairbanks, 1998).

5.5 Results – Policy Flow

It is clear from a review of documents and from the interviews with participants that transactive and communicative approaches, similar to those exercised in Vancouver's CityPlan, were executed in Dallas through the West Dallas Dream process. Almost all interviewees noted aspects of what could be described as transactive and communicative planning, thereby proving the flow of these methods between Vancouver and Dallas through the work of Mr. Beasley. Participants in the process noted that the planning approach was open and transactive and included efforts to draw a broad cross-section of participants. The following results were taken from conversations with twenty key informants who participated in interviews ranging from thirty minutes to ninety minutes, from a review of neighborhood developments and change and from a review of key

documents emerging after the WDD process. The themes that appear in the results

section are drawn from reviews of the primary data emerging from the interviews.

Themes emerged from the initial questions and it became clear through the early

interviews that certain key themes would be repeated.

The first geographic theory investigated in the dissertation is policy mobilities. The

interviews conducted as part of this investigation revealed a clear path from consideration

of Vancouver as a supply-site for policy mobilities, the connection to Larry Beasley and

the efforts to connect him with progressive thinkers in Dallas. The interviews also netted

substantial content regarding the purpose, nature and operation of policy tours conducted

by leaders from the City of Dallas and from the community.

Through my interviews I was able to understand the sequence of events leading to

the engagement of Beasley, including linking the reading of specific policy proclaiming

documents – the image heavy, over-sized Harvard Design Journal. Gail Thomas, the

leader of the Trinity Trust and the former head and founder of the Dallas Institute for the

Humanities, had conversations with Deedie Rose, where they lamented over the lack of a

design oriented head of the Dallas Planning Department (Thomas, Personal

communication, 2016). Thomas, as Executive Director of the Trinity Trust, asked

Beasley to speak in Dallas.

> I called Larry Beasley and I invited him to Dallas to come to speak
> and we just all fell in love with Larry Beasley and his ideas. And I
> made plans to take a number of our city councilors to Vancouver to
> tour, and we studied the City of Vancouver with Larry Beasley
> (Personal communication, 2015).

My consideration of policy flows between Dallas and Vancouver support the general

findings of other policy mobilities scholarship. Dallas' engagement with Larry Beasley

can actually be traced back to the reading of an article by one leading citizen in Dallas.

Gail Thomas, formerly of the Dallas Institute of Humanities and now with the Trinity Trust

Foundation read Leonie Sandercock's "An Anatomy of Civic Ambition in Vancouver

Toward Humane Density", which appeared in the Harvard Design Review in 2005

(Thomas, personal conversation, 2016). After Thomas read this article, she shared its

key messages with board members of the Dallas Institute for Humanities. Sandercock

stated:

> In the late 1980s, the City of Vancouver embarked on a large downtown urban redevelopment project that flew in the face of conventional wisdom in North America. Against the prevailing "suburban ideal" of low-density, single-family housing as the dominant residential development form, or the emerging, "back to the future" New Urbanism, Vancouver's planners believed they could attract people to the central city and create a vibrant, mixed-use downtown by developing high-density, high-rise residential precincts on vacant industrial lands. (Sandercock, 2005, p. 2)

The significance of the outcomes following the gentrification of Uptown are essential

to the social justice lens applied by progressive Dallasites to the eventual development of

West Dallas. The perceived injustice of the changes that took place in the State-Thomas

are, the area now known as Uptown are crucial to the involvement of Larry Beasley in

this project.   In the article, Sandercock went on to state:

> If there are heroes in the following story, they are the two directors of planning who have guided the city's reformed and unique discretionary planning system over the past three decades: Spaxman from 1973 to 1989 and his successor, Larry Beasley, director of Central Area planning since 1990 and co-director of planning since 1995. But there is far more to the story than two heroic planners/designers (as we shall see), and both men would insist that it has been the distinctive collaborative approach to planning across the city that is the central story. As Spaxman says, reflecting back on that period of change, "The individuals are not what is important; it is the team approach. The foresight of the Mayor of the time, together with the chair of the planning committee in the '70s, and the chair of the Planning Commission, and the Community Planning Association of the time, plus the mixture of reform-minded councilors and their political supporters, reflecting a newly recognized will of the people, are the people who made this happen." (2005, page unknown)

Dallas progressives were worried about the eventual outcome of changes which were about to take place in West Dallas.

> I was invited there by Phil Romano, Stuart Bish- and Butch McGregor when we were told that we were doing the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge and we met with them a number of times and they began buying up land around West Dallas, south of Singleton and I think that they had amassed 65 acres and I became concerned that West Dallas - that the people who lived in West Dallas would lose their homes and their neighborhood. And I was very much concerned about that – about gentrification, because I had talked to family there and residents - who, some of them were fourth generation families and they owned their own homes, along Canada Drive and Golden and well that was a huge concern. (Thomas, Personal Communication, 2015).

The balanced and neighborhood first approach suggested by Vancouver planning proved attractive to Dallas progressives. Again, Sandercock, writing about Vancouver and the work of Beasley would likely be seen as an appropriately public approach by Dallas progressives. Again, turning to Sandercock:

> The decision of the TEAM council to transform the obsolete industrial landscape of False Creek South into a socially progressive, medium-density, mixed-income housing project (inspired by ideas of social mix as well as the design language of Christopher Alexander) signaled the new municipal commitment to inserting the public interest into the planning process, a commitment that has, with very few exceptions, characterized Vancouver's planning process since. (Sandercock, 2005, page unknown)

The initial call to Larry Beasley led to an urban planning session hosted by the Trinity Trust Foundation, the waterway restoration group headed by Thomas.

> When I started reading about and hearing about Larry Beasley and what he had done in Vancouver, and I read about him in a Harvard Design Magazine, Vancouver was on the cover of the Harvard Architectural Magazine. I called Larry Beasley and I invited him to Dallas to come to speak and we just all fell in love with Larry Beasley and his ideas. And I made plans to take a number of our city councilors to Vancouver to tour, and we studied the City of Vancouver with Larry Beasley. And it was incredible how whole areas of the city were reclaimed from industrial uses. Old plants, many of them abandoned, into beautiful residential areas. And that was an inspiration to all of us. (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015)

The Trinity Trust hosted a planning event entitled Urban Living in the 21st Century which included Larry Beasley as one of its speakers. Beasley conveyed urban planning successes from the City of Vancouver and other places. In a press release, the Trinity Trust reported:

Beasley spoke about elements of a successful city:

- Choice and balance. "We've had to use the carrot and stick approach with a strong policy to limit auto growth in the city. The best transit plan is a good land use plan."

- Density, mixed use and quality. "We want the city to be compact, but it must be managed with noise restrictions, security, preservation initiatives and good architectural solutions. Elements include housing, retail, parks, schools, art institutions, libraries, community centers, walkways, bikeways, green spaces and daycares. "With good urban planning, (Downtown (sic)) Vancouver doubled its population in a decade to 95,000, but we made sure we had affordable housing including 20% in low-income housing and 25% for families."

- Built Form. "Row houses can further domesticate neighborhoods, as well as added doorways, street front windows and gates along the street to provide access." Beasley called Vancouver as becoming an "eco-density" city meaning that it has a concentrated population amidst open green space, parks and gardens that are all public spaces

- Civic governance and growth management. "You need good urban policies to underpin the planning of a livable city. Everyone has to work together to depoliticize all the processes involved, both political and public, and engage the public during all phases of the process."

- Unique spirit and ambience. "It's a quality of fascination, of mystery, even magic. It's the spirit of a place that makes people want to visit." Beasley mentioned GHI, the Gross Happiness Index, as a way to measure it. (Trinity Trust, Feb, 21, 2009).

It is clear from conversations with Dallas progressives that Larry Beasley's messages resonated with citizens (Thomas, Personal communication, 2016). The press release went on to note that:

> Beasley gave his advice to the audience for connecting downtown Dallas and the Trinity River area. Because of the way downtown and the Trinity are separated, he suggested building possibly some towers for housing, and then lining smaller row housing near the river for connectivity. As he spanned his last slide of Vancouver in 1983 to 2003 to show the remarkable differences, he reminded everyone that it took at least 20 years in Vancouver and to keep working on it. (Trinity Trust, Feb, 21, 2009).

These messages would be attractive to progressive Dallas thinkers, as Dallas empties following the end of the work day. There were few people living in Downtown Dallas in 2008. Sandercock addressed Vancouver's success in this realm:

> Almost 40,000 people have moved downtown within the past ten years, occupying the more than 150 high-rises that have sprouted within a mile radius of the central business district (CBD). Eighty thousand people now live in the downtown peninsula, a figure expected to rise to 120,000 by 2020. This densification of downtown has helped make the Greater Vancouver metropolitan region about 100 percent denser than Seattle. (Sandercock, 2005, p.3)

Thomas invited Larry Beasley to speak at the Dallas Institute of the Humanities.

It is clear that the messages regarding urban potential resonated with citizens of Dallas attending these events, though some did note that a number of participants observed and questioned a lack of interior cities in the representations of good urban environments (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015; Whitley, Personal communication, 2015).

Rose and Thomas engaged civic leaders, including Mary Suhm, the Dallas City Manager, some city councilors and design staff to go to Vancouver on two learning tours (Thomas, Personal communication, 2016). These tours were executed in June and in September and brought the delegation to stay in the urbanely situated Westin on Robson (Thomas, Personal communication, 2016). Each morning, the delegation was lectured on city planning principles and practices and each afternoon, the group embarked on an extensive walking tour, which culminated in a fine meal at a downtown Vancouver

establishment (Thomas, Personal communication, 2016; Whitley, Personal

communication, 2016).

It would appear from the descriptions of the walking tours that the group tended to

stay on the Downtown peninsula. There was no indication that the group visited

Vancouver's less urban neighborhoods, or went to the Downtown Eastside, which at that

time, was still Canada's poorest postal code. It is not clear whether the group went as far

to the east as the Woodward's development – where they would likely have begun to

encounter Vancouver's challenges with an open drug culture and homelessness. As

such, the view offered to the participants tended to be somewhat sanitized and was

designed to highlight the successes of the Downtown South, Yaletown, North Shore

False Creek and Coal Harbour neighborhoods, which are perhaps the best examples of

Vancouver's virtuous circle of neoliberalism.

Beasley weaves a tale of hope for citizens of Dallas, suggesting that they just need to

stick to it, in order to achieve desired outcomes. Beasley's initial discussions with the

Trinity Trust led to the development of policy tours for senior officials from the City of

Dallas, along with key progressive community leaders. Thomas describes the policy

trips:

> Deedie (Rose) went on the trip, in fact, she went twice and Mary Suhm
> (former City Manager for the City of Dallas) went twice too. And then
> City Council members and assistant city managers and Maureen
> McDermott-Cook. Everyone just fell in love with Larry Beasley. You
> know Larry's just so charming, and then, Vancouver's just so impressive.
> It's just such a beautiful place to be. And of course, the first piece of data
> that came out of his mouth, was that in his fifteen years as a planner in
> the City of Vancouver, um, there had been no additional roads, or lanes
> for cars, since 1976 and that was just an outrageous fact for Dallas ears,
> to hear. (Personal communication, 2015)

Every one of the neighborhoods visited were conversions of industrial lands to

housing, utilizing Vancouver's podium and tower design (Thomas, Personal

communication, 2016). In podium and tower design, a smaller podium of three to four

stories is punctuated by a tower of at least eleven stories. Depending on the building and

its site, podiums receive different treatment. In some cases, podiums are wrapped with

townhouses that face the street. On other streets, there are dedicated retail functions.

Still in other cases, the podiums are given over to office use, or in some cases to entire

grocery stores. The resulting neighborhoods were attractive to the Dallas visitors.

> And it was incredible how whole areas of the city were reclaimed from
> industrial uses. Old plants, many of them abandoned, into beautiful
> residential areas. And that was an inspiration to all of us. (Thomas,
> Personal communication, 2016).

So part of the examination of WDD was based on the assertion that this process

represented a departure from other planning processes in Dallas. This assertion was

challenged by at least two interviewees. Both David Whittley and Brent Brown pointed to

WDD as the time when a series of actions and approaches began to coalesce around the

advancement of the DCdS. As such, the importance lay less in WDD as a process and

resulting document and more in the fact that WDD represented a pivot point where a

level of commitment to changing the approach to how planning was advanced in Dallas.

Brown and Beasley, working in Dallas, would seek to change the action arena so that

it would less resemble previous planning processes in Dallas, by working to ensure

investment in the physical/material conditions of West Dallas while also enacting an

informative process intended to educate participants about urban development

processes. Beasley notes his process to incrementally "change opinions" (Grant, 2009)

as he described Vancouver's CityPlan. Beasley states:

> If you can illustrate that some of the things that are good for them come
> from some intensification in their community and build up enough people
> with that understanding, at least you get an alternative to that small core
> group of NIMBYists that are there. And then, if you do it very carefully
> and very well, and you can illustrate that it's not destroying the
> community, then a lot of other people who really weren't paying too much
> attention start to shift to say, "It's been pretty good for us." That approach

changes opinions. And I think CityPlan started that conversation because the city just approached the whole problem in a different way. (Grant, 2009, pp. 364)

Beasley underlines the fact that employing a different planning approach is more than just completing a different plan. It is partly about fostering and building a different civic and political culture (Personal communication, 2016). He notes that it is important to develop and support a culture that considers and appreciates urbanity and is willing to put the nurturing of urbanity ahead of other civic goals – such as tacit support for the development sector (Sandercock, 2005).

Beasley outlines many of his philosophies for developing cities in a series of speeches. In these speeches he seeks to connect the audience to his understanding of the role of the planner and the important of a planning and urban literate culture. In a speech in Washington, DC on the city's height restrictions, Beasley states:

The more people understand what I call the "urban DNA" of the city – not only its history but also its current dramas, its issues, its opportunities, its patterns, the way it tends to grow and the way it tends to fade – the more coherent will be the art of building the place. With that collective view, even if people do not support the same solutions, at least they speak the same language, understand the genesis of ideas and share a sense of the options and implications that can help a city find a positive and maybe even an innovative direction. (Beasley, 2015)

He then goes on to further define his concept of the qualities involved in advancing the right kinds of development:

Of course, what I am talking about is "urban connoisseurship" – an understanding and sensitivity of cities that informs people about what is good and not so good, what works and does not work, what is progressive and not so progressive. It is an urban connoisseurship that starts at a personal level, and when everyone gets together, it is an urban connoisseurship that becomes collective. It is also an urban connoisseurship that is dynamic and constantly evolving just like the city itself. (Beasley, 2015)

It was not just the representatives of the Trinity Trust and the City of Dallas that

expressed hope and excitement about the WDD process. Those working with the

community also echoed and continue to echo the hopeful tone of officials:

> It was very exciting when he first got here – we've been here so long and your kind of working towards these new ideas and concepts and I remember, looking back and saying - is this? Could this actually be doable in our area? I used to live in Salt Lake City and Salt Lake has some really amazing - similar to Vancouver – types of communities surrounding it and so I've been exposed to a lot of that – and I was thinking – Wow – Can this really happen here? So – it's neat to see – little by little, things happening and its really neat to see them consulting with Larry and you know you are sitting around in groups and your dialoguing and dreaming and ho ping and you know, so it's nice to start to begin to see some of those things start to pass. (Skinner, Personal communication, 2016).

The journey to learn more about Vancouver planning approaches and the

establishment of the DCdS are linked (Whitley, Personal communication 2015; Thomas,

Personal communication, 2016). Some who considered the future development of West

Dallas, believed it would be measured against a history of past displacement in

neighborhoods such as Uptown – where gentrification displaced a resident Black and

Latino population (Graff, 2008; Brown, Personal Communication, 2014; Thomas,

Personal Communication, 2015). It was possible to approach WDD as a planning

process, building on a legacy of corporately led, top-down planning - which has, at times,

ignored the interests of inner-city communities (Hanson, 2003; Graff, 2008).

When pressed about the potential of Vancouver's highly discretionary planning

system to find purchase in other places, Beasley suggested it is possible, noting that he

was trying to:

> Put their thinking evolving their regulatory framework and their system for approving development to give them a higher probability to both achieve these plans and even do better. They don't enjoy right now, the kind of discretionary regulatory framework we have, they don't enjoy, they are only starting to enjoy the design review process, they are starting it and

they're doing a better job than ever before. But that's just starting.
(Personal communication, 2016)

When pressed on whether it is actually possible to morph existing rights-based planning systems into discretionary and performance-based systems, Beasley states that he believes it is possible and that is less tied up in the legal framework of planning systems and is instead tied to the political will to implement such systems (Personal communication, 2016).

Brown's bcWorkshop emerges as an interesting organization as operating as a mobility channel organization. It receives planning innovations from other locations, but it also plays an active role in design proselytization working not only in Dallas, but also in Houston and Brownsville near the Mexican border in the Rio Grande Valley. More recently, the bcWorkshop has taken aim at the big leagues of urban change – setting up an office in Washington, DC. Back in Dallas, bcWorkshop and the DCdS advance internal work within City Hall to affect a culture change that raises the importance of design and the value of public space in urban dialogues.

Assessing the impact and the retention of these new design focused approaches is outside the scope of this investigation, but it may prove to be an important piece of forward looking research, both from a City of Dallas governance perspective, from a community development and design perspective and for those interested in tracing the future of policy mobilities.

WDD, like CityPlan, was a visioning process and does not prescribe zoning or determine future land use in areas. It is a process negotiating agreement on high-level goals. WDD is not the trigger of gentrification in West Dallas, though arguably, paying attention to the design advanced in West Dallas may cause the WDD process to move to that murky area of potential urban gentrification. This is one of the conundrums of urban

development. If it is done well, it tends to create its own gravitational pull which draws in

investment while pushing out former residents. Since the completion of WDD, Dallas has

developed a series of amenities that may in aggregate trigger gentrification which has the

potential to harm the poor (Vigdor, 2002; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Land speculation

has already been underway for ten years, however, others, seeing what is emerging may

seek properties anticipating future changes raising land values in West Dallas, while

minimizing tenant improvements.

The frame of reference for considering WDD is policy mobilities and specifically the

transfer of a Vancouver planning and urban design approach to the City of Dallas. The

WDD vision document confirms a clear passing of policy ideas between Dallas and the

City of Vancouver. Brown downplays the direct connection to Vancouver and suggests

that the approach that Beasley brought to his work with Dallas is not necessarily

Vancouver focused, but rather, is just a form of good contemporary practice (Personal

communication, 2014). Still, when reviewing the WDD documents, there is a clear

articulation of similar approaches in CityPlan and in WDD. I asked Beasley whether he

believed there were elements of WDD common to CityPlan. He suggested that while

these visioning sessions were of a completely different scale, they shared relations in a

family of approaches (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). Figure 27 shows the

overlap in approaches between CityPlan and WDD.

West Dallas Dream	Vancouver's CityPlan
- The essential nature of setting a vision. - The importance of including a broad spectrum of the community. - Considering interculturality. - Driving community learning about design - Key thematic frames: - Incremental - Sustainable - Learning community - Living community - Unique community - Destination	- The essential nature of setting a vision. - The importance of including a broad spectrum of the community. - Considering interculturality. - Driving community learning about design - Key thematic frames: ~~Incremental~~ - Sustainable - Learning community - Living community - Unique community - Destination

Figure 27. A Comparison of the Outcomes of West Dallas Dream and Vancouver's CityPlan

Brown's organizations, bcWorkshop and the DCdS are both involved in establishing and promoting a design culture. Brown admits that there is much to do towards creating a public and a political culture that are hungry for better design (Personal communication, 2014). "People get the city that they want" (Brown, Personal communication, 2014). Brown believes that while there is work to do to convince a certain audience of design's potential to change communities, there is still an element of the City of Dallas that is getting the city that they want (Personal communication, 2014). Brown suggests that there is a contingent of citizens happy with the car and mall oriented status quo (Personal communication, 2014). Creating a hunger for and an understanding of design springs from a longer agenda in which good design creates appreciation for good design. This creates a virtuous circle where there is a built in constituency hungry for a city that makes

balanced and considered decisions regarding the nature of design in new development. This is what Beasley refers to as "urban connoisseurship" (2015).

Of my interviews, there was not universal acceptance that the ideas that Beasley sought to bring to Dallas could land there. Even the most hopeful participants questioned Beasley's concentration on coast al and waterfront cities in his presentations (Thomas, Personal Communication, 2016). His most vocal critic was Larry, 'Bud'MacGregor of West Dallas Investments. Mr. MacGregor questioned whether Vancouver ideas could actually be translated to Dallas (Personal communication, 2016). He questioned to what extent immigration policy and the arrival of Hong Kong immigrants created the potential for urban densification near Downtown Vancouver (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2016). He also questioned the differences in weather and climate and their influence on the creation of walkable communities (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2016). He states:

> You just can't dictate one thing and one city and try and say well we're going to try and do the same way someplace else. People in Dallas don't walk. And they don't do it the way they do in Vancouver at San Francisco. You know in San Francisco you just love to walk. I was Seattle earlier in the year and I just love to walk. You just walk everywhere. It was raining all the time and people were still walking. (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2016)

It is too soon to tell whether or not Brown and Beasley are right, or MacGregor is right.

In reviewing documents, conducting interviews and in reading secondary sources, including reviews of planning and civic culture in Vancouver and in Dallas, one can only conclude that Dallas is a more capitalistic city than Vancouver and that Canada is a more socialistic country than the United States. In Dallas, the orientation to wealth creation, opulence and the visual demonstration of wealth is different than in Vancouver. The expectation of who holds sway in arguments is different in Dallas than it is in Vancouver. A number of writers point to the hegemony of capitalism in Dallas and the fact that it is

difficult to get other things – social justice and spatial justice, for instance, included in community discourse (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003; Graff, 2008). In Vancouver, the sustainability bargain which couples densification and a striving for livability trumps financial concerns (Beasley, 2015). If Dallas is the city that had no reason to be, Vancouver is the opposite, a harbor at the end of a transcontinental line and the warmest place in a cold country – in addition to its position as city that in a sense floats culturally and economically between North America and Asia (Brunet-Jailley, 2008).

The sustainability/densification bargain, coupled with a seemingly inevitable inflow of citizens – despite an increasingly hollow economy, means that development intensification of a certain type seems assured. That densification and lifestyle bargain has become a symbol and a brand in Vancouver, representing a specific set of lifestyle amenities, coupled with personal housing compromises in the form of smaller units with less outdoor access. This lifestyle focus has led to the circumstances that allow Vancouverites to orchestrate the planning system towards the need to create walkable, amenity focused environments (Punter, 2003).

The issue of the relationship of community to the individual is constituted in the national character of the United States and Canada. The United States focus on the agency of the individual and their ability to act in their own best interests and Canada, where there is a degree of comfort with a tutelary power and a willingness to accept communal benefits at the expense of individual wealth (Taylor, 2010). It is manifest in the different tax regimes of each country, in the differences in the cooperative nature of the federalism of each country, in services provided and in how these are distributed. As I noted, Vancouver and Dallas each represent extreme presentations of the ideology of each nation.

The global ethnography methodology - includes a supply city and a receiving city, with notably different orientations to the potential of communal action, the role of government, and the place of the individual in relation to the broader society. Arguably, Canada, with its retention of the Crown (the Monarchy) in government and with a general appreciation for the tutelary power of government, stands in contrast to more individualistic views of society held in the United States (Taylor, 2010). While Vancouver may or may not hold the title as the most communal and socialistic jurisdiction in Canada, (though it probably does among cities with a population over a million people) Dallas-Fort Worth, with its military industrial supported industries and its highly individualistic policy stances, stands in contrast to Vancouver and stands out. So the national difference through which these policy mobilities flow are actually further exacerbated by the fact each city represents an extreme in the polarity between capitalism and socialism, as represented in the cultural differences and policy choices of the United States and Canada. This polarity is an important construction to examine, as I investigate how ideas emerging from more communally focused contexts can arrive in more individually focused contexts.

I focus on the modernist theorization of structural functionalism because I assert that in many ways, the City of Dallas operates under a structural functionalist paradigm and that the efforts to advance the DCdS are an attempt to tip the Dallas civic administration towards a post-structural functionalist approach. Structural functionalist thinking asserts the importance of the maintenance of the equilibrium of systems just as a number of serious instances of pent-up market demand conspire.   .

Growth in Dallas was most substantial through a period starting in the 1960s and ending in the 1980s (Fairbanks, 1998; Hanson, 2003). Beasley describes the physical realm of Dallas as he would the physical realm of many cities in the United States

(Personal communication, 2016). He suggests that the public form is "'brutal'" (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016) The older, more convivial parts of Dallas, built in an era when public transit included streetcars, were relatively small as the city's early growth was impeded before the invention and wide distribution of air conditioning (Graff, 2008).

Jacobs also figures in consideration of the history of Dallas, because in many ways, Dallas represents what would have happened in New York, if Mr. Moses was successful in penetrating the urban fabric of Manhattan with freeways. It is, in fact, the very need to address the lack of equilibrium between the car and other modes of transport that drove the first visits of Larry Beasley where he spoke to the Trinity Trust, the group responsible for spearheading redevelopment of the Trinity River Basin.

What were the impacts of 'city as a whole' thinking? A 'city as a whole' way of thinking dictated city policy and decision-making would not focus on the critiques of individual areas, or interests groups, instead invoking the notion - the best decisions for the city were those that considered the whole of the city (Fairbanks, 1998). Such thinking can lead to civic high-handedness, as the needs of the whole functioning of the city may lead to very dire decisions for particular areas and citizens. It is an important policy driver to consider, as it is the cornerstone of many approaches in Dallas that set forth patterns of growth and relations among the cultural communities of Dallas.

For instance, 'city as a whole' thinking can be linked to actions by the mid-20th Century power-elite of Dallas to place deleterious industrial uses near public housing in West Dallas, leading to catastrophic health outcomes in the community which reverberate to today. Impacts might include the tendency toward food deserts in South Dallas, or transportation challenges for those without access to personal mobility. 'City as a whole' thinking is therefore linked to segregation of populations, and the tying of disadvantaged

populations to negative situations – related to health, or to access to employment and services.

The stain of 'city as a whole' thinking taints current relations and the trust between the Dallas entrepreneurs and developers and citizens in West Dallas. For instance, as part of the development of West Dallas, there are current discussions about moving the cement plant at the west end of the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge to a new site, further west in West Dallas. The identified site is adjacent to a West Dallas middle school. While the proponents of this move suggest that it will be a state of the art facility and one of the cleanest in the country (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2015) local citizens – who may be from the same families dealing with a history of lead contamination in West Dallas, are reluctant to believe that this is not just another situation where the betterment of the Dallas elite is placed ahead of the health and social development interests of West Dallas residents. (Lopez, personal communication, 2016).

'City as a whole' was behind the establishment of social housing in West Dallas, west of Sylvan in the 1950s. Again, these decisions may make sense in a 'whole of the city' view, but when the lenses of spatial justice are applied, we can see these decisions seek to place less advantaged citizens away from advantaged citizens. These policies, when operated over a period of decades, and when combined with historical urban injustices like formalized red-lining, exacerbate continued economic challenges that remain. In this situation, historical disinvestment leads to neighborhoods in need and to hyper-segregation. Hyper-segregation describes a situation when individuals live in areas of poverty, isolated by several census tracts from areas not experiencing poverty (Wilson, 2008). Parts of West Dallas have experienced hyper-segregation, but that is no longer the case in La Bajada and Los Altos, where new housing and businesses are changing the socio-economic face of the area.

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Arguably, Dallas historically, has had a planning function that has remained, until recently, firmly in the camp of structural functionalist thinking, whereby the primary purpose of the urban structure was to maintain the current growth machine. Further, historical perceptions about the need to control the location of racial populations in order to maintain White property values still are manifest in urban planning in existing Dallas neighborhoods. An examination of the planning history of Dallas relays a continuous effort to maintain a form of community equilibrium through the separation of races. So if Dallas is to visit the opportunity to begin to mix racial populations, then new neighborhoods, like the ones being constructed in West Dallas may be the best opportunity to create intercultural settings in a city that tends to separate cultures by neighborhood.

Reading Dallas planning analysis, it is clear the city never really adopted transactive and communicative planning, with perhaps one short exception; the Goals for Dallas planning process initiated by Mayor Erik Johnsson in 1964, following the Kennedy assassination. Some Thomas's (Personal communication, 2015) first professional experiences following graduation included working in the Goals for Dallas planning process. When I questioned her about her involvement in Goals for Dallas process, she agreed that her attraction to the transactive and communicative approaches advanced by Beasley were partially influenced by her early experiences as a young graduate participating in the Goals for Dallas process (Thomas, Personal communication, 2015).

A review of the documents of WDD and a completion interviews with those involved in the visioning process indicate that transactive and communicative planning approaches were able to flow with through WDD. Beasley confirms that there is a link between the approach he executed in Vancouver's CityPlan and WDD (Personal communication, 2016). While he notes that these planning exercises were at significantly

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different scales, he also pointed out that they occupy what he called a "family of practices" (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

It is outside the scope of this dissertation to understand whether the transactive and communicative planning approaches exercised through WDD were successful in adjusting the planning culture in the City of Dallas, or even if they were successful in tilting the approaches taken in similar exercises, such as Mayor Rawlings Grow South Initiative which seeks to address the lack of development in South Dallas.

While a number of Vancouver innovations may be under consideration through WDD, the adoption of a transactive planning process inviting a broad cross-section of participants is possibly the most significant, as it signals an evolving interest in considering spatial justice in a place where spatial justice has historically been lower on the City's agenda, if at all (Soja, 2010; Graff, 2008).

Beasley noted the centrality of design to later aspects of the WDD project and the later charrette that took place. In later sessions he was able to bring Spanish speaking designers to participate in the charrette process. He suggests that design has the potential to be the great equalizer in an urban planning process, because even with language barriers, there is an opportunity for participants to engage in a common language of visual literacy (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

He suggests that the process of putting design to the fore front was part of an effort to move the planning efforts away from conversation, in which people who are more eloquent, or who are more aggressive are able to control the agenda and get their own was (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). By focusing on design and charrettes as a means of expressing ideas, Beasley and Brown develop an approach that can lead to a fairer process.

> My way of doing business, which we really, I really, conceived of here in
> Vancouver....is that if you want a city by design, you have to engage

through design. And that there is something extraordinary that happens, when you don't allow the focus of the engagement to be just verbal, that when you tell people to close their mouths and take up a pen or a pencil and draw, it is a great equalizer. (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016)

While Beasley suggests that design is the front forward part of the WDD project, an examination of the planning process would suggest that a transactive and communicative approaches moves in lock step with the design forward focus advocated by Beasley.

In the document introduction, Beasley sets the tone for the process that took place in West Dallas and notes the importance of establishing a vision. He states that "The first step in a wise process to redevelop and revitalize an urban area is to have a strong vision" (City of Dallas, 2009, pp. 4). Beasley leads with the vision because he believes that it is the most important element in shaping a group to pull together and work for common goals (Personal communication, 2016). Beasley states:

> Without a compelling concept for how an area should evolve and change, generated by interested people working together, individual action is disconnected, often contradictory to other peoples' hopes and needs and sometimes even contrary to the broad public interest. Usually squabbles and discord result. With a widely supported shared vision, on the other hand, people are more inclined to act out their destiny with regard to others and the collective view of the place. In other words, what one person does reinforces what we all need to do to make the area work for us all. So a strong vision is essential for a good area plan (City of Dallas, 2009, pp. 4).

Reflecting on the outcomes of the WDD session he states:

> The dreaming session was the first part but the one you really need to look at because it was in that session, the dreaming session basically gave us a common platform where people, whether you were the developer, the neighbors, the other interested business people, the land owners or the city staff. It gave us the time to look each other in the eye and play out the aggression and all that and then begin to dream together. I facilitated that and I had a rule that there were no bad ideas. You couldn't say to someone that that's a terrible idea. Everything was on the table, and what we found there which I find over and over again, is an amazing amount of shared dreams. I find everyone has their own interests and everyone wants to do their own things, but there's an amazing amount of shared things as well. And those shared things

create the emotional and intellectual bridge that allows people to take another step, a more dangerous step. Which is the step of actually designing something. (Beasley, personal communication, 2016).

A strong vision creates a common dialogue through which we can work together.

Punter, in explaining the genesis of Vancouver's CityPlan process notes a similar

process at play in the City of Vancouver:

> So Mayor Gordon Campbell's idea was to get citizens to talk face to face to understand the issues and to find solutions in a non-confrontational way. He wanted free thinking about a citywide plan rather than a process stage-managed by the planning department… So city council established a program to "inform citizens about the issues … and create, from their advice, a shared sense of direction for the city and its place in the region" (Vancouver, 1995, pp. 4).

The City of Vancouver's notion of a shared sense of direction is echoed in the WDD

vision. Beasley states:

> If you can illustrate that some of the things that are good for them come from some intensification in their community and build up enough people with that understanding, at least you get an alternative to that small core group of NIMBYists that are there. And then, if you do it very carefully and very well, and you can illustrate that it's not destroying the community, then a lot of other people who really weren't paying too much attention start to shift to say, "It's been pretty good for us." That approach changes opinions. And I think CityPlan started that conversation because the city just approached the whole problem in a different way. (Grant, 2009, pp. 364)

This notion of approaching the problem in a different way is consistent with the rest of

the WDD vision which is highly divergent from previous urban planning processes in the

City of Dallas (Brown, personal communication, 2014). While Brown admits that there is

nothing inherently innovative about the WDD approach in a broader national

contemporary planning practice context, he notes that there is a history of distrust of

planning processes in the City of Dallas (Personal communication, 2014). He suggests

that the approach taken in WDD is anthropological in nature in that it traces the

movement and displacement of populations close to Downtown from the 1960's to today

and recognizes displacement and the potential of disrespect of previous processes (Personal communication, 2014). This recognition is an important element in a conversation that could lead to a degree of reconciliation and a folding in of different populations in West Dallas.

Brown notes a number of elements particular to the Dallas planning framework that change the potential for good design decisions in the City of Dallas (Personal communication, 2014). First and foremost among the challenges Dallas faces is the fact that the City is already over-zoned (Brown, Personal communication, 2014). By this, Brown means that the City of Dallas has already allowed for buildings which far exceed the market demand potential in any one area (Personal communication, 2014). As such, the development sector is largely free to build what it wants (Brown, Personal communication, 2014). A development application submitted to the City creates no conversations about design because the City has already said to the developer that they can build to a maximum beyond the market (Brown, Personal communication, 2014). There is no incentive for the developer to engage in a conversation with the City that might involve a developer concession for a City desired change because the City essentially surrendered its leverage. As a result, the City's only possibility for creating a conversation that could lead to some negotiation regarding public and design values in a project only comes when the City engages in conversations related to a tax increment financing (TIF) arrangement (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

Though Beasley is proud of the work in completing WDD, he suggests that the real leverage for the plan was revealed in the subsequent session where planners, community leaders and local citizens conspired in the creation of design guidelines for West Dallas (Personal communication, 2016). He believes that the Guidelines provide a

true articulation of the WDD Vision and arrive at creative design solutions to address some challenging geographic considerations in WDD.

Alternatively, through the WDD process, planning in Dallas could seek a more egalitarian and inclusive path (Brown, Personal Communication, 2014). The development of WDD became an initial showcase of the newly established DCdS (Whitley, personal communication, 2015). However, the WDD outcomes remained notional and aspirational and were not able to find their way into actual binding planning documents, largely because many of the rights to shape development were already conceded to developers through a very generous existing planning framework (Brown, personal communication, 2014; Whitley, personal communication, 2015). Efforts to leverage the potential of the planning system to address the aspirational goals of WDD have proved challenging, except in cases where developers required incentives from the City, or tax increment financing (TIF) to make their project work (Brown, personal communication, 2014; Whitley, personal communication, 2015). In these cases, the DCdS and its Design Review Panel were able to insert design performance standards extracting specific changes on projects (Brown, personal communication, 2014; Whitley, personal communication, 2015).

WDD was a planning exercise initiated by the City of DCdS. The DCdS opened in 2009 and action taken to influence outcomes in West Dallas were among the initial projects that the DCdS sought to undertake (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). As was noted, social, economic and environmental factors had been longtime concerns in West Dallas (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Thibadeaux, Personal communication, 2015). WDD was seen as an opportunity to address emerging development, bringing forth a new approach to urban planning in Dallas, which fore fronted design considerations and the needs of local

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populations within a neighborhood (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

Brown (Personal communication, 2014) suggests that the WDD process built trust partially because there was no 'backroom position' driving the development agenda. The process was therefore free to deal with the current context and was able to be responsive to local considerations.

WDD was followed by a Design Charrette which further articulated the visions set forth in the Dream visioning session. Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) spoke extensively about the importance of design in the development of WDD and in particular, in the Design Charrette. He noted that through connections, he was able to obtain two Spanish speaking designers from the Florida architectural firm associated with neo-traditional design, Duany-Plater-Zyberg, who were provided to the Design Charrette, gratis and who were available to connect with Spanish speaking participants. He suggested that this attention to language in the design process was an important component, as design had the potential to be leveler in a planning process (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

Following this, the group came together for a public meeting at which the findings for the other two processes, the Dream and the Charrette, were reviewed by citizens. This consultation formed the background subsequent development to West Dallas Design and Development Guidelines which were endorsed by Council in 2013 (City of Dallas). These guidelines are voluntary – there is no requirement to follow and implement these guidelines, however, Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) noted that there were other means, including the use of Tax Increment Financing funds that could be used as a means of bringing developers to the negotiation table to discuss design adjustments.

WDD is at a critical juncture as the vision was initiated seven years ago. Several developments have been executed, although many of these were in process before WDD was finalized. These developments include the Trinity Groves restaurant incubator, the Sylvan 30 Project and the Alta West apartments. Many other projects will soon begin. Some critical anchors have been established in West Dallas and developers have gone some distance towards achieving elements of the WDD vision creating a destination in the neighborhood. Whether or not this destination reflects the actual needs or desires expressed by the community is another question. It was hoped at very least, these projects would have generated employment opportunities in the neighborhood, however, many suggested that there was still a gap between the jobs provided and the potential for community members to take these jobs (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015; Community member #1, Personal communication, 2016). Responses were mixed as to whether the new developments served the existing residents of West Dallas (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015; Community member #1, 2016).

Interviewees, including those responsible for the planning process and those participating in it have noted that WDD has not been able to deliver on promises of community benefit as a result of the changes taking place in West Dallas. In a Vancouver context, moves towards gentrification in an area with vulnerable populations might be coupled with programming that seeks to mitigate impacts for local populations. There are a number of ways that this can occur. Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) noted that in Vancouver, planners with skills in community development would be deployed in areas impacted by new development, with the expressed purpose of developing impact benefit agreements, whereby, local communities would see concessions, in the way of jobs, or business opportunities. No such programming exists in the City of Dallas.

The unique nature of the Vancouver Charter, a specialized form of municipal law enabled by the Province of British Columbia gives the City of Vancouver exceptional rights for zoning (Punter, 2003). In a sense, this approach is blocked in the policies mobilized to Dallas, except in situations where developers enter into agreements to obtain Tax Increment Financing (TIF). TIF funding essentially sets aside initial tax increases based on property improvements for a prescribed period of time. This allows developers to invest more in a project initially, without the worry that their improvements will ramp-up the tax burden associated with their development. The TIF creates a situation where a negotiation is possible. This enables the City of Dallas to demand that projects submit to an urban design review. That urban design review can then tie the receipt of TIF funding to certain urban design performance objectives. The TIF approach to incenting participation in a design review is a clear example of policy mutation.

Vancouver's orientation to gentrification is partially reflected in a paper by Brunet-Jailey (2008), which notes the unique socially progressive growth machine the city advances. Optimally, part of what should travel in a transactive planning process between Vancouver and Dallas, is a particular regard for imbalances of power and resources. If the transactive policy flowed, we should see evidence of an increased interest in socially progressive approaches leading to more equitable outcomes. Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) suggested that if he were implementing a similar approach to WDD in Vancouver, he would have had a suite of social planners who were able to come behind the waves of gentrification and complete community development work that would address the impacts. That has yet to materialize, but could go some way towards ameliorating the impact of new development underway in West Dallas.

The process outlined for CityPlan was highly participatory and is related to Friedmann's concept of transactional planning (Friedmann, 1973). Beyond consideration

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of transactional processes, Vancouver urban planning also led to design principles

foreshadowing a global focus on urban sustainability (McCann, 2013) and an increasing

focus on intercultural relations in an urban sphere (Sandercock, 2003, 1998).

5.6 Results – Development Systems

Beasley, through his work in Dallas has attempted to evolve development systems

that work for the city and its citizens. He describes his process in this address to the

Vancouver Museum in 2012:

> My profession is an unusual one – it is part science and part politics but
> a big part of it is art. Now, having said that, I also have to emphasize
> that it is a somewhat peculiar art – city planning is a politicized art, it is a
> collective art. Everyone shapes the city every day with almost everything
> they do. It would be like if a painter picked up his brush to dab the
> canvas and a thousand hands grabbed the brush with him to decide just
> where the paint is to go. The city you experience is created by millions
> of independent actions. A City Planner is a choreographer of urbanism,
> working with people who have their own ideas and take their own action
> – and generating through interaction with people the plans and the
> management mechanisms for how the city or parts of the city should
> grow and change or, sometimes, be protected from change. (Address to
> the Vancouver Museum, October 24, 2012)

Beasley's notion of urban planning as an art will likely seem foreign to the urban

planner who is working with his community to gather the resources to even own a brush.

What is clear is that the notion of urban planning as choreography requires a degree of

urban intensification. In order to choreograph, there must be more occurring. Otherwise,

you are stuck trying to catalyze. Beasley's 'peculiar art' is about the assemblage of

various actions and performances, to borrow language from DeLanda (2006), but in the

action of planning, it is largely focused on communication. This communication is not just

the ongoing personal communication of working in both the public and political realm; it is

also the wrapped in the communication of plans, ideas, reports and concepts

It is in the realm of planning amenities and making developers pay for them, that the work of Larry Beasley is perhaps most salient. In the same article that first introduced Thomas to Vancouver planning, Beasley speaking about Vancouver states:

> We have an unusual attitude about development here. Our attitude is 'If you don't measure up, we're not afraid to say No in this city.' Many cities are so afraid to say No to any developer and so they get what they deserve. But for those other cities it may be above all important to promote a business growth. We want quality of life first. (Sandercock, 2005)

Beasley goes on to articulate his design philosophy. He states:

> We have an ability to create a city that is to some degree contrary to globalization, contrary to the homogenization of cities going on around the world. It is very unique, and it is very interesting in that it actually competes with those world cities not by trying to be what they are but by being an alternative that they could never be. . . . Because of what we are and where we're sitting in the hierarchy of cities, we have to take advantage of what we have to work with (a spectacular natural setting), to position ourselves to be competitive among cities. . . . This comes down to the quality of life in the city. (Sandercock, 2005)

Beasley's direction of the work on the North Shore of False Creek in Vancouver orchestrated the extraction of private funds obtained through density increases at strategic sites and then applied these funds toward the creation of community amenities. These amenities reinforced the value increases on the site, ensuring the neighborhood was more desirable. This increased desirability resulted in increased values for the next set of properties being developed, resulting in a virtuous circle of increased opportunities as the next developer is incented to add density in exchange for even more amenities.

However, in a practical sense, to orchestrate the system in this manner requires a degree of restraint. By restraint, I mean that the planning body needs to discuss the minimum of what would be appropriate at a site. This requires understanding the economics of building to the extent that they are signaling what may be the realistic development potential of an individual site, without going to the full extent of what may

ultimately get built on a site. To use an example in Dallas, the zoning for the Trinity River

front may, in the fullness of times and with the full realization of values reach 35, stories,

however, the allowable building rights in the zoning for the site may only include

provisions for an eleven story building, which from a development pro-forma perspective,

is the minimum number of floors required to build a skinny tower with 4 to 6 units per floor

in the Vancouver market. Anything shorter does not provide the necessary income to

provide elevators to the upper floors, underground parking and assorted amenities. Any

increase in floors above this amount sees the basic infrastructure of the building, the

elevators, paid for and creates a base on which to discuss the lift in values associated

with additional floors. It is this lift in values that becomes the basis for site by site building

negotiations in the City of Vancouver.

Beasley notes that planners need to be careful about zoning in order to ensure that

the bump in value is available to both the developer and the city – not just to the land

speculator. He states:

> Yes, looking at it from the individual developer angle, the conclusion is
> clear: the more you open up heights and add the densities with that, the
> more economic opportunity you can create for the developer if you play
> your cards right. I put that last proviso on because if you just increase
> what can be built on a site, then the developer will not benefit as much
> as the existing landowner, who, as we all know, is the single biggest
> speculator in the land development scene. If you unilaterally increase a
> development allowance, an existing landowner will see his land as more
> valuable and, without doing anything, claim most of that value. So as
> you increase any allowance, I am a big proponent of making it
> conditional so that only the developer can exploit it and therefore must
> pay slightly less for the land so he can afford to meet the condition of the
> allowance – whether that condition relates to design of some particular
> amenity. (Beasley, 2015)

WDD as a planning process and the DCdS as an organization are steeped in

transactive and communicative approaches to urban planning. From the broad net

thrown for participation which attempted to ensure community members were informed

and invited to participate in the planning process to the continued work with those

potentially impacted by the process and its suggestions. WDD aimed to facilitate shared learning and communication. While some participating in the process suggested that it was just like other urban planning processes undertaken in the City of Dallas, others noted it as a marked departure from previous processes, in that there were more people in the room.

In a post-industrial situation, devoid of significant public investment, Vancouver leverages hallmark events and internationally driven demand for condos into an intense redevelopment that brings the population of the Downtown Vancouver Peninsula to over 110,000 including neighborhoods that are more dense than Manhattan. In effect, Vancouver manages its planning system and its relation to globalizing factors to create a virtuous circle of neoliberal investment which leads to design focused communities with increased densification. This virtuous circle takes the value inherent in air rights in a densifying city and converts them to public wealth that can then be distributed to the public realm through various programs (Punter, 2003).

Through skilled management of the development system, this willingness to accept density evolved into a system of urban intensification whereby developers would enter into negotiations with the City to allow for increased density (Punter, 2003). This increased density would be provided in exchange for a voluntary amenity contribution (Punter, 2003; Grant, 2009). Through this contribution, the developer would provide the city with funds to put towards urban amenities (Punter, 2003; Grant, 2009). These might be in the form of an enhanced urban realm, with more plantings and better street fixtures, or it could be for amenities that make for a more complete community, including parks, arenas, day care centers and museums (Punter, 2003; Grant, 2009). In this situation, density is increased which advances the city towards its sustainability goals (Punter, 2003; Brunet-Jailley; Grant, 2009). The provision of a large urban population also

contributes to an enhanced street life as the streets become animated at all times of day (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). These eyes on the street create a sense of safety in the urban realm (Kataoka, 2008). Even when there are elements of disorder on the street, the most citizens are not disorderly and together, they impose their norms on the street culture (Burnett, 2013).

While one could suggest that these developments are created on the backs of consumers, this is not necessarily the case. In some cases, consumers benefit as the amenity received is in the form of affordable housing. In other cases, though consumers may pay more for their units, they can forge a lifestyle where they need to have a car. Between taxis, car co-operatives and bicycles, it is fairly easy to move about the center of the city. The calculation of the voluntary amenity contribution generally sees 80% of the additional profits gained through increased density flow to City coffers, while the remaining 20% goes to the developer (Beasley, Personal communication). Critically, the city is able to increase density at key locations, leading to increased uptake on transit when increased density is co-located with transit hubs.

As I noted, this can be characterized as a virtuous circle of neoliberalism, where neoliberal solutions developed to address policy gaps in a post-Keynesian environment may actually enhance the community's potential to reach its urban sustainability goals. In discussions with Beasley, he makes it clear that one his goals for the City of Dallas is to manage the planning system in such a manner, as to ensure that there is room to negotiate for increases in density (Personal communication, 2016).

Beasley and Barnett explain:

> Yes, looking at it from the individual developer angle, the conclusion is clear: the more you open up heights and add the densities with that, the more economic opportunity you can create for the developer if you play your cards right. I put that last proviso on because if you just increase what can be built on a site, then the developer will not benefit as much as the existing landowner, who, as we all know, is the single biggest

speculator in the land development scene. If you unilaterally increase a development allowance, an existing landowner will see his land as more valuable and, without doing anything, claim most of that value. So as you increase any allowance, I am a big proponent of making it conditional so that only the developer can exploit it and therefore must pay slightly less for the land so he can afford to meet the condition of the allowance – whether that condition relates to design of some particular amenity. (2015)

While neoliberalism reigns in Vancouver, ironically, Dallas seems to be locked in transportation induced Keynesianism – supported to some extent by private philanthropic investment and in the future, to be funded through road pricing. Bond initiatives fund infrastructure spending and major transportation improvements like the development of the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge have played a key role in triggering the possibility of increased development. Many said that the addition of this bridge led them to consider West Dallas differently – thinking less of it as an industrial area and more as an area of potential opportunity (Thomas, Personal communication, 2016). The potential amenity of the Trinity River Basin may also contribute to changes in perception of West Dallas (Thomas, Personal communication, 2016).

As Vancouver's virtuous circle of neoliberalism is locked into the regional economy as a key driver, the city and its residents are continuously concerned about the functioning of the real estate market. Vancouverites seem comfortable with density and seem willing to trade amenity for personal space, but overall, there is a discomfort with escalating values in the Vancouver market.

Reviewing my results, I looked for opportunities to understand the application of a virtuous circle of neoliberalism in a Dallas context. If policies mobilities flowed without morphing between Vancouver and Dallas, Dallas would be able to implement a planning and development similar to that experienced in Vancouver. The fact is that the inertia of the existing Dallas planning system mitigates against the direct flow of these approaches.

The lack of scholarly activism in the City of Dallas may also account for some of the City's challenges in the urban realm.   There is only one university in the City of Dallas, Southern Methodist University. Even the University of Texas –Dallas is located in nearby Richardson. The University of Dallas is a small Catholic university in the City of Dallas has 2,800 students. Within one of the largest cities in North America, there is no urban planning or architecture program. In fact, the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington is the only planning and architecture program in the sixth largest metropolitan region in the United States. A lack of scholarly activism in Dallas planning and architecture can be seen as one of the challenges in the City. bcWorkshop is one of the organizations that has attempted to fill this void and they do an exceptional job, again, utilizing philanthropic investments, but there is no publicly funded presence in setting or addressing urban issues in the City of Dallas.

5.7 Results – Time Lapse Charrette Futuring

The TLCF test in this dissertation sought to understand if the proposed method could be used as a tool for urban planning, particularly in situations where gentrification was occurring. For this section, I have only included a small selection of drawings so as to provide an understanding of the work completed.

Figure 28. 403 West Main St., Dallas. Google Street View, (2007, 2012, 2015)

There are two drawings that were completed for this site. Both were completed

taking direction from design professionals with knowledge of planning and development.

The resultant pictures demonstrate strong awareness of planning processes and the

development potential of this site in light of the changes that will soon occur. Figure 28

shows the 403 West Main Street near the West Dallas Community Church. This location

will be next to the proposed roadway pass-through under the Grand Trunk Railway. As

such, this location has the potential to change substantially over the next twenty years.

Figure 29 is the drawing completed working with David Whitley. In the picture the church

remains. The intersection ahead represents the north south cross cut connection to the

pass through under the Grand Trunk Railway.

Figure 29. TLCF Drawing with D. Whitley - 403 Main Street

The decision to engage a design charrette approach in the testing the TLCF project was a useful exercise in that it offered an opportunity to engage again with WDD participants and discuss their emerging understanding of the design process and what that might mean for citizens and the development of the neighborhood going forward. I was expecting, through these tests of the method to understand its utility. Instead, the TLCF method achieved three separate outcomes. First it allowed me to see that the method that I had envisioned was not useful as a means of understanding individuals' engagement with WDD and their understanding of the evolving nature of their neighborhood. It failed as a method because the interview context did not provide sufficient lead time to orient non-design professionals to the task. Instead, the drawings provided me with evidence suggesting Beasley's notion of design as a levelling language may have limitations. Although I was only able to convince six interviewees to participate in the development of a drawing, the participants divided into two clearly defined camps. A design professionals group was able to work quickly and completed the task at hand.

The non-design professionals required more coaching to complete drawings. The design professionals were also more oriented toward community change, while the drawings of citizens and individuals from citizen-serving organizations tended to complete drawings of the status quo.

Figure 30. TLCF Drawing 403 West Main St. Completed with Regina Nippert.

Figure 30 is a second drawing of the 403 West Main site – this picture was directed by Regina Nippert of Southern Methodist University. In addition to her role as the Director of the Budd Center for Communities, Regina is a trained architect. She focused on the church remaining in the community and also sought to reflect the church leveraging opportunities for increased services as a result of the new development taking place (Nippert, Personal communication, 2016).

Figure 31. North Beckley Avenue near Blank's Printers, (Google Street View, 2007, 2012, 2015).

Figure 32. TLCF Drawing of Blank's Printing site, completed with Doug Heyerdahl.

Figure 33. Detail of the drawing directed by Doug Heyerdahl of Blanks Printing.

The first group was comprised of design professionals, including planners and architects. Their detailed drawings and deep understanding of design was abundantly clear. A second group of general citizens were far less able to articulate their interests and desires in drawing a future state. With this in mind, I suggest that Beasley's assumptions regarding drawing and charrettes in planning as being the great equalizer must be viewed with suspicion. Though the sample group was small, it may be worthwhile to embark on a second exercise that seeks to determine to what extent design literacy impacts the ability of citizens to participate in charrette processes.

Figure 31 shows Blanks Printing which was chosen as a location following an initial interview. The drawing was completed with Doug Heyerdahl who participated in and had a strong understanding of the WDD process. The drawing he directed imagined that in the fullness of time, it might be possible for the Blanks location, which is behind the street light on the right, to be converted to a higher density at some point in the future. The drawing representing that imagined future appears as Figure 32.

Beyond the utility of the drawings themselves, the time sequenced photographs of locations in West Dallas proved to be a useful conversation starter. Citizens seeing the time-sequenced photos were immediately able to grasp the nature of the changes taking place in the area and the photos were actually a useful departure point for a discussion on the nature of changes taking place in these communities.

One challenge with completing drawings had to do with the

As noted earlier, Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) sees the potential of design as an equalizer in these situations. He suggests that while many people may interpret words differently – what is conveyed in a picture is generally crystal clear to everyone (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). A picture allows a group to design together to come to a more precise understanding of what is being considered (Beasley, Personal

communication, 2016). The findings of the TLCF component of the dissertation would

seem to go against Beasley's assertion that design has the potential to be an

Figure 34. Street in LaBajada

Figure 35. Drawing of Street in LaBajada – Chalonda Jackson-Mangwiro – Public Affairs
and Community Liaison – Dallas Citydesign Studio.

equalizer. As I completed the drawings of West Dallas with participants, and granted,

there were a small number of drawings completed and the sample size is not sufficient to

draw substantive conclusions, it would appear that design is not an equalizer. Of the

drawings I completed, those with higher spatial/visual literacy (architects, designers,

planners and even printing professionals) were consistently able to provide more

complex direction resulting in more articulate, more realistic and more nuanced drawings.

Those with less visual and spatial literacy were simply not able to create ideas with

details that operated at the same level.'

Figure 36. Parking lot of the Continental Bridge. The levy of the Trinity River Basin sits to
the left. The start of the arch of the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge appears at the left and the
Reunion Tower can be seen in the distance.

A second possible interpretation is that the information appearing in the drawings of

those who were not planning or design professionals was that the drawings that were

actually not resulting from a lack of design literacy, but were instead reflective of

individuals who were not as interested in seeing community changes. Figure 36 is a

drawing that looks southward from the parking lot of the Continental Bridge. It was

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completed by community leader Jeff Howard, who lives west of the study area in West

Dallas. Mr. Howard envisioned smaller scale intensification near the Trinity Groves site.

Figure 37. Drawing looking south on Bataan Street, just north of Singleton Avenue.

Figure 37 was completed by Debbie Solis of the Voices for Hope Ministry in West

Dallas. She expressed interest in seeing West Dallas continue to be developed at a

single family residential scale, but also articulated a vision that promoted walkability and

cycling in West Dallas. Figure 37 best demonstrates some of the challenges of the TLCF

method that sets it apart from the Co-design method. TLCF requires the drawer to

articulate a drawing of a real space. This requires working quickly in the early drawing to

get key elements of perspective correct. This is not always done well. The slight

distortion in the Google Street View images, which tend to be slightly stretched

horizontally, may contribute to further difficulties articulating the perspective in a drawing.

In Figure 37, Bataan Street is likely wider than it needs to be and the elevation of the

drawing appears to be from at least 30 feet in the air. This leads to several distortions in

the drawing that are not easily corrected without completing a new drawing. In a Co-

design drawing, the drawer is working with a group to create an imagined space. As such, in Co-design, there is less pressure on the drawer to convey the reality of the space.

Figure 38. Sylvan Avenue and Fort Worth Avenue, looking east.

Figure 38 was completed by Dustin Thibodeaux, Chair of the West Dallas Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Thibodeaux has extensive experience working with tax increment financing initiatives on Fort Worth Avenue and so has a stronger understanding of the plans for this corridor. He chose to draw a site looking eastward, towards Downtown Dallas, from Sylvan Avenue. This location is the intersection that sits below the ridge on which the Belmont Hotel is sited. This vista imagines new development at the northeast corner of Fort Worth Avenue and Sylvan, while showing current development at Sylvan 30 and on the curve that leads to Commerce Avenue. The buildings of Downtown Dallas are shown in the distance.

Figure 39 was completed with Community Member #1. I discussed a drawing location with her in the initial interview and we agreed that I would seek a location in LaBajada for me to draw in our drawing meeting. In the drawing meeting, none of the LaBajada locations were suitable, so instead we climbed the Trinity River levy at the north end of

Bataan Street and I drew the LaBajada neighborhood, looking south. Community

Figure 39. LaBajada, from the Trinity River Levy, looking south.

member #1 articulated a vision of LaBajada that would include infill housing at a scale

similar to houses already existing in the area. She also articulated a vision where

available park space would be improved for increased community use.

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Chapter 6 . Conclusion

This dissertation began by asking whether the ideas traveling with Larry Beasley through his work on WDD could inform consideration of how policy mobilities worked. The research also investigated the need for course correction in the City of Dallas approach to West Dallas and whether or not there were elements of the work completed in West Dallas that could inform the practice of other cities dealing with gentrification and existing enclavism. Finally, a series of charrette type drawings completed in the interviews would be used to test a method of planning which I have called Time-lapse Charrette Futuring (TLCF), to see if it has utility in urban planning practice.

To answer these questions, I completed a visual analysis of the area and completed twenty interviews with individuals that work in and with West Dallas and who are familiar with the WDD process. These interviews yielded information about how ideas from elsewhere, about transactive and communicative planning practices were received and actioned in this new setting. These interviews and the information gathered through them were compared to broad theoretical frames including globalization, neoliberalism and critical theory. The information was then examined through meta themes including:

- Globalization;
- Neo-liberalism; and,
- Critical theory (critical urban theory).

Following these three meta theories, the information gathered was examined in relation to three sub-theories in each of the following areas:

- Geographic theory;
- Economic theory; and,
- Planning theory.

The resulting findings were noted in the last chapter and lead to the following

conclusions to the questions posed by this dissertation.

6.1 - West Dallas Dream and Policy Mobilities

The evidence gathered through this dissertation points to a clear flow of policy

mobilities between Vancouver and Dallas. My interviews and discussion document the

path from an introduction to Vancouver policy approaches, to the seeking of Vancouver

policy knowledge, to the application of this knowledge in a Dallas setting. In terms of

building new knowledge on how policy mobilities work, this dissertation confirms the flow

of policy ideas through the concept of policy mobilities. The research outlines the flow of

policy ideas and documents the fact that Vancouver approaches cannot find immediate

purchase in a Dallas environment, largely due to the radically different civic institutional

and ideological contexts of the supply city, Vancouver and the demand city, Dallas. The

dissertation thereby affirms statements by Peck and Theodore which suggest that context

is essential to the study, the movement and the potential for receipt of policies mobilized

from elsewhere (2015). While Beasley suggests that there are ways to adjust planning

systems to favor public interests over developer interests, the process to do so is slow

(Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). At this early stage, it is difficult to know how

the DCdS changes to planning systems will change the course of development in the City

of Dallas. Presumably, with a successful implementation of a design review through the

TIF, Dallas politicians would begin to see the benefits of increasing the focus on design

through the Dallas planning process, however, as even Beasley notes, this is a political

decision (Personal communication, 2016). It relies on the willingness of city politicians to

continue to support these policy innovations (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

The business, ideological and cultural differences between Dallas and Vancouver, which are each exaggerated versions of the basic cultural differences between Canada and the United States, mean that not all practices exercised in Vancouver will be executable in Dallas. In particular, the fierce independence of the Dallas business elite and the general frowning upon government regulation mean that the approaches developed in Vancouver will likely be fought be developers in Dallas. This relationship was reflected in comments by one Dallas area of developer (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2015). It was suggested that the DCdS had no business telling private landowners what they should do on their private land (MacGregor, Personal communication, 2015).

In any democratic planning system, the relationship between developers and planning officials is mediated to some extent by politicians. Politicians must ultimately make decisions about the course of action (Whitley, Personal communication, 2016). In a city where efficiency and the importance of business are paramount, it is difficult to make a case for why a government would limit the rights of developers to maximize their potential for development on a site (Fairbanks, 1998; Graff, 2008; Hanson, 2003). In Vancouver, despite many court challenges to a negotiated approach to design, it is suggested that there is general support for the process as it occurs (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

The process to build a culture of awareness of the implications of small scale planning decisions is a larger operation – one that extends beyond the capabilities of a small city department like DCdS, to include a number of not-for-profit organizations supported in this Dallas context, by philanthropic largesse. A reflection of the need to broadly influence the design conversations in the city, beyond Council Chambers and

down to the desks where even small decisions are made, is reflected in the efforts of DCdS to include numerous civic officials in the WDD process.

In reviewing the attendance list of WDD, it appears that the focus of transactive and communicative learning approaches may have stretched beyond the need to make a connection with local citizens, to a way to make a connection with staff. This makes sense, because as Whittley noted, decisions made impacting sustainability and design are not just made in plans, but in the individual decisions of people working at their desks (Personal communication, 2016). In this sense, it seems appropriate that WDD invited a large number of politicians along with senior officials from a number of departments at the City of Dallas. This work with city staff addresses a need to focus on softening the ground so that the reception of new approaches to working is not blocked by stasis within the bureaucracy. Beasley confirmed this focus (Personal communication, 2016). This work points to the acknowledgement that WDD needs to play a strong role in influencing a cultural shift that the DCdS plays a part in triggering in the City.

The second piece to flow is the strong connection between the creation of amenities and the development of opportunities. The Trinity Trust Foundation is working with donors and the Corps of Army Engineers to determine the best ways of maintaining the flood control functions of the wide Trinity River Basin, while still identify opportunities to develop recreation potential in and near the Basin and its levee. One key challenge relates to the possibility of placing permanent infrastructure, or even trees within the Basin. From a recreation perspective, improvements that included shade would contribute to the use of the Basin in the summer. But any adjustments to the Basin must consider that during a flood, as those that happened in 2015 remind us, the whole basin, from east to west levee is saturated with deep, fast moving water. This water is capable of scouring infrastructure from the Basin. There are options for making adjustments in

the basin to allow for high spots where infrastructure can be placed, but these must first and foremost address river hydrology.

The conclusion of this paper confirms that the policy mobilities thesis, which sees cities working to identify policy innovations, occurred in the WDD example in Dallas. It is also possible to state that these mobility approaches met with hostile receiving environment which has led to policy morphing, and may ultimately lead to the blocking of some policy approaches. The transactive and communicative elements of the planning approach clearly flow through WDD, however, the more egalitarian and community focused approach that was intended may ultimately fail to find purchase in this new environment because there is simply not a sufficient culture of interested citizens demanding different design solutions in the urban realm of Dallas.

The path dependency of the existing culture may prove too strong to allow changes to form. In this sense, Gladwell's (2000) notion of a tipping point, where cumulative movement towards a change needs to reach a critical point before the universal adoption of that change may be appropriate in this situation. The critical tipping point in this instance might be when a development or group of developments influenced by the DCdS is noticed in the public realm and thereby starts to drive demand for design and community oriented product.

The second thing it explains about policy mobilities relates back to the potential of the Vancouver model for replication in a North American context. Brunet-Jailley (2008) writes about the sustainability focus of Vancouver's growth machine and how this focus allows a unique partnering of a development focused agenda to join forces with a green agenda. The blending of these conditions in Vancouver is somewhat unique. One interviewee pointed this out in our conversations as we discussed the Vancouver model

and its replicability. Speaking about Beasley and the Vancouver experience MacGregor says:

> So I think that in order to give credit where credit is due, and no more credit where credit is not due, one needs to understand that perfect storm that allowed Vancouver to grow into the city it is today. (Personal communication, 2015)

MacGregor goes on to state that for twelve years, he has been telling people that Dallas was not Vancouver and that it shouldn't attempt to be Vancouver (Personal communication, 2015). This echoes some suspicions of others who noted that Beasley tended to show exceptional design in coastal cities and in cities with bodies of water. I suggest that the relationship between the ability to drive good design and waterfront – in a North American context, is more than just coincidental. It points back to the fact that bodies of water contribute to land scarcity. When your urbanism requires you to build bridges to cross to other opportunities, the competition for and value of land increases. This is because it costs money to build new infrastructure.

In an increasingly post- Keynesian and neoliberal world, these costs may be borne by consumers and may influence purchasing patterns. But much of the infrastructure in Dallas and Vancouver was built during a Keynesian phase where governments agreed in the power of public investment to facilitate growth.

In Vancouver, the expense of additional bridges led to the adoption of the Live First Strategy and various other knock on strategies that increased urban intensification. I posit that in the case of Vancouver, the triggering of intensification through land scarcity set forth a perfect storm for neo-liberal investment – aligning the left and right in pursuit of urban intensification. This perfect storm creates a virtuous circle of neoliberal investment, whereby, developers agree to work with the city in the creation of better environments, because they win increased profits through increased density allowances. In a free market, Beasley is essentially trying to create a virtuous circle of neoliberal

investment. In examining the elements that make up that virtuous circle of neoliberal investment, there are two elements:

1) Particularity; and,

2) Scarcity

Particularity relates to the specialness of places. Particularity is closely tied to the idea of landscapes which offer a specific amenity. That amenity may be access to something that is interesting or valuable, or it may access to a park or recreation facilities. Regardless, the aspect of particularity singles out a location from others. In Vancouver, the particularity of space relates to a dense urban environment with multiple spaces of urban interest that are in the public realm. Starting with Stanley Park, but also extending to the North Shore and its numerous hikes and bike trails, to the urban beaches of Vancouver's West End and Westside, and now extending into East Vancouver with its crop of hipster micro-breweries, public amenity abounds and your proximity to this complex array of opportunities creates a particular value for any one space in the city. Proximity and particularity conspire and when view through the Bourdieuian lens of distinction, which states that individuals seek status value through signs of wealth or status, these choices about place and space come to reflect a form of personal value (Bourdieu,1984). So, again, particularity is the first element contributing to the potential for a virtuous circle of neoliberal development.

One thing to note about the element of particularity is that a coastline, or a ridgeline/mountain creates particularity. In Dallas, the few geographic particularities – White Rock Lake, Turtle Creek and the Kessler Park ridgeline all contribute to making special geographic areas that are desirable in their own right. The importance of water views and water access could be simply a need to have easy access to the edge of urbanity or a psychological place of urban respite. Nonetheless, coastlines, lakefronts

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and to a lesser extent, river access provides particularity as coastlines create both edges and limitations for the city.

The second element of the virtuous circle of neoliberalism is scarcity. Scarcity relates to amount of land available to make a city. In Vancouver, land is scarce. As noted, while Dallas has over 4,500 square miles of land available within 35 miles of its core, Vancouver has just 700 square miles. Many of these spaces can only be accessed by crossing bridges, making them physically further away from the center of the city. The lack of access created by bridges further exacerbates the intensity of development by further contributing to scarcity. In Vancouver, there are a limited number of lots that are accessible to Downtown, without having to cross a bridge. As such, the value of these lots increases. Another set of lots has excellent proximity to beaches and English Bay. These lots are also more valuable. I can identify many other neighborhoods in Vancouver that have special qualities of particularity that contribute to their scarcity.

Recreating these circumstances of scarcity and particularity in another location is difficult to do if the location is not already imbued with these qualities. It is possible when design is the only lead in a situation and you have unlimited resources and control of development. Such was the case when Beasley mobilized Vancouver policies in Abu Dhabi (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016). However, on the open prairie and in a city where the distinction of location is almost completely tied to single family housing, it is difficult to recreate circumstances of scarcity or particularity. It happens to a certain extent in neighborhoods like Preston Hollow, or in the exclusivity of the park cities of Highland and University Park. It also happens to a certain extent, near the west shore of White Rock Lake and it may begin to happen in proximity to Klyde Warren Park but beyond this, proximity is measured by miles and travel time is influenced by freeway access.

As noted earlier, scarcity in Vancouver is also driven by externalities. It is driven by Vancouver's position as the warmest place in a cold country and by its position as a safe landing spot in the minds of Chinese citizens. Until the next full Census, it will be difficult to fully understand the extent of the Asian influence on the Vancouver market, but there are a number of smaller studies that point to the continuing influence of trans-Pacific immigration on the Vancouver housing market (Ley, 2010; Yan, 2015).

As I noted, Dallas is a community without substantial public amenities. Advancing the recreational potential of the massive Trinity River basin creates a community amenity that could change the development equation of the lands adjacent to it. Lands proximate to the Trinity River basin may have particular attributes, combining access to amenities and views of Downtown Dallas that will make them more valuable.

Ultimately, Beasley hopes to deliver a version of this virtuous circle of neoliberal development to Dallas – the working of the planning system so that its increases in density are calibrated to deliver public good – it is too early to tell if these actions will be successful. So while we can say that the policies in motion from Vancouver to Dallas have been received and understood, it is too early to tell whether these approaches will ultimately be supported and implemented.

Finally, a review of Dallas Dream and policy mobilities illuminates the importance of private philanthropy in initiating change in Dallas. Establishing DCdS and hiring Larry Beasley are among a series of actions initiated through private philanthropy. The centrality of corporate philanthropy to progressive work in Dallas is perhaps an unusual extension of neoliberal policies, as more wealth is concentrated into the hands of the few, while taxation and re-distribution of wealth is limited under neo-liberal regimes. For public policy, this creates a unique situation whereby a deeper analysis of the potential of policy fit is eschewed in favor of learning missions of community leaders. The link

between policy mobilities and philanthropic investments is an area of potential investment for policy mobilities scholars.

6.2 - West Dallas Dream and Course Correction

The second question this dissertation asked is based on the fact that WDD is now seven years old and there are significant developments taking place in West Dallas and a number of other developments to come. As I engaged with a number of individuals involved in the initial WDD event, I asked if there was a need for course correction following WDD. This question is more complex than I had initially envisioned. Praise for the DCdS was by no means universal and the WDD is actually one among a string of earlier processes that advanced design conversations related to changes going forward in West Dallas. The DCdS and their WDD process marked a first attempt to embed these transactive and communicative and design focused approaches in the City of Dallas urban design process. They also marked a first attempt to directly engage the City of Dallas and its dark history of spatial injustice.

We are seven years after this embedding process was initiated and it is easy to see that WDD marks the first statements in a longer conversation created to bring design thinking back to the City of Dallas. WDD set a tone and attempted to further direct that tone through the development of design guidelines. However, these guidelines lack teeth. They are voluntary and it is not clear that the design language developed by the DCdS for West Dallas is practiced or acknowledged. In some senses, this is the result of timing. Many of the design guidelines assembled by the DDS are actually coming into play long after developments set their plans. In other cases, there is a pervasive belief that beyond determining density entitlements, there is no place in the planning process

for the city to leverage outcomes. As was noted, the only place where sufficient leverage to influence outcomes exists is with Tax Increment Financing (TIF) areas, where the receipt of TIF funds is tied to participating in a project design review.

As such, many developments built in West Dallas meet minimum development standards dictated by zoning. Some suggest that what is created maximizes developer profits at the expense of other community goals – such as the preservation of views, or the creation of interesting streetscapes (Anderson, Personal communication, 2016). Several participants lamented that the Sylvan 30 development was not sensitive to the view corridor from the bar at the Belmont Hotel (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; Anderson, Personal communication, 2016). A simple change in massing or configuration would have saved this view. Others suggested that the eventual loss of that view corridor would come sooner or later and so the fact that it happened sooner, while unfortunate, is part of a pattern that will lead to the inevitable loss of this view (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

So where the City of Vancouver keeps its density low and enters a conversation with developers when they want to go above that base, in Dallas, property values are rather low and allowable density is high. In this system, it is possible to build in any number of locations, without a need for any rezoning. The real limitation of the market relates to price, as it is clear that in many locations, more sophisticated concrete products are outside of market demand. Developers cannot get the price per square foot that would allow other types of development (Brown, Personal communication, 2014; MacGregor, Personal communication, 2015). The result is that Dallas developers are rarely asked to perform at level above minimum standards. These developments have streetscapes and plantings and build sidewalks, but they tend to be boxy and repetitive. A number of urban design interviewees confirmed this, although any drive through urban Dallas' new higher

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density neighborhoods reflects this experience (Bagley, Personal communication, 2016; Whitley, Personal communication, 2016). Historically, Dallas streets are boxy, banal and generally free of street level retail – and often not considerate of basic principles of crime prevention through environmental design, at least through the provision of eyes on the street at street level.

So is there a need for course correction? This is actually a broader question than was first intended, in that the real question for considerations might actually be – is there a need for course correction in the way that Dallas does planning generally? In the great swing from Keynesianism to neoliberalism, it is possible that in some ways, Dallas was already there – and that they missed that step involving a focus on community needs and not an idea of 'the city as a whole'. The corporatism suggested in a reading of the history of the planning of the City of Dallas would suggest that the city was actually among the earliest neoliberal cities, arriving at this way of working a full half century before the rest of the world caught up.

Vancouver and Dallas are to some extent polar opposites in the way that their actions relate to outcomes. In Vancouver, the commons are sacred and expanded upon and in fact, these commons form the base of shared space that facilitates densification. One can live in a space as small as 500 sq ft., if one leaves their space and is treated to a highly interesting and variable public commons.

One place where Dallas is developing a commons that is broadly accessible is on the Continental Bridge. The Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge, the soaring Calatrava-design arched suspension bridge that provided new direct access to West Dallas from the Woodall Rogers Freeway allowed for the decommissioning of the Continental Bridge for vehicular traffic and facilitated investment in its conversion to a walkway. The positioning of the

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Continental Bridge and the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge makes West Dallas an ideal location from which to view the dramatic skyline of the Downtown Dallas.

Early in my examination of West Dallas, I singled out the Continental Bridge as a defining element in the potential blending of longtime residents of West Dallas with newcomers who are moving into new apartment offerings. The Bridge and its connection to the Trinity River Basin, a basin in which the Trinity River normally takes up less than 5% of the space, represents the potential for a significant community amenity. The levee tops could be suitable for permanent infrastructure and the basin may be used for certain types of infrastructure. The Trinity Trust Foundation is also working to examine other ways that the Trinity Basin could be utilized for public good. The point is that the Continental Bridge is perhaps the first time that a major piece of civic infrastructure aimed squarely at the public realm was built in West Dallas. Citizens from West Dallas and other parts of Dallas noted how the Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge and the Phil Romano's Trinity Groves development represent a bit of a beachhead in the march of gentrification. For citizens of North Dallas, Trinity Groves represents a safe space over there, in what was for many white North Dallas residents, was considered a no-go zone. To the citizens of West Dallas, Trinity Groves also is seen as an incursion. The nature of this incursion and its acceptance by residents is mixed. "That stuff isn't for me – that isn't for us" was echoed by a number of residents in West Dallas, but there were still elements of the new facilities that all people were able to enjoy, however, even these are quickly turning over in the face of new development (Community member #1, Personal communication; Community member # 2, Personal communication). A hot dog vendor in a cool late deco era location attracted a broad cross section of residents, but it has, after only operating for a few years, been torn down to facilitate new condo development.

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Others suggested that the investment and interest in West Dallas was good, but that it was essential that West Dallas residents, particularly those in LaBajada and neighboring Los Altos, the first communities to face the incoming changes – were ready to speak with a unified voice for community needs, which could include a greater piece of the potential employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. Even Beasley noted that the City has been slow to deliver on pieces of infrastructure and programming that were promised during the WDD process and subsequent design charrettes (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

When I spoke to interviewees about the Continental Bridge and a focus on improving the levee as a park amenity, the response was almost universally positive. For those not from the area, they saw these amenities as being important additions to the city. For those from the area, the new amenities and their position in the community represented a point of pride. To some, the Continental Bridge represented a turning point in the City's treatment of West Dallas. The City was finally investing in amenities 'over here'. Others were more skeptical and saw these improvements as less focused on the existing residents and more focused on positioning lands in West Dallas as attractive locations for future investment (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015). They saw the improvements as tied to eventual gentrification (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015; Community member #1, Personal communication, 2016). Many questioned whether existing residents would be able to afford to live in the community once changes began to occur (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015; Community member #1, Personal communication, 2015) . For some, there was awareness of the potential to move to newer housing in older neighborhoods of Oak Cliff to the south (Community member #2, Personal communication). For some, this possibility was an unfortunate compromise and loss of community, while for others, it represented an opportunity to parlay current

investments into better housing in more established neighborhoods(Community member #1, Personal communication, 2015; Community member #2, Personal communication).

WDD, like CityPlan, was a visioning process and does not prescribe zoning or determine future land use in areas. It is a process negotiating agreement on high-level goals, but it differs from CityPlan in that the articulated goals of WDD did not become city policy driving development. Dallas development policy is already generous in its offering of development potential for land owners. In fact, generally, the market potential and the existing zoning are aligned. This is a different situation than in Vancouver, under CityPlan. In the CityPlan example, developers hoping to get valuable additional floorspace would move to negotiations with the city. Through these negotiations, the City of Vancouver is able to extract development improvements from the developer. These may include design considerations, or amenities. The Vancouver system creates a win/win scenario for developers and the city, but it is based on two things. First, it holds potential densities at an amount that allows densification, but this densification does not represent the full potential of what might be built at a particular location. In the Dallas situation, the DCdS is only positioned to force a conversation on design, when the developer seeks TIF funds to assist their project.

While the DCdS and West Dallas Dream may face limitations in their statutory potential to shape development, DDS is able to use amenities related to bond exercises to seek to shape development. Butch MacGregor described one situation where the DCdS team sought to influence the design of buildings that would eventually be built on what has become known as the cut through streets. West Dallas is divided, from east to west by the Union Pacific Railway right of way. This at grade right of way is only crossed at the east end of the study area, on Beckley Avenue and on the west side, at Sylvan Ave. For the mile in-between, there is no way across the fenced rail right of way. Part of

the TIF Agreement for West Dallas will see the construction of three cut-throughs. North south streets in both the north and south part of West Dallas terminate at the Union Pacific. The cut-throughs would create three underpasses which would allow a direct north south connection across the easternmost neighborhood of West Dallas. From a land development perspective, these cut-throughs create additional value for land adjacent. Streets that are isolated suddenly become central.

In many ways, WDD takes clear aim at the Dallas growth machine and suggests another path, whereby a more controlled and broadly democratic city operates on behalf of all Dallas citizens, regardless of the size of their land-holdings or their stake in the business community. Such a change could, in the fullness of time, build towards creating a version of the virtuous circle of neoliberal growth that has driven Vancouver growth. This change is not an immediate set of actions but, rather, is a longer-term exercise requiring a sustained approach to changing the planning culture in the City of Dallas.

In the realm of course correction, WDD suggested a path forward that would respect cultural differences and would to some extent, attempt to bring other cultures into spaces where they would be able to benefit from the changes taking place in their community, rather than sit idly and wait for changes to happen. Gentrification is potentially brings harm to local populations, or it can be a force of positive change through the development of new opportunities. Beasley (Personal communication, 2016) noted that through waves of what would obviously be gentrification impacting Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, the approval of new housing was done in lock-step with other policies that were designed to ensure that there would be more affordable housing. Programs were also developed to address the opportunity to build local businesses and to create opportunities for those that otherwise might only see the negative side of gentrification (Beasley, Personal communication, 2016).

Employment programs included trades training initiatives intended to bridge youth into full-time employment. In some cases, these programs would move beyond just providing training and would assist new workers with the purchase of workwear (steel toe boots, hard hats, etc.) to lower barriers to participation in the workforce. In some cases, larger projects develop set asides where a certain portion of their workforce is derived from a designated area, or population. Innovations of this sort have been advanced in Vancouver, but they have also been used across western Canada in dealings of business and First Nations (equivalent to American Indians). These approaches have also been tried in urban situations, such as work done with Somali immigrants in Minneapolis.

Lopez (Personal communication, 2015) noted a situation where longstanding Hispanic West Dallas residents showed entrepreneurial interest through the sale of food in close proximity to food trucks operating at the end of the Continental Bridge walkway. The food truck operators asked them to leave, citing the fact that these individuals were without permits, which the food truck operators had (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015). While Lopez reflected on the health and safety concerns and the need for permitting in such situations, she also pointed out how the formalism of American systems can be a barrier to economic participation for those not familiar with these systems (Personal communication, 2015). She suggested that there could be programming to assist local citizens to build opportunities to engage the newfound focus on West Dallas and turn this focus to their own economic advantage (Lopez, Personal communication, 2015).

Other interviewees noted the lack of job opportunities emerging from the new investments in West Dallas. While there were many new businesses in West Dallas, they suggested that it was more likely that West Dallas resident would find work at the new Chick-fil-a, rather than at an emerging high end restaurant in Trinity Groves. They cited a

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hierarchy of food service jobs which sees fast food at an entry level and finer dining as higher up the scale. Programs to bridge local residents to emerging job opportunities would go some distance to ameliorating the impact of the changes taking place in West Dallas.

I heard anecdotally that at least one person from LaBajada had worked in the kitchen at a restaurant in Trinity Groves. Beyond this, there was only one other employee I could identify linking Trinity Groves to LaBajada.

Finally, there was significant discussion from both sides about the nature of the Neighborhood Stabilization Overlay applied to LaBajada. The overlay limits the heights of new development and essentially eliminates the economic opportunity to sell properties. For some, this is a gift as it eliminates the potential for speculation in their neighborhood along with tax increases as a result of rising home values (Community member #1, Personal communication). Others question the integrity of the administrative process leading to the establishment of the Neighborhood Stabilization Overlay and suggest that it places a burden on the potential of local citizens to be free to utilize their home equity (MacGregor, 2015). The cap on values means a cap on opportunities for some, as the neighborhood is frozen. MacGregor suggests that the 80% threshold required to remove the Overlay means that it is likely going to be around for a long time (Personal communication, 2015).

6.3 - What Can Other Cities Learn from West Dallas?

When I embarked on this investigation, I thought that perhaps the City of Dallas, a city living in its own historic shadow of the management of racial differences, could, through the application of innovative approaches – lead to positive change. I hoped that what Brown called an anthropological approach – an approach that admits to the difficult

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history of gentrification and displacement in Dallas – could find a path to better outcomes for those living in West Dallas (Personal communication, 2014). What I found was that even though those embarking on a process of change may do so with strong methods and an eye to justice, the fact is that cities have a certain inertia or path dependency which ensures that there is slow change towards new ways of working.

What can be learned from WDD and the establishment of the DCdS is that cultural change is a slow process. If we look at the movements towards cultural and justice changes in our own time, we can see that it can take up to a generation to start to see change. The structure and placement of power within systems also impact the ability to make changes quickly. For the deliverers of the WDD process, they must continually fight a rearguard action against policies already in motion. They can seek opportunities to leverage progressive change, but the piling of historic decisions favoring developers over the public interest works against change. It would not be difficult to foresee the potential dismantling of all of the progress towards change in the approach to governance in Dallas within a single administration.

This situation in Dallas, where the power to influence change is limited, points to three paths. The first path is one that pays lip service to the community changes and plans advanced through the WDD process and keeps the forces of planning for community and increased public realm at bay. The second path is to get behind the approaches advanced through WDD and to embrace its community focused approach to design in an effort to build the type of community that can attract talent and opportunity in contemporary North America, but does so with an eye towards building positive interculturalism, addressing historical inequities, in support of a stronger city moving forward. A possible third path would be – to abandon these changes completely.

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Specific findings that other communities may glean from this investigation of the WDD process suggest that:

1. The issues addressed in this dissertation move beyond just race and language. It is not just race and language that can impact or limit participation in a planning process. WDD addressed race and language in some of its planning processes but the imbalance that exists in West Dallas also relates to economic power imbalances. Addressing these economic power imbalances should be part of a planning process. To not address these imbalances point to continued enclavism.

2. Power in planning can either rest with the public and its interest or in the interests of the development sector. Part of being able to leverage power and assert power in a planning process is derived from your certainty that developers will seek what your community has to offer. As such, amenities, whether they are parks, interesting places to shop, drinking establishments, venues or other attributes lend to the overall amenity package of a place and can act as a lever to allow a city to demand performance of a developer in advancing urban densification. An absence of these attributes may also mean an absence of power to direct developers to perform. A city needs to be at a competitive advantage over other places in order for it to exercise control. If what my city has to offer is the same as the city down the road, a potential developer may just choose that second option if my city is too draconian in its planning approaches. In a DFW context, Dallas and Fort Worth are in constant immediate competition and beyond this, Dallas is in competition with its suburbs. In such a situation, Dallas's potential to leverage better outcomes may be compromised as policy developers face many competitors in a more competitive policy arena. The

Vancouver policy arena is smaller and the City of Vancouver with its unique amenity attributes trumps all local and regional competitors.

3. Part of the ability to create the potential for increased development lies in showing restraint in your planning process. While you may wish to signal that you would like 25 story plus buildings in an area, it must be clear that to achieve such densities, there will be a need to add to the amenity package available in a given location. Without those investments in amenity, a much lower density is appropriate. The restraint to say that a given area should have a ten story building unless the developer builds in incentives takes forward planning and continued political will, even in the face of court challenges.

When I first embarked on this research, I believed that what I saw happening in the community – the new development at Trinity Groves – Chicken Scratch – the emerging urban apartments were part of a suite of possibilities unleashed by the WDD process. My understanding of the gentrification process taking place was closely tied to the suggestions of WDD. It was a neat encapsulation because the restaurant offerings of West Dallas Investments had the look and feel of urban development opportunities taking place elsewhere. It would be easy to suggest that there was a cause and effect relationship between the WDD process and the emerging outcomes in West Dallas. It was easy to conflate the Continental Bridge project and the Trinity Groves project as a considered assemblage of new insertions, constructed to trigger renewal/gentrification – while the WDD process invited difference and balance to advance a story of a virtuous cycle of urban development in West Dallas, while at the same time ensuring those living in West Dallas and in some cases, families rooted to West Dallas for over one-hundred years would be able to find value and potential in the renewal of West Dallas..

The story I arrive at is a more complex understanding of these terms and of the players and their development in West Dallas   As a policy mobility exercise, had WDD catalyzed as I had envisioned, it would be easy to prove that a policy mobility had mobilized action in the City of Dallas. The story is of a Vancouver planning leader who works with local community and supports creation of a space which utilizes the best attributes of Granville Island and the False Creek Walkway and facilitates development of a new trail and food assemblage. Neat – provable and clean. The actuality of these policies in motion is more muddy. West Dallas is in the cross-hairs of capitalist development and has been for up to fifteen years. Design charrettes had been held in West Dallas as early as 2003 and discussions of the development of a signature bridge to West Dallas pre-date these charrettes. The DCdS came late to the party suggesting that the same old rules of engagement in West Dallas would repeat the history of displacement and the elimination of urban cultures in Dallas. It would seem that their suggested route to a better city had the power to change development from a focus on developers and their profits to a focus on the public interest.

Unfortunately, reality is less straight forward. There are opportunities to learn from the relationship between the development sector, the community and the DCdS as mediated through the WDD process. However, explaining all that has gone on in West Dallas and the changes taking place today, it is difficult to tie this up with a neat bow that says this is what flowed as a result of the policy mobilities initiated by Beasley. It is easy to say that Beasley has tilted urban aspirationalism in the City of Dallas. Beasley has introduced a new crop of urban experts and their supporters, in the City of Dallas to a more balanced form of urban development – one that considers both public need and the needs of the development sector.

6.4 - Design Charrette Futuring – Is this a Useful Tool?

The dissertation asked "can a mini-charrette tool which considers visual change and then asks citizens to project forward, be useful and is this approach adaptable to other uses in the review of urban planning interventions?" The Time Lapse Charrette Futuring (TLCF) method was based on Co-design charrette principles used in the execution of charrettes for Vancouver's CityPlan process. As noted, I was trained as a charrette drawer to allow my participation in this process. The Co-design charrette method involved a group of four to five citizens who participated in making a drawing of an imagined space, in order to shape understanding for designers and decision makers about public demand and willingness to pay for increased streetscape design and amenities. The charrette became an embodiment of public will towards certain design outcomes.

The method I proposed was different in a number of ways. First, I did not have the benefit of inserting my drawing process into a broader process that oriented participants to design thinking and future casting for the city. In the Co-design method, at least 30 minutes are spent orienting participants to the task. My method provided no such build-up of understating. The method proved to be moderately successful in some instances, though overall the method did not appear to work as hypothesized. Of the eighteen meetings set, I emerged with six drawings. Four of the drawings reflect a fairly rapid urbanization, while two of the drawings reflect efforts to moderately adjust the status quo.

There were a number of challenges in getting participants to co-create drawings. These challenges are summarized below:

1. The drawings were not at the right location – In some cases, the drawings I selected did not meet the needs of the participants. Either the view was at

the wrong location, or the view failed to capture the elements the interviewee

wishes to talk about. To address this, it might be possible to view Google

Streetview with the participants and pick a location to draw at. This may be

more difficult as the completion of the set-up sheets with the sequences of

drawings requires some lead time to complete. For one drawing, a

participant was able to access Google Streetview and a printer, and they

printed the sheet which became the basis for the drawing. This worked well.

In another instance, the drawer and the community member walked to a

nearby vantage point and created a drawing based on the actual scene. This

also worked well, although it did not engage the time sequencing offered

through Google Street View.

2. Some participants were less visually inclined and it became clear that they

would need more time and consideration, to make them ready to participate

in a design charrette futuring drawing session. It is likely the interviews with

these participants would have worked better if these drawings were

completed within focus groups. Limitations in assembling groups and

gathering interviewees at a single location made the establishment of groups

difficult. While local citizens might have most benefitted from a group

discussion, the schedules of these local citizens tended not to align. Many of

these blue collar workers worked multiple jobs and they were not able to

devote time to participation.

The drawings were perhaps most successful when they were executed

in conversations with design professionals, however, their input often tended

to reflect either the planning codes and design guidelines or just good

planning principles associated with urban intensification. These would

include elements like eyes on the street, or the creation of key nodes. Generally, the planning and design professionals were less likely to indicate their own wishes for a location and relied on their own interpretations of what constituted good design and appropriate density for given locations.

3. The drawings that best reflected neighborhood change were both the most dramatic and in that sense, the most desirable. Based on this reflection, it is possible that the TLCF method is actually an approach biased towards neighborhood change over neighborhood stasis, or incremental changes.

4. Community development workers and drawings – a number of interview participants who were happy to comment on the West Dallas Dream planning process and on the rate of change in gentrification in the community, were less likely to participate in an exercise that prescribed community changes. Generally, it was indicated that these drawings should be completed by community members and should not be the purview of community development practitioners. In some cases, community development workers with some design training would still provide drawings, these drawings reflected their interpretation of the needs of the community.

5. Setting up the drawing – the challenge of completing these drawings is that they must be completed in a rapid manner. With drawing, the initial set-ups of horizon lines and basic relationships within the drawings is essential. An initial layout that makes one element too large or too small will mean that the drawing fails to reflect the reality of the scene. In this sense, this is different from Co-design drawing, which asks participants to create an imagined space which may represent an actual location, or set of locations in the community. This is different from a drawing that needs to represent a

realistic space to fit into a sequence of images. To address this impediment,

the drawing practitioner could complete basic outlines for a number of

images.

While the hypothesized utility of the method failed to materialize, the completion of

the drawings did offer an opportunity to consider and discuss urban change through

gentrification. The drawings were an effective prompt for discussions about the changes

taking place in the community. Even if the participants didn't participate in completing a

drawing, they were willing to offer useful comments that may inform efforts to course

correct the development underway in West Dallas.

6.5 - Concluding Remarks

It is clear from this examination of WDD that policy ideas flowed between Vancouver

and Dallas through the work of Larry Beasley. Mr. Beasley's work with Mr. Brown

created knowledge of local context that allowed these ideas to arrive more easily,

however, it should be noted that many of the ideas advanced by the DCdS have met with

opposition, or have been ignored. The exception now, is when developers wish to

engage tax increment funding (TIF) mechanisms to bring additional resources to bear on

a project. In these cases, DCdS has been able to enter into conversations and has been

able to attempt to move developers toward stronger consideration of design changes in

their projects.

As a result of this investigation, while one may be pleased with the progressive

approaches adopted in WDD, clearly there is more to do to create opportunities for long-

time Dallas residents to participate in emerging opportunities in West Dallas. To make

this happen, the City and its institutions will need to address changes that might be

required to bridge citizens of West Dallas to employment, or to assemble celebratory spaces where citizens can '"become together" (MacFarlane, 2011-1).

The idea that the innovations that were being advanced in West Dallas may be a beacon of hope for other cities that are wrestling with movements from enclavism to interculturalism was perhaps too hopeful. The rate of change is perhaps more plodding than it appeared to be when I embarked on this project. While the approach initiated in West Dallas through WDD is likely the best and most hopeful path to follow, it is not clear that the approach taken will lead to better outcomes. Unless the above noted needs for course correction are addressed, it seems unlikely that there will be significant best practices to learn from WDD.

Finally, the TLCF was an attempt to use charrette methods to elicit comments on future planning scenarios. Though the method proved not to be useful as it was imagined, the research netted at least two findings worth noting in this conclusion. First, the use of Google Street View images is a useful approach for the discussion and consideration of urban changes, particularly those changes resulting from gentrification. The second point to note was that the completion of TLCF drawings and other attempts at completing drawings would tend to refute Beasley's assertion that visual elements of a planning process constitute an action that creates a more equal playing field than language. While it does perhaps shift the field, the fact is that visual and design literacy are two specific forms of literacy that require training and consideration.

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Appendix One – General Script for Setting-up Interviews

Scripts for Phone Interview Planning – West Dallas Dream Study

Script One –Larry Beasley

Hello - My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because of your role in executing the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from Brent Brown of bcWorkshop.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in a 45 minute interview focusing on urban planning in Dallas and the West Dallas Dream (WDD) process. At the end of the interview, you will also participate in creating a drawing that will depict a desired future state in West Dallas. I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

- the benefits and limitations of using the charrette drawing method to review urban change in the urban planning review processes.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. You can also withdraw at any time, or refuse to answer a particular question. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give

you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Because of your central role in the West Dallas Dream process, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. It is my understanding that your consulting practice may include a reliance on expertise you developed through working in the City of Vancouver. It is my intention to draw comparisons between Dallas and Vancouver, where possible. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities in drawing such inferences and so I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential.

All material gathered through this interview would be encrypted and stored in a secure location.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Two – Brent Brown

Brent, it's Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in an hour interview focusing on urban planning in Dallas and the West Dallas Dream (WDD) process. You will also participate in creating a drawing that will depict a desired future state in West Dallas. I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

- the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

- the benefits and limitations of using the charrette drawing method to review urban change in the urban planning review processes.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. You can also withdraw at any time, or refuse to answer a particular question. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Because of your central role in the West Dallas Dream process, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. It is my intention to draw comparisons between Dallas and Vancouver, where possible, but also to build on our earlier conversation, from May of 2014. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities and I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential.

All material gathered through this interview would be encrypted and stored in a secure location.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Three – City Employee - General

Hello - My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in a 45 minute interview focusing on urban planning in Dallas and the West Dallas Dream (WDD) process. If you agree, you will also direct my completion of a drawing depicting a desired future state in West Dallas. I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

- the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

- the benefits and limitations of using the charrette drawing method to review urban change in the urban planning review processes.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. You can also withdraw at any time, or refuse to answer a particular question. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Because of your central role in the West Dallas Dream process, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities and I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential. All material gathered through this interview would be encrypted and stored in a secure location. If you would not like to be identified by name in the study, we can still proceed with an interview and I will respect your wishes.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Four – Developer

Hello - My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in an hour interview focusing on urban planning in Dallas and the West Dallas Dream (WDD) process. You will also participate in creating a drawing that will depict a desired future state in West Dallas. I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

- the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

- the benefits and limitations of using the charrette drawing method to review urban change in the urban planning review processes.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. You can also withdraw at any time, or refuse to answer a particular question. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Because of your central role in the West Dallas Dream process, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities and I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential. The information that you provide, in its raw format, will be encrypted and will be stored in a safe location under lock and key. If you would not like to be identified by name in the study, we can still proceed with an interview and I will respect your wishes.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Five – Community Organization Representative

Hello - My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the fast movement of policy ideas between places and will discuss urban planning for West Dallas Dream. You're eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents and online sources.

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- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

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- if the charrette drawing method of reviewing urban change in a process may be a useful tool for urban planning review processes.

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Because of your central role in the West Dallas Dream process, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of

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completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities and I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential. The information that you provide, in its raw format, will be encrypted and will be stored in a safe location under lock and key.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Six – Citizen Participant of the WDD Process

Hello - My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the fast movement of policy ideas between places and will discuss urban planning for West Dallas Dream. You're eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents.

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Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision. The information that you provide, in its raw format, will be encrypted and will be stored in a safe location under lock and key. Your identity will not be revealed as part of this interview process. The

results of the interview will be encrypted when saved and will be placed in a secure,

locked location.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about

participation, I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Seven – Vancouver Planning Experts

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If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in an hour interview focusing on urban planning in Vancouver. Overall, the investigation seeks to understand the links between planning approaches adopted through CityPlan and a 2009 process in Dallas executed by Larry Beasley, called West Dallas Dream (WDD). I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

- the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

- the benefits and limitations of using the charrette drawing method to review urban change in the urban planning review processes.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. You can also withdraw at any time, or refuse to answer a particular question. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Because of your strong understanding of urban planning in the City of Vancouver and of planning generally, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities and I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential. The information that you provide, in its raw format, will be encrypted and will be stored in a safe location under lock and key. If you would not like to be identified by name in the study, we can still proceed with an interview and I will respect your wishes.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

If you have any more questions about this process or if you need to contact me about participation, I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Scripts for E-mail Interview Planning – West Dallas Dream Study

Script One –Larry Beasley

Mr. Beasley,

My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because of your role in executing the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from Brent Brown of bcWorkshop.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in a 45 minute interview focusing on urban planning in Dallas and the West Dallas Dream (WDD) process. At the end of the interview, you will also participate in creating a drawing that will depict a desired future state in West Dallas. I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

- the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

- the benefits and limitations of using the charrette drawing method to review urban change in the urban planning review processes.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. You can also withdraw at any time, or refuse to answer a particular question. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Because of your central role in the West Dallas Dream process, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. It is my understanding that your consulting practice may include a reliance on expertise you developed through working in the City of Vancouver. It is my intention to draw comparisons between Dallas and Vancouver, where possible. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities in drawing such inferences and so I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential.

All material gathered through this interview would be encrypted and stored in a secure location.

I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030.

In order to set a suitable time for an interview, I will call you at: XXXXX phone number at XXXXX time on XXXX day, the XXXXXX.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Two – Brent Brown

Brent, it's Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in an hour interview focusing on urban planning in Dallas and the West Dallas Dream (WDD) process. You will also participate in creating a drawing that will depict a desired future state in West Dallas. I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

- the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

- the benefits and limitations of using the charrette drawing method to review urban change in the urban planning review processes.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. You can also withdraw at any time, or refuse to answer a particular question. If you'd like to participate, we can go ahead and schedule a time for me to meet with you to give you more information. If you need more time to decide if you would like to participate, you may also call or email me with your decision.

Because of your central role in the West Dallas Dream process, I would like to identify you in the study. The results of our conversation will be used for the purpose of completing this dissertation and may form a part of upcoming related scholarly work, including a book, or an academic article. It is my intention to draw comparisons between Dallas and Vancouver, where possible, but also to build on our earlier conversation, from May of 2014. I acknowledge that there may be sensitivities and I would offer you the option of keeping part of the conversation confidential.

I may be reached at: wayne.beggs@mavs.uta.edu, or at 604 949 1030.

In order to set a suitable time for an interview, I will call you at: XXXXX phone number at XXXXX time on XXXX day, the XXXXXX.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Three – City Employee - General

Hello - My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will take part in a 45 minute interview focusing on urban planning in Dallas and the West Dallas Dream (WDD) process. If you agree, you will also direct my completion of a drawing depicting a desired future state in West Dallas. I would like to audio record your question responses and then use the information to understand:

- the flow of policy ideas between cities;

- if there are ways to improve the WDD process;

- if the approach taken in WDD may be useful in other settings; and to understand,

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In order to set a suitable time for an interview, I will call you at: XXXXX phone number at XXXXX time on XXXX day, the XXXXXX.

Thank you so much.

Wayne M. Beggs

PhD Candidate, University of Texas at Arlington

College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Script Four – Developer

Hello - My name is Wayne Beggs and I am a student from the College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington. I'm calling to talk to you about participating in my research study. This is a study about the movement of policy ideas between places and the planning process used for West Dallas Dream. You are eligible to be in this study because you participated in the West Dallas Dream planning process. I obtained your contact information from a review of the process planning documents.

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Script Seven – Vancouver Planning Experts

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College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs

Appendix Two – Interview Script for Participants

Questions for IRB Protocol – Wayne Beggs – West Dallas Dream

Data I will seek includes documents and reports available in the public realm and any data shared by the City of Dallas. It is anticipated that interviews with participants may yield additional data.

An oral interview will be conducted. It is anticipated that interviews will be moderate in length (45 minutes to one hour) and conducted in person. The questions will be asked in person and will take place at a neutral location, agreeable to the interviewee. The interview will be taped and transcribed. The drawings completed will be used in the analysis section of the paper. To present the drawings, I will complete small storysheets with the sequential Google Streetview Images (a story sheet sample appears as Appendix One. Participants will review urban changes occurring in the pictures and will then discuss an optimized future state for that location. I will use a co-design approach to direct a drawing that shows desired changes.   When I interview community members, I will conduct the interviews with focus groups, rather than with individual community members.

I will not ask Vancouver interviewees to complete the drawings.

Section A – Questions for All Participants

The following questions will be asked of all participants:

    1.   How did your participation in the West Dallas Dream visioning process change your view of the City of Dallas?

    2.   How did West Dallas Dream differ from other interactions you have had with the City of Dallas? How was it the same?

3. Describe the West Dallas Dream process as you recall it?

4. What community interests were reflected in West Dallas Dream? What community interests were not reflected?

5. Do you believe West Dallas Dream increased opportunities for local citizens?

6. What do you like about the community changes that have occurred since West Dallas Dream was completed in 2009?

7. What do you dislike?

8. If changes could be made in the development of West Dallas, what would they be?

9. Has West Dallas Dream and the subsequent developments changed the way that you use the/your community?

10. Did the West Dallas Dream planning process change how you think about the City of Dallas?

11. How is West Dallas Dream different from other things the City has done?

12. How is it the same?

13. Have patterns of traffic changed as a result of West Dallas Dream?

a. Car traffic?

b. Walking?

c. Bicycles

14. What do you feel are the best parts/assets of West Dallas?

15. Were you aware that this project shares common approaches to urban work completed in other cities?

16. Do you know about the approaches in these other cities?

17. Are you familiar with those that advanced WDD – What do you know about their work?

Section B – Questions for City Officials and Developers

For City officials and developers, I will have some additional questions that seek to gain understanding of the culture of urban planning in the City of Dallas:

1. Did you know about West Dallas Dream and the Urban Design Guidelines before starting your work in the area?
2. Do you reference these documents as you execute work in West Dallas?
3. Did these documents change the ways that you work in West Dallas?

Section C – Questions to be Asked of All Local Residents – Both West Dallas Dream Participants and Non-participants

For participants from the community, who are participating in the focus groups, I will include some questions regarding changes in the community?

1. Do you see changes in who you see in the community - on the streets and in businesses, over the last five years?
2. Do you feel that your community is changing?
3. Can you describe what you think these changes are?
4. Do you go to any of the new businesses in the neighborhood?
5. Do you know of anyone in the neighborhood that works at these new businesses?
6. If you were to go someplace in the community for pictures of a major milestone (such as a Quincenara, or a Wedding) where would that be?

7.   Do you feel that your community is growing stronger, or is becoming weaker?

Section D – Questions for Vancouver Planning Experts Re: City Plan

In order to obtain an up-to-date understanding of CityPlan's impact on interculturality, I will ask four urban planning experts a series of specific questions about CityPlan's impact.

1. What do you believe are the most important impacts of the CityPlan process?
2. Did the CityPlan process change the political landscape of the City of Vancouver?
3. How did CityPlan contribute to interculturality in the City of Vancouver?
4.   Are the learnings from the CityPlan process portable? Can they inform policy approaches in other settings?
5.   What about the Vancouver planning and political landscape might limit the portability of CityPlan learnings?
6.   If the CityPlan learnings are portable, are there adaptations that would need to be made to make a similar process work in a city with more significant racial enclavism?

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