VITAL PUBLICS:

DIY URBANISM AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

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

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without Riverside Arts District, a place I have come to intimately know and love. I am incredibly grateful to my fellow DIY Urbanists, especially Debby, Jessica, Aaron, Terri, Kelly, Suzanne and Naomi, who co-produced Riverside Arts District with me into an enchanting, creative and collective space. I am thankful for their friendships, their openness, trust, generosity and patience as I fumbled at times in my role between researcher and DIY Urbanist.

I am incredibly grateful for the direction provided by my faculty mentors, especially my chair, Enid Arvidson. Reading Foucault as an undergraduate student was one of the most influential moments of my academic career. Foucault's insights on subjectivity, his theory of power and their implications regarding modernist assumptions of truth, justice, politics, and ethics, positioned me on a new intellectual trajectory. Drinking in as much poststructural and feminist theory as possible. I desired to envision and enact a postcapitalist politics, although I lacked the necessary language and imaginary at the time. As fruitful poststructural theory was in deconstructing relations of power, I felt wanting in how to apply these frameworks to collective political action. Enid's introduction to J.K. Gibson-Graham's work was another 'moment of presence'. Enid directed me towards a path where I could connect poststructural insights to pragmatic action and has continually pushed and supported me throughout this research project. I am also grateful to my other committee members, Colleen Casey and Karabi Bezboruah, as well as former faculty members, Carl Grodach and Susan Hekman, who have always been willing to provide additional guidance and encouragement.

This research also depended on others who were not written into the narrative, but were nonetheless, essential to its completion. When I first began the PhD program, I found a kindred sprit in Brittany Rodriguez. We commiserated and laughed during play dates with our kids as we struggled to balance our lives as moms, spouses and students. After Brittany graduated, I was incredibly fortunate to meet other doctoral students, Ann Foss and Dian Nostikasari, who became a vital support system, pushing me to submit papers for conferences and journals, to apply for jobs, and of course, to complete my dissertation.

Finally, I am incredibly grateful to my family - my father, Rob, who has been my sounding board and champion, my sister, Vanessa, who has always made time for me when I needed it most, and my mother, Gerry, who has cared for my children, prepared multiple dinners, provided invaluable emotional and financial support, and fixed innumerable life problems when I just didn't seem to have enough time or energy. My husband, Mark, has always been my greatest supporter. He has never waivered in his support of my goals. He has never complained about my pitiful adjunct salary, when I had to work nights or when I dragged him to the field. Mark embraces life; he radiates *jouissance* and has been a constant inspiration for me throughout this process. Finally, my children, Fiona and Winnie, who have given me much needed moments of play, joy, silliness and unconditional love - I dedicate my dissertation to them.

July 12, 2016

Abstract

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Lefebvre's concept of Right to the City has been predominantly employed by critical theorists to analyze resistant spatial practices such as Occupy Wall Street (e.g. Marcuse 2009). However, influenced by Nietzsche, Lefebvre's theory of the production of space as simultaneously perceived, conceived and lived suggests that the political may emerge out of novel spatial and bodily experiences. Focusing on Lefebvre's interest in the body, affect and space, I construct a vital reading of the right to the city to explore how such spatial practices may not be explicitly resistant to capitalism yet engender postcapitalist possibilities. Using this theoretical framework, I analyze Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism as a vital form of Lefebvre's right to the city. I argue that because DIY Urbanism focuses on *things* that matter to people – streets, buildings, lots, etc. – these projects assemble individuals who represent diverse identities, interests and class positionings. Although this assemblage of people, things and capital can certainly catalyze gentrification, these open-ended and open-sourced projects also allow individuals to actively produce and experience urban space as a shared, collective project that can accommodate a wide range of uses and inhabitants.

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To explore this potential, this dissertation focused on the Six Points neighborhood in Fort Worth, Texas. Through archival research, extensive fieldwork and interviews with DIY Urbanists, artists, residents, city officials and developers, I tracked how these projects enabled feelings of generosity, radical belonging, collective ownership and *jouissance* through the creation and pleasurable experience of a community garden, participatory art projects and other pop-up spatial interventions. By collectively producing and experiencing space as Riverside Arts District, the DIY Urbanism projects created the conditions of possibility for postcapitalist publics. However, the assemblage was fragile and began to fragment after becoming increasingly entangled with neoliberal city and development interests. The dissertation closes with a discussion as to how planners can help build capacity for these nascent postcapitalist possibilities through a renewed commitment to co-producing the continually elusive, just city.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a story of contingencies of what might have been, what is and what could still emerge for Six Points, an urban neighborhood in the east side of Fort Worth, Texas. I could simply tell the story of Six Points as 'capitalism wins again', 'the failures of urban planning', 'the exclusionary power of social and cultural capital', 'NIMBYism, or 'artsdriven gentrification'. However, Six Points is not just a story – it is a complicated, often contradictory, mashing and weaving of bodies and buildings, affects and zoning codes, pallets and place names, tweets and bullets, murals, money, memories, for sale signs, garden beds, guerilla crosswalks, trees, weeds, foreclosures and meetings behind closed doors. How should we make sense of this assemblage of disparate elements? Does it matter, if at the time of this writing, a developer is rebranding Six Points into "River East", packaging the neighborhood into an entertainment and consumption zone where one can experience "an authentic urban lifestyle"? Although ground hasn't broken for the proposed mixed use, high density development, some artists and art galleries have already left, the community garden has been dismantled and the diverse group of Do-It-Yourself Urbanists has been fragmented, marginalized and dismissed by city officials and the developer.

Although Six Points' most recent development plans certainly suggest that one could tell its story as the all too familiar narrative regarding the neoliberalization of urban governance and development, characterized by market-based logic and interests trumping all else. However, Six Points should not be parsed down to a singular story of 'capitalism wins again'. Tracing the relationships that constitute Six Points as an ever-emergent

urban assemblage of both human and nonhuman actants enables the possibility of identifying where and when Six Points could have been (and could still become) something other than River East - when multiple rights to the street and its spaces were claimed and accommodated, when alternative, collective and inclusive definitions of spatial ownership were articulated, and when ethical and cooperative economic and social projects based on the street were enacted. Indeed, Six Points is still considered by many to be Riverside Arts District and not River East - at least not yet.

Certainly, this analysis of Six Points as a story of contingencies is made possible in part by my particular theoretical framing. I find inspiration in Lefebvre's Right to the City and his insights regarding the production of space in order to draw together theoretical strands from critical theory, poststucturalism and assemblage urbanism. Analyzing Riverside Arts District, as a vital assemblage brought together through a series of DIY Urbanism interventions constituting a right to the city, I explore the tensions and possibilities for enacting postcapitalist projects, publics and spaces through the unauthorized and creative appropriation of urban space. In other words, how might novel and enchanting assemblages of affects, discourses, bodies, things and spaces enable noncommodified, cooperative urban experiences and lead to collectivist economic outcomes?

Although scholars share the concern that right to the city has been co-opted for neoliberal purposes under the guise of "good governance" (Mayer 2012), they diverge in their understanding of right to the city's relationship with justice and radical politics. For example, some scholars argue that marginalized groups can employ right to the city as a political strategy in order to explicitly resist capitalism and advance social justice agendas (Marcuse 2009; Harvey 2012; Mayer 2012; Mitchell 2003). However, others, such as Soja (2010) and Dikeç (2002; 2009) depart from this interpretation by emphasizing the contingency of justice claims and coalitions produced not only through social relations but also through spatiality itself. They argue the right to the city is a form of 'spatial justice' enabling diverse individuals and groups that do not necessarily share the same class identity to form political alliances and agendas challenging exploitative and unjust policies and practices. Purcell (2002; 2003; 2013) suggests that although the relationship between right to the city and justice cannot be assumed, right to the city does point to an alternative concept of citizenship based on inhabitance and the diverse yet collective uses of urban space, which could produce more radical, democratic practices and outcomes.

Although these latter readings of right to the city underscore Lefebvre's antiessentialist and non-teleological Marxist perspective (see also Shields 1999; Charnock 2010; Elden 2004), these interpretations do not explicitly engage with Lefebvre's Nietzschean influences (Kofman and Lebas 1996) nor the parallels between his theory of spatial production and assemblage urbanism, which would allow for a *vital* reading of right to the city (Simonsen 2005). Drawing from posthumanist feminist and assemblage theories, a vital interpretation emphasizes the force of *things* - the interconnections between bodies, materiality, affects and discourses and explores how these assemblages may engender new subjectivities, ethical relations and political claims (Bennett 2009; Braidotti 2013; Haraway 1991). Although Soja, Dikeç and others have argued Lefebvre's *Production of Space* (1991) suggests that spatial-social relations are dynamically coproduced through the perception, conception and usage of spaces and things, they do not go so far as to suggest that such non-human elements have agency and can enable differential experiences disrupting hegemonic assumptions of urban space. In other words, Lefebvre challenges us to ask how radical political projects and identities *emerge from* the novel assembling of spaces, affects, bodies and practices as well as the reverse.

Lefebvre's theory of the production of space parallels assemblage theorists who argue that the social emerges from assemblages, or the various networks and relations consisting of human and non-human elements such as spaces, bodies, things and other forms of materiality (Farías & Bender 2012). As such, agency is not the sole domain of humans. Anything capable of affecting another element has agency because it is only through our relationships with others - both humans and things - that produce our experience of the social (Bennett 2009; Latour 2005). One strain of assemblage thinking, Actor-Network theory, describes these human and non-human elements as actants rather than actors, in an attempt to draw our attention to agency distributed across social, discursive and material realms (Latour 2005). This perspective introduces a sense of indeterminacy and possibility into social life, as the world is no longer understood as only constructed through discourse. Bodies and materiality can act back (Barad 2008). Assemblage theorists do not assume contexts or structures as existing a priori but rather perceive all social phenomena as assemblages, which continually require active maintenance (Anderson et al. 2012). Lefebvre shares both these interests by arguing that social, economic and political "systems" should not be assumed as given but rather perceived as the inessential outcomes of particular socio-spatial practices. Furthermore,

he argues that the new uses of spaces, things and bodies are key to assembling alternative, noncapitalist social realities.

For example, Lefebvre's incorporation of Nietzsche anticipates current theoretical work focusing on the ways in which assemblages impact subjectivities. Lefebvre's interest in the everyday, the body, materiality and affect resonate with what Gibson-Graham (2006a) describe as a "politics of becoming", which involves overcoming hegemonic bodily and affective practices through novel performative assemblages of materiality and non-materiality. Such assemblages may lead to more ethical relationships between diverse constituents as well as postcapitalist experiments in collectivist social and economic cooperative activities, what Lefebvre describes as *autogestion*. An interest in postcapitalism embraces a non-deterministic reading of Marx. Capitalism is understood as the inessential outcome of particular class processes. A capitalist class process occurs when surplus labor, that labor that goes beyond what is required to sustain oneself, is appropriated and distributed by others. Class, here, is not defined by power or ownership, but rather certain economic practices (Resnick and Wolff 1986). Postcapitalism, therefore, is about creating and cultivating opportunities for individuals to engage in non-capitalist class processes, specifically types of economic associations in which surplus labor is collectively produced, appropriated and distributed. Realizing nonexploitative postcapitalist economic processes, therefore, requires shifting economic practices, not a full-fledged systemic economic revolution (Gibson-Graham 1993). However, because our subjectivities, bodies and affects are implicated within these capitalist class processes and other relations of power, the ability to imagine, much less

enact, postcapitalist projects has been curtailed (Gibson-Graham 2006a). Herein lies Lefebvre's theoretical interests in the disruptive and performative potential of materiality, specifically space and bodies. This approach contrasts with both critical theorists who presuppose a certain understanding of political economy, where social activities operate within and potentially against an a priori context of late capitalism, as well as postmodernists who focus almost exclusively on identifying and deconstructing hegemonic discourses.

By emphasizing Lefebvre's Nietzschean influences and his interest in sociospatial relationships, one can read his theory of right to the city as a form of political practice that extends beyond its current deployment in discussions of social or spatial justice projects. This is not to dismiss the relevance of right to the city practices that are explicitly resistant to capitalism or those that intentionally pursue justice outcomes. However, by eliding Lefebvre's Nietzschean influences and his assumptions regarding the agency of space and materiality, the dominant right to the city literature tends to focus on politics emerging from pre-defined identities or issues. Scholars have not acknowledged the ways in which postcapitalist political subjects, activities and claims can emerge out of new assemblages of bodily, affective, material practices and things.

I apply this vital reading of Lefebvre to a study of Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism as an expression of right to the city. Although research exists on specific urban interventions and appropriative practices such as community gardens, graffiti, and guerilla public art projects, academic literature on DIY Urbanism as a broader phenomenon is lacking. DIY Urbanism, ranging from pop-up parks to dumpster

swimming pools, appropriates urban spaces in playful, oftentimes extra-legal ways. Although DIY Urbanism may take the form of creative place-making, these projects are normally spearheaded by diverse groups of citizens who have grown weary of waiting for public officials or private capital to revitalize their neighborhoods and/or because they desire an alternative, non-commodified urban experience emphasizing the collective use of space over individual needs (Schwarz 2009).

The limited research on DIY Urbanism suggests that although some projects may be motivated by an anti-capitalist agenda, most incorporate a wide range of diverse participants who support DIY projects for various reasons. Reading Lefebvre through a vital assemblage lens, I argue that DIY Urbanism may produce differential affects, spaces, and uses, which have the potential to cultivate more ethical relations among agonistic identities and even culminate in self-managed social and economic collectives. In other words, although DIY Urbanism projects are often not explicitly *anti*-capitalist, they can be playful and messy *post*-capitalist experiments in collective action not based on a singular identity, issue or ideology. Indeed, DIY urbanism collectives, such as Rebar in San Francisco, perceive themselves as emerging out of the Situationist movement, with whom Lefebvre collaborated (Merker 2010). These urban interventions are intended to disrupt the naturalization of socio-spatial relations as well as individual subjectivities in order to empower urban inhabitants to re-think and re-form their relationship with time and space in the neoliberal city. However, others have pointed out that these Situationist style tactics align too well with Florida's "creative city" discourse, which may catalyze

gentrification and further exacerbate inequalities (Levin and Solga 2009; Swyngedouw 2002).

And indeed in my case study of Six Points, resistance and acquiescence to neoliberal interests and values co-existed. On the one hand, postcapitalist moments emerged as various actors, such as residents, artists, business and property owners, and urban planners became interconnected through collective and creative engagements with the street, sidewalks, vacant buildings and lots such as painting guerilla crosswalks, engaging in participatory public art projects, building a community garden, hosting popup art galleries and performances, organizing artist and farmers markets, and attending community pot lucks. Although "creativity" became the connective tissue for this wide range of placemaking activities and pop up events, the DIY Urbanists did not always express consensus regarding the ultimate vision for Six Points. Rather, they shared delight in embracing the street's openness to diverse users and uses. They developed feelings expressing collective ownership of the space and formed strong bonds with one another, despite income, age or political differences. On the other hand, DIY Urbanists were not explicitly resistant to neoliberal development or entirely inclusive to the diverse residents living in the neighborhood. Quite the contrary. Many of the actors espoused neoliberal values such as the unquestioned rights of private property owners, were unsympathetic to the homeless, and were complicit with gentrification and the exclusion of the surrounding Hispanic working class residents. Claiming a right to the city does not necessarily equate to claiming a right to the *just city*.

However, during the experience of assembling Six Points, through the process of actively appropriating urban space in creative and collaborative ways, postcapitalist possibilities did emerge. But these "moments of presence" were fragile, fleeting and partial. Other actants, particularly developers and city officials, were able to construct their own Six Point assemblages and attempted to transform the relationships DIY Urbanists had constructed with one another and urban space, partially due to the neoliberal assumptions and practices underpinning the fraught "communicative planning" process. By situating RAD as a stakeholder participating in a conventional planning process, the DIY Urbanists were forced to articulate a fixed vision, which may have contributed to their fragmentation. Furthermore, by recasting DIY Urbanism as a form of public participation, and not as the co-production of space, city officials and the developer were able to turn a blind eye to and co-opt the value added to the street made possible through the material and emotional labor wrought by the DIY Urbanists.

As a result, Six Points' future development seems to be following the trajectory of many "revitalization" projects located in the urban core. Like many cities across the United States, Fort Worth city staff, officials and developers have attempted to lure middle and upper class suburbanites back to the inner city by catering to their desires for consuming an "authentic urban lifestyle". Diverse, inclusive, *lived* public space is abandoned and replaced by the privatization of urban space through a process of sanitization and aestheticization. Development policies, discourses, planning practices and the appropriation of the DIY Urbanists' contributions are all assembled into Six Points as a 'conceived space', marketed towards imagined users such as affluent

millenials and babyboomers. Through these material and discursive practices, existing residents, business owners and DIY Urbanists were constructed into inconsequential bystanders, at best, or at worst, rendered completely invisible. Although current residents and businesses may be valued as they legitimize the area's diverse 'authenticity', they may suffer displacement as public policies actively pursue gentrification.

This all too familiar scenario begs the question of whether we, as planners, scholars, activists and urbanists at large, need to assert an explicitly anti-capitalist politics to effect change and pursue more just and ethical outcomes, however contingent. Or can a post-capitalist self, spatial and societal imaginary emerge by participating in collective and ethical engagements made possible through novel relationships with urban space such as DIY Urbanism? Certainly the analysis of one case study cannot settle this question. However, I do know that many of the actants involved in the assembling of Six Points could have acted otherwise, including myself. I certainly was not explicit with my politics in my interactions with other participants. I attempted to maintain a somewhat neutral researcher position so that I could track how postcapitalist subjectivities, relationships, and outcomes emerged. Perhaps taking a more advocacy and participatory research approach could have fortified the nascent collective and ethical social and economic projects. I also look to my own university's planning department and sponsored research institute, city staff and officials, and nonprofit, community-based organizations, who could have provided much needed capacity and support for these emergent collaborative and cooperative relationships. Had they done so, the assemblage of Six Points into Riverside Arts District could now be tighter and more resilient to

development pressures. Or, perhaps not. Perhaps, Six Points would emerge as something entirely different.

Regardless, these missed opportunities serve as a call for planners, especially those in the academy, as well as community organizers, activists, and artists to make an explicit ethical commitment to pursuing the just city (S. S. Fainstein 2010). We must expand beyond theories and practices of planning towards a more critical engagement regarding our participation in the production of urban space. Indeed, Six Points continues to be assembled. Capitalism has not won the day. And although the horizon of the just city inevitably eludes us, my/our participation in the production of that space as a postcapitalist possibility remains an open question.

Chapter 2

Literature Review Part 1: Framing the Problem Are We Rolling Out, Rolling Back, or Rolling With Neoliberalism?

The Urbanization of Neoliberalism

The relationship between neoliberalism, planning and the social production of space is fraught with complexity. In one sense, the relationship between planning and neoliberalism could be argued as contradictory. Neoliberalism suggests that government should be "rolled back" so that the market can take over certain decision-making processes as well as the provision and distribution of particular goods and services. As traditional planning domains include land use regulation, planners could be seen as getting in the way of the market. However, communicative planning theorists argue that planners are key to dealing with the complexities and potential contradictions as a result of diverse values and interests articulated across a range of actors affected by certain land use decisions. Often critical and poststructuralist planning theorists disagree with the emancipatory potential of communicative planning considering its longstanding "ideological component" and history of serving capitalist interests (Dear and Scott 1981; Harvey 1989; Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002; Gunder 2010). This section provides an overview of the main debates regarding the relationship between neoliberalism, the production of urban space and planning as a profession as well as how planning and urban theorists suggest neoliberalism can be resisted and potentially overcome. The

section concludes with an introduction to a range of potentially resistant political activities, such as DIY Urbanism as a path towards claiming a "right to the city".

Neoliberalism refers to a historically contingent, seemingly systematic constellation of actors, values, practices, processes, discourses and policies that has restructured economic, political and social relations through an ideological hegemony privileging market-based logic and processes above all else (Brenner, Peck, and Theodore 2010; Harvey 2005). Some argue that this process entails a "hallowing out of the state" in which local and national governments are weakened through their subjection to global capitalism (Jessop 2004; Rhodes 1994). The Keynesian-styled governments of the mid-twentieth century assumed government's role was to stabilize markets in order to ensure a more equitable distribution of public goods as well as providing social welfare options during "market failures". However, some argue that under neoliberalism, the government is being "rolled back" so that the market can be "rolled out", taking over what has traditionally been the responsibility of the public sector. In other words, "the market should discipline politics" (Sager 2011).

However, other scholars suggest that governments are not actually "rolled back" or hollowed out but rather serve as necessary actors in the process of neoliberal planning and development. Certainly neoliberalism is not a monolithic process but takes different forms depending on its place-based context leading to potentially contradictory and conflictual relationships between a variety of actors, including planners (Boyle, McWilliams, and Rice 2008; Brenner and Theodore 2002). In other words the relationship between developers, investors, public officials and other actors will vary depending on certain place-based characteristics and political contexts. With that said, there are certain consistent neoliberal policies and values that seem to operate in a range of places. Those arguing in this vein point to pervasive public sector reforms, which include the privatization of public services, the reconstruction of citizens into consumers and self-interested, self-reliant subjects, the pressure to adopt a more entrepreneurial orientation, and the development of public-private partnerships, all in the name of efficiency, innovation and better customer service (e.g. Osborne and Gaebler 1993).

Furthermore, this restructuring of governmental and economic relations under neoliberalism is particularly palpable in cities (Brenner and Theodore 2005). Cities are engaging in more entrepreneurial and speculative behavior as a result of global economic restructuring (Harvey 1989). During the Fordist era of economic production, economies of scale were pursued through the vertical integration of business practices. This led to stronger relationships between firms and cities as industries agglomerated in specific places. However, as a result of political-economic tensions and deindustrialization during the 1970s, such as the breakdown of capital-labor relationships and declining market growth, as well as advancements in technology, communication and transportation, firms and industries began moving towards practices of flexible accumulation, nimbly splintering operations across a range of geographic locales (Harvey 1980). Firms and capital were no longer tied to places but increasingly "footloose". In addition to economic restructuring, public policies, which encouraged suburbanization and white flight, exacerbated the disinvestment from inner cities in particular (Denton and Massey 1993; Jackson 1987). As a result, cities believed themselves to be in increasing competition

over firms and development projects leading public officials to continually outbid each other by offering various types of incentive packages such as tax abatements, land assembly, public service provisions, etc. to attract investment (S. S. Fainstein 2002).

Bolstered by Richard Florida's (2002) "creative class" thesis, cities are now also in competition over creative workers who are believed to drive today's knowledge economy by attracting and developing high tech, finance, media and other types of innovative industries. As these creative workers desire diverse, mixed-use, high-amenity laden urban spaces, cities are placing more emphasis on "guality of life" issues, placemaking and the development of flagship arts and cultural institutions and entertainment districts (Clark 2011; Ponzini and Rossi 2010; Strom 2003; Zimmerman 2008). Not surprisingly, this shift from a "managerial" to "entrepreneurial" focused governance approach has resulted in uneven development where certain places and people are privileged over others, as public resources have become redirected away from the equitable and efficient distribution of public goods and services towards these more speculative economic development projects. As a result, the polarization by income and race, the inequitable distribution of goods and services as well as the displacement of the poor and communities of color has only intensified through neoliberal polices. Neoliberalism as a specifically urban phenomenon, therefore, goes beyond the aforementioned reforms in urban governance; rather, neoliberalism is argued to be a lived experience, specifically produced through the production of urban space into festival market places, gated communities and carceral cities through processes of eminent domain, the privatization of public space, and other policies leading to gentrification and

the expulsion and / or containment of the homeless, people of color and the poor (Davis 2006; Mitchell 2003).

These policies, particularly through the privatization and militarization of public space, have also limited peoples' rights and undermined the potential for collective democratic action to counter these inequitable and unjust policies and outcomes (Davis 2006; Low 1997). Case studies of public parks such as Tompkins Square Park in New York City and the People's Park in Berkeley track the ways in which institutional actors work together to displace the city's most vulnerable residents such as the homeless, thereby cleansing the city of "undesirables" (Mitchell 2003). These "revanchist" strategies are particularly strong in older, industrial cities where firms as well as affluent residents have fled to the suburbs thereby producing explicit policies aimed at sanitizing, aestheticizing and gentrifying urban neighborhoods under the guise of creative class urban policies (Peck 2005; N. Smith 1996).

Planning: Neoliberalism's hostage, handmaiden or hope for overcoming capitalism?

Since planning is clearly engaged with the government regulation of land uses, planners are sometimes criticized for "getting in the way of government". Certainly within the Dallas-Fort Worth area, planners and planning meetings are often targeted by residents who believe planners are inefficient, ineffective or even social engineers (Foss and Howard 2015; Whittemore 2013). However, following the insights of critical urban geographers and planners discussed above, city planning offices are more often targeted for their cooperative role in expanding neoliberal development policies and outcomes (Gunder 2010; Purcell 2009; Weber 2002). Cities grease the wheels for developers by extracting value or devaluing land in order to attract private investment (Weber 2002) as well as by using marketing and branding, economic incentives, competitive bidding, public-private partnerships, and zoning to commodify places, catalyze property-led urban redevelopment, attract the creative class, and spark gentrification (Sager 2011).

For some, communicative planning theory (CPT) can provide a corrective to neoliberal development pressures by creating a space through which alternative, noncapitalist rationalities can enter into discussions regarding planning and urban development potentially leading to outcomes that are more just and equitable. In *Planning in the Face of Power*, John Forester (1988) argued that because planning operates within a capitalist, democratic society and therefore deals with divergent agendas as well as power differentials, planning must be an interpretive, collaborative and communicative process incorporating both expert and experiential knowledge. Communication is therefore, not only "rational" in the instrumental sense by employing scientific and objective data, but should also draw upon emotions and justifications for goals that extend beyond economic efficiency. Forester's work spawned a new tradition of planning theory rooted in communicative rationality expanded upon by Innes, Healey and others, drawing upon Habermas' theory of Communicative Action. (Healey 1992; Healey 1996; Healey 2003; Innes 1995; Innes and Booher 2003).

Responding to the Frankfurt School's critique of instrumental rationality operating as through and for capitalist domination, Habermas developed communicative rationality as a means to explicitly incorporate normative values into political discussions, to strengthen and enlarge the democratic sphere and subsequently, produce the common good. By arguing that our social order is entirely dependent on our ability to listen, trust, and believe one another, Habermas believes communication is the path towards creating the common good and overcoming capitalist domination. Herein lies communication's emancipatory promise and why it serves as the foundation for his theory of communicative rationality. In order to realize communicative rationality, Habermas (1985; 2001) defined the "ideal speech situation" as communication that is comprehensible, true, sincere, and legitimate. By creating the ideal speech situation, consensus can be achieved through reasoned debate. Rational decisions, therefore, cannot be made by appealing to some objective, seemingly fixed criteria existing outside of ourselves, but rather emerge out of dialogue between diverse constituents articulating varying interests. Communicative rationality departs from positivist-oriented instrumental rationality, which strives to make "objective" statements about what actually exists and seeks empirical verification or falsification of those statements using the scientific method. Communicative rationality, rather, is based on a normative theory that rests on moral and ethical objectives. It builds on statements of what ought to be, desirable or undesirable. This is not to say science and data are not important to decision-making; however, such positivist knowledge does not occupy a privileged role in the communicative process.

Drawing on Habermas, CPT aims to create an environment where ideal speech can take place. Subsequently, planners must facilitate and mediate divergent interests and agendas, enabling a wide range of arguments to be included. CPT therefore advocates a rationality that draws on multiple knowledges that can justify a wide range of goals such as equity in addition to or in place of efficiency. In this way, CPT could be understood as standing outside of neoliberalism by creating a rational space that can transcend hegemonic ideology – with the presumably neutral planner situated at the crossroads of interests creating the conditions for undistorted communication so that genuine consensus regarding the common good can emerge. CPT advocates do acknowledge the ways in which communicative theory is an ideal and never fully realized in planning practice (Innes 2004). Furthermore, there is an awareness regarding how CPT can be co-opted by neoliberal interests. For example, Healey (2000, 518) notes that "(t)he neoliberal strategy...is to seek to transform planning systems into quasi-market regulatory mechanisms for dealing with conflict mediation over complex spatially manifest environmental disputes". Indeed, planners fail to address equitable participation and development outcomes when they are too focused on projects and outcomes as opposed to the communicative planning process itself (Healey 1991).

However, others argue there is a "dark side" to CPT (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002). Starting in the 1970s critical theorists argued that planning's "rationality" would always be embedded within a capitalist political economy (Dear and Scott 1981). Although some defended planning and its radical potential (Kraushaar 1988) others suggested that planners were the handmaidens of capital, tasked with managing capitalism's contradictions and crises (Castells 1977; N. I. Fainstein and Fainstein 1979). What made planning especially insidious was that it operated under the guise of neutrality, presumably serving the public good while legitimizing neoliberal outcomes through the performativity of public participation (Purcell 2009).

Recent scholars suggest that planning has been effectively "captured" by neoliberalism as we've entered more fully into the postmodern, post-political urban condition (Roy 2015). As Gunder (2010) argues,

the reintroduction of values into planning via 'ideologically freed' communicative planning theory facilitated its very hegemonic capture by the neoliberal supporting state. 'Nodal points' of planning concern emerged as unquestioned planning deficiencies requiring resolution: global competiveness, sustainable development and 'appropriate' urban design that facilitated the attraction of talent to globally ranked world cities, all became topics of collaborative planning discourse that sought to promise fantasies of harmony, security and above all – enjoyment – within the cities and populations for which planning provides both hope and discipline.

Furthermore, even if CPT could be practiced according to Habermasian ideals, critics suggest that these assumptions are naïve because of CPT's failure to acknowledge other forms of power. Specifically, CPT is often inattentive to difference through which power is often differentially distributed and experienced (Huxley 2000). Feminist political theorist Nancy Fraser (1985) critiqued Habermas for not engaging with the ways in which his presumed public sphere privileges a particular kind of (white, male) citizen, thereby excluding power relations in the private sphere. Furthermore, our identities extend beyond the economic and political sphere. Normative constructions of gender, race, sexuality and other categories of difference at times align or conflict with other discursive formations. This "intersectionality" (Collins 1998) of our subjectivities is problematic for liberal politics because interests cannot be boiled down to singular issues based on identity. Nor can we be fully transparent to one another when our own identities are so complex, fragmented and partial (Huxley 2000; see also Young 1990). As a result, there is not one singular public – but rather multiple "weak publics" that are more contingent, sometimes contradictory and often in conflict with one another.

Planning and other democratic decision-making practices, therefore, must be attuned to issues of not just the equitable redistribution of public goods but also to the recognition and validation of identity difference. However, we are often not successful. As Leonie Sandercock (1998) suggests, modern planning tends to reflect a patriarchal, white, heterosexist perspective, thereby excluding difference. Clarence Stone (2008) suggests that community decision-making does not fully address, much less ameliorate, systemic power – the power that comes from speaking the right kind of public policy language, knowing the right kind of people, and having the time and resources to float in those influential circles. In order to effectively address identity difference within planning requires a rethinking of CPT's theory of power, a point that incites the most criticism from poststructuralist and postmodern theorists.

CPT, in theory, addresses three faces of power – the explicit power to control others, the power to set the agenda of decision-making thereby making certain issues non-issues as well as ideological power that works insidiously by making people believe they are acting in their own interest when in fact they are not (Bachrach and Baratz 1962; Lukes 2005). However, postmodernists and poststructuralists argue that there is a fourth face of power (Digeser 1992). Postmodern and poststructural scholars argue that the first three faces of power presume power is always oppressive and possessive. Operating with this understanding of power, it is possible to identify those actors, policies and practices that have the power to oppress us. We can then, presumably, resist and overcome those power relationships, even if they are latent and not yet fully recognized because of ideology.

Critics of these three faces of power often draw on Foucault to construct an alternative theory of power that assumes power as productive and capillary, not repressive and centralized. Power makes knowledge and truth possible (Foucault 1980). Put it another way, there can be no knowledge or truth without power. Furthermore, language is key to discursive practices, which works to naturalize the relationships between power, truth and knowledge (Foucault 1965; Foucault 1977). We cannot assume, therefore, that language only represents some objective world or that our selves and interests can be transparently revealed through language. Rather, language qua discourse is performative – language enacts and reifies our world. Language constructs our interests and shapes what we think is even possible. As such, as we cannot escape language; there is no emancipation from power. We can never tear away the veil of ideology to discover the 'truth' of our interests or identities nor can we easily identify and escape the exploitative powers that seemingly oppress us. According to Foucault (1965; 1973), 'rationality' itself is produced through discursive practices that identify, discipline and position individuals, practices and values into varying categories of "rational', 'normal', 'natural' as well as their binaries - 'mad', 'perverse', 'other'.

As such, poststructuralists argue that because of this relationship between power, truth and knowledge, we are not, as modernists assume, autonomous agents who act freely on the basis of an essential, pre-existing identity or interest. Rather, we are constructed through our participation in discursive practices. Herein lies the most radical implication of poststructuralist thought. As Nietzsche argues, "there is no 'being' behind the doing, acting, becoming; the 'doer' has simply been added to the deed by the imagination – the doing is everything" (1956, 178–179). In other words, we do not possess power; we are an effect of power. For Nietzsche, this realization led him to theorize how we might engage in self-actualizing practices, a point to which I will return later. However, for most poststructuralists, this theoretical assumption led to seemingly more pessimistic views of the subject. If "[p]ower should not be conceived as an external relation taking place between two pre-constituted identities, but rather as constituting the identities themselves" (Mouffe 1999, 753), where can agency be located, if at all? Indeed, scholars critique the disciplinary power of neoliberal governmental technologies, like participatory planning processes, that subjugate citizens into "responsible", "rational", individualistic neoliberal consumers (Purcell 2009; Swyngedouw 2005).

This point, explored by Foucault, Butler and others, suggests that because these relations of power are so embedded and embodied in our senses, our identities, our interests, our very own bodies, the emancipatory promise imagined through liberal politics or communicative rationality is a chimera. Rather, these practices only legitimize and reify existing relations of power (Foucault 1977; Foucault 1990; Butler 1990). This does not mean to suggest that exploitation does not exist, that we cannot talk about injustice, nor that we must resign ourselves to a Sisyphean-like interpretation of Nietzsche's eternal return – an existence only possible through ever-changing yet

constantly subjugating power relations. But it does cast great skepticism on decisionmaking processes, such as CPT, that are predicated on modernist assumptions regarding the subject, truth, power, freedom and justice.

Poststructuralist planners, therefore, levy several major critiques of CPT. Poststructuralists cannot accept the assumption that discourse is emancipatory, that rationality, communicative or otherwise, should be privileged over other forms of experience, that we, planners or others, can bracket power at the conference room door or that true consensus is possible. Indeed, key studies such as Flyvbjerg's (2001) analysis of large scale development in Aalborg reveals the ways in which power privileges certain kinds of rationalities, truths and interests. As a result, poststructuralist planners posit alternative theoretical frameworks, such as Mouffe's concept of an agonistic democracy to address the ways in which power, conflict and difference are inextricable dimensions of democracy. Consequently, we should not attempt to avoid or neutralize power relations or assume we can achieve absolute consensus. As Mouffe (1999) argues

Politics aims at the creation of unity in a context of conflict and diversity; it is always concerned with the creation of an "us" by the determination of a "them". The novelty of democratic politics is not the overcoming of this us/them distinction – but the different way in which it is established. What is at stake is how to establish the us/them discrimination in a way that is compatible with pluralist democracy....

This question, *pace* the rationalists, is not how to arrive at a rational consensus reached without exclusion, that is, indeed, an impossibility...

[Rather], since we cannot eliminate antagonism, we need to domesticate it to a condition of agonism in which passion is mobilized constructively (rather than destructively) towards the promotion of democratic decisions that are partly consensual, but which also respectfully accept unresolvable disagreements.

In the realm of politics, this presupposes that the "other" is no longer seen as an enemy to be destroyed, but as an "adversary", i.e. somebody with whose ideas we are going to struggle but whose right to defend those ideas will not be put into question (755).

In other words, theoretically, planners operating with an agonistic orientation attempt to create opportunities for the articulation and validation of difference, multiple rationalities and experience that exceeds rational expression in order to create a space that accommodates and assumes conflict, yet strives towards contingent consensus. However, this approach requires a "certain adhesion to the ethico-political principles of democracy" (755) or some "normative standard...required to maintain democracy's egalitarian ethos" (755). This assumption constitutes a somewhat inherent contradiction to poststructuralist planning as any consensus – potentially even regarding rules of engagement - could be critiqued as a provisional hegemony. As a result, much of poststructuralist planning has focused on the *deconstruction* of planning discourses, and has therefore been critiqued for being too critical and not prescriptive (Howarth 2013).

The challenge for planners is to find a place between "the German-a naïve idealist, [and] the Frenchman-an irresponsible cynic" (Fischler 2000). Some argue that we need to abandon any idea of authentic consensus and just proceed through pragmatism and negotiation (Mäntysalo, Balducci, and Kangasoja 2011). Other poststructuralist planners argue that we should not "throw a Habermasian baby out with the bathwater" (Hillier 2003, 38). In response, some attempt to situate communicative planning techniques within an agonistic framework (Bridge 2005). Brownill and Carpenter (2007), likewise, explore the positive potential of combining agonistic assumptions and communicative practices by analyzing planning projects that assume

plurality, engage empowered representatives from different publics and use techniques to tap into narratives and emotions. These interventions suggest that planners do not have to completely give up on goals such as democratic ethics or consensus.

However planning's often co-optation by neoliberal interests is encouraging scholars to look elsewhere for resistant spatial development practices. Recent research on the relationships between identity, embodiment, affect and materiality and how they relate to political and collective action suggests that we need to look beyond formal and conventional planning spaces, actors and practices (Bondi 2005; Duff 2010; Gibson-Graham 2006a; Latour 2007; Roelvink 2010). Indeed, these spaces and practices suggest that we are entering into a stage of "roll with it neoliberalism" (Keil 2009) where alternative forms of collective action and citizenship exist despite neoliberalism.

Keil (2009), for example, identifies traditional sources of resistance alongside subcultural movements as sources for postcapitalist possibilities.

While unionization drives among immigrant workers, citizenship struggles, environmental justice conflicts, and the like have been on the rise in the multicultural urban centres of this period, cultural events as diverse as the music of hiphop and Brit pop, films such as *Fight Club*, adbusters, culture jamming, "Reclaim the Streets", raves and full-fledged anti-globalization riots (which generally include diverse forms of cultural expression) provide particularly excellent venues through which the urbanization and neoliberalism and new forms of resistance can be studied (587).

Indeed, some scholars are increasingly concerned regarding academics' participation in reifying neoliberalism as a hegemonic, monolithic, bulldozing force (Gibson-Graham 2006b; Larner 2003). Although understanding the causes of structural inequities remains crucial to urban studies, attention is increasing towards analyzing these emergent forms of collective action that embrace diversity and perform alternatives to uneven urban development. As such, more attention is being paid to participation operating outside of traditional planning domains such as micropolitical, ephemeral and virtual spaces that may be more effective in engaging multiple rationalities (Brownill and Parker 2010) as well as identifying new spaces for insurgent political action such as the non-discursive, the affective and the material (Popke 2008; Thrift 2007). Others are exploring the role of informal planners such as activists, cultural workers and community-based organizations (Elwood 2002; Elwood 2006; Larner and Craig 2005; Novy and Colomb 2013).

One area of interest regards Lefebvre's (2003) 'Right to the City', a concept that has been appropriated to describe a wide range of emergent, spatially informed, urban political practices that challenge late capitalism. Although some scholars draw on the right to the city to frame Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Urbanism practices, such as community gardens, guerilla art projects, and other temporary, often extra-legal urban appropriations of urban spaces (Staeheli, Mitchell, and Gibson 2002; Mitchell 2003; Irazabal and Punja 2009; Iveson 2013), others are wrestling with DIY Urbanism's radical political potential. DIY Urbanism may challenge dominant planning and development practices by emphasizing collective, inclusive and non-commodified uses of urban space. However, DIY Urbanism projects can be fraught with exclusionary and insular tendencies (Chatterton 2010), lack clear justice goals, as well as be co-opted by urban growth machines (Mayer 2012; Harvey 2012).

These emergent debates surrounding DIY Urbanism parallel similar questions regarding the meaning and political possibilities of Lefebvre's right to the city. Although some critical theory scholars emphasize Lefebvre's explicit resistance to capitalism (Harvey 2008; Marcuse 2009; Mitchell 2003), others suggest that right to the city constitutes a much more open-ended, ethical project incorporating and indeed producing a wide range of political interests and identities (Dikeç 2009; Purcell 2013; Soja 2010). Finally others are concerned that the term has become too broad, too elusive or watered down (Attoh 2011; S. S. Fainstein 2009; Fenster 2005; Kuymulu 2013; Mayer 2009). Although the literature regarding Lefebvre's right to the city is broad and diverse, most readings neglect Lefebvre's Nietzschean influences, which would allow for an alternative reading of his work and potentially point to DIY Urbanism's postcapitalist possibilities.

As is, there is a dearth of research situating DIY Urbanism within a broader context of urban resistance or as Schrijver argues, "it is theory rather than practice that now lags behind: there is little framework for understanding these actions that both engage with the city and find the lightness to poke fun at it" (2011, 4). Without a theoretical framework, urban studies scholars and practitioners are unable to develop an understanding of the political and planning outcomes of such practices. This is problematic considering the recent proliferation of DIY Urbanism practices and the potential for these projects to enact a type of poststructural, postcapitalist politics.

In the next chapter, I construct an alternative, vital reading of Lefebvre's right to the city by drawing on his Nietzschean influences. I employ this orientation to explore the postcapitalist possibilities of DIY Urbanism to not only elaborate what a postcapitalist politics might look like, but also to suggest how critical planners, community development practitioners, and activists may engender ethical relations and just development outcomes within diverse, urban communities.

Chapter 3

Literature Review Part 2: Assembling Postcapitalist Possibilities

Lefebvre's Right to the City as Social and Spatial Justice

Lefebvre argues that the right to the city is "both a cry and a demand" (1996, 158), and includes "rights to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit,...[t]he right to the *oeuvre*, to participation and *appropriation*" (1996, 173– 174). Furthermore, the right to the city is a right "to urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete usage of these moments and places, etc." (Lefebvre 1996, 179). Lefebvre thus suggests that the right to the city not only refers to the right to housing and urban services, but also the right to appropriate and create spaces for diverse and inclusive uses through active political participation and everyday life. Although scholars' interpretations of right to the city overlap on several key dimensions such as Lefebvre's emphasis on urban use and inhabitance (Purcell 2013), there remain stark differences, specifically regarding the right to the city's relationship to justice and radical politics. Within academic circles, there appears to be three distinct perspectives. The right to the city is equated with social justice (Harvey 2012; Harvey 2008; Marcuse 2009; Mitchell 2003), spatial justice (Soja 2010; Dikec 2009) or as a form of radical urban politics that may or may not lead to just outcomes (Purcell 2002; Purcell 2003; Schmid 2012).

The first group, notably represented by Harvey and Marcuse, perceive the right to the city as a class-based strategy for challenging capitalism and pursuing justice.

Although cognizant of the power of spatial structures and configurations, authors in this school of thought have tended to argue that spatial injustice reflects social injustice and more specifically, that social injustice is inscribed into the built environment through capitalist development. Furthermore, the right to the city is ultimately understood as a class-based struggle, in which class is defined by particular identities – individuals whose surplus labor has been appropriated by others. Although both Harvey and Marcuse argue that the concept of the proletariat needs to be expanded to include more diverse actors such as those "culturally alienated", they suggest that these divergent struggles can be forged into a shared fight against capitalism. As Marcuse describes, the "argument here is that there is a convergence of all groups, coalitions, alliances, movements, assemblies around a common set of objectives, which see capitalism as the common enemy and the right to the city as their common cause" (2009, 192). Similarly in *Rebel Cities*, Harvey argues that the left must engage with the "hordes of unorganized urbanization producers (of the sort that mobilized in the immigrant marches), and explore their distinctive revolutionary capacities and powers" (2012, 130), suggesting that movements based on other forms of exclusion are separate from "leftist", (read here only as class-based), struggles.

According to Harvey and Marcuse, such cohesiveness is needed to mount a global revolution. Although Marcuse and Harvey acknowledge already-existing alternatives to capitalism in the form of workers cooperatives and solidarity movements, they do not perceive these practices as particularly effective. Harvey critiques the Zapatistas and other autonomy movements as too localized, too culturally specific, and too vulnerable to capitalist co-optation. Ultimately, right to the city for Marcuse, Harvey and other scholars sharing this perspective, is effective only as an explicit anti-capitalist strategy aimed at creating social change on a global scale. As a result, the right to the city for Harvey and Marcuse is "not the right to the existing city" but continues to remain "the right to a future city", an elusive utopia (Marcuse 2009, 193).

The second camp draws on Lefebvre's socio-spatial dialectic to interpret right to the city as a much more open-ended, diverse political project oriented towards "spatial justice". By focusing on Lefebvre's concept of "lived space" - where material and discursive practices are continually reworked and transformed, Soja (2010), argues that capitalism does not completely determine social relations or spatiality, but rather there are other forms of power relations that can bolster or challenge capitalism as well as create their own exclusions and repressions. For example, when Soja discusses the potential difficulty in distinguishing between "geographies of privilege" which marginalize and exclude others and "geographies of choice" (2010, 55), which may show signs of exclusion but are produced in order to empower the marginalized, he demonstrates how justice claims are spatially constituted, highly contextual, and mired in complex power relations. Furthermore, as justice-oriented political action is focused on present-day conditions. Soja suggests that justice claims themselves are contingent and therefore never universal or truly utopian (although they may be framed rhetorically as such). In other words, political practices and justice projects will inevitably bring together particular interests while excluding others as well as produce inequitable outcomes for some.

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Like Soja, Dikeç suggests that spatial justice is "not an end" but rather an orientation or "critique aimed at cultivating new sensibilities towards forms of injustice rooted in space and spatial dynamics" (Dikeç, 2002, 96). Like Soja, Dikeç departs from Harvey, Marcuse and others who focus on the right to the city as an explicitly anticapitalist strategy. In his analysis of immigrant rights, for example, Dikec argues that right to the city politicizes all forms of spatial and/or social exclusion. However, because these exclusions operate along a variety of dimensions not reducible to class, he suggests that urban inhabitants will always experience antagonism. As a result, he constructs spatial justice as requiring both the right to the city, i.e. the appropriation of urban space as political space, with the right to difference, the act of generating alternative ways of being and dwelling thereby challenging hegemonic discourses of urban spaces, places and identities (Dikeç 2002; Dikeç 2009). Dikeç argues that spatial justice, right to the city and right to difference must be pursued concurrently in order to privilege social connectedness over individual rights, which will enable ethical social relations between diverse urban inhabitants. Without acknowledging the right to difference, divergent right to the city claims emerging from antagonistic identities will undermine the possibilities for spatial justice (Dikeç 2009).

Purcell (2002; 2003; 2013) parallels Soja and Dikeç by highlighting the indeterminacy of right to the city practices yet their possibilities for cultivating ethical, collective action. As Purcell argues, "[i]nhabitants may pursue the use value of urban space, but they may not necessarily pursue a Marxist notion of use value in contradistinction to exchange value... The right to the city would make these politics possible, but it is the undetermined *outcome* of these politics that will result in either greater urban democracy or new forms of political domination" (2002, 106; emphasis in original). In other words, by emphasizing Lefebvre's interest in the everyday practices of appropriating space and decision-making through work and play, he portrays right to the city as a radical reformulation of citizenship based on urban inhabitance and collective use and not as an explicit political strategy tied to justice aims. However, Purcell argues that right to the city practices may lead to anticapitalist outcomes by cultivating more ethical interactions and self-managed collectives, what Lefebvre calls *autogestion*. Such collectives would challenge neoliberalism by placing decision-making in the hands of urban inhabitants who operate under a noncapitalist logic, privileging collective needs over individual desires. In other words, Purcell suggests that anticapitalist outcomes, in the form of *autogestion*, emerges from right to the city practices and claims. This stands in marked contrast to scholars who argue the opposite: that the right to the city emerges from anti-capitalist agendas.

The above discussion demonstrates that there are multiple and conflicting interpretations of right to the city. This research builds upon the non-teleological readings of Lefebvre begun by Soja, Dikeç, Purcell and others, in order to explore the wider range of political possibilities of right to the city. Focusing on Lefebvre's interest in the assemblages of human and non-human elements employed in his theory of the 'production of space' as well as his focus on the body, affect, and overcoming (Kofman and Lebas 1996), this vital reading of right to the city departs from the previous literature by drawing connections between Lefebvre and poststructural assemblage theories in order to examine DIY Urbanism's potential for engendering postcapitalist outcomes.

Lefebvre's Production of Space as Assemblage Urbanism

The reason for these varied formulations of right to the city stems in part from different understandings of Lefebvre's theory regarding the production of space and how it relates to capitalist production and reproduction. Lefebvre's forays into the spatialization of late capitalism is indicative of a broader 'spatial turn' within the social sciences, greatly influencing Marxist geographers such as Harvey, Brenner and Soja, among others (Soja 1999). Lefebvre argues that we've entered into a new stage of capitalism in which urban space has become the key site of capitalist production and reproduction requiring a new arsenal of political strategies. As Lefebvre exclaims, "The productive forces have since (Marx) taken another great leap - from the production of things in space to the production of space. Revolutionary activity ought, among other things, to follow this qualitative leap...to its ultimate consequences" (Lefebvre 1991, 358). Specifically, Lefebvre identifies a second circuit of capital, in addition to industrial production, through which surplus value is appropriated and profit is pursued through real estate, land development and other speculative, financial practices. As Gottdiener argues,

According to Lefebvre, land and its advanced capitalist relations of production, which he calls "real estate," constitute a second circuit of capital, even though a separate class of landowners no longer exists. That is, the channeling of money, the construction of housing, the development of space, financing, and speculation in land constitute a second means of acquiring wealth that is relatively independent of the "first" circuit, industrial production. Furthermore, through an extended discussion, Lefebvre shows that this second circuit is one of the fundamental forces of society and a source of surplus value creation. Finally, he argues effectively that it has a logic of its own, even though it is related to the primary circuit. In short, the Marxian analysis of capitalism, by accounting for space, will never be the same again. (Gottdiener 1993, 132).

This argument creates tension for critical theorists as Lefebvre complicates conventional definitions of capitalism and Marx's labor theory of value, on which a Marxist analysis depends. If critical theorists define capitalism by a particular class process - specifically the production, appropriation and distribution of surplus labor inextricably linked to the production of commodities (Wolff and Resnick 1986), what happens to a Marxist analysis that suggests that surplus value is produced through other processes not tied to industrialization and the production of commodities? Soja suggests that this controversial assertion is why Harvey and others do not fully engage with the implications of Lefebvre's socio-spatial dialectic. Indeed, Soja (1980), himself, chooses to interpret Lefebvre as consistent with key Marxist concepts by saying surplus labor is 'realized', not 'produced' in this second circuit of capital to circumvent this problematic.

As a result, Marxist geographers have tended to use Lefebvre's insights to explore the ways in which capitalism is stabilized and *reproduced* through its urban spatialization. Harvey, for example, discusses three distinct ways in which capitalism is reproduced through urban space. First, late capitalism requires and therefore produces a particular built environment in order to facilitate further capital accumulation (Harvey 1980). However, because the production and expansion of capitalism necessarily entails crises, Harvey (1978) argues that urban space, real estate and land development is marshaled to overcoming such internal contradictions, such as dealing with the crisis of overaccumulation through strategic spatial fixes. Finally, capitalist reproduction is further enabled through the commodification of urban space through the form of festival marketplaces and 'urban lifestyle' developments (Harvey 2006).

However, by focusing on the *reproduction* of capitalism through now global processes of spatialization and not the *production* of capitalism (Brenner 2000), critical theorists unwittingly construct capitalism as a monolithic, all-encompassing force, which makes resistance difficult to imagine much less enact. Furthermore, by not attending to the ways in which capitalist forms of class are produced – i.e., the actual practices of producing, appropriating, and distributing surplus labor - some critical theorists represent class, not as the inessential outcomes of particular economic processes, but rather as an a priori identity or consciousness (Gibson-Graham, Erdem, and Özselçuk 2013). As I discussed earlier, such identity-based politics are often still effective strategies for fighting injustice. However, these projects unnecessarily limit the breadth of potential radical, collective action.

Rather, through his theory of a socio-spatial trialectic, Lefebvre encourages readers to identify contingency and revolutionary opportunities through an explicit engagement with spatial production. Lefebvre's well-known triad of the production of space, where spaces are simultaneously perceived (commonsense understandings and usage of spaces), conceived (hegemonic constructions of spaces) and lived (spaces of imagined possibilities through actual usage), describes a socio-spatial trialectic where self and materiality are not only dynamically co-produced, but key to opening up a third space of post-capitalist possibility. Soja has written a great deal on Lefebvre's "third space" but has not fully engaged with the implications of Lefebvre's interest in materiality. For example, in *Thirdspace* (1996), Soja draws on cultural critical theorists such as bell hooks and Cornel West, to discuss how actors can creatively carve resistant identities out of marginalized spaces as well as create alternative spaces in order to transform power relations. However, he does not fully interrogate the role materiality plays in the (re)production of individual subjectivities, much less broader social realities. Rather Soja suggests that the "cultural politics of difference" works only as a discursive and epistemological project.

Lefebvre's third space does not only produce new cultural imaginaries, which disrupt hegemonic discourses. His theory of the production of space points to ontological differences paralleling assemblage theories. Indeed, Lefebvre was very critical of theoretical approaches solely focused on discourse and epistemology. Critiquing Foucault, for example, Lefebvre argues "Michel Foucault can calmly assert that 'knowledge [*savoir*] is also space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse'. Foucault never explains what space it is that he is referring to, nor how it bridges the gap between the theoretical (epistemological) realm and the practical one, between mental and social, between the space of the philosophers and the space of people who deal with material things" (Lefebvre 1991, 4).

Indeed, some scholars are beginning to suggest that there are parallels to be made between Lefebvre's *Production of Space* and assemblage thinking (Anderson et al. 2012). I wish to further this line of inquiry by arguing there are multiple points of convergence between Lefebvre and assemblage thinking. The first is ontological. Much like assemblage theorists' assumption of distributed agency in which humans and nonhumans are all considered actants in actively assembling the social (Latour 2005), Lefebvre's socio-spatial trialectic suggests that the social emerges from both discourse and materiality. As Lefebvre argues, "The form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. But what assembles, or what is assembled? The answer is: everything that there is *in space*, everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either through their co-operation or through their conflicts. Everything: living beings, things, objects, works, signs, and symbols....social space implies actual or potential assembly at a single point, or around that point. It implies, therefore, the possibility of accumulation (a possibility that is realized under specific conditions)" (Lefebvre 1991, 101). This ontological understanding of the social informs Lefebvre's methodological approach which again parallels assemblage theorists such as Latour. As Latour argues, the goal for social researchers is to trace networks as hybrids – identify, describe and analyze the relationships between actants crossing multiple and diverse domains, without first employing some broader pre-conceived social, economic or political concepts (Latour 1993). In other words, unlike modern methodological approaches which separate subject matter by disciplinary topics. Latour argues that we must draw together science, nature, politics, culture, the economy, and all other practices surrounding an issue into a single, flattened analytical frame. Lefebvre argues the same: "The theoretical conception we are trying to work out in no way aspires to the status of a completed 'totality', and even less to that of a 'system' or 'synthesis'. It implies a discrimination between 'factors', elements or moments. To reiterate....this approach aims both to reconnect elements that have been separated and to replace confusion by clear distinctions; to rejoin the severed and reanalyze the comingled" (Lefebvre 1991, 413).

As a result, Lefebvre is more interested in understanding how heterogeneous elements are assembled, sometimes into a seemingly coherent totality, as opposed to analyzing the social using pre-existing social, economic, or political frames. The latter approach does not take into account how the frame itself is produced through particular, often contradictory practices. For example, in discussing how deterministic Marxists perceive capitalism, Lefebvre argues

both the unity and the diversity [of capitalism] – and hence the contradictions – of capitalism are put in brackets. It is seen either as a mere aggregate of separate activities or else as an already constituted and closed system which derives its coherence from the fact that it endures – and solely from that fact. Actually capitalism has many facets: landed capital, commercial capital, finance capital – all play a part in practice according to their varying capabilities, and as opportunity affords; conflicts between capitalists of the same kind, or of different kinds, are an inevitable part of the process (Lefebvre 1991, 10).

Lefebvre finds an economic deterministic approach problematic because he argues resistant and transformative political action emerges out of these very everyday cracks and contradictions of capitalistic processes. This leads him to focus on the urban, as opposed to the factory or other sites of industrialization, as the preeminent site for assembling postcapitalist realities. Lefebvre's trialectic of space enables him to see how urban space is certainly commodified by capitalist practices yet is simultaneously produced for non-commodified uses – i.e. play and leisure. As such, urban space reflects

the ways in which noncapitalist practices and sensibilities already exist despite capitalism's seemingly inescapable domination.

Gibson-Graham (2006b) makes a similar argument by suggesting that the dominant narrative of "Capitalism" as a totalizing, homogenizing force is not only empirically inaccurate but politically disempowering. The economy consists of a multitude of practices - both capitalist and noncapitalist. Furthermore, capitalist economic practices are themselves diverse. For Gibson-Graham, capitalism is still classbased, but not grounded in a particular identity. Rather, capitalism is created through classed processes anytime surplus labor and value are appropriated by those not responsible for their production. This expands their purview of capitalistic processes to include individuals, practices and sites outside of the traditional proletariat and formal establishments producing goods and services. Further, they argue there are often qualitative differences between 'green capitalist', nonprofit organizations and global MNCs such as Wal-Mart. Conceiving capitalism as a collection of plural economic practices as opposed to an established, dominating overarching frame, we can create and nurture noncapitalist practices which can exist alongside exploitative ones. We do not have to wait for the 'revolution' to overthrow capitalism. Rather, we can identify and cultivate already existing noncapitalist possibilities in which surplus labor is collectively produced, appropriated and distributed. This is precisely Lefebvre's intent.

Interestingly, critical theorists, who in other work use Lefebvre to articulate a more deterministic Marxist position, recently took this perspective to task. While acknowledging the methodological and descriptive benefits of assemblage theory,

Brenner, Madden, and Wachsmuth (2011) charge McFarlane (2011a) and other assemblage urbanists for "naïve objectivism" and for not adequately interrogating the "context of contexts", i.e. late capitalism. Brenner et al (2011) argue that critical social research must first be situated within a political-economy framework to be critical at all. Ironically, although Lefebvre is currently deployed in more deterministic Marxist analyses of urban political-economy, Lefebvre's own Marxism was similarly called into question by Manuel Castells, who argued Lefebvre's focus on the urban, as opposed to economic processes contained within the urban, betrayed Marx's original intent (Castells 1977).

Certainly Lefebvre's idea of the "bureaucratic society of controlled consumption" (Lefebvre and Rabinovitch 2000), which points to how spaces and times of everyday life are increasingly susceptible to capitalist colonization, led him to address the durable, hegemonic and dominating practices associated with capitalism (and other exploitative practices). However, like Gibson-Graham's discussion of performing plural economies and Kiel's (2009) interest in political action emerging from within a "roll with it" mentality, Lefebvre's focus on assembling the urban is an orientation that is explicitly political and appropriate for society seemingly dominated by late capitalism. Lefebvre is more interested in the possible and the already-existing noncapitalist possibilities than advocating for a particular future, distinguishing him from more teleological, essentialist Marxist approaches (Shields 1999; Elden 2004).

For example, Lefebvre opens the *Right to the City* with the intent that "[t]his work wants to break up systems, not to substitute another system, but to *open up* through

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thought and action towards possibilities by showing the horizon and the road. Against a form of reflection which tends towards formalism, a thought which tends towards an opening leads the struggle" (1996, 63). He argues that the possible can be imagined through critical reflection and engagement with the present. Shields, for example, opens up a space for potential comparisons between Lefebvre's distinct "trialectic" approach and more poststructural thinking by describing his method as the "possibility of thinking materialism as a theory of distributed, or overdetermined, causality" (Shields 1999, 157). Similarly, Kofman and Lebas (1996, 9) suggest Lefebvre's regression-progression method uses a genealogical approach, like that of Foucault, in order to reveal how practices and spaces are constructed over time and therefore inessential and surmountable. As such, Lefebvre identifies urban appropriation practices that already exist alongside capitalist domination, which can engender noncapitalist ways of feeling and acting. For example, Lefebvre argues that the "space of play has coexisted and still coexists with spaces of exchange and circulation, political space and cultural space" (1996, 171–172) and that play reveals the possibilities of new kinds of social relations. Therefore, because the capitalist mode of production does not dominate or determine all social relations, practices or spaces, individuals can experience "moments of presence" (Lefebvre 2002) which puncture alienated life and reveal the possibilities of fuller, noncapitalist ways of being.

Lefebvre's Right to the City as a Politics of Becoming

Lefebvre's Nietzschean influences, specifically his interest in bodies, affects and overcoming, further connect him to critical assemblage thinking, especially the work of Gibson-Graham. Gibson-Graham place more emphasis on discursive practices by drawing on Butler's (1990) theory of performativity, who argues that the perceived naturalness of any reified category – such as gender or class - is a result of performed, discursive practices. Due to his interest in materiality, Lefebvre is reluctant to over-emphasize discursive practices and is less explicit about the process of subjectification. However, comparisons can be made to Foucault's theory of biopower and Butler's performativity, which are now being re-read in terms of assemblage theories (Gregson and Rose 2000; Legg 2011; Philo 2012). Lefebvre, for example, discusses how "[g]estural systems embody ideology and bind it to practice" (1996, 172). He argues that "gestures", defined as bodily practices performed in lived space, are linked to hegemonic power relations inscribed in particular spaces, which he describes as "codes".

Gestures are also closely bound up with the objects which fill space – with furniture, clothing, instruments (kitchen utensils, work tools), games, and places of residence. All of which testifies to the complexity of the gestural realm....Above all, however, we must avoid conceiving of or imagining a spatial code which is merely a subcode of discourse, so that constructed space is seen as somehow dependent on discourse or a modality of it. The study of gestures certainly invalidates any such view of things (Lefebvre 1991, 216).

However, Lefebvre takes great pains to show how the body is also a source of innovation, creativity and therefore resistant because of its own materiality and practices within space. The body acts as a key source for creating moments of presence. As Lefebvre describes, "the body, at the very heart of space and of the discourse of power is irreducible and subversive". By envisioning the body as "a practical and fleshy body conceived of as a totality complete with spatial qualities (symmetries, asymmetries) and energetic properties (discharges, economies, waste)... a decentering and recentering of knowledge occurs" (1991, 61-72). Lefebvre also discusses the possibilities of disruptive bodily practices by occupying differential spaces such as spaces of leisure. Leisure is "[a]liented like labour", yet simultaneously, while experiencing leisure, "the body takes its revenge – or at least calls for revenge. It seeks to make itself known – to gain recognition – as *generative*" (Lefebvre 1991, 384, emphasis original). Lefebvre conceives that the body itself, like space and materiality, has agency that can disrupt hegemonic practices as well as engender subversive knowledge creation.

This interest in bodily agency resonates with assemblage theorist Bennett's (2009) "vibrant matter", who Gibson-Graham draw upon to explore the agency and vitality of materiality and its possibilities for constructing new subjects, new social relations and new political projects (Gibson-Graham 2006a). For example, in related work, Gibson (2001) suggests that disruptions in everyday, bodily practices of unemployed men living in a depressed post-industrial region may open up new ways of thinking, feeling and acting:

For men, the repetitive practice of turning up at work and submitting to the subjection of the SECV (former place of employment) has ceased, only partly to be replaced by the ritual fortnightly call at Centrelink (to pick up government assistance)...Of course other ritual practices – the sports meetings, club and pub attendance, union meetings, and general performances of manhood in the Valley – all could be seen as shoring up ghost economic identities as workers. But these activities cannot hide the fact that an absence is present – an opening, a rupture has occurred in the

repetitive practices that articulated SECV identity and subjection. What might emerge from this opening, this constitutive absence? (664).

Therefore, Gibson-Graham and Lefebvre both suggest that disruptions in repetitive bodily actions, whether through an absence or the adoption of a new bodily practice through play, can enact emergent, noncapitalist subjectivities.

Just as the body can act as a source for Lefebvre's moments of presence or an opening to Gibson-Graham's politics of becoming, affect is also theorized as both an enabling and constraining dimension for overcoming alienation and capitalist subjectification. Lefebvre links his interest with the body to a discussion on play, festivity and leisure, in order to draw attention to affects such as desire and *jouissance*, as constituting the most important aspects for creating the city as an *oeuvre*, thereby opening up the space for what can and should be considered as political action. In his argument for the "centrality of play" as key to the right to the city, Lefebvre argues,

[t]o *inhabit* finds again its place over habitat....And if someone cries out that this utopia has nothing in common with socialism, the answer is that today only the working class still knows how to really play, feels like playing, over and above the claims and programmes, of economism, and political philosophy...Already, to city people the urban centre is movement, the unpredictable, the possible and encounters. For them, it is either 'spontaneous theatre' or nothing (Lefebvre 1996, 172).

As such, Lefebvre suggests that pleasure and play can produce differential spaces and subjectivities because this practice immediately disrupts capitalism's seemingly pervasive and dominating influence by employing a different, noncapitalist logic. As an example, Lefebvre suggests that creating time and space for children's leisure activities, therefore actually appropriating times and spaces for non-commodified uses, may have more revolutionary impact than demanding a right to increased wages or decreased working hours.

Although bodies and affects can disrupt capitalism's apparent hold on subjects, they are also key sites for reproducing power. As a result, Lefebvre adopts Nietzsche's concepts of the superman/overcoming which corresponds with Foucault's "ethic of care for the self" (Elden 2004; Foucault 1987), a key component to cultivating a politics of becoming. Conventional justice projects may in fact discourage a politics of becoming because it presupposes not only a given identity (i.e. class, ethnicity) but also a particular affective stance, *ressentiment*, from which to make claims (Connolly 1996). As Lefebvre explains, "[w]hen Nietzsche announced the death of God and man, he did not leave a gaping hole, or fill this void with makeshift material, language or linguistics. He was also announcing the Superhuman which he thought was to come. He was overcoming the nihilism he was identifying" (2003, 49). For Lefebyre, the individual, like the city, is also an *oeuvre*, who needs to engage in creative and self-actualizing experiences in order to visualize and enact noncapitalist possibilities for the self. Lefebvre is careful not to posit the idea that it is possible to achieve some final, perfected way of being. Rather, he argues that we should continually produce difference through the constant struggle to overcome oppressive conditions and simultaneously, by constructing new ways of being. Similarly, for Gibson-Graham, "the ethical practice of subject formation requires cultivating our capacities to imagine, desire, and practice noncapitalist ways to be....It would produce citizens of the diverse economy" (2003, 13). As such, although disruptive bodies and affects may prove catalytic, they need to be practiced and cultivated.

This attention to ethical practices of the self, consisting of micro-political practices focused on bodies and affects, helps to theorize the relationship between right to the city practices and self-managed, ethical collective action or *autogestion*. As Gibson-Graham argue,

[A]n ethos of engagement is an aspect of a politics of becoming, where subjects are made anew through engaging with others. This transformative process involves cultivating generosity in the place of hostility and suspicion. But such affective predispositions are not displaced easily, which means that the process involves waiting as well as cultivating...The awakening of a communal subjectivity did not emerge from common histories or qualities but from practices and feelings—of appreciation, generosity, desire to *do* and *be* with others, connecting with strangers (no matter who), encountering and transforming oneself through that experience (Gibson-Graham 2003, 27-29).

In other words, ethical relations among antagonistic subjects may not necessarily emerge solely as a result of collective urban appropriation practices alluded to by Purcell and Dikeç. Rather, such collective relations may also require ethical work on the self, what Lefebvre calls overcoming, where particular affects such as appreciation and generosity can be cultivated and where agonism replaces antagonism. Overcoming one's capitalist subjectivity and cultivating a desire for collectivist practices is part of the revolutionary process.

Herein lies the possible resolution regarding Lefebvre's controversial argument regarding spatial production as a fundamental force in the (re)production of capitalism in addition to Marx's labor theory of value. Urban space is where multiple circuits of capital, state interests, private and collective consumption as well as noncapitalist desires and uses collide, making the production of space a key entry point for resistant political action. Lefebvre is not necessarily displacing the labor theory of value with a spatial theory of value. Rather, the right to the city, as the production of space for collective, noncommodified uses, opens one up to non-alienated, non-commodified and nonexploitative relationships. These experiences create the *conditions of possibility* for autogestion, other communal social and economic projects in which surplus value is collectively produced, appropriated, distributed and exchanged. Certainly, Lefebvre may indeed be arguing that the second circuit of capital is a new site for the production of surplus value, a proposition that would be deemed heretical by many Marxist theorists. However, Lefebvre suggests that if we have indeed entered into a new stage of productive forces, "then clearly we cannot rely solely on the application of the 'classical' categories of Marxist thought" (1991, 103). Furthermore, he suggests that his theory of the production of space should be considered a "project" or "orientation", not a systematic theory. In other words, Lefebvre is not interested in articulating some 'essentialist' reading of Marx as much as he is identifying a "path to the possible" (Lefebvre 2003, 6). Collectively producing and appropriating urban space for noncapitalist uses becomes one such strategy in enacting a postcapitalist future.

DIY Urbanism as a Right to the City

As previously discussed, Lefebvre conceptualized the right to the city as inhabitants appropriating urban space for non-commodified uses. However Lefebvre also explored the potential of more ephemeral appropriations of urban space through his affiliation with The Situationists (Elden 2004; Merrifield 2006). Led by Guy Dubord in 1950s Paris, the Situationists produced agit-prop and staged street theater and guerilla art projects to jolt people out of habitual, repetitive ways of living. The Situationists' tactics served to pierce capitalist-created alienation; however, the aim of such tactics was "to be and act otherwise", not necessarily to suggest *how* people should live. Lefebvre was keenly interested in the Situationists and how artists, festivity and play can be instrumental in creating moments of presence through the appropriation of space, however temporary (Lefebvre 1991).

DIY Urbanism, ranging from pop up parks to dumpster swimming pools to guerilla art, resembles Situationist tactics by appropriating urban spaces, in playful, oftentimes extra-legal ways. Practitioners of DIY Urbanism argue that these practices are "cheaper, lighter, and quicker" for enacting spatial and social change compared to traditional urban planning practices because they rely on salvaged materials, neglected spaces, sweat labor, and legal loop holes (Schwarz 2009; The Street Plans Collaborative 2012). DIY Urbanists do not seem to share a singular agenda nor do they necessarily believe their appropriated uses should be made permanent. Rather, they are interested in what Lefebvre describes as 'lived space' by challenging urban inhabitants to question hegemonic spatial practices as well as to imagine more inclusive and diverse uses by enacting the possible (Hou 2010). For example, the DIY Urbanism group Rebar popularized an event called Park(ing) Day where individuals or groups appropriate a parking space for park space. However, groups began using the tactic to enact all kinds of alternative uses – a lemonade stand, protest against environmental pollution, and a pop up beach (StreetFilms 2006). As Rebar's founder Merker describes, "By providing a new venue for *any* kind of unmet need, revalued parking spaces became instrumental in

redefining "necessity". Thus the creative act literally "takes" place – that is, it claims a new physical and cultural territory for the social and artistic realm" (Merker 2010, 49, emphasis original).

This lack of a singular agenda stems in part from the diversity of participants, most of whom do not express an anti-capitalist sentiment. However, participation in the project may enable feelings of solidarity among diverse, antagonistic constituents through the construction of an emergent identity not based in identity or ideology, but as a result of individuals' desire to participate in the project itself. Groth and Corijn (2005) discuss this phenomenon in their case studies of informal and sometimes extralegal appropriations of vacant buildings and spaces by loose coalitions of artists, social service nonprofits, and other community residents. They find that

the civil stakeholders involved in the activity or debate around the cases are not clearly definable in straightforward terms as to a coherent 'identity', but rather by their involvement in the space itself....Striking in this respect is the fact that, even though their objectives are set in opposition to the dominant planning prerogatives and the institutionalized domain, they do not take a resistant or reactionary stance, but rather a deliberately transformative stance that is guided by non-material considerations. This constructive 'project identity' in turn allows for rather unusual coalitions to emerge which may also include actors from the local political sphere or city planning (522).

Chatterton and Pickerill find a similar phenomenon in their analysis of social centers in the UK. Social centers are described as "autonomous spaces" where participants engage in cooperative, community economies. Social center participants may not articulate an explicitly anti-capitalist sentiment or agenda. Rather, solidarity emerges from the practices themselves. As Chatterton and Pickerill explain, participants "desire to create spaces that can be co-authored and co-created by the participants who use them, rather than creating a space for political indoctrination" (2010, 483).

Furthermore, the literature on DIY Urbanism suggests that these projects engender particular affects, which may be constitutive of self-managed social and economic collectives. Because projects are normally guided by noncapitalist logic privileging collective needs and desires, interactions made possible through DIY Urbanism are sites where feelings of generosity and appreciation can be cultivated. For example, in discussing Park(ing) Day, Merker describes how the event "[s]tripped of commercial adornment, the "generous" public act foregrounds its own assumptions: it says, this is possible, and it need not be bought or sold" (Merker 2010, 50, emphasis original). This generosity pervades DIY practices in that practitioners share information freely and encourage groups to adopt tactics for their own needs. Some groups, such as Berlin-based experimenticity are explicit about constructing themselves as an "open source platform", freely disseminating ideas and resources stemming from their own experiences (LaFond 2010). Similarly, The Street Plans Collaborative offers multiple publications describing DIY tactics free of charge over the internet so that DIY ideas may be easily appropriated and implemented across a wide range of contexts.

These generous and playful interactions may enable new political subjectivities through a process of overcoming. One strain in the community garden research, for example, demonstrates how participation in food system activities such as community gardens can increase social cohesiveness and civic engagement, especially among minority and immigrant communities (Baker 2004; Ohmer et al. 2009; Teig et al. 2009). Community gardens, for example, often provide meeting space for residents to discuss other neighborhood issues as well as serve as an entry point into greater democratic participation (Irazabal and Punja 2009; Schmelzkopf 2002; C. M. Smith and Kurtz 2003; Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2004). As a result, some authors argue that such participation in food systems transforms individuals from mere "food consumers" into "food citizens", enabling them to link food access issues to larger structural inequities (Levkoe 2006; Baker 2004). Scholars argue that such outcomes are the result of intergenerational and inter-cultural dialogues where gardeners share their experiences. knowledge and food with other residents, suggesting that such generous and hospitable interactions are key to producing new political subjectivities (Langegger 2013). Chatterton and Pickerill describe a similar phenomenon in their study of social centers. Although social centre participants often do not describe themselves as activists, through their involvement in social centre practices and interaction with others, an activist identity begins to emerge. However, social centers do not produce the "revolutionary agent of history", as dreamt by Harvey and Marcuse, but rather consists of "an altogether more complex and contradictory process of activist-becoming-activist through a rejection of simple binaries between activists and their other, an embracing of a plurality of values, a pragmatic goal orientation and a growing professionalism" (Chatterton and Pickerill 2010, 487).

With that said, others are questioning DIY Urbanism's radical potential. Levin & Solga (2009), for example, analyze Situationist type urban interventions in Toronto. They argue that although such interventions do challenge the increasing privatization of public

spaces, and are therefore somewhat resistant to neoliberal planning practices, they tend to reflect particular class and race interests even under the guise of diversity and inclusiveness. As a result, these "difference without diversity" projects align quite well with Toronto's explicit creative city development discourse, potentially exacerbating urban inequalities. Furthermore, as DIY interventions are often creative projects produced by artists, these activities could spark gentrification processes. Initially described by Zukin (1989), when artists create bohemian spaces, they attract affluent residents who want to consume the artistic lifestyle, followed by commercial development, which then ultimately displaces original residents and businesses.

The above discussion demonstrates that DIY Urbanism cannot be perceived as explicitly resistant to neoliberal capitalism. However, this does not mean that such urban appropriation practices are trivial. Although these projects are enacted by diverse, even antagonistic individuals, they may be able to overcome differences by forming a "project identity" based on the shared desire to produce differential urban spaces and experiences. By identifying multiple possibilities for engaging with and within space, DIY Urbanism projects do not attempt to subsume difference under one identity, issue or ideology. Rather such practices are argued to proliferate difference by acknowledging and attempting to accommodate any and all urban inhabitant needs. By operating according to a logic privileging non-commodified use and collective needs and desires over individual rights, DIY Urbanism could create what Gibson-Graham describe as an ethos of engagement. At the same time, DIY Urbanism could disrupt hegemonic bodily and affective practices through Situationist-inspired tactics, thereby enabling subjects to experience generosity and *jouissance* with diverse others. This convergence of an ethos of engagement with an ethos of generosity, through the collective appropriation and production of non-commodified urban space, may be what is necessary to overcome capitalist subjectivities and enable more ethical interactions between diverse subjects. Subsequently, these experiences may enable postcapitalist projects – self-managed, cooperative and collectivist economic processes, what Lefebvre calls *autogestion*.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The Case Study: Six Points Urban Village in Fort Worth, Texas

Following Lofland and Lofland's suggestion of "starting where you are" (Lofland et al. 2005, 11), I researched DIY Urbanism projects activated close to my own neighborhood in Fort Worth, Texas, in a place called Six Points indicated in Figure 1. In 2002, the City of Fort Worth identified Six Points as one of Fort Worth's 16 "Urban Villages" (COFW Planning and Development Department 2006). For each of these neighborhoods, the City conducted meetings discussed revitalization plans with residents, produced designs emphasizing mixed-use development, and designated special financial incentives in order to attract developers (COFW Planning and Development Department 2006). At that time, Race Street, the core commercial corridor for Six Points, served as the home for multiple, diverse uses such as chiropractors, attorneys, a Kung Fu studio, a tattoo parlor, the county's Democratic party headquarters as well as low-income apartments. At one corner, Race Street connects to several strip commercial developments, which includes a grocery store, laundromat, and clothing store, catering to Hispanic residents, who continue to make up over 75% of local area residents. However, Race Street was also marred by multiple vacant lots and buildings, one of which was a historic Post Office building. Race Street's historic buildings and proximity to downtown and the Trinity River made it a "natural destination for commercial and residential revitalization" (ibid) in the eyes of Fort Worth planners and politicians.

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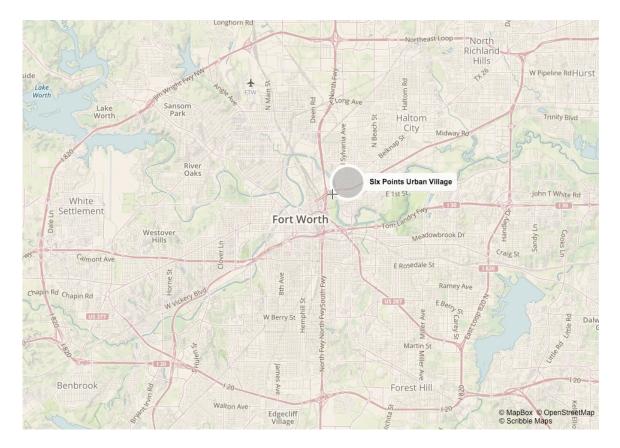


Figure 1: The case study site, Six Points Urban Village in Fort Worth, Texas

In the late 2000s, two developers began purchasing properties near Six Points. One attempted to brand the street with a Miami South Beach theme; the other, a sustainable development project (Johnson 2006; Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce 2008). Two new restaurants (one has since closed), a bar and an affordable multi-family residential property opened on the street. However, the highlight of the revitalization project revolved around the saving and rehabilitation of one of the neighborhood's original buildings that anchored the Six Points intersection (Tinsley 2005). However, by 2012, both developers foreclosed or sold many of their properties, leaving most of the same buildings and lots vacant, and in some cases, in worse shape than before (personal correspondence with Riverside residents and property owners). As development interests dwindled, residents perceived city officials as turning their attention towards other urban villages by not following through with any of the streetscaping plans, leaving some residents disillusioned and disappointed with the planning process.

In 2012, I learned through a local urbanism blog that Six Points might be the site of a Better Block DIY Urbanism intervention. I emailed the local neighborhood association president to inquire about the project and was put into contact with a Fort Worth realtor/gallery owner who was organizing the event. Through conversations with her, I learned how the idea of the Better Block began when a neighborhood artist/teacher wanted to use a vacant Race Street space for a high school student-run art gallery. The realtor representing the properties felt that the building owner would be amenable to community uses. These conversations led to the idea of turning Six Points into a local arts district using a DIY Urban intervention called "Build a Better Block" as a catalyst.

The case study is interesting and fitting for my research questions for several reasons. As described above, the location has a somewhat complicated, if not tarnished history with the city and developers. With that said, some of the participants had ties to city staffers, politicians and developers. The neighborhood and project was clearly messy – an amalgam of interrelated interests and actants. Finally, living in the same neighborhood allowed me to engage in participant observation over an extended period of time.

As I am interested in researching DIY Urbanism for its postcapitalist possibilities, the case study is "instrumental" in that it "provides insight into an issue or refinement of a theory" (Stake 2000). In other words, this study of DIY Urbanism hopes to shed light on broader theoretical and political concerns as opposed to the generalizability of DIY Urbanism itself (Yin 2009). Case study analysis is particularly appropriate for this research project as this has been the method of choice for scholars working with similar theoretical orientations (Law 2004). Furthermore, the research on right to the city and DIY urbanism suggests that these social practices are difficult to categorize. They may be resistant or complicit to capitalist development (Douglas 2014; Finn 2014). Most likely, DIY projects could be characterized as both. And if, as Lefebvre and assemblage theorists assume, social realities are assembled through the practices and relations of specific actants, we cannot extricate actants from their spaces. Phenomena and context are dynamically co-produced, requiring case study analysis (Flyvbjerg 2001; Yin 2009). These relationships are also contingent and may change quickly. As such, quantitative methodologies using large datasets in search of broad, generalizable findings would not make sense for research questions intending to unpack the political meanings and possibilities emerging from the cracks and contradictions of such activities. Indeed, case studies allows researchers to focus on "real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice" (Flyvbjerg 2001, 82), an important advantage when studying complex, shifting social relations.

Although some may argue that case studies are somehow more vulnerable to bias, validity and reliability issues, I share the perspective of feminist theorists, among others, who argue that all scientific research, social and natural, are constructed through discourse and situated practices (Haraway 1988; Harding 1986), and are therefore,

'biased'. In other words, we can never create 'pure', objective knowledge, extracted from social contexts and the subjects who produce that knowledge. Knowledge is always partial and situated, emerging out of its own assemblage made possible through the "mangling" of human and non-human agencies (Haraway 1991; Pickering and Guzik 2008). Furthermore, following Gibson-Graham (Gibson-Graham 2006a; Gibson-Graham 2006b), I assume knowledge is performative in that it shapes the imaginative possibilities of the world. Just as dominant discursive constructions of capitalism have tended to outline a field of political action in arguably undermining ways, I am interested in sketching the possibilities of an alternative, political project which would deny capitalism absolute power.

Ethnographic Methods

With its holistic approach and focus on practices and participant observation, ethnographic methods are particularly well suited for this research project. First, the method allows for both inductive and deductive dimensions to analysis (W. J. Wilson and Chaddha 2009). Although ethnographers enter the field with a theoretical framework and research questions, they do not know how or what knowledge will ultimately be constructed. Rather, themes, concepts, and narratives emerge, albeit tenuously, out of fieldwork and through the process of ethnographic writing (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995; Marcus and Clifford 1986). Ethnography therefore allows for validation of a theory while leaving space for fieldwork to surprise and reshape theory. This approach therefore seems appropriate for research questions interested in the emergence and contingent performativity of political practices, subjectivities and ethical, cooperative relations. Second, ethnographers pursuing assemblage research do not enter the field with a priori assumptions of economic, political cultural or even natural contexts as being constituted by particular actors or ideologies operating within assumed spaces. Rather, they attempt to articulate how certain practices spanning across multiple domains of social existence, such as work, family, religious, leisure, etc., construct diverse economies, politics and social relations (Boellstorff 2012). As Latour and others suggest (Baiocchi 2013), ethnography is a productive social science methodology that integrates diverse, heterogeneous practices and things – i.e. science, politics, cosmologies - into one analytical frame. As such, this approach works well with research focused on the agency of and relations among both human and non-human actants.

Related to this point, ethnographers tend to focus on practices (Herzfeld 2001) – what people and things *do*. Ethnographic researchers should not ascribe motives or generalize behaviors or actions (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995). In other words, ethnography normally involves "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of social practices, spaces, actors, events, and things in order to understand how such practices constitute the life worlds of its participants. Ethnographers, therefore, are interested not only in epistemological questions but ontological questions such as how various assemblages of practices constitute reality for individuals, including the researcher.

Ethnography is characterized by "direct and sustained contact" (O'Reilly 2012, 3) with actors and more recently, actants (e.g. Martin 1994). As I am interested in how

assemblages form, how they stabilize or fall apart over time, the quality of relations between actants, and the ways in which subjects are formed, I will need to spend considerable time in the field.

Finally, ethnography's key technique is participant observation. As Goffman suggests, participant observation involves "subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, their work situation, or their ethnic situation, or whatever. So that you are close to them while they are responding to what life does to them" (1989, 125). As such, by immersing my own body and self in the field, ethnography will help me to understand subject formation and whether participation produces more ethical affects and relations by recognizing and documenting my own subject formation and relationship changes.

Data Collection

As a neighborhood resident, I met key DIY Urbanist volunteers focused on Six Points through a contact in the local neighborhood association. I was invited by the Better Block leadership to be a participant observer (see Appendix A). Data were collected between May 2012 and June 2016 through participant observation conducted during DIY organizational meetings, public meetings, meetings with partner groups, DIY workdays and events. Additionally, I conducted semi-structured interviews with key participants and archival research.

Table 1: Data Sources

Participant Observation	#	Semi-Structured Interviews	#
DIY Work Days	15	DIY Urbanists	6
DIY-Related Events	27	Artists	9
Public Meetings	12	Developers	2
Organizational Meetings	31	City Officials	3
Other Related Meetings	5		
Other Related Events	17		

Participant Observation

Table 1 details the number of observed meetings and activities related to the DIY interventions and the assembling of Six Points such as organizational meetings, neighborhood association meetings, presentations by public officials and private organizations as well as the number and source of interviews conducted. I participated fully as a volunteer in the planning and implementation of DIY interventions logging approximately 340 hours in the field. I assumed any role assigned by event leadership. As a result, I participated in street clean ups, DIY streetscaping such as crosswalk, pallet, tire painting, building garden beds and street furniture, event set up, business outreach, flyer design and posting, building a basic webpage, PayPal account and bank account set up, coordinating children's art projects, and organizing artisan markets. However, as I will discuss later in more detail at the end of the chapter, my role shifted from participant observer to more of an activist researcher over the span of four years. I audio-recorded and took notes at meetings and activities whenever possible. However, as participant observation assumes observing social actions in a naturalistic context, I used discretion as to when I should draw attention to the research project. On those occasions when I felt

audio-recording would disrupt significant social interactions, I wrote what I observed either at that moment or privately at a later point in time. I also maintained a field journal in order to document observations and conversations from field research as well as to follow my own subject formation and relationships with other actants.

While engaging in participant observation, I asked questions of project participants related to the study as issues arose in the field. These participants were mainly core organizers. At the height of the DIY Urbanists' membership, there were approximately twenty core volunteers. At one point volunteers dwindled to four members. However, 'work' and 'event' days often included a broader range of participants who were invited by core organizers as well as those who lived in the neighborhood. Questions for DIY participants were open-ended and conversational, emerging from the field. I drew on Spradley's (1980) three categories of open-ended questions: descriptive, structural and compare/contrast. Descriptive questions merely ask subjects to describe something – an event, an incident, relationships, thing, etc. Structural questions attempt to identify the ways in which subjects structure their reality by asking informants to unpack their ways of categorizing and connecting social phenomenon. Finally compare/contrast questions attempt to understand what subjects mean when using various terms. Examples of these questions include: What do you think of this particular Race Street building (descriptive)? What would be an appropriate use for that building (structural)? What do you mean by a creative use for the building? What's the difference between creative and 'old hat'? (compare/contrast)? These question types enabled me to

focus more on practices as opposed to prematurely ascribing motives or making false assumptions.

My theoretical framework suggests that DIY Urbanism may produce ethical and cooperative relations between actants as well as postcapitalist publics. As such, I was especially attuned to cooperative activities or arrangements such as the sharing of time, things, spaces and projects that have collective benefit and was cognizant of relationships and collaborations between diverse others. However, since I am interested in emergent relations, I followed Emerson, Fretz and Shaw's (1995) advice to 'cast my net broadly' by documenting initial impressions of physical environments, key events or incidents, my own reactions and feelings, and anything that appears significant to actants.

Interviews

Through existing relationships, I verbally requested interviews with other project leadership and volunteers. I emailed planning staff associated with the neighborhood to request interviews. At DIY interventions and events, I verbally asked event attendees if they would be interested in sharing their impressions about the event. I conducted semi-structured interviews with event leadership, volunteers, city staff, and developers. Interviews lasted approximately 1½ hours. Interviews with public actors consisted of 5 main questions and took about 45 minutes to complete (see Appendix B and C for a list of questions). For all semi-structured interviews, I asked permission if I could audio-record interviews so I could transcribe data as accurately as possible. Interviews were conducted at various places, such as the subject's office or home or at a public place such

as a neighborhood restaurant. All semi-structured interview participants were asked to sign an informed consent form (see Appendix D). I also conducted quick on-site interviews of event attendees. (see Appendix E for interview questions).

While out in the field, I kept all research documents, such as signed consent forms, fieldwork notes, and audio-recordings in my personal bag. After each day of fieldwork, I downloaded audio files and transcribed notes onto my personal computer. I also transferred all hard copy documents, such as signed consent forms and written notes, to a file box in my home.

Demographic Research

Using 1980, 1990, 2000 Census and 2014 American Community Survey data, I collected demographic data, including race and ethnicity, median household income, poverty levels, language spoken at home, educational attainment, occupation of residents, and tenure for those living in the three census tracts surrounding the Six Points in order to compare with the demographics of DIY participants.

Archival Research

I researched and maintained a collection of newspaper articles, blog posts, flyers, planning documents and any other written articles relating to the case study by searching "Six Points", "Urban Race Street", "Urban Riverside", "Riverside Fort Worth" and "Riverside Arts District", the names of key actors through electronic databases of newspaper articles as well as through the identification of these sources as a result of fieldwork and interview data collection.

Data Analysis

I transcribed interview and participant observation data as closely as possible to the original source. I imported all transcriptions into Dedoose, a web-based qualitative analysis software. Throughout the research process, I engaged in preliminary analytical work by writing descriptions, asides, and memos based on interview data, field notes and archival research. These ranged from preliminary reflections, detailed descriptions of social scenes and events, to further questions regarding the relationship between data and research questions. Although these preliminary activities were analytical, they occurred throughout the data collection process in order to help refine interview questions, conversations and observations in the field (Spradley 1980).

After transcribing interviews, meeting notes and field notes, I open coded chunks of transcription excerpts using a range of descriptors based on what emerged from the data. The first round of coding was mainly exploratory and descriptive. In addition to initial codes, I began using what Saldaña (2013) calls versus codes (comparative/contrast) and in vivo codes (using participants' own language). This process resulted in over 300 codes. Throughout the coding process, I wrote analytical memos exploring potential linkages, themes and interpretations of data as well as patterns using my theoretical framework as a guide. Again, drawing on poststructuralism, I assumed that knowledge is situated and partial (Haraway 1988). As such, I explored how the actants drawn together through Six Points, including individual actors, spaces, places and interventions were constructed. Focused initially on discursive constructions, I explored what claims were made and how they were constructed as legitimate. How did these constructions vary? How were they challenged or contradicted by other constructions, actants, or affects? In other words, I attempted to identify the "categories and predicates that underpin the natural logic of texts...as the quiet centres of power and persuasion that naturalize texts" (Lee and Poynton 2000, 106) as well as instances where such power-truth-knowledge nexuses were challenged, particularly regarding the production of space and subjectivities. However, my vital reading of Lefebvre also steered me towards affect, materiality and spatial practices. I focused on streets, buildings, public art, spaces, spatial interventions, planning documents, and other 'things' related to the case study, anything regarding individual subjectivity or identity, relationships and feelings between actants, as well as the diversity, inclusiveness, emergence and durability of those relationships. I also explored how various practices intertwined discourses and materiality as a way to think about the production of space as perceived, conceived and lived.

These analytical memos led to the construction of more thematically and theoretically focused codes. Drawing comparisons between the memos and the open coding process, I determined the most prevalent codes salient to my research questions. These were then used to engage in a secondary, more focused coding process. I also identified several code clusters and collapsed them under broader, umbrella categories. Finally, I began coding the analytical memos themselves, which wove together the rich data, theoretical interests, and main analytical points. These analytical codes were then applied to the excerpts for one last round of coding and served as the framework for constructing my final analysis.

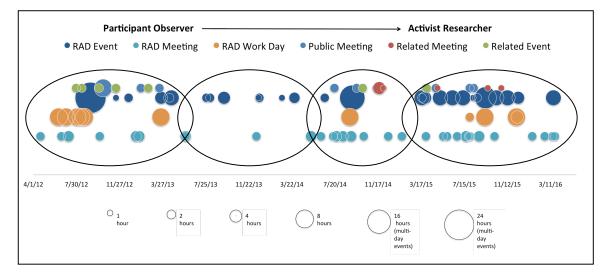
"Going Native" and other Ethical Considerations

I did not foresee any major risks related to participation in this study. However, to ensure participants were treated ethically, I followed the American Anthropologists Association Code of Ethics and the University of Texas at Arlington's Institutional Review Board (IRB) criteria for research on human subjects, which approved the research project, including the interview protocols and consent forms. The IRB Notification exemption protocol number is 2012-0814. During the writing process, I used pseudonyms or position titles for any actors that I personally interacted with through the process of the ethnographic research. Names of actors that were identified through archival research using public data sources and with whom I did not have any contact with, were used. With that said, unexpected ethical concerns did emerge during this research.

In total, I spent approximately 350 hours in the field. However, as Figure 2 shows, my involvement with RAD and the DIY Urbanists consisted of four distinct clusters of time, reflecting the way in which my role evolved over the course of four years from participant observer to activist researcher. Although I am interested in performing postcapitalist publics and greatly influenced by J.K. Gibson Graham's work, I had made a deliberate decision not to engage in the kind of activist-oriented research pursued by Gibson-Graham for several reasons. One, I wanted to empirically explore Lefebvre's

theoretical argument regarding the relationship between novel spatial experiences and the emergence of postcapitalist possibilities. I did not want to influence outcomes but rather be open to the ways in which DIY projects opened up or foreclosed collectivist economic and social projects. Second, as an early researcher, I did not feel I had adequate experience to successfully construct and effectively pursue an activist style research approach. Such methodologies often include more intentional community engagement techniques that strive to link participation activities with certain desired outcomes. Activist-oriented research programs often include collaborative approaches to data collection, analysis and sharing of findings (Hale 2001). In other words, within an activist research model, subjects are no longer subjects or informants - they become research partners. These partners, as in the case of Gibson-Graham's work, may be trained to facilitate meetings, focus groups, and engagement practices. They may validate research findings as well as write and present analyses. Activist research projects can therefore be very complex and require extensive time and resources to pursue.

Figure 2: Evolution of Researcher Role



As a result, Gibson-Graham, like many scholars who pursue this style of research, often conduct activist research in teams, not as individuals. Not only is a team required to negotiate the complexity of such projects, it also provides some security – safety in numbers - when dealing with sensitive, political subjects that may open one up to attack by participants themselves or external actors. Explicitly sharing my theoretical framework and political interests could have placed me in a very vulnerable position. Furthermore, had I attempted to lay bare my interest in postcapitalist possibilities, which could have been potentially alienating to some due to their political or esoteric overtones, I may not have been able to experience certain joyful, enchanting, albeit oftentimes emotionally and physically exhausting moments - my own 'moments of presence' - in solidarity with others.

As such, I embarked on the research project with the assumption that I would act as a 'neutral' participant observer. This consists of the first cluster depicted in Figure 2. I planned to fully participate in the DIY Urbanism projects like any other volunteer, yet maintain some distance. For the most part, I was successful. I, like all other volunteers, attended group meetings, participated in the street and lot clean ups, painted tires, decorated garden beds, searched for discarded pallets, donated supplies, as well as set up and manage the actual events. With that said, from the very first moment I began working with the group, my role was to be constructed by other participants. I was often introduced by DIY leadership not only as their "PhD student" or "resident researcher" but their "expert" in creative placemaking and creative economies. I was immediately afforded a much more influential role than I had initially planned and was expected by other DIY Urbanists to participate in both strategic and tactical decision-making regarding events and the subsequent organization of the DIY Urbanists into Riverside Arts District. I was also delegated additional tasks such as business outreach and sponsorship, creating a website and promotional materials for RAD, and attending additional neighborhood meetings.

Furthermore, I hadn't fully anticipated the strong relationships forged through the process of appropriating space and how that would affect my role with both group members as well as with other individuals and organizations external to RAD. Although I attempted to remain neutral throughout the process, and by doing so, was able to maintain fairly positive relationships with various groups, my deep participation resulted in becoming intimately associated not just with the DIY Urbanists, but with what would become the Riverside Arts District. I believe this association ultimately limited my access to some other actors such as city staff members, as I became perceived as a 'stakeholder' as opposed to a researcher. Indeed, I may have committed what some consider as the worst sin of ethnography – 'going native', the act of complete inculcation into the cultural site being studied, thereby collapsing the distance between ethnographer and subjects.

Certainly, the notion of a detached ethnographer who can enter and leave a field without making a trace has been thoroughly debunked. Ethnography, like all discursive practices is performative, meaning that the ethnographic process, particularly the writing process, constructs rather than 'represents' the objects of study (Marcus and Clifford 1986). Furthermore, considering my interest in elucidating what a politics of becoming

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would look and feel like, I knew I would have to become affected myself. Indeed, I fully intended on going native, "but armed" as Wacquant (2011, 87) advises, "equipped with [my] theoretical and methodological tools, with the full store of problematics inherited from [my] discipline, with [my] capacity for reflexivity and analysis, and guided by a constant effort". And certainly, as Wacquant suggests, the mark of a good social scientist is to be able to return from the field to write the analysis. At the end of the day, I have been able to "*objectivize this experience and construct the object*" (ibid, 88, emphasis in original). But what Wacquant does not admit or discuss is how his entanglements with a particular assemblage of social-material-discursive relationships produced certain conditions of possibility for his fellow actants. How did his / my own participation in the assemblage make certain outcomes possible or invisible? As a result, he was able to sidestep certain ethical questions. For most anthropologists and sociologists, "applied ethnography" is sacrilege so such ethical entanglements are written out of the monograph – another ethnographic lie we tell ourselves (Fine 1993).

However, for those conducting ethnographic research regarding planning policy, urban politics, and justice issues, we must explicitly engage with these questions. It was perhaps naïve of me to believe I could remain fairly neutral and unaffected throughout the research process. I knew my ethical responsibilities and intended role upon entering the field. However, as I became both actant and acted upon within the assemblage, my role and responsibilities were muddied. Certainly, considering my theoretical orientation, I should not have expected otherwise. Just as objects and subjects of study are variously positioned and characterized by a complicated assemblage of affects, embodiments, motivations, identities, etc., so are researchers. As a white, middle-class, dog-art-garden loving, middle-aged PhD student with children, I found building positive relationships with many informants quite easy.



Figure 3: Alicia Guzman. Fieldwork of friendship. Author (left) and Race Street clean up volunteers, 2012.

I pursued something akin to Tillmann-Healy's (2003) "friendship as method" where ethnography is "pursued with an ethic of friendship, a stance of hope, caring, justice, even love. Friendship as method is neither a program nor a guise strategically aimed at gaining further access. It is a level of investment in participants' lives that puts fieldwork relationships on par with the project". This method was not intentionally pursued but rather emerged through the research process. The outcomes – these friendships – constitute part of the analysis. I, like many of the other DIY participants, shared this emergent ethos of engagement and generosity. I clearly did not heed

Wacquant's warning to only *construct* and not be *constructed by* the ethnographic experience. But to suggest that ethnographers can extricate themselves from the field unaffected - unscathed, unbattered, or even unfriended – perhaps covers up another "lie" of the ethnographic method.

However, by the end of the first year of research, I did attempt to extricate myself from the field. This time period is captured in the second cluster of Figure 2. At that time, I continued attending events sponsored by artists and other DIY Urbanists but shifted my focus away from planning and implementing events towards conducting additional interviews and engaging in analysis. However by 2014, development interests heated up. As I will discuss in Chapter 7, artists began leaving the studios and the DIY Urbanists fragmented. I felt myself pulled back to the field. As the third cluster in Figure 2 reveals, I began working with the remaining DIY Urbanists to plan new events and think more strategically about RAD as an organization and its role in revitalizing Six Points. Again, I became a key team member, planning and implementing DIY Urbanism projects as well as participating in more general organizational meetings. During this time, we focused on embRACE the STREET 2, a second Better Block event, where I organized a street artisan market and children's creativity plaza. I also built furniture, participatory art projects, helped to maintain social media pages and continued outreach to local businesses and neighborhood residents for support. After participating in the second Better Block, my intended neutrality was ultimately complicated.

Although I was able to maintain positive relationships with all actors, even those who left the DIY Urbanism group, by this point, I realized that I was increasingly

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identified by city officials, residents, business owners and the developer - not as a researcher, not as an advocate - but as a constituent member of Riverside Arts District. In 2015, the final cluster, I finally embraced this role, evolving from a participant-observer to more of an activist researcher. My fellow DIY Urbanists have since labeled me "Chief of Community Engagement" encouraging me to create more inclusive and participatory spatial experiences for residents. Doing so has caused some tensions between myself, the developer and city planning staff, as requests for interviews were often dismissed and conversations became increasingly terse. I, along with my fellow DIY Urbanists, was being marginalized. However, this shift has allowed me to be more transparent regarding my theoretical and political interests as well as opened up opportunities for me to pursue more intentional collectivist DIY interventions such as participatory and communitybased art projects. Although I'm still adapting to my activist position, I do reflect on whether being more explicit regarding my 'expertise', not just in creative placemaking and tactical urbanism, but also its critics and champions in terms of how such spatial interventions relate to social and spatial justice concerns. Perhaps an earlier activist stance could have generated different 'lines of flight', to borrow Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) term for rhizomatic pursuits of desirous escapes. This is a question I attempt to pursue in future research projects.

My role and the relationships developed continues to form part of Six Points story and offers insights into what kinds of interventions planners, especially those operating from within the academy, can make in striving for ethical and equitable neighborhood revitalization and development outcomes. I may have gone native and abandoned my 'neutral' researcher position. But I was never neutral. No academic is ever neutral. No planner is ever neutral. We, like developers, property owners, business owners, residents and users, all are inextricably implicated in the production of space, regardless if that contribution is recognized or not. So perhaps going native – recognizing my own inherently messy, contradictory role in that process - is necessary for claiming a right to the city.

Chapter 5: Assembling Six Points into Urban Riverside

The area known as Six Points in East Fort Worth has been constituted through an ever-shifting assemblage of things, affects, discourses, and actors. The diverse relationships to particular geographic features, buildings, streets, and trees - their meanings, memories, and values – entangle seemingly disparate actors and their associated claims, ideologies, resources and networks. Six Points is the messy story of contingencies whose outcomes have never been entirely determined by particular interests, even though recent developments such as the re-branding of the neighborhood into River East may suggest otherwise.

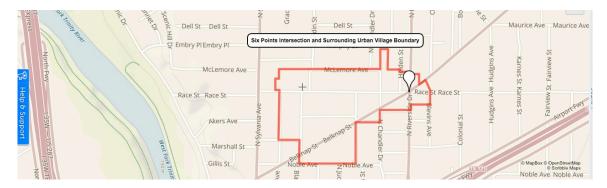
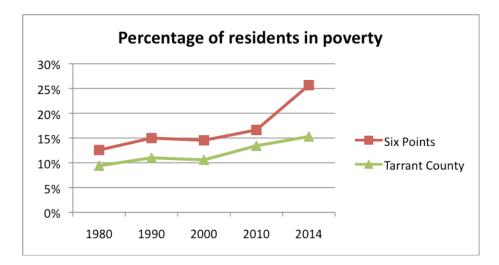
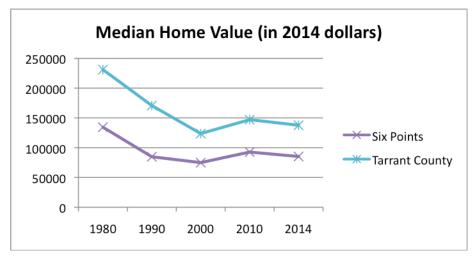


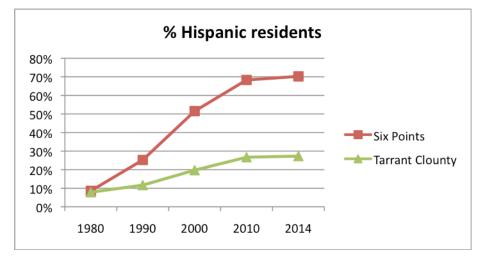
Figure 4. Six Points Urban Village Intersection and Boundaries.

The study area focuses on the Six Points Urban Village in Fort Worth's Scenic Bluff neighborhood, which is part of the greater Riverside community. Six Points, itself, refers to the intersection of three streets, Riverside Drive, Belknap Street and Race Street, the connected commercial corridor and immediately surrounding neighborhoods, as shown in Figure 4. DIY Urbanism interventions as well as public sector and development interests have focused their attention on the section of Race Street running from the Six Points intersection to Sylvania Drive, which served as a main commercial corridor for the neighborhood beginning in the 1930s. Established Riverside residents remember a much beloved drug store, costume shop, music store, restaurants, and a theater, which have all been closed for more than a decade.

In the second half of the twentieth century, Race Street, Six Points and its surrounding neighborhoods experienced much of the same social, economic and political dynamics impacting many urban neighborhoods across the United States. Comparing the census tracts surrounding Six Points with trends in the broader county, the Riverside neighborhood witnessed higher poverty rates, declining property values and most recently, an influx of Hispanic immigrants as indicated in Figures 5-7. The neighborhood was particularly stricken as a result of the economic recession in 2008 reflected by the sharp rise in poverty in recent years - a trend experienced in many inner-city communities of color across the United States (Rugh and Massey 2010). These outcomes associated with white flight, disinvestment and neglect from both private and public sectors are theorized to be the result of demographic shifts, economic structural changes, associated reductions in public services and social welfare, as well as formal and informal policies and practices favoring suburbanization, segregation and uneven development (Denton and Massey 1993; Harvey 1989; W. J. Wilson 1996; Wyly, Glickman, and Lahr 1998).







Figures 5-7: Sources: 1980-2010 US Census and 2014 American Community Survey (five year estimates)

In the early 2000s, the City of Fort Worth began studying Six Points and other existing inner-city commercial corridors to identify prospective sites for revitalization. The mission of the Task Force was to "create economic development opportunities in selected commercial corridors that can be measured by increases in employment, tax base, and business growth and quality-of-life improvements, particularly in low and moderate income areas" (COFW Planning and Development Department 2002, 4). The City's task force, with guidance from various consultants, identified five key commercial corridors that were considered "deteriorating" yet held the greatest potential for revitalization (personal correspondence, Fort Worth planner). The City then held several public meetings to gather input from residents regarding land use and design preferences and began developing a revitalization strategy based on the concept of "urban villages".

City staffers defined urban villages as a

highly urbanized place that has a concentration of jobs, housing units, commercial uses, public spaces, public transportation, pedestrian activity and a sense of place. Villages are frequently located at significant intersections. Predominant land uses within villages are residential, commercial and public. Within this relatively compact geographic area, different land uses are found side by side or within the same structures. The mix of uses in the village is located in developments with minimal setbacks, reduced parking requirements and taller structures, all in an effort to achieve higher densities necessary to support transit, pedestrian activity, private investment and a sense of place. A village serves as a catalyst for public and private investment and economic activity, effectively building off the strengths of the surrounding area and connecting to adjacent neighborhoods (COFW Planning and Development Department 2002).

Existing infrastructure lending itself to mixed-use development and multi-modal transportation, the presence of parks and open spaces as well as existing strong civic

engagement were all identified as key factors in the urban village selection process. However, according to city planning documents and interviews with planning staff, the number one criteria for village designation was its perceived ability to attract market-led investment. As one key planning staff member explained in an interview,

We are not just looking at the physical characteristics but also looking at the potential for new development, for redevelopment. Can we, through some process influence that market and tip it in a direction that's more positive? We went through the process and analyzed different commercial corridors and then set some criteria and among them being, is there real market potential here? And then we cut the list short. Obviously, we don't have the resources to address everything and if you spread yourself out that thinly then no one really sees the change anyway. So it's better to focus on a small number of areas that you can actually exert some influence and spend some resources on so you have some visible change and then you stimulate...[pause]...and this is the goal, stimulate private sector investment in those communities. And if you can tip that so then the market is now interested and people are willing to invest in properties, reinvent buildings or build new buildings, then, you can set the stage for the market to take over. Then the tools that you are using no longer are as necessary as they were. And if it gets successful enough, you can pull those resources out and the market will just take over.

Although the Six Points commercial corridor certainly possessed the infrastructure to support mixed-use development, was home to strong neighborhood associations and had some development interest with a private investor already beginning to assemble former industrial property in 2000, the area was not initially designated as an Urban Village. Indeed, what residents considered as the most historically significant structure in the neighborhood, the sixty-year-old McAdams building anchoring Six Points, shown in Figure 8, found itself on the chopping block in the fall of 2004. Vacant for years, the McAdams building was slated for demolition in order to make room for a used car lot. Residents protested the plan and appealed to the City for help. As one member of the alliance of local neighborhoods explained, "If we lose this, it's going to leave a tremendous hole in the neighborhood...If we lose this site, we lose an opportunity to redevelop this area" (quoted in Tinsley 2004). Residents requested a demolition delay and asked that the City to either purchase the property or provide incentives for the rehabilitation of the property by private developers. As another resident remarked, "If the city can give all these abatements for beautiful Pier 1 and RadioShack, and help other developers, they can come back into the inner city and do the same thing" (quoted in Tinsley 2004). The city granted the request for a six-month demolition delay giving residents time to enlist the help of a Los Angeles TV producer, Robert Bell, who had grown up in the Riverside area and who ultimately purchased and renovated the building. Bell hired a local green building specialist to serve as project manager for the renovation.



Figure 8. Nicole Foster, McAdams Building at Six Points, 2012.

The renovated McAdams Building's grand opening occurred one year later in September 2005 and became the focal point for legitimizing the desires for a revitalized Riverside. As the renovation project manager explained, "This [the opening of the McAdams building] really sets a tone, that the neighborhood can handle this type of redevelopment...Riverside truly is historically significant ... and it truly is an urban corridor. We'll start treating it as such" (quoted in Tinsley 2005). In other words, the building itself became a "matter of concern", drawing a public around it, generating meaning and opening up possibilities (Latour 2004a). Of course, the building had always "mattered" to many long-standing residents as it stood as a center for community life. As one resident recalled, "This area was a focal point. You could walk to all of the facilities and then home" (quoted in Tinsley 2004). And many current and former residents had strong affective ties to the McAdams: "This building, a Riverside icon, is important to the community. If it had been demolished, it would have been very difficult" (quoted in Tinsley 2005). City officials, however, saw the building as one more obsolete structure. As one council member decried, "How many more buildings like this are out there?...We are not in the position of purchasing buildings to save them" (quoted in Tinsley 2004).

Five years prior to the McAdams renovation, two local developers began purchasing properties in Six Points and started to brand the area as a mixed-use, "eclectic" street with a South Beach theme. Within six months, the developers collaborating with Bell, negotiated a lease with an Italian restaurant to take over the McAdams building as well as attracted various tenants such as a glass art studio, banquet hall and motorcycle repair shop. With this activity, Six Points officially was "discovered" (Johnson 2006). In their "Best Of" edition, Fort Worth's local alterative weekly newspaper associated the developer with the McAdams project as one of the best building renovations in the city.

Justin McWilliams' redevelopment of Race Street between Sylvania and Belknap is nothing short of phenomenal. He's taken a shabby, beginningto-get-scary locale and restored several blocks of it to a gorgeous, welcoming asset to the Riverside area. Bright colors highlight the architectural features of some nice old buildings, and tiled planters, shutters, grill work, and other touches make this place a gem. More good things are happening on other ends of this stretch, on Sylvania to the west and at the "Six Points" confluence of Riverside, Belknap, and Race. Maybe the surrounding residential neighborhoods — charming, shady, modest to middle-class, some of them historic, and with one of the most diverse populations of any part of town — are finally going to have the commercial areas they deserve. (*Fort Worth Weekly* 2005)

Although the McAdams renovation was hailed as a success, other changes to the street were met with neighborhood resistance. Some residents fought and defeated a rezoning request, effectively pushing out the motorcycle repair shop. Although the developer blamed NIMBY ism and residents' feelings that this was not the "right kind of business", others argued that it had nothing to do with the business itself, but rather the fact that they had to tolerate the constant cacophony of motorcycle mufflers, a perceived nuisance that would return to the street ten years later. Some residents challenged the liquor license sought by the banquet hall as well as pursued the down-zoning of higher density residential areas to include only single family homes, to stem higher density development. One particular source of contention between some residents and the developers was the design aesthetic of the new brand. Through bright colored paint and neon lighting reminiscent of South Beach, Miami, the developers were "trying to create an area that will bridge ethnic styles and create an inviting atmosphere" (McWilliams as

quoted in Johnson 2006). However, some residents did not agree with this "Hispanic

flair" (ibid).

Although neighborhood opposition can certainly be interpreted as NIMBY-ism

and even racism, there was also concern regarding the potential for gentrification as

described here by one of the developers in a Fort Worth urbanism blog post.

Yeah, when I went in to this area I tried to involve myself with the neighborhood association. I tried to be their friend and even donated considerably to the 4th of July party. Then I realized that most of the people were just playing with politics. They would gossip and work against people they didn't like on a personal level. I decided that wasn't for me. Then when the motorcycle shop moved in they decided it wasn't the "type" of business they wanted on Race Street. FACT Race Street has been one of the worst areas for sexual offenders, drug use and crime and prostitution.

We are trying to attract good business to the area! Now we have another empty building. At the neighborhood meetings the main concern is taxes being raised because of new development and these people can't be convinced otherwise. They feel we are against them because we are developers. I explained that if we get Urban Village designation and NEZ (Neighborhood Empowerment Zone) their taxes can be frozen up to 10 years! Imagine my dismay when I find that they think I am lying to them about the tax freeze for my own interest. What's the use? I can buy old buildings in other towns and fix them up... Sorry to vent, [we] really see potential for this area and its sad when most of our weeks are dealing with [Neighborhood Association] problems (Miller 2016).

Although the City designated Six Points as an official Urban Village in 2002, it

wasn't until this convergence of development interests, civic engagement and

NIMBY ism that led to the development of a master plan, enabling public officials to help

guide development and mitigate tensions (COFW Planning and Development Department

2007a). As the City's Director of Planning responded to the conflict,

It suggests that the neighborhood leaders feel strongly about the integrity of the neighborhoods and it suggests that the developers are interested in generating economic activity that could benefit those same neighborhoods. A certain tension between developers and neighborhood leaders may actually be desirable — provided we can manage it constructively" (quoted in Johnson 2006).

The Urban Village designation introduced rezoning, public meetings, and additional monies into Six Points. The immediate area surrounding Race Street was rezoned mixed-use and received, along with only four other urban villages, funding for both planning and capital improvements amounting to around \$800,000. By December 2007, the City of Fort Worth produced a Master Plan for Six Points developed through the use of six consultants, three public meetings and input from key stakeholders including neighborhood association presidents, business owners and the two main developers (COFW Planning and Development Department 2007b). Although according to the City's planning director, Urban Villages were intended to "rebuild Fort Worth for people" (WFAA 2007), the only beneficiaries of the plan seemed to be developers, those residents who wanted to upscale their neighborhood, and of course the City, who would benefit from increased taxes. Aside from Housing Rehabilitation, there wasn't anything in the plan aimed at developing the capacities of the residents and businesses that were already living and working in Six Points. The plan incorporated support for the privatelyled mixed use development and the branding of the area as "Urban Riverside" or "Urban Race Street", streetscaping, housing rehabilitation, new higher density residential, and infrastructural improvements for the actual Six Points intersection site. The City also

included the developers' original brand of the area as a "Live Music Destination, Culinary Mecca" with a "Deco/Main Street Urban Design".

Nowhere did the plan address how the Urban Village designation would benefit lower and middle income residents even though Fort Worth's planning director did suggest that these projects would be an improvement over previous plans: "The old model was, which has not worked well, is [sic] to concentrate poor folks, in public housing, out of the mainstream of the community" (ibid). The city's main goal was to attract more affluent residents to the inner-city neighborhoods by building urban residential and entertainment zones. Presumably, by diversifying the income mix, just the presence of higher income households would benefit neighborhoods.

To rub salt into the wound, city staff also absolved themselves of all future planning responsibilities. The report suggested existing community organizations should form a nonprofit organization to "implement the urban village plan while balancing the different perspectives of stakeholder groups [and] enlist the services and participation of local financial institutions" (COFW Planning and Development Department 2007b, 17). This group would also "coordinate and facilitate with private property owners in the South Race Street core area for a village plaza and common service areas along with an agreement on use" (ibid). Finally, housing rehabilitation was to become the responsibility of "the Six Points Urban Village [who] should become an advocate and facilitator between the City, Housing Trust, and financial institutions for owner- occupied and/or investor low interest rehabilitation for market rate housing" (ibid). In other words, any policies aimed at benefiting the existing residents of the neighborhood – public services, public spaces and financial support to upgrade existing modest homes - would be the responsibility of the proposed nonprofit organization made up entirely of community based organizations and local businesses – a nonprofit that was yet to even exist.

The City planning office had freed itself of facilitating any communicative or participatory planning role, however flawed and top-down. The city's role would now only include zoning, creating design guidelines, providing money for façade improvements, streamlining development review processes, possibly developing incentive opportunities such as Tax Increment Financing, working with existing businesses to find parking solutions, potentially installing a surveillance camera system, and implementing a "clean sweep" program including a one month temporary presence in the village where residents could voice their concerns regarding city services in order to foster "good will" between residents and public officials. However, in terms of community development needs, the neighborhood would have to take care of itself.

Regardless, the public planning process that did occur was never truly communicative. Rather, public planning meetings were an opportunity to 'get buy-in' for urban villages. As one key planning staffer explained when asked about the role of residents in the planning process,

Well, the local community is extremely important to that process. The commercial corridor task force had leadership from these areas and was intentionally set up that way to represent these communities...uh...to establish an urban village which was the conclusion of the commercial corridor study...that's what was done...to identify urban villages. We identified 12 or 13 at that point.

You've got to get community buy-in... [pause] *because what you're doing...* [pause]...*you're proposing changing their future*. So it's important to have them as part of that process. Uh, and, the more you can have the property owners, particularly, because we are focusing particularly on the commercial districts, um, having the commercial property owners engaged in that process was particularly helpful (emphasis added).

In other words, the Urban Village plan was already decided. The policy was not open for debate. The participation process – which lasted over a year – served to legitimize a plan that did not seem to benefit residents at all except for greasing the wheels for investors and developers who could provide what the City presumed were desired goods and services. However, even this "benefit" was dubious considering that the plan aimed to create a space dedicated exclusively for consumption by affluent residents.

After the master plan was approved, a couple of new businesses opened including an antique shop and sandwich restaurant, both of which have since closed. Neither private developer successfully completed their projects. In 2008, the former project manager of the McAdams building began branding her project "Urban Race Street", a 4.5 acre development to feature Class A office space, retail space, and LEED certified residential loft spaces and promised construction to begin in 2009 (Tronche 2008). However, by the end of 2011, the owner had yet to make significant progress and ultimately sold the remaining properties to her partner, a self-proclaimed, "one buildingat-a time developer", who had been working to revitalize another inner core neighborhood, Fort Worth's version of skid row. Although the original developer, McWilliams, had acquired 120,000 square feet of property in the Six Points Area by 2010 and had successfully attracted multiple tenants, he too sold his properties presumably due to neighborhood opposition and a lack of financing due to the recession (Garza 2012; Howe 2010). Not surprisingly, with development interests forestalled, the City did not pursue any projects or initiatives in Six Points, which will lead us to the next chapter regarding the assemblage of Six Points into Riverside Arts District, a "DIY Creative Community".

But first, what can we learn from this constellation of buildings, lots, affects, zoning codes, blogs, websites, actors, planning documents, meetings, and neon lighting? Urban development is clearly not solely a discursive construction nor is it completely driven by capitalist or city interests. The production of space certainly involved discursive formations. The City's plans, various blog posts, newspaper articles, and development brands all had a performative effect, seemingly converging in their construction of Six Points into an urban, mixed-use, entertainment district. There was a sense of closure to this discourse in that the language of these materials suggested that Six Point's redevelopment as "Urban Race Street" or "Urban Riverside" was inevitable – the "race to Race Street" was on. Development on Race Street and in Six Points was constructed as a game, with the finish line in sight. As one journalist commented, it had finally been "discovered", and it was only a matter of time until it would become like Austin's SoCo or Dallas' Lower Greenville.

This appeal to other 'cool' places was a constant trope in the discussions surrounding Race Street. Developers and others imagined "Austin's South Congress Avenue, Miami's Ocean Drive and maybe even Cowtown's West Seventh Street of 10 years ago all rolled into one street", "an area similar to Lower Greenville Avenue in Dallas -- a mix of restaurants, galleries, coffee shops and office space supported by a local clientele, including nearby residents", a "Miami-influenced cool" entertainment district, "Fort Worth's version of Deep Ellum", or an "Eastside version of Magnolia Avenue" (a gentrified neighborhood in Fort Worth). Individual developments were also fashioned after other places such as plans for a "boutique-hotel modeled after Hotel San José, an Austin motor court turned chic, bungalow-style hang-out" and "an 'Authentic Mexican'....Cabo style" restaurant. In other words, Six Points and Race Street, in particular, was becoming a uniquely branded space of consumption and leisure constructed by replicating other "cool" places through a particular symbolic economy. As Zukin (1998) and others have discussed, these places masquerade as authentically urban but are more often aestheticized spaces for homogenous, affluent residents to consume "urban lifestyles" (Llovd 2005; Sullivan and Shaw 2011; Zukin 2008). Simultaneously, Race Street was constructed as plagued with crime, prostitution and homelessness, a key strategy for legitimizing this kind of neoliberal development (Barnes et al. 2006; Pérez 2002). Indeed, developers are celebrated as "breathing life" into a potentially "dving" area.

Certainly, discourse – the contested texts, meanings and representations - played a tremendous role in the attempt to produce Six Points into this particular kind of space for urban consumption. However, the performative effects were not entirely determined by discourse (Barad 2008). The assemblage of Six Points was not limited to the language and imagery circling around these proposed developments but the actual circling - the

mediums of these constructions, who and what these mediums connected Race Street to, and how they served to legitimize and produce certain discursive frameworks as well as particular types of action. Similar to the discussion on policy mobilities, which explores how urban policies travel and are adopted by cities, the construction of Six Points and Race Street into an urban village engaged not only planning documents but social media, blogs, newspaper articles, constructed websites for future developments and other ephemeral spaces, in addition to city council and neighborhood meetings (McCann 2011). Developers used urbanism blogs to communicate frustrations about neighborhood associations, to cultivate connections with potential tenants and garner support for rezoning efforts while residents expressed their concerns regarding gentrification and design disagreements through local newspapers and public meetings. There was likely a selection bias as to who engaged with certain kinds of technologies, and social media platforms just as there was with who attended neighborhood association meetings. Recent research suggests that these platforms are instrumental in constructing places and influencing policy, often to the detriment of communities of color and poorer residents (Schweitzer 2014; Zukin, Lindeman, and Hurson 2015) The point is that the medium of discourse was just as important as the message in producing certain inclusions, exclusions and truths regarding the assemblage of Six Points as "Urban Riverside".

Indeed, materiality opened up opportunities to challenge the construction of Race Street into an entertainment district. Motorcycle mufflers and neon lighting catalyzed resistance to the development, albeit in large part due to NIMBYism. Had the developer attempted to "brand" Six Points in a way that played on some of the residents' nostalgia for mid-century Riverside, outcomes may have been different. Furthermore, the actual rehabilitation of the McAdams building served as a key spatial intervention into the assembling of Six Points – a physical testimony to Six Points' potential as an Urban Village. The McAdams project emerged, not out of discourse, but rather as a result of affective ties, particularly nostalgia. The McAdams building materialized memories of Riverside as a vibrant, lively and connected place.

This is not to say affect, especially nostalgia, is innocuous. Nostalgia is often criticized as a "counterproductive modern malaise" (Cashman 2006, 137), for commodifying places for tourism and sanitizing urban history of its racist and exclusionary past (Creighton 1997). But as scholars are increasingly recognizing, nostalgia is inextricably linked to material traces of the past, which continue to have an affective pull. Indeed, these things pull people towards creating new spaces and ways of living based on a longing and love for the material remnants of things passed (e.g. Kitson and McHugh 2015). As Cashman suggests,

Material culture from the past, no less than oral traditions and vernacular practices, can provide the raw materials from which people responsibly revise their memory of the past and their identities in the present. From these revisions people gain perspectives on their present situation and identify aspects of a perceived past that may be considered superior to their present way of life (2006, 154).

Like Benjamin's Modernist Arcades, these materializations of the past can be dialectic, serving as traces and reminders of what has been and therefore what could be otherwise (Benjamin 1969; Kohn 2010).

Riverside residents' *love* for the McAdams building seemed to have intertwined with their connection to the neighborhood. Along with discussions regarding the building's possible demolition emerged memories of the McAdams as a drug store, as well as the nearby costume shop, record shop, greasy griddle, and movie theater – in other words, Six Points' 'glory days'. However, residents reflected fondly on their neighborhood as always being a bit rough and tumble. Memories were not of a sanitized past but as a vibrant, bustling and even sometimes questionable neighborhood with the McAdams building serving as the hub for this multiplicity of connections. Nostalgia for this past fueled the desires for the neighborhood's future. The building's savior, former resident turned LA producer, strove to recreate that sense of lived centrality instead of preserving a lost past as reflected in this blog post:

I don't want to create a "museum" built back brick-by-brick to just stand there and contribute little other than reminding people of the past. I'd like to see a nicely ("beautifully" if I can afford it) restored, enhanced "invitation" to the Carter-Riverside area...a bridge to and from your gorgeous downtown...a building that emanates an exciting future...that would somehow interact with and invigorate the community...that would raise the bar for businesses around it (bellradioty 2004).

However, like discourse, materiality and affect can be conceived as having both critical possibilities and also be continually vulnerable to co-optation. And indeed, the McAdams building project clearly both stemmed development pressures while catalyzing others. Furthermore, it is hard to dismiss the ways in which language, practices, actors and materiality assembled into alignment with neoliberal urban development and planning policies. The Urban Village and Neighborhood Empowerment Zone designation created an institutional framework for development that privileged the needs and desires of developers, business owners, and imagined new residents over existing residents. As Leeman and Modan suggest,

because these models are based on the need to attract middle-class visitors, contemporary cities are less attuned to the needs of residents; rather than significantly investing in public transportation in non-tourist areas, healthcare, sewage systems, schools or neighborhood recreation centers, they instead devote enormous resources to promoting themselves as places for the middle class to play (2010, 188).

While the City earmarked close to \$800,000 for Six Points' capital improvements, public officials also designated the neighborhood park to be used as "flood storage" despite of community opposition as well as closed the neighborhood swimming pool. Again, the planning process, which produced the Six Points Master Plan, basically legitimized developer desires while providing lip service to residents' sense of lower and middle income neighborhood identity and community needs. There was no attempt to integrate neighborhood identity with development plans or reconcile an "Art Deco/South Beach" vibe with Riverside's agricultural history and current blue collar Hispanic demographic. Furthermore, the city relinquished all planning responsibilities for the future by suggesting that the Urban Village itself, a hypothetical nonprofit organization to balance competing stakeholder interests, would be able to locate its own funding for current residents to rehabilitate their properties as well as find their own spaces for public use – this in a neighborhood already identified as "critically underserved" by the Parks and Recreation department (personal correspondence with public staff member). However, now the Six Points master plan stands as consensus materialized, even though the outcome clearly did not represent the interests of existing lower and middle income residents.

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The City's role in assembling Six Points was overtly aligned with neoliberal values and assumptions. However, even if the city were to legitimately apply CPT, complete with Habermasian ideals, during the Six Points visioning process, it's unclear how this approach would have impacted outcomes in terms of generating genuine, authentic consensus. Residents themselves, sharply disagreed regarding Race Street's aesthetic design, as well as who and what were deemed appropriate for the street. Furthermore, residents' participation in the planning process was limited to the usual suspects – neighborhood associations overwhelmingly characterized by older, white homeowners– who did not reflect the demographics of the Riverside neighborhood, which are mostly lower and middle income Hispanics.

Regardless, what options did urban residents have for pursing equitable development outcomes when working with a city government that had no interest in truly communicative planning approaches and was explicitly pro market-led development? Furthermore, how could one have pursued equity when operating out of a politically conservative community where residents often espoused those same neoliberal values except when NIMBY ism got in the way? How was it possible to create the just city in light of actually existing neoliberalism and the challenges for creating consensus in a diverse, agonistic urban context? This chapter suggests that materiality and affect can create openings for reimagining urban space beyond its neoliberal manifestations. However, alternative planning processes, spaces and actants may be necessary to pursue postcapitalist possibilities. The next chapter explores this post-capitalist potential through the tracing of Six Points' assemblage into Riverside Arts District, the provisional outcome resulting from the novel assemblages of residents, artists, urbanists, joyous affects, social media and Race Street's buildings, vacant lots, and sidewalks drawn together through DIY Urbanism interventions.

Chapter 6: Assembling Six Points into Riverside Arts District

The idea of Riverside Arts District emerged out of discussions regarding free gallery space for local high school art students. A local art teacher, Ellen, reached out to Barbara, a gallery owner-dance teacher-realtor to inquire about potential spaces for her students to display and sell art. Barbara's client, Janice, had purchased several buildings located in Six Points as a result of a partnership with the project manager of the McAdams building renovation. Although some new businesses had moved into the area, most of the buildings remained vacant when plans for a mixed-use development were nixed due to a lack of funding and disagreements between the two partners. However, discussions between Ellen, Barbara and Janice led to an idea regarding the neighborhood's potential as a working arts district, which the city of Fort Worth lacked. As a result, Ellen collaborated with fellow artists to open up a cooperative artist studio space. Shortly thereafter, Barbara learned of the "Build a Better Block" DIY intervention after visiting an arts district in Oklahoma and believed it could help spark interest in the street as well as provide an outlet for emerging artists to create and sell their work.

"Build a Better Block" is a DIY Urbanism tool first deployed in the Oak Cliff neighborhood of Dallas, Texas. Founders Jason Roberts and Andrew Howard desired to transform their auto-centric neighborhood dotted with vacant buildings located along empty streets into a walkable, vibrant place reminiscent of European public squares (*Jason Roberts - How To Build a Better Block* 2012). They discovered that Dallas city code, much of it written during the mid-twentieth century, actually outlawed uses that would activate public streets and sidewalks. Outdoor vendors, sidewalk restaurant seating, and even the act of assembling in large numbers were explicitly targeted. They also found traditional routes to civic engagement, such as neighborhood associations, lacking and ineffective due to NIMBYism, reactionary politics and general negativity. In response, Roberts, Howard and their friends temporarily and cheaply transformed a single commercial street block into a walkable, vibrant space as a demonstration tool for residents, business owners and city officials. They hoped that by seeing and actually experiencing the impact of simple design changes in their neighborhood, they could garner support for changing public policies as well as for attracting development compatible with their vision of a pedestrian and bike-oriented, mixed use urban space. Roberts and Howard painted their own bike lanes, staged street furniture, opened up vacant storefronts for pop up shops and cafes, added plantings, trees and other elements to calm traffic and make walking and dwelling on the street more enjoyable ("How to Build a Better Block" 2015). In addition to creating a "living charrette", they posted which city codes they were openly defying next to each demonstration element.

The first Build a Better Block intervention has made a major impact at a local and arguably global scale. This particular area of Oak Cliff has since revitalized (and perhaps gentrified), with streetscaping and traffic calming made permanent, vacant buildings leased, and at least one pop up shop becoming a brick and mortar business. Roberts himself now co-owns businesses in the area. The Better Block team also formalized their partnership (Team Better Block) into a nonprofit organization (Better Block Foundation) and offers consulting, training and speaking engagement services for cities and groups interested in their revitalization methods. However, they consider Build a Better Block an open source model and welcome its appropriation by anyone. In addition to Better Block Foundation's own website, the Better Block model is circulated throughout tactical urbanism networks such as the Street Plans Collaborative's (2012) *Tactical Urbanism 2: Short Term Action Long Term Change* handbook as a "cheaper, lighter, quicker" approach to urban revitalization. As a result, Better Blocks have been activated by Team Better block and other civic groups around the world – including Fort Worth.

After discussing the Better Block model with Ellen, Barbara spoke to several neighborhood associations abutting the Race Street commercial corridor, local artists and other business and property owners about implementing the DIY intervention. Her call to participate in the project was spread to neighborhood residents via email and local urbanism social media sites. The first organizational meeting was held in April 2012 consisting of a "site walk-around and visioning" of Race Street. Approximately 20 individuals attended – including residents from nearby modest neighborhoods as well as from an exclusive gated community, artists, a New Urbanist planner, realtors, a master gardener, the property owner and myself. As a result of the meeting, a name, concept and date for the Better Block project was confirmed. As the visioning board depicts in Figure 9, The Better Block was to be called embRACE the STREET and billed as a "Living Theater" aimed at revitalizing and developing Riverside Arts District.



Figure 9: Nicole Foster, Better Block visioning board for Race Street, Six Points, 2012.

The embRACE the STREET Better Block event occurred early September 2012 and ultimately included pop up art galleries and open art studios, a public mural, a temporary dog park, pet adoptions, a craft and food market, interactive art activities, a pop up fair trade coffee shop, DIY streetscaping including painted crosswalks and bike lanes, street furniture and games, a community garden, backyard chicken demonstrations, and various artistic performances such as buskers, a flash mob and drum circle. The event, shown in Figure 10, attracted a wide range of attendees from the neighborhood and across the Dallas-Fort Worth region. Since the first Better Block event, DIY Urbanists who will go on to form the Riverside Arts District, have continued to organize DIY Urbanism projects such as community potlucks on vacant lots, pop up galleries and performances, markets, concerts, participatory art projects, as well as another Better Block event located on an adjacent block.



Figure 10: Aaron Latchaw, Better Block 1 - embRACE the STREET, 2012.

Although the idea of an arts district catalyzed the Better Block project and was seemingly the ultimate goal, the planning and spatial production process yielded ideas beyond what is traditionally thought of as the 'arts'. The project attracted unlikely collaborators who did not necessarily share an identity, a vision for the neighborhood, or an understanding of the purpose for a Better Block. Multiple email contact lists, social media networks spanning neighborhood and urban design, and later the space itself connected a diverse group of participants. Although the majority of participants were white, compared to the predominantly Hispanic presence in the neighborhood, there were marked differences in age, class and political affiliations. The group attracted young couples, families, boomers and older seniors who also differed in economic status. Participants were mainly white-color middle class or blue-collar workers; some were more affluent.

Motivations for participating in the project, like identities, were also diverse. Some were attracted by the arts component – either because they were artists or wanted to consume the artistic lifestyle. Other participants believed art could play a positive, instrumental role for empowering the community's youth. A few participants were drawn to the community development and outreach potential of the project while others were interested in planning and urban design. Some residents wanted to "do something positive" for the neighborhood as opposed to engaging in conventional forms of participation such as neighborhood associations. Finally, others desired a "cool place to hang out" and a chance to meet people. Some openly endorsed gentrification while others expressed a longing for more social justice outcomes. Of course, I wanted to study the postcapitalist possibilities of the project. What participants shared was an attraction to remaking Race Street itself. In other words, Race Street, like the McAdams building, became a "matter of concern" (Latour 2007) and participation was driven by personal interests. As one participant explains,

it's that's expression of opportunity and it's what we're all here for. And it's also this sort of expression of individuality. [...] Regardless of how separate we may be from the concerns of the community, we are also part of the community and we have our own concerns. We have our own desires and our own dreams about what it inevitably will be for all of us.

However, these agonistic identities and interests did not initially cause fragmentation or competition over space. Better Block's focus on 'loose' spaces (Franck and Stevens 2007) – the unused street, vacant buildings and lots – and what *could* be done allowed the project to be open-ended and incorporate diverse interests and uses. Immediately, participants expressed desires extending beyond an arts district or New Urbanist-style development. After the first meeting, which consisted of a walk-through of the targeted street block, volunteers discussed potential uses such as creating a community garden, a community-supported brewery, a farmers market, car shows, and dog park in addition to specific arts-based activities such as public art, movie exhibitions, artisan markets and gallery nights.

All ideas were supported and encouraged. As one organizer encouraged, "If any of you want to do something...whatever your passion is...collaboration is the name. We need to support each other on the street to make sure there are reasons for people to come. Farmers Market? Something with dogs? I say – go for it." Ideas materialized as volunteers took ownership of projects. As one member commented after a brainstorming session, "You know Barbara's rule. Name it and own it"! As a result, various teams facilitated projects and their respective spaces. Some initiatives such as the community garden, the artist market, dog park and public art came to fruition while others faded from discussion. However, this was not due to lack of support from group volunteers. Rather, leadership didn't or couldn't emerge for these projects.

There did not seem to be any perceived disconnect or tension between a vision for an arts district and incorporating non-art uses, even though the name of Riverside Arts District began to be used with more frequency. The vision for an arts-based neighborhood identity broadly emerged over time with the definition of the "arts" continually expanding to include "creative" activities in general. For example, Barbara, who led the arts mantle, incorporated the desire for a community garden and interest in urban agriculture as an extension of "culinary arts", while the community garden team leader began exploring names incorporating Riverside Arts District or RAD in the garden's identity such as "the RADishes" or the "RADicchios". This open-endedness and subsequent inclusivity of the project was particularly attractive to participants. As one organizer explained,

It's sort of this...debate over what's wrong and what's right and what's okay and who do we include and who do we exclude. I don't know if anyone is right or wrong in that whole debate. I think we all have a place. We all have something to say. I think what's most exciting about Race Street is I don't think there's a definitive right or wrong yet. There isn't a 'this is what it's about' yet. That we still are in that burgeoning opportunistic place that we could include everyone and still accomplish what we are trying to accomplish.

Similarly described by another participant,

I saw it like an open call to anybody who wanted to be part of something that has potential to grow whether it be...of course Barbara wanted it to be an arts district, and some wanted it to be an arts community, but back to the idea that things change...it doesn't always come out the way you want it to but the process itself is, I think, what people liked about it and what was important.

This emergent collective yet inclusive identity was enabled partly due to the spaces themselves as active agents in the decision-making process for implementing DIY interventions. The buildings did not 'belong' to anyone in terms of private property

ownership. And as vacant, unmarked spaces, they were open to interpretation. As one participant described, the burned out shell of a former Post Office building, shown in figures 11-12, was a key actant in developing plans for the second Better Block event:

We had this sort of vision that there needs to be an anchor.... [For] the first Better Block, there was the garden, and the street, and it was about so many different things. There was this [...] sense that the second one needed to be about this place, right? This anchor, that really drove the attention on the street that says, 'Hey, this is the place you should think about.' I think the Post Office really became about that, right? It was this urban decay; it was this lack of rules.



Figures 11-12. Nicole Foster, "The Post Office" before and after embRACE the STREET 2, 2013

This "lack of rules" allowed appropriated spaces to be continually made and remade for a range of uses. No one, therefore, could have final say as to what a building or space should be used for or by whom. For example, the community garden became a meeting space, a children's play space, a site for potluck dinners, a market and performance stage. The former Post Office was activated first as a music hall and beer garden later to be used as a farmers and artisan market. All events were free, organized by various groups of volunteers and designed for collective use. Similar to Groth and Corijn's (2005) analysis of temporary uses in indeterminate spaces, Riverside Art District's diverse programming in shared spaces created a sense of the commons by actually materializing those diverse and open-ended uses. Participatory art projects, such as Imagine Riverside, depicted in Figure 13, allowed members to tangibly see their visions for the neighborhood coexisting with others' imaginaries.



Figure 13: Nicole Foster, Imagine Riverside – materializing diverse interests through participatory art project, 2013.

As one participant explained,

we created a place where as many of those ideas can function together and that's what creates the community, that's what creates the collective thinking [...] because once you get buy-in...and people buy-in because they see themselves in something, right? Where they can see the good of what it is.

This collective identity for the street did not just emerge through the shared use of

space, but perhaps more importantly through the shared production of space. Figures 14

and 15 are just two examples of how members collectively built fences, garden beds, and

tables, painted tires and pallets, and cleaned up the street. This process generated a sense of shared ownership of Six Points. As one participant remarked, "Even though we don't physically own the property...we all own the clean sidewalk and getting the pots out there in front of the building [...]. All these different things we take ownership of because we were active in it". And this experience enabled the formation of close relationships. As one participant remarked,

Well I made tons of friends. I think that you and I are pretty good together. I've made a lot of relationships since then with people that were there. I have probably 30 people that I've met at that event- the volunteers. Yeah, I think that because we were working towards something of a common vision and everybody put their own input into it that we bonded because it was a common space for creativity.



Figure 14. Nicole Foster, painting pallets, 2014.



Figure 15. Mark Reimer, building pallet tables, 2014.

The projects, events and meetings also offered opportunities to participate in generous interactions. Throughout the summer, the embRACE the STREET team held workdays and conducted planning meetings 1-2 times a month leading up to the event. The group's volunteer mix shifted somewhat, with more residents becoming involved. The tree, located next to the community garden and art studios, became the de facto meeting space, offering shade and respite from the Texas summer sun. Volunteers were invited to bring their own chairs and beverages. Smaller group discussions and meetings were also held inside the artist cooperative studio space. Over time, volunteers began engaging in small acts of generosity through these events. Meetings became mini potluck events as volunteers began bringing wine, lemonade, snacks, and produce from their gardens to share. These activities led to more formalized expressions of generosity such as a pop-up pot luck on one of the vacant lots, as depicted in Figure 16.



Figure 16: Aaron Latchaw, Pop Up Community Pot Luck, 2013.

Furthermore, projects conducted in preparation for embRACE the STREET

became a collective effort drawing assistance and support from volunteers who were not

necessarily invested in the arts or gardening, as this call for help in building the garden

suggests:

Who wants to build a garden on Race Street!?!

Since we have a clean-up scheduled for next Saturday, let's get together this Tuesday night to discuss and to start laying the groundwork (though not literally!) for the garden. The only topic will be the garden - so if it's not your thing, then you get a pass for the evening. Please do share the info to anyone you think might be interested. We need input! If we can get a fairly clear idea of what we want to do, maybe we can do a clean-up of the garden area on Saturday morning while others are brushing up Race [Street]!

The ball is rolling and it's picking up speed!

Whether you're an experience gardener or never even watered a plant before - if you are interested, then come on out! We need all levels for brainstorming and building - we have much to do before we can plant! A neighbor sent me an email that basically said - 'I've never gardened; I'll probably never garden -- but I want to help you build a garden because I think it's a great idea'. So there you go!

Artists working in the cooperative studios did not usually participate in the event workdays but likewise offered support in terms of offering meeting space, access to bathrooms, and creative skills. For example, the street's resident photographer created and posted a time-lapse film of the final community garden building day

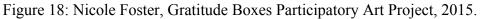
(https://youtu.be/vvDktTwyAFI).

These feelings of generosity were further materialized through particular public art projects and exhibitions made possible through various partnerships with other entities. For example, artists hosted pop-up shows benefitting nonprofit organizations fighting local poverty and hunger. Faith-based organizations facilitated participatory art projects such as a community Mandela art project and creating gratitude boxes to share with others, shown in Figures 17-18.



Figure 17: Nicole Foster, Community Mandala participatory art project, 2015.





These opportunities to become connected, to create deeper relationships with

diverse others, became a motivating desire for participation. As on participant explained,

I think, how do you make friends, when you're older? (Laughing) How do you do this when you are older? And not to say [I] don't love the friends [I've] made, but, people move, they go do other things. They're not around anymore, um, and so I think...I know we're not the only one who thinks that...There's other people who are craving that too and I think things like Better Block especially when it's grassroots it's like oh, okay, these people in the neighborhoods, they want to do this. That sounds cool. I may not agree with all of it, but I definitely want this. That starts to give [...] hope...that you know this is going to bring people together and that [it] could create moments to be connected with people more than just a wave or you know, hey, grab my newspaper kind of a thing.

As such, these relationships were not just predicated on the collective

production of space but also the affects that were engaged through the process.

Brainstorming and workdays were strenuous yet pleasurable and fun. Working through the Texas summer, we sweated together, complaining of the heat, only to relish time together in the breeze under our tree's shade or eating lunch together in the air conditioning in one of the local restaurants, as in Figures 19 and 20. As one artist explained her motivation for participation,

You can share you know yourself as a person, as a human being and you can be part of something. But you also have to take action. You also have to do it. Sitting at home isn't going to do it. You have to actually get up and be a part of it and do it. If you do it, it's good, the feeling is good, and it's fun and you do it again and you grow.



Figure 19. Jay Johnson, DIY Meeting Tree, 2012.



Figure 20. Nicole Foster, DIY Downtime, 2014.

Furthermore, the group shared moments of disappointment, sadness and anger, which solidified relationships and their sense of collective identity as Riverside Arts District. For example, DIY participants spent weeks collecting wood, supplies and sponsors, followed by building and individually painting twelve garden beds. Families and households, including my own children and nephews, helped to give each garden bed its own identity. Shortly thereafter, before they were filled with soil, all of the beds were stolen in the middle of the night. The experience was heart breaking and violating. However, the group overcame the experience, building and painting replacement beds, and naming the community garden space, "The Stolen Garden". This is not to say that tensions never existed between participants. One participant, in particular, was considered difficult to work with by other volunteers. A former resident of the street, Justine was considered a bit brash, loud, unfiltered and occasionally offended other volunteers and business owners. Plus, she wasn't effective during workdays, preferring to chat rather than make progress on projects. However, what was fascinating was how the group 'managed' her. Volunteers would come up with strategies to ensure Justine could be circulated around so no one was 'stuck' with her all day. And like all members of the group, Justine's gifts and idiosyncrasies were valued and supported. Again, the experience of co-producing space was key to this process, as one of my own fieldwork experiences preparing for embRACE the STREET attests.

Justine, Carol and I are somehow put in charge of the crosswalk striping. What is so funny is that I know Craig spent weeks planning the streetscape to a tee and here we are doing it with a roller, paint pan and an old sheet of cardboard as a guide. We decide to paint one half of the street at a time. We set up cones to redirect traffic away from us. It's about 3pm and it's freaking hot. The asphalt is steaming. Justine is her usual self. She's yelling at cars for speeding down the street. And they are coming close. I get mad too and start yelling at cars, waving my arms. I'm thinking – 'I'm just like Justine'. But I'm also thinking – this is my street too. How dare they not slow down? For this one moment, I am actually thankful Justine is with me as she seems to be risking her life to keep the cars away from where we're working. Carol is just laughing and saying, 'let's just get this done' [....]

The heat takes a toll and I start feeling sick. Carol and Justine insist I take a break and drink some water. I sit in the shade but still feel sick. I feel guilty for not helping. They then sit beside me, assuring me that it's normal. It is over 100 degrees after all in full sun. I'm thinking – these ladies are in their 50s, not in the best of shape. What the heck is wrong with me? We move inside the art studio to get some air conditioning. We finally finish the job. I feel a bit guilty for my impatience with Justine. She drives me crazy but she certainly took care of me today. The relationships that developed, therefore, weren't always friendships. But they were kind. The spaces that were created were not always coherent but they felt safe. And despite identity and vision differences, a shared sense of spatial ownership and community emerged through the act of participating in producing space as an openended, inclusive project. As one participant reflected,

We all like each other. That does not happen in a neighborhood association for some reason. I don't know...neighborhood associations, there's a real power play and a real struggle and I don't really see that happening with a Better Block group and maybe it's because none of us own any of that land. You know, um, we're not really tied to it. We could walk away at any time. But why is that we stay? We can't...we can walk away from neighborhood associations to an extent but we live here. We still see the people; we have a vested interest whether you want to admit or now....But with Better Block, none of us own any of that yet we still go back. We keep working on it. Why? Because we like each other? We like what we see can happen?

And participants understood that these relationships may not have happened otherwise as there were clear differences in politics, in religion, in age, and class. As another participant reflected,

I've learned that...collectively people can honor and respect each other. ...[P]eople can encourage each other...and vision and hope and it's about finding out about somebody else's vision. And it causes them to participate. So helping somebody else's vision helps to bind the community together in a way that um, transcends where we are nationally, where we are in politics, everything around us. Transcends....I believe the more that we find ourselves in each other's visions, it will cause us to care about each other and our children. [...] It really does take a village to cause people to create something good. This process of both planning and materializing diverse uses, thereby connecting participants with diverse others, was enjoyable and an attractant for further participation. The DIY interventions enabled members to form positive relationships with one another and to be able to effectively negotiate any conflicts. Furthermore, the spatial practices also fostered a sense of belonging and comfort as participants began to occupy the space and connect with one another more frequently. As one member described,

Um, I think it's just been really fun. It's just neat when you meet people who have a very similar vision or who just dream or desire to be involved or to be really like...see something change. You get that connection and it's really powerful. But then on top of that, to have each of those people be so different and to see that vision in really different ways. But, I think, for the most part, we've gotten pretty good as a group to being able to have those conversations and have their opinions be heard and they could be different, and there could be disagreements. And we're like, "oh...I don't know about that." That kind of thing but that I honestly believe that each of those moments of tension or disagreement have grown us as a group and as an organization. Um, and I just think, you know, it's [...] funny, because we laugh about it. We've probably spent more time with you guys than we have with any of our immediate neighbors. [...] And that's the other part that I like about Race Street since having met people is in this group; we've become better friends. We can go to [the hamburger joint] for lunch on Wednesday and we walk in and there's Barbara, there's you, there's Renee. And you're like, "hey, what's up?" And all of a sudden you are having lunch with these people that you hadn't planned to have lunch with. [...] And they're not your neighbors; they're not the people who you might see every day but they are people you have created a connection with, who you can run in to, um, in a space that you know well enough to stop and talk, you know, spend time....It's been a challenge, there have definitely been disagreements with some people, but, I don't know...when you have that shared vision of wanting to do something. Um, I think those disagreements are healthy and necessary (emphasis added).

The DIY Urbanists created a place of both centrality and possibility. On the one hand, a collective identity and vision for Race Street was emerging through the collaborative appropriation and collective production of space. Yet, this shared vision seemed to be about creating a space for performing one's difference – a space for radical alterity, to exist and dwell, to experience unassimilated otherness much like Young (1990) describes it, as "being together with strangers". The DIY Urbanists not only experienced these types of moments for themselves, but also recognized the role they played in creating the space for such powerful interactions to take place, as described by one participant.

I can remember...we had a guy who played really good electric guitar. And he came and he set up a single amp. He didn't have any drums or anything. It was very minimal. He played, you know, like a lot of his own numbers. It was this kind of Brazilian-Jazz fusion type thing. And you know, everything I know about him...since then, is that he's gotten on to really like pursue what it means to expose that kind of style, right? So, he got to express his uniqueness in the space we created. So that, to me, that...that's the sacredness of what it means to have a Better Block. To have this sort of creative space where people could be their truest form of themselves, right, and music is a huge part of that.

And by potentially allowing anyone and any diverse use, Race Street became the space to perform 'community' - but one in which differences could be accommodated and not assimilated. Unlike the 'safe', sanitized and commodified entertainment districts previously envisioned for Six Points, Race Street, as a result of the DIY interventions, became a 'safe' place because it created a space for radical belonging. As one member reflected,

We were really trying to illustrate a metaphor about the safeness of this place. And safe...I mean...[laughing], it was a lack of all things most

people consider safe. It was character. There was nothing safe about this place but it welcomed people into it. Come on in. I think it was inclusive of the upper most middle class and the bottom most lower class. It made sense to everybody. And I got that sense to everyone I talked to that day on the second Better Block. We took down the boards and we opened up the Post Office and we said, hey, this is here. We have an arts studio. We have a kids play area. But look, we've taken down the boards; we've lowered the barriers. Anyone can be a part of this. I think that meant something to everyone in its own meaningful way. It's belonging in the truest sense of the word. You get to be a part of something that you can have an effect on. And I don't think there's anyone in the world who wouldn't want to be a part of something like that. You really get to affect the change and not just for the sake of creating change but for the sake of being intrinsically linked to what it means [....]...

This is becoming the place where people settle more or less to be near the community in its richest sense, which can have politics and religion and any numerous other things that we want to talk about but without having all the caveats that come with that. Um, so we're the Gateway, right? ... This is the place that is nearest to us without being too far, where we can annex it in our minds as being the community of you know...where we go to get our food, and where we go to get our experiences, and this is where we go to be part of this community, right? It is the existence point, or whatever, existential definition [of community]. It's that area that is the expression of the community itself. Because we can't all walk into our front yards and do a dance and expect people to say, 'oh look, it's [the neighborhood] where people dance in their front yards'. That isn't a real thing. That isn't...it could be but that's where they would talk about how crazy people are so Race Street I feel like it's...it's somehow [...] become geographically looked at as this area where the expression of this neighborhood gets to take place.

These DIY Urbanism experiences created opportunities to experience time and space not colonized by capitalist logic or consumption practices. Once the stage was set for the Better Block and other DIY interventions, we just 'hung out'. We didn't rush. We talked with friends. We met new people. We played games. We listened to music. We created art. We ate. We drank. We experienced *jouissance* and delight. Six Points was not a 'destination' but rather a dwelling space made possible through the collective production of space as depicted in Figures 21-23. This experience of joyful leisure as a political act is perhaps what Lefebvre directly felt and subsequently envisioned as an opening towards creating postcapitalist possibilities (Lefebvre et al. 2014). Certainly, commodified, sanitized urban lifestyle developments are often marketed as leisure centers, which can be fun and pleasurable. But what differentiated Better Block events and other DIY interventions was the feeling that we belonged in the space and we could dwell indefinitely. And although there were certainly market-based activities such as artists and food vendors selling products, these practices did not dominate the DIY interventions. Rather it was the affective, felt experiences associated with dwelling and non-commodified social interactions that made the strongest impression on participants.

As one member recalled,

People who walk in there [the garden], I love it, like when we do our events, when [the arts school] has been there to play, or...gallery night. [...] We set up the fire pit and we're visiting and people come in and you see them. They're like (hangs head down, looks up and says quietly) 'What is this'? It's a good spot. It feels good. The energy is very good there. And people respond to it.



Figures 21-23: Jason Gamble. Dwelling, playing, creating, *jouissance* at embRACE the STREET, 2012.

Even those artists and vendors selling products articulated similar affective experiences. For some artists, Race Street provided an opportunity to create a space for connecting with their customers by sharing their goods as an extension of their selves. For example, one artist described the potential of Race Street to create a space to purchase

[d]ifferent types of crafts, clothing, different things that you don't go to the mall and find. Things that are the people's work. Not the manufactured work because I think there is a market for unique things that are handmade. Because I think that's more fun when you go someplace, to a market and talk to the guy who's making shoes there or talking to the person, the seamstress who is making clothing. I'll give you one example. We were in Vietnam, small town, walking along the street. There was this little shop that made really basic silk pieces. They were measured to the person, cut and sewed while you waited or come back in half an hour and you would get your piece and they would fit it to you. It's a shell...it's a simple piece but it would be made exactly for you. That kind of thing this country doesn't have so much. And that kind of uniqueness would bring people to this area....People love to feel like they are involved. People love to make a connection with the creator. Then they've got a story. Then they can take it home and when they hang it up on the wall, they can say, you should have seen this place.

Likewise, non-artists expressed analogous sentiments and affects. Furthermore, as

this member describes, these encounters contributed towards encouraging more

empathetic understandings of varying subject positionings and perspectives:

[I]t's been very important to me to see the artist perspective of what needs to take place in the community. That has created relationships with me that I would not have had. I'm not an artist. I don't think of myself as an artist except when it comes to designing a house or building but uh, bringing together all that energy into an environment...you can feel it in the atmosphere. People can feel it. So I'm grateful seeing a lot of busy people create things and do things. I love it (emphasis added).

By creating a safe space for unassimilated difference, common dwelling and enchanting social and material interactions not dominated by consumption practices, Race Street became a magnet for those who craved a different kind of urban experience. Race Street and Riverside Arts District began attracting other potential partners such as new artists and a group interested in establishing a time-share network¹. Later, representatives from the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) conveyed interest in collaborating with RAD to promote more inclusive, accessible neighborhoods for all residents, especially seniors. The local brewery donated beer for events. Art groups inquired about using the spaces for pop-up exhibits and performances. All of these affiliations expanded what it meant to be part of Riverside Arts District.

As a result, Race Street and its possibilities – both spatial and social – were never closed off but continually re-imagined, sometimes within the same day. This flexibility and malleability of space challenged some planning assumptions, which assumes the goal is to create consensus regarding the development of a fixed built environment geared towards particular kinds of uses. However, because Riverside Arts District was constructed through DIY interventions that were temporary and adaptable, the street was able to accommodate a wider range of diverse experiences. Race Street, in other words, was more than a *conceptual* space, to use Lefebvre's terminology. Race Street was a *lived* space, a theater, a place where people could improvise and experiment. And this living theater is what attracted diverse others to the street. Many DIY Urbanists, therefore, did

¹ Time-sharing or time-banking is an example of the sharing economy. Time-sharing uses a non-monetary system where participants exchange goods and services which are valued based on time. Participants offer to share their services valued in one hour increments. As they provide services for others, they can then bank this time that was shared. This banked time can then be used to receive other goods and services provided by other participants.

not feel that the street's design should be dominated by formal planning rules and guidelines, but rather reflect a multiplicity of desires through informal and flexible usage. DIY Urbanism projects enabled individuals to make multiple claims to the street, thereby allowing uses that may not be normally viewed as 'compatible' yet nonetheless, coexisted. Here, potential antagonism over the uses 'allowed' in Six Points, that could have emerged during a conventional planning process, was replaced by agonism, an acknowledgement yet respect of the right to claim and enact divergent interests. As one member explained,

I will say....one of the issues and I think it probably is with DIY projects is that you get people who are trained in certain areas and maybe are experts at what they do. But they can't think outside of what they do for a project like this. This is a project where you break the rules because sometimes the rules don't always work, you know? I want things to be safe, but really is all this [zoning, codes, regulations] really necessary just because the book says? This is not a textbook. This is not a textbook project. You know, I think this is why I can do this and hopefully it will be successful because I don't have the textbook knowledge. I just have common sense. And, I have the real life experience. And I think that to me is what I mean. All the people with the real life experience, um, honestly, I think that's more valuable than the textbook. And that's been my experience in other things too. It doesn't always work when it's live. Like live theater; it's different every night. There's a reason it's different every night. People feel differently. People see things differently. They say things differently. And I think this is what [Race Street] is about too. And it's going to be different Saturday and it's going to be different Sunday....It will start with lots of activity, but it's going to calm down after 5:00pm because it's Gallery Night. It's not going to be a wild, crazy circus. It may be earlier. It may be Sunday. But Gallery night, it's going to be a little more sedate. We're not going to have chickens and dogs out there...I'm curious to see how that works. Yeah, I mean I think it's good. I like all these organizations. They are really interested to be part of it. I truly believe [that's] the reason why we've had such a great response, is that we don't have enough of this in Fort Worth. Because these are people who are coming to us. And I think they just don't have the venue to do the things they want to do. And we're providing that. And so we'll see. We'll see if what we've provided is really what people want.

As a result, participating in DIY Urbanism interventions compelled participants to rethink their role in urban development, their right to stay in place and to imagine postcapitalist possibilities. There was a shared sense that the centrality created by the DIY Urbanism projects would continue to build and expand, attracting more creative, cooperative and collective activities. As one artist described, "I guess the question is what keeps you. What keeps you? The ability to grow and spread. To keep the community that you are beginning to build, which I love. [...] That's why I'm staying. I think that's why we're all umm, would rather stay here than anywhere else".

An Exclusive Commons?

Although the DIY interventions created a sense of an inclusive commons, a safe, enchanting space to dwell, as well as generous interactions and friendships, the lower and middle income Hispanics, who continue to make up a significant portion of the neighborhood residents living near Six Points, were largely absent from the DIY Urbanism planning and events. On the one hand, this was not necessarily surprising considering volunteer recruitment for the first Better Block targeted neighborhood associations, whose constituencies do not reflect neighborhood demographics. However, the lack of and desire for greater participant diversity was a sited concern starting with the very first DIY intervention. DIY Urbanists initially responded with a "build it and they will come" assumption coupled with an "add diversity and stir" approach. Early conversations revolved around how the community garden could serve in attracting (and even improving!) lower income Hispanic residents. DIY Urbanists talked about how gardening could lead to developing an "entrepreneurial heart" among Hispanic youth and how residents could improve their health by "eating better". The idea that the garden could ameliorate the issue of living in a food desert emerged even though there are already three Hispanic-serving grocery stores in the neighborhood. The community garden would allow youth to "hear and learn from others". In other words, the discourse regarding the relationship between the Hispanic community and DIY interventions smacked of a missionary and condescending tone, a trend noted by other scholars researching the raced and classed dimensions of gardening when white people "bring good food to others" (Guthman 2008). There was never a serious conversation regarding how to determine Hispanic residents' needs and desires and whether the community would actually value a community garden.

With that said, throughout the process of assembling Six Points into the Riverside Arts District, there remained a desire to create Race Street into a more inclusive space for diverse users. Flyers for embRACE the STREET and other major events were printed in Spanish and posted in Hispanic-serving shops in the neighborhood. Volunteers had planned to contact neighborhood churches, many of whom served specific demographic groups including Spanish-speaking and Vietnamese residents. However, outreach never occurred – not because of lack of desire, but seemingly lack of capacity. One female artist of color and gallery owner, whose work explored issues of identity and power, was fully cognizant of the challenges associated with engaging a working class community who speaks a different language. As she explained,

People that are the most engaged in a neighborhood or community are already invested in the community or they are already...they have more time on their hands and lot more privilege to be involved. And then....there's been a language thing. Where we were, there was always a strong, Hispanic community. But yeah, I didn't always feel like we were engaging that community well and I always felt that the language would have helped that better. I just never had, never been able to sit down and put together a strategy. I wanted to like...every time I thought about going into like, the church down the street, I felt like that would have been a perfect partnership. I was just beginning to start to build relationships with Hispanic churches that were on our street. I felt like...that...that's a whole community of people. If they felt like they were invited, you know, then they would have felt more synergized about being involved. And so I didn't always feel like...we had a strong, um, connection.

As DIY Urbanists and artists alike, became more aware of their limited capacity to engage all neighborhood residents, there was always excitement whenever partnerships formed that had the potential to create linkages between Riverside Arts District and the Hispanic community. For example, as discussed earlier, RAD attracted individuals interested in building a time-share network. The project leader was bilingual and was especially interested in developing the capacity of the area's lower income demographic. The time-share failed to materialize, however. The American Association for Retired Persons (AARP) representative, who was also bilingual, was perceived as being able to build bridges with Hispanic-serving businesses and households. However, AARP's planned community event that RAD hoped would create an entry point for more diverse users did not fully come to fruition. As a result, according to one stakeholder's conversation with a nearby Hispanic-serving business owner, Riverside Arts District was now associated with "those white people".

With that said, RAD members tended to be more interested in engaging the local, Hispanic community than city officials. They saw their role as a potentially critical ally for residents as this interchange demonstrates: Participant 1: I don't like when the city comes in. They don't even know what the heck is going on. They don't even call us and ask. They just come in.

Participant 2: Like you said, they're not really engaged in. They just do their job and they check off their box

Participant 3: Getting back to Nicole's point...we could be engaging the Spanish residents as well...pull them into the discussions...

Participant 4: It may not be our responsibility, or supposed to be this, or supposed to be that but if that is the gap that we are seeing...around this table. What stops us? If we're the ones that can talk to the community, ask the questions and find out, and be in contact with the pulse of what people are looking for, then when the city comes in and says this is what we're going to do...we can say...well actually, in talking to the community because you guys don't necessarily *do* that, these are the things we know. These are the things we found out. These are the people we've talked to. Here is all of our data. Here is all of our information. If we can become the trusted source on that side of town, then we're serving a purpose.

Interestingly, city staffers were not always supportive of our attempts to cultivate

greater public participation as described by the excerpt below taken from my field notes

after arriving to a design charrette on Race Street facilitated by the City's planning office

and a design firm.

So bizarre. No one is here. The space is surprisingly dark and really quiet. Some sunlight is coming through the windows, but the darkness makes it seem even stranger for some reason. Like no one is supposed to be here. Designers...I'm assuming they are the designers are scribbling (furiously!) away at large sheets of paper. There are some sketches posted but I don't know what we are supposed to do or whether we give feedback. No one is greeting me. No one is looking at me. I have no idea where to go or who to talk to.

(Later entry)

Thank god Esther showed up. She is a force of nature and just inserts herself. She takes on the role of host. She introduces folks who show up to the designers but they don't really respond.

(Later entry)

Esther and I share perplexed looks. We talk about the awkwardness of the event. We decide to take flyers and walk the neighborhood to see if we can drum up some interest. We ask [the city planner] if we can take flyers and tell him our plan. He wrinkles his forehead and gives us a peculiar look. He doesn't smile. He doesn't respond, but then says, 'oh, okay'.

At the time, I felt as if the city planner didn't want us to engage in any kind of neighborhood outreach. Perhaps he was just confused as to why we would want to even attempt such a venture. Later, I wondered if he felt like we were implicitly critiquing the city's clear failure to attract a wide range of participants.

Esther is an older, lively and affable resident, whom I've developed a friendship with. We proceeded to walk the neighborhood and meet residents, many of whom only spoke Spanish. I used my 'spanglish' to convey what I could regarding the purpose of the design charrette. We also met seniors who were basically confined to their homes due to mobility restrictions. As rain clouds moved in, we headed back to the site of the charrette, limiting our outreach to just five households. Shortly thereafter, a husband of one of the Spanish-speaking residents we spoke to stopped by to report dilapidated street conditions and to ask for help in fixing the issue. He spoke to one of the designers who replied that he had no idea of how to handle such information. We couldn't find the city planner so Esther introduced the resident to Barbara who gave him someone's contact information, presumably with the city. Ester also connected the resident with Eduardo, one of the few Spanish-speaking DIY volunteers who also served on the neighborhood crime watch. At that moment, I realized how potentially easy it would be to engage a more diverse constituency. It just took time to physically walk the streets, make personal contact with residents and invite them to participate. This is not to say that this first step towards

community outreach would have been enough to sustain broad, authentic participation. However, it was clear that flyers, from the DIY Urbanists or the City, was not going to be sufficient to garner wide spread involvement.

Even if the DIY Urbanists had been able to make personal contact with local residents, the actual DIY spatial interventions may have still resulted in the exclusion of lower income, Hispanic residents. During embRACE the STREET, a mom and her three daughters approached me asking, "Can we go in?" referencing the art studios, pop-up galleries and activities taking place in the vacant lots behind the buildings. I told her 'yes, of course'. I noticed she and her daughters spent hours at the event and later caught up with her for a brief interview. She shared with me that she lived in the neighborhood and enjoyed having something fun to do with her children without having to drive somewhere else. She especially appreciated the hands-on activities. The girls were able to experience throwing clay on the pottery wheel and playing with the dogs up for adoption. I asked why she didn't think it was a public event. She wasn't able to fully articulate why except to say that she hadn't heard about the Better Block or seen anything like the event on the street before.

On the one hand, this resident's experience was in line with what we would expect with DIY Urbanism. DIY tactics aim to create novel, surprising yet pleasurable experiences in order to rethink our relationship with urban spaces. For DIY Urbanists and many of the attendees including this particular family, embRACE the STREET could be considered successful. However, this particular mother did not initially feel welcomed into the space despite the assumptions shared by DIY Urbanists that Better Blocks are intended to create vibrant, public spaces. Whereas others – many of whom were white, middle and upper income attendees – had no hesitation entering into and experiencing the DIY interventions. Perhaps it was the absence of other neighborhood Hispanics that signaled to this local mom and her kids that this space was not produced for them. However, there was also a symbolic economy in play, through which aesthetics were materialized indicating the presumed belonging of certain raced and classed identities – a materialization that was felt pre-discursively (Sullivan and Shaw 2011). However, her feeling of (not) belonging most likely stemmed from the coalescence of certain discursive, material and social elements, what Shaw (2014) calls an atmosphere – a way of feeling tied to the assemblage of bodies, practices, materiality and affects operating in a particular place and time. Indeed, participants did *feel* Better Block as a particular kind of atmosphere. To many of the participants, Race Street "felt right" and had "good karma". And these atmospheres were created through not just the space but who occupied that space, as described by this participant.

I like creativity. I like to see places that are visually stimulating and when I say stimulating, I don't mean garish colors or anything like that. But something that evokes a feeling. You know. If it was reminiscent of the older buildings that kind of takes you back in time a little bit. Or something modern and sleek that might bring out a different feeling. Um, it's kind of a sense of comfort and home. So, there's an energy. There's an energy there too. The buildings, the restaurants and businesses are just the building blocks. And then depending on that the people show up and they have their own energy.

As my ethnographic research was focused on the DIY Urbanists themselves, I wasn't able to further unpack how these DIY atmospheres felt to neighboring Hispanic residents. However, my research certainly reflected the raced and overdetermined classed dimensions of the spatial interventions from the perspective of DIY Urbanists

themselves, even while their assumptions regarding 'creativity' and 'art' was discursively constructed as freed from particular identities.

In the creative placemaking and arts-based urban development policy circles, there are often assumptions regarding the 'universality' of art, aesthetics and creativity. The arts are not only perceived as good in of themselves but as having positive instrumental outcomes for communities. Markusen and Gadwa (2010), for example, reflect the optimism of the role the arts can play in urban revitalization.

Creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired (4).

Certainly, there is research to suggest that creative placemaking can be beneficial to diverse, urban communities by articulating marginalized identities and increasing feelings of place-attachment and belonging (Bailey, Miles, and Stark 2004; Stern and Seifert 2007). However, others point out how such practices can be exclusionary to immigrants and communities of color and subsequently lead to displacement (Bedoya 2013; Catungal, Leslie, and Hii 2009). Furthermore, there is increasing skepticism regarding the measurement of presumed placemaking outcomes such as "livability" and "vibrancy" (Moss 2012; Nicodemus 2013). Even so, with funding by the National Endowment for the Arts' Our Town Program as well as nonprofits such as the Kresge Foundation and ArtPlace, creative placemaking continues to be in urban policy vogue and is often pitched as an urban panacea for revitalization, integrating creative, community and economic development interests through both people and place-based initiatives anchored in artistic and cultural activity.

Creative placemaking underpinned embRACE the STREET and other DIY interventions coordinated by the Riverside Arts District. As discussed earlier, the concept of creativity did allow for an emergent collective and fairly inclusive place identity as it was used to encompass a wide range of activities – artistic and otherwise. DIY Urbanists also understood creativity as a way to overcome other identity barriers, including race and ethnicity as articulated by one organizer:

Hopefully they [Hispanic residents] will realize that it is a corridor where they are welcome. It is certainly for everybody; it's just a street in the neighborhood....We've had a lot of publicity so hopefully people have seen that um, that this is happening in their neighborhood...maybe they'll be curious. Certainly, this is a public street. It's a free event, open to the public. It's not even an event. It's not a festival. Hey, it's a street, it's open, the shops are open – Go, go take a walk. See what's going on. I don't know...Hopefully, it will reach out to people who will connect to the street... It will take time, but I think you know, it's not...this is not for one type of person. *It's for a creative person, a person who likes things that are creative. And I don't know anyone who doesn't like that* (emphasis added).

However, as class is overdetermined by race, ethnicity, and consumption practices, among other social processes, certain materializations of aesthetics within the production of space can produce spatial exclusions. Sharon Zukin and others have tracked the ways in which artists inscribe urban space with a particular aesthetic thereby creating space for middle and upper income consumption practices (Zukin 1989; Lloyd 2005). These practices, which are often discursively constructed as 'authentic', 'local', and 'unique', mask the particular desires of certain socio-economic groups as well as their subsequent exclusionary outcomes (Zukin 2008; Zukin, Lindeman, and Hurson 2015). Indeed, desires for a coffee shop, yoga studio, wine bar, organic grocery, and bookstore in addition to arts-based businesses – were articulated over and over again. These desires were also materialized through pop up interventions – either by tangibly offering that particular commodity or through visual representations such as painting desired uses on building windows, shown in Figures 24 and 25. Although these businesses could certainly be managed collectively and therefore reflect postcapitalist outcomes, it would be difficult to argue that the resulting space was 'just' if certain groups were continued to be marginalized and excluded.



Figure 24-25: Nicole Foster. Materializing consumption practices, 2014.

The DIY interventions were perceived as the ideal medium through which to activate these 'authentic' consumption practices. As one organizer explains,

[M]y vision is exactly what the Better Block is about. I couldn't come across anything that could have been closer [than] what I wanted to do. I just wanted to dress up the block and say look - this is the place for cafés, where we want bakeries. We want artists. We want clothing stores. We want boutiques. We want mom-and-pop places, not necessarily chains unless it's a boutique type....Hopefully not the kind [of development] that's going to bulldoze buildings and take away the character.

Certainly, Hispanic diversity was valorized by the DIY Urbanists and was a key component in at least the discursive construction of Riverside Arts District. DIY volunteers, including myself, patronized the local La Fruteria (fruit and ice cream stand), the carniceria (meat market and grocery) and panaderia (bakery), and discussion often emerged regarding how to entice these businesses as well as local bicycle vendors who peddled paletas (popsicles) and other frozen treats into participating in RAD events. Some suggested that Sylvania, the adjacent commercial corridor to Race Street where these businesses were located, could be revitalized into an authentic 'Mercado', something that Fort Worth lacked. However, the imagined 'Mercado' would most likely take the form of a tourist-oriented ethnoscape spectacles, a sanitized version of diversity which would be palpable to white, affluent consumers (S. Shaw 2011).

As one organizer suggested,

Well, we don't want to make it primarily a Hispanic area. We want to have those sorts of things. If it turned out that there was a Mercado nearby, wonderful. It doesn't have to be a Mercado for people who speak Spanish. It's for everybody. Sort of a universal gathering for creative endeavors. I think it could be fun. It's already fun!

Indeed, DIY Urbanists at times denigrated the aesthetics of Hispanic-serving businesses. As this dialogue between two organizers suggests, Sylvania, a main commercial corridor for Hispanic-serving businesses in the neighborhood, was 'ugly' compared to the design interventions on Race Street, citing window posters and other material elements as represented in Figures 26-27.



Figures 26-27. Nicole Foster, Confronting different aesthetics on Sylvania, 2015.

Participant 1: When I leave, I always cross Race Street to Scenic Drive and then to Belknap. It's always so beautiful, looking downtown instead of going down Sylvania.

Participant 2: Sylvania has always been a really sad street the whole time we've lived here.

Participant 1: Fortunately Race goes over.

Participant 2: At least it has businesses. They're just not very...attractive. They don't have to be perfect. They just need to be neat enough that somebody wants to go in there.

Participant 1: Which ones are you talking about?

Participant 2: Sylvania. I mean, how many posters can we put in a window? Seems to be the theme.

Participant 1: Everybody has to look like a liquor store around here, I know.

Struggles over aesthetics and how they were materialized not only occurred between the DIY Urbanists and some Hispanic-serving businesses. Visions of artists and designers at times clashed with the aesthetics promulgated by the DIY Urbanists. As one designer lamented, embRACE the STREET should have been called "embarrass the street" due to the use of multi-colored painted tires and pallets, among other examples of creatively used detritus. Part of this tension stemmed from the needs of artists who articulated a connection between the perceptions of their work and the perceptions of Six Points as an arts district. As one artist explained,

You see the arts community is a very different kind of community. And so, as a person that is a part of the arts community, that's where I always struggled with Race Street because the whole grassroots component is great but if you do things in such a way that you are not getting respect from the arts community, then are you an arts district? Then, that's tough. Because if your own colleagues think of you as an outsider, then you are not really doing art the way they think you should be doing [it]. [...] I really liked tried to do things with extremely high standards to try to build that credibility for myself, you know, so that when people in the area who are part of the arts community - art professors, museum curators - all those people came to the street looking and judging...And when I say judging, I heard people say things. You know what I mean? About the quality of art on the street and then when they came to [my gallery] and not to toot my own horn. Just to say that they were like, 'this is the real deal'. Just saying that...that's why I became more concerned because it's one thing to say, 'yes, we're part of the arts district', but when the arts community doesn't think you are very artsy...

However, the artists and DIY Urbanists, and their materialized aesthetics, were able to co-exist. As discussed above, generous and ethical relationships between groups formed in part because they produced the street together. Perhaps problematic aesthetic assumptions regarding Sylvania's 'ugly' buildings and spaces as well as assumptions regarding the universality of art and creativity could have been complicated and perhaps even overcome had other diverse demographic groups participated in co-producing Race Street. It's certainly possible had the group been more effective in their outreach to the surrounding Hispanic community during the onset of these projects or had one of the partnerships with organizations aimed at community engagement come to fruition, relationships between DIY Urbanists, Hispanic residents and Race Street itself could have been different. With that said, engaging participants in the social production of space must go beyond connections through the street itself.

One reason why Riverside Arts District became exclusive is because the DIY interventions were made possible through existing networks and connections created through not just Six Points, but also more ephemeral spaces. Volunteers called on musician and artist friends, leveraged their connections with the city, property owners, media outlets, and employers, drew on their skill sets using social media, creating websites, photography, event planning and writing press releases. Not only did they have connections, skills and resources, they had the time and flexibility to attend various public and private meetings as well as event-related workdays. Furthermore, most had some idea how the City's political system and planning processes worked. At least one volunteer had worked for the city while another had been involved in Fort Worth politics for decades. Others had been civically involved in other capacities such as committees, participating in public meetings and neighborhood associations. These connections created very real, material benefits for the DIY Urbanists. For the most part, city officials turned a blind eye to the DIY interventions. As the events became more regular and formalized and vendors began applying for permits, DIY Urbanists began to experience more official interventions such as visits from health inspectors and code compliance. However most of these fees were waived with phone calls to city staffers from well-connected participants. Clarence Stone identifies this constellation of resources, connections and political know-how as "systemic power" (2008), which systematically excludes particular socio-economic groups from public decision-making.

However, these relationships extended beyond local politics. Participants were also connected to discussions and projects exploring the potential of DIY Urbanism operating at a global scale. Participants continually circulated blog posts, articles, photographs of potential projects and ideas to be implemented within Six Points. As participants traveled to other cities and spaces, they shared those experiences with other volunteers. As such, it is important to recognize how urban development policy making is made possible through a range of actor positions and connections operating across multiple spatial scales. As McCann argues, "In the context of urban policy mobilities, specifically, it underscores both the need to critically conceptualize urban policy actors' differing levels of fixity/mobility and differential, institutionally conditioned access to global circuits of policy knowledge and also to conceptualize policy transfer and policy learning as socio-spatially uneven and selective processes" (2011).

The assembling of Six Points into Riverside Arts District, therefore, did not just consist of material, spatial interventions on the street. A key aspect to the process was 'branding' the area through other discursive and material practices operating in virtual spaces. One of the first tasks undertaken by the group was to set up a Facebook page for embRACE the STREET. Later emerged a website, Twitter and Instagram account, which were considered vital for producing a sense of 'legitimacy'. The inclusion of these other actants, such as social media, most likely contributed to exclusionary outcomes. However, as I will discuss in the next chapter, this identity and placebranding will not be recognized by the City or by the current developer, which speaks to how these same material and discursive practices helped to produce RAD's simultaneously resistant identity. DIY Urbanists were able to become "transfer agents, by using similar circuits and strategies as business and political elites to spread their own particular 'best practices" (Temenos and McCann 2013, 351), thereby expanding the possibilities of what Six Points could become. However, it is likely that these same 'circuits and strategies', networks and sites filtered out potential users and created their own exclusions. Indeed, the day after the second Better Block event, the old Post Office was tagged, suggesting that other residents felt a need to reclaim space for alternative identities, evidenced by Figure 28.



Figure 28: Nicole Foster. Tagging of the Post Office after Better Block 2. The 'for lease' sign is almost entirely covered by the tag, 2014.

Four years after beginning the DIY interventions, the potential for creating a truly inclusive commons feels elusive. For some, Riverside Arts District and their associated DIY interventions are now considered the domain of "those white people". However, this resultant exclusivity should not completely discount the ways in which embRACE the STREET and other DIY spatial interventions claimed a right to the city. Through the collective production of loose space, Riverside Arts District became an emergent post-capitalist commons in which feelings of radical belonging, generosity, and collective ownership of space emerged through the collective production of non-commodified *lived* space. However, these experiences were overdetermined by other cultural, social and economic processes such as consumption practices that produced other identity differences and exclusionary outcomes. Indeed, Lefebvre suggests that these kinds of *lived* spatial experiences will often be limited to elites as "the masses must *survive* before

they can *live*" (2001, 280). Yet, he then suggests that the production of a new space and a new postcapitalist society will ultimately necessitate the collective efforts of diverse groups and classes. Like, Soja, Lefebvre assumes that the production of space is a fruitful political entry point as it can act as a matter of concern and draw together coalitions incorporating a wide range of political, economic and identity differences. As such, the exclusionary dimensions of Riverside Arts District does not automatically disqualify DIY Urbanism interventions from the realm of right to the city practices or regarding its potential to produce a postcapitalist public. However, these outcomes do point to other problematic assumptions made by Lefebvre.

Like critiques of Benjamin's flâneur who is assumed to be able to leisurely engage with the urban world (E. Wilson 1992), Lefebvre does not fully take into account the ways in which individuals differentially experience and assemble their worlds as a result of distinct material, affective, aesthetic and discursive practices constituting complex and multiple identities. As a result, Lefebvre has been the subject of feminist critiques for romanticizing the modernist *qua* male subject (Fenster 2005; Gibson-Graham 1997). Space to dwell, 'public' space, the commons, will therefore look and feel differently depending on your subject positioning. Although Lefebvre is correct to say that every public has a space, the reverse is true as well. Every space has a presumed public. Lefebvre's tripartite theory of the production space includes *perceived* space, however more attention seems to be directed towards *lived* space and its potential to problematize *conceived* space. We must also direct attention towards *perceived* space, the ways in which feelings of belonging are differentiated across subject positionings due to the presence and formation of a particular symbolic economy. In other words, we need to continually address how the class process is overdetermined by other social, cultural, economic and material practices such as the consumption of particular goods, including space. Indeed, Lefebvre, himself, suggests that the moment of consumption, became of increasing importance to Marx in his later writings and should be analyzed more (Lefebvre 1968). Certainly, the literature exploring the intersections between consumption, class, identity and the reproduction of capitalism is extensive and goes beyond the scope of this analysis. However, RAD's exclusionary outcomes do point to the need to further interrogate the relationship between materiality, aesthetics and perceived space across identity differences in order to ensure more inclusive participation in the production of space.

Even so, Six Points continues to feel loose enough to address the politics of aesthetics and exclusions, as other residents and artists are continually finding their way to Race Street, forging new connections and generating 'new lines of flight'. Young, Hispanic artists have joined the core organizing group and have begun to create their own pop up events, attracting seemingly more diverse and younger audiences. Original DIY Urbanists embrace their involvement and are hopeful that these new partners will be able to engage a community they have inadvertently marginalized.

DIY Urbanism, Right to the City and Postcapitalist Possibilities

Did these DIY interventions constitute a right to the city? Further, did these various spaces, affects, subjects and practices, assembled through DIY Urbanism

projects, produce postcapitalist publics? As both Lefebvre and Gibson-Graham, suggest, overcoming capitalism requires overcoming one's capitalist subjectivity. As such, one needs to subject oneself to and practice alternative ways of living and interacting with others in order to problematize our own naturalized economic subjectivities. The projects did indeed produce feelings and practices of generosity, engagement, belonging, and collective ownership, all of which emerged through the pleasurable and cooperative production of space, further allowing the leisurely and often enchanting experience of dwelling with diverse others.

These affects were also tied to the looseness of the properties as well as the fact that the buildings and lots were not privately owned by any of the participants, but rather they were collectively appropriated. The DIY Urbanism events allowed for the continual making and remaking of spaces for multiple users and their desires, allowing for diverse claims to the space to become materialized and validated. Six Points, therefore, was not assembled into a sanitized arts destination, although certainly some had expressed a desire for just that. Rather, through processes of collective production, RAD emerged as a collectively owned space opening opportunities to perform and experience otherness – other ways of being, of working, playing, creating, sharing and dwelling in urban space. This in turn created ethical relationships between diverse participants who, although different in class, politics and interests, were able to value each other's right to inhabit Six Points.

As such, these actions certainly did constitute a right to the city inextricably linked to what Lefebvre describes as a right to difference. The case of Riverside Arts District suggests that multiple, even conflicting rights to urban space, will be claimed. Other studies analyzing community gardens, identity-based specific spaces based on gender or ethnicity, for example, may lead to antagonistic positioning and the fragmentation of claims (Blokland et al. 2015; Fenster 2005; Schmelzkopf 2002; Staeheli, Mitchell, and Gibson 2002). However, through the collective production of space, the DIY Urbanists learned to co-exist and treat one another ethically. They were not just learning about urbanism, streetscaping, effective public spaces, but rather, they were "learning to be affected" through new affective, bodily and other material practices (J. Cameron, Manhood, and Pomfrett 2011; McFarlane 2011b; Wendler 2014). Difference, therefore, became accommodated, not assimilated. To quote one DIY Urbanist, "there is room for everyone"; how and for whom Six Points was produced became a question of both/and, not either/or.

This analysis suggests that the political import of Lefebvre's right to the city, extends far beyond the *content* of that right as suggested by some critical theorists and right to the city activists who construct the right to the city in terms of equitable development and distribution outcomes. Although these struggles for justice are crucial and commendable, explicitly pursuing particular rights to the city *qua* just city outcomes like housing and public services, as opposed to claiming the right to produce space in of itself, may prove antagonizing – especially in polarized or already fragmented communities. Rather, the analysis of RAD suggests, that in the process of claiming a right to the city through the collective appropriation of space, individuals *learned to desire otherness* and began expressing a collective right for all users to be able to create and inhabit space. In other words, they were articulating what Gibson-Graham describe as a 'politics of becoming'.

The DIY Urbanism interventions certainly enabled postcapitalist subjectivities to form as well as a communal production of space. Riverside Arts District became a labor of love – literally hours upon hours of physical and emotional labor, which produced a space very different than the commodified, heavily surveilled, urban lifestyle leisure centers that are built to meet the consumption desires of particular socio-economic demographics. As such, this collective production of space in of itself could be understood as a form of *autogestion*. However, the relationship between claiming a right to the city and producing a postcapitalist public was much more tenuous.

The DIY interventions certainly encouraged other forms of collective economic activity including the cooperative artists' studio, the community garden, and a site for community-supported agriculture. The street also attracted a diverse set of economic arrangements – nonprofit organizations, fair trade retailers, and individually or family managed businesses such as an ice cream parlor, restaurants, retail stores and an art education center. However, the interventions have not led to the development of more formalized postcapitalist economic associations in which surplus labor is collectively produced, appropriated and distributed. With that said, the desire to participate in such activities were often articulated. Various members discussed establishing cooperative establishments such as a community-supported brewery, a collaborative creative incubator space, a health food cooperative as well as examples of the sharing economy such as a tool lending library. However, these potentially more formalized postcapitalist economic collectives have not yet materialized.

Perhaps this is due to the recent fragmentation of Riverside Arts District membership. By creating centrality, Riverside Arts District and the DIY interventions have not only attracted users interested in participating and producing a sense of the commons, they have also attracted development interests. This next chapter traces how Riverside Arts District, as a postcapitalist assemblage-in-the-making, has become strained with the introduction of these other actants. A new developer and city officials desire a different assemblage as they work to reassemble Six Points into a new place – River East – through their own material and discursive practices which attempts to reterritorialize Six Points back under a neoliberal logic.

Chapter 7: Assembling Six Points into River East

As the previous chapter traced, embRACE the STREET and other DIY Urbanism interventions created a sense of possibility and centrality surrounding Six Points, attracting diverse users and uses. However, the interventions have also attracted private redevelopment interests as well as additional city funding and planning services. EmbRACE the STREET directly impacted street maintenance and improvement plans leading to the installation of permanent bike lanes. An additional four million dollars have been earmarked for the Urban Village including a larger streetscaping overhaul and the installation of public art. An investment group and a Dallas-based developer have purchased properties adjacent to Six Points for higher-end, higher-density development. The same developer has also purchased many of the buildings on Race Street from the original owner and plans a large, mixed-use, high density development which will raze several buildings including those housing the art studios, the site of the community garden and various pieces of DIY public art. He is also attempting to brand the entire neighborhood as "River East".

The DIY Urbanism group has certainly weakened over time now that it has become increasingly entangled with city and developer interests. On the one hand, inclusion of these new actors has connected volunteers with more financial and institutional resources; however, their involvement has also contributed to the group's fragmentation. Most profoundly affecting the DIY Urbanists, of course, is the impending loss of spaces. Once buildings and the community garden were put on the chopping block and the city took over streetscaping plans, volunteers became noticeably absent from events and meetings. What began as twenty core members devolved to five key participants; although several other volunteers continue to participate on an ad hoc basis.

If the story ended here, one could frame the narrative as another case of arts-led gentrification. However, tracing the ways in which actants, materiality, affect, discourse, capital, practices and subjectivity intersected, we can identify moments in which the emergent post-capitalist public was disrupted. Subsequently, we can then identify opportunities that could have enabled new subject positions, strategies and politics. Furthermore, although *lived* experience is certainly key to opening oneself up to new constructions of self and alternative relationships to urban space and diverse others, time is required for these novel spatial, affective and discursive practices to become embedded and embodied, as well as for a postcapitalist assemblage to strengthen and intensify. To use a Deleuzian concept, time is needed to *territorialize* space as simultaneously, other actors, namely city officials and the developers, are attempting to reappropriate and reterritorialize space through their own assemblages.

Within the first year of DIY interventions, volunteers not only produced the temporary Better Block event, embRACE the STREET, they also appropriated Six Points for collective use through the installation of public murals, the community garden, a performance stage and street landscaping. The pop-up galleries were also made more stable through signed leases, dedicated signage and regular events. The artists' studio space continued as a meeting area for RAD as well as for hosting public events such as gallery nights, film screenings, classes and other art-related activities. However, RAD

volunteers were not the only actants to make claims on space through material practices. And like the DIY Urbanism spatial interventions, these other practices also conveyed affective dimensions. As one gallery owner reflected:

Well, I mean...in kind of hindsight and looking back. Maybe not being really like clear about certain things that I saw. The 'For Sale' signs by our buildings. I think there was a time I was like...I was kind of scared of those signs. I mean, like, what's for sale? Right? (laughing) I'm like, 'oh, my building'. Even though I was seeing that, something was so odd about that to me, that I was like...it was hard to feel settled in all of it. And then eventually, I was told, that the buildings were under contract.

So, not long after that, I learned that the buildings were under contract and it didn't really surprise me. But it did surprise from the standpoint... [...] I don't understand how we can call this an arts district when it's been in transition. Does that make sense? Does that sound weird? Or maybe just naïve?

Janice, who owned the property during this time, had purchased the buildings and land at the height of the real estate market and could not proceed with development plans. According to her tenants she was operating at a financial loss and as a result, decided to sell the properties. Subsequently, talk among the DIY Urbanists and artists began circulating regarding the possibility of a new developer purchasing and bulldozing the properties. However, the relationships that had developed – including the relationship between the property owner, artists and DIY Urbanists, suggested that the existing uses of Race Street were collectively desired and likely to continue. Janice herself was a musician and had already collaborated with one of the Race Street artists in creating live/work studio space for artists in another neighborhood. She also described her philosophy towards property development as a social, not exclusively economic, enterprise. She desired revitalization through social mixing, not displacement, and was a staunch advocate for effective and just policies for supporting the homeless population in another neighborhood where she owned property. Clearly, she was not a typical developer. Janice was also a regular attendee at Riverside Arts District events. As one artist described her interaction with the property owner during a gallery night, "Janice told me, 'this is everything I always wanted...' She seemed so happy. She's like 'I'm going to go look at art'". Because of these interactions, the artists assumed that the use of the properties and by extension, the emergent identity of Riverside Arts District, although vulnerable to redevelopment, could be protected and fortified. As one artist explained,

Janice can work a deal with those developers to where she would have some sort of vested, financial part of it. So she would...it would give her a little bit of control still. That's my impression that I've gotten...[S]he's going to want to know – 'what are you going to do with [the property]? What is it going to look like?' before she does anything. And from what I understand, some, I mean, some people sell their land that don't have any...they don't continue the relationship with the developer in terms of contractually. You can pretty much, from what I understand, set whatever terms you want. So that's how I kind of see Janice but I mean, I can also understand that this land, also her property has been a loss for her. I mean financially. So...I know they...when it comes down to it, it always comes down to money. At the same time, talking to Janice, she does have a place in her heart for the arts and for artists. And she's very genuine about it. I've never gotten the vibe that she's that type of person that told you one thing face to face and did another thing behind your back. That sounded like the [previous developer]. That sounded like how he operated. 'Hey, let me make you a deal' and then turn right back around and do everything opposite of what you already talked about. Yeah, but I've never gotten that vibe from Janice.

However, ultimately, the buildings did sell to a Dallas-based developer after a fairly long negotiation process. There weren't any 'contractual' agreements that would guarantee the rights of artists or DIY Urbanists to stay in place. The new property owner re-signed leases but they were short-term and eventually became month-to-month so that

he could break ground on his plans for a high-density, mixed use development when ready. He was amenable, at least initially, to the artist studios as well as RAD using his space to meet and for continued DIY activations of vacant spaces and lots. However, an arts district was not necessarily his end game. Rather, artists and the neighborhood, were depicted similarly to some of the discursive constructions found in the arts-based gentrification literature – i.e. artists are urban "pioneers" attracted to gritty urban spaces who then set the stage for neighborhood upscaling (S. Cameron and Coaffee 2005; Ley 2003; Zukin 1989). As the developer described, "I think [artists] are always kind of a leading edge part of some of these neighborhoods because they are brave enough to go into the seedier, you know, dangerous parts, you know and deal with it. So, I think that's a welcome piece of the puzzle".

As soon as the sale to the Dallas-based developer was recognized as inevitable, the centrality of RAD loosened, relationships were strained and affects began to shift. Furthermore, because Barbara, one of the DIY Urbanists, was the leasing agent for the buildings, she, and RAD by extension, became guilty by association for some of the participants. As one artist reflected,

That was another time that it felt like an arts district. So you know, when we did things together; it seemed to define when we were more of an arts district than not. But then, [...] after fall gallery night, [...] we all found out [...] that the buildings were under contract. And um, not long after that, once Laura [coordinator for the cooperative artist studios] found out about that, she left. She was pretty upset. She was like, the [artist studios], for the most part, *was kind of the center of it all*. And she kind of felt like she had invested a lot of energy and time into that space and to be kind of cut off guard like that, I don't think she was too happy. *So I think when Laura left, that hurt. Because at that point, all of the people that made it on a personal level, I guess, made me more connected*. You know besides Barbara. I still, I mean, even after the whole contract thing, I remained...I

still have a great relationship with Barbara. I think Barbara is awesome. I have an optimum amount of respect for her and all the energy she puts into everything and I think she's just doing the best that she can, you know what I mean? I think that she wanted something I think that was maybe all the other people involved weren't as able or willing to provide. Um, I mean because, she used to do so much research and stuff and looking at all these other arts districts across the country. That always made me feel like she had a sense of like what it should be. You know, so, that's why I was always a little like surprised by certain things....[B]ut I feel like after Laura left, and [another gallery owner] left and after the whole kind of debacle with the buildings under contract, then all of this went downhill from there as far as the energy level and then everything was kind of...was just kind of kept afloat as far as the arts district was concerned. *The artists were...really depressed and still very depressed* (emphasis added).

In addition to the artists' studio organizer and gallery owner leaving, another volunteer split from RAD to begin her own revitalization and placemaking initiative, insinuating that RAD leadership was too cozy with the Dallas developer and wanted to gentrify the area for personal financial gain. Although as indicated by the artist quoted above, not everyone shared that perspective and maintained positive relationships with the DIY Urbanists. Regardless, core membership decreased from 20 to 5 members. Furthermore, the artists who remained in the studio space did not share the same relationships with DIY Urbanists as had the first studio organizers. These other artists had not participated in the initial DIY interventions. As a result, the artist studio space was no longer experienced as a welcoming, quasi-public place as reflected by one of my field notes from 2014:

I'm working with Mark, Molly and the kids to create projects for the children's plaza for embRACE the STREET 2. [One of the gardeners] tells me where to find the left over paint and supplies. It's such a different experience than before. It's just the six of us. Everyone is here through their connections with me. My friends, my family. Why am I doing this? Why isn't anyone else involved? It's hot. It's not enjoyable. We heave up

the metal door and pull paint cans out of the shed. It's quiet. I feel awkward, almost guilty using the shed without anyone else there. Like I'm not supposed to. This doesn't feel like my space anymore. We spend the afternoon painting 2 x 4s to make the xylophone and painting spools for the tables. The projects turn out great. Kids have an okay time but need coaxing to finish.

Jack needs to use the bathroom. We go around the corner to the art studio's front door. Jill is there and Eva.

Jill emerges with headphones. I explain that Jack needs to use the bathroom. She is somewhat friendly – readjusts her headphones and disappears. Eva comes out from her space with an expressionless face. I say 'hi' to her. I explain what we were doing. She does not say a word. She doesn't smile. Nothing. Just returns to her studio space. Granted – this is a week before Gallery Night so I know that they are busy working. As soon as we leave, we can here the door locking behind us. My friend comments how uncomfortable she feels.

Such a contrast to the meetings we had in that space. I remember Justine, when we were working to set up the Better Block, just assumed that we could use the art studios to cool off. We walked right in. No hesitation.

The crack in the relationship between the DIY Urbanists and artists does complicate the assumption that both types of urban spatial producers are catalysts to gentrification (Deslandes 2013). Although both groups were interested in creativity, 'authentic' spaces, etc., the DIY Urbanists were committed to producing space for public, collective use. Although some artists felt drawn to the collective urban project of embRACE the STREET and other DIY interventions, most were focused on the production of their own artwork. However, those artists who supported the DIY Urbanists, who opened their space for meetings, who organized classes and programming targeting residents and youth, in addition to professional artists, felt strained negotiating their needs and desires as an artist and what was expected from them by the community.

As one artist explained,

Helping to build RAD benefits the [the artist studios]. So why wouldn't I do that? Of course I would do that. And I love doing that... I think Gallery Night was such a great event with all of our efforts combined to make it what we want it to be. And I can't do that alone. I can't be in this business and not help Barbara or work together with [the other galleries]. We're all in this together so I'm so willing to do my part. That being said it also takes...and this is where it's kind of a funny area. Because I always go back to my mission statement – which is providing working studio space for artists. And I always keep that first because I also have to be careful that I don't disrupt their studio time. I'm not going to have events and disrupt their studio space. Because they pay rent. This is where they work. So it's a fine balance. So when I interview artists – I have to make sure they are okay with that. And so I tell them a bit about what we do and they have to say yes or no. [...] So...also, I get bombarded with ideas and suggestions. Why don't you do this? Why don't you do that? And I'm like wait a minute – look at my inventory – I hardly have anything which means I'm not doing what I want to do - the whole reason I got my studio space. But like I tell Janice, and Barbara, [...] I'm not complaining. I'm just saying...because you know...you just have to go with it. Bitch about it privately and alone.

Those not involved in the DIY interventions would often voice their

acknowledgment - even expressing desire - for the very kind of development that will

eventually displace them and their spaces. As one artist explained,

Everyone says that the developers are buying up the bluff, right now. And, I'm told...He's saying within 10 years, they are planning a San Antonio Riverwalk. It's big. If we can manage and do well enough to stay right here...we're already...we've already been in the news over and over. We've already got the vibe started. If we can stay here that long, we can cash in with that crowd. We want to help that.

Being identified as a 'pioneering' gentrifier potentially adds to an artists'

legitimacy with some artists suggesting that displacement could benefit their careers.

Artist 1: - Yeah, if you can get the cache built up. I have a studio here.
And then boom, you must be important. You know. You must actually be something. They take you more seriously.
Artist 2: - Are we there yet?
(all laughing)
Artist 3: - [She's] almost there (pointing to Artist 1)
Artist 1 - I'm working it. Fake it 'til you make it. So yeah, it adds...when you get priced out. You can say, "Yeah, I started on Race Street" and we helped. You take that cache with you.
Artist 2 - Maybe.
Artist 3 - Maybe, maybe not. If it works. It adds to your credibility as quote "a real artist" if the area you're in does well.

Other artists were less enthusiastic about the buildings' sale. Some were completely cognizant of the city and developer's attempts at co-opting their presence and work on the street. As one artist described their role, "We might be, what you might consider the cannon meat for getting things established". This sentiment was articulated by others: "Absolutely, we're the sacrificial lambs" and "We're totally expendable"! Upon hearing about the sale of the art studio building, an artist expressed her anger about future displacement during a pop up gallery night. Upon seeing the developer, she sneered, "He doesn't want us here. He doesn't care about the artists. He wants to kick us all out". When another artist indicated that the developer was standing nearby, she replied, "I don't care. He knows exactly what I think."

These conflicting sentiments reflect artists' diverse subjectivities reflecting their varied precarious economic positionings. There is very little support for emerging artists in Fort Worth. For example, when I asked why artists are not more engaged in justice issues like gentrification, I suggested that perhaps "artists don't feel like they can bite the hand that feeds them", alluding to the possibility that artists refrain from being active in

political projects for fear of offending affluent patrons. The artist replied, "Oh, okay...what we're just talking about...there is no hand to feed you (laughing). Okay? That's what we're talking about...ain't nobody feeding nobody here". Pursuing an art career in Fort Worth can therefore be a risky undertaking. However, most artists on Race Street were not 'starving artists'. They had come to the profession as a second career. Many benefitted from retirement income and/or support from a spouse. However, like all artists, they were attracted to the studio space because of cheap rent and good light, not the neighborhood. Some felt torn when they were asked to participate in DIY events. Some artists admitted that they tried to tune out what was happening on the street in order to focus on their work.

This is not to say that the artists did not generate their own sense of collectivity. Artists found the cooperative studio space a fruitful and productive environment for increasing their network, sharing creative techniques, strengthening business skills and mentorship. Although some argue that these forms of creative collectivism enact resistance to neoliberal development logic (Bain and McLean 2013), the Six Points experience reveals the limitations of forging cooperative noncapitalist projects between artists and their neighbors. The cooperative and collective ethos that emerged within the studio did not necessarily spill out onto the street – especially among those who had not participated in any of the DIY interventions. And the artists' cooperative studio most likely will not sustain itself. As artists were given shorter and more contingent leases, most have moved on to other spaces. Some found studios in other buildings on Race

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Street. Others returned to their homes. At its height, the studio was home to eight artists. Now, only two remain with the building scheduled for demolition by the end of 2016.

The potential for artists to participate in assembling a postcapitalist public may therefore prove challenging. For some theorists, artists' economic precarity makes progressive coalitions with other economically precarious subjects – the working class, in particular – possible (Harvey 2001b; Harvey 2009). And these relationships do form, often regarding the issue of gentrification and uneven development (Novy and Colomb 2013). However, Race Street artists' subjectivities seem much more 'reluctant' (Gibson-Graham 2006a) as 1) they are mainly pursuing art as a second career and are not 'starving artists' and 2) they perceive their worth and legitimacy in terms of their roles as gentrifiers. Although some artists certainly expressed anger and disappointment at their ultimate displacement, most accepted and even anticipated gentrification as well as their complicit role in the process as 'natural'.

Artist 1: I was thinking about Sausalito, California. They had all those funky art places and stuff down there. The last time I went, it's all these high end galleries. They've all got giclée prints instead of originals. (laughing). I didn't see artists anywhere and I thought yeah, that's what happens when it grows and outgrows the people that kind of started it.

Artist 2: It's normal.

I: How do you feel about that?

Artist 2: It's what happens. There's no reason...

Artist 3: No reason to worry about it. It's not in our control. We just have to do what we can do for the time being.

Artist 2: We get old and we get wrinkled. Prices go up and we have to move. It's just...what happens.

Artist 3: It's not really a surprise. There's nothing permanent with us.

Artist 1: At least with us, we've got that bedroom (to serve as studio space)

(all laughing).

Artist 3: We accept that...we accept that things will change.

Artist 4: We find different neighborhoods. It will be the same kind of gentrification. And we move there (all laughing).

I - So it's not...in your previous experience, when you've located someplace...do you become attached to that place? Is it painful to leave?

Artist 4: Well, it can be but since most of us don't live here, then it's not going to be.

The relationship, therefore, between the artists and the DIY Urbanists was already fragile. As discussed in the previous chapter, artists and DIY Urbanists differed in terms of what constituted an arts district in terms of neighborhood aesthetics. Differences were overcome or at least tolerated as artists who arrived to the street early on in the process, often provided support to DIY Urbanism efforts and participated with events. However, once buildings and spaces were sold and re-imagined as high-end development, the artists' studio space, which, at one point, "was the center of it all", fell apart. Without the space, artists scattered and collaborations lessened.

Similarly, the impending loss of space led to the community garden eventually becoming dismantled, depicted in Figures 29-34. Gardeners attempted to keep the garden going even under short-term conditions but after three years, the Stolen Garden was abandoned. The garden's organizer and her husband were the only remaining volunteers who would attend workdays and found the space overwhelming to maintain on their own. More importantly, the joy of the Stolen Garden was not the garden, but the relationships formed and enjoyed there. As the organizer explained,

The garden will go away and um, to be perfectly honest...I've said this to a couple of people...I will be relieved when it goes away because as much as I love the garden and I love my friends in the garden, I...everybody I garden with and I enjoy, I see outside of the garden. So I won't lose that. If it had become a bigger garden where I don't see people except at the garden, I would probably feel differently. But to me, it is, it is work that I do that I get no additional benefit from. Which is sad to say but it is. Um, there's just a certain creativity that's there that won't be recreated so I'll be sad to see that go.

The loss of spaces corresponded with a shift in the discourse articulated by some of the DIY Urbanists. Six Points was discursively reconstructed from RAD, a place of possibility, to a place of inevitable neoliberal development. As this participant suggests, however, this outcome could have been otherwise, which is a departure from the perspective of artists discussed earlier.

I think what all of us would like to see...because it's become important to us and...it's kind of become our little home away from home. We would like to see all those buildings stay just like they are with cute shops in them and that just, financially speaking, is just not doable. You know, there is a lot of dead space there. There's a lot of open space. An investor is not going to come in and try to fill in places. You know, back there on the slab, behind the garden...just to go in there and rip up the slab and put a building that's got four units? And there's this vacant lot to do something. It's just not financially feasible. At some point in history, it might have been, but it's not now. And those buildings are not really in good repair...And, honestly, they don't have a lot of character either. You know, there's not a lot going for some of those buildings. But on other ones, like the strip where we met the other day. There are some really good points to those. But on the Janice side of it, a little three unit...with all that dead space in between...It really just makes sense to raze it and build something new. And that's not what any of us are envisioning because we were looking at what was there and what we could do. I mean, which one of us had a million dollars that we were going to come in and buy that land and build something? I mean, really, none of us. So we're looking within our limits. And their limits are much more than what ours

are. So, it will definitely go differently than what we first envisioned (emphasis added).



Figures 29-34: Assemblage to Disasemblage Top three photos: Aaron Latchaw, 2012. Bottom three photos: Nicole Foster, 2015. The constructions of Six Points as a site of inevitable neoliberal development were further stabilized by other material and discursive practices. As was the case in the discussion regarding the McAdams building, Six Points and surrounding neighborhoods continued to be constructed by the media, the City and the developer as depressed, deteriorated, abandoned, yet "ripe for development". Six Points was again, "rising like a Phoenix", attracting investors "who want to get it on that action". Newspaper article titles such as "Race Street developers sprint toward success", again presented the process of assembling and developing properties as a game, a race to the finish line. These representations coalesced with other practices that rendered RAD members invisible from the spatial development process as well as disenfranchised the group from the planning process. Riverside Arts District, in the eyes of the City and the developer, would now become a 'stakeholder', not a produced place.

City staffer and developer perceptions of the DIY Urbanists' impact on Six Points stands in marked contrast to how the DIY Urbanists perceive themselves and their contributions to the street. Here one volunteer began to frame RAD's success in terms of conventional economic development outcomes. However, she then shifted towards a broader understanding of the value that was created through the DIY interventions:

Success in that scenario would be to define it economically. [The City is] re-doing the street. They are putting money back in the Urban Village. So if we evaluate it financially, um, it has caused, um, some of the business owners to think there was hope of doing something with that space that might be positive. And a lot of people um, a lot of people had fun. We do have a community garden. We do have an art [studio]. We did do a gallery night. We did do a youth art expo. We do have some of the properties bought. And we also have self-pride (laughing). Success for me was the relationships that I formed and the groundwork for success. [The] Academy of Fine Arts decided to come to Riverside Baptist and bring

their art school there. So there was a lot of successful things that came out of it and it's still going.

In addition, RAD had generated a following of over 2000 Facebook users, received awards for best revitalization, was highlighted in several articles by both the local mainstream newspaper and alternative weekly reader, and regularly hosted shows and performances featuring nationally and internationally-known artists and musicians. As a result, the DIY Urbanists saw themselves as a key partner to the revitalization of Six Points and therefore had a right in producing development outcomes. As one participant joked, "He [the developer] didn't know we came with the buildings"! Although the DIY Urbanists would often construct themselves as autonomous, they also felt that they had developed cooperative relationships with city staffers, elected officials and the developer, and were respected by them. They also assumed that city officials and the developer broadly supported their efforts. As one volunteer remarked, "We're very lucky to have a developer and investor [...] who is interested in the community...All these elements are coming together, including private and public input. It's all working." (quoted in Prince 2015). Indeed, one participant suggested that the developer, like the previous property owner, wasn't a typical developer, but a "community builder". However, this perspective began to change as RAD was increasingly marginalized and excluded from the spatial production as well as the planning process.

Over time, it became more apparent that city officials and the developer did not recognize the 'success' of Riverside Arts District, as perceived by the DIY Urbanists. City officials, staffers and the developer were hesitant to acknowledge that these events or activities laid any kind of groundwork for development, despite the fact that most of the other Urban Villages had yet to experience similar development interest. To one city planner, embRACE the STREET was considered a "good effort" conducted by a "small group of people". The developer, likewise, framed their efforts as "obviously so small", the "little garden" and "something with the painted tires" were the outcomes of "a bunch of friends kind of getting together and doing something".

Not surprisingly, the feelings of collective ownership, belonging, and generosity expressed by a diverse group of residents, artists, and urbanists, as well as the production of Six Points into a safe commons were never mentioned as valuable outcomes. These are not outcomes, desires or values espoused by a neoliberal development logic. In fact, the City often seemed clueless as to what kinds of spaces and experiences the DIY Urbanists were creating as reflected by one particular incident described by one of the participants:

You know the city came to the garden once, when the artists, when Laura was still there and asked if we had a nursery. A children's nursery. If we had daycare there. And she said, 'What'? And they said, 'all the paintings and stuff that are back there...are y'all running a daycare out of here'? She said, 'No, it's an art studio and that's a community garden'. She had to explain to them... 'Well, you've got a sandbox and all this colorful stuff and everything'.... She said, 'No, no, no it's a community garden'.

This was one of the many instances, to borrow an oft-used phrase by one of the participants, when the "city just doesn't get it".

City officials perceived the DIY interventions as potentially positive forms of civic engagement, not spatial production. Here, the DIY interventions, specifically the Better Block, is given credit for influencing the city to implement some of the streetscaping desires – namely, the painting of bike lanes. However, as articulated here by

one city planner, the main reason for development interest is due to existing city policies and building improvements *made by property owners*. The relationship between the DIY interventions and development outcomes was attributed to "serendipity" and perhaps even "coincidence".

[P]art of that is serendipitous because as a designated Urban Village, we had already gotten grant funds in place to spend here. Um, we actually, we're doing streetscaping maintenance on Race Street anyway so we were repaying it. The Better Block project helped to um, get the city's design folks engaged with how we can improve that maintenance project at least as an interim. So there was the effect of essentially demonstrating what the community wanted to see on the street. We were then able to, following the repaying project, we were able to come in and uh, use paint to help achieve some of those desires. So that's, that was kind of serendipitous. The piece that was a little more actual influence is because the neighborhood is so engaged, because there are investments being made here now, uh, assembly of property, rezoning, uh, work that Janice is doing on her buildings, stuff like that. It actually uh, provides a strong argument that the 2014 bond program should include money for urban villages generally for streetscape improvements to make them more pedestrian friendly and uh accommodate bikes and other street users to build complete streets uh, so it influenced that discussion. Uh, and because the community had demonstrated what they want, the city had been able to again, sort of serendipitously, put a small investment in paint to demonstrate what that might look like along the full street. That then sets a precedent, sets some design parameters for a larger investment. And that's because we were able to get the 2014 bond program through and the voters approved it and they approved urban villages specifically. We now have funds available for urban village improvements like this. So, uh, because there is that that coincidence...it's not a coincidence...that connection in chronology of uh, uh, community involvement, streetscape improvements initially as just something we could do without a lot of high cost and the investments that the private sector is making at this time, including the rezonings for mixed use and urban residential, that set the stage for Six Points to be the most clearly ready urban village to receive some of those funds. We are trying to use those funds to revitalize those areas to help accommodate growth. So if there were no market activity in Six Points, even if it had a Better Block project, [Six Points] might not rise to the top. It's because we...we had the market. We were able to leverage those investments and have a better bang for the buck for the entire urban village by spending some of those bond funds here.

Similarly, the developer suggested that the presence of a national restaurant chain on the street was "really the only positive thing going", according to him. He did attribute Barbara with attracting "a bucket of money" from the city and suggested that the only reason he continued with the project is due to the "positivity" of the participants:

It's nice to have, you know, a group of people saying, wow, please, this is what we've been looking forward to, you know. This is so exciting. This is what we're doing. I need that because many days, I'm like, what the hell have I done and why? Because I could have done a lot of other things and a lot of times I wish I would have. [...] I mean, it's fun. It's just been enjoyable hanging out with you know people who are excited about what it can be, which it makes it so depressing you know when the 1 percenters, the shrill, screaming at you about how you're going to ruin their neighborhood...uh...I'm not doing it for practice. I don't really have to do it, you know. I would prefer to work, you know, where people are excited and encouraging and that's kind of what it's been until the last two weeks (chuckling).

RAD members, therefore, were constructed not as spatial producers but as another

"community group" who would participate in the planning process by sharing their

interests and vision for the neighborhood. As one city official explained,

Guerilla Urbanism (chuckling)...what role that can play is to, well, [...] One is just to get the community together to talk about a vision for their neighborhood. If you can get people looking at sort of critically uh, surveying their neighborhood, their physical surroundings and identifying things specific things that they think don't contribute to success in the area or that do, they begin to understand more about their physical environment, the urban fabric that they're inhabiting, they can be more, uh, informed or intelligent partners in discussions about that future in that neighborhood.

Although the planning official was cognizant of the physical dimensions of DIY

Urbanism, the focus remained on discussing the future of the neighborhood, not actually

producing space in situ. Certainly this perspective reflects the dominant planning "paradigm" - a communicative approach, which strives towards generating consensus through discussion by stakeholders, an ideal espoused by one planning official:

Generally speaking, the more conversation that takes place between all of those stakeholders...because they are all stakeholders...we want that conversation to take place and to take place over time, not just..."we're going to fight on this issue and then we're not going to not talk to each other". We would like that conversation to continue because it helps build capacity in the neighborhood. It helps to build consensus on their vision for the future. It helps them to communicate that, not just between themselves, but also to the city. So we're going to hear anyway. And if it makes it more difficult, um, to determine the best way forward for us in the decision that we have to make, if we hear "x" from this person and we hear something totally different from this person, and they conflict and in some cases, they are fairly opposed, then that is very challenging. So, we want events like this [a design charrette], to give folks the opportunity to have those discussions and to share their views and to hear the perspective of others. And hopefully, learn from that. And, at least, able to successfully communicate with each other instead of walling the other group off.

However, the city's problematic relationship with RAD throughout the assembling of Six Points illuminates the limitations and vulnerability of the CPT approach. By circumscribing RAD members into a stakeholder position, whose only role was to discuss their vision regarding the future of Six Points, city planners and officials were unable or perhaps unwilling to recognize the energy and 'buzz' created by the events, streetscaping and other spatial interventions, much less the full value that DIY interventions added to Six Points in terms of producing enchanting public space (material value), the emergence of an inclusive, collective identity (discursive value) and the formation of positive, cooperative relationships across diverse subjectivities (affective value). By pigeonholing RAD into a stakeholder position, the city actually further fragmented the group and generated more tension between participants. As an official 'stakeholder', the group was now perceived by others as specifically pursuing their own interests and complicit to the inevitable large-scale development and potential gentrification. RAD members now had to discursively articulate their 'vision' of an arts district – fixing an imaginative future - instead of 'arts' and 'creativity' continually being redefined through diverse spatial practices. In other words, RAD was no longer practicing a politics of becoming, but rather a politics of defined interest.

With that said, outcomes may have been different had the city actually pursued the ideals of communicative planning. However, city staffers did not treat RAD as a valued stakeholder. Discussions with stakeholders were often shrouded. Sometimes RAD representatives were invited to meetings; other times, not. This lack of inclusion in the planning process increased tensions. As one participant vented with exasperation,

Why are [city officials] having all these meetings and not talking to people who have been working on the street? Like a focus group? We had to basically beg them. They were like, oh. They didn't even think about it. Like, no, you need to talk to the people who have been here..."

After the group challenged why they had not been invited to a meeting to learn about a new development proposed for the street, the leader of the neighborhood's Business Alliance, who had just met with city officials in a closed meeting, informed me that, "they [the artists and DIY Urbanists] don't have any business being there. These are major million dollar investments. I mean, those paying \$200 a month? [i.e. artists renting studios]...I mean, really". Further, the 'communicative' planning process again seemed to be co-opted and captured by neoliberal interests. The development outcome – a

live/work/play urban lifestyle consumption space - was already decided by city officials and the developer. Any examples of 'public participation', in the form of sharing one's vision, served an instrumental and performative purpose in order to legitimize neoliberal planning decisions (Purcell 2009).

Closed meetings further strained the relationship not just between city officials and the DIY Urbanists, but also between RAD, other community groups and potential partners. The volunteer who left RAD to begin her own faith-based placemaking and revitalization initiative began assembling her own partners, including city officials, my own university's urban studies institute, and the local high school to initiate alternative plans for the Six Points area. The group was gifted a vacant lot to construct another community garden just a few blocks away from the Stolen Garden. City staffers and the former volunteer also submitted an application for Six Points to receive pro bono design services through a partnership with the Congress of New Urbanism, as part of their programming during a national conference in Dallas. RAD leadership was not notified of the discussions until they were invited as a stakeholder to participate in the project. One of RAD's organizers, who had previously enjoyed a close relationship with the former member, was visibly upset by the revelation. Not only did she feel betrayed by her friend, she "lost a lot of respect for [my university]" and was disappointed in the city for not acknowledging RAD's stake in Six Points.

I'm really upset. Shaken. This really hurt my feelings. Here I am a grown woman. I have never had my feelings hurt like this. We've accomplished a lot. We don't want to have a charrette with architects. This is our own project. We have you – bringing us research. We can bring in our own consultant. This is so top down with city officials. They think they are going to take control from the little guys...They totally dismiss us. Why would you not include us? [...] You [referring to the city] wouldn't have done any of this without our work these past two years. They can't just dismiss this. You know, I took it personally. They state [one of the galleries] is located in "The Village", not Riverside Arts District. There's enough room...there's enough room for everyone. There's no need to be secretive. [...] I'm all about collaboration.

Instead of holding separate and closed meetings with various groups, the city could have organized consensus-building activities which is de rigueur within a CPT model. However, even 'public' meetings only consisted of presentations of designs followed by Q&A sessions. The only collaborative, hands-on activities were planned and facilitated by consultants contracted by the city or at the design charrette. Perhaps this lack of consensus-building communicative planning practices was due to the lack of faith residents had in city officials' ability to effectively represent and incorporate all stakeholder perspectives. As one city planner admitted,

we try to help the community define what their vision is and then we use the tools that we have at our disposal to try and help create that vision. Um, and by doing things like that, and bringing in design experts who are not city staff members. We have design experts. We can do what's happening here. But it has...but in a lot of cases, they have less credibility, less value because they are...the perception is, well, it's the city and they have their own agenda.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier, the city had already produced a Master Plan for Six Points, which stated that the city would absolve itself of any future involvement in negotiating differences among stakeholders. According to the plan, a nonprofit organization focused on Six Points would need to take over those responsibilities. Interestingly, that role could have been played by RAD. However, city officials' construction of RAD as just another neighborhood stakeholder expressing a defined agenda, limited its capacity to assume this function. Certainly, this move of relying on public-private partnerships to increasingly shoulder public sector responsibilities would have been consistent with neoliberal governance practices. Perhaps, RAD did not fit the city's desired 'partner' as the DIY Urbanists were certainly producing a space distinct from the consumption-oriented live-work-playscapes often envisioned for urban villages.

Regardless, the ideals of communicative planning were disregarded because the city continued to operate under an explicitly neoliberal logic. As was discussed in regard to the planning efforts surrounding the McAdams building revitalization project and Six Points' designation as an Urban Village, any public planning process served to justify and legitimize pre-determined neoliberal aims. For example, the planning director was quite explicit about why the city was investing in Six Points. It was because "there is a development piece that goes with it" (quoted in Hirst 2015). The attempted neoliberalization of Six Points was further pursued through the re-inscription of the area into an abstract, *conceptual* space, by developers and city officials, not a concrete, *lived* space. As was pursued during the planning of Six Points during the Urban Village discussions, all development interests and policies targeted imagined inhabitants – affluent millenials and babyboomers. The residents, DIY Urbanists, and artists who already lived and worked in Six Points were somewhat dismissed, as indicated by this city planner:

[S]o, the broader vision of revitalization, of meeting the growing market demand for closer in, near downtown or downtown living, uh, you've got the millenials, babyboomers, you've got uh a lot of others as well that given the opportunity, they would like to live in a walkable, urban community. Ideally close to where they work. Uh, so, if we can stimulate investment, give people opportunity to live in these kinds of neighborhoods and improve the areas *and have the community members help in that process just by being there, living there, shopping, eating, whatever.*

When asked about the future of Six Points, the city planner briefly acknowledged existing residents, who may or may not be displaced, yet offered no indication that the City would intervene somehow should the area experience turnover. Indeed, the area has experienced some displacement with a large affordable housing development located a few miles from Six Points already bulldozed to make room for high-end, high-density development. Residents, who had lived there for years, were given 30 days to vacate, although some fled more quickly due to intimidation tactics. The City did not offer any assistance, leaving neighbors, friends and families scrambling to help evicted residents secure alternative living arrangements as well as to find homes for the multitude of abandoned pets (Brown 2014a; Brown 2014b). Returning to the city's approach to the revitalization of Six Points, there was absolutely no mention of existing artists, DIY Urbanists or Riverside Arts District as a space of creativity, belonging and attachment created by participants. Rather, the city continued to be completely focused on attracting gentrifiers. As one planning official explained, "We still have folks who come to Fort Worth and don't want to go live way out there [in the suburbs]. [...] They want to live in Six Points because they work downtown. We need to make the Six Points that they love" (emphasis added).

As such, Six Points' future, as described by the developer and city officials, was assumed to be entirely determined by the assembling of property, policy tools through private and catalytic public investment, followed by the subsequent influx of more affluent residents. These dimensions and the "right amenity package", as described by the developer, created value, centrality and attraction, not the physical and affective labor bestowed by the DIY Urbanists and artists. As one city official projected, it is the "people who vote with their money" who create value:

I think that you can look at the private sector investment, at the property acquisitions, at the assembly of property, that is...even with no buildings on the ground, at this point, that is an indication that the real estate market has begun to tip here. [...] Some may want to buy the property cheap. Rezone the property for something that is higher density, higher intensity or mixed use. And maybe get some improvements, infrastructural improvements done, ideally have the city give grant money or something and come in and fix stuff. And then turn around and sell the land without building a thing. And we have developers that do that. We have others that actually build buildings and...they're in often for the longer haul. [...]. You have both those two elements so what that says is that the people who vote with their money see an opportunity here that's worth supporting. That alone says a lot about what the future holds for this area. [W]e're going to complete our improvements on Race Street [...] We'll start construction probably the end of this year or very early next year. [...] That is going to change your experience with Race St. Just those streetscape improvements are going to draw a lot of attention to the area. The businesses that are there are going to benefit from that. That will help to draw their businesses. The buildings that are already there that are trying to lease that are vacant now will have a better opportunity to get filled up. That will create more of a kind of center of gravity in this area. So it should make it more successful in attracting businesses, attracting development, whether it's large scale or small scale. [...] So, those investments over time will contribute to the value of this area overall, increasing and having uh, a much more attractive environment.

The city's priorities and their perception of what constitutes 'value' certainly did

not go unnoticed by some of the DIY Urbanists. As one participant mocked:

[Speaking as the city] We're not going to invest in the arts district components of what you're doing. We're going to invest in the urban village aspects of what you're doing. So you can see where all the money has gone. The street, the bike racks - all those things that make the urban village a beautification project so somebody will want to put their business there. They could care less whether or not it's an arts district. It just needs to be a business that brings in money. They have to pay taxes and we're good....capitalism.



Figure 35-36: Examples of city and developer appropriations of DIY Urbanism

Regardless, the value RAD added to Six Points exceeded what would normally be presumed when pursuing a communicative planning process, (however hijacked by a neoliberal logic). The DIY interventions made a tangible impact on Six Points through physical street improvements such as public art, street clean up events and DIY landscaping. Indeed, even though both city staffers and the developer downplayed RAD's contributions, both entities have appropriated photographs taken from the DIY interventions, such as the murals and Better Block street calming interventions, to publicize the "Urban Village" to realtors and investors, shown in Figures 35 and 36. Pictures of recent pop-up markets were used in real estate advertisements for the properties as well. However, RAD was never mentioned as the producer of these events. Again, the DIY Urbanists continued to be discursively removed from the narrative. As an example, in one recent newspaper article focused on the developer and upcoming projects, the author wrote how "*the building* [not RAD] has been hosting spring, summer and fall markets" (Nishimura 2016). Even while city officials and the developer appropriated DIY imagery, the production of new renderings for the street, produced by the city and the developer, did not incorporate any evidence of the DIY interventions such as the public murals as depicted in Figure 37. The renderings effectively erased the existence of DIY spatial interventions and subsequently elided the DIY Urbanists and artists as actual producers of space while appropriating their labor in order to increase Six Points' exchange value. Furthermore, Riverside Arts District, as a spatial designation, is not being used in any of the developer or city discussions. Although the city continued to use the name, Six Points, city staffers and developers tended to refer to "properties" or "parcels", again clearing Six Points of RAD's claims to collective ownership.



Figure 37: Nicole Foster. Rendering of Six Points presented at a public meeting, 2014.

This relationship between the city and DIY Urbanists, in particular, left participants feeling bitter as they recognized the city's attempt to co-opt their efforts while marginalizing their contribution. Here one member describes her disappointment after volunteering for a planning conference where she heard public officials speak:

Unfortunately, I had to endure comments from two of our elected officials that made it clear to me why citizens are often reluctant to get involved in activities that have government components [...]. Why would you want to get involved when [one elected official] takes the spotlight for the successes clearly initiated and guided by you and other constituents, and the [the other official] defines, and exerts his control over a project that has been rooted in pure citizen implementation (you and others) and now only needs the city to collaboratively partner with citizens to reach the goals set forth for the project.

The [elected official] announced to a large crowd of plenary attendees that credit for the Better Block in Six Points Urban Village goes to Steer Fort Worth, her initiative to engage millennials in opportunities to improve the city.

[The other official], also in attendance, gave me the following response when I mentioned that it would be nice for RAD to be kept abreast, in a timely fashion, of any council, committee, or staff decisions and announcements that are deemed ready for public consumption. [We] shouldn't have to hear about it in the press. He responded that it is only fair that RAD hear the news at the same time as other organizations in the area, i.e., neighborhood associations.

To me, his attitude and response was dismissive of the grassroots efforts and the added value I believe RAD and its constituency bring to the Six Points urban Village revitalization. How else would the level of awareness for revitalization and development in Six Points have erupted if it weren't for RAD and its supporters?

Are we at the point where we, the citizens are no longer really needed, until they are summoned by the city?

Of course, this is not an unusual situation when city politicians are involved. However, if citizens are to truly engage and enjoy their efforts to improve their neighborhoods, should they just sit back and let their efforts, time, and passion be belittled by their elected representatives?

Yes, I am venting. But this is a reality volunteers often face when they have created successes others covet or want to control.

However, the city's treatment of the DIY Urbanists had not always been

dismissive. The first interactions with the city regarding embRACE the STREET were

perceived as positive and productive, which illuminates how the relationship between city

officials and DIY Urbanists could have been otherwise, potentially leading to more

equitable processes and outcomes. Early conversations between the DIY Urbanists and

city staff were initiated because of a *thing* on the street – a bus stop.

There was a bus stop by the next block in front of the commercial spaces, in fact, the live/work spaces. Along with the bus stop, came the 'no parking' signs. And being an urban street, and in front of a building that didn't have anywhere else to park. I was working with the property owner to move the bus stop and change the parking regulations. And so it sort of started there with [the city planner] and the [representative from the Transportation and Public Works department] [...] It was a long process, and I wasn't particularly interested in the process. Just wanted to get it moved. And it finally did move so I said...what do you think about this area? They were encouraging – especially [our planner] – she was extremely encouraging. More than I would have expected. She was very thoughtful and forward thinking about what needs to happen here. So it was really wonderful. So she talked to her boss and his boss and his boss and everyone was on board and it was more or less, possibly because of my previous relationship with them [experience in city politics] but they basically said, just do it. But they knew I would contact them and [our planner] was there to make sure it was safe. Her concern was just make sure we're not doing anything to jeopardize the safety of citizens which is fine. We had no intention of doing that. We had to change...we actually wanted to make it safer. That was our goal. So, I looked at them for their professional expertise. That was really my thought and maybe...I like to assume...no, I should assume that the professionals are trained for this.

However, the perception of city planners as 'experts' and 'professionals', who could provide much needed support for implementing and sustaining the impact of DIY interventions certainly changed over time. During the majority of the planning period for embRACE the STREET, the city planner assigned to Six Points attended meetings, emailed participants and provided support and encouragement of the Better Block event. She also helped to 'produce' the street by going above and beyond her role as a planner. During one of the meetings, the group discussed one particular building on the street. Originally a single family home located next door to an affordable apartment complex, the quaint blue house had been converted into multiple restaurants, all shuttered. The DIY Urbanists contacted the latest restaurateur who still owned the building to inquire about opening the space for a pop-up coffee shop and bookstore during embRACE the STREET, which he obliged. Similar to the practices of other volunteers, the planner drew on her own network and resources in order to add value to the event. Not only did she create a conduit to city-related information and resources, she connected the group to her sister's bagel shop that provided free bagels as part of the pop up event. As a result, the planner was well respected and liked by the group and perceived as a partner in their programming.

This property, however, will come to crystallize the potentially productive yet ultimately ragged relationship between DIY Urbanists, other stakeholders and city staff. During one of the embRACE the STREET organizational meetings, the planner mentioned how the little blue house could never be used as a bar per current zoning rules. Two years later, now working with a new planner, the DIY Urbanists, artists and residents learned how zoning could be circumvented. The blue house's property owner discontinued communication with the DIY Urbanists and rented the space to a biker bar, which had lost their lease at another nearby location. Although predominantly a bar, the code of occupancy was granted because the establishment presented a food menu, thereby representing itself as a restaurant – an allowed use in the zoning code. The DIY Urbanists did attempt to reach out to the business owners to see if they might like to collaborate on future events but could not cultivate any kind of relationship. With that said, tensions between Race Street users emerged quickly. Artists and DIY Urbanists, for example, attempted to purchase food to determine whether the new business should indeed be considered a restaurant and therefore allowed on the street. Unsuccessful, the DIY Urbanists and artists cried foul. According to one DIY Urbanist, the bar manager began calling her and artists, "the bitches across the street". She described one particularly uncomfortable experience:

I was there one Sunday afternoon and there's this guy sitting out there. I thought the music was coming out of [the bar]. It was coming off of his bike. I didn't even know motorcycles had radios. I'm like, where is this coming from? But intentionally...because, Maria was talking to me about a yoga class. We're sitting. I'm in my car. She's standing there. All of a sudden, this music kept getting louder and louder. And we're like, ooh, ...that guy was sitting there intentionally just revving it up and, we were there. We were the only ones on the street. We're like, is he doing that for our benefit? We just talked and drove away.

With tensions mounting, the DIY Urbanists and artists expressed anger at both the property owner and city staff for allowing the bar to locate on the street. Residents living in the apartments located next door to the bar, which included several families with children, also complained of late night motorcycle noise and music, often calling the police. The conflict came to a head when a shooting between biker gangs took place within the bar and spilled out on the street. One person was killed. Two were severely injured. Several bullets hit the art studios, shattering one window and door. One bullet shot through the entire length of the gallery striking the back wall. The shooting occurred around 9:00 pm on a Friday night – a time when galleries were often open. In fact, a gallery event had just taken place the evening before. As depicted in Figure 38, artists responded with labeling the bullet holes as "not art".

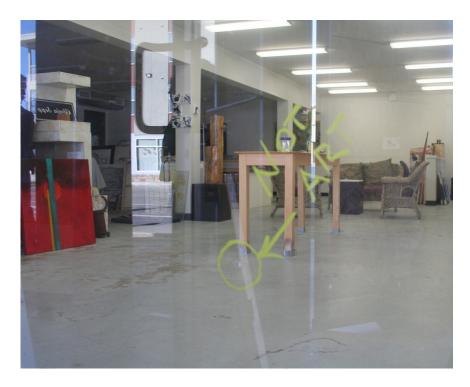


Figure 38: Nicole Foster. Bullet holes are "Not Art", 2015.

The shooting brought the politics of space and aesthetics to the fore. The next day, one of the artists, who was also a neighborhood resident, walked over to the bar to express her grievances. According to the artist, one of the bar managers demanded she "get off their sidewalk" to which she replied it was public space and she could do whatever she damned well pleased. An emergency meeting was called by some neighborhood residents and included city staff, representatives from the Fort Worth police department, neighbors, business owners and artists. The bar managers claimed that they were targets of a 'witch hunt' and specifically mentioned some DIY Urbanists by name. The bar ultimately closed and moved to another part of the neighborhood. Bar patrons blamed the artists and targeted RAD's Facebook page by posting negative and inflammatory comments. As a result some RAD members refused to return to Race Street until the situation improved. They also temporarily halted any DIY events for fear of retribution. One gallery owner left the street permanently.

The experience left the DIY Urbanists disillusioned. As one artist questioned, "Artists don't shoot people. Don't they [city officials] want us? Don't they want to protect us?" Although some were clearly upset with the biker bar clientele, most blamed the city and property owner more than the bar and its users.

Participant 1: I'm just sick of reading it [the Facebook comments]. [...] I'm just like, go away [...] And nobody is helping. Nobody is supporting us. I don't even hear anyone...except us. You know...Nobody is really supporting us generally. I mean the city, ehh, they haven't done a darn thing. They have not come back. I saw [the city council member] the other day. I said, what do we do next? After that meeting I saw her. She's like nothing. They are not [sigh]...nothing..

Participant 2: There's no reason to [do anything] now because [the bar] is closed.

Participant 1: That's what they think. But do they know it really closed? No, they don't know. Why don't they have the inspector down there now? You know what, if the city had any sense...it wouldn't have happened. I blame the city and I blame [the property owner]. He let them in. We know he was sneaky about it because he wouldn't talk to us when he knew the whole time he was renting it. He looked the other way. He was really sorry. I talked to him and emailed him. He's like,

what do we do with the building? I think now, he's like 'whoops, we made a mistake'. The city? I'm sorry. They're not coming...

Participant 2: They're not going to dredge anything up. There's no reason for them too.

Participant 1: And zoning. Somebody is clearly responsible. Zoning said clearly - no bars. And everyone knew it was a bar and they looked the other way for some reason.

[...]

Participant 3: Sadly, most bike people are really good people

Participant 4: Really great people.

Participant 3: There's just a small group that's bad.

Participant 1: Well, you know, these are the gangs. Some are very nice people but gangs are gangs.

Participant 3: They have some really good people there. But...you know, it takes one bad apple.

DIY Urbanists, artists, smaller-scale property owners and residents broadly shared

the sentiment that the city needed to be and could have been a better partner. In fact, at

the emergency meeting called to discuss the shooting, some attendees felt that the police

suggested that the neighborhood residents were going to have "do it themselves" if they

wanted to keep their neighborhood safe. As one property owner recalled,

[the police said], 'you...the community have to keep it up. You're the ones...the eyes on the street'. [...] Yeah, we get that, that we need to call the police but, [...] we need data that compares past and present and we need data comparing our area with other areas. And we need data that shows us what are the criminal problems in the area and where are they? Where are the hotspots? There was nothing from patrol. He just kept saying – 'well, you know, we can get the drug houses emptied out, but, the landlord, the property owners....these are substandard buildings and they just...they can't...there's going to be somebody else in there as soon as they try to rent it and you guys need to do something about it'. I'm like, excuse me? But you have programs in this city for helping property owners improve properties. And if you can't refer them to economic development to help them improve their building, then you contact code improvement and building standards commission. [...] There's no talk of collaboration between code and police and there was no talk of uh, you know, what are the strategies that we are using to addressing narcotics. And there was no strategy for explaining for patrol...other than saying...incident-driven patrol. So, if I could have...if it were my police department, I would have planned a very different presentation.

In some ways, the lack of attention from the city is what enabled the DIY Urbanists to accomplish as much as they did. However, this relationship between actants could have taken a different form. RAD members, residents and artists needed the city to provide certain supportive services and expertise so that they could build the capacity of those already living and working in the neighborhood. The DIY Urbanists and others were willing to 'do it themselves' when it came to placemaking and community building. They shouldn't need to provide their own patrol or enforce existing code or zoning regulations. This lack of support from the city led to further demoralization. As one RAD

member criticized,

I feel like I've put out so many fires in dealing with the city that I can't move forward. And that I think that is the most frustrating part about working on the community stuff, the neighborhood stuff is if you, if a city and police, depending on what the situation is, if they would just do their job, then we could go build a community garden. We could go, you know, open up a pie shop or whatever. I feel like so much of my community time is spent undoing something the city has caused. It's so often with code problems with zoning and permits given out. It's so frustrating.

As a partner, as an expert, the city could have helped to build the capacity of Riverside Arts District - to work with the DIY Urbanists to conserve and cultivate the emergent public spaces that were created, to educate participants on various planning tools, to facilitate partnerships that could enable RAD to reach out to a wider range of participants such as neighboring Hispanic, working class residents, to help heal wounds through consensus building exercises and to mitigate potential gentrification and displacement. In other words, they could have participated in assembling a very different kind of Six Points. This is not to say high-end, mixed use, high-density development would not still be constructed. However, the city's hand off approach, which made DIY Urbanism possible and exciting turned out to be a bitter pill. Again, the DIY Urbanists' desire for help and support fell on deaf ears, as described by these participants:

Participant 1: I just want...I'm just trying to get these other people...but I don't want to do it without resources. So the city says 'yeah, we can do this'. I say to [the planning director], we need a consultant and he's like, 'no Barbara you can do it. You can do it.' I'm like, fine.

Participant 2: Right - are you going to tell somebody [else] about this so that they will just talk to me and give me the information I need? It's all about resources.

Participant 1: And I find it really interesting that all of a suddenly the city manager is saying you people will coordinate. I've been moaning and groaning about this - we need a consultant and [the planning director] said, 'well we have good city planners'. And I said 'No, they may be but they are not helping us'. You know? We brought this all together. When they come out does anybody really help us from the planning department? They support us but they don't really say...oh you need this. Nobody. We get it all from you know reading, because we're curious or we go to workshops. But they don't give us anything.

However, this approach may have been an intentional strategy pursued by the

City. As one participant shared,

I was talking to [the planning director] earlier and asked him if he was planning to attend our pop up market. I further explained we were trying it out to see what we liked and didn't like about it in case we want to do it again. His comment was 'oh one of those things we might regulate if we knew what we were trying to regulate. That's why we let you try it so we can see if it should be regulated'.

Had city officials continued to act as a partner as they had done briefly during the early planning stages of embRACE the STREET, they may have recognized DIY Urbanists as co-producers of space, not just stakeholders. In other words, the city would have had to recognize the rights of citizens to produce Six Points, which would have made it conceivably more difficult to re-appropriate RAD members' labor and added value. However, city officials, tended to maintain their distance from the DIY Urbanists, an experience I encountered as well, as I was increasingly associated with RAD and not perceived as a neutral researcher. Perhaps this detachment from RAD was to ensure that city planning processes and RAD's spatial production processes would not become too interconnected. Perhaps the city resisted becoming part of RAD's assemblage by attempting to create their own territorialized network– through their own policies, zoning codes, meetings, discursive frameworks and other spatial practices – in order to ensure neoliberal development outcomes. As in the assemblage of Six Points into RAD, materiality was a key actant in the city and developer's assemblage process as well.

As Latour and others argue, materiality can act back. The DIY Urbanists created spaces of enchantment and radical alterity, thereby generating moments of presence as well as feelings of collectivity and belonging. However, the process of DIY Urbanists 'fixing' space for collective use can be extremely challenging as developers and cities are engaging in their own spatial fixes, a process endemic to late capitalism and urbanization (Harvey 1981; Harvey 2001a). And although materiality can be understood as having agency, the process of fixing space entails the re-articulation of material spaces through particular discursive frameworks. Spaces, therefore, can be viewed to some extent as equally malleable and loose as discourse and therefore reassembled for different meanings and purposes. And so, the painted tires and pallets, the found objects repurposed for street landscaping, the murals – all of which delighted the DIY Urbanists and materialized their collective and generous ethos - have been reinscribed into a neoliberal development logic. These reappropriated objects are now representative of a cool, hip, yet abstracted urban village, circulated through imagery to attract private business development and investment. This experience casts some passimism on the openness, contingency and pre-discursive political possibilities some assemblage theorists ascribe to materiality (DeLanda 2006). Although DIY spatial interventions opened up possibilities for reimagining urban space for collective use, these moments were fragile and vulnerable to quick co-optation.

Although dispirited at the attempted takeover of their efforts, the DIY Urbanists have been very reflective of the problematic planning process and their tenuous relationship with the city. They have identified the need to reorganize themselves in order to reclaim and reassemble Six Points as a collective, almost autonomous project, despite the city's inefficacy and marginalization. As on member discussed,

Should we just have a meeting with property owners? Find out where everyone stands? I mean, we're supposed to be all in this together but I don't think like we are. I really don't. I feel like it's so fragmented.

Neighbors aren't really engaged so what it really comes down to is the developers get to do whatever they want whenever they want to a certain amount [...]. And then there's going to be hell to pay when [the residents] could have been doing something early on but then we go back to a reactive situation. Meanwhile we're trying to be proactive. We're doing things how we would like to see them.

Although RAD's membership declined, remaining participants continued to insert themselves in the spatial production process in order to express their right to Six Points, both discursively and materially by continually planning and producing DIY and arts events, building their social media presence as Riverside Arts District, and cultivating new relationships with other organizations and artists. DIY Urbanists continued to laugh off the concerns of the developer and city and have occasionally 'crashed' their events in order to materialize their right to Six Points through spatial occupation. For example, upon hearing of a bus tour of Six Points sponsored by the developer's company and geared towards real estate and development professionals. Barbara and I decided to meet the bus tour participants back on Race Street where they were treated to a happy hour. Upon arriving, we immediately saw one of our city planners leading to a terse and uncomfortable interaction. Barbara approached him and said, "I hope you mentioned us [Riverside Arts District]", to which he responded, "Of course I didn't" and walked off to mingle with other attendees. The planner later returned to make conversation and presumably ameliorate the tension, but the damage had been done.

This trend has taken a more troubling turn as the developer has recently begun to re-brand the neighborhood as River East. He informed RAD members that he unilaterally decided to rename the artisan market – a pop up event produced by volunteers for over a

year - to the River East Market. RAD participants were stunned and hurt by the demand. Although some attempted to understand his motives, the DIY Urbanists felt completely dismissed and unvalued. Again, they had assumed themselves to be a key partner in the development process and consequently, felt that they should be included in any discussion regarding the identity of the neighborhood. The developer could not, or at least acted as if he could not, fathom their concerns. Although RAD protested the change, the developer delivered an ultimatum. If you want to use the space for the market, the name is "River East". Later, the developer again demanded access to RAD's artisan vendor list. On behalf of the group, I constructed a response denying his request, explaining the value of RAD's database alluding to the time and effort it had taken to cultivate a large database of artists and supporters. Again, he responded vehemently and issued another ultimatum. He would be unwilling to continue to support RAD with pro bono space if we did not comply. These developments initially led to further feelings of discouragement as another volunteer left RAD. As one participant later revealed, "this [the market] is not joyful anymore. And if it's going to be sustainable, then I need to get joy out of it. I have other priorities, my family. I could be doing other things". Furthermore, the events were no longer drawing our friends and acquaintances to Race Street anymore. As another member attempted to explain, "It's just not the same. I don't know. It's not the community".

With that said, RAD continued to pursue new relationships in order to refortify its assemblage. While the city and developer continued to re-appropriate spaces, attempting to transform Six Points from a public commons to a privatized commodity, RAD has

become increasingly connected with other nonprofit organizations and artists as well as other nearby spaces. For example, the relationship with AARP continues to develop. New, young, Hispanic artists have moved to the street, attending RAD meetings and sponsoring their own pop up events. Furthermore, although experiences with the developer, city officials and staff have often been frustrating and alienating, they have tended to lead RAD members towards discussions of how the group can circumvent such challenges of non-recognition, marginalization and lack of support, while still creating the urban space and experience we desire. In other words, how do we "roll with neoliberalism" (Keil 2009) and not let the conceived spaces of city officials and developers completely dominate and override our lived spaces? As one new artist to the street observed, "where else in Fort Worth can you have some wild, late night art show, music on to the street and kids riding around on their bikes?" He, too, feels Race Street continues as a space of radical difference, were multiple rights are claimed simultaneously, and where uses, which are not necessarily commensurate, continue to coexist. These new artists' involvement in RAD, along with two other residents, has reenergized the group.

In order to maintain control over programming and continue to assemble Six Points into Riverside Arts District, the DIY Urbanists have decided to lease an office space from the developer. However, this option will be short lived since the building is slated for demolition. Once that happens, "We have the streets. We have the park. We'll use public spaces. We can use other people's buildings. We don't need his buildings". And indeed, RAD had to secure a last minute venue for an intimate, pop up concert after the developer nixed plans of using one of his unleased buildings for the performance. The local ice cream shop owner, who also has begun attending RAD meetings, graciously opened her doors. The event, shown in Figure 39, attracted a new crowd of young people to the street. One of the new RAD members leaned over to me between acts, "We need to tell the developer. This is what this neighborhood is all about. Look at all these people. Look at this energy. Look at what we're building".



Figure 39. Nicole Foster, Pop Up Concert, 2016.

Certainly, all of us engaged in the assemblage of Six Points into Riverside Arts District were not produced through capitalist class processes. We were not wage workers, whose surplus labor was appropriated and redistributed. Nor were we producing a commodity – at least that was not our intent. However, what is interesting was the

emergent (dare, I say, class) struggle between DIY Urbanists and the developer who attempted to exert control over our projects and activities as he continues to reassemble the lived space of Riverside Arts District into an abstract, conceptual space – River East. Paralleling Marx' argument regarding commodity fetishism, the developer attempted to commodify River East into a thing unto itself, stripped of the social and concrete relationships which produced it (Mitchell 1994). The DIY Urbanists responded to his attempt to appropriate our labor and simultaneously marginalize our efforts with "we don't work for him" and "we don't need his buildings". In other words, through his attempt to commodify Six Points into a consumption oriented live/work/play space, one could argue that our labor was indeed appropriated and redistributed in terms of higher rents collected, which was made possible through the DIY Urbanists' spatial interventions. In other words, the production of space, like commodities, could indicate a class process. This is perhaps why Lefebvre titles his book, *The Production of Space*, in order to draw parallels with the capitalist class process implicated in the production of commodities.

But what is distinctive about space is that although space can be commodified, it is always concomitantly, an *oeuvre* or work of art. Space is always being reassembled, challenged, produced. The commodification process through which a space obtains exchange value in addition to its already existing use value, is never fully complete. Space is never completely used. Furthermore, space, again materializes these conflicting desires and makes struggles real. As Weber describes,

The accumulation process experiences uncomfortable friction when capital (i.e. value in motion) is trapped in steel beams and concrete...Prior

investments create path dependencies inherent in modifying physical structures, constrain future investments. The temporal horizons of investors, developers and residents rarely coincide....The very materiality of the built environment sets off struggles between use and exchange values, between those with emotional attachments to place and those without such attachments (2002, 519)

Herein lies the revolutionary possibility implicit within the production of space.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contingencies

Since I first cut my teeth on poststructural and feminist theories in graduate school, I have attempted to articulate some kind of non-foundationalist yet radical political project. It has taken me sixteen years to connect my theoretical interests with actually existing social practices that have the potential to transform exploitative processes and relationships. Certainly, poststructural theories are explicitly political by articulating the ways in which knowledge and truth are produced through power relations and how such discursive formations are embedded and embodied within individual subjects (Foucault 1977; Foucault 1980). However, while poststructuralism enables a powerful critique of social, political and economic practices, these theories often leave me dissatisfied as they do not offer a pragmatic way to change oppressive social realities.

This weakness stems from poststructuralism's central premise. If all truth and knowledge is discursively constructed, there does not exist any foundation from which to make normative claims. For on what grounds are such claims justified if all criteria used to assess claims are also always produced through power? In other words, there is no escape from power; 'truth' and 'knowledge' require it. This suggests that there will always be exclusions, marginalizations and unjust outcomes. Or as Foucault argues, "My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to a hyper- and pessimistic activism ... the ethicopolitical choice we have to make ... is to determine which is the main danger" (Foucault 1983, 343).

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This perspective has led some to construct marginal, borderlands or heterotopic spaces as well as hybridized, performative or rhizomatic subjectivities (Anzaldúa 1987; Butler 1990; Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Foucault 1986; hooks 1984), all of which attempt to produce emergent senses of self that problematize hegemonic norms in order to construct less oppressive ways of living. Although these political interventions have been fruitful to my thinking, they fail to provide pragmatic tools for *collective* political action. These are epistemological, somewhat solipsist projects focused on subjectivity. One model attempting to reconcile poststructural theories with collective action is feminist theory's coalitional politics which attempts to short-circuit identity politics (Bystydzienski and Schacht 2001; Cole 2008). However, coalitional politics still assumes fairly conventional tactics and liberal assumptions. Rather, coalition politics is a way to get around rather than embrace the poststructural problematic. Mouffe's (2000) agonism, which assumes power can never be overcome as in the Habermasian ideal, provides insight as to what a poststructural-informed public realm would look like. However, agonism fails to provide direction as to how we can collectively produce outcomes despite our agonistic positions. Frustrated, I continued to ask myself, what could a poststructural politics look like? How would you perform such a politics?

Five years ago, I began to explore DIY urbanism activities such as guerrilla gardening, creating dumpster pools in neglected neighborhoods and the Reclaim the Street movement. Creating tangible spaces that engender alternative urban experiences and resistant publics, these spatial interventions seemed political yet playful, ironic yet effective. Although some projects, especially Reclaim the Streets in the UK, are intensely critical of state and capitalist interests, most DIY projects are not outwardly resistant. Participants do not necessarily write letters to politicians, attend town hall meetings, or protest some development. Instead, diverse urban residents appropriate public and private space for their own uses in festival-like fashion. Furthermore, these projects do not seem to stem from a shared political identity, ideology or value, but rather a collective desire to live differently, together.

Around this time, Occupy Wall Street began and catalyzed similar encampments around the globe. Some critical theorists such as David Harvey (2012) and Peter Marcuse (2014) hoped Occupy would galvanize a worldwide movement that could overcome capitalism. Indeed, Harvey and Marcuse drew connections between Occupy and their reading of Lefebvre's right to the city. However, I remained skeptical as to whether these events were as class-based as Harvey and Marcuse assumed. My own involvement in Occupy Fort Worth contradicted the assumption that occupiers shared a particular ideology or identity. Here, Occupy participants and sympathizers included social justice advocates, environmentalists, anarchists as well as libertarians who desired unfettered capitalism. Even so, I felt as if DIY Urbanism and the Occupy movement signaled a new type of political action – a politics that did not rely on essentialist ground (identity, ideology, politics or otherwise) or employ conventional tactics. This seemed to be a politics that performed itself, a politics that did not protest for the right to live differently but rather a politics that visibly enacted an alternative, perhaps more just, way of life (see also Brash 2012).

Although I disagreed with Harvey and Marcuse's economic deterministic reading of the Occupy movement, they did introduce me to Lefebvre's (1996) concept of right to the city, which provided yet another dimension for assembling a poststructural politics. As discussed earlier, Lefebvre insists that the right to the city is not just the right to distributional outcomes such as adequate housing. Rather, it is the right to the production and appropriation of urban space for diverse, inclusive, non-commodified uses. Here is where I agree with Harvey and Marcuse. However, they assume such right to the city practices represent an explicit anti-capitalist strategy pursued by individuals with a particular class-consciousness. In other words, right to the city is a political means towards a particular end - toppling capitalism. Their perspective, of course, aligns with Lefebvre's Marxist influences. Although their interpretation is not wrong, it is limited and potentially problematic through a poststructural lens.

As I previously argue, Lefebvre's politics are also located at a micro-level. Lefebvre was influenced by Nietzsche and as a result, focused attention on the ways in which bodies and pleasure are sources of agency (Kofman and Lebas 1996; Merrifield 1995; Merrifield 2006). Lefebvre suggests that individuals must engage in micro-political practices to overcome hegemonic subjectivities. They can pursue self-actualizing experiences through novel spatial practices aimed at leisure, pleasure and other "nonproductive" uses, which may help disrupt capitalist subjectivities, create "moments of presence", and thereby allow individuals to imagine postcapitalist possibilities (Lefebvre 1991). However, his politics do not end there. He argues that these micro political practices can enable *autogestion*, or cooperative, collective, non-exploitative social and economic projects (Lefebvre 2009; Purcell 2013). Unfortunately, this link between the production of space and the collectivist production, appropriation and distribution of surplus labor is murky within Lefebvre's work.

Poststructural theorists Gibson-Graham, however, offer insight as to how these micropolitical practices could engender more ethical interactions and postcapitalist possibilities. In A Postcapitalist Politics, Gibson-Graham (2006a) facilitate various participatory practices with communities aimed at cultivating recognition and alternative perceptions of noncapitalist economies and subjectivities. They liken their approach to Asset Based Community Development theory, which argues that 'disadvantaged' communities need to shift their focus from what they are lacking to what positive assets they already possess. Building on basic cooperative experiences such as potlucks and community gardens, participants begin to acknowledge and perceive themselves as productive, valuable economic subjects who can experience relations with others that do not rely on exploitative capitalist class processes. Their participatory research method suggests that these kinds of socio-material practices generate feelings of generosity and ethical engagement with others as well as open up spaces for imaging other postcapitalist possibilities. Unlike Marcuse and Harvey, they cultivate these practices not to resist capitalism, but rather to perform postcapitalist spaces, practices and subjectivities. In other words, they are not waiting for the revolution; they are actively constructing just social and economic projects (Gibson-Graham 1993; Gibson-Graham 2006a).

This approach seems to align well with DIY Urbanism projects, which produce differential yet pleasurable bodily and affective experiences such as generosity and delight (Merker 2010). Furthermore, these projects attract a diverse constituency who may only share a 'project identity', yet are committed to generating spaces for collective and inclusive uses (Groth and Corijn 2005). Although this research project could explore DIY Urbanism's potential as a form of poststructural politics solely through Gibson-Graham's theoretical framework, I wish to draw connections between their work and Lefebvre's right to the city for several reasons. Although Gibson-Graham draw on assemblage theory, Lefebvre's focus on the role materiality, specifically urban space, plays in generating collective political action connects too well with DIY Urbanism's tendency to appropriate urban spaces - streets, buildings, and vacant lots (see also Iveson 2013). Furthermore, I wish to contribute to the debates between poststructural, assemblage theories and critical theories. Lefebvre seems to sit within the crossroads, offering a point of convergence between these literatures.

The analysis of Six Points suggests that postcapitalist possibilities are assembled through a constellation of novel material, discursive and affective practices. Race Street, its loose buildings and lots that were open to a multitude of spatial possibilities, attracted a range of interests and identities. As spaces became appropriated and (re)enacted for multiple purposes such as a community garden, pot lucks, interactive public art projects, concerts and pop up markets, participants developed a sense of shared ownership and radical belonging. There did not exist one vision or complete consensus regarding the future of Six Points. Rather, these affects emerged as Riverside Arts District was constructed as a 'creative' space with the concept of 'creativity' continually adapted to include a wider range of spatial activities and users. The spatial interventions also

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contributed to an experience of time and space, not dominated by capitalist logic. Participants labored, played, created, experienced 'otherness' and dwelled, by the creation of loose yet enchanting spaces. Through these new bodily, spatial, affective process, and discursive practices, DIY Urbanists 'learned to be affected by others' (J. Cameron, Manhood, and Pomfrett 2011; Latour 2004b) leading to the development of ethical relationships with other participants and users occupying diverse subject positionings. The DIY participants cultivated a desire to include the interests of all neighborhood inhabitants by creating spaces for individuals to perform their differences.

These feelings of generosity, belonging, engagement and ownership did encourage the visualization and partial enactment of postcapitalist economic projects. The collective production of Six Points into Riverside Arts District, in of itself, reflects what Lefebvre calls, *autogestion*. In addition to the community garden and cooperative artists studio, the street attracted diverse economic formations including nonprofit organizations, fair trade companies, community-supported agriculture, self-employed artists and workers as well as businesses engaging in capitalist class processes. As Gibson-Graham argue, we need to explore the postcapitalist potential of already existing diverse economic arrangements in order to overcome the feeling of capitalism as a monolithic, dominating force (Gibson-Graham 2006b). And indeed Six Points is now home to a plurality of economic practices – some capitalist, but many not.

Furthermore, as I argue in Chapter Seven, the production of space and the ensuing struggle between producers of lived space and those pursuing abstract, conceptual space through which space is reconstituted as a commodity for exchange, a capitalist class process could be articulated. Although this argument is perhaps heretical to some Marxist theorists, there is a sense that the DIY Urbanists understood that their labor was being appropriated and distributed to others. This attempted 'rebranding' of Six Points into River East could be a 'moment of presence', which pushes the DIY Urbanists towards more intentional postcapitalist pursuits. Indeed, the group continues to engage in collaborative opportunities with other organizations and individuals in order to broaden the Riverside Art District assemblage and pursue other 'lines of flight'. They are also working towards nonprofit status, which could prove instrumental in reappropriating value in order to build the capacity of residents, artists and others living and working in Six Points and the surrounding area – a goal currently dismissed by public officials and staff members.

The future of Six Points, therefore, is still open, still contingent. As one journalist describes,

The entire area – from Riverside Park to the Six Points intersection, with Race Street in between - is a blank canvas, so much so that even its denizens aren't sure what to call it. It's officially part of the Six Points village, but it's also commonly referred to as Oakhurst and Riverside, and the commercial district as Race Street. Riverside Arts District, reflecting the area's eclectic, artsy color, is another possibility. And now, River East has bubbled up as a potential brand for the whole, promulgated by [the developer] and others" (Nishimura 2016).

Six Points' story has not been completely written. However, Six Points is not a blank canvas. It has been and will continue to be the site of struggle - where public, private, and other claims and territories have been made and continually remade, where divergent visions, affects, uses and users continually collide - not just in *lived* space but

also on other planes where Race Street exists as both perceived and conceived spaces. As Figure 40 suggests, since the first Better Block, Six Points has always been assembled by a multitude of competing claims. What then, as planning scholars and practitioners, can we learn from Six Points in order to assemble non-commodified, inclusive, enchanting spaces and experiences? How might we create a vital public by engaging our senses, our bodies, our affects? And how might these experiences be scaled up, fortified, and expanded in order to continually claim not just a right to create the city, but a right to stay in place? How might we territorialize space in order to make the conditions of possibility for a postcapitalist public? As Campbell, Tait and Watkins ask, (2014), "is there space for better planning in a neoliberal world"?



Figure 40. Jason Gamble. The messy relationship between DIY Urbanism and neoliberalism seen through the juxtaposition of a Better Block sign, city development plans and a commercial real estate sign, 2012.

The case study suggests that DIY Urbanism is a promising approach for gathering together a diverse public, nurturing ethical relationships between agonistic others as well as creating the collective commons. By enabling cooperative social and economic experiences, DIY Urbanism has the potential to enact alternatives to urban life despite neoliberalism. Through the collective [re]production of urban space, diverse claims to the street emerged and were mostly accommodated. The vision and desire for an inclusive space for creativity and radical difference, therefore, emerged *out of* the spatial production process. This process flips conventional planning on its head, which assumes that spaces will be produced *after* consensual visions are constructed. Furthermore, RAD's vision for Six Points was continually evolving as 'creativity' became a blanket term for a wide range of spatial uses.

This is not to say that the collective production of space was always smooth and cooperative. There were clear tensions between the biker bar patrons, artists, diverse residents and DIY Urbanists. Here is just one moment where city zoning and policies could have prevented escalations between various groups. This tension speaks to an inherent aspect of space and urban life – conflict. The production of space necessarily produces conflict and struggle as various actors conceive and perceive space differently. Furthermore, spaces will be continually reappropriated and challenged through lived experiences, through the various 'tactics of the weak' (De Certeau 2011) leading to more divergent claims to space. However, instead of perceiving conflict as something to surmount, planners should embrace the challenge of (co-) creating spaces that enable diverse interests and users to exist concurrently. The analysis of Six Points suggests that

by focusing on shared 'matters of concern' – namely spaces and things – as opposed to shared values and visions, identity and interest differences can be attracted to and accommodated within the spatial production process.

The challenge, then, becomes how to cultivate individuals' desire to live with difference. As Treadgold suggets, "In these contexts, the body replaces the mind as the mark of the subject, so that to effect social change ceases to be a question of ideology, of changing the way people think, and becomes a question of finding ways of inscribing bodies differently" (2000, 50). This means creating opportunities for novel material and bodily practices that disrupt naturalized, embedded and embodied assumptions about space and 'the other'. As the analysis of Six Points suggests, the practice of collectively producing space followed by playing, creating and dwelling in space created new *pleasurable* atmospheres abounding with postcapitalist possibilities. As Foucault reminds us, "Do not think that one has to be sad in order to be militant, even though the thing one is fighting is abominable. It is the connection of desire to reality (and not its retreat into the forms of representation) that possesses revolutionary force". The proposal that urban inhabitants would actually desire to participate in urban planning because it is exciting and enchanting is difficult, if not impossible to imagine. But we should pursue planning practices that engage the senses, our affects and bodies in pleasurable ways in order to attract a broader range of participants as well as short circuit naturalized, 'rational' and often neoliberal conceptions and perceptions of space.

As such, planners need to learn how to engage urban inhabitants through multiple entry points – not just communicative processes - but also through these types of pleasurable diverse bodily, spatial and affective practices. Creative spatial appropriations, participatory art projects and other enjoyable activities could all be employed as part of a planner's toolkit to increase participation as well as engender feelings of place attachment, ownership and the desire to be with others. We must be careful, though, when using 'creative' planning practices as certain constructions and assumptions regarding 'creativity' and 'play' can operate as a disciplining process (Thornham 2014). Indeed, the Six Points analysis suggests that certain urban aesthetics and spatial design interventions were associated with particular socio-demographic identities and consumption practices, potentially leading to exclusionary outcomes.

I also must make a distinction between the construction of joy, affect, *jouissance* produced through the production of space, and the 'enjoyment' experienced in spaces produced for individualized consumptive pleasure. As Gunder argues,

Contemporary planning spatial ideology draws on competitive market logics (economic growth, globally competitive cities, etc.) maintaining the status quo of existing globalization combined with an ideology of utopian transcendent ideals of sustainability, progress and betterment. These striate the contemporary structures, or ideology, of neoliberal space. Marcuse's (1955) anti-capitalist emancipatory utopia of pleasurable play has now been captured by the ideology of capitalist globalization; where consumption now lies at the very heart of enjoyment. Planning, both communicative and instrumental, has a central role to play in this neoliberal formulation (2010, 308).

On the one hand, the assemblage of Six Points into Riverside Arts District did produce feelings of safety, pleasure and aesthetic enchantment. But to again quote a DIY Urbanist, "there was nothing safe about this place", meaning that the space was always loose and could accommodate difference. Indeed, participants desired to be with and experience unassimilated otherness, what Young calls the eroticism of space (Young 1990; see also Sennett 2008). Such pleasure is therefore qualitatively different than the enjoyment experienced from the fantasy of a "safe", harmonized, sanitized, heavily surveilled, ordered and homogenized space, which is often the presumed desire of neoliberal development agendas. Furthermore, these individualized consumption practices further "binds us to the logic of the market" as we "blindly submit ourselves to the merciless superegoic command" (Vighi and Feldner 2007; in Gunder 2010).

Pleasurable planning suggests that we need to shift our predilection for pursuing a "will to order" towards a Nietzschean "will to power" (Richardson and Jensen 2003). We need to think of others – residents, artists, business and property owners, visitors, strangers, organizations - as fellow co-creators of space pursuing diverse desires (Gunder 2003). This recognition of the co-creation of space, extends beyond concepts of transactive planning where planners share their expert knowledge whilst residents and other urban dwellers bring their common-sense, place-based knowledge to the planning table. Rather, the recognition of the co-creation of space entails identifying, facilitating and validating the tangible ways in which various actants, including planners, materially, affectively and discursively produce space. As McFarlane (2011b) discusses, these spatial tactics can become instruments of learning for *all* participants. McFarlane argues that the act of bringing affective, material and discursive elements together creates a process of translation, coordination and dwelling that can restructure power relationships, subjectivities and development outcomes. The city, then, becomes a "machine for

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learning" (McFarlane 2011b), reflexive and responsive to the continued assembling of urban space.

Creating opportunities for planners to engage in a process of learning alongside other spatial co-producers is crucial considering how explicit city planners and policymakers within the Six Points case study were regarding their neoliberal desires and assumptions. How might planners 'learn to also be affected' by diverse others and spaces? One possibility is to pursue more transdisciplinary opportunities throughout the planning process in order to challenge naturalized assumptions embedded and embodied within planners themselves. Borén and Young (2013), for example, explore how engaging with cultural and creative workers potentially creates new imaginaries for urban development as well as problematize assumptions often shared by planners and policymakers regarding the instrumental and neoliberal use of art and culture, i.e. creative class narratives, underpinning various urban policies. As they argue, such

transdisciplinary work creates

new conceptual spaces [that] could be created in which policymakers can think differently, outside of their normal professional constraints, perhaps tapping into their mundane experiences and understandings of creativity, exploring their own creativity and engaging them in new forms of interaction with creative practitioners. Bringing together urban policymakers and those engaged in all kinds of creative activity in new, experimental, artistic conceptual spaces may lead to attempts to bridge the 'creative policy gap' and perhaps engender new ways of thinking about urban creativity (1811).

Not only do these collaborations potentially create openings to envision and enact urban space beyond neoliberal configurations, they offer opportunities to translate planning discourse and tools into alternative ways of knowing that might aid in citizen

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accessibility, leading to more successful co-production planning outcomes (see Parker, Lynn, and Wargent 2015 as to problems regarding the "planning script").

This focus on the co-production of space also suggests that we pay more attention to the materiality of our work. The communicative model encourages planners to focus solely on facilitation, negotiation and communication - not material planning practices and outcomes. Of course, our physical plans and designs, zoning, policy tools, land assembly, streetscaping, public works, etc., inextricably introduces materiality into the planning domain (Beauregard 2012). However, this materiality becomes somewhat lost in our plans. We must be more critical as to what kinds of spaces our plans and the implementation of those plans actually produce (Wood 2009, 202). Further, planners often write themselves out of the script. We are "anonymous" yet our discursive projects serve to materialize and legitimize consensus (Tett and Wolfe 1991, 198). Therefore, we need to be more reflexive, not only during the public participation and engagement stages of the planning process, but also in the actual writing process of plans. How might we create spaces for agonism, radical difference, contingency and the articulation of emergent justice claims within our writing? How might we re-insert ourselves into the narrative of spatial production? One potential path is to develop the sensitivity and reflexivity of ethnographers in order to explore the performative impact of our writing practices and the spaces we enact (Marcus and Clifford 1986).

Finally, I end with a plea, particularly to planners in the academy, to make the 'just city' a normative pursuit, all the while recognizing and interrogating the inherent contingency, partiality and elusiveness of justice claims (S. S. Fainstein 2010).

Embracing our role in the co-production of inclusive, collective and agonistic space, is one path towards enabling urban inhabitants to claim a right to the city, perform their right to difference and develop ethical and noncapitalist subjectivities and relations with others. However the co-creation of space does not necessarily lead to postcapitalist outcomes. Therefore, how might we use our position to facilitate connections between community and advocacy groups, nonprofit organizations, schools, city officials, policy tools, our teaching and research agendas in order to build progressive urban assemblages with more staying power and stronger capacity to withstand neoliberal planning pressures? Soja's (2010) discussion of the ways in which UCLA's planning department engaged in social and spatial justice struggles and the East St Louis Action Research Project, facilitated by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and East St. Louis communities (Reardon 1998), provide some insight as to what these relationships and outcomes might look like.

Following Latour's advice, then, let's become a new kind of planning scholar, "not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles,... not the one who lifts the rug from under the feet of the naïve believers, but the one who offers the participants arenas in which to gather. The critic is...one for whom, if something is constructed, then it means it is fragile and thus in great need of care and caution" (Latour 2004a, 246). The case of Six Points suggests that novel co-creative spatial interventions did enable postcapitalist possibilities to emerge, however fleeting and fragile. These 'moments of presence' needed more care and caution, time for cultivation and connections to capacitybuilding actants such as academic planning departments. There were multiple opportunities within the assembling of Six Points, this research project included, that could have made a stronger commitment to pursuing the just city. Like DIY Urbanism, I believe that scholarly work is performative, meaning that it simultaneously represents and constructs the world. We need to continually provide visibility, legitimacy and support to these nascent postcapitalist possibilities so that our research becomes another conduit through which to assemble a more just, radically democratic world. APPENDIX A

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATION



9 August 2012

To whom it may concern:

We are delighted to invite Nicole Foster to be a participant-observer for embRACE theSTREET Better Block. She has explained the purpose of her research and we welcome her to engage in the event and any related and subsequent activities commencing August 20, 2012.

Nicole is welcome to use audio-recording devices and take notes at all meetings and activities, unless it is otherwise deemed inappropriate by me or any other team leader. She is also welcome to conduct interviews with individuals participating in the project including, but not limited to, organizers, volunteers, and attendees.

We appreciate Nicole's interest in the project and look forward to her participation.

Sincerely, 100 Debby Stein **Project Coordinator**

APPENDIX B

DIY URBANISM PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – ACTIVITY LEADERSHIP AND VOLUNTEERS

- 1. How did you learn about Building a Better Block?
- 2. Why did you get involved?
 - a. Probe for
 - i. Determine relationship with Better Block resident, artist, developer, etc.
 - ii. Feelings toward / relationship with public officials / city planning
 - iii. Feelings toward / relationship with private developers
 - iv. Feelings toward / relationship with residents and volunteers
 - v. Feelings toward / relationship with neighborhood, street, buildings
 - vi. Feelings toward / relationship with city
 - vii. Better Block expectations
- 3. Tell me about your experience with Better Block so far.
 - a. What kinds of activities did you participate in?
 - b. Who did you work with? Where did you work?
 - c. What's the most important thing about Race Street?
 - d. What was your most memorable experience?
 - e. How would you describe the relationships between participants?
 - f. Have those relationships changed over time?
 - g. How would you describe the relationship between people and Race Street?
 - h. What do you like to do on Race Street? What would you like to do?
 - i. Do you think participants share the same vision for Race Street?
 - j. What has been the most rewarding?
 - k. What has been the most challenging?
 - 1. What have you learned from the project?
 - m. Describe what a successful Better Block looks like.
 - n. Probe for
 - i. Expectations regarding vision, process and outcomes
 - ii. Surprising outcomes
 - iii. Specific form of participation
 - iv. Feelings toward / relationships with other actants
- 4. What do you think will happen after Block?
 - a. Probe for
 - i. Anticipated individual involvement
 - ii. Relationships
 - iii. Collective/Cooperative projects
 - iv. Neighborhood/Community involvement
 - v. City involvement
 - vi. Future of Race Street and Riverside Neighborhood

Post Events Interview

- 1. What are your impressions of the event?
 - a. Did the event happen as you expected?

- b. What worked well?
- c. What could have been improved?
- 2. What have you learned from participating in Better Block?
- 3. What do you think will happen as a result of Better Block?
- 4. Will you continue your involvement with this group? How?
- **5.** Looking back, what are the benefits and challenges of DIY Urbanism projects like Better Block?
- **6.** How do you think DIY Urbanism projects could fit within official planning projects?

APPENDIX C

PUBLIC OFFICIAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – PUBLIC OFFICIALS

- 1. Tell me about your experience with projects such as Better Block.
- 2. How do DIY Urbanism projects fit within official planning projects?
- 3. What kinds of interactions have you had with Better Block organizers?
- 4. What are the benefits and challenges of DIY Urbanism projects?
- 5. What do you think are the potential outcomes of DIY urban projects?
- 6. What is the city's vision for Race Street?

APPENDIX D INFORMED CONSENT FORMS

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT – Public Officials

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Nicole Foster, Doctoral Student Urban Planning and Public Policy, School of Urban and Public Affairs 1713 Robinwood Dr., Fort Worth, TX 76111 <u>Nicole.foster@mavs.uta.edu</u>, 817-723-4837

FACULTY ADVISOR

Enid Arvidson, Associate Professor-School of Urban and Public Affairs 601 S. Nedderman Dr. 511 University Hall Box 19588 Arlington, TX 76019 Enid@uta.edu, 817-272-3349

TITLE OF PROJECT

DIY (Do-It-Yourself) Urbanism as Political and Planning Practice

PURPOSE

This research aims to understand and analyze

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- how informal individuals and groups (working outside of formal public and private organizations) impact urban planning and politics through "DIY Urbanism";
- 2. the outcomes of DIY Urbanism in terms of individual and community empowerment.

PROCEDURES

The interviews will consist of several semi-structured questions and last approximately one hour. The interviews will be audio recorded. After the interview, the tape will be transcribed, which means they will be typed exactly as they were recorded, word-for-word, by the researcher. The tape will be kept with the transcription for potential future research involving other aspects of DIY Urbanism conducted by the researcher. The tape and transcription will not be used for any future research purposes not described here.

COMPENSATION

No compensation is offered for participation.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participation in this research study is voluntary. You have the right to decline participation or quit at any time at no consequence.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every attempt will be made to see that your study results are kept confidential. A copy of this signed consent form and all data collected [including transcriptions/tapes] from this study will be stored in a locked cabinet in Dr. Enid Arvidson's office (see above) for at least three (3) years after the end of this research. The results of this study may be published and/or presented at meetings without naming you as a participant. However, titles such as "local elected official" or "local planning official" may be used. Additional research studies could evolve from the information you have provided, but your information will be kept anonymous. Although your rights and privacy will be maintained, the UTA Institutional Review Board (IRB), and personnel particular to this research have access to the study records. Your

legal requirements. They will not be revealed unless required by law, or as noted above. The IRB at UTA has reviewed and approved this study and the information within this consent form. If in the unlikely event it becomes necessary for the Institutional Review Board to review your research records, the University of Texas at Arlington will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law.

CONTACT FOR QUESTIONS

Questions about this research study may be directed to Nicole Foster, 817-723-4837 or <u>Nicole.foster@mavs.uta.edu</u> or Dr. Enid Arvidson, Associate Professor, School of Urban and Public Affairs at 817-272-3349 or <u>Enid@uta.edu</u>. Any questions you may have about your rights as a research participant or a research-related injury may be directed to the Office of Research Administration; Regulatory Services at 817-272-2105 or regulatoryservices@uta.edu.

As a representative of this study, I have explained the purpose and the procedures that are involved in this research study:

Signature and printed name of principal investigator or person obtaining consent

Date

CONSENT

By signing below, you confirm that you are 18 years of age or older and have read or had this document read to you. You have been informed about this study's purpose, procedures, possible benefits and risks, and you have received a copy of this form. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions before you sign, and you have been told that you can ask other questions at any time.

You voluntarily agree to participate in this study. By signing this form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits, to which you are otherwise entitled.

SIGNATURE OF VOLUNTEER

DATE

APPROVED

AUG 2 2 2012

Institutional Review Board

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT – Public Officials

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Nicole Foster, Doctoral Student Urban Planning and Public Policy, School of Urban and Public Affairs 1713 Robinwood Dr., Fort Worth, TX 76111 Nicole.foster@mavs.uta.edu, 817-723-4837

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COMPENSATION

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VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Participation in this research study is voluntary. You have the right to decline participation or quit at any time at no consequence.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every attempt will be made to see that your study results are kept confidential. A copy of this signed consent form and all data collected [including transcriptions/tapes] from this study will be stored in a locked cabinet in Dr. Enid Arvidson's office (see above) for at least three (3) years after the end of this research. The results of this study may be published and/or presented at meetings without naming you as a participant. However, titles such as "local elected official" or "local planning official" may be used. Additional research studies could evolve from the information you have provided, but your information will be kept anonymous. Although your rights and privacy will be maintained, the UTA Institutional Review Board (IRB), and personnel particular to this research have access to the study records. Your

records will be kept completely confidential according to current legal requirements. They will not be revealed unless required by law, or as noted above. The IRB at UTA has reviewed and approved this study and the information within this consent form. If in the unlikely event it becomes necessary for the Institutional Review Board to review your research records, the University of Texas at Arlington will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law.

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As a representative of this study, I have explained the purpose and the procedures that are involved in this research study:

Signature and printed name of principal investigator or person obtaining consent

Date

CONSENT

By signing below, you confirm that you are 18 years of age or older and have read or had this document read to you. You have been informed about this study's purpose, procedures, possible benefits and risks, and you have received a copy of this form. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions before you sign, and you have been told that you can ask other questions at any time.

You voluntarily agree to participate in this study. By signing this form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits, to which you are otherwise entitled.

SIGNATURE OF VOLUNTEER

DATE



Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX E

EVENT ATTENDEE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – EVENT ATTENDEES

- 1. (If resident of Riverside neighborhood), How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
- 2. How did you find out about Better Block?
- 3. What are your impressions of Better Block?
- 7. How would you improve Race Street and the surrounding area?

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Biographical Information

Nicole Foster's work focuses on analyzing emergent and creative forms of collective action that envision and enact alternatives to neoliberal governance and development. Using quantitative and qualitative methods, her research focuses on identifying sites that counter neoliberalism by creating inclusive, non-exploitative spaces, specifically through the use of art and culture. Her research on the nexus between art, culture, community and space is published in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, the *Journal of Urban Affairs*, the *Journal of the American Planning Association* and *Urban Studies*.

In addition to a PhD in Urban Planning and Public Policy, Nicole has a BFA in Acting from New York University and a Master of Arts degree in Humanities from the University of Texas at Arlington. She began her professional career in the New York City theater scene where she worked as an Assistant Director for several theatrical productions, a Teaching Artist and as the Managing Director of an off-Broadway theater company. Inspired by Lefebvre, she strives to create urban life into an *oeuvre*, a work of art.