

AT THE NEXUS OF DALLAS' NEIGHBORHOOD ARTS DISTRICTS
AND TAX INCREMENTAL FINANCING ZONES
THE QUESTION OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN
A SOCIALLY JUST ECONOMY

by

KATHERINE M. KOSUT

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Abstract

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Katherine M. Kosut, PhD

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Supervising Professor: Enid Arvidson

This dissertation examines the effects of urban economic development policies on affordable housing and the resident working-class populations within neighborhood arts district (NAD) and the Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) support of the NAD revitalization. This study questions whether municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” in the form of the tax-based economic development policy—tax incremental financing—increases the effects of gentrification and housing affordability loss in low-income neighborhood arts districts in the United States, using Dallas TX as a case study. Historically intended to provide fit-housing in low-income “blighted” neighborhoods, States have adopted TIF policies in reliance upon the concept that “but-for” the use of the TIF policy, there would be no remedy to the “blight” within these community. The controversial TIF policies enacted and utilized by municipalities to shift public tax dollars from other non-municipal entities (e.g. school districts) have met with varying degrees of economic development success by local administrative standards. However, TIFs capitalizing upon the synergies of culturally rich but resource-poor communities within neighborhoods arts districts has resulted in larger tax capture.

Concomitant with this more significant tax capture is evidence of incumbent population displacement, gentrification, and loss of housing affordability—reinforcing an economic process of commodification of housing, power and exploitation, creating inequality and injustice. Gentrification and government's Arts Based Economic Development and value-capture taxation policies can be viewed as assisting investors in making profit within NAD-TIFs while creating housing affordability issues for the incumbent working -class. Alternative housing networks (AHNs) have appeared as hybrids of Community Economies Collectives and diverse economies, challenging the neoliberal political economy as a co-existing possibility for more sustainable urban revitalization.

Based on the theories of geographer Neil Smith and economist Henry George, the reform of land ownership that AHNs can bring into NAD-TIFs is more than a theoretical challenge. It has implications for capital's ability to access local neighborhoods and exploit the real estate within NADs for their exchange value. Ideally separating land from the speculative market as the regime's financial investment limits their ability of total control of the local scale of neighborhoods in order to realize a return. As an alternative to the municipal regime's eminent powers, viewing themselves simultaneously as advocates, activist, and radicals—alternative housing networks (AHNs) are one of the “other possibilities,” co-existing and providing alternative community control of land and housing. More than a model for affordable housing, ANHs could potentially be a foundation for a new set of economic relationships that promote the claims of local communities over those of capital. AHNs can be a platform for affordable housing, but also a movement towards a more socially just economy.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine “just” public economic development policies—investigating the relationship between two concomitant processes at the nexus of Neighborhood Arts Districts (NADs) and Tax Incremental Financing (TIFs) Districts: i) municipally endorsed “creative gentrification,” and ii) alternative housing networks’ (AHNs) role in sustaining affordable housing provisions for the incumbent working-class population within these neighborhoods with urban policy prescriptions.¹

Extant urban planning and policy theories includes well researched literature on the subjects of municipal redevelopment and revitalization strategies, the lack of affordable housing, the creative-economy and gentrification, and activist citizens battling development in their marginalized neighborhoods (Dye and Merriman 2003; Fainstein 2010; Florida 2003, 2007; George 1879; Landry 2000; Ley 2003, Markusen et al. 2006; Merriman 2018 Duany 2001; Freeman 2006; Jacobs 1961; Gibson-Graham et al. 2001; Harvey 1990; Marcuse and Imbroscio 2014; Massey 2006; Smith 1996, 2002). Little is currently written on the intersection of these subjects, which increases in significance with the affordable housing crises, and as larger numbers of U.S. and global cities (e.g. Chicago, Dallas, Houston, Philadelphia, Vancouver, and London) actively promote a nexus of “creative gentrification” and TIF economic development. The gap being filled by

¹ The term ‘alternative housing network’(AHN) is used here as an umbrella term denoting a range (George, 1879; Bryson, 2013), and iv) post-structural feminist research on economic diversity (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006) of sustainable approaches to housing production, distribution, and/or consumption, loosely grouped under this term due to various social and/or sustainable rationales and goals. The term “sustainable” as utilized in this dissertation is expanded beyond “Green” to include economic, social, and cultural dimensions (Brown and Bhatti 2003; Chiu 2004; Thoms 2004). AHN examples include not-for-profit developers, Community Development Corporations, Community Economic Development groups, Community Housing Coalitions, Artist Housing Collectives, Housing Co-operatives, Urban Community Land Trust Networks, Radical Housing Networks, and Land Justice Networks.

this study is “how” the two concomitant processes—municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” and alternative housing networks—located at the nexus of NAD-TIFs can result in an incumbent working-class population having a modicum of a socially just economy, with the basic need of affordable “fit” housing provisions met. Utilizing Dallas TX for the two sets of case studies, understanding is brought to this literature gap “assemblage” through the concurrence of four theoretical sources: i) gentrification through the variant Marxist theory of rent-gap (Smith 1979), ii) justice and the value-capture theory of Georgism, iii) dominant theory of power and LEADS, the potential of local economic alternative development strategies (Davies and Imbroscio 2010; Imbroscio 2003), and vi) post-structural feminist research on economic diversity (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006).

Public economic development policies and gentrification have long had a symbiotic relationship, transitioning (late 1970-1980) from gentrification being seen as a problem retaining housing for low-income households to a solution where gentrification is openly incorporated into public policy (Lees and Ley 2008; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Hackworth 2019; Wyly 2019). This study examines the concept of municipal public policy being a “main engine driver of gentrification” by “seek(ing) to use gentrification as an engine of urban renaissance,” similar in effect to the “Hausmannisation of Paris” and hoping for similar results (Cameron and Coaffe 2005, p.39; Clark 2005; Lees and Ley 2008; Smith 1996).

Promoting now trendy NADs that were once in the face of blight, the urban renaissance is cast as an opportunity, not only for development and investments but neighborhoods to reside in “with a rich history of success, entrepreneurship, art and family” (Dallas Economic Development at www.dallasecocodev.org). Contending gentrification has become a normative policy tool for urban revitalization and economic

growth, the significance of understanding the role of citizen developed AHNs as a strategy to maintain affordable housing for incumbent working-class residents in their upgrading neighborhoods becomes important in the context of a socially just economy.² In lieu of people and value in community building, municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” and public economic redevelopment policies embrace neoliberalism’s rational of markets being in every aspect of human relations, and “capital being touted as the one of the only sources of value—it has become accepted as the norm” (Foucault 2008, p.xx).

Tracing the development of municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” and AHNs, this study focuses on the effects of urban economic neighborhood revitalization in the form of Arts Based Economic Development (ABED) and economic redevelopment shaped through Tax Incremental Financing (TIF). At that nexus, behind the edifice of gentrification and goal of economic prosperity, this dissertation seeks to place these urban policies within the context of a socially just economy. In a broad sense, this dissertation is about the extent to which affordable housing is the stepchild of the cultural and political economic fortunes of neighborhoods, and the subsequent examination of alternatives to hegemonic ABED and TIF policies.

What is just public policy for pursuing urban neighborhood revitalization and redevelopment? Where public policy may be viewed as policymakers deciding who gets what and who pays, the inevitable dilemma of a just public policy arises with the lack of resources to meet the basic needs of communities, and the differing standards and ideas about the shape of a just course of action (Bromell 2013). Although not a study in the ethical dilemmas of public policy making, broadly such a policy should:

² Within this dissertation, a “socially just economy” is defined as one in which each individual within a collective has equity, access, may participate, and has the right to be able to create a foundation (whether material or otherwise) upon which to be able to survive, engage and exchange with dignity, productivity, and creativity.

- facilitate community economic development,
- adapt to changing conditions over time,
- be capable of implementation, and
- ultimately generate betterment for incumbent residents of a targeted area (Katz et al 2003, Schwartz 2015, Turner, Wial and Wolman 2008).

In public policy literature, betterment in a neighborhood can be defined in terms of:

- a decrease in the crime rate,
- an increase in the number of graduates from the local high school,
- growth in the per capita earned income, or
- a rise in the tax base for a city (Green and Haines 2012, Turner, Wial and Wolman 2008).

This dissertation draws upon other literature for a different set of values and measures, where core to an area's revitalization and redevelopment plans for betterment in a socially just economy is providing affordable housing to meet the "basic needs" of a community's incumbent working-class resident population (OECD 2011; Van Vliet, Huttman and Fava 1985; Pynoos, Schafer and Hartman, 1973).³ The means by which to retain that affordable housing is the subject of this study.

Housing affordability has been called the most significant problem for low-income households in the U.S. (Bratt et al 1989, Glaeser and Gottlieb 2006, Stone 2006). "In the U.S., affordability is often expressed in terms of 'affordable housing,' but affordability is not a characteristic of housing"; rather, it describes a "relationship between housing and

³ The human right to adequate housing, a "basic need," has been recognized "under international law and codified as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948, article 25(1)). Other major international human rights treaties (e.g. in the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966) have stated the right to adequate housing" is paramount within an "equitable" society. The United Nations has specified the securing of adequate housing accommodation as a right of every human in developed or developing countries, albeit through nonbinding declarations and recommendations (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2009; Martinez-Cobo 1986).

people” (Stone 2006, p. 153). Affordability is defined by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as the availability of enough housing units at different costs to provide households with a unit it can afford based on the 30 percent of income standard (2015). Whereas, affordable housing is generally defined as housing that a household is paying no more than 30 percent of their income for overall housing costs, this includes utilities (ibid.).

HUD qualifies that definition by pointing out it is intended only as a general guide, and that some municipalities may define affordable housing based on other locally established criteria (ibid.). Cost burdened is defined as a family paying more than 30 percent of their income for housing, particularly when compounded by the expenses of other needs such as food, clothing, transportation, childcare, and healthcare. In 2015, HUD estimated 12 million households in the US paid more than 50 percent of their annual incomes for housing, placing them in the category of extreme cost burdened (ibid.). Additionally, with only one minimum-wage full-time worker in a household, a family could not afford the market value rent for a two-bedroom apartment anywhere in the United States (ibid.). While the exact definition of affordable housing is the subject of different analyses and continuous debate among experts, the general consensus appears to be centered on the idea that “households should pay no more than 30 percent of their income for housing, including utilities” (Stone 2006, p. 96; Glaeser and Gottlieb 2006; U.S. HUD 2015). Housing units, which are available to these households at or below the 30 percent parameter, are considered “affordable housing.” It is this definition that is utilized in this study to examine the effects of urban neighborhood economic revitalization and redevelopment public policies.

Historically as many central cities lost population and tax base to incorporated townships and surrounding suburbs, those interested in preserving the vitality of the

urban core were faced with difficult choices and reduced resources (Wilson 2009, 2009a, 1987; Jackson 2002). City leaders and promoters of many once vibrant urban centers were confronting large numbers of decaying buildings and abandoned lots, which diminished the cities' vitality and tax base, sought revitalization and redevelopment plans. It can be argued, those difficult choices and reduced resources had greatest impact on urban residential communities of low-wealth and little apparent power within the "blighted neighborhoods" (Vale 2013).

Designated as viable public policy, Arts Based Economic Development (ABED) has increasingly been encouraged by city managers and policy-makers as a means to revitalize the urban core and redevelop blighted neighborhoods (City of Dallas 2018; City of San Diego 2014; City of Philadelphia 2008; City of Seattle 2009; Dillion 1998a; Florida 2003; Weber 2003;). One specific strategy of ABED has been the creation of arts districts.^{4,5} More than 250 cities in the United States have planned or implemented arts districts as part of their revitalization strategies within the last 40 years (Hayter and Pierce 2009). And although areas of a city might be considered "cultural arts districts" based upon public perception of a high concentration of civic museums, symphony halls, or performance theaters, this dissertation proposes limiting the study to Neighborhood Arts Districts (NADs). NADs can be defined as those districts containing an incumbent working-class artist population, warehouses, and industrial buildings to house studios and residences, and culturally significant architectural opportunities. These bohemian low-income districts are not only actively promoted and advertised by municipalities as

⁴ This phenomenon is not unique to the United States. A number of authors have documented the use of arts strategies in urban development in Canada and Western Europe. See Bianchini 1990; Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Florida 2003; Griffith 1993; Lim 1993; Markusen and Johnson 2006; Wynne 1992.

⁵ For the purposes of this study, Arts Districts, Cultural Districts, and Historic Districts are similarly defined and used interchangeably.

distinct neighborhoods offering participation in and consumption of cultural activities, but specifically promoted as capital-gain opportunities through revitalization and economic redevelopment (City of Chicago Cultural Plan 2012; City of Dallas Cultural Arts Policy 2018; City of Philadelphia Arts and Cultural Policy 2018, Mather 1996; Whitt 1987).

Where the “creative economy” works of Landry and Florida have been influential in globally promoting images of prosperous 21st century cities as urban landscapes where social tolerance and cultural amenities exists to draw forth a creative-class of educated workers and new-entrepreneur businesses little is written with regards to what happens to the incumbent working-class population around whom those municipalities have designed the NAD-TIFs (Florida 2003; Landry 2000). Interestingly Florida's work is self-purported to be grounded in Jane Jacobs' concept of healthy cities as vital places where communities are left intact and where streets, neighborhoods, and downtowns are used by diverse populations for diverse use (Jacobs 1961). As policy agendas have evolved to build “creative cities,” support the “creative economy,” and attract a “creative-class” of workers, where is Jacobs' vision of an incumbent community animating its own neighborhood? Critiques of the Arts Based Economic Development revitalization policy indicate the process: i) undermines the existing urban community diversity, ii) propels neighborhood gentrification, and iii) privileges real-estate investment over economic and community revitalization that would benefit the (incumbent) neighborhood population (Peck 2005). Similar to Jacobs' 1950s resistance movement, alternative housing networks have formed striving to maintain the local culture and the “right to remain put” within NADs. These alternative community networks operate as advocates/activists/radicals and include professionals in areas of low-income housing, tenant unions, legal aid, planners, architects, and historic preservationist reportedly

seeking to implement political economy benefits for the locals and sustain affordable housing provisions for the incumbent working-class population.⁶

As stated earlier, this dissertation proposes to specifically examine NADs that have been entitled under the umbrella of state-level Tax Incremental Financing acts, and in particular, their effects upon affordable housing. Forty-seven states within the U.S., have enacted TIF legislation where the initial language of the law required the area be “blighted” and meet the “but-for” rule: substandard housing conditions in “blighted” neighborhoods could not be alleviated “but-for” the public expenditure and subsidy through the TIF (Dye and Merriman 2003; Gordan 2004, Merriman 2018).⁷ The value-capture taxation within the TIF district was originally intended to benefit the longstanding communities of residents—the “incumbent population”—of blight-designated residential neighborhoods with affordable “fit” housing (Briffault 2010; Dye and Merriman 2003, Merriman 2018).⁸ An important change is that the requirement of “blight” and “but-for” has shifted from a condition of substandard housing to a condition of sub-optimal local economic development (Gordan 2004, Merriman 2018). The broadly stated definitions of

⁶ Examples of 501(c) (3) non-profit alternative housing organizations within Neighborhood Arts Districts are Acme Artists Cooperative, Chicago IL; Fulton Street Collective, Chicago IL.; PILSEN, Chicago, IL; Housing Initiative Partnerships, Hyattsville MD; Coalition for Artist Housing, New York NY; Oak Cliff Conservancy, Dallas TX; Sustainable Development Resources, Dallas TX; Revitalize South Dallas Coalition, Dallas TX.; Southfair Community Development, Dallas TX; CitySquare Dallas TX; Dallas TX; Community Artist Collective, Houston TX.

⁷ Tax Incremental Financing Districts are also called Tax Incremental Reinvestment Zones (TIRZ) Infrastructure Improvement Districts (IID), and Infrastructure Financing District (IFD). In Houston Texas for example, a criteria for designation is “but for” the assistance of the TIRZ the area must “retard the provision of housing accommodations...and be a menace to the public health, safety, morals, or welfare because of its present condition” (City of Houston 2014. www.houstontx.gov/ecodev/tirz.html)

⁸ “Fit” is defined as meeting Federal Health, Welfare, and Safety guidelines for HUD housing (HUD 2008). These requirements are designated for the “Health, Welfare and Safety of Householder and young within the household.” Examples included in the HUD Healthy Housing Inspection Manual (2008) as not meeting the “fit” standard include: 50% sprawling concrete foundation and exposed rebar, damaged/missing glazing on exterior windows, water leaks adjacent to electrical panels, 20% inoperable lighting fixtures, clogged plumbing drains, wood-rot and mold, presence of lead-based paint, and exposed friable asbestos insulation.

“blight” have been expanded by municipalities to include areas of “future blight,” “potential blight,” and “blight as a future possibility but for...” (Merriman 2018, p. xx; Dye and Merriman 2003,). Where this shift is evident in many municipalities, a prime example (and case studies for this dissertation) can be seen in Dallas TX. TIF districts and redevelopment policies, although listed under the jurisdiction of the City of Dallas Office of Economic Development, straddle the municipal Department of Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization. Dallas’ Affordable Housing Policy (2018) based on a Market Value Analysis lists TIFs as one of the “methods of intervention” tools for promoting public-private partnerships in the development of real estate, not in “blighted” neighborhoods but in “Economic Incentive Areas” already on the path of revitalization with projects underway (City of Dallas <http://www.dallasecodev.org>, Favela 2018).⁹ As the City of Dallas urban economic development policy efforts are utilized to decrease the shortfall of 33,000 affordable housing units through municipal incentives, TIF laws are “now utilized as tools for eradicating substandard housing conditions to a means of fueling neoliberal economic development” (Merriman 2018, p. xx; Dye and Merriman 2003; Favela, 2018; Gordan 2004).

Adapting to the changing conditions of increased deindustrialization, taxpayer revolts, and competition for economic development dollars, the use of TIF’s value-captured tax dollars has been broadened to include assistance for private development within the NADs (Merriman 2018, Mikesell 2008). Fitting into the “entrepreneurial” market-oriented spirit of the local Arts Based Economic Development (ABED), TIFs appear to have become a tool of neoliberalism, drawing investors and capital into these districts (Glaeser 2014; Merriman 2018, Weber 2003). As municipal governments and

⁹ The City of Dallas Office of Economic Development’s mission is stated as advertising Dallas as “the center of the U.S....perfect for your business & investment...the most dynamic & diverse metropolitan economy in the US...” (<http://www.dallasecodev.org>)

urban economic development policies appear to have have seemingly become enmeshed in “act(ing) less as regulators of markets to protect marginalized residents and more as entrepreneurial agents of market processes and capital accumulation,” entrepreneurial cities have increasingly supported the private use of governmental TIF programs in concert with ABED to channel resources into certain neighborhoods (Lees, Slater, and Wylie 2008, p. 49; Hayter and Pierce 2009; City of Dallas 2018; City of Houston 2014). The appearance of these close public-private collaboration and local governments acting as entrepreneurs, formulating and implementing targeted redevelopment plans that include gentrification, gives rise to the question: how has the incumbent working-class population fared relative to affordable “fit” housing betterments within the NAD development funded through the TIF ordinance? If ABED within these low-income neighborhoods has brought about the end of access to affordable housing and displacement for the incumbent working-class community, what has been the impact of alternative housing networks, which are formed as an alternate method of exercising control through an actionable connection between citizen groups who share the common goal of affordable housing?

Examining the redevelopment at the intersection of NAD-TIFs, investigating municipally endorsed “creative gentrification’s” effects and the rise of AHNs to sustain affordable housing provisions reveals a series of struggles among a number of actors in shifting contexts. Analyzing these struggles sheds light on some of the problems and limitations of the city’s current mode of revitalization and economic redevelopment policies and the current hegemony of affordable housing approaches. More broadly, the relations between public economic development policy trajectories and the movement of AHNs serve as an opening through which to examine the nature of power and the

possibility that both urban policies and affordable housing systems might be organized more justly and sustainably.

Statement of the Problem

Since the 1960s many municipal governments have touted that “the creativity of a community expressed through arts and culture, design, entertainment, food, and high technology are the hothouses and incubators of our communities’ competitive future” (Partners for Livable Communities 2000, p. 9, Florida 2003). These NADs have evolved into consumption compounds of mixed-use developments containing retail spaces, restaurants, boutique hotels, and upscale gentrified housing. Communities rebranded and designed as NADs attract city residents, as well as tourists, to inhabit and dispose of their income on the “cultural” offerings (Florida 2003; Markusen et al. 2006). Through ABED policies, these once primarily residential areas—blighted through the lack of economic resources, population out-migration, and industrial conversion—have been politically repurposed and converted to meet the goals of municipal economic revitalization and betterment of the neighborhood although arguably not for the incumbent community.

TIFs that were originally intended to improve the quality of housing for the incumbent residents within blighted areas, when applied to NADs, appear to have the opposite effect of uprooting and displacing the remaining communities. Standing at the threshold of a stabilizing NAD-TIF neighborhood is the double-edged sword of gentrification. The benefits of higher property values and a higher tax base intended to support the neighborhood and local businesses result in pricing out and forcing the relocation of the incumbent populations. The Fannie Mae Foundation (FMF) tasked with

assisting first time low-income homebuyers, acknowledges both the risk of displacement and the offsetting economic benefits of gentrification:

The risk of displacement is often raised by critics of gentrification who view the return of middle-income suburbanites to cities as a zero-sum game. While the risk of displacement is real, we think it is outweighed by the even greater risk of losing a chance to secure a larger tax base. Taxing new middle-income residents and spending the money on programs for a general urban population is a benefit that at least partially offsets the pain caused by displacement. (Lang et al. 2000, p.12; Fannie Mae)

Proponents of gentrification also note the benefits are newly renovated houses, saved cultural heritage by reuse of historic residences, reduced crime in the neighborhood, and clean streets (Lees et al. 2008, Van Loon and Aalbers 2016). The higher incomes of gentrifiers is seen as bringing economic enhancements to these neighborhoods by , attracting new businesses and economic opportunities, can help raise the wealth of lower-income residents already living in these areas. According to some researchers, the process may not actually cause displacement (Freeman and Braconi 2004; McKinnish et al. 2008). Gentrifiers are seen as providing benefits to the incumbent low-income population by providing increased property values and redeveloped and revitalized neighborhoods (Kosak 2014). "It is the rising tide that lifts all boats" (Duany 2001, p. 36). These benefits are reiterated today by local municipal governments advocating ABED and NAD-TIFs (City of Chicago 2012; City of Dallas 2018; City of Philadelphia 2018).

On the other hand, opponents of gentrification counter that along with the touted benefits come higher property values, additional taxes, and forced displacement of low-income incumbent populations, most typically African American (Goetz et al. 2009, Hackworth 2019, Lees et al. 2008, Wylly 2019). Additionally, there is no guarantee the incumbent low-income residents will be employed by the new gentrifying businesses. Once displaced, given the extra expenses of transportation and childcare, the likelihood of enjoying the benefits of the revitalized neighborhood is even less (Wylly 2019).

Gentrification, broadly defined, is a process whereby urban neighborhoods undergo major demographic change, typically shifting from primarily lower-income, often racial and ethnic minority populations to primarily higher-earning and predominantly white populations. While neoclassical economic understandings of gentrification tends to treat it as the natural outcome of individual preferences of consumers, critical scholars have documented how gentrification is but one stage in long-term cycles of investment and disinvestment in urban space (e.g. Aalbers 2011, Hackworth and Smith 2001, Hackworth 2019, Lees et al. 2008; Smith 2002, 1996, 1990; Smith and Williams 1986; Wyly 2019). Alongside consumer demand and the “rational” calculations of investors seeking to maximize returns, the decomposition of the built environments produces a “rent-gap”—the difference in potential value and actual value captured by a piece of property—at which point gentrification begins through opening an area to reinvestment (Smith 2002, 1996). This process brings material improvements to housing and infrastructure, attracting higher-income residents, which in turn raises demand and thus property values and rents, and tends to price out incumbent working-class residents who lived in the area during its period of devaluation.

Cultural actors such as artists, musicians, and designers are thought to play a central role in ABED and gentrification by identifying and venturing into devalued neighborhoods in search of affordable rents, more space, and urban milieus that resonate with countercultural values (Zukin 2010). These urban pioneers of the NADs began establishing galleries, cafes, and boutiques—signaling to municipalities the potential of ABED and the TIFs, and to investors that areas are up-and-coming. David Ley (2003), drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1993), summarized this aspect of gentrification by dubbing cultural actors and milieus as the “colonizing arm” of elites. They become the incumbent residents of the NADs. Arguing that because artists tend to be

among the subservient fraction of the dominant class, the countercultural and aesthetic values they bring to devalued neighborhoods are doomed to be commodified and appropriated by the more powerful actors that follow in their wake—wealthier home-buyers to corporate developers to Wall Street investors (Lees and Ley 2008, Ley 2003). Critical scholarship on gentrification has demonstrated that this type of neighborhood change produces benefits for wealthier and primarily white urban dwellers, banks, developers and property owners at the expense of the lower-income and minority resident urbanites, thus excluding and further marginalizing these social groups in a continuation of long-term processes of systematic or structural disadvantaging (Hackworth 2019, Hackworth and Smith 2001, Lees et al 2008, Massey 2005; Massey and Denton 1993; Smith 1986; Wilson 2009, Wyly 2019).

Contrary to the critical scholars of gentrification who approach their study with no tangible path for remediation (other than perhaps revolution), many not-for-profit housing scholars initially define their subject as an alternative course of action—community engagement (Healy 2009; Shlay 1995; Zdenek 1987). Housing, neighborhood revitalization, and economic redevelopment are inexorably linked:

First, as a large investment typically requiring outside financing, housing is the object through which capital is reinvested in or disinvested from a community. Second, as a consumption item, housing may operate as a local economic stimulus. Third, as a location, housing provides or limits access to goods, services, and employment. Finally, housing may be used as a vehicle for community control. (Shlay 1995, p. 706)

The goals of AHNs are community empowerment and community building leading to maintain affordable housing for incumbent residents who are better able to participate in economic activities; a lack of sustainable housing has the opposite effect (Gibson and Cameron, 2001; Greene and Haines 2012; Zdenek 1987). However, housing scholars had begun to identify a range of problems with AHNs, documenting the tendency of not-

for-profit housing networks to be vulnerable towards co-optation and converging with capitalist housing market systems (Walks and August 2008; Walsh 2009).

Critics have charged that AHN organizations have lost their grassroots mentality, and have become another developer following a free-market approach to redevelopment rather than fighting to sustain communities (Lenz 2002). AHNs are intended to support a bottom-up approach, ideally to help low-income incumbent residents to ascertain how to actively participate in the redevelopment process and produce more homes, as well as businesses, that will belong to the community. However, seen as working within existing economic rules where poor neighborhoods are held up as weak markets requiring outside reinvestment, providing opportunities for profit maximizing by free-market investors rather than oppressed communities requiring empowerment (Kelly 1977; Pierce and Steinbach 1990). As a counter to the co-optation, AHNs viewing themselves as advocates/activist/radicals (the subject of this study) as the situation calls for are developing, self-proclaimed to utilizing more socially just economic rules by which to stay the effects of gentrification and the loss of affordable housing within these neighborhoods.

The goal of this study is not to focus on the pros and cons of gentrification, but to examine the original public policy intent of TIFs when applied to NADs, and ask: how has the municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” affected the original intent of the TIFs relative to affordable housing within this nexus? What have been the results, in terms of equitability or desirability, from the incumbent community’s perspective of the public economic development policies? At the interfaces of gentrification and alternative housing networks, are there more inclusive “just” public agendas using value-capture as it was originally intended (collectively by the community), which serves as a counterweight to free-market urban redevelopment interventions and housing initiatives?

And calling attention to the continued necessity of rethinking and reworking dominant modes of urban revitalization, economic redevelopment, and housing production, distribution, and consumption—how can the incumbent population stave off displacement through gentrification and retain “fit” affordable housing provisions at the nexus of Neighborhood Arts District and TIF Zones?

Intention and Consequences

Gentrification-induced displacement has been a core area within academic, urban policy, and popular discourse. Being difficult to quantify, the debate continues as to the effects upon low-income households (Fainstein and Fainstein 1986, Freeman and Braconi 2004, Hackworth 2019, Hackworth and Smith 2001, Hartman 1984, Huse 2014, Imbroscio 2004, Lees and Ley 2008, Marcuse 2005, Slater 2006; Smith 2002; Zukin 2010, 1982). Several theories attempt to explain the phenomenon. This study centers on Neil Smith’s rent-gap theory, which can be understood within the context of the phases of the history of gentrification developed by Jason Hackworth and Neil Smith (Hackworth and Smith, 2001, Hackworth 2019). Their history of gentrification explains it currently as a tsunami, having begun as “sporadic gentrification” in the late 1960s (*ibid.*). Each of the three phases is separated by a recession (economic slowdown), with each subsequent phase more intensely neoliberal and capital driven than the previous one (Figure 1-1).

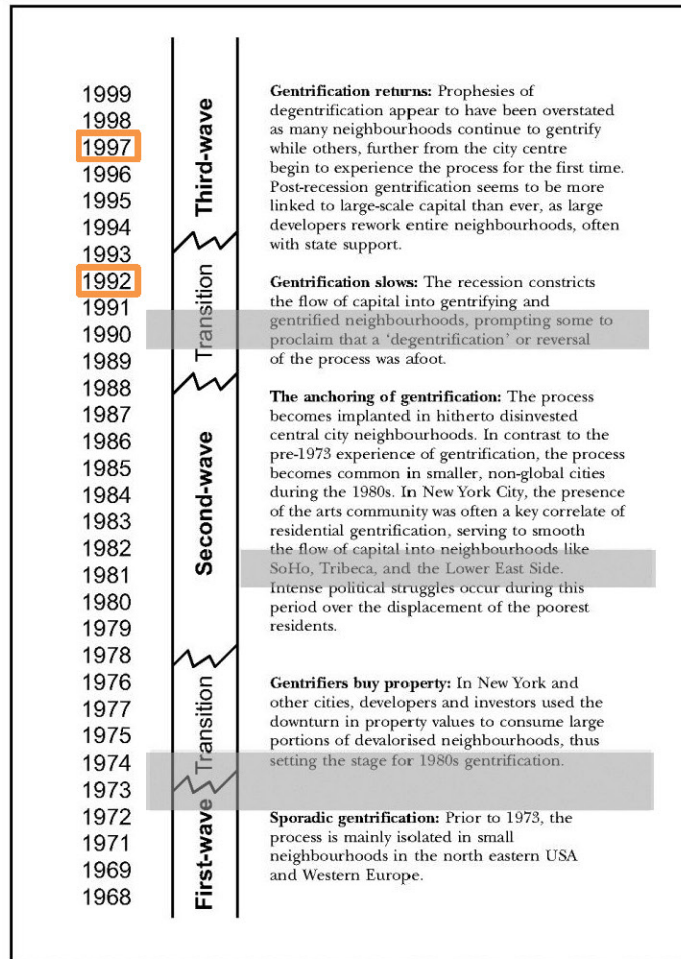


Figure 1-1 Schematic history of gentrification

(Recession indicated in grey)

Source: Hackworth and Smith 2001

Where the diagram indicates historical dates beginning and ending of phases, these dates may vary depending on when the slowdown recession appeared at a particular location. In 1992 after the recession, Phase three began to take hold and was described: "Post-recession gentrification seems to be more linked to large-scale capital than ever, as large developers rework entire neighborhoods, often with state (public) support" (Hackworth and Smith 2001). Within this phase neoliberalism hallows economic

violence; one can see the rent-gap theory as providing a method to detect the locations where community's assets will be stripped for capital accumulation (Harvey 2011, Smith 2001). Interestingly, Smith's third wave corresponds with the beginning date 1992 of the task-forces developing the "Project Plan and Reinvestment Zone Financing Plan" for this dissertation's TIF case-studies. Gentrification's process is explained through the rent-gap hypothesis, where value-capture within the land market, results in inequities in the displacement of incumbent working-class residents and transition the neighborhood class character and diversity:

The greatest fears inspired by gentrification, of course, are that low-income residents and low-margin retailers will be displaced by more affluent residents and more profitable businesses. (Smith 1996, p. 31; also see Newman and Wyly 2006; DeVerteuil 2006, 2011)

High levels of municipal and business interface, facilitated through urban public policy, the territorial struggle between financial interests and community groups, and incumbent working class displacement makes the issue of economic and physical transformation of cities a complex one (Fainstein and Fainstein 1986, Hackworth 2019, Hackworth and Smith 2001). This complexity may be understood through an examination of the particular outcomes of neighborhood revitalization and redevelopment, facilitated through examining municipal ABED policies and public TIF investment and researching the question: who should benefit from the value-capture within a socially just economy—the individual, the state, or the common? Similar to Neil Smith, the 19th century political economist Henry George provided a land rent theory of value capture, and although gentrification was not specifically defined at the time, common issues of redevelopment, land speculation and value capture within a socially just economy were noted:

In the progress of new settlements to the conditions of older communities it may clearly be seen that material progress does not merely fail to relieve poverty—it actually produces it. Why is a land so bountifully blest, with enough and more than enough for all, should there be such inequity of condition? Land speculators lockup vast territories against labor. Everywhere there is an effort to corner land;

an effort to get it and to hold it, not to use it, but for a "rise." In allowing one man to own the land on which and from which other men must live, we have made them his bondman in a degree which increases as material progress goes on. Our primary social adjustment is a denial of justice. So long as all increased wealth which modern progress brings but builds up great fortunes, increase luxury and sharpen the contract between the House of Haves and the House of Have Nots, progress is not real and cannot be permanent, the reaction will come. (George 1879, para. 9-10)

The "reaction" in the case of Henry George was not revolution, rather a call to separate improvements through labor on the land and to hold the land as a public common, in this way enabling a "just political-economy" (George 1879, p. 299).

If urban politics is largely decided by local public-private elites with urban development growth strategies being the major urban public policy employed to strengthen a city's economy, what are the possibilities of alternative redevelopment strategies? Past studies that have considered the possibilities of regime change and working class empowerment through efforts to depose elite-dominated politics have seldom endured (Imbroscio 1995; Molotch 1976; Peterson 1981; Rast 2005). Accepting current governing policies of the coalition of elites has led to urban inequities, social and economic injustices. David Imbroscio provides an urban regime analysis revealing the formal and informal dynamics of "civic cooperation" that take place within governing coalitions. That the need exists for new ideas and alternative strategies that can help community-level power in ways to achieve socially just economies in cities seems clear. Imbroscio proposes utilizing an alternative normative/prescriptive tact with the acronym LEADS (Local Economic Alternative Strategies) to alter the structure of power and thereby mitigate the distinct patterns growth-oriented approach to economic development which fosters political inequalities within a democracy intended to protect individual liberties (Imbroscio, 2003):

I have come to believe the only one to blame for the urban ills of America lies with those who resist democracy and reject justice in favor of inequality and injustice. Equally at fault are those who care deeply about the ends of justice in

cities but are misguided by as to means... misguided liberal policies and strategies then not have been as destructive to cities and their people and institutions... (Imbroscio 2010b, p. ix; also see Imbroscio 2003)

A study of the political economy of alternative development strategies informs us that small openings can be found beyond contemporary governance and policy solutions. Pockets of justice-oriented working class resistance have reframed and shifted power within urban areas (albeit briefly), e.g. Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston, Camdon United Community Union in London, the original Mondragon Cooperative in Spain. (DeFilippis 2001; Imbroscio 2010a, 2010b). Where LEADS provide insight into the nature of power in urban redevelopment, for direction in shifting the balance towards a socially just economy for the incumbent working class, this dissertation turns to the works of Gibson-Graham and the Community Economies Collective (CEC).

The position of this study is that through current capitalocentric municipal ABED policies, there is gentrification-induced displacement of the incumbent working class residents (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2003a, 2003b, 2006).¹⁰ Municipal designation of disinvested neighborhoods as arts districts increases the movement of capital into these areas, where actual land rent is considerably lower than potential land rent, and displaces the incumbent working class residents for whom the value-capture through the TIF public investment is intended. Gentrification is viewed as a general strategy engaged by municipal and private sectors to revitalize cities to be competitive places for other forms of economic development (Davies 2010; Smith 2002). At the neighborhood level, where affordable housing for the working class residents comes into conflict with broader urban economic redevelopment strategies, this dissertation seeks a path to a socially just

¹⁰ Capitalicentrism as defined by Gibson-Graham refers to the “dominant representation of all economic activities in terms of their relationship to capitalism.” Additionally, they propose the hegemony of capitalocentrism can be destabilized by different strategies:” i) production of different representations of economic identity and ii) development of different narratives of economic development” (1996).

economy by examining the interface between gentrification and alternative housing networks.

Where the limited gentrification literature linking ABED economic redevelopment policies to gentrification is discussed in the literature review section, a significant 2014 case study of a smaller scale (one street) by Tone Huse cites displacement and gentrifier privileging as resulting from ABED policies in Oslo, Norway (Huse 2014; also see Zukin 1982, 2010). Huse contends the creative city's improvement policy upon which the municipal-led gentrification myth is based "consistently ignore or fails to acknowledge the strengths and positives of the communities they deem in need of uplift" (2014, p. 113). In this Oslo case study, the working class community was dispersed; the few residents who resisted and stayed were reportedly isolated by a different class, culture, and community. And although Oslo, Norway, is politically and economically different from cities in the U.S., this dissertation proposes the process and outcomes for municipally led ABED "creative gentrification" policies and subsequent need for community resistance are similar. Expanding on the Oslo study, a goal of this research is to explore the interface with alternatives housing network processes. In this way, enabling value-capture by the incumbent working class residents within the NAD for whom the TIF housing betterment legislation is prescribed and essential for a socially just economy.

For this study, displacement within the NAD-TIFs is defined as involuntary movement in terms of address, or what can be described as "changes of residence which are foisted on people, which they did not seek out on purpose, for which they may lack the social and economic coping resources" (Hartman 1984, p. 302). This definition is in contrast to the idea of "staying put" through active resistance or passive immobility, given that gentrification may induce immovability through outpricing when the land value of surrounding residential areas outside of NAD-TIFs may become prime targets for

entrepreneur investment (DeVerteuil 2011).¹¹ And where land markets and value-capture are the bases for the theory to be developed through this study's empirical research, the process to capture affordable "fit" housing for a working class incumbent population is the pragmatic goal.

The urban poor are intimately connected to the public policy processes of municipalities where affordable "fit" housing cannot be secured, and complicated forms of credit and debt exclude the underprivileged and advantage the moneyed (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 2009). Public policies, which have evolved over the last sixty years, have turned housing from homes into matters of law, speculative commodities, and high-order economic gains (Massey 2005). In light of severe cuts in Federal Housing and Urban Development funding, TIFs were originally created at the state level to support urban renewal programs with a narrow focus on addressing residential urban blight.¹² Utilized by municipalities to jump-start the economic potential of NADs, TIFs have gone hand-in-hand with the promise of better housing for the incumbent residents. The majority of the working class, as well as the colonizing arm of artists, no longer reside within the neighborhoods. And despite the tensions created over loss of revenue between local regulatory and government taxing authorities and the perceived conflict over the public aid being provided to the private sector rather than to the general coffers, the number of

¹¹ Passive immobility, where working-class residents cannot afford to relocate, may be viewed as delayed displacement with loss of homes and an increase in the number of homeless households (DeVerteuil 2011; Tome 2014). The indigenous residents who remain may also be considered as displaced through social isolation from the gentrified community (Newman and Wyly 2006). For the purposes of this dissertation, only physical displacement from address location will be considered.

¹² Following the New Federalism movement (1970s), primary implementation, and sanctions of the federal welfare, housing and urban development policies shifted to the states (Mohl 1993). This shift was a result of a backlash against the program from cities that had been criticized for displacing residents. Policymakers under the Nixon administration believed that federal programs had been unsuccessful in addition to wasting millions of dollars in administrative costs. The housing and urban development programs were restructured, giving authority to the states (Anderson and Weidemann 1985; Mohl 1993). Prior to this, programs for housing and economic development had made federal funding available directly to local governments and public bodies. These entities now have to apply to the state for funding.

municipalities utilizing NAD-TIFs has increased in the U.S. from 40 indicated in 1996, to 250 registered in 2008 (Arts and Social Mapping Initiative, 2010).

Local municipal governments have been given the authority by the State to determine whether to adopt a TIF, where to place the district, and what type of development to promote (Briffault 2010). NAD-TIFs enable local governments to pursue what may be viewed as a principal local redevelopment goal—increased tax base—while avoiding the limitations placed by voters and the political fall-out of attempting to increase local taxes (2010). Leveraging upon local “culture,” NAD-TIFs are promoted as important assets for revitalizing cities with the aim of growing economically healthy cities by a strengthening of the economic base. Seeking public endorsement, the common refrain from municipal leaders is the transformation of place. By drawing knowledge workers and creative residents, NAD economic activities can be stimulated, thereby increasing the value-capture tax and enabling further sustainable development (Florida 2003; Landry 2000). Asset building community development, “fit” housing and homeownership for the incumbent population, are seldom listed as primary objectives. The original intent of “affordable housing” and “direct benefits to distressed areas” are named as municipal policy criteria in the establishment of NAD-TIFs (City of Dallas 2018; City of Seattle 2009). The intention, and the consequences, of these objectives relative to the affordable housing of the incumbent working-class community within the blighted neighborhoods are core to the question of whether NAD-TIFs result in socially just economies. Accepting the past role of housing to revitalize neighborhoods within the market economy, how to “make real the possibility that the economy can be a space of ethical action, not a place of submission to the bottom line in the imperatives of capital” will underlie the direction of research for this economic revitalization and redevelopment policies study (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink 2009, p. 1).

Towards that end, this dissertation examines gentrification and AHN interface through five elements in the NAD-TIF zones: (i) reinvestment in capital utilizing housing as the commodity, (ii) direct or indirect displacement of the working-class incumbent residents, (iii) socio-economic upgrading, and (iv) the presence of resistance organizations. Four neighborhood arts districts are examined in Dallas TX as case studies—two with TIF zone overlays and two without a TIF overlay—to confirm the impact of the TIF. Dallas promotes an ABED policy agenda; utilizing TIFs extensively, has ambitiously constructed and upgraded the city's cultural districts and museums. In addition, where all four neighborhood arts districts are reportedly experiencing gentrification, the rate of affordable housing loss and rise in AHN resistance in those with TIF overlays appears to be statistically significant (Dallas Morning News).

Significance of the Research

When considering the impacts of gentrification, not only are residents who are immediately displaced by the gentrification processes effected, but through the restructuring of urban space, low-income residents are unable to move into gentrified neighborhoods where once affordable housing could be found (Atkinson 2004; Smith 2002; Zukin 2010). After over 60 years of enactment, however, this double impact on incumbent populations does not seem to deter the use of the powerful gentrification tool to revitalize and redevelop communities. In a free-market policy context, gentrification processes appear to be an ideal solution to long-term urban decay. Where cities may have been tentative in the past to promote gentrification processes, such is no longer the case. Municipalities are aggressive encouraging and actively supporting gentrification (Hackworth and Smith 2001; Smith 2002). As noted by Atkinson:

Increasing demolition, affordable housing problems, housing market failure and a design-led approach to promote 'liveability' and recapturing middle-class

households appear as strategies linked to renewal but also to gentrification. (Atkinson 2004, p. 107)

Low income residential displacement is cited as one of the primary dangers in regarding the class segregation effects of municipally promoted and capital-driven gentrification. Residents are subject to displaced due to condemnation and demolition of housing, affordable rental stock being removed from the market and converted to higher priced ownership opportunities, as rents increase the additional burden of the taxes and increased fees are passed along from the landlord, and those unable to pay are forced with evictions. Although possibly benefitting from the neighborhood revitalization, those who are able to avoid these direct displacement pressures suffer from loss of critical community networks and incumbent culture (Atkinson 2004; Freeman and Braconi 2004, 2002; Marcuse 1986). This study proposes municipal ABED and TIFs policies are tools of gentrification. Where through the theoretical rent-gap lens gentrification-induced displacement has been portrayed as an inevitable outcome of capitalism, I believe an examination of gentrification and AHNs at the nexus of NAD-TIFs may indicate a theory of urban economic redevelopment and resistance, where the displacement of incumbent populations is not inevitable.

Housing has historically been at the forefront of urban economic revitalization (Anderson and Weidemann 1985; Mohl 1993; Schwartz 2015; von Hoffman 2003, 2008). The late 1990s introduced a generation of urban professionals who flocked to inner-city neighborhoods, many drawn by the chic cachet of residing in homes within bohemian neighborhood arts district (Florida 2008, Thomas-Houston and Schulter 2006). This draw spurred the revitalization of the inner-city neighborhood, along with property taxes continuing to rise more quickly than the working-class incomes (Schwartz 2015; Wyly and Hammel 2001). Many of the incumbent residents had incomes too low to cover house maintenance, debt services, and taxes; and for the investor, rents collected following

expenses left little profit (Joint Center for Housing Studies 2009). Owners of the affordable housing within these neighborhoods gradually disinvest, cutting back on maintenance and upkeep until the property becomes uninhabitable. The gap between revenue and expenses will eventually reach a point when the owners decide to disinvest and vacate the property. The potential value of the land far exceeds the physical house build-out, repositioning the property for sale and redevelopment (Smith 1996; Schwartz 2015; Thomas-Houston and Schuller 2006). Demolition, “new urbanism,” rising rents, and condominium conversion have caused the number of affordable housing units within to fall sharply—nationally a shortfall of 7.4 million units in 2015 (National Low Income Housing Coalition 2017, p. 3).

Similarly, the Joint Center for Housing Studies found a sharp decrease in the supply of older affordable housing. From 1995 to 2005, 14 percent of all affordable housing units nationwide built before 1940 and renting for less than \$400, were demolished (2009, p. 26). And between 2003 and 2005, more than half of the older lowest-cost affordable housing units nationally moved to a higher rental or sold as up-scale condominiums (Joint Center for Housing Studies 2009, p. 26). Considering the largest numbers of affordable housing units are these older residences, the loss of affordable housing appears substantial.

As the numbers of aging and abandoned housing units in the U.S. inner city neighborhoods have increased, housing has become less affordable and less available for low-wealth citizens. As the levels of affordability and availability of housing units in general decrease, the growth of a housing affordability gap in the U.S. has become more prominent. Federal, state, and municipal funding cutbacks discourage the recycling of older existing built housing stock (Schwartz 2015). Seemingly ingrained in the American housing development psyche is the thought that demolition is less costly and an easier,

faster, and better process for dealing with the abandoned houses of inner city neighborhoods (Anderson and Weidemann 1985; Joint Center of Housing Studies 2009; Schwartz 2015). As policies, practices and social attitudes now encourage recycling and sustainability, research and analysis on value, means, and methods of empowering incumbent communities to own their neighborhood makes the work of this study valuable and necessary.

Utilizing ABED has provenance. ABED historically evolved from a movement where advocates viewed the City Beautiful as the creative catalyst for a moral, civic, and more democratic society—where hard work will achieve the “American Dream,” a house of one’s own. The issue of housing has never left the planning forefront (von Hoffman 2008). Planners and economic developers in the U.S. have touted the arts as important assets for revitalizing cities (Cooke 2008; SCDCAC 2001; Stanziola 1999; Walsh 2009; Yu 1990). National policy has also reflected the importance of art and artist in the creation of Artist Work Program jobs through the 1933 New Deal Works Progress Administrations (1986).

Since the 1960s, ABED’s NAD models have emerged, specifically leveraging a city’s “cultural” assets for economic surplus or “profit” (Florida 2003; Markusen et al. 2006). Although the loss of “authenticity” and examples of displacement of “artists” from their “SoHo” converted warehouse district of New York has been documented (Zukin 1982), little research exists studying the economic-political effects of NAD-TIF overlays on housing betterment provisions for the incumbent resident class. NAD-TIF overlays are being widely and more frequently utilized as an economic revitalization and redevelopment tool throughout the major cities in the U.S. (e.g. Chicago, Philadelphia, Houston, Dallas) giving impetus to the need to study its effect in light of the public policy acceptance of gentrification in its current third wave (beginning early 1990s) when

neoliberalism became, as David Harvey points out, fully enmeshed in “feral capitalism” and economic violence (2011). The consequences of stripping assets from a community for capital accumulation are within recent memory of many current and past residents, and the policy effects are visible and measurable. The focus of this dissertation hopes to fill that gap.

Additionally, little research has been done to recognize and maintain the incumbent community’s “right to stay put” within NAD-TIFs. ABED’s promise for neighborhood revitalization is publically cited by city leaders and promoters with the numbers of “unfit” housing stock publically demolished and affordable housing replacement slated as future goals. Industrial buildings, once utilized as affordable units and studios, become up-scaled condominiums, reducing the number of affordable housing units available, but followed by calls from the regime for residential developers to create higher density housing development with above market price-tags to subsidize the required ten percent (10%) affordable housing unit set-asides (City of Seattle 2008, City of Dallas 2009; Dallas Morning News 2012, 2013; National Governors Association 2009). TIFs value-captured taxes are intended to subsidize these “outside” market-based investments to meet these goals and maximize profit. Dallas’ Mayor Rawlings noted in a 2014 Dallas Arts District’s City Performance Hall public forum to address inequity concerns of low-wealth neighborhoods South of the Trinity River city divide:

South Dallas’ Bishop Arts District is a success—strong private investment has taken root. Money is already floating around to bring change and opportunity to the southern side—but the ideas to attract that money have to be market-based. They have to make economic sense. That’s just reality; capital goes where it’s treated best. Investors need to know that these are the places where the returns will be. I’m a salesman, unabashedly, and when I know investment opportunities exist, I’m going to bring investors to the area to show them what has been done and what is coming. (Rawlings 2014)

Rawlings referenced the “creative economy” process made popular by municipal consultant and economic development scholar Richard Florida. Following the “creative” maxim of ABED, Dallas’ Mayor has argued that cities with a high “quality of place” are able to court a “creative class,” i.e. people who add economic value through their entrepreneurship and creativity, and “investment money will follow” (Dallas Morning News 2013; Florida 2003). Additionally, Dallas 2018 Cultural Arts Policy is dedicated to ABED with NADs representing a major portion of economic growth, begging the questions: does the revitalization of a neighborhood mean its authentic culture and low-income incumbent population needs to be forced out? Sections of Dallas Cultural Arts Policy recognizes as a critical goal the need to maintain cultural equity, proposing artist’s stipends and housing to maintain that (2018). This goal is followed by a “strategy” to “fund-raise” to provide additional stipends (ibid.) The greatest percentage of the funding to the Office of Cultural Affairs however, goes to support and maintain the Central Arts District’s major buildings and programs, and with past reallocation and disappearance of funds, there is little left to assist with incumbent affordable housing (from interview). With this need, AHNs work to fill this gap within the NAD-TIFs.

NAD-TIFs are a growing phenomenon. Each year, more urban municipalities indicate an interest in the use of this strategy to revitalize communities and promote economic redevelopment in problematic neighborhoods. However, many existing theoretical frameworks deployed by both AHNs and gentrification scholars are arguably not designed to imagine alternate worlds of housing and urban redevelopment. A more just, sustainable, and inclusive housing system and economic redevelopment may already exist within the AHN-gentrification interface. This study is intended to recognize a more socially just economic view, and point the way to a means to recalibrate and

achieve greater housing betterment for the incumbent working-class arts community at the nexus of NADs and TIF zones.

Dissertation Overview

In the next chapter's Literature Review, a comparative study and discussion of the conjunction of the four theoretical sources: i) gentrification through the variant Marxist theory of rent-gap (Smith 1979), ii) the dominant theory of power and LEADS (Imbroscio 2009), iii) justice and the value-capture theory of Georgism (George, 1879; Bryson, 2013), and iv) post-structural feminist research on economic diversity (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006). Each provides specific concepts and methods, and focuses attention relevant to the intersection of affordable housing re-localization, alternative housing networks, and urban redevelopment in NADs promoted by TIFs. Municipally endorsed "creative gentrification" and the rent-gap examines the value captured from public investment by private capitalist within the land market, resulting in inequities in the displacement of working-class incumbent residents and essential transition in neighborhood class character. The section on value capture tax and justice examines similar issues of redevelopment, land speculation, and value capture within a socially just economy and a theory of value-capture within a "just political-economy." The inevitability of the rent-gap can be resolved within a just-political economy by moving the value of land within a free-market system to public commons.

The third chapter Methodology outlines the research process, means and methods, including a section substantiating the two part approach of i) quantitative quasi-experimental counterfactual research utilizing primarily secondary U.S. Census Data and Dallas Central Appraisal District tax records, and ii) archival, primary qualitative ethnographic participatory observation research (POR) and interview. This chapter

describes the data sources and analytical techniques for the two part research method, including an overview of gentrification and displacement between 1990 and 2010 for Oak Cliff Gateway TIF and Bishop Arts, and 1990 and 2010 also for Cedars TIF and Cedars Arts District South case studies. Finally, from the interviews of City officials and representatives of the alternative housing networks, the Dallas “regime” narrative and the participatory action process of “other possibilities” are revealed through coding and analysis.

The fourth chapter presents the data collected from the case studies utilizing the quasi-experimental quantitative design method to capture the scope of gentrification—capital reinvestment, displacement, and in the case of this dissertation, organized network resistance. From the empirical data, comparisons and contrasts are drawn indicating insights, positive and negative from the interface of the NAD-TIF to the alternative housing networks, and other advocacy/activist/radical possibilities coexisting and advancing the availability of affordable housing and stabilization of marginalized neighborhoods for the incumbent residents answering the research questions: i) how has the municipal economic redevelopment policy—Tax Based Incremental Financing (TIF)—affected incumbent working-class populations relative to affordable housing in Dallas’ low-income NADs, and ii) what are the influences of citizen-formed alternative housing networks in terms of both developing the community’s economies and maintaining affordable housing for the community’s residents?

The final chapter summarizes key findings from the research data and analyses, and places this study within the framework of the literature review in Chapter 2. It is not the intent of this dissertation to make policy recommendations relative to municipally led “creative gentrification” or urban revitalization and redevelopment policies, nor to suggest the possibility of municipal economic redevelopment slow-down in order to balance the

housing interests of the incumbent low-income residents with the capitalocentric goals of the Dallas “regime.” Rather, through this study of alternative housing networks at the nexus of NADs and TIFs, the goal is to argue that where once grass roots efforts (e.g. Jane Jacobs, Dudley Street Neighborhood) affected housing outcomes that if examined through the lens of Gibson-Graham one finds there are “other possibilities.” Those other possibilities, i.e. diverse economies, for this dissertation are citizen alternative housing networks. This study argues that in the face of current neoliberal economic policies by the coalition of elite, these networks utilizing current technologies and linking with other collaborators, create openings and alternative spaces of co-existing economies, which can maintain housing for low-income incumbent residents, in a landscape where capitalism is but one economic form.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

Introduction

A small body of literature exists relative to economic redevelopment and housing within NADs. Extant materials are primarily delivered from the perspective of case studies of the economic revitalization benefits to “the city” or theoretical analysis of the top-down creative economy process (Florida 2008, 2003; Landry 2000). Housing literature focuses on meeting the housing needs of the large influx of the creative-class drawn to areas by Arts Based Economic Development (ABED) and the subsequent detrimental effect of displacement of the NAD’s occupying artist (Fainstein 2006, 2001, 1998; Tomaney and Bradley 2007; Zukin 1989). Accepting that neoliberalism’s globalization of production and consolidation of the market has become global and appears ubiquitous—with the “state’s” urban economic redevelopment policies deferring to neoliberalism’s process, exacerbating economic inequality and impoverished individuals, in return for insatiable capital gain—this explains the “why” of gentrification in NADs (Harvey 2005). Contrary to Harvey, this study contends that does not mean that process is the sole source to meet basic needs, nor should it be accepted as the “normal” (Clark 2008; Foucault 2008; Gibson-Graham et al. 2013).

The impetus for and existence of networks, both technological and human, can provide an alternative source. And although critical scholars have researched gentrification to a greater extent than alternative networks, the gap being filled by this study is “how” the two concomitant processes—municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” and alternative housing networks—located at the nexus of NAD-TIFs can result in an incumbent working-class population having a modicum of a socially just

economy, with the basic need of affordable “fit” housing provisions met. An inclusive housing process and urban economic redevelopment co-existing.

The use of community-based redevelopments and alternative networks to stabilize and improve urban neighborhoods is not new (Erickson 2009; Lloyd 2002; Markusen and Johnson 2006; Scott 1996, 1988). Per Hackworth and Smith, gentrification’s first wave, taking the form of a “Sporadic gentrification process... mainly isolated in small neighborhoods in the north eastern USA and Western Europe” with increased activity in the 1960s and 1970s, countered by the appearance of influential publications such as Jane Jacobs’ *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Herbert Gans’ *The Urban Villagers* (1962) and Paul Davidoff’s “Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning” in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (1965; Hackworth and Smith 2001, p. 467). Jacobs’ manifesto, in particular, brought grassroots efforts to save neighborhoods to the forefront of American consciousness. Maintaining the community and neighborhood fabric was seen as a class struggle against bureaucratic planners supporting powerful developers, providing voice to an underclass disenfranchised incumbent community.¹³

Held as the touchstone of ABED, cities across the U.S. quote Jacobs’ (1961, p. 243) in their ABED plans: “Whenever and wherever societies have flourished and prospered rather than stagnated and decayed, creative and workable cities have been at the core of the phenomenon...” (City of Dallas 2006a, p. 1; City of Seattle 2009, p. 10; Florida 2003). And where efforts succeeded in saving Jacobs and her neighbors’ Greenwich Village homes from demolition, it cannot escape notice her house sold for 3

¹³ Jacobs’ *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) is viewed within this research as a precursor to AHNs, cited within the publications of non-profit alternative housing organizations such as Community Development Corporations (CDCs), Community Economic Development (CED) groups, Community Housing Coalitions, Community Land Trust Networks (CLTN), Radical Housing Networks (RHN), and Land Justice Networks (LJN) (Walsh and Zeldnek 2011; Vidal 1992).

million dollars in 2012 (Progressive Architecture 2012). The housing edifices within Greenwich Village were saved from demolition. The same cannot be said for the previous incumbent working-class population who suffered the lack of affordable housing and displacement—evidence of the waves of gentrification seemingly promoted by urban economic revitalization policy Arts Based Economic Development (ABED).

There has been substantial academic scholarship from differing perspectives on “gentrification” since Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964, identifying the social and physical changes in disinvested low-income neighborhoods from the influx of investment and wealthier residents—the “gentry”—displacing the incumbent population (1964, also see Atkinson 2000; Freeman 2006; Lees et al. 2008; Newman and Wyly 2006; Slater 2006). Contemporary gentrification literature indicates gentrification has many permutations (e.g. lofting, super-gentrification, new-build gentrification), including opponents challenging Glass’s definition whereby “most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced” (Freeman and Bronconi 2004, p. 7). The suggestion is that gentrification does not cause “much” displacement by touting the positive effects for the remaining incumbent population (Freeman 2006; Vigdor 2002). This current wave of gentrification is seen as characterized by a greater role by government-business coalitions or regimes, and public policies tailored to promote urban economic development benefitting lower income neighborhoods (Goetz 2011; Harris 2008). One of the reasons for this shift, as argued by Tom Slater, is the “pervasive influence of neoliberal urban policies of ‘social mixing’ in central city neighborhoods and the efforts by many contemporary government agencies to encourage policy-based evidence justifying regime policies in practice” (2006, p. 737).

With gentrification displacement called into question, the challenges of affordable housing for the incumbent population whose neighborhoods are targeted for investment

and economic development have been difficult to quantify (Atkinson 2000). Vigdor (2002), Freeman (2005), Freeman and Braconi (2002, 2004), and Hamnett (2003) argue displacement does not occur “as much” as previously touted, and in either case low-income residents are benefitted either by the physical neighborhood upgrades and social-mixing, or moving to less gentrified areas where better housing can be found for less rent. This perspective has positive implications for advocates in advancing gentrification redevelopment policies by claiming that these only benefit low-income residents.

Disputing this conclusion, Newman and Wyly (2006), Lees et al. (2008), and Davidson (2008) counter that displacement studies of low-income households are essential to gentrification research in the tide of affordable housing loss, inequity, and injustice. Specifically addressing Freeman and Branconi’s two New York displacement studies with specialized housing and income datasets, Newman and Wyly sought to explain why gentrified neighborhoods did not seem to always produce displacement (2006). Utilized Freeman and Branconi’s datasets, Newman and Wyly’s mixed methods research concluded:

After two generations of intense gentrification, any low and moderate-income renters who have managed to avoid displacement are likely to be those people who have found ways to adapt and survive in an increasingly competitive housing market... identified a variety of active private residential strategies—including overcrowding, enduring high housing costs and poor housing quality, and owner-occupation—that effectively inhibited displacement. (2006, p. 28)

Overcrowding and enduring poor housing quality “strategies” were viewed as a part of the methods of resistance to displacement by incumbent populations.¹⁴ Neither study was a longitudinal analysis; the majority of socio-economic change had occurred a decade

¹⁴ Overcrowding in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research literature indicates a common standard to be defined as greater than one person-per-room (PPR) or greater than two persons per bedroom (PPB) (Blake et al. 2007). AHS data published overcrowding percentages in the US to be 2.82 PPR in 1985 to 2.41 PPR in 2005 (2007). Complicated by illegal overcrowding and undocumented immigrants, the accuracy of the percentages of overcrowding is questionable.

earlier, resulting in the “not much” displacement analysis. Additionally certain locations such as New York have local state interventions, i.e. public housing and rent stabilizing schemes, “in guaranteeing that some poor renters stayed in place” may result in the conclusion of minimal displacement and overall betterment for those who remain, albeit not in “fit” housing (Newman and Wyly, 2006). Interestingly Freeman, in his study of two African-American neighborhoods in New York, does acknowledge the remaining residents’ sense of loss of what were black cultural places, indicating the real price of the Starbucks and sushi bars may be thought of in terms of a shrinking stock of affordable housing (2006).

Where models of gentrification have changed over the decades, four critical dimensions still serve as cornerstones to the process: “reinvestment of capital, social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups, physical changes in the landscape, and crucially direct or indirect displacement of low-income population” (Davidson and Lees 2005, p.1170; also see Glass, 1964; Lees et al. 2008; Smith 1996). Traditionally neighborhoods that are “affordable” and ripe for gentrification have been those in physical decline, where capital reinvestment—while not certain to produce positive returns—is seen as potentially profitable to investors and making these areas worthy of associated redevelopment risk (1996). These neighborhoods have experienced disinvestment in their buildings and infrastructure and are often abandoned (Marcuse 1986). As a result, property values and rents have decreased, often precipitously. Studies framing gentrification as decade-long processes of disinvestment and reinvestment in particular neighborhoods, suggest that public policies and the owners of capital devise and enable investors, and higher income people, to reap substantial profits from gentrification (Clark 2005; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Hackworth 2019; Smith 1996; Wyly 2019).

Far from a static process in NADs, several waves in the gentrification process are evident there as well. Artists are drawn to sites of authenticity—even with marginal economic capital—and form the advance arm of the larger gentrifying wave. Their numbers increasing the cultural capital of the arts neighborhood and the social capital of the residents, help to make a district trendy, and thus attractive to urban dwellers from middle-class backgrounds (Florida 2016; Ley 2003). In the classic definition of gentrification relative to the lower and working-class residents, the artists themselves with marginal economic capital are then displaced by middle or upper class newcomers to the neighborhood (2003; also see Hammel et al 2009; Newman and Wyly 2006;).

Class change serves as the point of departure for the social upgrading of locale; however, it alone is not sufficient to explain the forces that transform neighborhoods.¹⁵ Gentrification research begins with class and expands to include or emphasize other critical dimensions. These include the power inequalities between gentrifiers and incumbent residents; the social, political, and economic conditions that cause neighborhoods to decline; and the conditions that facilitate neighborhoods to return to more “productive” economic uses. Although the dynamics of class may be paramount, race, ethnicity, gender, and age are also inextricably woven into gentrification studies. However, for the purposes of this dissertation race, ethnicity, gender, and age are not examined as independent factors rather as indicators signifying a level of change between the waves of gentrification with the influx of a new class of gentrifiers (Atkinson 2000; Ley, 2003; Wyly and Hammel 2004, 2005).¹⁶ Changes in the demographic and

¹⁵ The use of “class” in this context refers to SES (Socioeconomic status) and is not to be confused with Gibson-Graham’s interpretation of class processes as a main strategy for following the production, appropriation, and distribution of some kind of surplus seen as critical for identifying the axes of economic difference, distinguishing capitalist and non-capitalist processes.

¹⁶ It should be noted that in recent literature black gentrifiers have also been identified in the context of African-American neighborhoods in Harlem (NY) and Houston’s (TX) 5th ward, as well as observed in the Vermont Ave. area of Dallas (TX). Where this brings up the question of the

socio-economic characteristics are revealed in studies that used secondary data from multiple decennial censuses. Clark captures this in his definition of gentrification by integrating its social and physical aspects:

Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital. The greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process... (Clark 2005, p. 258)

When the delta is greatest between data sets of turnover of units, change from rental to homeownership numbers, property value, population income, per capita income, education level, number of homeowners, and property value—cumulatively these changes serve as indicators of the existence of gentrification and its corollary, displacement (2005). Together with and adding to Smith's definition of gentrification as a process of disinvestment and reinvestment in particular neighborhoods (in this case arts districts), utilizing public policy tools (TIFs), whereby regimes of government and owners of capital promote arts based economic development to enable investors and a higher income class to benefit—with land being finite, there is loss of affordable housing and subsequently an incumbent population.

Critical scholars link gentrification and the rise in resistance to the economic restructuring of the “post-Fordist” era, during which a new middle class of white-collar service workers proliferated in the US alongside a concomitant deindustrialization process. The movement into long-neglected urban spaces as part of a notably class-based mode of consumption was met with a rise in the formation of citizen resistance groups, precursors to contemporary alternative housing networks, attempting to hold gentrification at bay (Alinsky, 1971; Harvey 1985;). This connection between elite consumerism and gentrification within ABED has drawn the attention of scholars as part

changing dynamics of race in the gentrification process and definition, for the purposes of this study the change in the economic factors are paramount.

of a broader interest in the importance of cultural actors and milieus in shaping gentrification processes. Within the context of ABED policies and its effect on affordable housing, this dissertation hopes to answer the call to further research into gentrification resistance by incumbent populations, the “right to stay put” brought to fruition through AHNs (Hartman 1984; Imbroscio 2004; Newman and Wyly, 2006).

David Ley’s early research was seminal in this respect, focusing on demand from a new middle class of service sector workers emerging in restructuring post-industrial cities (Ley 2003, 1986). Ley argued that this emerging middle class, despite pursuing a new “ideology of livability in urban development” based on progressive values melded with an acute aesthetic sensibility, ultimately tended towards elitism, and perpetuating social inequalities in the city (Ley 1980). Sharon Zukin’s *Loft Living* (1982), another influential early work on the cultural aspects of gentrification, traced “the reconquest of the downtown by high-rent, high-class uses, the recreation of an urban middle class, and the use of art and culture to further these ends,” all of which can be understood as fitting within “the general patterns of contemporary capitalism” (Zukin 1982, p. x).

Since these early studies, scholarship on the political economy and cultural forces at work in gentrification has taken a number of turns, bringing feminist approaches to bear on gendered aspects of gentrification, economic restructuring (e.g. Rose 1984, Bondi, 1991), using psychoanalytic (e.g. Caulfield 1989), and post-structuralist (e.g. Lees 1994) frameworks to explore the roles of desire, meaning-making, and collective fantasies in constituting middle-class gentrifiers. Arguably many existing theoretical frameworks deployed by citizen resistance and gentrification scholars, are not designed to imagine alternate worlds of housing and urban redevelopment, or even to recognize possibilities for producing more just, sustainable, inclusive housing systems and urban redevelopment that may be discovered at the AHN-gentrification interface. Such critical

academic analyses may support more just and inclusive policy agendas, providing a counterweight to current events that legitimize further neoliberal urban redevelopment interventions and housing initiatives. Critical analysis of the ABED effects upon the incumbent populations, gentrification, and AHNs hopefully will make fundamental contributions to understanding the political economy dynamics of urban redevelopment and housing systems within NAD-TIFs. Not least of all, this study is intended to call attention to the continued necessity of rethinking and reworking dominant modes of urban redevelopment and affordable housing production, distribution, and consumption within a more socially just economy.

The analytical and methodological framework of this dissertation is informed by four theoretical sources: the variant Marxist theory of rent-gap (Smith 1996), justice and the value-capture theory of Georgism (George 1879; Bryson 2013), “dominant theory of power”—regime theory—and the potential of local economic alternative development strategies (Davies and Imbroscio 2010; Imbroscio 2003), and post-structural feminist research on economic diversity (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006). Each provides specific concepts and methods, and focuses attention relevant to the “assemblage” at the intersection of affordable housing re-localization, AHNs and urban redevelopment at the nexus of NAD-TIFs.¹⁷

Definition and Analysis of Gentrification

As noted earlier, Ruth Glass is credited with first coining the term gentrification in 1960s London (Glass 1964). The term gentrification was utilized to illustrate the movement of an affluent population to a degrading inner-city neighborhood and the

¹⁷ Re-localization for the purposes of this dissertation is defined as the antonym of displacement or de-location of affordable housing. The goal of re-localization is locating again, and maintaining, affordable housing for an incumbent population.

subsequent displacement of the neighborhood's incumbent residents. These were typically the poor and working class:

By gentrification, I mean that process by which working-class residential neighborhoods are rehabilitated by middle class homebuyers, landlords and professional developers. I made the theoretical distinction between gentrification and redevelopment. Redevelopment involves not rehabilitation of old structures but the construction of new buildings on previously developed land. (Glass 1964, p.54)

Since Glass's 1960s definition, gentrification has been surrounded by debate, with much discussion focused on restrictive and inclusive approaches to defining gentrification (Atkinson, 2004; Shaw, 2005; Beauregard, 1986). Restrictive definitions are rigid and adhere closely to Glass's initial interpretation. These emphasize the displacement of the incumbent population and a physical form based on property renovations and refurbishments (Meligrana and Skaburshis 2005; Hamnett, 1984). An inclusive definition does not restrict gentrification to low-income neighborhoods. Inclusive gentrification is associated with a variety of neighborhoods and physical forms, and commonly excludes the process of displacement by indicating the process is one of choice and mobility (van Criekingen and Decroly 2003). Neil Smith highlights the conceptual debate and draws attention to the complex issue of establishing a universal definition of gentrification:

How, in the large context of changing social geographies, are we to distinguish between the rehabilitation of nineteenth-century housing, the construction of new condominium towers, the opening of festival markets to attract locals and not so local tourists, the proliferation of wine bars—and the boutiques for everything—and the construction of modern and postmodern office buildings employing thousands of professionals, all looking for a place to live? (Smith 1996, p. 39)

Smith indicates gentrification is part of a larger process of an urban class transformation and that the definition is broader than traditional restrictive or inclusive interpretation:

The reinvestment of capital at the urban center, which is designed to produce space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupies that space... Gentrification, is quintessentially about urban reinvestment. (Smith, 2000, p. 294)

The advantage of the capital reinvestments within blighted neighborhoods are touted by municipalities and private investors as the benefit of NAD-TIFs (City of Dallas 2009; City of Philadelphia 2008; City of Seattle 2009; Dallas Morning News 2012, 2013; Hayter and Pierce 2009). Within this public-private process of production and consumption, Neil Smith's rent-gap theory questions that the general economic and cultural forces reshaping the landscape has any benefit for the incumbent community in the NAD-TIFs.

Core to Neil Smith's gentrification theory is the rent-gap, a term he coined, which describes "the discrepancy between the potential ground rent and the actual rent capitalized under its present use" (Smith 1999, p.545). The capitalized ground rent depends on location as well as the property value of the site, and may drop due to depreciation of the physical capital (ibid.). "Potential ground rent represents the amount of rent that could be capitalized under the land's 'highest and best use' " (Smith 1979, p. 543). The level of potential ground rent is affected by the level of urban development and the special extent of urban expansion at a neighborhood level, e.g. NAD-TIF district designation. Gentrification occurs when the rent-gap, the differential between the capitalized ground rent and potential ground rent, is the greatest (ibid.). Smith argues that under conditions of urban change, the concept of the rent-gap provides a powerful analytical tool for grasping diverse yet related phenomena such as the cycle of depreciation and reinvestment, land use change, and patterns of residential mobility. Rent-gap is the tool utilized to investigate the Dallas TX case studies for this dissertation.

In a densifying city, the probability is likely that the potential land rent for a given piece of land will increase over time. Initial development on the land involves an investment of a fixed amount of capital and a land use appropriate in order to procure the potential land rent. At that point in time, actual land rent should equal that of potential land rent. The amount of fixed capital should lock both density and type of land use over

a number of years. During that time, as the city expand the potential land rent gradually rises and the fixed capital is invested in the lots proximate. As the building depreciates, the effect also causes the actual land rent to decline, and the gap between potential rent and actual rent increases. The only “rational” behavior by the landlord is to disinvestment—decay sets in as maintenance is kept to a (Bradford and Rubinowitz, 1975).

What happens to an owner who undertakes repairs on a building that should rationally be destined for demolition? Lamarche points out that either “he would simply lose the money invested in repairing the building when he sold the land, given that the building counts for virtually nothing in the price of a piece of land that property capital destined for new uses” or he “would continue to exploit his building at a relatively low level of profitability compared with what was possible in the new spatial conjuncture of which it is a part” (1976, p.112). The rent-gap widening sends a signal to the development firms with speculative interest that the property may be procured at a bargain, and redeveloped (or flipped) at some point in the future. Redevelopment ensure the procurement of potential land rent, and a new cycle begins again.¹⁸ For the purposes of this dissertation’s Dallas TX case studies due to the limitation of time and resources, in lieu of an in-depth analytical analysis of capitalized ground rent versus potential ground rent, this study seeks to confirm that over time (1990-2010) there is an indicator of a

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the basic concept underlying both Smith’s and Lamarche’s views was expressed earlier by Engles in *The Housing Question*:

The expansion of the big modern cities gives the land in certain sections of them, particularly in those which are centrally situated, an artificial and often enormously increasing value; the building erected in these areas depress this value, instead of increasing it, because they no longer correspond to the changing circumstances. They are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with centrally located workers’ houses, whose rents, even with the greatest amount of overcrowding can never or only very slowly, increases above a certain maximum. They (the housing) are pulled down and in their stead shops, warehouses and public buildings are erected....The results are workers are forced out of the center of the town towards the outskirts. (1975, p.20).

A rent-gap and class cycle was evidenced in Engles’ nineteenth century writing.

relationship between decreased infrastructure value, increased land value, and increased developer reinvestment.

A critique of this political economy analysis of gentrification may be the focusing on macro-scale or structural processes and forces, and omitting the other human agency factor within the gentrification equation. AHNs are an example of the varying ways in which even global processes are modulated and transformed within specific historical-geographic contexts and are taken up, resisted, and potentially appropriated in divergent ways (Bondi 1991; Hamnett 1991; Rose 1984). This assessment cautions against a tendency towards economic analysis in which gentrification phenomena are understood as determined only by the forces of the capitalist economic imperatives. Instead, the gentrification-AHN interface suggests other assemblage “parts” (multiple structures, agents, and social differentiation) may come into play and opens an avenue in seeking a path within specific NAD contexts to move towards a socially just economy for the incumbent populations.

Value Capture Tax and Justice

The political economist Henry George in his seminal work, “Progress and Poverty,” sought to define a universal standard of justice upon which economic policy can be based (George, 1879). Core to his theory was that the two realms of life— the moral and the material— and they must be brought into harmony:

If men are degraded by the condition of their labor, if their wages can buy no more than animal existence, or some part of their efforts is appropriated by nonproducers, then how can such an economic system accord either natural or human justice? (1879, p. 264)

Similar to the rent-gap theory, land value and ownership were criticized as inequitable and contributing to social injustice. George references the artificially induced factor of

land speculation and the holding of land from use in expectation of higher prices, compounded the injustice:

To the share already extracted by the landowner from the produce of labor and capital is adding a bonus that discounts the rewards of future production. The effect of land speculation is that of enforcing a lockout of labor and capital by landowners. (1879, p. 270)

George is credited in economic literature with introducing the concept of value-capture tax to the general public—revenue generated from land, a product of nature and not man's labor, belongs to all of society and should be shared equally (George 1879, Glaeser 2014). The "value" refers to the increase in the exchange value of the land on the market after public improvements are made, and the "tax" is the payment by the landed property owner for the "exclusive use" and benefit from nature's labor (George 1879). The value of the built structure and installed infrastructure separated from the value of the land, with the tax applied only to the land value discourages property grabs and excessive profiting by merely "flipping" the property:

The value of the land is referenced as expressed in exact and tangible form the right of the community in land held by the individual. It is the collective product of the community. The landlord simply has legal title, has no control over the land-value creation. (1879, p. 344)

While TIFs are not a direct land-value tax strictly adhering to George's single-tax policy recommendation--the original intent of the TIF was to value-capture for the benefit of the citizens in "blighted" community.

TIFs are one of the most widely used municipal programs for financing economic development (Arvidson et al. 2001; Merriman 2018; Mikesell 2008). The theory behind a TIF is that the value captured within the designated zone is earmarked to pay for public infrastructure and other expenditures benefitting the community of citizens (Briffault 2010). As the value-capture investments spur new growth in the district, the market or exchange value of the land increases, and greater value is captured. Contemporary

implementation of George's value-capture tax is not the differential between land with and without improvements, instead the incremental revenues generated from the tax differential between property conditions at the TIF implementation—base-tax—and following any developer improvements of property lots in the area. The value-capture is for the duration of the TIF designation. It is set aside from the municipality's general use and ideally utilized to repay for the public improvements. This value-capture benefit is intended to benefit the community and revitalize the neighborhood while "striving to strike a balance between private property rights and public interest" (Brown 1997, p. 1).

The literature indicates TIFs are highly controversial and "perhaps more than any other public finance/economic tool it can often elicit an emotional and personal response by the community" (Council of Development Finance Agencies and International Council of Shopping Centers, 2007, p. 14). Although TIF districts are approved by public vote and created by ordinance, court suits have arisen challenging the types of development permitted to utilize the value-capture support. Also challenged is the loss of revenue by other general property tax beneficiaries, e.g. School Districts. Additionally, if there is no value-capture due to little growth, the resulting debt from the installation of improvements has been contested. The primary dispute, however, is the lack of transparency community control over the designated use of the value-captured for neighborhood "public goods" improvement within the designated district (Chapman 1998, Krohe 2007, Dye and Merriman 2003; Merriman 2019).

One may reason a fundamental concept of justice informs Henry George's argument for the single tax on land. He contends society as a whole should benefit from any increases in land values, and not individual owners or investors. The collective, and not the owner, creates the value arising from the use of land and therefore should accrue any benefits. Although the theory and distinction of views evolved, similar to other

classical economists ranging from David Ricardo to Karl Marx, George accepted the labor theory of value (Bryan 1990, Ganssman 1983, Hunt 1979). The owner of a piece of land does not labor to produce or increase its value. The selling of the use of the land constituted a pure rent since the owner neither created the land nor labored to create additional value. Hence an injustice is imposed on those whose activities have actually given the land its increased value. This labor theory of value is an enigma to free-market theorists. Nevertheless, the view that profit from land ownership should revert to the community is the basic in Henri Lefebvre's concern with the "right to the city" (Lefebvre 1991).

Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city not only the right to partake in the amenities and benefits of the city, but also includes participation in the power to create the (ibid.). This provides further theoretical basis and support for George's view. The urban land belongs to all inhabitants and not the individuals or developers with ownership papers. Lefebvre's position is that the city is created as a collective good, and the land belongs to each member as a part of the collective. This would seemingly overcome the arguments objecting to George's labor theory of value. Since the land belongs to the collective, and each member of the collective has the right to participate and benefit from it, there is no individual landowner to whom a return is due or to whom the it should be returned. Individualism, forming the basis of modern economics is thereby circumvented. George's and Lefebvre's view is based on what benefits the community as a whole, e.g. what prevents social exclusion, rather than the benefits to an individual or firm (Lefebvre 1991).

George appears to additionally be adopting the economist's view of efficiency as well as one of justice. He goes beyond the the argument for justice and contends that the

public ownership of lands and value capture taxation is more efficient than in private ownership.

So far from the recognition of private property in land being necessary to the proper use of land, the contrary is the case. Treating land as private property stands in the way of its proper use. Were land treated as public property it would be used and improved as soon as there was need for its use or improvement, but being treated as private property, the individual owner is permitted to prevent others from using or improving what he cannot or will not use or improve himself. (George 1879, p.9)

In a report for the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Dye and England cite George's concern with social justice and the inequalities burdened on the impoverished by the economic crisis, stating "in the light of modern economic theory, a land tax is an efficient tax," (Dye and England 2009, p. 7). As George pointed out, since land is a fixed quantity, there would be little profit for land speculation, and the major cause of economic injustice would be removed (1879). No longer would substantial outlay of capital be required to purchase land, and the payment of an annual land tax would allow would ensure possession and use (Andelson, 2004). By eliminating the rent-gap, the incumbent population's "right to stay put" within affordable housing "first living and aspiring to live well to express higher potentialities" could be achieved (George 1879, p.405).

Critiques of George have indicated where there have been scattered "single-tax" experiments in England, Sweden, Australia, and the US—they have failed to stay the tide of looming speculators. TIFs are a mid-20th century technique utilized by municipalities to spur economic redevelopment, seeking investors (speculators) to jump-start the ABED process within NAD-TIFs. There is a question as to adherence within NAD-TIFs to George's fundamental principle of a just economy within the value-capture theory. Current AHN research indicates urban community land trusts, co-operative housing, and commons based on George's principals have met success in England, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Finland—with experiments currently in Chicago's NAD-TIFs—in an

attempt to maintain affordable housing. This seems to indicate AHNs are not isolated aberrations, non-capitalist islands in a monolithically capitalist economy sea. Moreover, as J.K. Gibson-Graham and other Community Economies Collective (CEC) scholars have theorized, these ongoing AHN experiments in potentially ethical economic relations are scattered across a landscape that is already economically heterogeneous. Albeit from a market process perspective and within regime practice, the literature of David Imbroscio similarly acknowledges the possibility of alternative community networks (regimes) through which the balance of power is re-defined, and where the community becomes the urban accumulator—overcoming inequitable urban policies and governance patterns—and thereby benefitting from the value captured.

The Political Economy of Alternative Development Strategies

Theoretically, David Imbroscio begins his alternative economic development approach with an initial premise that a consensus exists in urban politics regarding the “dominant theory of power,” and that the general agreement is that it is “urban regime theory” (Davies and Imbroscio 2010; Imbroscio 2003).¹⁹ Acknowledging urban regime theory within political science does not currently address urban inequities or issues of social justice, Imbroscio takes a position that these are solvable through a re-examining

¹⁹ Imbroscio examines alternative economic strategies at the “local” municipal level through an urban political economy lens (Imbroscio 1995, 2003, 2010; Davies and Imbroscio 2010; Marcuse and Imbroscio 2014). Studying with Stephen Elkins and Clarence Stone, the former Imbroscio credits with conceiving Urban Regime Theory and the latter a leading scholar in mainstreaming the theory, it is no surprise Imbroscio’s roots are in Urban Regime Theory and that he uses critical analysis in examining urban issues (Imbroscio 1995, 2010; Marcuse and Imbroscio 2014). Although from Political Science, Imbroscio’s publications acknowledge the complex multifaceted nature of “urban problems” is such that solutions cannot be found in the “compromised field of political science alone” (Davies and Imbroscio 2010, p. 13). Rather, to find viable solutions he advocates to “transgress into and engage in productive dialogue with other disciplines; particularly economics, sociology and geography” (2010, p. 13; also see Imbroscio 1995). Imbroscio advocates for a “post-disciplinary approach to the study of urban politics,” one that draws “in considerable measure upon the recent and insightful urban work done by geographers, sociologists and planners, as well as heterodox political scientists” (Ward and Imbroscio 2011, p. 866).

of how “regimes” are defined and by utilizing a normative/prescriptive tact—local economic alternative development strategies (LEADS)—to re-define regimes and alter public-private governing patterns to promote equity (Imbroscio 2003, 2010).²⁰

Since Clarence Stone’s (1989) seminal book, *Regime Politics*, urban regime theory is seen as a “dominant paradigm through which to analyze power and influence in urban areas” (Imbroscio 2010, p. 866). Urban regimes are the “informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions” or policy (Stone 1989, p. 6). The urban regime concept acknowledges interdependencies between the local state’s ability to create and implement policies, which serves the interest of the business community; and the local business community’s ability to generate and endow financial resources, which serves the interest of the local state.²¹ Imbroscio notes that there are distinct patterns that can be found in cities and one “urban regime” (or pattern) is prevalent:

... a governing alliance between public officials and those business interests with large sunk-investments in the city, pursuing a policy agenda dominated by efforts to stimulate local economic growth via a particular set of development strategies.

²⁰ Imbroscio argues that through LEADS equity and efficiency (the goals of public policy) can be achieved, contrary to current conventional regime theory and liberal expansionism—both branded dominate and mainstream theories (1997, 2010a; 2010b). Liberal expansionism is rejected as a viable theory, labeled a failure because of the “privileging of the individual over collective” or institutions (Imbroscio 2010b, p. 8). Value is seen as a measure of material rather than inherent terms (i.e. culture) (ibid.). Although current regime theory is also labeled as “misguided” or “hampered,” LEADS is situated within urban regime theory, albeit regimes reconfigured sans-corporate centers (Imbroscio 1995, 1997, 2003, 2010).

²¹ Where the definition of the “state” has been the source of scholarly debate, its roles in this context is seen as regulating behavior, caring for the populations, and acquire and distribute resources — all of which can be open to abuse (Imbroscio, 1995). A pragmatic definition of a state is a public governing body empowered to create and implement policy. Imbroscio’s early alternative development strategy to counter mainstream regimes was a “self-reliance strategy to guide all economic development” (1995, p. 841). A just state in an urban democracy would develop policies to: i) generate economic development from within the local economy itself and ii) foster those development efforts having the most significant impact on the city economy (1995). This alternative state strategy called “Homegrown Economy Project (HEP) was ultimately limited,” as indicated in Imbroscio’s St. Paul research project and little long-term effect in betterment for the working-class (1995, p. 847). With insight into the constraints from HEP utilizing solely a state strategy, LEADS includes community based alternative, where strategies are “with” citizens rather than “put upon” them.

Further analysis demonstrates that the normative result of this empirical finding is that the contemporary urban polity is marked by a significant degree of political inequality. (1995, p. 4)

Cited in Imbroscio's own work, Harvey Molotch's article "The City as a Growth Machine" and Paul Peterson's book *City Limits* (although different in orientation and conclusions) similarly put forth urban politics as largely decided by local public-private elites with urban development growth strategies, in this case arts based economic development in NAD-TIFs, being a major urban public policy employed to strengthen a city's economy (Imbroscio 1995; Molotch 1976; Peterson 1981). These prevalent urban regimes of public-private elites are identified to be corporate-centered, with a growth-oriented approach to economic development, which fosters political inequalities within a democracy intended to protect individual liberties (Imbroscio 2012):

As has been well documented, most American cities are governed by corporate-dominated urban regimes that revolve around relatively tight-knit coalitions of local public officials and corporate elites, these "centrist" (really center-right) coalitions are made up of corporate-oriented Democrats and establishment Republicans... What I contend, however, is that the means by which equity is pursued by its most ardent advocates—political liberals—is exceedingly problematic. Specifically, the set of urban programs advocated over the past half century by liberals—that is, Liberal Urban Policy. (p. 807)

Not only do ends not justify the means, but these public-private elite coalitions consisting of prominent public officials (e.g. Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley and New York's City Planner Robert Moses) and local business leaders (e.g. real estate companies, developers and financial institutions) shape public decisions in ways that strategically benefit their respective constituents' interests. The relative effectiveness of regime participants depends on their ability to assemble the resources required to govern and forge alliances with prominent actors across various institutional bases (Fainstein 2001). Business elites, therefore, most often assume privileged positions in urban regimes because of their access to financial and institutional resources (Stone 1989). Because below the poverty level, working class residents typically lack access to valuable financial

and institutional resources; they are excluded as regime partners. This exclusion from governing coalitions does little to ensure these residents' interests and agendas are a part of the public decision making process (Imbroscio 2010a).

The governing coalition (regime) equates to the structure of power. Because the members of elite governing coalitions make essential decisions regarding the agenda of the local state (e.g. economic development policies, land use decisions, and housing policies), matters of social and economic justice—who wins and who loses—the local structure of power is central to the discussion of social and economic justice. By altering the equations of economic and political power, elite policy agendas have, in the past, established and exacerbated urban poverty, economic inequality, and urban fiscal distress (Imbroscio 1995; Newman and Wyly 2006). Imbroscio recognizes current urban regime theory within political science “hampered by its failure to engage economic questions in a sustained and systematic way” does not address issues of social and economic justice nor, put pragmatically, enable an incumbent working-class community to survive the waves of gentrification and the loss of affordable housing (2003 p. 271; 2010b). And while the goal of urban regime analysis is to reveal the formal and informal dynamics of “civic cooperation” that take place within governing coalitions, past studies considering the possibilities of regime change found that working class efforts to depose elite-dominated politics seldom endure (Rast 2005). That the need exists for new ideas and alternative strategies that can help community-level power in ways to achieve socially just economies in cities seems clear, but what circumstances have altered to create an opening for regime change?

Imbroscio (and others) indicate there is increasing evidence of elite regime decline, making it possible to achieve a transformative shift in power across America's urban areas (DeFilippis 1999; Imbroscio 2010a, 2010b). Neoliberal domination not only

impacts cities and localities but promotes sites of resistance and opposition whereby, in turn, influences neoliberalism (DeFilippis 2001; Imbroscio 2003). Increasingly there are instances of justice-oriented working-class resistance to elite economic development agendas (e.g. Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Boston; Camdon United Community Union, London; the original Mondragon Cooperative, Spain). Following the damaging effects of neoliberal policies and contradictions between the ideology of self-regulating markets and existing neoliberal economic development fraught with “pervasive market failure, new forms of social polarization, and a dramatic intensification of uneven development at all spatial scales”, local communities as sites of uprisings and areas of conflict create openings for alternative strategies of institutional restructuring and place-specific entrepreneurial approaches (Brenner and Theodore 2011, p. 352).²²

Imbroscio lauds structural neo-Marxist theory as the only school of thought which addresses “society as an arena of conflict” and “understands the political economy context in which that tension occurred” (Imbroscio 2010a, p. 94). With insights that even in the “face of the power of capital... the state can act independently of bourgeois class relations to manage capitalism (politics can matter)”, and that “there is significant tensions in capitalist society between state actions (economic development) to promote accumulation and its ability to achieve legitimation via democratic control (votes count)” (2010a, p. 94). Through this tension (e.g. increases in below poverty households, rise in displacement and homelessness, community uprisings)—economic and political

²² A recognized example of market failure and polarization is the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act 1996, which required employment in order to receive federal subsidies. This presented hardship on low-income female head-of-households (largest group eligible for benefits) who could not afford childcare with the low-wage earning and could not receive benefits without employment (Pavetti 2004). Additionally, the policies of the Reagan years (e.g. Economic Recovery Act of 1981) included reducing HUD subsidies and Medicaid benefits. Results of these policies can be seen as contributing to higher unemployment rates, increases in percentage within the poverty level and increases in displacement and homeless numbers (Lehman and Danziger 2004)

instability—opportunities become more prevalent through which to move beyond the inequality of existing regimes and towards changing the conditions such that local alternative regimes can be equitably reconstructed and a right to the city established (Imbroscio 2010b; Rast 2005).

Accepting there is a “false division of labor between the market and state imbued in current (corporate-centered) regime typologies... abolish(ing) the rule of private capital over the urban economy is key to establishing a genuine right to the city” (Marcuse and Imbroscio 2014, p. 1914). As a counter to current urban regimes that create inequality and inefficiency, Imbroscio suggests a path to “decentralized, place-rooted and democratically controlled alternatives to the current corporate-capitalist ownership structure of urban economies” (2014, p.1914). The idea is to gradually build alternative institutional structures that can, over time, be the basis to mount a political and economic challenge to the current hegemonic control of private (corporate) capital over the people of cities and urban life. By fostering alternative policies, which on the one hand discourages the relocation of economic resources from communities and on the other fosters and maintains local urban development efforts, the alternative community regimes’ urban economic development agenda advances past current capital market solutions and capture the “alternative resource flows (to) benefit the incumbent community and by extension benefits the city” (Imbroscio 1997, p. 841; also 1995a; 2003, 2010b).

Essentially, LEADS may be viewed as a proposal for institutional redesign, replacing the political economy of elite urban regimes with an approach that delivers economic growth but preserves democratic values—from conventional “orthodoxy” to restructured “more progressive” alternative community urban regimes (Imbroscio 2010b, p. 20). The challenge (as he points out) is whether LEADS has the potential to be

economically effective, withstand legal challenges, and be politically feasible (2010b, p. 131). Although potentially effective, local economic alternative development strategies face formidable ideological and political barriers in cities where “capital work(s) for profit not people” (Marcuse and Imbroscio 2014, p. 1916).

Where this study accepts the power of the urban regime elite as defined by Imbroscio, and the need for local alternative economic development strategies, this study contends solutions thought of in terms of “existing alongside” rather than the seemingly impossible “replacement of.” The goal of alternative strategies fostering a more socially just economy is addressed within the literature of Gibson-Graham. Gibson-Graham’s Community Economies Collective and diverse economies recognize the challenges to be formidable, and rather than utilizing alternative strategies restructuring current regimes in the vocabulary of capital, proposes alternative development strategies of “other possibilities” as a path to socially just economies (Cameron and Gibson 2005b; Gibson-Graham et al. 2013).

Towards Socially Just Economies—the “Other Possibilities”

Both Imbroscio and economic geographers Gibson-Graham have authored literature seeking to destabilize the dominant framing of hegemonic capital, citing different understandings and strategies are necessary to create spaces with socially just economies (e.g. Imbroscio 1995, 2003, 2010b; Gibson-Graham 2008; Gibson-Graham et al. 2013). Imbroscio, in seeking alternative strategies lauds Marx, whose varied typologies of class processes and relations are central to Gibson-Graham’s Community Economy Collective alternative development strategies framework. Expanding on Marx’s co-existence of feudal, slave, independent, communal, and capitalist class processes, Community Economies Collective reformulates “class” into a political force reconstructed

in and through the “actions of human subjects”; subjects whose alternative strategies begin with developing the understanding that capitalism is not hegemonic, dominant and systemic (contrary to Imbroscio). Rather other processes and relations (e.g. capitalism, Imbroscio’s reconstructed regimes, non-market barter exchange, unpaid household economies) are all a part of a co-existing “diverse economy,” as seen in Figure 2-1 (Gibson-Graham, 1996).



Figure 2-1 Diverse Economies Iceberg

Source: Community Economies Collective at www.communityeconomies.org

Gibson-Graham argues capitalism is but one economic form with “a set of practices over the landscape, its dominance in any time or place (becomes) an open question rather

than an initial presumption” (Gibson-Graham, 2008, p. 613). Focusing on both the macro and micro, or structure and agency, Community Economies Collective’s alternative development strategies propose more is required than the restructuring of institutions or regimes, or creating economic environmental opportunities—action by the affected individual participating as a part of a collective must be included for substantive change (Cameron and Gibson 2005; Gibson-Graham et al. 2013). It is important to note that individuals are seen both as a political agent for their own economic circumstance and as conditioned by the economic structure. The key is to “deconstruct mainstream categories which render alternatives as marginal,” and “construct new categories that enable individuals, social groups and collectives to think about and perform their economies in alternative ways” (Jonas 2010; p. 7; Gibson-Graham 2006).

As an example of the many forms of non-capitalist production and distribution explored in Gibson-Graham’s work, they cite the striking fact from feminist economist’s research—that 30-50 percent of economic activity in developed and undeveloped countries is made up of non-market transactions and unpaid household work (Ironmonger 1996; Gibson-Graham 2003a, 1996). Seeing capitalism as one economic form existing among many makes it easier to recognize it as not systemic but:

... a set of practices scattered over a landscape—in families, neighborhoods, households, organizations, states, and private, public and social enterprises. Its dominance in any time or place (becomes) an open question rather than an initial presumption. (Gibson-Graham, 2008, p. 613)

Gibson-Graham argues that the successful reproduction of capitalist relations depends in part on capitalism being represented as “reality,” as unitary, hegemonic, and inevitably expanding (Gibson-Graham 1996). Simultaneously other economic relations are cast as fragmented, marginal, and doomed—not being of the “real world.” From this perspective, many critical assessments of capitalism and its alternatives, in reiterating the

dominance of capitalism and the futility of any efforts to produce non-capitalist forms, appear to fall short of any systemic or revolutionary change.

Gibson-Graham contends the dominance of capitalocentric thought in economic theory subordinates that of the household economy (1996). It appears the fixation on capital from both the conventional economic and development dialogue as well as the anti-capitalist left are possessed by capitalism:

When we say that most economic discourse is “capitalocentric,” we mean that other forms of economy (not to mention non-economic aspects of social life) are often understood primarily with reference to capitalism; as being fundamentally the same as (or modeled upon) capitalism, as being deficient or substandard imitations; as being opposite to capitalism; as being the complement of capitalism; as existing in capitalism’s space or orbit. (Gibson-Graham 1996, p.6)

Gibson-Graham argue that by viewing capitalism as the all-pervading system, academic and the popular left reinforce the system and that other spaces practices, and political convictions fall into the trap and mistakenly reproduce the capitalocentric system (1996). According to Capitalocentrism, the center of the economy is the capitalist firms who employ wage labor to produce goods and services for the market. From this viewpoint—labor, markets, firms—are about Capitalism. Marx, through his theoretical intervention, set forth to reveal capitalist class process as exploitative. Growing in importance in European society, the class relation is seen as only growing stronger with the collapse of the previous traditional feudal order. The class categories envisioned by many Marxian theorists are: slavery, feudalism, ancient (self-employed), capitalism, and communism—which the. In this tradition, the theorist seeks to understand the events and crises that drive history forward along the evolutionary arc (Norton 2001). Building on the works of Resnick and Wolff, Gibson-Graham postulates the Marx’s class categories is a typology of difference rather than a historical evolution as viewed by Marxian theorist. Similar to feminist economists positing the formal economy is not the only economy, Gibson-

Graham utilize this typology to indicate no society is uniformly capitalist and capitalism is not the center of the economy (Gibson-Graham, Resnick and Wolff 2001).

To remedy this problem of “capitalocentrism,” Gibson-Graham draws attention to the vast array of currently existing non-capitalist practices and relationships, from unpaid household labor to workers’ cooperatives, gift giving to volunteerism. “Other economies are possible” is the motto of the Community Economies Collective (CEC). The CEC is a collaboration of research activists and community participants who engage in imagining, researching, activating, and participating in enacting just economies. Within the Community Economies Collective (CEC) tradition, the conditions under which surplus wealth is produced, appropriated and distributed provides the differences between the Marx’s class categories—communism, capitalism, independent (ancient), feudalism, and slavery (Gibson-Graham, Resnick and Wolff 2001). When those who labor to produce the wealth are not the first appropriators, these processes are a part of the exploitative class—capitalism, feudalism and slavery. Wage laborers are employed by Capitalism to produce goods and services. A culturally/historically determined portion of the net product is returned to the laborer as wages. The larger remaining share or surplus is appropriated by capitalism, who in turn provides funds to stakeholders, overhead, supplies, and other expenses while exercising some discretion over the remainder, which in the capitalism process is “gross profits” (Ibid.).

When the laborers who produced the wealth are themselves involved in the process of appropriating the wealth, these are non-exploitative processes and include the communal and independent classes (Gibson-Graham, Cameron, & Healy, 2013). Class analysis provides the dynamics of exploitation and allows for the study of the differences in a firm, relationship, or site if run as non- exploitation process.

Although the perception may be “us versus them,” community conflicts exist that are not simply a question of “community versus capital.” The material interests involved in public goods such as housing cuts across many social variables. Not only do local residents often have interests that conflict with those of outsiders, they often differ among themselves in their interests in regard to property, the way they think about property, and the extent to which they are willing to organize and act on their interests (Gibson-Graham 2003). NADs, as have other community economic neighborhood collectives (i.e. alternative housing networks) where incumbent residents are being displaced by gentrification, can organize and assume relations to property ownership.

This underscores Gibson-Graham's (2003a, 2003b) Community Economies Collective asset building community development's practice of participatory research (Gibson and Cameron 2001; Graham, Healy and Byrne 2002). Recognizing goals change with time and participants, the community's collective voice that gives value to those otherwise left out of the conversation—empowers the community at the grass-roots even in the face of governmental interventions and growth-machine networks (Davies and Imboscio 2010; Gibson-Graham 2003b, 1996). Essential to the research in framing and evaluating affordable housing in NADs is the understanding of the complex nature of the decision-making processes by the many community actors. Seeking to understand the economy as more contingent and multiple than any formulaic relying on “structures” allows, recent work from the CEC has explicitly sought to engage with assemblage theory casting agency as a collective, not individual, phenomena (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink 2009).

The potential of reform in land tenure to obtain affordable housing betterment that AHNs could bring to NADs and TIFs is more than a theoretical challenge. Through the political-economic theories of Smith, George, Imbroscio, and Gibson-Graham—the

role of AHNs has real implications for capital's ability to access the local neighborhoods and exploit them for their exchange value. The importance of keeping land off the speculative market becomes more evident as market financial investment requires access to local scale of low-income NAD neighborhoods in order to realize a return. Radical AHNs can prevent that access through alternative understandings of community control (governance) of land. More than a model for affordable housing but a foundation for a new set of economic relationships that promotes the claims of local incumbent communities over those of market capital, AHNs can be a platform for affordable housing, but also a movement towards social and economic justice.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

This dissertation studies the effects of urban economic development policies on affordable housing and the resident working-class populations within municipally designated neighborhood arts districts (NADs) that use the value-capture redevelopment tool, Tax Incremental Financing (TIF), to support the “blighted” NADs’ revitalization. Specifically, this research examines two coexistent processes: i) municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” and ii) the alternative housing networks actions as a tri-partite advocate/activist/radical in sustaining affordable housing provisions for the incumbent working-class population within these targeted urban policy designated neighborhoods. This dissertation surveys the goals of that redevelopment—changes of property use to provide an economic gain to a municipality—and the rise of community developed alternative housing networks to allay the results of those municipal policies on low-income and minority residents.

If historically an essential objective of the NAD-TIF revitalization redevelopment policies is to improve the quality of affordable housing within a blighted neighborhood, how a municipality utilizes the value-captured proceeds—who benefits—affects the extent to which the policy contributes to a socially just economy within a community (Fainstein 2010). Additionally, with the rise of community resistance collectives, i.e. alternative housing networks (AHNs), what is the effect of this participatory action on the availability of affordable housing and equity collectively within the neighborhood?

The use of TIFs is controversial primarily because of differing perceptions about its impact on incumbent populations and property values. TIFs stimulating economic

development, which otherwise would not have occurred, has been considered by many researchers to be a cost-effective method of combating urban blight. And where several studies have examined the impact on housing properties and real estate value from the perspective of the economic development benefits for a municipality's tax-base, few have examined the results in terms of gentrification and the effects on the incumbent population's affordable housing.

In a free-market urban policy context, gentrification processes appear to be an ideal solution to urban decay. Hypothesizing that within NADs utilizing the value capturing of TIFs to jump-start recovery, in lieu of a socially just economy benefitting the incumbent working-class communities and maintaining their affordable housing, there is an opposite effect. The reinvestments of capital within these districts result in the benefits of higher property values and a higher tax base intended to support the neighborhood and businesses. There is also an increase in the potential land rent, a reduction of affordable housing stock, a socio-economic upgrading of the population, change in land use—collectively indicators of gentrification—which sometimes leads to the rise of resistance organization networks seeking equity within the NAD-TIF districts.

Utilizing NADs with TIF overlays in Dallas TX, a comparative two-part research process is used for this study. The two-part study includes: (i) quasi-experimental quantitative counterfactual research analyses, comparing neighborhood arts districts with and without a TIF overlay, in tandem with (ii) an ethnographic qualitative component of coding and analyzing the participatory action process of alternative housing networks (AHNs) within the NAD-TIFs.²³ This two-part study research process is utilized, as maintained by Wyly and Hammel, to capture the scope of gentrification—capital reinvestment, displacement, and in the case of this dissertation organized networking

²³ See Appendix A, Case Study Selection Process for the method by which Dallas TX was selected for this study.

resistance—that may not be captured solely through a single quantitative or qualitative analysis (2001).

Procedural Overview

This dissertation uses a comparative quantitative-qualitative analysis of four case studies in Dallas TX (Figure 3-1) to understand the implication of the gentrification process, the housing market, and equity seeking strategies by the incumbent population within NAD-TIF zones. Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars are the NAD-TIFs, and Bishop Arts and Cedars Arts South are the NAD without the TIFs.

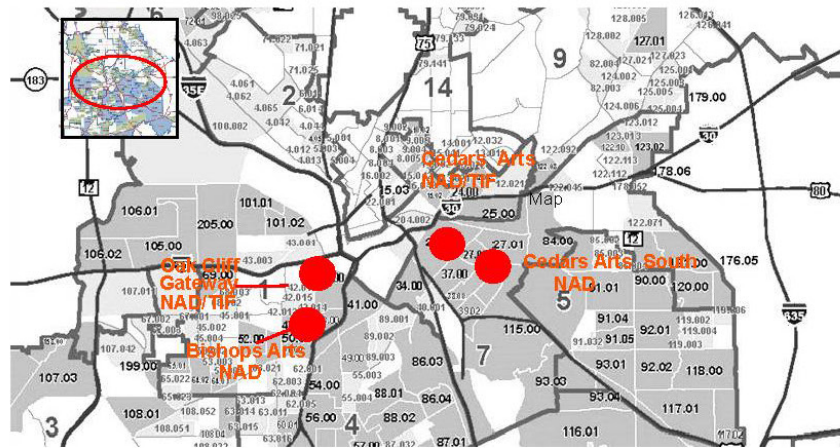


Figure 3-1 City of Dallas TX. Case-study locations

Oak Cliff Gateway TIF, Bishop Arts District, Cedars TIF, and Cedars Arts District Street

Source: Based on Dallas GIS Data

Beyond familiarity with the city, having resided there a number of years, Dallas was selected due to: (i) its active participation in the many Arts & Economic Prosperity Economic V American for the Arts surveys, most recently in 2017, (ii) active use of Art Based Economic Development and Tax Incremental Financing as part of municipal urban

revitalization-redevelopment efforts, (iii) the development of alternative housing networks seeking to retain affordable housing within NADs, and (iv) the resistance networks posting and blogging anti-gentrification literature.

Part One: Quasi-experimental Quantitative Method

A quasi-experimental quantitative design method is utilized examining two sets of historically similar NADs in Dallas TX—Oak Cliff Gateway TIF and Bishop Arts in the disadvantaged non-white Hispanic area of Old Oak Cliff south of the Trinity River; and Cedars TIF and the adjacent Cedars Arts South, low-income African-American communities in Old East Dallas. A “counterfactual” analysis by which two similar areas, one serving as the control (i.e. non-TIF) and the other receiving the TIF treatment, are examined pre-treatment and post-treatment in order to assess the impact of TIFs on the incumbent population and housing affordability (Ewing and Hamidi, 2014).

Where the TIF impact may be difficult to measure directly, through a quasi-experimental longitudinal analysis of the two NADs difference-in-means prior to the treatment (pre-treatment), followed by Bishop Arts District (Figure 3-2a) acting as the control and Oak Cliff Gateway District (Figure 3-2b) receiving the assignment as the TIF treatment condition (post-treatment), data can be assessed through an independent t-test to gauge the significance of the TIFs upon gentrification and housing affordability.

As a comparison, a similar longitudinal quasi-experimental counterfactual design analysis is utilized to examine an additional set of similar neighborhood arts districts—Cedars TIF and the adjacent Cedars Arts District South—in the working-class neighborhood of old East Dallas. The Cedars TIF was overlaid on a portion of the overall Cedars Arts District that was separated by major thorough-fares, dividing the area into the TIF district and for the purposes of this study, a separate Cedars Arts District South.

Cedar Arts District South (Figure 3-3a) acts as the control and Cedars District (Figure 3-3b), receiving the TIF treatment.

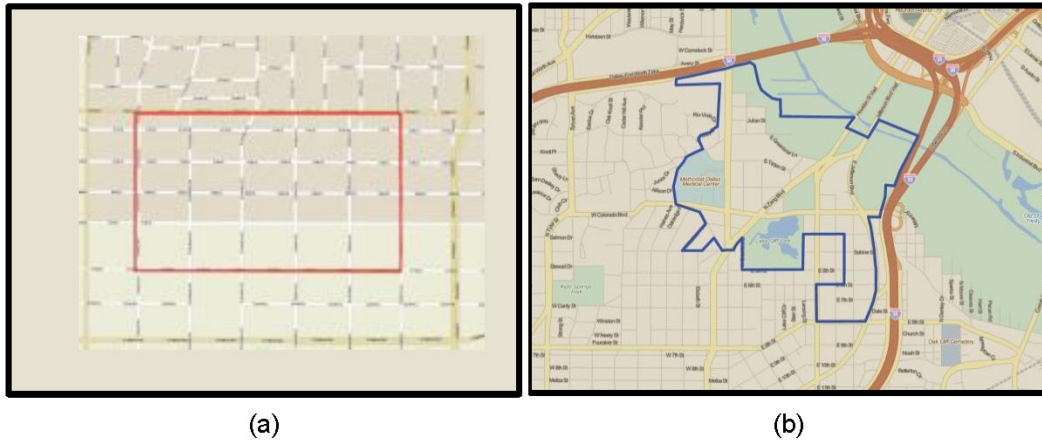


Figure 3-2 Neighborhood Arts Districts (set one)

(a) Bishop Arts District and (b) Oak Cliff Gateway TIF District

Source: City of Dallas Cultural Arts Policy, 2018



Figure 3-3 Neighborhood Arts Districts (set two)

(a) Cedars Arts District South and (b) Cedars TIF

Source: City of Dallas Cultural Arts Policy, 2018

Following initial windshield surveys to verify conditions in all four Dallas neighborhood arts districts, databases and surveys were obtained. Utilized for Cliff Oak Cliff Gateway TIF, Bishop Arts District, Cedars TIF, and Cedars Arts District South at the block and parcel levels were: City of Dallas geo-mapping information, North Texas Council of Government (NTCOG) Land use database, the private GeoLytics' database for the U.S. Census and American Community Surveys, and the Dallas Central Tax Appraisal District's built structure and land value information. The range of years selected for the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF and Bishop Arts District was 1990, seven years before the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF was enacted, to 2010—thirteen years after the TIF was in place. Although data is available for 2015, the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF district was amended in 2009 to include both the Bishop Arts District and the Jefferson Cultural District. Since this amendment became an ordinance late in 2009, this study proposes the 2010 data for Bishop Arts District to be valid as the control in the counterfactual analysis. The range of years selected for Cedars TIF District and Cedars Arts District South was also 1990, similar to the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF, the Cedars TIF became active in 1997 and extends through 2010—thirteen years after the TIF was in place. Dallas Currently has nineteen active TIF districts. The two oldest TIFs—State Thomas and City Place—expired in 2008, making Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars the oldest existing TIFs in Dallas.

The dates per case-study group have been selected because of the availability of similar categories of data required to analyze the gentrification variables of housing affordability. The analysis from 1990 through 2010 for Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars provides relevant information as to the presence and extent of the rent-gap, the differential between land and built structure cost prior to TIF enactment, and in the years following. The longitudinal study utilizes the GeoLytics database, where the statistics for

the benchmark years 1990, 2000, and 2010 are normalized, enabling a comparison of similar variables both pre and post-treatment.²⁴

The benchmark dates allowed for the study of the change in incumbent population socio-economic demographics, separate values for housing structure and land, and land use within the NADs with and without the TIF treatment. With similar block divisions in the neighborhood arts district and neighborhood arts district-TIF areas, utilizing the U.S. Census enabled effective overlays of the information from the Federal, City, and County databases per district. And although data for all the variables were not through the U.S. Census at the block level in 2010, the American Communities Survey Neighborhood Change database, the NTCOG database, the Trust for Public Lands Smart Growth database, Dallas Central Tax Assessor database, provided an additional check on the longitudinal analysis to confirm the continuing gentrification trend in land use change and increased housing and land value effects on housing affordability within the NADs with and without the TIF treatment.

As indicated in the literature review, this dissertation utilizes geographer Neil Smith's theory of devalorization, and the rent-gap as an indicator of gentrification, designating cycles of depreciation and reinvestment (production and consumption demands), land use changes, and patterns of residential mobility (Smith 1997). Some change may be coming from within the neighborhood arts district with existing residents possibly improving their economic circumstances; however with the escalation in home prices and the increase in investments from outside the NADs, this dissertation hypothesizes the changes are driven by exogenous force. To determine the impact of the TIF on the two Dallas TX NADs, the rent-gap is examined through the assessed value of

²⁴ The database from year to year may have redundancies and duplication of information, a normalized database removes those to permit a comparison of like kind. An example is census tract boundaries may have moved between benchmark years. A normalized database prevents double counting population.

i) land and ii) infrastructure Dallas TX. Again the independent samples *t*-test analysis compares the assessed valuations of those buildings built in a tax increment district versus those buildings not located in a tax increment area at the benchmarks for a significance of change.

This study also examines the gentrification variables utilized by Freeman (2006) from the literature, modified slightly for Dallas' neighborhood arts districts to describe change in the decades 1990 to 2010: an urban arts district neighborhood with:

- an appreciation of housing prices above the MSA average,
- an increase in educational completion above the MSA average,
- household income at or below 20 percent of the average median income of the MSA at the beginning of the initial benchmark year,
- an increase in non-Hispanic white population, and
- a concurrent decrease in the dominate minority racial or ethnic population at the subsequent benchmark year.

As stated earlier, the principal data-sources are used for this research: City of Dallas geo-mapping information, North Texas Council of Government (NTCOG) database, Trust for Public Lands Smart Growth database, the private GeoLytics' database for the U.S. Census and American Community Surveys, and the Dallas Central Tax Appraisal District's built structure and land value information. One data-source, collected by the private company GeoLytics, provides long-forms of lock census data in 2010 boundaries and American Community Survey and Neighborhood Change 1990-2015—providing household socio-economic and demographic data. Data for the land value, improvements, sales, and land use variables come from the Dallas Central Tax Appraisal District database of parcel property value, as well as from NTCOG and the Trust for Public Lands Smart Growth databases. Where the accuracy of the tax appraisal

districts database as to parcel and physical structure values may be called into question, within a longitudinal study utilizing the difference-in-mean, actual values are less significant than the differential in the rent-gap, ownership change, and land use variables pre- and post-treatment.

Following an initial post-treatment of all the variables, the significant variables were reduced to the categories of Socioeconomic, Demographics, and Housing in the final analysis, which is what is being used in this research study. Amenities and Location variables were removed because they were consistent and constant for both pre and post-treatment. And where the Transportation variable would appear to have significance relative to proximity to the Dallas Dart Red line for the Oak Cliff Gateways TIF and Bishop Arts districts, the line is too new and data not yet available to gauge significance of the results. The Dallas Dart Red and Blue Lines, with the Cedars Station, are equidistant from the Cedars TIF and Cedar Arts South District, accessible to both and therefore not considered a significant variable in difference.

Part Two: Ethnographic Qualitative Method

Examining the Dallas “regime” and evidence of municipally led “creative gentrification,” the initial ethnographic portion of the study included obtaining data through archival research of the City of Dallas Records, along with qualitative field “windshield” verifications, participatory observation, and interview components in order to place the quantitative data results into context.

The City of Dallas Archives contains the planning master plans, economic development studies, affordable housing reports, and reports indicating studies by economic consultants on the impact of arts organizations on the Dallas economy (Hamer, et al1977). Numerous issue papers are available on various South Dallas’

neighborhood's Market Revitalization Strategies, which reflect a pro-capital market economy approach (City of Dallas 1979, 1981, 1986). The recommendation of utilizing TIFs for economic redevelopment first appeared in a 1981 report "Encouraging Economic Development in South Dallas," which indicated State approval of the use of TIF districts was imminent. The use of TIFs was recommended again in the "Mayor's Task Force on Housing and Economic Development in Southern Dallas" (City of Dallas 1984).

Specific to this dissertation's TIF case-studies, also obtained from the City Archives were the 1992 Market Study Analyses, 1997 Project Plans and Reinvestment Financing Plans, 1997 TIF formation documents, and approved 1997 City Ordinances for the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars TIF districts. The Dallas Archives also contained the 1997 documents of negotiation with other governing bodies (e.g. Dallas County Community College District, Dallas Independent School District) as to percentages of participation and the terms and conditions for their participation in the TIFs. These archival documents referenced the presence of citizen groups, concerned with housing affordability and rising taxes in their neighborhood, who voiced opposition at public hearings and information sessions to the rise in rapid real estate development. One of these organized citizen neighborhood associations is the precursors of a current-day expanded alternative housing network.

The archival research, which is secondary data, was followed by the collection of primary data through participatory observation and in-depth interview components. Insight was provided regarding municipally endorsed "creative gentrification" through the observations of public hearings for the City of Dallas Arts and Culture Policy (adopted 2018), a master plan for arts based economic development, and the City of Dallas Affordable Housing Policy (also adopted 2018), a market value analysis for economic redevelopment that included TIFs as a part of the "tool-box." These observational

hearings also provided some understanding of the concerns of citizens, homeowner's associations, neighborhood associations, and alternative housing network groups.

The interview component places the quantitative data results into context. Subjects interviewed included two groups: City of Dallas public officials, and representatives of alternative housing networks. The list of interviewees was developed from the participatory observation portion of this study during the years 2017-2018. All participants of this study initially presented, spoke, asked questions, and were recorded by the City of Dallas at both public City Hall forums and "town-hall participation" meetings (2017-2018), which were also attended by the author. The subject of these forums and meetings were the municipal policies being examined in this research study. This research study's one-on-one subject interviews were follow-ups to those recordings in the City Hall forum and "town-hall participation" discussions. The participants interviewed had also attended subsequent City of Dallas' publically recorded subcommittee—Quality of Life, Arts & Culture; and Economic Development & Housing—hearings where the policies being researched in this study were discussed in detail.

A total of twelve in-depth semi-structured interviews were held with four City of Dallas public officials and eight alternative housing network representatives. All interviews were audio recorded on an encrypted handheld digital recorder, as well as noted by hand. Interviews took place in person from June 2019 through September 2019, and each one averaged sixty minutes in length. This study's one-on-one interviews were follow-up questions to the public forum meetings in which the interviewee signed attendance forms and identified themselves, never-the-less all individuals interviewed were informed their identity would remain confidential and protected. All interviewee data collection and research conducted adhered to the University of Texas at Arlington Institutional Research Board's (IRB No: 2018-0456) approved Interview Protocol

(Appendix B). The digitally recorded and de-identified transcriptions of the interviews were encrypted; confidentiality and anonymity of all interviewees maintained.

Both public officials and the representatives of the alternative housing networks were questioned on their experiences, knowledge, and concerns regarding ABED revitalization and TIF redevelopment policies, the effects of these policies on affordable housing and incumbent populations, gentrification and the meaning of a socially just economy. In the context of regime theory and “other possibilities,” the qualitative coding provided insight into understanding municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” policy from each group’s perspective, with varying views regarding the effects of TIFs on neighborhood arts districts, and what constituted a socially just economy.

In summary, the diagram, Figure 3-4, is the two part research design for the case studies for this dissertation. Figure 3 4 Research Methodology. Through this two part research methodology, an understanding emerges of the political economy and capitalocentrism’s municipally-endorsed “creative gentrification” effects and consequence. This policy in the form of arts based economic development is compounded by tax incremental financing—fostering a socially unjust economy. In this way the vulnerable incumbent population is displacement, and the maximizing reinvestment in capital utilizes housing as a commodity, resulting in the lack of affordable housing. Through a study of alternative housing networks that support the communities within the case-study neighborhoods, this dissertation explores “other possibilities” and co-existing alternative processes to the neoliberal market system—moving towards a more socially just economy.

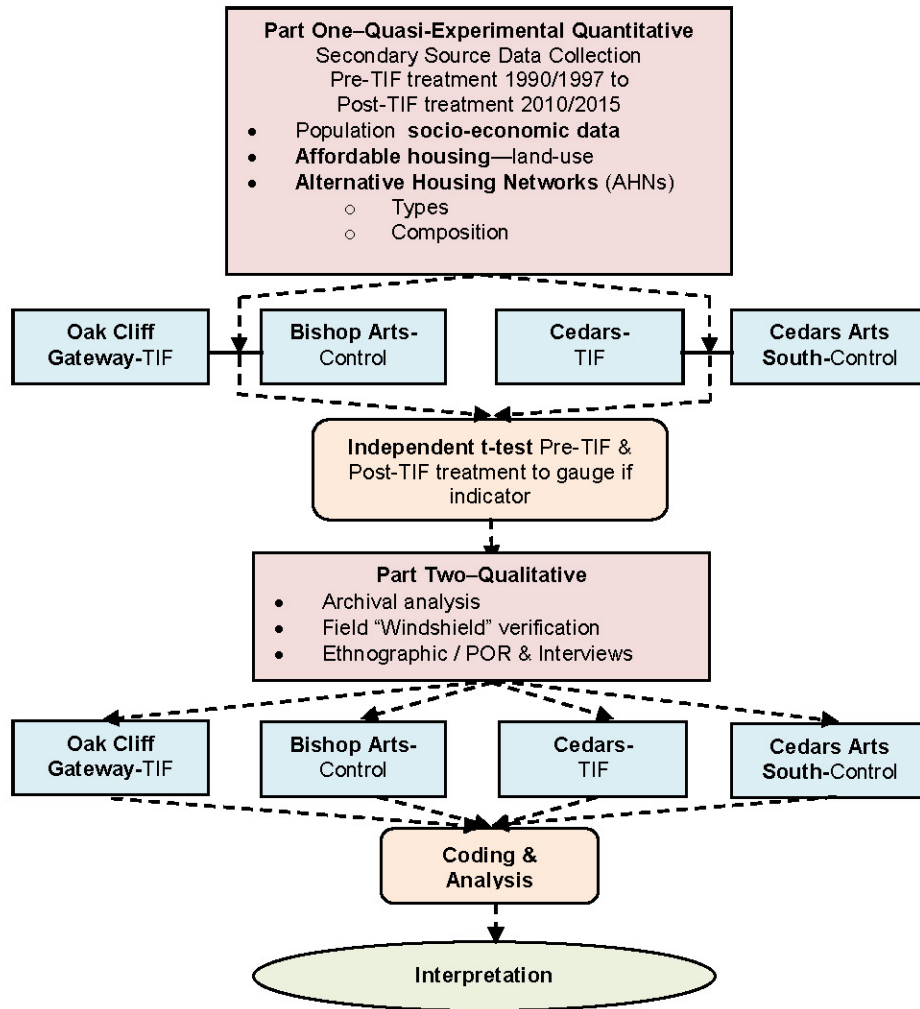


Figure 3-4 Research Methodology

When, in what way, and to what magnitude does the gentrification process unfold in NADs utilizing TIFs are questions that give structure to this dissertation. Through the outlined two part research methodology and the two sets of case studies, this study seeks to answer:

1. How has the municipal economic redevelopment policy—Tax Based Incremental Financing (TIF)—affected incumbent working-class populations relative to affordable housing using the case studies of Dallas' low-income NADs?

In addressing this question, the analysis includes:

- examining if there is difference due to TIFs in NADs,
- how municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” affected the original intent of the TIFs relative to affordable housing at the NAD-TIF nexus, and
- did revitalization of a neighborhood arts district utilizing TIFs force out its authentic culture and low-income incumbent population.

Addressing the second research question:

2. What are the influences of citizen-formed AHNs in terms of both developing the community's economies and maintaining affordable housing for the community's residents?

From the perspective of government officials and representatives of AHNs, this study examines what have been the results, in terms of equitability or desirability, and their view of the incumbent community's perspective of the public economic development policies: i) economic revitalization ABED and ii) economic redevelopment TIFs. In addressing the second question “how can the incumbent population stave off displacement through gentrification and retain ‘fit’ affordable housing provisions at the nexus of Neighborhood Arts District and TIF Zones?” this study indicates concurrence with Imbroscio's Regime Theory and the exercise of power, where the municipally endorsed creative gentrification may not be held at bay, through the AHNs—small islands of socially just economies can be seen.

Use of Case Studies in Research

Case studies may be defined as a research design in which, for this dissertation, a displacement process can be studied in depth, bound by a period of time, activity (application of revitalization and redevelopment policies) and place, to enable the collection of detailed information to provide insight into a phenomenon (Creswell 2014; Flyvbjerg 2011, Yin 2015). And where generalities may not be drawn, which can be applied to the whole from the use of a single city—Dallas TX for this study—it can serve as “the power of example” and contribute to a body of knowledge (Flyvbjerg 2011, p. 66).

Dallas TX, with the four NAD case studies—Oak Cliff Gateway, Bishop Arts, Cedars, and Cedars Arts South—was selected for this dissertation from an initial review of the Arts & Economic Prosperity V (AEP) report (2017) containing 182 participating study regions. The expressed purpose of the AEP report is to document the benefits of the creative economy, as evidenced through self-reported data from municipalities and regions per state. This Americans for Art funded project contains economic impact data of non-profit arts and cultural organizations, their audiences, municipal contacts, along with demographic data. The cities listed within the report are actively engaged in promoting art districts, and the Group F (population of 1 million or more) contained municipal Art, Culture, and Economic Development departments, which promote urban revitalization under a Creative Economy header. Within the report, expenditures and economic benefits are listed (per city), which “support jobs and generate government revenue” (ibid, p.7).²⁵ Additionally, the researcher has resided in Dallas for a number of years and is familiar with the four NADs being utilized for this study. The researcher has also been an active participant in several community organized efforts related to arts and culture within the case study areas.

²⁵ Reference Appendix A for additional information regarding the case-study selection process.

Through a Lexis-Nexis search of newspaper articles describing art district neighborhoods, central Dallas' has purportedly been in various stages of gentrification since 1990 the (*Dallas Morning News, Dallas Times Herald, Observer*):

- i.) Transitioning from a working class, poor, run down, or crime-ridden area to one wherein wealthier individuals are choosing or have chosen to invest;
- ii.) Experiencing sharp, sudden increases in the ratio of owner-occupied to renter-occupied housing;
- iii.) Attracting newer, higher price-point businesses;
- iv.) Experiencing displacement of long-standing residents due to increases in rent and/or property value;

With the Dallas' capitalocentric pro-business model of economic development and municipally endorsed gentrification, the study of Dallas neighborhood arts districts as case studies appears valid and presents critical examples in which to add to a body of knowledge. Acknowledging certain parameters, such as in this study Smith's rent-gap is accepted as an indicator of gentrification, the use of case studies requires comparing, and placing the results within current literature as a "check" of validity. Joining other researchers (Clark 1987; Freeman and Braconi 2004; Newman and Wyly 2006), on both sides of the gentrification debate, who have utilized case studies to investigate such a complex and changing subject as gentrification and resistance, this "real-life" method provides the advantage of "test(ing) views directly in relation to phenomena"—case studies are selected as the means for this dissertation (Flyvbjerg 2011, p. 82).

Ethnographic and Participatory Observation Research

The qualitative field research for this study is initially structured around a set of research questions that begins with ABED policies and gentrification within NAD-TIFs, tracing the development in terms of space and time to the AHNs and potential seeds of

Community Economies Collective's formation, process and actors' stories of the goals for affordable housing. Examining relations and forces as they converge in space and time in the phenomenon around the NAD-TIFs, the goal is to be attentive to the relationship between knowledge and power, or the ways in which material forces are mutually constitutive (Foucault 1980; Elden 2003, Grosz 2008).

As indicated earlier, a qualitative component of my research consists of semi-structured interviews of key actors within the municipal regime and AHNs, along with participatory observation of the municipal regime and AHNs in settings within City Hall, City facilities, and NAD meeting facilities (e.g. Library Black Box Theaters, Cultural Centers, Community Theaters). Interviews, including verbal stories by participants of successes and failures, are a key method in allowing for analysis of how particular actors are mobilized. These verbal accounts present insight into the significance of the phenomenon and can help the researcher better understand the affective and emotional elements of events. All interviews are recorded on a digital device, and results logged, transcribed, organized, coded, and analyzed (See Part Two: Ethnographic Qualitative Method for the complete process).

In addition to the interviews, Participation Observation Research (POR) is utilized. POR is a qualitative interactive research method rooted in ethnographic research with an objective to help researchers learn the perspectives held by the population being studied through interactive observation in their environment (Guest et al. 2013; Herr and Anderson 2005; Reason and Bradbury 2008). Additionally, POR allows the researcher to experience particular practices, encounters, and milieus. The researcher becomes involved in the City regime and AHN community interaction as an observer, as well as NAD community meetings held within the case study neighborhoods. Although committed to remaining objective and minimizing impact in/on the subject's method, and addressing

the post-modern critique of the “knowing” researcher, this dissertation adopts Butler’s position (as quoted in Yin 2015):

... to temper the postmodern critique regarding exercise of control (*by researcher over subjects*), qualitative researchers have increased their commitment ‘to reciprocity—to providing something useful back to research participants for their collaboration—as an ethical requirement of fieldwork’(Butler 2002, p. 37)... Moreover qualitative researchers now acknowledge the possibility of having a variety of relationships between researchers and participants, including relationships that result in the co-production of knowledge rather than the traditional hierarchical relationship. (p.19; also see Gibson-Graham 2006; Karnieli-Miller et al. 2009)

POR is an important part of this study, as it elevates relationships into subjects of academic research. Neoliberalism continues to push positivist metrics that devalue qualitative methods that cannot be easily measured or monetized (Brown 2015, Bruyn 1986). Participant observation is immersion in the spaces and endeavors related to the inquiry (Lecompte et al. 1999; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). POR is not merely an analytical position but one where the researcher becomes part of the process that is researched. Additionally, upon revealing the subject of this study was their NAD, there was typically pleasant surprise expressed by the AHN representative, that they and the stories and information they had had value as knowledge.

There are multiple perspectives within the AHNs; the objective is learning what those diverse perspectives are through language and interactions, and understanding the interplay of the views and the community. As both a member of the community and the researcher, POR is accomplished through primarily observing and participating (experiencing) to the limited degree permitted in the IRB process.

The potential for the data to be skewed due to residents’ reaction to a power differential between the perceived knowledgeable researcher and the subjects is a valid

concern (Addelson1994).²⁶ I believe this is mitigated by the researcher having participated in community projects within these NAD-TIFs as a photographer of community projects for over eight years, and whose presence is familiar at community events and municipally held public policy participation meetings.

Direct participant observation of group interactions provides data not available through other research methods and offers useful contextual understanding—physical, social, political, economic and cultural milieu—in addition to witnessing and participating in the phenomena and complexity of human experience, interaction, and understanding leading to collective knowledge production. Additionally, due to the method of obtaining the POR information, the subjective process of coding became more intuitive, having observed and anticipated/interacted with subjects in both the “formal” municipal and “informal” case study neighborhood environments.

The purpose of this research framework is to examine what happens, why it happens, what has been done, and what alternative strategy can be used to better provide for a basic human “need” (housing) in a civil society that touts a just economy., Utilizing POR is a means to collect additional qualitative data without more actively engaging in Participatory Action Research as promoted in the CEC writings of Gibson-Graham. With the limitation placed by the IRB on interaction with or effecting of “subjects,” this POR framework is still a means to collect the data needed, albeit through limited participation and observation.

²⁶ The literature suggests a form of participatory observation may potentially be considered a covert methodology since, in order to prevent data corruption, the purpose of the “inquiry” and how the data will be analyzed are not always revealed to the subjects during the research process (ibid. 2006). Participatory observation in this form straddles between traditional positivist methodology and Participatory Action Research. Having utilized covert methodology on past research projects, and there is disclosure of the research during the participatory observation, the IRB process is both a known entity and approvals are achievable.

Beyond these ethnographic methods, as noted earlier, there is also a textual analysis of documents and images from the municipal archives in Dallas TX. Historic press coverage reports provided from the scrapbooks and archives of the AHNs are also taken into account, this allows for triangulation and bringing the interviews and participatory observation further into the realm of academic research. In addition to allowing the researcher to observe which mediators are included in the accounts and how they are discussed, such textual and visual analysis provides insight into how phenomena are framed or given meaning in particular contexts. Through a series of spatial practices, visual and spatial analysis of sites may be linked to the AHN movement, urban redevelopment, and gentrification.

Methodological Research Limitations

As with all research, methodological limitations exist. For this case study research, there are potentially three areas that could skew the validity of the resulting analyses and bias conclusions: i) data collection, ii) variable assumptions made, and iii) small sampling size.

Data Collection

The most significant issue associated with validity, reliability, and limitations is the use of secondary data for this project. The original data collected that was utilized was not collected with this research project or the specific case studies, and as a result required adaptation of the data in order to have comparable units of analysis across multiple data sources over time. As well, there may have been issues with validity and reliability inherent in the collection and/or normalization of the data that are not made clear by the collecting bodies.

Beginning in 1990, the smallest statistical area that is publically available through the U.S. Census is the census block; data for the census block was obtained for this study from a private database Geolytics. For the benchmark years, housing and land use data were obtained at the parcel level through the City of Dallas GIS and the Trust for Public Lands Smart Growth (TPLSG), each populating their databases with original data obtained from NTCOG. Land and infrastructure values were obtained from the Dallas Central Tax Appraisal District (DCAD) maps, which are also at the parcel level. Also, as mentioned earlier, where the accuracy of the DCAD tax roll database as to parcel and physical structure values may be called into question, within a longitudinal study utilizing the difference-in-mean, actual values are less significant than the differential in the rent-gap, ownership change, and variable "land use" pre and post-treatment.

Each database has similar information (e.g. land use), but also contains unique information. For example, TPLSG carries the City of Dallas Affordable Housing Policy market value analysis parcel codes. Interpolating requires triangulation; if the variables were in common, the NTCOG's database was used. If the information was unique, the database with whom the information resided was used. It should be noted all of the databases, except the U.S. Census and GeoLytics, contain disclaimers relative to use of their data. Where ever data is being interpolated, error may occur. Utilizing source data when possible, the nature of the longitudinal quasi-experimental analysis, and utilizing percentage change rather than values should mitigate the margin of error in this study. Additionally, to minimize this limitation there is data triangulation, checks, and balances outside the literature to provide additional reliability and validity to the data (Yin 2009). The Ethnographic Qualitative Method interviews with the City of Dallas public officials and the representatives of the AHN assist in providing that necessary triangulation.

Gentrification Factors and Variables

The assumptions made in variable selection may also be a limitation in the study. Significant variables utilized in this study originally came from gentrification literature. As mentioned earlier, following an initial post-treatment of all the variables, the list was reduced to the categories of socio-economics, demographics, and housing in the final analysis for this research study. Those variables that were not significant, e.g. amenities and location, were removed since they were consistent and constant for both pre and post-treatment. And where the Transportation variable would appear to have significance, the lines are new and data not yet available to gauge difference in the results. This assumptions appear contrary to the literature. However I would argue the condition is unique to the specific location of these research case studies, and the impact of the variable transportation may be the subject of future research.

Validity of Small Sample Size

The small sample is size may limit the generalizations of the findings—effects of TIFs on NADs and subsequently, affordable housing. The extensive data collection and analysis for the part one-Quasi-experimental Quantitative method, and the requirements of the interviews (transcribing, coding, and analyzing) in part two Ethnographic Qualitative Method, limited the number of case studies for this dissertation.

Currently, the study may lack the data triangulation, or checks and balances outside of the literature, to provide additional reliability and validity to the data (Yin 2009: 116). Survey of the stakeholders will help to provide this triangulation. Assessment from the local stakeholders and professionals may have also provided necessary insight into variables that were not included in the analysis, both generally and specifically relevant to

the Dallas area and context. This type of evaluation should be considered for future research.

To mitigate the limitation in size and ensure the validity of the analysis and ensure triangulation, more than one source of data is used, and more than one method is utilized to interpret the phenomena of creative gentrification and TIFs. However, adding to this body of work, future studies may include additional case studies.

Chapter 4

Case Studies and Analyses

Introduction

The neighborhood arts districts of Old Oak Cliff (Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts) and Old East Dallas (Cedars and Cedars Arts South) evolved as different types of arts districts in terms of their history, community composition, and characteristics. The commonality is in terms of both being low-income communities of color participating in the contribution arts communities have made to the Dallas economy (\$900 million per year, 2015). And although having experienced growth Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars NAD-TIFs are viewed by the City of Dallas as requiring further stimulation for faster economic growth of the creative economy due to the perception Dallas lags behind what is viewed as other comparative cities—Charlotte NC’s creative arts economy income is double that of Dallas, and Houston TX is seven times as much (American for the Arts 2017, City of Dallas 2018). Listing “equity” as a top priority—in addition to stipulating the need for a successful business plan for arts based economic development in neighborhood arts districts—gentrification and the lack of affordable housing options in neighborhood arts district are acknowledged as significant issues arising from ABED:

Harness(ing) the value of neighborhoods while preserving the culture of those neighborhoods: Throughout the city (Dallas), arts and culture are a driving force in the renewal and redevelopment of neighborhoods. As the value of the land

risers, many artists and arts organizations are being priced out of their homes and spaces. (City of Dallas 2018, p. 9)²⁷

Improving affordability and quality of life for incumbent low-income artist residents is stated to be a part of the art based economic development policy initiative. The strategy is to collaborate with the City of Dallas Office of Economic Development to develop economic opportunities for artists and their organizations within art and culture neighborhoods (ibid. p. 81). TIFs are listed as a part of developing those economic opportunities (ibid.).

The use of TIFs by the Dallas Office of Economic Development—specifically why, how, and when Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars NADs became TIFs—is documented in the City of Dallas Municipal Archives. The rationale for the art based economic development, i.e. municipally endorsed gentrification, is contained in the consultants' economic feasibility reports, project plans, and reinvestment zone financing plans. The need for economic redevelopment, affordable housing, and replacing failing infrastructure could be made “highly marketable and a draw for development” in areas of South Dallas with intangible resources, e.g. creativity and culture (Anderson 1996; Hellmuth et al. 1992; Johnson 1992; RTKL 1996;; Sibling et al. 1992). And although the 1992 feasibility documents (begun in 1990) for the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars TIFs were underway prior to Richard Florida coining the term “creative economy” or the concept coming to the

²⁷ The Dallas Arts and Culture Plan recommended the issue of affordable housing be solved utilizing: i) Cultural Use Zoning Incentives, which is offering density bonuses to developers to build artist live/work spaces, ii) subsidizing rental housing by targeting housing for artists “who proactively engage in community-revitalizing efforts in certain neighborhoods...”, and iii) providing “City assistance for artists to purchase homes in arts neighborhoods” (City of Dallas 2018, p. 60). The Plan recognizes the lack of affordable housing but does not address displacement and the “right to stay-put.” Rather the low-income incumbent population is relocated to other more affordable areas, which are designated as Residential Opportunity for Arts—becoming neighborhood arts districts. An example is relocating from Deep Ellum Arts District TIF, wherein 2015 the percentage change in population was 95% and median housing value had increased 85%, to the new low-income Red Bird Cultural District (in tandem with the Mall Redevelopment TIF, 2015) where change in population percentage was 10%, and the median home value had increased only 2% and considered still affordable. It should be noted that where Deep Ellum is a part of the urban core, Red Bird is located close to the Southeast border of the city limits.

forefront of consciousness as a municipality's economic development policy, the fact remains the gentrification goal was the same—to draw capital into those areas utilizing the “highly marketable” art and culture of the low-income incumbent population (Florida 2003). It is interesting the term blight was not used in the Dallas TIF analyses for Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars. The terms “art,” “culture,” and “intangible resources” were used many times as a feasible basis for economic development, i.e. arts based economic development coupled with a TIF (Hellmuth et al. 1992, Johnson 1992, Sibler et al. 1992).

Once the TIF districts were formed in 1992, the earlier “conventional market-driven approach” was seen as not effective in drawing capital to the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars NAD-TIFs (Anderson 1996, p. 6; RTKL 1996). In attempting to provide a “profitable plan,” the 1996 Financial Assessment Report by Arthur Anderson revised the earlier 1992 “conventional market-driven approach” stating that “early research indicates that the districts were experiencing population decline and generally little market interest from traditional sources; thus a different approach is mandated” (Anderson 1996, p. 6). That different approach was a “target-market approach” matching the district with opportunities created by internal and external influences (draw capital from outside the City) rather than relying on the potential capture of some share of Dallas' overall “strong market growth”:

The key goal for the district is to adopt a plan which can begin altering those unfavorable demographic factors, targeting the unique cultural and historic assets of the area, and make the area more attractive for development. (ibid. p.13-14)

As a part of the target-market approach in both the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars' feasibility and financial analyses, the “unique cultural and historic assets” referenced to be cannibalized are the characteristics and properties of the neighborhood arts districts' incumbent community. This is the community to be altered, utilizing gentrification through

municipal art-based economic development and with TIFs to maximize the draw of capital.

Neighborhood Arts Districts (NADs)

There are four typologies in Dallas' arts and culture designations for NADs. Each has different geographic context and urban forms, are based on the distance from the urban core or central business district, and the publically recognizable cultural assets and identifiable markets:

- i) Urban-core Arts District, have the highest concentration of municipally funded arts and cultural assets, and the greatest share of Dallas' arts and culture-oriented businesses,
- ii) Mixed Urbanism Neighborhood Arts Districts are the older neighborhoods close to the urban core with mixed land use, have high density of publically identifiable cultural assets and are destination venues,
- iii) Residential Opportunity Arts Neighborhood Districts are primarily residential areas with low concentrations of publically identifiable cultural assets but offers opportunities for development, and
- iv) Non-Traditional Opportunities Arts Districts are the outliers, "not fitting one of the other typologies" but having potential (City of Dallas 2018, p.46).

For the purposes of the case studies in this dissertation, both sets of NAD-TIFs (Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars) and the control NADs (Bishop Arts and Cedars Arts South), are classified as Mixed Urbanism Neighborhood Arts Districts.²⁸

²⁸ The City of Dallas Office of Cultural Affairs classifies the Central Dallas Arts District, Deep Ellum, Cedars, Design District, and Fair Park as Urban Core Arts Districts. This classification is based primarily on large percentage municipal funding and TIF projects. The Cedars, whose primary "publically recognizable asset" is Heritage Park, a three acre City Owned Facility, does not fit the model of this classification. The Cedars has historically been considered a residential area adjacent to Dallas' CBD, prior to the decline of the neighborhood. The influx of artists from Deep Ellum, the mixed land use, publically recognizable cultural assets, and subsequent municipal economic redevelopment is in part due to its proximity to the urban core would place this NAD in the Mixed Urban Arts District, similar to the Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts Districts.

Old Oak Cliff: Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts

“Old Oak Cliff” in Dallas TX, of which both NAD case studies Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts are a part, has a history as an arts community prior to the contemporary municipal arts district designation. It was known as the center of arts, where Frank Reaugh (1860-1945) called the “Dean of Texas Arts” resided, taught, founded the Dallas School of Fine Arts in his home, and began the Dallas Arts Association²⁹ (Elliott et al. 2009). The public concerts and arts shows held at his home and studio. Portions of the architecture are restored at 122 East 8th Street, is said to have drawn visitors and students from various parts of the City to enjoy arts and culture (Interview 16 Sept. 2019). Decades later, with the beginning of the downturn in the economy during the 1970s, Old Oak Cliff experienced:

... forced busing to integrate schools, “white flight,” and changing demographics. And along with the limited growth and prosperity which brought a decline to the Oak Cliff neighborhoods, there was a burgeoning music scene with the likes of “Cliffe” Stevie Ray Vaughan, Bonnie Raitt, and Jackson Brown. (Elliot et al. 2009, p.112)

Additionally, beginning in the 1960 and extended through the 1970s, the extension of U.S. Interstate 35 East from downtown, touted as the “the South Texas Gateway,” displaced hundreds of families through what was then the heart of Old Oak Cliff (Oak Cliff Advocate, 1972). The name Oak Cliff “Gateway” as a double entendre was suggested by the financial consultant in a TIF economic feasibility study, as a play on the original moniker South Texas Gateway. In lieu of passage through to South Texas, it would now be an “entry” to what was proposed as a redeveloped Oak Cliff Arts District and economic success (Silber et al., 1992).

²⁹ It is from the Dallas Arts Association that the Dallas Museum of Art evolved.

The Bishop Arts District, the control for this study, was named and initially developed by the real estate developer Jim Lake (Elliott et al. 2009). Through the late 1980s, as the area continued to decline, residences in need of repair, non-conforming industrial uses, and boarded commercial buildings; Lake began purchasing the “rundown properties,” in the area and leasing them to artist who came to join other artist already residing there—such as sculptor Stu Kraft and his art studio. Reportedly, “... so many (artists) moved in that Lake began referring to the area as the ‘Bishop Arts District’... and the name stuck even after the rents got too high and the artists began to move out” (ibid., p.117).

The Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts Districts are both a part of the Old Oak Cliff neighborhood and have historic, socio-demographic, and locational similarities. Both, originally platted as residential single and duplex occupancy types, were constructed as housing developments in 1930 for Latino populations of labor and service workers in close proximity to Jefferson Street, the “main street” of the area. By the 1990s the Districts location was seen as favorable for municipal economic redevelopment due to its accessibility to major transportation routes, its proximity to and views of the Dallas urban center, and its adjacency to the northeast of Kessler Park—a residential base of affluent consumers to support future retail, entertainment, restaurants and cultural developments. The district itself (and immediately south) consisted in large part of low-value, poorly maintained structure, which was seen as “contributing to the negative image associated with the Oak Cliff area” (Silbers et al. 1992, p. 16). And where the population in the two arts districts grew five percent from 1980–1990, and was followed by a decline of two percent from 1990–1995, the overall population in the Dallas Metropolitan Statistical Area increased 30 percent from 1980–1990, and an additional 10 percent increase from 1990–1995 (Geolytics 1980, 1990, 1995). Where the loss of population in Oak Cliff Gateway

and Bishop Arts cannot be proven to equate to displacement on the scale of the incumbent population in New York City, “where the presence of the arts community was often a key correlate of residential gentrification, serving to smooth the flow of capital into neighborhood,” in the case of the Old Oak Cliff neighborhood arts districts—similarities exist indicating the existence of Smith’s market induced gentrification transition and second-wave (Figure 2-1)(Hackworth and Smith 2001, p.467; Cameron and Coaffee 2005).

Comparing the socio-demographics of the population in 1990 to that of the overall Dallas MSA, the Oak Cliff districts were predominately Hispanic/Latino (65.7 percent), with a young median age of 27.2, educational attainment of 42.9 percent of the adult population with a high school diploma, and 8.3 percent of the residents with a college degree. The number of households within the districts declined 13.5 percent from 1980–1990, and an additional 6.7 percent from 1990–1995, as compared to the Dallas MSA, which increased 34.0 percent and 10 percent, respectively.

Additionally, both Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts are similar in distance from public transportation and proximity to the City of Dallas Central Business District (CBD). And although a new public transit Dart Red line was installed for use in 2015 through Oak Cliff Gateway to the Bishop’s NAD, the data utilized for this study is prior to implementation of the line. Containing a lake and large open areas, Oak Cliff Gateway is larger in acreage than Bishop’s NADs, but they consist of similar numbers of residential lots at the first benchmark (1990) of the longitudinal study, the census tracts are however not adjacent to each other. Both neighborhoods were primarily working class and, as indicated earlier, are a part of a larger non-white Hispanic community.

Old East Dallas: Cedars TIF and Cedars Arts District South

The second set of comparative case studies is initially one district—Cedars Arts District—located in a section of Dallas known as Old East Dallas, which is south of the central business district. As mentioned earlier, the control for this set of case-studies is a section of the Cedars, called for the purposes of this study Cedars Art District South, which is separated from the Cedar TIF case study by major thorough-fares.

In the early 1870, developers of a new subdivision, south of downtown Dallas TX, named it the Cedars because “on the prairie, this place was covered with Red Cedar trees—or at least some species that looked like Cedars” (Cedars Neighborhood Association POR 26 Sept. 2019). Located south but in close proximity to downtown, this area in the late 1890s became home to many of Dallas’ wealthy city stewards such as Alexander Harwood, W.C.C. Akard, and Henry S. Ervay for whom major City of Dallas thoroughfares are named today. Large Victorian cottages and mansions graced the area. As railroad construction began enclosing the Cedars subdivision, the wealthy homeowners began moving subdivisions north and east of downtown Dallas, and the area slowly went into decline (ibid.).

The decline of the area was ensured when in 1965, the City Ordinance No. 10962 rezoned the Cedars for Heavy Commercial (HC), which permitted industrial uses adjacent to residential single family homes, hasten the demise of the neighborhood and the possibility of recovery (City of Dallas 1965, Payne 1982). Additionally, to provide housing for the workers, hastily build low income apartments were placed on vacant lots, which became tenements set between new industrial plants, deteriorating single family homes, and boarded masonry structures (still intact with historic architectural detailing) of once successful retail establishments. And as with Old Oak Cliff, highway construction began in the 1960s and by 1970 had encircled and separated the area from the

downtown central business district and the arts and cultural district Deep Ellum—historically a neighborhood mix of jazz and blues bars, avant-garde storefront galleries and artist studios, and bohemian black culture (Payne 1982).

As the recession unfolded during the 1970s, there was a movement of artists south from the Deep Ellum neighborhood into the Cedars, where rents were low and empty industrial buildings and boarded retail shops were available for studio space and residences in the working class neighborhood. The movement continuing into the 1980s, with several buildings converted to residential condominium lofts or for lease, and in 1989 the City Ordinance, No. 20395 reversed the earlier zoning of the now Cedars Arts District with a new Planned Development District (No. 317). This was an attempt to correct the effects of the HC zoning of the 1960s and revitalize an arts neighborhood proximate to the Dallas CBD (Figure 4-1).

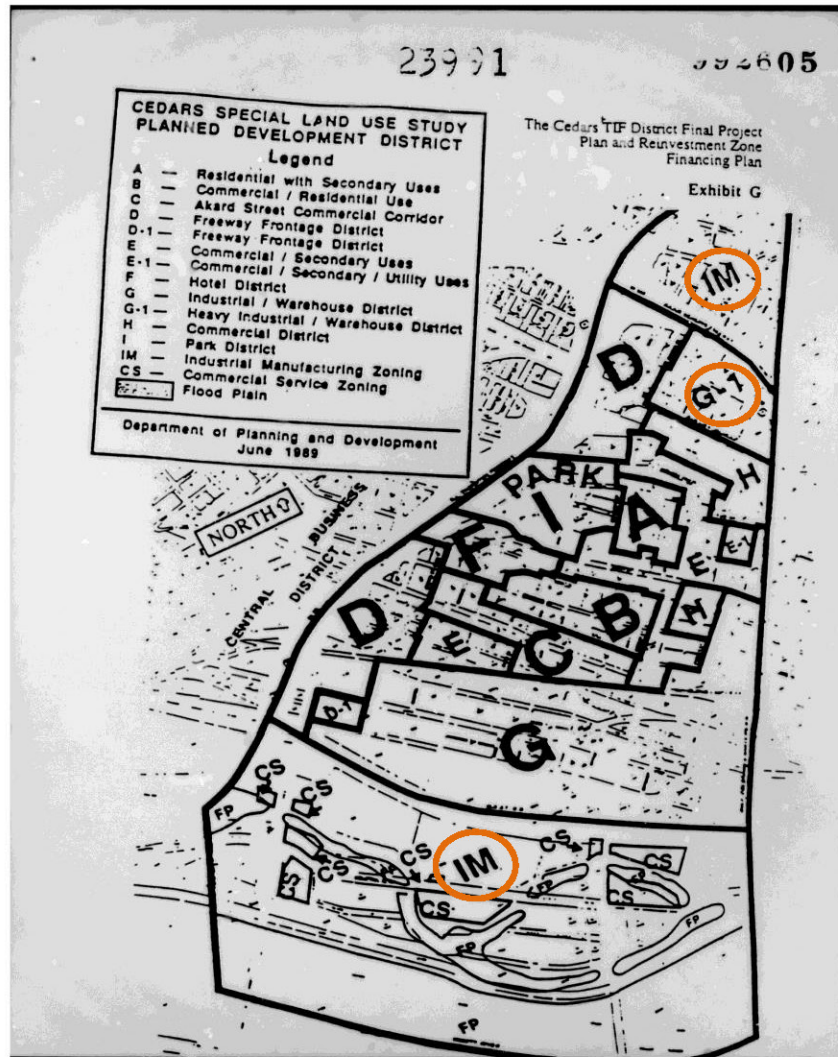


Figure 4-1 Cedars Art District rezoning in PD No. 317

Source: Dallas Municipal Archives, 1989

Within the 1989 rezoning plan, the Heavy Industry (G-1) and Industrial Manufacturing (IM) land uses were moved to the periphery of the neighborhood in an attempt to increase mix-use, residential, and commercial land uses, eliminate non-conforming land-uses, and revitalize the area. By the 1990s the Cedars was also seen as an optimal area for municipal economic redevelopment for reasons similar to the Oak

Cliff Districts: access to major transportation routes and in this case adjacency to the central business district, but lacking the affluent neighborhood to support future development—buildings that had stood empty, e.g. the historic 1910 Sear Roebuck Building, began attracting developers (the Sears building was initially purchased by a Canadian housing market developer) who began loft and mixed-use conversion. Reportedly with the “return to urban living” movement, could maximize profit by providing residences for the many who would return to work in Dallas’ CBD and seek housing nearby (City of Dallas 1990b; Hamer et al. 1997; Hellmuth et al. 1997).³⁰ Additionally, as the initial TIF Economic Feasibility Study was being completed in 1992, the number of Dallas demolition permits increased to remove dilapidated houses that had been left to deteriorate, leaving an increased number of vacant lots in the district that could be assembled for development (ibid.).

The population in the Cedars declined seven percent from 1980-1990, and continued to decline by three percent from 1990-1995, as compared to the overall population in the Dallas Metropolitan Statistical Area, which as stated earlier increased 30 percent from 1980-1990, and increased an additional 10 percent 1990–1995 (Hamer et al. 1997, Hellmuth et al. 1997).

Comparing the socio-demographics of the population in 1990 to that of the overall Dallas MSA, the Cedars districts were predominately African-American (61.0 percent) compared to with 11.91 percent in the MSA, a median age of 32.5 as compared

³⁰ The historic 1910 Sears Building became the Southside on Lamar and opened in 2000, capitalizing on the Cedars Arts District. The developer stated in a Dallas Morning News interview: “The South Side building has also become an artists’ center, the last time we did a count on our residents was about three years ago (2016), and around 50 people made their living being artists...artists are coming back, bring back life to things, and that was what the whole area was missing” (Limon, 04 Apr. 2019). This became a TIF supported project. Condominiums and rentals are above market with the required 20 percent of the unit set-aside as affordable housing. However, merely because there is a set aside required in all Dallas TIF supported projects, does not mean the units must be occupied by low-income residents, only that they are available.

to 31.8 for the MSA, educational attainment of 42.6 percent of the adult population with a high school diploma as compared to 78.4 percent, and 9.6 percent of the residents with an advanced degree as compared to 18.7 percent for the MSA. The number of households declined 10.5 percent from 1980–1990, and an additional 5.2 percent from 1990–1995, as compared to the Dallas MSA which increased 34.0 percent and 10 percent respectively (Ibid.).

Additionally, both sections of the Cedars Arts districts are proximate to the Cedar Station Dart Red and Blue lines, and will be the site of the new high-speed rail. And where the Cedars TIF is closer to the CBD, the adjacent Cedars Arts District South is also proximate. The Cedars Art District South is larger in acreage than the Cedars TIF. However, the number of residential lots at the first benchmark (1990) of the longitudinal study is similar, and the census tracts are adjacent to each other in this case.

Tax Incremental Financing Districts (TIFs)

State enabling legislation varies across the country in terms of TIF criteria and legal requirements. Chapter 311 of the Texas Tax Code (“the Act”) is the governing statute for tax increment reinvestment zones (TIRZ) or more commonly known as TIF districts in Texas. The Act has evolved in terms of more streamlined procedures and flexibility for taxing jurisdiction participation, with the municipality managing the basic formation and implementation of the districts. The Act outlines the basic requirements for the creation of a TIF district:

- i.) Include a preliminary plan and public hearing/notice requirements
- ii.) Provide provisions and complete negotiations for the various taxing entities financial participation in the TIF and detail the participation levels
- iii.) Create a TIF Board of Directors whose composition is limited to appointees from: i) the City that designated the TIF and ii) taxing

jurisdictions that commit to contributing some portion of tax increment to the district

- iv.) Provide procedures for the final TIF Plan and increment collection
- v.) Provide annual financial reports to the other taxing entities and the state comptroller.

Once the TIF district is established, the model of the property tax flow within the district indicates the amount of base tax revenue that is established in year one and will continue to flow into the general fund and to other taxing agencies (Figure 4-2).

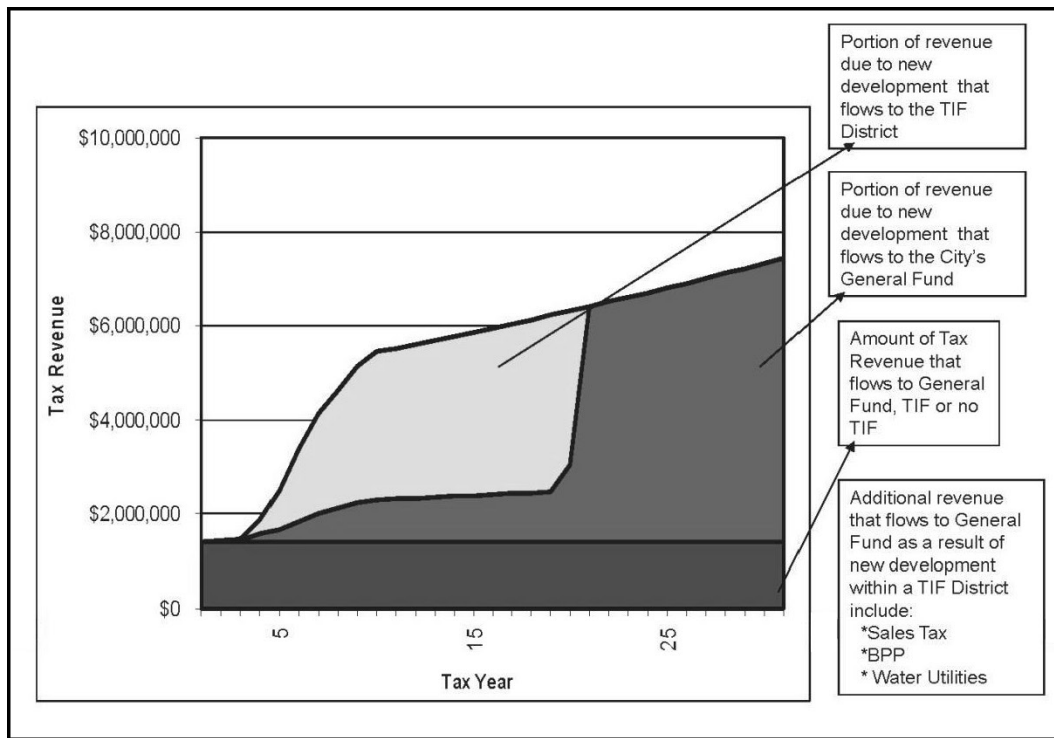


Figure 4-2 Model of property tax flow within TIF districts

Source: City of Dallas 2015, Merriman 2018

The portion of tax revenue due to new development flows into the TIF district fund and may be utilized for projects within the TIF district based on the approved "Final Project Plan and Reinvestment Zone Financing Plan." The initial duration of the TIF district is

typically 15 to 20 years. Following the expiration of the TIF, the portion of revenue due to new development flows back into the City's general fund and to the other taxing agencies.

The City of Dallas has been utilizing Tax Increment Financing (TIF) districts since 1988. However as indicated earlier, the use of TIFs in Dallas do not include the "but for" and "blight" requirement, but the existence of the pre-conditions: i) low housing value, ii) low-income population, iii) high vacancy rate of commercial buildings, iv) a large number of vacant, undeveloped or underdeveloped land, and v) substandard infrastructure (City of Dallas 1992, 2015). Dallas has no "official" set policies related to the creation of TIFs other than the State's basic requirements for the formation and maintenance of TIF districts mentioned earlier. However, the City's increment fund allocation policies for a district do include provisions for: i) allocating any general increment funds not tied to specific projects, ii) an outline of any preferential status for "significant" catalyst projects, and iii) at the discretion of the TIF Board to allow for increment set-asides for district-wide initiatives not tied to the specific district in which the tax funding was obtained (*ibid.*).³¹

In 2009 Texas amended its TIF provisions (Chapter 311 of the Tax Code) to allow for one extension of a TIF district's termination date, provided that any taxing jurisdictions participating in a TIF had the option to discontinue their involvement for the extended terms. The City of Dallas Office of Economic Development updated their policy to permit one 10 year term extension based on "changing market conditions, not present when the district was established, and the extension would benefit the TIF district by: i)

³¹ This TIF set aside funding was proposed and adopted, in the 2018 Dallas Housing Policy's Market Value Analysis, to assist in jump-starting private development in stronger and mid-range housing market areas, which are adjacent to weaker market areas. This does not directly create additional affordable housing but "working with the Housing Department to integrate Market Value Analysis results in TIF implementation that will create synergies and spill-over, strengthening the weaker markets and low-income households can begin to afford housing...it's the tide that raises all the boats" (Favela at "town-hall meeting" 2017).

allowing pending development to occur immediately, or ii) supporting the expansion of a major employer, or iii) supporting significant public investment and publicly funded initiatives (Interview 31 July 2019). The 10 year extension to the initial 15 or 20 year TIF duration is not required to have a public hearing since it is the TIF Board that makes the recommendation and “all the taxing agencies participating have representatives on the TIF Board of Directors as well as a citizen appointee designated by the Council-member within whose district the TIF resides” (Favela 2017).

While the primary purpose of the TIF program in Dallas is stated to be to promote development in underutilized areas and grow the City’s tax base, there is an acknowledgement that promoting housing for individuals and families at a variety of income levels is “one of many policy considerations” (interview 13 Sept. 2019). TIF districts created or extended under the adopted policy require projects with a residential component seeking TIF incentives to provide 20% of units at affordable levels or an alternative approved by the TIF Board of Directors and submitted to the City and Dallas County (Table 4-1). Affordability is based on 80% of area median income “low-income level” using an annual schedule provided by the City’s Housing Department utilizing the U.S. Housing and Urban Development guidelines. Thirty percent of the affordable area median income is the maximum amount to be paid for housing and utilities.

Table 4-1 Affordable housing units in Dallas TIF Districts

TIF	Year Established	Affordable Housing Requirement	Requirement Period	Residential Units Produced (Completed)	Affordable Units Produced (Completed)	Affordable Units Committed (Approved/UC)	Total Affordable (Committed and Complete)	Total Units Committed after Affordable Housing Required	Affordable Units created with other programs in TIF Districts	Total Affordable (Committed and Complete)
Cedars Area TIF	1992	20%	2011 forward	317	193	18	0	335		193
City Center TIF ^{1,2}	1996	10%	2012 forward ^{1,2}	2,044	114	29	3	2,073	92	209
Cityplace Area TIF	1992	none	n/a	2,208	0	0	0	2,208	162	162
Cypress Waters TIF	2010	20%	Inception to TIF Close Out in 2015	814	163	0	0	814		163
Davis Garden TIF	2007	20%	since inception	290	274	2,881	576	3,171		850
Deep Ellum TIF	2005	20%	since inception	0	0	0	0	0		0
Design District TIF	2005	20%	since inception	214	43	309	62	523		105
Downtown Connection TIF ³	2005	10%	since inception ³	985	230	1,106	133	2,091	204	567
Farmers Market TIF	1998	none	2014 Forward	970	0	408	60	1,378		60
Ft. Worth Ave TIF	2007	20%	since inception	200	40	0	40	200		80
Grand Park South TIF	2005	20%	since inception	0	0	0	0	0	110	110
Mall Area TIF	2014	20%	since inception	0	0	0	0	0		0
Maple/Mockingbird TIF	2008	20%	since inception	243	52	0	0	243		52
Oak Cliff Gateway TIF	1992	20%	2009 Forward	984	179	166	34	1,150		213
Skillman Corridor TIF	2005	20%	since inception	579	40	0	0	579		40
Southwestern Medical TIF	2005	20%	since inception	0	0	150	23	150		23
Sports Arena TIF ⁵	1998	20%	2012 forward ¹	0	0	300	60	300		60
State Thomas	1988	none	n/a	2,530	0	0	0	2,530		0
TOD TIF	2008	20%	since inception	193	98	0	0	193	279	273
Vickery Meadow TIF ⁴	2005	20%	since inception	325	0	0	0	325		0
Total				12,902	1,426	5,367	991	18,269	847	3,160

1. The Intown Housing Program provided affordable units in the downtown area until the program ended in 2002.
 2. City Center had an affordable housing set aside to fund new affordable residential units throughout the City. After 2012, 10% of all new units are required to be affordable.
 3. Downtown Connection used bond proceeds from the Mercantile project to provide affordable housing funding.
 4. \$1 million set aside from Vickery Meadow TIF for affordable units citywide.
 5. \$1M paid for offsite affordable housing

In 2010 there were sixteen active TIF districts, and in 2015 there were seventeen active TIF Districts (the first two districts, State Thomas and City Place, expired in 2008 and 2015). There were also four sub-districts added to existing TIF districts. One of the sub-districts is Bishop-Jefferson, which was added to the Oak Cliff Gateway, and although added in 2009, the final plan approvals were in 2014.³² The public projects, dollar estimates, and adjustments (through City Council approved addendums) were proposed and listed as a part of the initial approved TIF Plan. The projected funding for developer public-private projects in TIF districts is typically reimbursements out of a portion of the incremental property taxes collected. However, the developer, with the

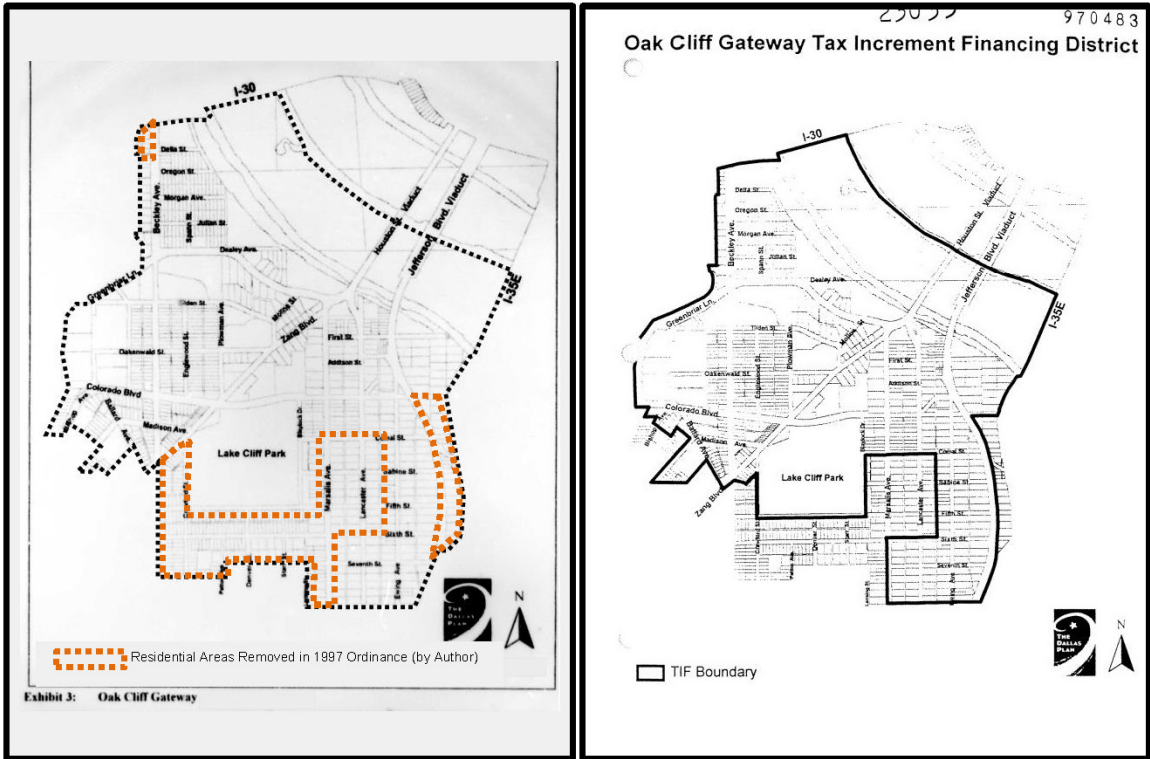
³² In 2019 there are nineteen active TIF districts with five sub-districts.

approval of the TIF Board of Directors, is able to negotiate the terms of the project upon application for TIF funding from the City. According to the City of Dallas Office of Economic Development, which oversees the administration of the TIF districts, the success of the public-private projects can be seen in the increase in the 2015 total property values, which grew 239 percent (\$8.3 billion) cumulatively over the total of the base values for the districts (Bentley 2017). And overall, the Office of Economic Development has indicated the TIFs have been positive with a cumulative property value of 332 percent over the total base of each district as of 2018 (Interview, 31 July 2019).

Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars TIFs, City of Dallas' Reinvestment Zones Numbers Three and Four respectively, as mentioned earlier, are now the two oldest Tax Incremental Financing Districts of the current nineteen. Oak Cliff Gateway is advertised to be "primarily a residential cultural district adjacent to a major employer, Methodist Medical Center, and with supported retail" (Interview, 31 July 2019). The Cedars is stated to be an "arts and cultural venue with the advantage of being adjacent to the Dallas Convention Center, with a focus of increasing residential development" (ibid.).

Per the State's mandated TIF process, the initial Economic Redevelopment Feasibility Studies were presented to Dallas City Council in 1992; both districts were approved and formed by Ordinance. Since the Texas State statute requires, prior to final approval and implementation of a TIF district, a Final Project Plan and Reinvestment Zone Financing Plan be approved by all taxing bodies with Participation Agreements, and percentages of contribution indicated. For Dallas, those bodies are Dallas Independent School Districts, Dallas County, Dallas County Hospital Districts, and Dallas County Community College Districts. Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars TIFs were approved in 1997, with the Dallas Independent School District and the Dallas County Community College District withholding approval of final percentages until negotiations for upgrades

and timing for delivery of funds to existing schools and community college campuses were complete. The 1997 project plans were amended in 1999 to include \$600,000 for use by DISD at 50 percent participation, and 1.3 Million to DCCCD for new campus additions at 80 percent participation (Dallas City Council Official Action 25 August 1999, 9 April 1999). Additionally, the project plans were amended to: i) contain no more than 15 percent of the total appraised property value by a county or school district, ii) contain no more than 10 percent of the property, excluding property that is publically owned, for residential purposes, and iii) may not exceed more than 15 percent of the total appraised value of real property in the City and in the industrial districts created by the City (City of Dallas Ordinance 23991 1999). An example of these carve-out provisions can be seen in the Oak Cliff Gateway boundary limits differing from the 1992 initial financial study area (Figure 4-4a), and the 1997 approved Project Plan (Figure 4-4b). The areas removed were residential to prevent the TIF from exceeding the 10 percent for residential purposes requirement, although the carved out residential areas were noted in the initial 1992 facility study as "severally declining residences with cultural significance and potential assets for redevelopment within the Oak Cliff Gateway area (Hamer 1992).



(a)

(b)

Figure 4-3 Oak Cliff Gateway TIF Area

(a) 1992 TIF area map and (b) 1997 TIF approved boundary

Source: Hamer et al. 1992 and Dallas Municipal Archives 1997

Oak Cliff Gateway TIF

In the 1992 approved Oak Cliff Gateway TIF district initial Reinvestment Zone Financing Plan executive summary, the gateway community was touted to represent an “important opportunity for the City of Dallas,” occupying a “prime location for redevelopment activity between Downtown Dallas and (affluent) Kessler Park,” and located on the hills overlooking the Trinity River “provides a superior location for new residential and commercial development” (Hamer et al. 1992, p. 1). The creation of the TIF district was to “help promote this development by utilizing public investment to attract

and underwrite private investment” (ibid.). The Oak Cliff Gateway zone was originally intended to stimulate and serve approximately \$51.8 million in new private real estate development, above the \$60.0 million 1991 tax base over the 20 year period (ibid.). The cumulative tax increment was estimated from \$16.0 million to \$19.2 million, with an annual increment following year 12 of \$5.7 million.

The initial plan for the private investment program included: i) a range between 51 to 211 new residential units, ii) 43 thousand square feet of commercial retail space, and iii) 30 thousand square feet of commercial office space (Hamer et al. 1992). The determination of the final residential, retail, and office investments would depend on the market conditions within the City and the “competitiveness” of the Oak Cliff Gateway in attracting private development at the time of implementation. The 1997 final Oak Cliff Gateway TIF District Project and Reinvestment Zone Financing Plans indicated an increase in both commercial and office spaces; however there was a marked increase in new private residential construction projects based on census data and analysis for the Oak Cliff TIF area compared to Southwest Dallas County and Dallas Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA): i) 500 market rate apartment units, ii) 100 single family homes, and iii) 150 elderly housing units, including assisted living facilities (Anderson 1997).³³ As indicated in Table 4-2, the approved TIF District Plans noted the housing inventory had decreased at an annual rate of 9.2 percent annually from 1990 to 1995, and where Southwest Dallas County percentage also decreased, it was more than half as much at 4.8 percent. However, housing stock however grew in the Dallas MSA at a rate of 7.0 percent annually (Table 4-2). Additionally, 73.5 percent of the housing stock in the TIF

³³ This study examines the multi-family and single family residential components. Researching the effects of TIFs upon incumbent working-class populations, for the purposes of this study, the elderly housing and assisted living units are considered commercial and not included due to the unique nature of the facilities. Additionally, their development was to be affiliated with Methodist Medical Center’s future expansions.

District was built prior to 1970 compared to 40.9 percent for the Dallas MSA. The housing stock of Southwest Dallas County was slightly older, with 79.9 percent built prior to 1970.

Within the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF, the housing inventory in 1990 was characterized as heavily renter-occupied, with 53.1 percent of the available supply versus 23.3 percent owner-occupied. As a comparison, Southwest Dallas County was 43.8 percent renter-occupied, and 37.6 percent owner occupied, where the MSA was the opposite, with 38.8 percent renter-occupied and 49.6 percent owner-occupied. The vacancy rate within the Oak Cliff Gateway was 23.6 percent, compared to 18.6 percent in the Southwest Dallas County, and 11.6 percent in the MSA.

Rental rates were found to be significantly lower within the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF, with 85.5 percent of rental units renting for less than \$600 per month and in 1990, 48.4 percent of the housing inventory (land and infrastructure), was valued at less than or equal to \$65,000. Rental rates were slightly more at 76.8 percent for the Southwest Dallas County as compared to 58.9 percent for the MSA. The taxable value of the residential units for Southwest Dallas County was substantially less, 76.1 percent less than or equal to \$65,000, where the MSA has only 38.4 percent below or at \$65,000. Oak Cliff Gateway TIF's affordable housing rates were \$402 with utilities, based on the area median income of \$20,051. The Southwest County's area median income was \$25,831 with an affordable housing rate, including utilities of \$517; the MSA's area median income was \$38,845 with an affordable housing rate, including utilities of \$777.

Table 4-2 Oak Cliff Gateway TIF Existing Residential Analysis (1990-1995)

Residential Variable	Oak Cliff Gateway TIF	Southwest Dallas County	Dallas Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)
Housing Inventory	-9.2% annually	-4.8% annually	+9.9% annually
Built Prior to 1970	78.8%	79.9%	40.9%
Renter Occupied	53.1%	43.8%	38.8%
Owner Occupied	23.3%	37.6%	49.6%
Vacancy	23.6%	18.6%	11.6%
Rental Rates (1990) ≤ \$600	85% ¹	76.8% ²	58.9% ³
Taxable Rate (1990) ≤ \$65,000	48.4%	76.1%	38.4%

1. AMI is \$20,051, Affordable Intown Housing Program rate with utilities was \$402

2. AMI is \$25,831, Affordable housing rate with utilities was \$517

3. AMI is \$38,845, Affordable housing rate with utilities was \$777

(Source: Anderson 1997, US Census)

Where the TIF districts, Southwest Dallas County and Dallas MSA are presented here as a comparison (similar to the original TIF plans), it should be pointed out that strictly looking at numeric values in this comparison is deceptive since Southwest Dallas County and Dallas MSA are larger areas with different geographies and demographics. However, the usefulness however is that from the comparison, one can see Oak Cliff Gateway TIF had the indicators of a rent-gap, making it prime for gentrification and drawing capital to its resident market. The factors are: i) loss of residential inventory, ii) low taxable rate and age of infrastructure indicating the presence of a potential rent-gap with land available, and iii) the low number of owner residents and high number of low-income renters who could be disposed. The increase in capital from the residential construction and improvements was seen as essential in the early development stage and key to the success of the TIF District. Methodist Medical Center healthcare facility (established in 1927) was a largely untapped resource of “needing housing,” with 2,200 employees and 350 physicians (Hamer et al.1992). Methodist had just completed a

\$75.7 million project in 1991 and was acquiring the land surrounding their campus for future expansion, which would provide additional jobs to draw population to the district.

With a resident-physician population and a large contingent of full-time physicians, hospital employees were seen as a large potential target group for market-rate multi-family housing. Additionally with no “new” apartment inventory in the district, an existing renter population of whom 32 percent did have incomes above \$30,000—these households were thought to be willing to trade up to new units with modern amenities if they became available in the TIF District (ibid.). With an overall city-wide occupancy rate of 90 percent in 1995, the target group recommendation was multi-family housing:

... should be offered for slightly less than the central business district's higher side of the market average, creating catalyst opportunities for a more affordable product-type initially. For those who may perceive the district as a high crime area, the new units could be marketed as having the benefits of being proximate to downtown, neighboring to the affluent residential Kessler Park and Stevens Park areas, residing in a cultural significant area, and being proximate to the employment base of Methodist Hospital's growing campus. (Anderson 1997, p. 24)

A goal of 300-500 units was proposed for years 3 through 8, with a plan of creating a concentration of units to begin stabilizing a block (or larger area) to be used as a catalyst to attract more capital and private investors. This initial project would require support and coordinated effort from the Dallas' Offices of Economic Development, Housing, and Zoning in order to be able to assemble and finance the land—“thus a project largely 80 percent market rate and 20 percent slightly below market for moderate incomes may represent an ideal early phase of development” (ibid.). As an initial project for the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF district, a quick return for both the private developer and the TIF Fund was seen as crucial. There is no mention in the Dallas Municipal Archival 1997 TIF Plan and Ordinance documents about providing affordable housing for the existing low-income population. Nor was the Dallas affordable Intown Housing Program requirement of a set-aside of 20 percent of the housing units for incumbent low income

households with a 20 percent below area median income mentioned. Their affordable rental rate would have been \$402 per month, including utilities. Market rental rates at the low end ranged from \$600 to \$750 per month.

The profitability of the “new” market rate single family owner occupied housing in the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF was perceived to be limited unless “perception of the area begins to change and sites can be assembled at a reasonable cost” (ibid. p. 25). The plan recommendation was to have private development create 80-100 homes proximate to the boundary with Kessler Park and “market the units as a part of that neighborhood” during years 7 through 12. The also included a recommendation to focus on preserving the “sound older, particularly historic, housing stock in the neighborhood, particularly those close to major amenities such as Lake Cliff, and construct new units in the more deteriorated areas” (ibid. p. 27).

If examined through a positivist lens, the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF district's profile indicates a market that would not have seemed attractive for development due to i) declining population, ii) limited retail purchasing power by the low-income Hispanic larger households, iii) the number of vacancies, and iv) rental turnover rates. However, with the ABED cultural assets of the community to rely on, the “benefit” of the rent-gap providing initial low land costs in deteriorating areas, and the active search to create public-private capital market relationships—the key goal of the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF district appears to be to adopt a plan that “market(s) the opportunities in what may not yet be fully realized in the current investment climate” (Anderson 1997, p.13, Dallas City Council Ordinance 23033 1997, RTKL Associates 1996). , The neoliberal goal of maximizing profit could be realized by “alter(ing) the unfavorable demographic factors to make the area more attractive to draw further private development” is met (Anderson 1997, p.13, Dallas City Council Ordinance 23033 1997, RTKL Associates 1996).

Cedars TIF

As stated earlier and similar to the Oak Cliff Gateway, the Cedars TIF District's Preliminary Project and Reinvestment Zone Financing Plans were approved in 1992. The Plan's Executive Summary indicated this TIF District represented:

... a gateway community and an important opportunity for the City of Dallas to develop an attractive business and residential community which will serve as an extension of the Central Business District and the Downtown Area... boost job creation in the area and build on growth Downtown and the continued growth and success of activities at the Dallas Convention Center. (Hamer et al. 1992, p.1)

There were plans underway for an expansion to the Dallas Convention Center, which was scheduled for completion in 1994 and would connect the Dallas Area Rapid Transit (DART) Red and Blue light rail lines beneath the west wing of the Convention Center with the new Cedars Station. And similar to the Oak Cliff Gateway, the creation of the Cedars TIF District was to help "promote residential and commercial redevelopment by utilizing public investment to attract and underwrite private investment" (ibid.). The Cedars TIF Zone Preliminary Plans anticipated the TIF would generate approximately \$29.2 million in incremental revenue with the TIF private development value of \$162 million over 15 years (City Council Ordinance 23092 1992, Hamer et al. 1992, Hellmuth et al. 1992). This was based primarily on the assumptions that private development would seek to "capitalize on the strong links for events, tourism activity, and growth" in an area that was: i) an expansion of the popular Deep Ellum cultural and entertainment venues, ii) adjacent to the Convention Center that would draw 3.7 million people a year in attendance, iii) connected to the DART light rail lines, iv) a tourist destination with over 100,000 visitors a year to the Cedars' historic Old City Park, and v) would feel safe due to the planned construction of the new Dallas Police Headquarters (ibid.).

Similar to Oak Cliff Gateway, the Cedars TIF preliminary marketing and financial analyses began in 1990. In the midst of the economic recession, optimistic plans for the

District's economic revitalization and redevelopment were put forth. The initial plan for the private investment program included: i) 1085 new residential units, ii) 400 hotel/motel rooms, iii) 55 thousand square feet of retail space, and iv) 300 thousand square feet of service centers/flex spaces. In 1997, where the other components of the program remained the same, the residential units were reduced to 700 in the City Council's approved final Cedars TIF documents. In the initial plan it was anticipated there would be substantial development interest and there would be a land value increase at 3 percent in 1998, 6 percent in 2001 and 2006, and 7 percent in 2007 and 2010—adding substantially to the TIF fund but could slow investment interest due to the increased cost to development. The scheduled phases were in five year blocks; the development would begin in 2001, but it was anticipated the land assemblage would have occurred earlier at the lower land value rate. The calculation appeared to be that the greatest development would be at the end of the first of three phases, in year 5 of the term of the TIF. Since the land had already been captured at the lower rate, it would only maximize capital; any increases in land value after that “would only be a premium to the district” (Hamer et al. 1992; Helmuth et al. 1992).

The final Cedars TIF district plans approved 7 years later (1997) amended the cumulative private TIF Development value over the 15 years to approximately \$87.5 million, coupled with predicted increases in land values, the total taxable value would reach \$162 million. Since the TIF fund only receives revenue from the taxable value that exceeds the base year, the accrued captured taxable income value would be \$128 million, generating \$10.9 million in TIF revenue to be reinvested into public projects for the area (City Council Ordinance 23092 1997). Based on the revised market analysis and the updated feasibility study, the 1997 plans activating the Cedars TIF were more conservative but at the time thought to more accurately represent the market potential

within the District based on the land values estimated to increase only 1.2 percent annually for the term of the TIF district (ibid.).

As with Oak Cliff Gateway, by stimulating the initial growth the 1997 Cedars TIF district plans also focused on the need to jump-start private development within the Cedars TIF. Concurrently \$1 million from Dallas' 1995 General Obligation Bond was allocated for capital improvements within the TIF districts to encourage private investment. This funding was to be used for planning, engineering, construction of streets, drainage, and streetscape improvements. With conditions varying from Oak Cliff Gateway, which had the housing market acting as the catalyst, half of the funds would be provided to the Cedars TIF district to create a catalyst. The \$500 thousand was to be put towards a demonstration project—an "Interstate 30 gateway, to provide a distinct attractive entranceway with signage, landscaping, special paving, and lighting to reflect the character of the district" (Hellmuth et al. 1997, p.2). These enhancements were planned to eventually extend throughout the Cedars TIF District "to create a pleasing unified design," that would be funded by private investments, as well as the TIF Increment (ibid., p.3). This gateway demonstration project was intended to be the catalyst that would encourage long-term commercial and residential investment in the area.

Interestingly, where the Oak Cliff Gateway 1997 plans noted existing housing inventory and conditions in the district, as well as a detailed schedule for roll-out—the Cedars TIF final plans contained no such information. Although similar in area and containing a residential component of 700 units, the targeted real estate market focus for the Cedars TIF did not appear to be residential, even with the scaled back 1085 units and as compared to Oak Cliff TIF's fewer 600 units, .

Examining the existing residential conditions for the Cedars TIF District 1990-1995, clues are provided as to the different target market focus (Table 4-3). An analysis

of the Cedars TIF District's residential units indicates a decrease of 5.2 percent, slightly higher but in line with the Southwest Dallas County decrease of 4.8 percent, as compared to Oak Cliff Gateway's higher loss rate of 9.2 percent. As noted earlier, in the Dallas MSA the housing stock grew at a rate of 7.0 percent annually. Housing stock built prior to 1970 in the Cedars TIF was at 75.2 percent, which was slightly higher than the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF at 73.5 percent. This was slightly lower than the Southwest Dallas County at 79.9 percent, but higher than the MSA at 40.9 percent.

Within the Cedars TIF district in 1990, the housing inventory was largely renter occupied at 49.3 percent, and the owner occupied rate was similar to the Oak Cliff TIF at 23.3 percent. The renter occupancy rate for the Oak Cliff TIF was slightly higher at 53.1 percent, with both the County and MSA below that rate at 43.8 percent and 38.8 percent respectively. The residential vacancy rate for the Cedars TIF district was 27.4 percent, which was greater than the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF at 23.6 percent, Southwest Dallas County rate at 18.6 percent, and the Dallas MSA at 11.6 percent.

Rental rates in the Cedars TIF district were similar to Oak Cliff Gateway TIF. However, the percentage of units renting for \$600, or less, was lower at 70.8 percent as opposed to Oak Cliff Gateway's 85.5 percent. And in 1990, there was slightly less housing inventory valued at \$65,000 or less in the Cedars TIF District than Oak Cliff Gateway TIF, 42.6 percent as compared to 48.4 percent respectively. The taxable value of the residential units for Southwest Dallas County was substantially less at 76.1, and the MSA has only 38.4 percent below.

Since the rent rate is based on an income 20 percent below the area median income, of which 30 percent is slated for housing and utilities, based on the area median income of \$20,051 the Intown Housing Program affordable rental rate of \$402 is the same for both TIF case studies. And as stated earlier, the Southwest County's area

median income was \$25,831 with an affordable housing rate, including utilities, of \$517. The MSA's area median income was \$38,845 with an affordable housing rate, including utilities, of \$777.

Table 4-3 Cedars TIF Existing Residential Analysis (1990-1995)

Residential Variable	Cedars TIF	Southwest Dallas County	Dallas Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)
Housing Inventory	-5.2% annually	-4.8% annually	+9.9% annually
Built Prior to 1970	75.2%	79.9%	40.9%
Renter Occupied	49.3%	43.8%	38.8%
Owner Occupied	23.3%	37.6%	49.6%
Vacancy	27.4%	18.6%	11.6%
Rental Rates (1990) ≤ \$600	70.8% ₁	76.8% ₂	58.9% ₃
Taxable Rate (1990) ≤ \$65,000	42.6%	76.1%	38.4%

1. AMI is \$20,051, Affordable Intown Housing Program rate with utilities was \$402

2. AMI is \$25,831, Affordable housing rate with utilities was \$517

3. AMI is \$38,845, Affordable housing rate with utilities was \$777

(Source: Anderson 1997, US Census)

Similar to the Oak Cliff Gateway, the Cedars TIF had: i) loss of housing inventory, ii) low taxable rate and age of infrastructure indicating the presence of a potential rent-gap with land available, and iii) the low number of owner residents and the high number of low-income renters who could be displaced. This made residential development a target market. The major difference that may account for the Cedars TIF's altered target market plan was the stated strength of the District, proximity to the central business district and downtown amenities. The goal of maximum capital return from development was centered on that large transitional arts based economic development consumer market. The residential market plan for the Cedars TIF was not to be focused on single family residences or multifamily residential community complexes, rather the

target-market would find a mixed-use combination of residential rentals, condominiums, hotels, retail, and offices most profitable.

Additionally, the impediments to the Cedars TIF target market were listed and varied (Anderson 1997, City of Dallas 1999). In the financial analysis for the Cedars TIF district, rational maximizing investments were listed as:

- fear the potential of the properties would be masked with the lots that had been allowed to go into disrepair, but then the properties could be obtained at lower land cost (presence of rent-gap)improving the possibility for investment,
- despite proximity to the central business district, the surrounding highway construction made the area appear isolated, but the capital improvement gateway demonstration gateway project could alter that,
- the number of shelters and relief agencies catering to the homeless housed in the area were increasing “adding to the negative impression of the TIF District” (Hamer et al. 1997, p.7).

The final plan for the Cedars TIF was to alleviate “most if not all of the deterrents to development through image enhancement, infrastructure redesign and improvement, increased code enforcement, and establishment of formal linkages to the major assets of the area” (ibid.).

Although the Cedars TIF District, similar to Oak Cliff Gateway, had the benefit of being an eclectic area of artists, residential units were geared towards those singles and couples working in and around downtown who wished to “move into the district to live close to work and have the added bonus of entertainment in the District and nearby in the Arts District, Deep Ellum, and the West End”—all also TIF districts (Hellmuth et al. 1999, p.10). A variety of densities were planned, such as the redevelopment of the old Sears building to upscale residences, artist lofts, and galleries, as well as the renovation of the surviving stock of historic single family homes in the central of the Cedars TIF district. Within the Oak Cliff Gateway, residential units were fewer in number but considered

important catalyst projects. The Cedars TIF marketing concentration was geared towards retail and hotel/motel development—citing the success of the Ramada Inn within the Cedar’s District and its 70 employees—to capture investments targeting the hospitality and tourism market. The redevelopment of the historic 1910 Sears Warehouse building was considered a major catalyst project for the Cedars TIF. However, cited originally as primarily residential the investor was unable to pre-sell the luxury lofts in order to obtain financing for the project. Seeking TIF funding the proposed model, the project was changed to a mix-use of residential, retail, office, and included space for hospitality and tourism (Dallas Morning News 1990).

Beginning in 1998, the annual Reinvestment Zone Number Four Cedars TIF financial reports, include the same mission statement:

... the promotion of the redevelopment, stabilization, and growth of the Cedars TIF District area. An accompanying goal is the stabilization and growth of the value of the area's tax base and a positive reversal of urban decay. (City of Dallas Resolution No. 98-1121, p.3)

And although the Cedars TIF’s marketing strategy was stated to be to attract investment to an “arts and cultural venue with the advantage of being adjacent to the Dallas Convention Center, with a focus of increasing residential development,” this did not include provisions for an incumbent community within the neighborhood. Rather, in order to maximize the value of the District’s tax base—a stated goal—arts based economic development and the TIF are used to capitalize on potential economic gains. In focus of the residential target market was the “creative” professionals drawn to the central business district and downtown area, precluding the incumbent low-income residents (Florida 2003).

This study’s municipal archival research provides insight into a neoliberal planning process of drawing capital and maximizing profit through municipally endorsed “creative gentrification,” and a value capture economic development policy—tax

incremental financing. And although the word “gentrification” never appeared in the documents for the timeline researched for this study—the TIF’s financial feasibility analysis, financial plans, and subsequent amendments—the words “displacing” and “alleviating deterrents to development” appeared until after 2009 (Hamer et al. 1997, p.7; Anderson 1997; City of Dallas 1998, 2005, 2009, 2014, 2015). What is clear is the objective of the Dallas regime was the initial movement of capital into the case study NADs, and utilizing the value capture of the TIF, to reshape the neighborhood’s physical form to one most useful for capital. This study’s position is that this meets the broader definition of municipally endorsed creative gentrification, as defined in the Chapter 2 Literature Review (e.g. Smith 1996, 2000). But since “objective” or intent is not the same as “actualized,” gauging if there is an indication of the actual role of TIF’s within the case studies is discussed in the longitudinal analysis.

Longitudinal Analysis NAD-TIF versus NAD

As discussed in Chapter 3 Methodology, Part One: Quasi-experimental Quantitative Method section, the purpose of this study’s counterfactual longitudinal analysis is to gauge whether there is an impact of the TIF upon incumbent population and housing affordability in two sets of historically similar low-income neighborhood arts districts. Analyzing the difference-in-means of i) Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts, and ii) Cedars and Cedars Arts District South taken prior to the assignment of the TIF treatment (pre-treatment), and following when Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars had received the TIF treatment condition (post-TIF). The longitudinal analysis begins at the benchmark year 1990 for both sets of case studies, two years (1992) before the formation of the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars TIF districts, and seven years (1997) before the TIF went into effect with Dallas City Council approval and implementation of

the State required Final Project and Reinvestment Zone Financing Plans. At the benchmark year 2010, Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars had received the TIF treatment, and are considered post-TIF.

Appendix C contains the complete list of variables and definitions initially utilized for this study taken from gentrification and housing affordability literature. As noted in Chapter 3, following an initial post-treatment of all the variables, in the final analysis the variables were reduced to the categories of Socio-economic Demographics and Housing. The variables Amenities and Location were removed since they were consistent and constant for both pre and post-TIF treatment, and the Transportation variable was removed due to the newness and lack of data at the 2010 benchmark for the Oak Cliff Gateway, and accessibility to both Cedars TIF and Cedar Arts South District, and therefore not considered a variable in difference. Table 4-4 contains the final variables list and definitions utilized in this study.

Table 4-4 List of Variable and Definitions Utilized

Variable type	Variable	Definition
Socio-economic Demographic	PWht 10	Non-Hispanic white x10
	PHisp 10 ₁	Hispanic/Latino x10
	PAfAm 10 ₂	African American/Black x10
	PHHFH16 10	Female head of household with children less than x10
	PEducLev	Education Level
	PHiMedAgM	Hispanic /Latino Median Age-Male
	PAfAmMedAgM	African American/Black Median Age-Male
	PHiMedAgF	Hispanic/Latino Median Age-Female
	PAfAmMedAgF	African American/Black Median Age-Female
	PMedIncome 1000	Median Income x1000
Housing (180 parcels in Oak Cliff Gateway and 210 parcels in	HUtot	Housing Units Total
	HURent	Housing Units Rental

Bishops Arts in 1990); (92 parcels in Cedars and 105 parcels in Cedars Arts South in 1990)	HHispO	Hispanic/Latino Owned
	HAfAmO	African American/Black Owned
	HInfrVal1000	Infrastructure Value x1000
	HLdVal1000	Land Value x1000
	HAffIndRen	Affordability Index – (Rental x 12)/ Median Tract Income

1. This Hispanic/Latino variable is utilized for Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts based on Dallas archival documents and U.S. Census data indicating this predominate minority population count within this case study set.

2. This African American / Black variable is utilized for Oak Cliff Gateway and Bishop Arts based on Dallas archival documents and U.S. Census data indicating this predominate minority population count within this case study set.

This study’s quasi-experimental counterfactual analysis examines the ρ value (probability value) in the context of null hypothesis testing, i.e. the likelihood of the TIF having an impact on NADs if its counter claim is unlikely. The ρ value quantifies whether there is an indication of difference. Similar to other research project analyses utilizing this method, this study considers a ρ value of less than .05, meaning the probability is less than a five percent chance, as being an indicator of difference (Ewing and Hamidi 2014). In this counterfactual analysis, a probability less than five percent indicates there is no difference between the means and the null hypothesis is rejected, thereby permitting the conclusion that a significant difference does exist due to the application of the TIF.

An initial independent t-test is run pre-treatment of the TIF application on case study set one, Oak Cliff Gateway and the control Bishops Arts, and case-study set two Cedars and the control Cedars Arts South for the 1990 data. The results in Table 4-5 indicate there is no ρ value for the variables less than .05 pre-TIF treatment, and therefore initially there was no difference indicated between Oak Cliff Gateway and the control Bishop Arts Districts. Similarly in Table 4-6, where there is no ρ value less than .05 pre-TIF treatment, it may be concluded that initially there was no difference indicated between Cedars and the control Cedars Arts South.

In 1990, the highlighted variables in Table 4-5 indicates there is no difference indicated between Oak Cliff Gateway and the control Bishop Arts in the Hispanic Population number, Non-Hispanic White Population number, Population Education Level, Population Median Income level, Population Head of Household by female with Children 16 years of age or younger, Housing Units Hispanic Owned, Housing Unit Infrastructure Value, Housing Unit Land Value, Total Housing Units, Housing Units Rentals; and by extension Housing Affordability.

Table 4-5 Oak Cliff Gateway versus Bishop Arts 1990 (pre-TIF treatment)

Variables*	Oak Cliff Gateway	Control	t ratio	p value
HUtot	4.52	3.93	-1.417	.177
PEducLev	9.25	8.89	-.506	.620
HInfVal1000	38.00	42.78	.818	.426
HLdVal1000	25.50	22.78	-1.023	.322
PHisp 10	63.375	58.111	-.649	.526
PWht 10	.000	.000	NA	NA
PHMedAgeM	36.8	37.01	.044	.966
PHMedAgeF	32.92	32.21	-.191	.851
PHHFH16 10	13.75	12.222	-1.018	.325
HAffIndRen	.373750	.342222	-1.134	.275
HHispO	4.10	4.37	.545	.593
PMedIncome 1000	34.75	30.33	-2.091	.054
HURent	21.75	20.11	-.665	.516

*Gray highlight indicates variable is not significant

Similarly in Table 4-6, the highlighted variables indicate there is no difference in significant between Oak Cliff Gateway and the control Bishop Arts in the African American Population number, Non-Hispanic White Population number, Population

Education Level, Population Median Income level, Population Head of Household by female with Children 16 years of age or younger, Housing Units African American Owned, Housing Unit Infrastructure Value, Housing Unit Land Value, Total Housing Units, Housing Units Rentals; and again by extension Housing Affordability.

Table 4-6 Cedars versus Cedars Arts South 1990 (pre-TIF treatment)

Variables*	Cedars	Control	t ratio	p value
HUtot	4.52	3.93	-1.417	.177
PEducLev	9.25	8.89	-.506	.620
HInfVal1000	38.00	42.78	.818	.426
HLdVal1000	25.50	22.78	-1.023	.322
PAfAm 10	63.375	58.111	-.649	.526
PWht 10	.000	.000	NA	NA
PHMedAgeM	36.8	37.01	.044	.966
PHMedAgeF	32.92	32.21	-.191	.851
PHHFH16 10	13.75	12.222	-1.018	.325
HAffIndRen	.373750	.342222	-1.134	.275
HAfAmO	4.10	4.37	.545	.593
PMedIncome 1000	34.75	30.33	-2.091	.054
HURent	21.75	20.11	-.665	.516

*Gray highlight indicates variable is not significant

By 2010 however, 13 years following the initiation of the TIF treatment on Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars, the difference-of-means test indicates difference in the socio-economic demographic and housing variables. As appears in Table 4-7, there is difference indicated in the Oak Cliff Gateway's Hispanic Population number, Non-Hispanic White Population number, Population Education Level, Population Median Income level, Population Head of Household by female with Children 16 years of age or

younger, Housing Unit numbers, Housing Unit Infrastructure Value, Housing Unit Land Value, and the Housing Affordability index. Similarly post-TIF there is difference indicated (Table 4-8) for the Cedars' African American Population number, Non-Hispanic White Population number, Population Education Level, Population Median Income level, Population Head of Household by female with Children 16 years of age or younger, Housing Unit numbers, Housing Unit Infrastructure Value, Housing Unit Land Value, and the Housing Affordability index.

Table 4-7 Oak Cliff Gateway versus Bishop Arts 2010 (post-TIF treatment)

Variables*	Oak Cliff Gateway	Control	t ratio	p value
HUtot	4.525	3.189	-2.211	.043
PEducLev	14.25	10.44	-2.950	.010
HInfVal1000	111.50	60.56	-1.335	.202
HLdVal1000	63.75	30.56	-1.784	.059
PHisp 10	21.556	64.375	3.746	.002
PWht 10	48.250	32.889	-1.602	.130
PHMedAgeM	28.863	29.011	.022	.983
PHMedAgeF	32.213	30.144	-.386	.705
PHHFH16 10	1.875	.556	-2.707	.016
HAffndRen	.573750	.342222	-4.277	.001
HHispO	4.050	2.622	-1.216	.243
PMedIncome 1000	55.250	35.767	-3.009	.009
HURent	25.375	19.778	-.872	.397

*Gray highlight indicates variable is not significant

Table 4-8 Cedars versus Cedars Arts South 2010 (post-TIF treatment)

Variables*	Cedars	Control	t ratio	p value
HUtot	4.525	3.189	-2.211	.043
PEducLev	14.25	10.44	-2.950	.010
HInfVal1000	111.50	60.56	-1.335	.202
HLdVal1000	63.75	30.56	-1.784	.059
PAfAm 10	21.556	64.375	3.746	.002
PWht 10	48.250	32.889	-1.602	.130
PHMedAgeM	28.863	29.011	.022	.983
PHMedAgeF	32.213	30.144	-.386	.705
PHHFH16 10	1.875	.556	-2.707	.016
HAffIndRen	.573750	.342222	-4.277	.001
HAfAmO	4.050	2.622	-1.216	.243
PMedIncome 1000	55.250	35.767	-3.009	.009
HURent	25.375	19.778	-.872	.397

*Gray highlight indicates variable is not significant

Having compared the difference-in-mean for the pre-TIF and Post TIF application for each set of case studies, NAD and control, an independent t-test on the 1990 pre-TIF and 2010 post-TIF application for Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars is required to confirm difference for each specific NAD-TIF. As anticipated, Table 4-9 and Table 4-10 confirm those socio-economic demographic and housing variables, which are reflective of gentrification, show difference indicated for both Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars.

Table 4-9 Oak Cliff Gateway in 1990 versus 2010

Variables	1990	2010	t ratio	ρ value
HUtot	4.52	4.525	.652	.529
PEducLev	9.25	14.25	-3.639	.003
HInfVal1000	38.00	111.50	-2.042	.064
HLdVal1000	25.50	65.75	-2.899	.049
PHisp 10	63.375	21.556	-.549	.594
PWht 10	.000	48.250	-4.675	.001
PHMedAgeM	36.8	28.863	1.759	.104
PHMedAgeF	32.92	32.213	.071	.994
PHHFH16 10	13.75	1.875	8.823	.000
HAffIndRen	.373750	.573750	-3.072	.010
HHispO	4.10	4.050	.287	.779
PMedIncome 1000	34.75	55.250	20.277	.000
HURent	21.75	25.375	-2.009	.058

*Gray highlight indicates variable is not significant

Table 4-10 Cedars in 1990 versus 2010

Variables	1990	2010	t ratio	ρ value
HUtot	4.52	4.525	.652	.529
PEducLev	9.25	14.25	-3.639	.003
HInfVal1000	38.00	111.50	-2.042	.064
HLdVal1000	25.50	65.75	-2.899	.049
PAfAm 10	63.375	21.556	-.549	.594
PWht 10	.000	48.250	-4.675	.001
PHMedAgeM	36.8	28.863	1.759	.104
PHMedAgeF	32.92	32.213	.071	.994
PHHFH16 10	13.75	1.875	8.823	.000
HAffIndRen	.373750	.573750	-3.072	.010
HAfAmO	4.10	4.050	.287	.779
PMedIncome 1000	34.75	55.250	20.277	.000
HURent	21.75	25.375	-2.009	.058

*Gray highlight indicates variable is not significant

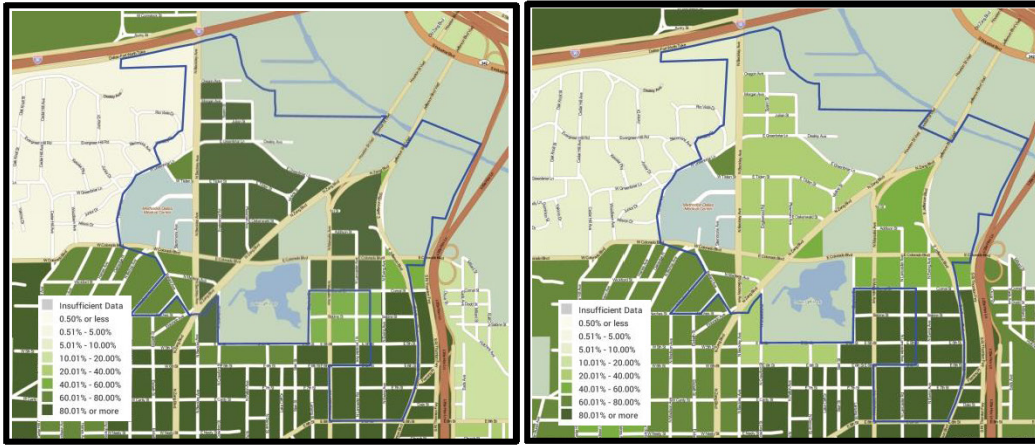
The semi-experimental counterfactual method utilized here indicates there is a difference indicated due to TIF application in NADs. Through the comparison of the two sets of case studies at two benchmarks, one NAD with the TIF assignment and the other NAD acting as the control, a TIF effect is noted in each case study set. Additionally, there is difference revealed in the pre-TIF to post-TIF treatment for each NAD-TIF district—Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars. From the longitudinal analysis, there appears to have been changes at the nexus of NADs and TIFs from the presence of the TIF municipal economic redevelopment policy affects.

Changes at the Nexus of NADs and TIFs

The first research question can be thought of in terms of i) what was the effect of the municipal art based economic development policy and TIFs on the community of incumbent working class population and, ii) what happened relative to the affordable housing? The quasi-experimental counterfactual analysis addresses the first question indicating there was an effect from the application of the TIF in both case studies, Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars. And although a direct corollary of cause and effect cannot be established in this study relative to the displacement of the extant communities due to the policies of creative gentrification and TIFs, from GeoLytics and the U.S. Census data socio-economic demographic changes is evidenced. There are: i) reductions in the percentages of the predominate Hispanic and African American minority populations after the TIF treatment of the low-income arts districts, ii) increases in the resident population's average income, and less evident, iii) education attainment level had increased. And where not all the socio-economic demographic variables utilized in the counterfactual analysis were examined beyond these for percentage change, it appears at the 2010

benchmark a more affluent class occupied the reshaped spaces within the NAD-TIF district than the incumbent working class population that was present in 1990.

Figure 4-4 and Figure 4-5 graphically indicates minority population changes in the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars NADs pre-TIF in 1990 and post-TIF in 2010. The Hispanic minority population within Oak Cliff Gateway is approximately 86 percent pre-TIF (Figure 4-4a) and at 52 percent post-TIF in 2010 (Figure 4-4b). The Hispanic population is still the predominant population in 2010. The increased housing density, translating to a larger population base, could reflect a skewed percentage number. The earlier quasi-experimental analysis reflects a population change of the white population as an indicator of gentrification, but interestingly not the Hispanic population (Table 4-9). Future research is required to confirm the population indicators, and if in the 2020 census the Hispanic population is no longer predominate. Similarly, the African American predominate minority population within the Cedars is at approximately 58 percent pre-TIF (Figure 4-5a) and 32 percent post-TIF (Figure 4-5b). Additionally, there is an area Northeast of S Ervay and adjacent to the Old City Park (now renamed Heritage Park), where the African American population was reduced to 18.5 percent.



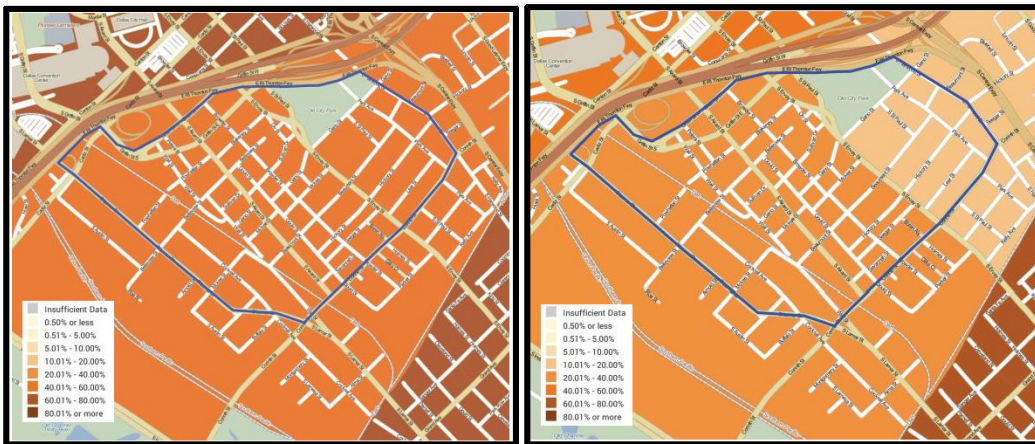
(a)

(b)

Figure 4-4 Oak Cliff Gateway NAD Hispanic/Latino Population Change

(a) Pre-TIF1990 Percent and (b) Post-TIF 2010 Percent

Source: GeoLytics, U.S. Census



(a)

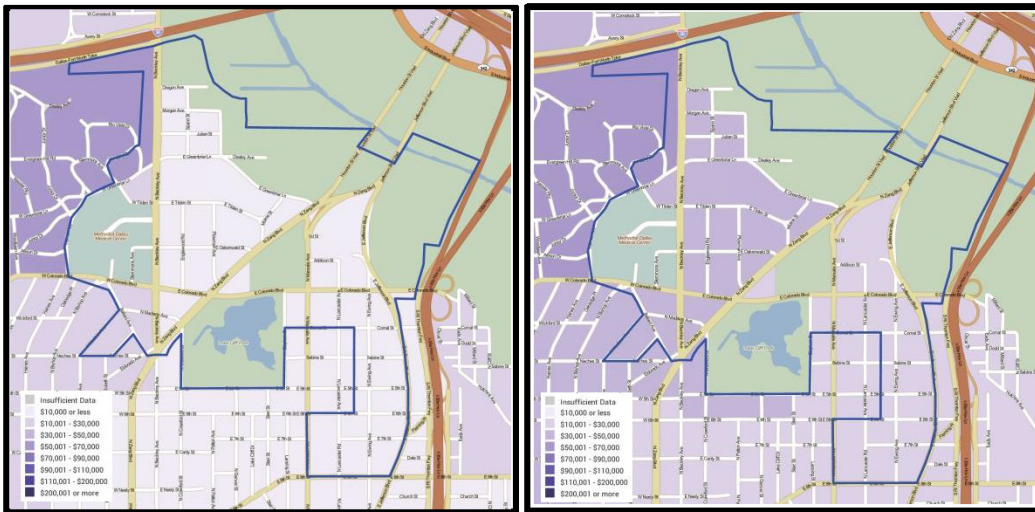
(b)

Figure 4-5 Cedars NAD African American/Black Population Change

(a) Pre-TIF1990 Percent and (b) Post-TIF 2010 Percent

Source: GeoLytics, U.S. Census

Figure 4-6 and Figure 4-7 indicate average income change in the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars NADs pre-TIF in 1990 and post-TIF in 2010. The average income within Oak Cliff Gateway was less than \$30 thousand pre-TIF (Figure 4-6a). Post-TIF average income for the portion of the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF adjacent to the affluent Kessler Park was \$82 thousand, and \$65 thousand between the major thoroughfare Zang Blvd. and the Interstate 35 (Figure 4-6b). The Cedars average income is less than \$30 thousand pre-TIF for i) the portion of the NAD Southwest of Ervay and ii) \$52 thousand for the portion Northeast of Ervay and adjacent to Old City Park (Figure 4-7a). Post-TIF the average Income is i) \$48 thousand for the area Southwest of Ervay and ii) \$69 thousand for area Northeast of Ervay (Figure 4-7b).



(a)

(b)

Figure 4-6 Oak Cliff Gateway NAD Average Income Change

(a) Pre-TIF 1990 and (b) Post-TIF 2010

Source: GeoLytics, U.S. Census



(a)

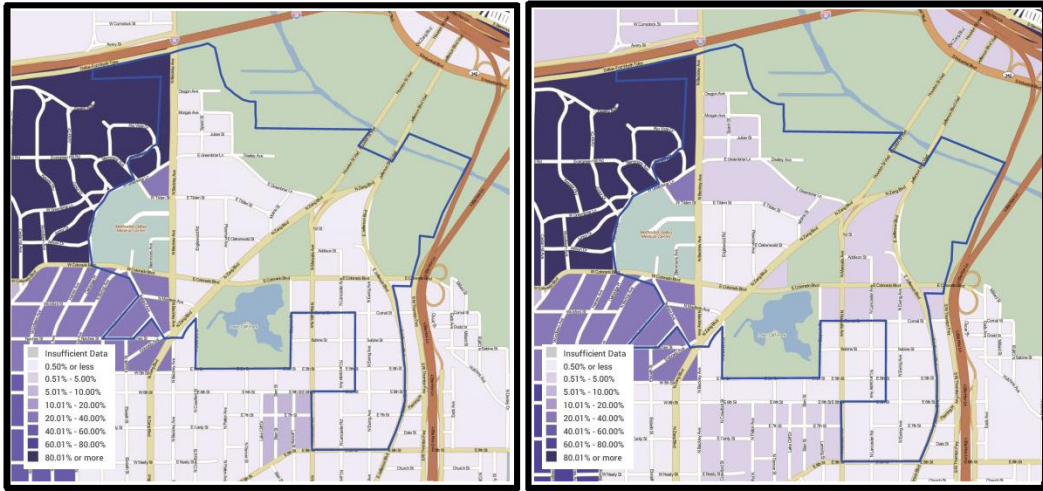
(b)

Figure 4-7 Cedars NAD Average Income Change

(a) Pre-TIF1990 and (b) Post-TIF 2010

Source: GeoLytics, U.S. Census

Figure 4-8 and Figure 4-9 indicate the percent change in the population with a bachelor’s degree or higher in the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars NADs pre-TIF in 1990 and post-TIF in 2010. The bachelor’s degree was selected, rather than a high school diploma, in order to see if there was a change due to an influx of a more educated “creative-class.” The population with a higher education degree in Oak Cliff Gateway was less 5 percent pre-TIF (Figure 4-8a). Post-TIF higher education percentage was 18 percent for the portion of the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF adjacent to the affluent Kessler Park and the Trinity River (Figure 4-8b). The population with a higher education degree in the Cedars pre-TIF is i) 9 percent for the portion of the NAD Southwest of Ervay and ii) 35 percent for the portion Northeast of Ervay and adjacent to Old City Park (Figure 4-9a). Post-TIF the population with a higher education degree is i) 15 percent for the area Southwest of Ervay and ii) 78 percent for area Northeast of Ervay (Figure 4-9b).



(a)

(b)

Figure 4-8 Oak Cliff Gateway NAD Education Level Change

(a) Pre-TIF1990 Percent and (b) Post-TIF 2010 Percent

Source: GeoLytics, U.S. Census



(a)

(b)

Figure 4-9 Cedars NAD Education Change

(a) Pre-TIF1990 Percent and (b) Post-TIF 2010 Percent

Source: GeoLytics, U.S. Census

Examining the changes at the nexus of NADs and TIFs, based on the quasi-experimental longitudinal case study and the socio-economic demographics, the observation can be made that there are indicators that the municipal redevelopment TIF policy has an effect on the incumbent low-income population within this study's NADs. Although not all the socio-economic demographic indicator variables were examined beyond these for percentage change, it would appear at the 2010 benchmark a more affluent class occupied the reshaped spaces within the NAD-TIF district than the 1992 incumbent working class population. Whether there are other mitigating factors is the subject of future research. For the purposes of this study, and as supported by the ethnographic qualitative analyses portion of this dissertation, indications are the effects of the TIFs on the incumbent resident community are: i) a decrease in the predominance of the racial and ethnic minority ii) a change to a more affluent population average level income (particularly for Oak Cliff Gateway), and iii) a change to a population with higher educational attainment levels. All these appear to support the theory that within NADs, TIFs are utilized to promote and enable gentrification for the purposes of the pulling capital to the NAD to maximize profit. With land being finite, gentrification "which is designed to produce (reshape) space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupies that space," in a neoliberal free market economy this can only be accomplished through the displacement of the incumbent working class residents (Smith 2000, p. 294).

What happened to the pre-TIF "existing" low-income housing units of the incumbent communities? The overwhelming scope precludes this study directly quantifying the loss of the affordable housing units as they specifically relate to the incumbent residents pre-TIF. However the number of affordable housing units on the finite amount of land of the NADs, the increase in the residential property value, and the increase in the TIF funds property tax base—all goals of the neoliberal market

economy—can be extrapolated from the 1998, 2000, 2010 and 2015 Tax Incremental Financing Reports held within the Dallas Municipal Archives and provided by the Office of Economic Development.

Researching the question as to what happened to the affordable housing, as the end of the original Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars TIF terms approached and the 10 year extensions would be put into place, a mixed-income housing requirement come into play. Although the words “blight” and “but for” never appeared in the TIF archival materials researched, providing additional housing in the low income neighborhoods were at the forefront as a means to promote capital (City of Dallas 1992, 1997, 1999, 2010, 2015, 2018). Since the inception of the Oak Cliff Gateway and Cedars NAD-TIF districts, there have been consistent recommendations from the TIF Board of Directors to increase the number of market rate residential units developed when utilizing TIF funds (City of Dallas 1992, 1997). With the apparent loss of affordable housing within Dallas’ gentrifying low-income NAD-TIF districts acknowledged by the municipality, a new policy to create “mixed-income” residential projects when utilizing TIF funds was approved (City of Dallas 2008). Archival documents indicate the concept is to require 20 percent of the total number of residential units, per development utilizing TIF funds, be allocated as affordable—mixed-income neighborhoods would be created. This affordable housing requirement went into effect when the NAD-TIF extended its original term, 2009 for Oak Cliff Gateway (TIF expires 2027) and 2011 for the Cedars (TIF expires 2022). Following that implementation date, any use of incremental funds in residential development mandated that 20 percent number of units be designated as “affordable”—unless

negotiated “otherwise during the initial TIF Fund application submittal process” (ibid., p. 4).³⁴

To the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF 1997 goal of 600 market rated homes (500 apartments and 100 single family), the 2018 goal became to add 1.5 million square feet of new residential construction in the extended term—single family, townhome units, and apartment units. This additional square footage goal included both TIF funded and private investment residential projects. The projected construction of 2.5 thousand market rate apartments (Figure 4-10b) and 250 townhome units (Figure 4-10a) fell short of the goal with only 1.2 thousand apartment units and 30 townhomes having been built (Figure 4-10) (City of Dallas 2016).

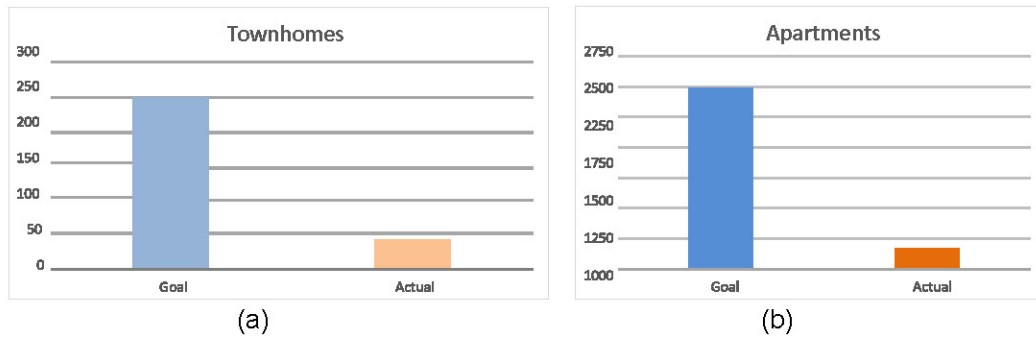


Figure 4-10 Oak Cliff Gateway Residential Units

(a) Townhomes and (b) Apartments

Source: City of Dallas Annual Report, 1998, 2017

Noting that only TIF funded projects are required to provide the 20 percent affordable housing set aside, in the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF district a total of 423 units

³⁴ After the affordable housing 20 percent requirement for the Oak Cliff Gateway TIF went into effect in 2009, of the 1150 units committed, 213 affordable housing units were completed. This is 34 units less than the required 20 percent (Table 4-1).

have been built to date and 85 are currently listed as affordable units (ibid.). The adaptive reuse of the historic Lake Cliff Tower building, with 54 units, was the first residential Oak Cliff Gateway project utilizing TIF funds. Since construction was prior to the mixed-income housing requirements, there are no affordable units set aside. An additional 356 units are under construction, with 71 units anticipated to be affordable under TIF requirements. A current (2019 start date) mix-use project called “Oxygen,” originally planned for 250 units and is required to have a 50 affordable unit component (Table 4-11). The investor citing the “burden of loss” of the market rate, the project is currently being renegotiated with the TIF Board (ibid. 2017). The decision to enforce the affordable housing component for residential projects provided with the value capture TIF funding appears to be dependent upon the project's ability to generate additional capital (Table 4-11)—the provision of affordable housing is balanced against capital maximizing profit.

Of note is that the 20 percent set aside provision to create mix income neighborhoods is revised as of 2018. The affordable unit set aside could not be sold and required to remain for the duration of the project. The policy has been amended to no longer require an indefinite hold. Currently, after four years the affordable residential units may be released and become market rate units (City of Dallas 2019). An example of the success of the TIF policy in terms of capital can be seen examining the Lake Cliff Tower (as well as other residential projects) selling price. The market rate for the Lake Cliff Tower ranges from \$155,000 to \$255,000 (Zillow). This is far above the established area median income or affordability of the once incumbent working class community—if developing a mix income community is the intent.³⁵

³⁵ This is the current range for the market value residential units, with rentals in the \$1500 to \$2500 range (Zillow).

Table 4-11 Oak Cliff Gateway TIF Residential Projects (1997-2019)

Project	Year Completed	Status	Residential Units	Approx. Taxable Value	TIF Investment
Lake Cliff Tower Residential	1999	Complete	54 units	\$8,322,067	\$4,299,742
Zang Triangle	2009	Complete	256 units w/ (3,000 sf flex)	\$31,200,000	\$7,250,000
Oak Trinity	2014	Complete	167 units	\$19,800,000	\$4,000,000
Bishop Arts Phase 1	2017	Under Construction	140 units; (30,000 sf retail; 20,000 art garden)	\$21,980,000	\$5,000,000
Bishops Arts Station	2018	Under Construction	216 units; (27,302 sf Retail)	\$26, 617,000	\$11,250,000
Oxygen	2019	In Negotiations	250 Units	\$26,324,419	TBD ¹
Subtotal Total			1,083 Units	\$107,626,486	\$31,799,742+

1. Currently under in negotiations

(Source: City of Dallas 1998, 2010, 2015, 2018)

To the Cedars TIF 1997 goal of 700 market rate homes, although the number of units remained the same with the extended term, the mixed-income requirement becomes effective (City of Dallas 2018). In the case of the Cedars TIF district, residential projects exceeded the 700 unit goal with 1011 residential units (private investment and TIF) are constructed or in process (Table 4-11).

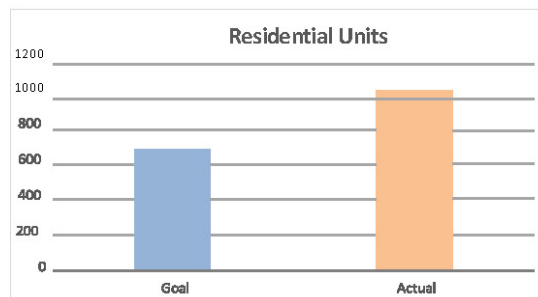


Figure 4-11 Cedars Residential Units

Source: City of Dallas Annual Report, 1998, 2018

In the Cedars TIF district, a total of 315 units are constructed with the support of the value capture TIF funding and of these units, 164 are currently set-aside as affordable (Table 4-12). The 52 percent appearing to exceed the total numbers of affordable residential units required, which is 33 since only the Bellview project built in 2015 met the mixed-income provision (ibid.). The remaining 131 residential units were constructed specifically as an affordable housing project by an alternative housing network. And although originally thought to be receiving some TIF fund, it is reported funds were never provided, and the case is currently being litigated (Dallas Morning News 2019).

Table 4-12 Cedars TIF Residential Projects (1997-2019)

Project	Year Completed	Status	Residential Units	Approx. Taxable Value	TIF Investment
McKee Row Homes	2005	Complete	6 units (Row houses)	\$757,488	\$83,350
McKee Row II	2006	Complete	3 units (Row houses)	\$757,488	\$83,350
Seegar Row Homes	2006	Complete	7 units (Row houses)	\$718,794	\$25,000
Buzz 1	2007	Complete	49 units (Condos)	\$7,384,506	\$464,462
Miller Ferry Row	2007	Complete	13 units (Row houses)	\$1,828,872	\$192,000
The Beat at South Side Station	2008	Complete	73 units (Condos)	\$26,324,419	TBD ¹
The Belleview	2015	Complete	164 units (Apt.) (5,000 sf retail/flex Space)	\$5,100,000	\$1,657,916
Subtotal Total			315 Units	\$29,091,234	\$3,237,728

(Source: City of Dallas 1998, 2000, 2010, 2019)

It should also be noted that of the total 1011 residential units (private investment and TIF funded) developed in the Cedars TIF, 847 are market rate units. In 2017, the residential market rate ranged from \$150,000 to \$360,000 (Zillow)—also far above the

established area median income or “affordable” if developing a mix-income community is the intent. The higher price point units are Northeast of Ervay, where the Cedars TIF district has the greatest socio-economic demographic change since 1990 (Figures 4-5, 4-7, 4-9).

This analysis indicates the position can be taken that both Oak Cliff Gateway and the Cedars NAD-TIFs are urban spaces that are taking the form most useful to capitalist in furthering the neoliberal free-market system. In lieu of maintaining an incumbent low-income arts community, indicators point to physical displacement, cultural displacement, and the appropriation of the history of the arts district to advance profit. With no face to the neoliberal regime, government actors or individual to take responsibility—and since the right to the city or the community is a function of economic power, this study proposes imagining alternative forms of community economies, where oppositional knowledge may come together and regain power (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013, Harvey 2012). And similar to needing an initial catalyst to kick-start in the capitalist process of maximizing profit in the NAD-TIF districts, this study proposes alternative housing networks (AHNs) are one of the “other possibilities” that may serve as a catalyst for a socially just economy.

Alternative Housing Networks as “Other Possibilities”

The research question addressed in this section is: what are the influences of citizen-formed alternative housing networks as another course of action in terms of both i) developing alternative community economies and ii) maintaining affordable housing for the communities' existing residents? Questioning the logic of the neoliberal market system as being the only alternative for economic development, the following section of research stems from the literature of the Community Economies Collective. The qualitative field research portion of this study centers around the relationship between

knowledge and power—examining the relations and forces as they converge. Through the participatory observation research (POR) and the ethnographic analysis portion of this study—the processes and actors’ stories of the struggles and goals for affordable housing indicate there are other possibilities.

“Creative Gentrification” and the State of Affordable Housing

Town halls and public hearings are the means by which municipalities cite having taken the resident’s view into account relative to changes to or implementation of new municipal policies. Dallas TX, the site of this research’s case studies, began in 2016 a two year process of developing and approving a Housing Policy and a Cultural Arts Policy. Dallas is on notice by the Federal Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for violations of the fair housing act, and major fines and funding are placed in jeopardy (Dallas Morning News 2016). Additionally, with large corporations such as Amazon, with billions of dollars in revenue to offer and seeking proposals for a place to support their creative-class knowledge-based employees—a cultural arts plan would be evidence of a progressive entrepreneurial city (Rawlins 2017). The first year (2016) of both Housing and Cultural Arts plans consisted of the City consultants’ “comprehensive review” for the two policies, followed by briefings before the Quality of Life, Art and Culture Committee; and the Housing and Homeless Solutions Committee.³⁶ The public engagement began in 2017. Having attended the town-halls and public hearings—whose purpose stated purpose was to obtain “citizen input”—for both the Housing and the Cultural Arts plans

³⁶ Citizen questions and comments are not permitted at the Dallas City Council Committee briefings. For the two briefings attended for Quality of Life, Art and Culture Committee; and the Housing and Homeless Solutions Committee— there were approximately sixty-five chairs. It was standing room only, with people listening outside the door. All citizen questions and comments are submitted to the council member following the briefing, who in turn submits them to the Office of Art and Culture, Office of Economic Development, and the Department Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization.

held within my council district as well as those within my research case study districts, the similarities between the components of the two plans is striking. Both are parallel in the market value policy concept of the presentations given, and the interchangeable use of the words: arts, culture, gentrification, affordable housing, market-value analysis, and TIF. At the town halls and public hearings for the Housing and Cultural Arts plans, City moderators acknowledged: i) the important market value of art based economic development, i.e. creative gentrification, ii) gentrification is an issue in the “poor” neighborhoods in southern Dallas that are being rapidly redeveloped, and iii) there is an affordable housing crisis. Citizen advocates, activists, and radicals that spoke pointed out—regardless of whether the Housing plan or the Cultural Arts Plan—if examined only through a market value lens, the creative gentrification would continue to outprice the “poor” and there would be no affordable housing (POR meetings 27 Jan. 2017, 31 Jan. 2017, 15 Feb. 2017, 23 Feb. 2017).

In light of what seems to be conflicting views, two groups are interviewed for this study: i) City of Dallas public officials elected or appointed, and ii) representatives from citizen formed alternative housing networks (AHNs). As described in the Chapter 3 Methodology, following the University of Texas at Arlington Institutional Research Board's (IRB No: 2018-0456) approved Interview Protocols (Appendix B), twelve (four public officials and eight AHN representative) are interviewed. The decision to interview Public Officials (see Table 4-13), as well as AHN Representatives, is to capture the differences in perspective between the two groups.

Beginning with the Public Official's fact questions, all four have been with the City for at least 8 years, coming from various parts of Dallas. One resided in the Oak Cliff area, although not in the NAD-TIF area but the upscale Kessler Park. In responding to the question as to how effective TIFs were in promoting economic development in low-

income neighborhoods, all the interviewees stated “very effective.” The reason provided was the monies do not go into a general fund but went directly to the district, additionally decisions as to which projects to approve come from the TIF Board of Directors who are familiar with the needs of the district. Interviewee PO-C stated: “it is a great tool to have in our tool-chest; we just need to figure out how to use it better.” All interviewees also point out the TIF has been very successful with “lots of interested developers with some large tracts of land they are assembling” (PO-C 2019). Interviewee PO-B and PO-C point out the major constraint in current economically challenged areas, e.g. Grand Park South TIF (Fair Park area of Dallas), is establishing a market rate to attract capital. With the “limited private investment in the area in the past, with all the land purchases in the area recently... it will be the next on-fire area... makes it difficult to establish market values for new construction... slows down the entire developer TIF package submittal”(PO-C 2019). At both the Housing and Cultural Arts committee briefings, it was stated the TIF process for funding is cumbersome and streamlining the process “to made easier for the developer to apply for funding is in the pipeline... changes are currently is being looked into” (Favela 2017). Interestingly, although all interviewees touted the effectiveness and success of the TIF tool, the average numerical rating was 3.23 on a scale of 1 to 5 (65 percent); three interviewees gave the effectiveness as 60 percent (Table 4-13).

Questioned as to how effective arts based economic development is in assisting low-income Dallas neighborhoods fared slightly better with an average of 3.75 on a scale of 1 to 5 (75 percent); three interviewees gave the effectiveness as 80 percent (Table 4-13). After stating that arts based economic development is “very effective,” the example provided uniformly by the public officials is: “thousands come to the arts district and Klyde Warren Park and Bishops Arts... look at all the new construction... the high-rise apartments, new restaurants, and retail... Dallas is finally a city where people live

downtown, and come from everywhere to visit, eat and buy... that can only be good for the Dallas' economy." One of the public official interviewees stated because "Mayor Rawlins got the backing of Margaret (McDermott), Perot, and other big art collectors really early... he has made Dallas a world class art and culture destination City... that draws companies like Toyota and Amazon that will employ thousands and add to our booming economy" (PO-C). It was pointed out by PO-D that the City Council are provided books to read on their annual Council retreats: *The Rise of the Creative Class* in 2010 and *The New Urban Crisis* in 2017, both by Richard Florida and with the formula for arts based economic development are a part of the retreat discussion.

When asked how successful Dallas has been in promoting affordable housing in the NAD-TIF districts, the response is "Dallas has an affordable housing problem" with an average of 1.75 on a scale of 1 to 5 (35 percent) given (Table 4-13). All four public official interviewees pointed out the new "Market-value analysis for housing has worked in San Antonio, Houston, and other big cities around the U.S... City Council just passed it, so staff is still working out the process for their review" (PO-C).

Gentrification is brought up by the public official as an issue in areas "south of the Trinity, there is no other place to develop except South... so it's a problem in some neighborhoods like Bishops Arts and Los Altos" (PO-C). It is pointed out by three of the public officials that "yes, people lose their homes, but without gentrification the neighborhoods only deteriorate more so it helps the neighborhood to enforce code" (PO-A, PO-B, PO-C). The "enforce code" reference is citing a 2017 Dallas event when 250 residents were displaced by a property investment landlord in reaction to the Dallas City Council enacted stricter penalties for housing code violation (AHN-West, Dallas Morning News 2018). In support of gentrification one of those interviewed states: "Dallas has a shortfall of 33 thousand affordable housing units, the new market-value analysis tells us

where to maximize development so we can have mixed income neighborhoods with affordable homes... yes gentrification can be a problem, but it also is the 'tide that raises all the boats' " (PO-C).

Table 4-13 Public Officials on NAD-TIF and Affordable Housing

Question	PO A	PO B	PO C	PO D	Percent Mean
How effective do you think TIFs have been in promoting economic development in low-income Dallas neighborhoods? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective)</i>	3	3	4	3	65 % 3.25
How effective do you think arts based economic development has been in assisting low-income Dallas neighborhoods? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective)</i>	4	3	4	4	80% 3.75
How successful do you think of the city has been in promoting affordable housing in these districts? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very successful)?</i>	2	2	1	2	35% 1.75

(N=4)

The socio-demographics of the representatives from the AHNs varied, ranging in age from mid-twenties to early seventies.³⁷ The AHN interviewees are evenly divided between the genders, and racial ethnicity included three African Americans, one non-white Hispanic, and four whites. They are all college educated with degrees, four with Masters in the fields of political science, public administration, social work, and education. One served in the Peace Corps, one in AmeriCorps, and one in the Military. Four are employed in their AHN, which is sponsored by grants, membership fees, and donations

³⁷ The socio-economic demographic information was volunteered by the AHN interviewee during the course of the interview in responding to questions.

(two full-time and two part-time); two are self-employed, and two have full time in addition to the working in their AHN. All but two of the AHN interviewees are married, and five had families with children. Only one AHN interviewee is originally from Dallas; the others have resided in Dallas on average for fifteen years. Four are home owners (two without mortgages), two are renters, and two reside with extended family. Based on average income two of the AHN representatives consider themselves to be in the upper middle class, two in the middle class and four are a part of the working class with an area median income. All AHN representatives interviewed belong to their neighborhood's homeowners association and/or neighborhood association. The group of AHN representatives was diverse in age, gender, race and ethnicity, and class. All appeared dedicated and passionate, reflecting the sentiment:

... nothing has or will change in Dallas... and it doesn't matter how much money the city throws out to study the problems... there is still a class struggle, redlining, and a group of elitist controlling things. They think they have all the power but people are hurting... my people are hurting... so we have stepped in and are take care of it ourselves. (AHN-Cliff)

The AHNs have a range in the year of formation and formal structure (Table 4-14). The oldest network began in 1976 as homeowners in Oak Cliff were protesting “the city letting developers buy up all the old houses in our neighborhood to tear them down and build new ones, we don't recognize our neighborhood and we have old people who can't afford the new taxes” (AHN-Judy, Dallas Municipal Archives 1976). Judy's AHN grew into an umbrella organization assisting neighborhoods throughout South Dallas—an example is providing labor and matching funds for projects submitted to the AHN as community or neighborhood “in-need.” Fifty percent of the AHNs that participated in this study are formed after 2015, and interestingly all began with an event as noted by AHN-Cliff who stated his nephew had been arrested after leaving a movie theater at

NorthPark's—a shopping center, whose owners are major Dallas art patrons, advertising itself as “the art of shopping”—and the bus was late:

...it got so bad with police making us curfews. Not only are (we) in the middle of a food desert, we're can't afford our houses, and then they want to push us further south where there is less food, less internet, AND no transportation... so we decided to grow our own (food), arranging for car-pooling for the elderly, having people move in and help the elderly...and that's how we got started. (AHN-Cliff)

The membership size of the networks averaged approximately 300 (Table 4-14). Each network had within its ranks several pro-bono professional organizations, on average 2.4. It is telling that all the AHNs have legal aid services networked in; some had small construction companies (1 or 2 people) associated; and others pro-bono architects, planners, accountants, and social workers affiliated. In addition, all but one AHN have neighborhood association and homeowner association presidents as a part of their network.

The number of AHN staff averages 2.5 persons, with 37 percent volunteers (Table 4-14). It is interesting that the older AHNs had physical space which they used for offices, meeting space, event space, galleries. All but three of the AHNs are formally designated 501(c)3 non-profit, and two of those will become registered non-profits at the beginning of 2020.

The older AHNs utilized their contacts at City Council, the Dallas Housing Authority, and County Commissioners, and active AHN members have held appointed positions within the Arts and Culture Advisory Commission, Park and Recreation Board, and Zoning Board of Adjustment. Embedded in the working of the City, the AHNs have nevertheless struggled against capitals profit maximizing and reshaping of neighborhoods. An example is an investor developer's request for a demolition permit to remove several blocks of single family homes. This AHN broadcast the project throughout several South Dallas council districts, raised funds, and posted a large

billboard adjacent to the site with the words: “(Name of Developer—Stop Tearing Down our Neighborhoods” (AHN-West). The City approved the demolition permit, and the housing units were torn down. The investor developer advanced the project requesting additional height and density for the project, a zoning change which the City approved. The AHN mobilized, canvassed the district, and assisted in getting additional voters registered. This AHN believes that through their network, they were able to have the City Council member who voted to approve the zoning change, removed and kept out of office (twice). The new Council member for the district announced irregularities were found in the previous approval process, and the building permit was revoked (AHN-West). The investor developer is still seeking a means to complete the project—“they are trying to get past us” (AHN-West). The AHN representative stated, “we’re not against development—we’re against gentrification, losing our neighbors, the feel of our neighborhoods, and getting swept up the taller, the denser, the bigger, the better frenzy”(AHN-West).

Table 4-14 Alternative Housing Network Participation

Question	AHN Judy	AHN Joan	AHN Sara	AHN Mark	ANH Lloyd	AHN West	ANH Chris	AHN Cliff	% / Mean
Year Network Formed?	1976	1986	1992	(1988) 2010 ₂	2015	2017	2017	2017	50% after 2015
Was the formation tied to an event? <i>(Yes 1, No 0)</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Approximate size of the network? <i>(Number of Professional Groups?)</i>	≥200 (4)	≥300 (3)	≥300 (2)	≥300 (4)	≥500 0 (3)	≥500 (3)	1≥100 (3)	≥1000 1 (3)	300 (2.4)
Number of staff?	2	5	2	35 ₁	3	5	4	4	3.6
Staff all volunteers? <i>(Yes 1, No 0)</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	37% <i>Volunteers</i>
Is network a 501(c)3 <i>(Yes 1, No 0)</i>	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	63% <i>Formal</i>

(N=8)

*Gray highlight indicates housed in physical space

**Participant names are codes and are not the actual name of the Representative. They selected code.

1. Not included in this count, number was aberrant.

2. Restructured in 2010, so this date was not included in the percentage calculation.

Where the Public Officials interviewees may have stated that art based economic development and the Dallas economic development TIF policies were “extremely successful,” those policies were ranked average and below. All the AHNs representatives interviewed clearly stated and numerically ranked, those policies as extremely ineffective (Table 4-15). When asked how effective they thought TIFs have been in promoting economic development in low-income Dallas neighborhoods, 100 percent of the AHN interviewee stated very ineffective (1 on a scale of 1 to 5). One AHN interviewee asked

... is less than zero an option? We have so many people being put out on the streets and they take billions of our tax dollars, put it into a TIF and just line the pockets of millionaire developers. Look at all the homeless on the streets in the Cedars... they spend \$100 thousand on consultants to figure how best to bring Amazon—which they lost—and they can't spend a couple of hundred dollars a month to help a disabled grandmother who was evicted, taking care of two elementary school age children, meet a bed-bug infested motel bill? That's a not-so-successful story... (AHN-Sara)

When asked how serious an issue gentrification is in Dallas, as noted on Table 4-15, 100 percent of the AHN interviewees stated very serious (5 on a scale of 1 to 5). The question as to how successful the City is in promoting affordable housing in the NAD-TIF districts met with a slightly better response at 1.5 on a scale of 1 to 5, or approximately 30 percent successful. One of the interviewees expressed sarcasm when addressing the issue of affordable housing:

We all went to hear about the new housing policy. It's not called the Dallas AFFORDABLE Housing Policy for a reason... because it's not about building affordable housing. It about the housing market and how much money the developer will make. They didn't lie. They keep repeating it's going to work because it's all based on 'big data'—a housing policy market value analysis based on big data... scary (*voice change*) like 'big brother' is watching. They didn't lie, big data for big buck for the big developers... not to help us. (AHN-West)

In responding to the question how effective the city is in promoting a socially just economy, the response was 1.3 on a scale of 1 to 5, or 26% effective (Table 4-15). When asked to define a socially just economy, one interviewee replied:

I can't define it but I can give you an example. In a socially just economy a black man can buy a house in a wealthy neighborhood, live among whites, be a dean of a college, and have a large six figure income. But that's not always as important as socially justice. Even though that black man has wealth and position, he still gets arrested for breaking into his own house in that white neighborhood...no questions asked. We can't separate them. We have to have both. (AHN-Sara)

One of the interviewees stated:

... it's the white man who tries to keep taking it from us, and kicking us down...how can we have any kind of just economy when a freeway is still named after the head of the Dallas KKK. Nothing's changed they still run this city, only from behind but they're there.

So we're going to beat them at their own game, we are doing our own thing—figuring out how to house and educate our people—education's the key. You find ways to house and feed them, which we're doing, and while we're doing that, we educate their parents...get them their GEDs while we are helping their kids with their school work—we need to do that for two generations to get them out of this poverty. But not away from our communities, just the poverty. (AHN-Cliff)

Several of the interviewee, including the whites, spoke of the power of the elite—not calling it a regime by name, but it certainly meets the definition—running the city (AHN Sara, AHN-West, AHN-Cliff). When questioned as to the effectiveness of citizen-formed networks generally in Dallas, the average rating was 3.4 out of 5, or about 68 percent effective (Table 5-15), When asked for an example of why not effective, one interviewee stated,

“... groups like ours are large umbrellas that seem to get larger, by-products of the age of the internet. We do a lot over the internet and I think people are not as diligent as they once were... not intentionally. We use to meet, plan, get to know each other and do projects like saving homes, helping groups with things to be passionate about—now we email, email and then don't show up. An emoji frowning face at the end of an email is not the same as getting together and thrashing it out.

Did you know we have never had developers on our board? They've joined our network and now I'm afraid the new head is going to be a real estate developer, who just moved here... it's like that Star Trek show where unknowingly we are all slowly being assimilated by the developer-cyBorgs... (*voice affectation*) 'it is futile to resist; you will be assimilated' ... guess we may have to start over again. (AHN-Judy)

Surprisingly, when each AHN representative was asked if they would define their network as advocates, activists, or radical—each responded they were all three. When asked why all three, in different words each stated: “... we advocate for people and their need for a roof first, we are activist because we make it happen in our own unconventional way—like built it ourselves—and we are radicals because sometimes we just have to be” (AHN-Mark).

Table 4-15 AHN Representatives on NAD-TIF and Affordable Housing

Question	AHN Judy	AHN Joan	AHN Sara	AHN Mark	ANH Lloyd	AHN West	ANH Chris	AHN Cliff	Mean
How effective do you think TIFs have been in promoting economic development in low-income Dallas neighborhoods? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective)</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100% 1
How serious an issue do you view gentrification in Dallas? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very serious)</i>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	100% 5
How successful do you think of the City has been in promoting affordable housing in these districts? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very successful)?</i>	2	2	1	1.5	1	1.75	1	1	30% 1.5
In your opinion how effective is the city in promoting a socially just economy? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very successful)?</i>	2	2	2	1	1	1.75	1	1	26% 1.3
In your opinion, how effective are citizen-formed networks generally in Dallas? <i>(on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very successful)?</i>	3.5	3	2.5	3	4	3.75	4	4	68% 3.4
<i>Would you define your network: advocates, activists, or radicals? (Advocate 1, Activist 2, Radical 3)</i>	1/2/3	1/2/3	1/2/3	1/2/3	1/2/3	1/2/3	1/2/3	1/2/3	1/2/3

(N=8)

**Participant names are codes and are not actual, the Representative selected their code

Socially Just Economy Perceptions

Examining the range of AHNs, albeit limited, in terms of developing alternative community economies and maintaining affordable housing for the communities' existing residents—yes, there are examples of citizen-formed alternative housing networks that:

- are developing alternative community economies,
- maintaining affordable housing for a community's existing residents through diverse means such as barter, informal housing co-operative, elder care, DIY.

These diverse economies are fledgling, and per an AHN interviewee, it will take two generations to know if there is any success (AHN-Cliff). Alternative community economies are in the form of putting in gardens on vacant lots to feed a community (no one has cleared them yet), barter good advertisement and publicity in the Dallas morning news for continued free medical services in the low-income neighborhoods, and maintain and expand a list of elderly who need assistance against those needing a place to stay...small steps (AHN-Cliff).

The interviews make clear that in Dallas TX there are alternative community economies and they do exist concurrently in the capitalocentric world of Dallas:

We need to know what they are up too, and we can't do that without being in their sandbox. It's a parasitic relationship with the City, we don't like them and they really don't like us—but we sometimes just need each other to survive—there's no trust, it's always a negotiation and there's always a learning curve, it's exhausting. (AHN-Joan)

The influences of AHNs in developing the community diverse economies and maintain affordable housing ranges from helping an elderly member of the community to have equity, access, participate and have the right to create a foundation (material or otherwise) to holding the powerful capitalist regime at bay. But being ever vigilant was the last note expressed by the AHN interviewees, “we know they will go ahead and do the

projects, tear down all those homes, and change the neighborhood—the only question is how much” (AHN-West). The “they” everyone refers to during the interviews is the urban regime.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Key Findings

Summary

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine “just” Arts Based Economic Development, investigating the relationships between two interlaced processes: i) gentrification within neighborhood arts districts (NADs) with Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) overlays, and ii) the rise in radical alternative housing networks (AHNs) to sustain affordable housing provisions for the incumbent populations. Through quasi-experimental quantitative and ethnographic approaches, investigating four case studies in Dallas TX—this study focuses on the effects of municipal urban policies on affordable housing and resident working-class populations at the nexus of municipally designated arts districts and the value-capture Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) support of neighborhood revitalization. This dissertation seeks to place Arts Based Economic Development within the context of a socially just economy. Taking the position that affordable housing is the stepchild of the cultural and political economic fortunes of neighborhoods, the goal of this study is the development of a theory that there is an alternative to regime policies, which would enable value-capture as historically intended by TIFs—to benefit the incumbent resident populations with housing betterment. The gap hopefully being filled by this study is “how” the two concomitant processes—municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” and alternative housing networks—located at the nexus of NAD-TIFs can result in an incumbent working-class population having a modicum of a socially just economy, with the basic need of affordable “fit” housing provisions met.

Seeking to add to the body of knowledge on the effects of the political economy on the low-wealth incumbent populations, a goal of this study was to indicate an alternative possibility to maintaining the primary indicator of that wealth—their affordable

homes. And where critical scholars have investigated gentrification, and to some extent groups similar to the AHNs for this study, this dissertation investigates and proposes a more just, sustainable and inclusive housing process does not need to be limited by the neoliberal policies resulting in the inevitable rent-gap and value capture by private investors and developers, and the inevitable displacement of the incumbent population within neighborhood arts districts. Through an analytical and methodological framework informed by four theoretical sources: the variant Marxist theory of rent-gap (Smith 1996), justice and the value-capture theory of Georgism (George 1879; Bryson 2013, 2003), regimes and alternative governance (Imbroscio 2010), and post-structural feminist research on economic diversity (Gibson-Graham 1996, 2006)—this dissertation hopes to have filled that literary gap. Each theoretical source provides specific concepts and methods, and focuses attention relevant to the intersection of affordable housing re-localization, AHNs, and urban redevelopment in NAD-TIFs.

Through the Dallas municipal archival NAD and TIF research, evidence indicates the objective of the Dallas regime was the initial movement of capital into the NADs and utilizing the value capture of the TIF—creative gentrification is the movement of that capital. Seen from the perspective of the neoliberal regime, and as theorized by Neil Smith, gentrification is not the movement of people out of an area but the movement of investment capital in. The longitudinal analysis provides indicators in the changes at the nexus of NAD-TIFs that the use of the TIFs furthers the goal of reshaping the NAD neighborhood’s physical form to one most useful for capital. The nature of the community is thereby changed. And although the word gentrification never appears—the TIF analysis and financial plans of both TIF case studies did include “displacing” and “alleviating deterrents to development” (Hamer et al. 1997, p.7; Anderson 1997).

The archival research provides evidence of the regime's intent relative to municipally endorsed "creative gentrification" in the form of the tax-based economic development policy—tax incremental financing. From the lens of Henry Georges, the finite nature of land and the importance of the value capture belonging to the community as a whole and not investors or developer. Seen through this study, ideally separating land from the speculative market as regime's financial investment limits their ability of total control of the local scale of neighborhoods in order to realize a return. Unfortunately, the power of the capitalist regime is encompassing. From this study's results, the regime's position appears to be that the neoliberal market system is the only alternative for economic development, therefore the movement of capital utilizing a creative gentrification and value capture TIF mechanism, is thereby sanctioned.

Questioning the logic that the market system is the only alternative to economic development, alternatives are found within the literature of the Community Economies Collective that centers around the relationship between knowledge and power (2002). Where this study accepts the power of the urban regime elite as defined by Imbroscio, and the need for local alternative economic development strategies, this study contends solutions are found in "existing alongside" rather than the seemingly impossible "replacement of" (1997). The AHNs researched for this study have an understanding that political force reconstructed in and through the "actions of human subjects," and as noted in the literature of Gibson-Graham, these subjects have alternative strategies—alternative possibilities— even though the AHNs are still developing the understanding that capitalism is not hegemonic, dominant, and systemic (2008).

This study hopefully fills a gap in the knowledge base of the effects of contemporary neoliberal political-economic upon the realities of cities. Theoretically, perhaps an understanding of redevelopment governance is provided through the

examination and analysis of the regime's intentional restructuring of the urban landscape in one specific setting: Dallas case studies. On the policy front, in lieu of addressing the strivings of local institutions and policies, this study turns to other possibilities—concurrent community economies collective, e.g. alternative housing networks, to produce a more socially just economy.

The existence of a capitalocentric regime and the presence of co-existent “other possibilities” in the AHNs that are seeking a socially just economy are indicated from the data gathered and analyzed in the two sets of case studies, the POR observations, and the responses by all the interviewees to these questions. Further research is required to expand the case-study base. Through the literature review and methodology, indications are this study indicates “how” the two concomitant processes—municipally endorsed “creative gentrification” and alternative housing networks—located at the nexus of NAD-TIFs can result in an incumbent working-class population having a modicum of a socially just economy. And although the basic need of affordable “fit” housing provisions are met in other ways, albeit small and just beginning—not through the regime—there are “other possibilities” such as AHNs existing alongside.

Inequality and displacement in cities has grown dramatically—Dallas being no small exception. Where others have touted the creative economy, it is Richard Florida's “Rise of the Creative Class” that has brought it to the forefront of urban planning and municipal policy. Creative gentrification and the regime's neoliberalism is openly sanctioned and adopted nationally and globally. It is interesting that over a decade after that publication and acting as a consultant to the City of Dallas Office of Economic Development, Florida has written “The New Urban Crisis” (2017). In the publication, there is an exploration of gentrification in the urban landscape (ibid.). Capitalocentric answers to how urban changes has created inequality and leads to a “winner take all” urbanism

(ibid.). Presented are the negative effects on communities from the original creative economy prescriptions due to unsustainable housing prices, displacement, and the changing of place and culture in gentrifying neighborhoods (2017, pp. 60-75). Although recognizing the effects upon incumbent low-income residents of NADs, the recommendation appears to still be: since there is no other choice, the use of creative gentrification is the only alternative for economic development and revitalization of blighted neighborhoods (Ibid. pp. 207-209). Conclusions from the research case studies for Dallas, this capitalocentric position are compounded by the creation of a NDA-TIF nexus. This dissertation contends there are other choices.

From the POR and interviews of the public officials and representatives of AHNs, this study examined the results of creative gentrification and TIFs in terms of a basic need (i.e. affordable housing), and other possibilities for a socially just economy. Analyzing the interviewee's responses, both groups agreed on the effects of the effect of the of the public economic development policies: i) economic revitalization ABED and ii) economic redevelopment TIFs on the incumbent communities' affordable housing. Both groups agreed there is an affordable housing crisis and solutions are being sought to arrive at a socially just economy. As to the research question "how can the incumbent population stave off displacement through gentrification and retain 'fit' affordable housing provisions at the nexus of Neighborhood Arts District and TIF Zones?" concurring with Imbroscio's Regime Theory and the exercise of power, this study indicates where the municipally endorsed creative gentrification may not be held at bay, through the AHNs—small islands of socially just economies can be seen.

Key Findings

A key findings in this study is that the municipal art based economic development policies are intended to promote creative gentrification and the value capture of TIFs—to increase the movement of capital into the districts and not to alleviate “blight” for the incumbent population. This exercise of power is a conscious effort on the part of the Dallas municipality and regime. Gentrification’s importance as the movement of capital and means to maximize profit, where in reality, takes precedence over incumbent low-income residents, their arts, culture and history, which is usurped in the process. Although the face of the regime is hidden, the power of the neoliberal process is unmistakable. As Imbroscio points out, it is the political economic system. Where a few of the AHNs representatives felt there is a recognizable face of the regime and its power, this study indicates the public officials interviewed all agreed there is a gentrification and affordable housing issue in Dallas, however the creative-economy and TIFs are still the policies of choice.

Another key finding is there are alternatives to the capitalocentric world of the neoliberal regime—AHNs being one. They exist, and although some are fledgling, they create their own knowledge in the face of the neoliberal capitalist system. For the purposes of this dissertation, a “socially just economy” is defined as one in which each individual within a collective has equity, access, may participate, and has the right to be able to create a foundation (whether material or otherwise) upon which to be able to survive, engage and exchange with dignity, productivity, and creativity. And although the AHNs representatives interviewed did not express a socially just economy in those terms, their actions prove otherwise as they strive to create another possible world alongside the hegemonic capitalist one. Although the effects of the heterodox AHNs, based on the

concepts of the community economic collectives, are small— value-capture is not through the market system for private gain. In its many forms whether by the advocate/activist/radical, value-capture is intended for incumbent population—many of whom were failed in the TIF process.

The final key finding is the insipid nature of capital, ever seeking to infiltrate the worlds of the alternative possibilities, ever seeking to prove the capitalocentric world is the only world, and that constant vigilance is required to co-exist.

Recommendations and Future Research

As it was pointed out earlier, it is not the intent of this dissertation to make policy recommendations relative to municipally led “creative gentrification” or urban revitalization and redevelopment policies, nor to suggest the possibility of municipal economic redevelopment slow-down in order to balance the housing interests of the incumbent low-income residents with the capitalocentric goals of the Dallas “regime.” From the works of Gibson-Graham and Community Economies Collective, with whom I agree, there are many economically diverse processes—both capitalist and non-capitalist activities can and do exist. Due to the nature of the capitalocentric neoliberal governing system, as pointed out in the key findings, constant vigilance is required. Knowledge is power, even more so for those seeking to keep their homes and obtaining a modicum of a socially just economy. Recommendations from and for the AHNs are:

- be proactive in communicating within the network, with other neighborhood community groups, and with public officials,
- utilize networking and outreach, both technically and as groups
- have awareness of the city’s process,

- meet and constantly communicate with public official, as well as elected officials and their liaisons representatives
- obtaining copies of master plans and lists of proposed projects being considered from council members as well as city departments
- embed within the municipal system by requesting citizen appointments within the political economy
- continue to push the capitalist's envelope
- imagine alternative housing and community garden methods, e.g. citizen land trusts utilizing the city's land bank
- and in the end, ask for forgiveness rather than permission.

Future research would involve a further examination of alternative networks that are more fully expressed as diverse economies and pockets of resistance in other Texas cities, as compared to Dallas alone. Additionally, the remaining data collected and not analyzed for this project would be completed. Finally, as stated in Chapter 3, Methodological Limitation Section, future research would also include addressing the limitations of this study: i) data collection, ii) variable assumptions made, and iii) small sampling size.

Appendix A
Case-Study Selection Process

From a sample size of twenty-three (23) cities, seven (7) were selected for further review relative to the use of TIF zones—San Diego CA; Los Angeles CA; Chicago, IL; Philadelphia PA; Dallas TX; Houston TX; and San Antonio TX. California's legislature began eliminating TIF projects in 2010, eliminating all TIF boards in 2014. San Diego and Los Angeles were therefore eliminated. Arizona is one of the few states that does not permit the use of TIFs. Of the three cities in Texas, residing in Dallas provides the advantages of familiarity with the city's creative economic development master plans, NADs and TIFs, and access to data resources for the NADs and associated TIF projects. Dallas is therefore selected as the location for my case studies.

Appendix B
Interview Protocols



The University of Texas at Arlington (UTA)

Tax-based economic TIF (Tax Incremental Financing Zones) development policies in
Dallas' Neighbourhood Arts Districts:
The Question of Affordable Housing in a Socially Just Economy

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL–PUBLIC OFFICIALS

Fact Questions:

1. In what area is your neighborhood: North Dallas, South Dallas, East Dallas, or West Dallas? How long have you lived there?
2. Can you tell me about your work at the city and how it relates to affordable housing/economic development?

Tax Incremental Financing/Neighborhood Arts Districts/Affordable Housing Protocol Questions:

1. How effective do you think TIFs have been in promoting economic development in low-income Dallas neighborhoods (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective*)? Can you give me an example of why effective or if not, why not?
2. How effective do you think arts based economic development has been in assisting low-income Dallas neighborhoods (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective*)? Can you give me an example of why effective or if not, why not?
3. Can you define what a socially just economy means?
4. How do you think being a neighborhood arts district/TIF effects affordable housing?
5. What are your thoughts on using local residential real estate market values (*Dallas Market Value Analysis Housing Policy*) to see where public-private collaborations should be created to spur economic development:
 - a. What do you see as the benefits?
 - b. What do you see as the challenges?
 - c. How do you think this effects affordable housing?
 - d. Who are the private in these public-private collaborations?
 - e. What effect will reallocating TIF funds outside the TIF district have?
6. What do you think of media coverage of gentrification in these neighborhood arts district/TIFs? What do you think is the city's role in that conversation?
7. How successful do you think of the city has been in promoting affordable housing in these districts (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very successful*)? Can you give me an example of why successful or if not, why not?
8. What do you view as the citizen's role in this?
9. What are the "take-aways" you have from your work through the years at the city?

Final Question: Is there anything else I have not asked you that you would like to add?



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INTERVIEW PROTOCOL–ALTERNATIVE HOUSING NETWORK PRINCIPALS

Fact Questions:

1. In what area is your neighborhood: North Dallas, South Dallas, East Dallas, or West Dallas? How long have you lived there?
2. How did you initially become involved in your network? How long have you been a principal?
3. Can you tell me a little about your network:
 - a. Approximately when did it form?
 - b. Was the formation tied to an event?
 - c. What is your group's mission statement or purpose?
 - d. Approximately how large is your network's participation (1-10, 11-20, 21-30, 31-40, 41-50, larger than 51)? Is anyone not local?
 - e. Are the membership and principal positions all voluntary?
 - f. Is your network a non-profit 401(c)3 or formalized in any way?
4. What areas of housing/community economies does your network focus?

Tax Incremental Financing/Neighborhood Arts Districts/Affordable Housing Protocol Questions

1. Can you tell me about the process by which your group undertakes issues/provides assistance:
 - a. How is it determined what issues to tackle?
 - b. What areas of Dallas do you primarily focus?
 - c. Does someone need to be a member of your network in order to participate or request assistance?
 - d. How do you get the word out/engage the community?
2. Can you give me a success story of your network in a neighborhood? What about a not-so-successful story?
3. Do you engage with city officials on the issues undertaken? If so, what is that process of engagement?
4. What are your thoughts on using the arts and TIFs to promoting economic development in low-income Dallas neighborhoods? How effective (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective*)? Can you give me an example of why effective or if not, why not?
5. What are your thoughts on using local residential real estate market values (*Dallas Market Value Analysis Housing Policy*) to see where public-private collaborations should be created to help low-income areas:
 - a. What do you see as the benefits?
 - b. What do you see as the challenges?
 - c. How do you think this effects affordable housing?
 - d. Who do you think is the private in these public-private collaborations?
 - e. Does your network have a role in these collaborations? If so, what is that role?
6. How do you define gentrification? How serious an issue do you view gentrification in Dallas (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very serious*)? Does your network use the word gentrification?
7. In your opinion how effective is the city in promoting affordable housing (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective*)? If not effective, what could they be doing?
8. What does a socially just economy mean to you? In your opinion how effective is the city in promoting a socially just economy (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective*)? If not effective, what could they be doing?
9. In your opinion, how effective are citizen-formed networks generally in Dallas (*on a scale of 1 to 5 with 5 being very effective*)? Can you give me an example of why effective or if not, why not? What are the ways in which you think they could become more effective?

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The University of Texas at Arlington (UTA)

**Tax-based economic TIF (Tax Incremental Financing Zones) development policies in
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The Question of Affordable Housing in a Socially Just Economy**

10. Would you define your network as advocates, activists, or radicals? Why?

Final Question: Is there anything else I have not asked you about your network that you would like to add?

Appendix C
Variable List and Definitions

Variable type	Variable	Definition
Transportation (Not Signification)	TEmTran	Workers taking transit
	THUAuto2Plus	Dwelling units with two or more cars available
	TTranTim	Travel Time to Employment
Amenities (Not Significant)	ARecFac500	Recreational facilities per 500 residents
	AYthFac500	Youth facilities per 500 residents
	APubSp500	Public space per 500 residents
	ASmPk500	Small parks per 500 residents
Socio-economic Demographic	PWt	Non-Hispanic white
	PHi	Hispanic / Latino
	PAAm	African American / Black
	PFHHwCh16	Female head of household w/ children 16yrs or younger
	PEducLev	Education Level
	PWtMedAgM	Non-Hispanic white Median Age-Male
	PWtMedAgF	Non-Hispanic white Median Age Female
	PHiMedAgM	Hispanic Median Age-Male
	PHiMedAgF	Hispanic Median Age Female
	PMedIncome	Median Income
Housing (180 parcels in Oak Cliff Gateway and 210 parcels in Bishops Arts in 1990); (105 parcels in Cedars and 92 parcels in Cedars Arts South in 1990)	HUtot	Housing Units Total
	HUren	Housing Units Rental
	HWtOw	Non-Hispanic White Owned
	HHiO	Hispanic Owned
	HInfrVal1000	Infrastructure Value
	HLdVal1000	Land Value
	HAffIndRen	Affordability Index – (Rental x 12)/ Median Tract Income
	HAffIndMortg	Affordability Index – (Mortgage x 12)/ Median Tract Income
Location (Similar for both Study & Control)	LDisCBD	Distance to CBD
	LDisTrans	Distance to Transit

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Check with your advisor to determine the preferred referencing method of those in your discipline.

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Biographical Information

Katherine Kosut earned a Master of Architecture from the University of Texas at Austin in 1992, and a Ph.D. in Urban Planning and Public Policy from the University of Texas at Arlington in 2019. She has been a teaching assistant at the University of Texas at Austin and guest lecturer on her research on Frank Lloyd Wright in Japan. She has also been a visiting professor in the School of Architecture at the University of Texas at San Antonio and a senior lecturer in the Department of Architecture at the University of Victoria in Wellington, New Zealand. She has been a practicing architect for twenty-five (25) years consulting on institutional architecture, performing arts schools, municipal cultural centers, historic renovations and additions, and campus and park corridor master plans. She will continue to serve on several community task forces and city boards to develop affordable housing, promote sustainability, and cultural equity. Her primary research interests centers on urban planning and public policy, more specifically on alternative economic collectives and community betterment agreement.