NEOLIBERAL PARK GOVERNANCE REGIMES AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL INCLUSION IN DOWNTOWN DALLAS SIGNATURE PARKS

by

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ABSTRACT

Neoliberal Park Governance Regimes and the Right to the City:

A Critical Assessment of Social Inclusion in Downtown Dallas Signature Parks

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Privatization has been frequently criticized for diminishing the inclusiveness of public space. This dissertation examines whether private signature parks are more exclusive than their public counterparts utilizing Lefebvre's right to the city, along with theories of public space privatization and governance. To better understand the influence of privatization on the social inclusiveness of public spaces, three publicly-accessible signature parks are deliberately selected in downtown Dallas, based on their ownership and management types: (1) publicly-owned, publicly-managed; (2) publicly-owned, privately-managed; and (3) privately-owned, privately-managed. The research methodology includes semi-structured interviews, in-situ participatory observation, and content analysis of official documents, local and social media.

This dissertation proposes that any treatment of inclusiveness of a signature public space should be defined through its governance structures and institutional governance regime strategies. Hence, simple dichotomies of 'public-private' and 'inclusion-exclusion' do not encompass the complexity and diversity of experiences in the time-space-event continuum. It interrogates the argument that privatization along with securitization, commercialization, and eventization—three exclusionary strategies typically employed by many public parks' governance regimes—

implies the demise of social inclusion. The findings reveal that everyday use and temporal appropriations (events) of space can vary along a carefully managed social inclusion/exclusion continuum, regardless of a park's ownership, where park users may spontaneously appropriate space or may be deftly managed by carefully programmed activities and events that transform the park into a stage.

These transformations in deeply neoliberal cities like Dallas signal the rise of different kinds of public spaces and, consequently, different conceptions of the 'public' in each one. The study introduces the notion of 'curated inclusion' or 'symbolic exclusion' to explain these differentials in 'public space' experiences and simultaneous instances of 'provision' of space and 'prohibition' in space which intimate both park users' situations of being or feeling in and out of place in different contexts and moments.

Keywords: Right to the City, Privatization, Social Inclusion, Governance Regime, Signature Parks

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"*What is a place? A memory of our presence, a memory of our absence.*"

Anna Badkhen

To all men and women who play with rules, roles, and meanings in the streets of Tehran and Dallas, and create spaces of emancipation through poetics and politics of their everyday beings.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

My study attempts to understand the impacts of privatization on the How and the Who of social inclusion and exclusion in signature publicly used parks in downtown Dallas. Signature public parks define the identities of their cities and position themselves as both destinations and consumable experiences. In the following chapter, I will describe the elements of my research design, including my research problem and argument statements, research questions, a recap on related literature, and an overview of the following chapters in the dissertation.

1.1. Introduction

Along with post-industrialization and the rollback of local public budgets, cities have progressively relied on the private and nonprofit sectors to design, finance, program, and manage public spaces. Downtown open spaces are the most vulnerable urban areas to the process of privatization, thereby experiencing extreme governance shifts. Functions formerly performed by the local government, particularly in downtown parks, are increasingly outsourced to a complex mix (and often a hierarchy) of public, private, whether for- or nonprofit entities. Nevertheless, critics of privatization argue that privatized public spaces exclude individuals and groups based on race, gender, class, social status, beliefs, behavior, and activities (Davis, 2012; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Mitchell, 2003; Schmidt and Németh, 2011).

Urban planning, design, and geography scholarship discuss the subject with umbrella terms, such as 'privatized public spaces' (Peterson, 2006; Németh and Hollander, 2010) or 'privately owned public spaces (POPS) (Németh, 2009; Mitchell, 2017), and fail to distinguish the heterogeneity of

the organizations outside the public sector that determines each space's governance regime. To better understand the impact of privatization on the inclusiveness/exclusiveness of public spaces, this dissertation investigates three publicly accessible signature parks in downtown Dallas with different degrees of private control: (1) publicly owned, publicly managed; (2) publicly owned, privately managed; and (3) privately owned, privately managed.

The study's central thesis is that any treatment of inclusiveness of a signature public space must be described and understood through its governance structures and institutional governance regime strategies. This is because addressing only ownership and management explains merely part of the story of social exclusion, isolation, and alienation. The private and nonprofit sectors are not homogenous entities and the governance regime of a single public space entails actors beyond owner and manager. Thus, inclusionary/exclusionary governance structures and strategies are multi-faceted and stretch across various scales, agencies, and actors. These top-down institutional strategies, along with the potential for bottom-up contestations, appropriations, and demonstrations, influence the degree of inclusion for each space.

1.2. The Significance of Signature Public Parks

This dissertation focuses on how privatization of public space influences social inclusiveness in downtown Dallas signature parks. The Project for Public Spaces (2009) describes 'signature public parks' as those that "define the identities of their cities." Similarly, Pearsall et al. (2020), researching the *benefits and costs of urban public spaces*, identifies them as spaces with high visibility associated with a particular area's character to draw visitors to that area (p. 53). In *Public Spaces/Private Money* discussing the triumphs and pitfall of urban conservancies the Trust for Public Land (2015) asserts this is a golden age for signature urban parks throughout the

country. Since public parks appear more manageable entities than programs like homelessness or public education, philanthropies and conservancies consider them a logical venue to benefit from private support (p. 47).

In 2017, The Executive Director of the Rose Kennedy Greenway—the conservancy that runs a signature park in Boston– stated in an interview that "signature parks, especially ones that are run by or in partnership with non-profits, are able to experiment and test new ideas in a way that cities are not able (or willing) to try in the wider park system" (Garrett, 2017). He sees signature parks, "as incubators for creative programming and policy change" (Garrett, 2017). Similarly, Dallas's signature parks are regional attractions and valued landmarks designed, developed, and activated in the urban core through the partnership of various public, private, and nonprofit organizations. Their attempt is to provide new vision, identity, and economic stimulus for downtown (Dallas Park and Recreation Department, 2004). Downtown Dallas is the social, cultural, economic, and political epitome of the DFW Metroplex. Despite the intention and effort to engage and attract downtown residents and workers to activate and simulate downtown Dallas, these signature attractions are considered citywide and supposed to serve the entire city, region, or multiple Council Districts (City of Dallas, 2017, 2).

1.3. The Democratic and Inclusive Nature of Public Space

The importance of public space cannot be divorced from concepts of inclusion, citizenship, justice, and right to the city. Public spaces expose diversity of uses and maintain a common ground for increasing interaction among diverse populations and accepting strangers and 'the others' (Akkar, 2005; De Magalhães & Trigo, 2017; Madanipour, 2003; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Varna, 2014). Arendt (1958) highlights the role of public spaces in democratic societies.

They support the ability for people to gather, interact, and acknowledge the presence of 'the others,' which she recognizes as a crucial factor for democracy. According to Staehili et al. (2009), a democratic city (and society) grants access to more and more individuals and social groups and incorporates them into 'the public' (p. 633). Hence, urban life relied on public spaces as the primary venue for social encountering and 'oeuvre' (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2003; Stevens, 2007).

Despite the resurgence of a broad interest in placemaking, some urban scholars have frequently claimed the death of public space (Banerjee, 2001; Zukin, 2010; Bodnar, 2015), suggesting its overall diminishing social 'inclusiveness.' Scholars characterize privatized public spaces with "social exclusion, sanitized consumerism, and restrictive security measures" (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013). So, 'public space' might rather be called 'publicly used space' considering private ownership and management.

This view along with that of Rosalyn Deutsche (1996), who believes public spaces "are structured by exclusions and, moreover, by attempts to erase the traces of these exclusions, [and that] exclusions are justified, naturalized, and hidden by representing social space as a substantial unity that must be protected from conflict, heterogeneity, and particularity" (p. xii-xiii) and those of Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008; Németh and Hollander, 2010; Bodnar, 2015 who consider privatization a contributing factor reducing the number, diversity, and inclusivity of uses and users in urban public spaces, influenced the beginning of this study initially concerned with the privatization of public space and the resultant exclusion of specific people.

1.4. Governance Shift: A Possible Threat to Social Inclusiveness

As a result of the governance shift in power relations and structure from public to private, public space management and ownership have also evolved and can be sorted into four governance regime categories: (1) publicly owned and managed, (2) privately owned and managed, (3) publicly owned and privately managed, or (4) privately owned and publicly managed (Figure, 1) (Németh & Schmidt, 2011, 11). Scholars typically consider ownership directly related to public spaces' management and locate these two prototypical spaces of publicly owned and managed and privately owned and managed at either end of the public-private continuum (Németh & Schmidt, 2011).

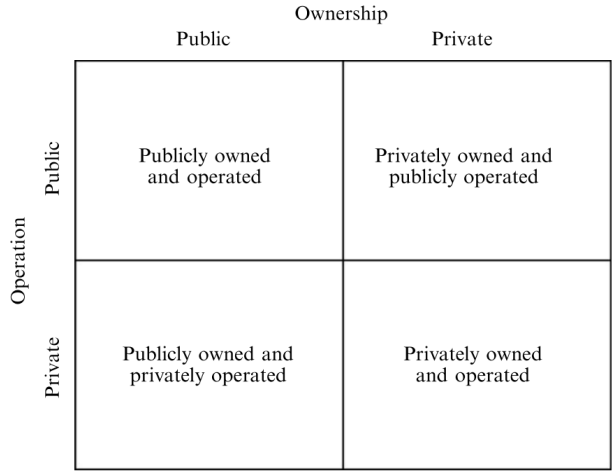


Figure 1- Ownership and Operation Combinations, (Németh & Schmidt, 2011, 11)

However, mixed ownership and management, particularly publicly owned and privately managed spaces, have become increasingly popular in the past several decades (Katz, 2006). Signature parks are often managed by different forms of nonprofit organizations (NPOs), including Public Improvement Districts (PIDs), Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), Downtown Activation Groups, Friends of Parks Coalitions, Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs), and so on. Yet, urban planners and geographers studying 'privatized public space' have not

differentiated between various for-profit and nonprofit organizations that own or manage public spaces, nor analyzed the full spectrum of possibilities on governance associated with these entities.

1.5. Governance Regimes Exclusionary Strategies

Urban planning and urban political geography studies have examined and discussed privatization and exclusion in New York City (Low, 2006; Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006; Németh & Hollander, 2010; Smithsimon, 2006), since a study found more than 500 privatized public spaces in the City of New York, including parks, plazas, arcades, sidewalk widening, and open-air concourses (Kayden 2000). Scholars blamed the city for over-regulation, over-control, and over-commercialization (Németh & Schmidt, 2007; 2011) and labeled these areas 'security zones' and 'shrinking public spaces' (Németh & Hollander, 2010). Other scholars argue public spaces have become consumption spaces, which act as the critical infrastructure of the city's symbolic economy with increased corporate investment in both provision and consumption (Bodnar, 2015; Smith, 2014; Zukin, 2015) ensuring consumer safety also leads to over-polarization and securitization of the urban spaces.

'Signature events' are associated with signature public spaces that draw people to space, thus providing additional economic activity and vibrancy (Pearsall et al., 2020, 53). Andrew Smith (2016), in his book *Events in the city*, explains that some events have always happened in public spaces, but in recent decades more events have been taken out of their traditional venues and staged in public parks. Zukin (1995) and Madden (2010) describe how Bryant Park in New York City utilized fashion shows, movie screenings, and cultural performances to lure middle-class professionals to the park, who would spend money (on tickets and refreshments) and

police the space as active 'eyes on the street'. This shift helps the event organizers produce more memorable and spectacular events, city officials to animate urban spaces, and public space managers to make their space more visible. Fewer studies are available on signature events, and most urban scholars see 'eventization' of the public space as a sub-category of 'commercialization' of the space (Zukin, 1995; Franck & Stevens, 2007).

However, corporate, private, ticketed, and mega-events are different instances that reveal some events' exclusionary nature through over-securitization (Foley et al., 2012; Murakami Wood & Abe, 2011) while facilitating the easy access of wealthy visitors (Boykoff & Fussey, 2014, 260). The Los Angeles School of Urbanism has also explored policing, patrolling, fortification, and militarization of urban space and the exclusion of the so-called 'undesirables' (Davis, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Miller, 2007; Peterson, 2006). For instance, the authorities enforce the exclusion of 'undesirables' by searching visitors' bags, not for weapons or dangerous goods, but for picnic food, and drinks prohibited in favor of the official catering (Murakami Wood & Abe, 2011, 3250). Smith (2016) argues, "when public spaces become regular venues for commercialized, ticketed events, they are effectively re-territorialized as venues" (p. 101). They determine the desirable user by the "ability to pay" (Owen, 2002), thus favoring consuming classes and deliberately excluding disadvantaged groups.

In the past decade, privatized public spaces have gained new momentum. This condition has been explored in various high-density, high-amenity cities of the Global North (Davis, 1992; Low, 2006; Miller, 2007; Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006; Németh and Hollander, 2010; Peterson, 2006; Smithsimon, 2006), segueing into whether inclusivity of public space is a relevant problem in sprawled, fragmented, low-density, auto-dependent cities, such as those of the Dallas Fort-Worth Metroplex.

1.6. Research Purpose and Scope

Building on the urban design, urban planning, urban geography, and public affairs literatures, this study identifies both the motivations and methods of social exclusion involved in downtown Dallas signature parks. It investigates how practices of social inclusion and exclusion occur. A theoretical overview of the Lefebvrian sociology of the right to the city and the production of space, along with theories of public space and privatization, build the basis of this research.

This study critically examines the reasons, processes, and practices behind the alleged general decline in the inclusiveness of publicly used parks, which signals the potential erosion of a democratic society and the right to the city (Kohn, 2004; Németh, 2009; Purcell, 2003). To better understand the impact of privatization on inclusiveness/exclusiveness of public spaces, three publicly accessible award-winning parks are selected in downtown Dallas, based on their ownership and management types: (1) publicly owned, publicly managed; (2) publicly owned, privately managed; and (3) privately owned, privately managed.

Investigating the 'right to the city' implications of institutional regimes of park governance in three downtown Dallas signature parks, helps elucidate how these practices manifest themselves in the debates around quasi-public spaces and how inclusionary or exclusionary strategies relate to privatization. Exploring the different levels of private control and different types of nonprofit organizations in charge of each park, the study evaluates the impacts of privatization on the degree of park inclusion, not only based on gender, race, class, and social status, but also in terms of how parks claiming spaces to be incorporated as part of the 'public', define and accommodate 'undesirables.' Through my years of close investigation of these public parks, I have come to realize the breadth of meaning of "undesirable" people and

"inappropriate" use; their blurry boundaries are continually evolving and responding to main events, trends, and news. For instance, with the new wave of Black Lives Matter demonstrations or the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19, I observed the reproduction of new desirable and undesirable images in the three case studies.

1.7. Research Elements

Most scholars criticize privatized public spaces for restricting social interaction, constraining individual liberties, and excluding certain undesirable populations (Banerjee, 1999; Bodnar, 2015; (Németh and Schmidt, 2007, 2010; Sorkin, 1992). However, I argue that the demise of an inclusive public realm is neither absolute nor inevitable; instead, we are witnessing the rise of different kinds of spaces and, consequently, different conceptions of the 'public' in each one. To properly understand the governance dynamics and the factors contributing to the degree of inclusiveness in public parks, I conduct a qualitative comparative case study of three downtown Dallas parks utilizing field observation of the park's design programming and accessibility, content analysis of local and social media as well as official documents and archival sources, and interview with public space managers and city staffs.

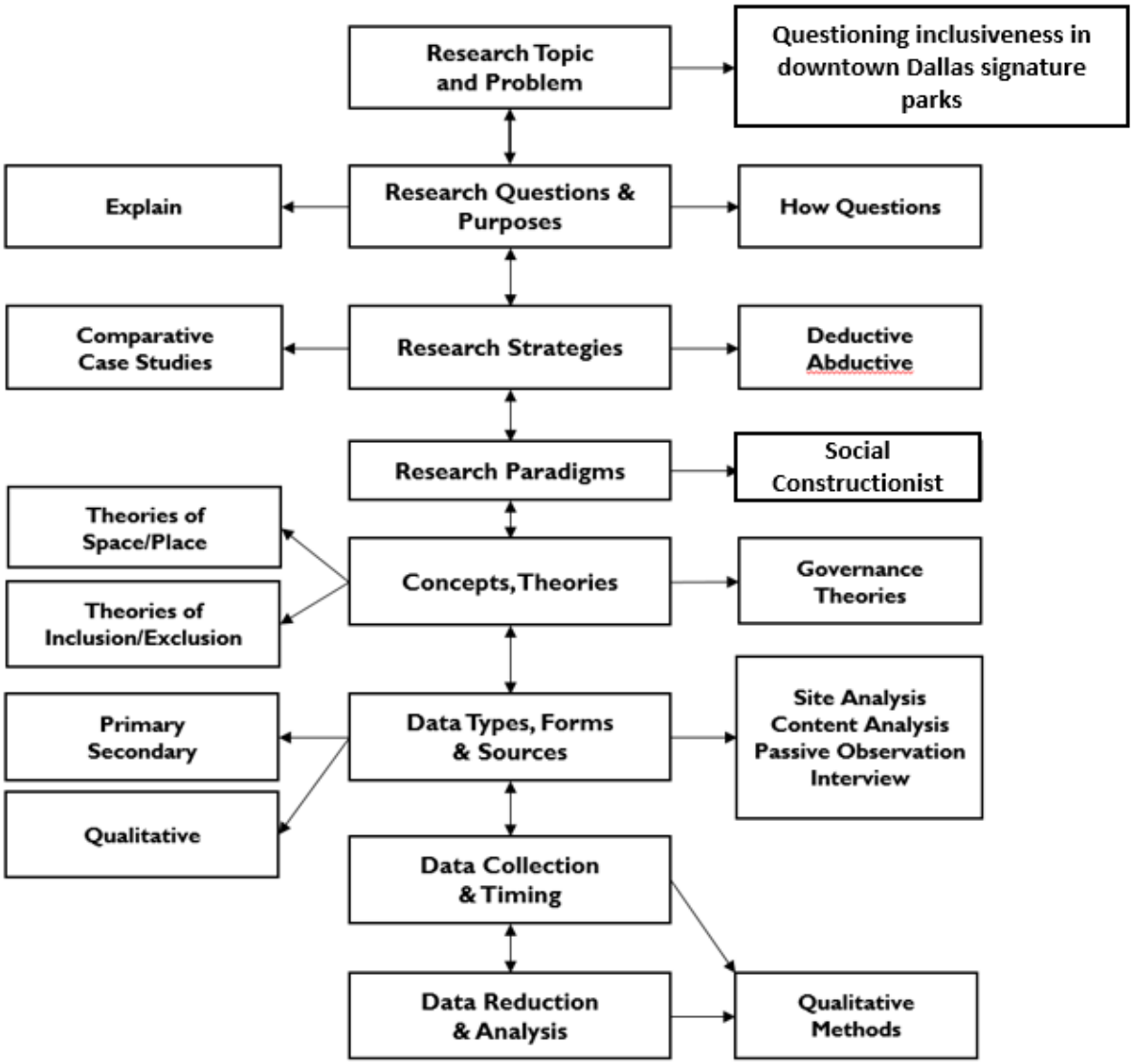


Figure 2- Research Design Elements

In this dissertation, I will address the following questions:

Q1. How does privatization manifest itself in the governance structures and strategies of three downtown Dallas signature parks?

Q2. How and to what extent social inclusion/exclusion in three downtown Dallas signature parks reflects their degree of public-private control?

Q3. How governance regimes define and exclude 'inappropriate' and 'undesirable' in three downtown Dallas signature parks?

1.8. Research Outline

The second chapter reviews the 'right to the city' theory to build on Lefebvre's line of thought and the evolution of his concept in three groups of interpreters that focus on social justice, spatial justice, and radical political justice. I discuss Lefebvre's 'right to the city,' 'right to participation,' and 'right to appropriation' as it relates to the concept of social inclusion. Later, I discuss urban design, planning, and administration theories, conceived space in Lefebvre's triad, discussing the shift in the governance of public space addressed under privatization literature, where I explore the governance structures and strategies. Finally, I reconsider representation and intersectionality as missing elements in assessing social inclusion within privatized public spaces.

Chapter three delineates the methodological strategy for collecting and analyzing data to address the research question. It also outlines Lefebvre's conceptual triad of space production as it pertains to the methodological and epistemological issues on the ways of analyzing inclusion/exclusion in public spaces.

Chapter four reports the analysis results of the data gathered through five sections exploring governance regimes strategies, namely privatization (private property, management, and regulations), commercialization (design programming), eventization (activation programming), securitization (policing and surveillance), and representation (governance structure).

Chapter five presents a synthesis of the findings of the analysis and identifies several core themes representing how the exclusionary strategies in each downtown Dallas park affect social

inclusion/exclusion. The chapter goes on to discuss how the findings of this study confirm or extend the existing literature. It concludes with a discussion of the implications of the research findings for the discipline of urban planning and urban design.

Chapter 2:

Literature Review

2. Literature Review

This chapter provides the dissertation's theoretical framework by outlining how the 'right to the city' relates to the nuances of the power structure in public spaces and delves into theories and practices of social inclusion and exclusion. My analysis of Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city examines his three works: *The Urban Revolution* (2003[1970]), *The Production of Space* (1991[1973]), and *Writings on Cities* (1996). In the first section, I will discuss different dimensions of the right to the city and explore how various interpretations engage with Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city in addressing social inclusion and exclusion across different academic disciplines, particularly urban planning, design, and geography.

The second section explores the meanings and domains of public space, both in research and practice, discusses the broader narrative of loss that emphasizes an overall decline of the public realm and public space, and acknowledges these differences among public space and the public sphere. Next, it segues into the shift in governance regimes to explore contracting-out of managerial responsibilities to organizations outside the public sector as a public-private continuum. Finally, it explores various exclusionary governance regime strategies: privatization, commercialization, eventization, and securitization.

The third and last section of the literature review discusses representation and intersectionality as neglected factors in previous literature addressing social inclusion and exclusion in public spaces. It reviews both factors to include the historically underrepresented and a challenge to the power structure. Next, it explores the representativeness of the bureaucracy or within the

public space governance regimes. Lastly, it recognizes the importance of authentic representation to achieve social inclusion.

2.1. Right to the City and Theories of Social Inclusion

2.1.1. Right to the City and Urban Problematic

Despite being around for nearly five decades, Lefebvre's 'right to the city' still gains attention among scholars, practitioners, and activists, as neoliberal cities motivated by capitalistic ideologies often marginalize the disenfranchised populations. Lefebvre's right to the city portrays a balance between realism and idealism (Purcell, 2013b). The theory offers an approach for urban dwellers to become active participants in creating urban space and to look beyond the obstacles placed by capitalism to exclude and alienate them.

According to Lefebvre (2003 [1970]), urbanization has increasingly accompanied and even bypassed industrialization as the dominant force of capitalism. His 'urban problematic' introduced unprecedented crises that could not be assumed as industrialization problems. They were "more profoundly a crisis of urban society than a crisis of capitalist industrialism" (Smith, 2003, xi). The property rights under capitalism threaten other claims over the urban space. The owner's right and control over space production segregate users and uses into discrete zones. (Attoh, 2011; Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2013a). Therefore, he suggests a close investigation of the dynamics of urbanization as a distinctive process rather than a narrow focus on industrial capitalism.

Lefebvre emphasized how industrialization segued into the dynamics of urbanization as the central problem of advanced capitalist societies; so, one should not separate them from one another. He acknowledges the significant role that urbanism, in general, and the production of

urban space, in particular, play in the reproduction of capitalistic relations. Lefebvre exposes the crucial role of the production of space in the reproduction of capitalist relations. According to him, "capitalism survived in the twentieth century, not by simply organizing production in space but by orchestrating the production of space" (Lefebvre, 1976; 2009; Kuyumulu, 2013).

He views urban space as made into a capitalist commodity that negates the right to the city to most of its inhabitants. So, Lefebvre recognizes urban space as the main battleground of civic struggles for democracy, social rights, and justice (Isin, 1999; Soja, 2010), implying the right to the city not only as a right to urban space but to "a political space as well, constituting the city as a space of politics" (Dikeç, 2001, 1790). Reflecting on Lefebvre's interpretation, right to the city is "an argument for the right not to be excluded, and especially for full political participation in the making of the city" (Mitchell and Villanueva, 2010, 668).

2.1.2. Production of Urban Space and Three Interpretations of the Right to the City

Urban planning practice has conceived urban space as an independent entity to be controlled through rational methods such as zoning. But urban spaces are also relational entities effected and affected by the everyday experiences of urban dwellers, ranging from the most mundane tasks to the most massive revolutions (Agnew, 2011). For this reason, urban planning has failed to offer residents control over their cities and everyday spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). In his seminal book, *The Production of Space* (1991 [1974]), Lefebvre replace the dichotomy between the public and the private with a dialectical approach, where he suggests linking the 'fields' of physical, mental, and social spaces.

> "Relations between the three moments of the perceived, the conceived and the lived are never either simple or stable, nor are they 'positive' in the sense in which this term might be opposed to 'negative', to the indecipherable, the unsaid, the prohibited, or the unconscious" (1991, p.46).

Lefebvre presents the state's use of space as a form of social control, understood as a result of the economic, social, and political transformations in the neo-capitalist space. Thereby, in a society ruled by the market, commodity predominates everything, where space and time become the space and time of markets (Lefebvre, 2004, p.6). The state replaces social spaces with abstract spaces employing capitalists' alterations of use into exchange values.

> "[Abstract space entails] accumulation and growth, calculation, planning, programming. [...] This immense process starts out from physical truth (the presence of the body) and imposes the primacy of the written word, of 'plans', of the visual realm, and of a flattening tendency even within that realm itself. Abstract space thus simultaneously embraces the hypertrophied analytic intellect; the state and bureaucratic raison d'état, 'pure' knowledge; and the discourse of power. Implying a 'logic' which misrepresents it and masks its contradictions, this space, which is that of bureaucracy, embodies a successful integration of spectacle and violence (as distinct from 'pure' spectacle)" (Lefebvre, 1991, 307-8).

Of the many interpretations of Lefebvre's right to the city, this dissertation favors these three distinct interpretations. The three interpretations equate the right to the city as (1) claiming social justice (Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009; Mitchell, 2003), (2) claiming spatial justice (Soja, 2010; Dikeç, 2009); and (3) claiming radical urban political justice (Purcell, 2003; Schmidt, 2012).

Claiming social justice, strongly represented by Harvey and Marcuse, recognizes the right to the city as a class-based struggle that challenges the power structure within capitalist society. The class-based hierarchy within intersectional, antiracist, and a decolonial framework could be interpreted as the hierarchy of distinct identities grappling with social justice. They assert that social injustice is imprinted into the built environment through capitalist development and believed the proletariat concept requires an expanded interpretation to include 'culturally alienated' groups (Marcuse, 2009).

Claiming spatial justice focuses on Lefebvre's concept of 'lived space.' Soja (2010) and states that different forms of power relations can bolster or challenge capitalism to create exclusion and repression. For instance, 'geographies of privilege' marginalize and exclude disadvantaged groups, and 'geographies of choice' (Soja, 2010, 55) show signs of exclusion but are produced to empower marginalized groups. Soja and Dikeç do not interpret the right to the city as an anti-capitalist strategy. They do not recognize spatial justice as an end but an orientation. Dikeç claims that the right to the city politicizes all forms of spatial and/or social exclusion, but they are not reducible to Marxist class concepts and explanations. Dikeç constructs spatial justice as requiring both the right to the city, e.g., the appropriation of urban space as political space, with the right to difference, the act of generating alternative ways of being and dwelling; thereby, challenging hegemonic discourses of urban spaces, places, and identities (Dikeç, 2002; Dikeç, 2009).

Claiming urban radical political justice highlights Lefebvre's notion of 'everyday life' and of 'appropriating space,' as well as decision-making processes through a radical formulation of citizenship. However, not all radical politics and actions always lead to successful and just outcomes. Many radical bottom-up innovations operate as a non-democratic development plan

or become co-opted by a small exclusive group of actors with neoliberal agendas. Eventually, authorities and developers have the power to legalize or criminalize particular radical action, where according to Heim LaFrombois (2017), they may choose to ignore transformations by the marginalized sector of the society but adopt and adapt into policies and practices of the so-called 'creative class' (p. 425-427). So, these radical practices rely on social privilege and have gendered, racialized, and classed implications.

The above discussion and classification confirm the multiplicity, diversity, and even contradictory nature of different interpretations of Lefebvre's right to the city. This dissertation builds upon the interpretations that challenge the power structure, and relations within capitalist society and spaces yet opposes the reduced conceptions of exclusion to Marxist class-based struggles. To explore the broader range of social and political possibilities of the right to the city, it relies on interpretations that question the hegemonic discourses of urban spaces and identities to reinforce the intersection of gendered, racialized, and classed implications and expand the inclusive horizons.

2.1.3. Right to the City and Locating Social Inclusion

Fainstein (2005) describes diversity as the planning orthodoxy, which is not helpful without considering it in the broader concept of the just city. Similarly, Kahn (2017), a legal scholar, uses the newly coined term 'Recreational Antiracism' and argues that promoting diversity rather than substantive structural change will not create equal opportunity and equal outcomes. These arguments generated a new batch of theorists grappling with inclusion and exclusion, particularly in the public realm.

Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) argue that inclusion/exclusion are not absolute terms, but are located within more comprehensive discussions of power, practice, and institutions – critical issues for urban planning discourses in contested space. This approach recognizes current structures as the preeminent issue on addressing exclusion. The purpose of the public realm is to provide freedom, spontaneity, risk, and spaces of appearance (Stevens, 2007). Thus, the inherent freedom in Lefebvre's right to the city does not occur in the protection and security of the private realm but through appropriation in the public space.

Social inclusion that features marginalized groups' active participation to improve living conditions and effectuate change has dominated the policy agenda (Barr et al., 2001, 4–5). Additionally, few scholars have defended it concerning social inclusion, especially regarding the care for others because social care is generally privatized in a spatial sense - whether in a community center, hospitals, homes, etc. (Watson, 2009). Yet, for some scholars, freedom is an eruptive event and a break from necessary processes and refers to the engagement in politics with fellow citizens (Arendt, 1998, 30-31).

To be recognized as a democratic public realm, public space is fiercely thought of as the space to encounter strangers (Stevenson, 2003). Young (2002) identifies an inclusive public space by embracing multiple diverse publics since it reflects the reality of the world in which different groups live together. However, individuals or groups may exclude others or may feel excluded. These exclusions might be deliberate efforts to homogenize public spaces to favor the middle class (Harvery, 1992); or a 'racialized' struggle (McCann, 1999). In her book Thick and other essays, McMillan Cottom questions, "Are you surveilled by the state like poor people or do you surveil yourself like the middle class" (McMillan Cottom, 2018, 6)?

Political institutions must ignore cultural differences to avoid exclusive narratives and treat everyone from every culture uniformly according to liberal principles in the public sphere. A commitment to cultural differences necessitates wider circles of inclusion. This approach locates exclusion outside political communities, assuming the structures are internally unified and capable of inclusion with proper operations and engagements. Thereby, despite the effort of private people to form and regulate the bourgeois sphere, a basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere, public space is a place of citizenship formation (Habermas, 1982).

As mentioned, previous studies distinguish two approaches addressing inclusion versus exclusion. The first approach overcomes exclusion by improving the theoretical frameworks and practical (design and policy) recommendations to address universal emancipation. This viewpoint locates exclusion outside communities and their power structures. Thereby, for them, overcoming exclusion relies on expanding the inclusive horizons to absorb the 'others,' the so-called 'undesirables,' and those on the margins. In contrast to the first approach, the second perspective sees the drawbacks in the inclusive frameworks responsible for having exclusionary societies. In this viewpoint, the exclusion is resultant of our political sphere and power structures.

2.1.4. Conceptualization of the Right to the City

The concept of the 'right to the city' has been employed mainly by critical theorists to investigate grassroots' resistance to capitalism and the current structure of liberal-democratic citizenship (Purcell, 2002, 101). Lefebvre argues that the right to the city is "both a cry and a demand" (1996, 158). For him, "The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit — the

right to the oeuvre, participation, and appropriation" (Lefebvre, 1996, 173-174). Furthermore, the right to the city is a right "to urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete usage of these moments and places" (Lefebvre, 1996, 179). Hence, Lefebvre suggests that the right to the city is the right to appropriate and to create spaces for diverse and inclusive uses through everyday forms of human creative expression.

In the following section, I will further elaborate on the six dimensions of the right to the city, based on Lefebvre's interpretations in the urban planning, design, and geography literature.

Table 1- Dimensions of the 'right to the city'

The right to	**Evaluated by**
Freedom	Freedom of speech, freedom of peaceful assembly
Individualization in socialization	Supporting encountering and interactions between strangers
Habitat and inhabit	the right to access space resources and participate in its formation (make spaces fit for individuals' needs)
Oeuvre	The potential for play, to engage in creative and self-actualizing experiences
Participation	The potential for participation in the governance of the space (in the formal decision-making procedures)
Appropriation	Allows appropriation in consumption (access) and in production (use) of space

2.1.4.1. Right to Freedom

"The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is ... one of the most precious yet most neglected human rights" (Harvey, 2008, 23). 'Right to freedom' is bound up with the notion of equality and connected to the UN-declared human rights, including freedom of opinion, expression, and peaceful assembly. Lefebvre does not explain his understanding of

freedom in detail (Lefebvre, 1996, 173). Therefore, Iveson asserts it is critical to continuously and consciously respond to the following questions: whose freedom is increased/decreased? To do what? He implies increased freedom for some should not mean the inevitable curtailed freedom of others, as public space is the setting used by multiple publics and should be equitable and non-exclusionary (Iveson, 1998).

On the contrary, the sense of freedom in urban public spaces has been associated with anonymity or 'blasé detachment' (Simmel, 1903) so that strangers are less likely to constrain our behavior. Lofland (1998) indicates freedom from judgment as an emancipatory reason and supreme joy for many to be out in public. Dikeç relates it to the notion of 'equality' interpreted as non-discrimination, non-constraint, sans repression (Dikeç, 2009, 82). Although different restrictions that curtail the right to free speech can be contested in court (Kohn, 2004), still challenging initiatives that decrease the diversity of actions and actors are complicated.

Most controlling agencies and actions increase order in public spaces and reduce the diversity of activities and occupants. Despite threatening freedom from surveillance, privacy, and engaging in activities with strangers (Dovey, 1999; Lees, 2004), those initiatives seek to enhance freedom from fear and violence of crime and justified by the notion of improving public spaces' safety. Moreover, considering freedom as a struggle against repression pinpoints a dichotomy of power for participation and appropriation. It speaks to the disenfranchised continuous struggle for recognition to participate in decision-making processes in contrast to the social and political, and economic elite who are already over-participating and appropriating cities and urban lives.

2.1.4.2. Right to Individualization in Socialization

Although industrialization and mass production aim to homogenize urban activities, urban societies are diverse, dynamic, and contradictory (Lefebvre, 1991b; Stevens, 2007). This diversity satisfies a broad range of human needs and creates new ones that require a ceaseless struggle over shaping and reshaping social spaces to address and embrace those new needs (Lefebvre, 1991a; 1991b).

Michel Foucault's (1986) essay on 'Heterotopia' serves as an early radical argument pro-diversity that contributed to the idea that multiple publics exist in the city. Such arguments provide strong probing lenses toward the naïve ambition of having a single homogenous public, known as the 'melting pot' metaphor opposing the 'salad bowl' approach that shows respect and tolerance towards difference and acceptance of 'the others.'

Social positions and distances - a series of distinct orders, including sensory experiences, social interactions, and movements - results from one's physical and perceptual dispositioning in space influence users' behaviors (Bordieu, 1977, 80). People adjust their perceptions, preferences, and capabilities to accommodate the unexpected and unfamiliar features of urban social space, either ignore or tolerate the stranger or others' strange behavior in most social situations to embrace the pleasure of 'being out in public' (Lofland 1998: 32).

No one is confident about the appropriate range of behavior in public space, which channels people to be sociable on impersonal grounds (Sennett, 1974, 64). Thereby, proximity and chance of encounters play a significant role in (re)shaping the social context of a particular urban space. Density and diversity of space and population contribute to social development when there are chances of encounters, social mixing, and exploration, part of the oeuvre

fulfilled in urban public spaces and appropriated by use-value. "In summary, Lefebvre suggests that individuals' aspirations for urban social practices are enabled by the assembly of social differences and a diversity of activities in space" (Stevens, 2007, 12).

2.1.4.3. Right to Habit and Inhabit

Lefebvre identifies the right to the city as the right to access its resources and participate in its formation. For him, to inhabit the city contradicts merely living in the city. Yet, it indicates a dynamic process to make its spaces fit for individuals' needs to form a unity between the city and citizens. It is a right to further the interests "of the whole society and, firstly, those who inhabit the city" (Lefebvre, 1996, 158), so it empowers urban inhabitants not based on their nationality or ethnicity, but on having the routine of everyday life in the city (Purcell, 2002, 102). "While 'working in' or 'being in' the city implies a passive, consumerist position of occupying space, 'inhabiting' the city constitutes urbanites as active agents" (Eizenberg, 2013, 11). Thus, the right to the city is tied to the "urban politics of the inhabitant" (Purcell, 2002, 103), a powerful democratic antidote that proffers authority to govern based on inhabitance, not wealth, nationality, technocratic expertise, or electoral popularity (Iveson, 2013).

2.1.4.4. Right to the Oeuvre

Urban space and urban life lie at the basis of Lefebvre's theorization. Urbanization is not just a rational production because pre-capitalistic cities served an extended range of social functions and cultural practices, adopted as an oeuvre criticizing 'functional' urban planning (Lefebvre, 1996; Stevens, 2007; Purcell, 2003). The city as oeuvre (Lefebvre, 1996, 172-3) refers to "the city and urban space as a creative product of and context for the everyday life of its inhabitants" (Purcell, 2003, 578). The city inhabitants understand it as a comprehensive, distinctive cultural

artifact and a complex totality of old and new cultural practices. "[The city] figures in planning as a cog: it becomes the material device apt to organize production ... and consumption ... It has no meaning but as an oeuvre, as an end, as a place of free enjoyment, as a domain of use-value" (Lefebvre, 1996, 126).

Lefebvre portrays the fundamental challenge in contemporary use of urban space between the space of production, structured by exchange-value, and the space of representation identified by use-value, where space values are continuously being both read and written, often in creative and unexpected ways (Gottdiener, 1985; Stevens, 2007). "The urban is more or less the oeuvre of its citizens instead of imposing itself upon them as a system" (Lefebvre, 1996, 117). "They do not only contain monuments and institutional headquarters, but also spaces appropriated for entertainments, parades, promenades, festivities" (Lefebvre,1996, p. 66). Accordingly, urban space should not rely upon its exchange-value or be thought of as a commodity, alternatively it should depend on its use-value and as an oeuvre created and recreated through everyday life and practices.

Density (dense spaces) and diversity (heterogeneous populations) can significantly contribute to the social development of space and the city when accommodating social encounters, social mixing, exploration of the unfamiliar, and risk to escape from instrumental social relations. But urbanization weakens the traditions, conventions, rhythms, and social structures that generally broaden the oeuvre (Stevens, 2007, 9). The regular performances and the ordinary life of an urban space contribute to the city's oeuvre. Citizens contribute to the oeuvre with their rights to appropriate and participate. (Purcell, 2003). Thus, the city's oeuvre, creating the artwork "after our heart's desire" (Harvey, 2003, 941), is an obligation entitled by two other rights: participation and appropriation (Purcell, 2003, 578). However, the escape from production and

consumption into sociability and creativity can also serve the power and profit through geographies of privatization, events, and festivals (Harvey, 2003; Mitchell, 2008; Stevens, 2007).

2.1.4.5. Right to Participation

Right to the city requires reorganization of current social relations to oppose the mainstream notion of citizenship and capitalism structure to address the unanswered questions regarding the role of social intuitions in the governance of publicly used spaces to moderate the relationship between citizens and the governing body. Lefebvre argues that despite the necessity and request for participation in urban politics, it is rarely practiced, and citizens have little voice in decision-making processes. However, participation should "allow those in power to obtain, at a small price, the acquiescence of concerned citizens" (Lefebvre, 1968, 105) to become conscious of their lives embedded in a web of social connection, 'the urban' (Purcell, 2014, 150).

The right to the city not only implies a right to urban space but a right to "a political space as well, constituting the city as a space of politics" (Dikeç, 2001, 1790). Thereby, Lefebvre's analysis of capitalism and emancipation politics justify his understanding of urban space as the primary battleground of political struggles for democracy, social rights, and justice (Soja, 2010). In Lefebvre's point of view, citizenship is granted by living in the city; thereby, the right to the city enfranchises all citizens to participate in the production and use of urban space (Shields, 2013).

The concept of autogestion or self-management suggests radical, democratic, political mobilization of citizens, thus decentralizing political power (Brenner, 2001; Brenner et al., 2009; Brown, 2013; Lefebvre, 2001). Lefebvre's ambiguity allowed for a series of interpretations to

reduce his emphasis on participation to participating in the formal procedures of existing urban governance, public hearing or serving on citizens' panel, instead of a constant struggle for a city controlled by its inhabitants contesting the liberal capitalist order (Purcell, 2014).

The public sphere is always framed by conflict. However, counterpublics have always contested and opposed the bourgeois public exclusionary norms, which were blocked and condemned by the bourgeois public (Fraser, 1997). The right to participation allows citizens to access all decisions that produce urban space (Mitchell, 2003), "an argument for the right not to be excluded, and especially for full political participation in the making of the city" (Mitchell and Villanueva, 2010, 668).

According to Habermas (1989, 1993), the public sphere in modern society is a container or theater where public participation is performed and sanctioned through speech. Despite the exclusionary nature of these spaces from the very beginning, like the polis' agora, a highly-valued realm of the citizenry accessible to only free male citizens for participation (Paxton, 2007), Young (1990) points out two contrasting views of the ideal public sphere. Spaces that value homogeneity achievable by excluding differences and spaces that cherish heterogeneity and encourage participation (Frank and Paxson, 2006; Young, 1990).

Thereby, participation can be viewed as continuous negotiation and value-formation among the public and all counter-publics forming society. The citizens' collective power enables them as stewards of the city and its collective life. Genuine public spaces must be democratic to the extent to which they support and enable contestation and give voice to minorities, marginalized, and disenfranchised for plural competing publics with conflictual voices and desires.

So, the right to participation is a practice of urban citizenship, and a means to encourage democracy in decision-making processes and the management of the cities that challenges the status quo and the established structures of liberal citizenships and power relations (Busà, 2009; Plyushteva, 2009; Purcell, 2002). However, reflecting on Arnstein's (1969) famous paper 'A ladder of citizen participation,' not all participatory activities lead to citizens' power and control. Many acts of participation serve as nothing more than 'empty rituals' without the power to create change. Thereby, those actions outlive at the level of manipulation, therapy, informing, or consultation (p. 217). Therefore, the right to participation is not a serious challenge to the established structures of liberal citizenship and power structure under capitalism.

2.1.4.6. Right to Appropriation

Many scholars discuss the right to appropriation through the situationist lens and practices of do-it-yourself urbanism; however, those works mostly neglect the issue of justice for current urban inhabitants, as some scholars recognize a possible link between DIY urbanism and broader creative bottom-up urban politics and gentrification (Colomb, 2012; Mould, 2014). On the other side, despite the continuous act of appropriation in cities that cause a perpetual disorder, Lefebvre indicates that experimental appropriation would not coalesce into radical transformation. "They are the places of the possible. They contain the floating and dispersed elements of the possible, but not the power which could assemble them. [...] The conditions of the possible can only be realized in the course of a radical metamorphosis" (Lefebvre, 1996, 156).

Arendt argues that only by participating in the event of appropriation through speech and action in the space of politics can human beings enact their freedom and come into appearance

as who they are in their singularity and diversity (Arendt, 1958, 253). For her, political life incites an authentic sense of belonging for citizens to share responsibility for preserving their collective memory, appropriated for future generations. She ties freedom to capability for appropriating our living conditions and argues that freedom must be understood as an event of appropriation, whereby citizens work in concert with one another for the sake of carrying the world they share from the past into the future (Arendt, 1961, 165).

Dialectics are crucial to comprehend the hijackings and appropriations that twist the meaning and the function of everyday spaces, intrinsically political interventions against legal and administrative regimes. 'The Occupy' Movement and its counterparts succeeded because they resonated with many marginalized, disenfranchised, and exploited communities. This success recasts the city from a space of production to a space that actualized new opportunities. 'The Occupy' reclaimed an urban feature representing cities in contrast to nonurban areas: the significance of heterogeneity and openness to the different, both new and foreign (Shields, 2013).

Nevertheless, what makes public space public is that individuals, groups, or intercultural agencies continually test and negotiate acceptable and appropriate boundaries. Appropriation and contestation are not exclusively the result of discomfort in the space but can consciously and actively cause comfort/discomfort. It is a critical issue and statement, as comfort and harmony were traditional characteristics of good quality public spaces. Still, the discomfort of unpredictability and otherness are positive critical components for the diversity of uses and users.

Positive or negative appropriation often depend on who is in control and who is excluded because either limiting, constraining, or increasing the number of uses and users, the act is the basis of contestation in public space (Carr & Lynch, 1979; Carr et al., 1992; Francis et al., 1981, 1984; Lindsay, 1977; Lyman & Scott, 1972; Lofland, 1973, 1984, 1998). Although not every space and space owner require payment for entry, through obvious or subtle strategies, they make it clear that only potential consumers (users) are welcome, hence increasing a high degree of homogeneity. Accordingly, current economic and cultural forces often create similar spaces through formularized placemaking. However, appropriation and contestation are the authentic local tools to ameliorate such Place homogeneity (Stevens and Dovey, 2004, 364).

2.1.5. Conclusion

Lefebvre's 'right to the city' still gains attention among scholars to resist the neoliberal cities' ideology that often marginalizes disenfranchised populations and communities. Moreover, the theory requires citizens to become active participants in the production and reproduction of urban spaces as the battlefront of everyday struggles for democracy, social rights, and justice (Isin, 1999; Soja, 2010). Lefebvre views urban space as a capitalist commodity and proves the critical role of the production of space in the reproduction of capitalist agendas.

This dissertation favors three interpretations of Lefebvre's right to the city, where it equates as claiming social justice (Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009; Mitchell, 2003), (2) claiming spatial justice (Soja, 2010; Dikeç, 2009); and (3) claiming radical urban political justice (Purcell, 2003; Schmidt, 2012). Within an intersectional framework, the first interpretation that sees it as a class-based struggle challenging the power structure would be explicated as the struggles of the culturally alienated population for social justice. However, the second interpretation recognizes the right

to the city as an orientation, not an end. They construct spatial justice as the right to appropriate urban space as political space. The third interpretation focuses on everyday life and the radical formulation of citizenship achieved through the right to participation and appropriation.

This dissertation defines dimensions of the right to the city based on Lefebvre's outline, as a "cry and demand" and as a "superior form of rights: the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit — the right to the oeuvre, participation, and appropriation" (Lefebvre, 1996, 173-174). It further verifies inclusion/exclusion, not as absolute terms but within broader discussions of power, practice, and institutions (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008). Lefebvre's suggestion for urban enfranchisement and inclusion comprises two mutually inclusive approaches. His enfranchisement advocates and imagines the expansion of inclusive horizons. It also portrays new urban politics, a radical alternative that directly challenges and rethinks exclusionary power structures and relations of capitalism and citizenship.

So, this dissertation establishes the two approaches of inclusion/exclusion within six dimensions of the right to the city. It relies on arguments that seek to reinforce the intersection of gendered, racialized, classed, and sexualized implications of urban spaces to expand the inclusive horizons.

Table 2- Dimensions of the 'Right to the City' and Inclusive Approaches

The right to	**Inclusive Approach**
Freedom	<u>First approach:</u> Expanding inclusive horizon
Individualization in Socialization	
Habit and inhabit	
Oeuvre	
Participation	<u>Second approach:</u> Challenging exclusionary power structure
Appropriation	

2.2. Public Space and Theories of Public Space Governance

This section explores the meaning and use of the commonly used term 'public space' across disciplines, from a physical phenomenon to a mentally constructed backdrop to a social product. Thereby, the section delves into the conceived spaces or the domain of planners, designers, and policymakers. Focusing on representations of space or the rational, intellectual, and official conceptions of urban space, the domain for architects, planners, and officials, allows to further investigate the governance shifts from public to private and explore the governance regime strategies employed to maintain homogeneous users and/or public actors. Finally, it discusses the concept of public space management in the context of the governance regime's strategies. Public space governance is interpreted through a set of processes and practices, and the four interlinked public space governance strategies are privatization, commercialization, eventization, and securitization.

2.2.1. Public Space, Meanings and Domains

Public space is a commonly used term in many disciplines. Madanipour (1996) declares that planners' conceptualization and theories of the space stem from other disciplines, including psychology, geography, sociology, even mathematics, and physics, which sees "space as a physical phenomenon, a condition of mind, or a product of social processes" (Madanipour, 1996, 332). However, it is critical to consider all related dimensions to comprehend the notion because of its multifaceted and multilayered characteristics. Soja (1980) blames this difficulty for the extensive use and broad meanings of the term.

Scholars interpret space differently: Some view it as a void that needs to be limited or defined (Madanipour, 1996; Healey, 2004). Others recognize social encounters and the broader socio-

political context as forces that determine the physical setting (Arefi & Triantafillou, 2005). The first group uses Euclidean notions of space, which have substantial connections to physical and environmental determinism. The first approach has been criticized for assuming that physical proximity is key to social ordering, space qualities are created objectively, and alternative understandings or meanings are not valid (Graham & Healey, 1999; Healey, 2004; Massey, 2005). The second group considers space as a mentally constructed backdrop developed by power dynamics and consumption that can mean many things at once to different individuals and groups (Gottdiener, 1985; Shields, 1991; Massey, 1995).

The Production of Space, published in English in 1991, is where Henri Lefebvre identifies the space as a process produced continuously instead of an object, a merely physical container to be inhabited. He argues that actions and relations among people and processes come together to produce space. He also introduces a model for illustrating the various 'relations of assembly' that produce a space: representations of space, spatial practices, and representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1991, 38; Liggett, 1995, 247).

Lefebvre's model addresses the physical aspects of a space and acknowledges the social experiences associated with the production of space (McCann, 2000, 172). Representations of space are the physical spaces and the primary domains of planners, officials, and decision-makers (Lefebvre, 1991, 38). Spatial practices are the 'social' spaces, the everyday realities perceived and experienced by users; thereby, these spaces reflect society and reveal the relations and experiences of the members. Lastly, representational spaces are the 'emotional' spaces, primarily symbolic and the "loci of meaning in a culture" (Liggett, 1995, 251).

2.2.2. Public Space and the Narrative of Loss

By the 1990s, urban planners announced the end of public space (Kohn, 2004; Mitchell, 1995, 2003a; Sennett, 1970, 1978; Sorkin, 1992). Mike Davis warned the 'post-liberal' Los Angeles was "mov[ing] to extinguish its last real public spaces, with all of their democratic intoxications, risks, and undeodorized odors" (Davis, 1992: 180). Along the same lines, Michael Sorkin from New York City inferred that the new American city was becoming a theme park, forming non-place urban sprawls that consciously avoided formal and social mix that had once made cities vital political. Hence "there are no demonstrations in Disneyland" (1992: xv).

However, public space has not entirely disappeared, and the pronounced end became the beginning of a new debate on the topic. Critics who mourn the loss or end of public space were often more concerned with the public sphere's diminution than the actual loss of physical public space. Even Sorkin, who coined the term in his edited volume, illustrated a change and co-optation rather than 'the end.' The new understanding confirmed that public space is not a given, and thus not profoundly democratic and accessible to all, an awareness that urged scholars to study public space politics.

2.2.3. Public Space and Public Sphere

Social and political scientists sometimes use the term 'public space' in connection to Habermas' (1989) 'public sphere.' Habermas argued that unmediated interaction was vital to advancing social justice in a true democracy (Calhoun, 1992); So, the public sphere is a metaphor referring to the myriad ways citizens can participate in collective deliberation and action.

Public space and the public sphere are often used interchangeably. Some historical moments underline this connection, primarily through linking urban sites to political actions and social

change (Allegra et al., 2015). Harvey (2012) in 'Rebel Cities' indicates what really matters in places such as Tahrir, Taksim, the Maidan, or Zuccotti is the presence of "the bodies on the street and in the squares, not the babble of sentiments on Twitter or Facebook" (Harvey, 2012, 162).

However, is public space a privileged site of political action? Hannah Arendt recognizes power as the 'ability to act in concert' that happens when individuals gather as a group, which happened in the sites mentioned above. When people start the concerted action, the 'publicness' of the public space becomes evident. "The 'street' in Wall Street is being occupied – oh horror upon horrors – by others" (Harvey, 2012, 162).

Critics like Iris Marion Young (1990), a feminist political theorist, argue Habermas theories assume a set of homogeneous public actors maintaining similar viewpoints. Therefore, she suggests a perspective employing notions of difference, representation, and citizenship by creating universally inclusive spaces embracing the needs and desires of diverse groups. These genuine public spaces are platforms for the exercise of human interaction, where individuals should expect frequent encounters with those maintaining different interests, opinions, and perspectives (Young, 1990, 2000). These assertions generated a new group of theorists grappling with inclusion and exclusion in the public realm.

2.2.4. Locating the Public in Research and Practice

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines 'public' as something "provided especially by the government, for the use of people in general." However, the meaning of 'public space' has become increasingly complicated, and it is no more equal with open or accessible space. Series of factors that make space 'public' and the meanings of 'the public,' 'publicity,' and 'publicness,'

have been introduced. For instance, a growing concern to answer, "what makes a space public?" needs to ask, "how does space shape who counts as 'the people'?" (Marston, 1990). There are also controversial opinions on whether the public refers to the government, issues outside the private realm, or the public sphere.

Public space is inherently political and potentially rebellious; it is seen as the manifestation of governing political power and a form of inclusive power that can reclaim the power by occupying the space for political purposes. Public space is about 'thin sociality' (Bodnar, 2015), which mostly does not even lead to social interaction. Still, people's presence and diversity can provoke action and convert public space into the location of the public sphere. However, it is becoming extremely challenging to sustain the idea of an all-accommodating or 'inclusive' place with the rise of conflicting demands of people on the space. For instance, the yuppies and the bourgeoisie's needs are excessively different from the urban poor, the unemployed, homeless individuals, or immigrants.

Jeffrey Weintraub (1995), a political theorist, has developed a public taxonomy that crosscuts the spatial-aspatial continuum. He argues that 'public' and 'private' are typically conceptualized in four (not necessarily mutually exclusive) ways:

- The liberal-economistic model defines the public as the state and its administrative functions, where the private is the market's realm (Martin, 2001; Abler, 1983; Harman, 2003).
- The republican-virtue model conceptualizes the public sphere as issues related to community and citizens. The private sphere is associated with the household (and private property) (Aristotle; Morgan, 1988; Marston, 1990; Mitchell,1995).

- The sociability practices model, refers to the public as symbolic display and self-representation. In contrast, the private is a feature of self that individuals choose not to make public through the display. (Jacobs, 1961; Goffman, 1959; Airès, 1962; Marion Young, 1990; Sennett, 1970, 1992; Domosh, 1998; Ruddick,1996).
- The Marxist-feminist model identifies the public as the state and market and the private as the domestic and familial (McDowell, 1983; Rose, 1990; Staeheli, 1996).

Benn and Gaus (1983) evaluate 'publicness' based on three determinants: access, agency, and interest. Access to space or place, activities, information, and resources; agency to discuss the public-private nature of the organization in control; and interest in response to the people's engagement with whatever is in question. Similarly, to theorize publicness, Claudio De Magalhaes (2010) discusses the complexity of the new balances of roles, rights, and responsibilities beyond the elemental discussions of privatization. For instance, he brings ideals such as transparency and accountability into the equation for the private sector's production, management, and governance of public spaces.

Both Benn and Gause and De Magalhães admit that public-private relation is a continuum, and each space has a varying degree of publicness. Contrarily, Banerjee (2001) contends the "presumption of 'publicness' in the pseudo-public spaces. […] in reality, they are in the private realm [... because] access to and use of the space is only a privilege, not a right, [... and] any expectation that such spaces are open to all is fanciful at best" (Banerjee 2001, 12).

The public is differently determined in different planning discourses. For some, the public refers to the economy. For others, the state, for yet others, it will mean the polity, the community, the people on the street, or the street itself. "The public is not only differentially located discursively, but also geographically, and that different kinds of publics occupy different types of

spaces" (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007). Thus, scholars criticize the myopic view that evaluates privatization only along the ownership line (Banerjee, 2001; De Magalhães, 2010; Németh & Schmidt, 2011). But a critical question for assessing the publicness of public space should answer 'for whom?' (Mitchell, 2003; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2007; Zukin, 1995).

2.2.5. Contracting out publicness, a Shift in Governance Regimes

The relationship between neoliberalism, planning, and the social production of space is complicated. It could be claimed that planning for the public and neoliberalism are in a contradictory relationship, but the right to the city might address the specific enfranchisement associated with urban neoliberalism (Purcell, 2002, 101). Neoliberalism suggests that government should be 'rolled back' (Peck & Tickell, 2002) so that the market can take over specific decision-making processes and the provision of certain services that has traditionally been the responsibility of the public sector (Peck & Tickell, 2002).

Neoliberalism refers to a systematic set of actors, values, processes, and policies that have restructured economic, political, and social relations through an ideological power privileging market-based logic and processes above all else (Brenner et al., 2010). Neoliberalism believes "the market should discipline politics" (Sager 2011). However, neoliberalism is not a unified process and takes different forms. Place-based characteristics and sociopolitical context could bring contradictory and conflictual relationships between various actors, including planners, developers, investors, and public officials (Boyle et al., 2008; Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

In the name of efficiency and innovation, neoliberal policies adopt an entrepreneurial orientation that privatizes public services and reframes citizens as consumers (Osborne &

Gaebler, 1993). Cities are not an exception. They become more engaged in entrepreneurial and speculative behavior (Harvey, 1989) and house the new governmental and market relations (Brenner & Theodore, 2005). This shift from a 'managerial' to 'entrepreneurial' governance approach privileges certain places and people over others and polarize them by class and race.

Claudio De Magalhães (2010, 2015) uses the term 'contracted out publicness' to discuss the continuum of public-private and the emerging forms of public space provision. Contract types, subjects, parties, and their relationships vary. Yet, these formalized agreements regulate the public space provision, management, programming, and maintenance. By setting the stage, he attempts to address whether contracts, contractual mechanisms, and sanctions are adequate means to ensure the publicness of space for all relevant stakeholders.

2.2.6. Governance Regimes Strategies

2.2.6.1. Private Control – Privatization

A growing body of literature discusses the privatization of public space in the past four decades (Davis, 1992; Ellin, 1996; Loukitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Low, 2003; Németh & Schmidt, 2007). Privatized public spaces are not defined through pure private control. Thus, they are not wholly paradoxical and oxymoronic. The triad of ownership, management, and access shape various public-private constellations representing differences along the public-private continuum (Bodnar, 2015; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2015; Zukin, 2010). The tension between politics, economy, and sociability – that tends to "provide the pleasures of sociability without the discomforts of the unfamiliar" (Kohn, 2004, p. 193) - has been previously discussed in shopping malls and American town squares (Lowe, 2000; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006; Watson, 2009).

Nowadays, privatized public spaces serve as revitalization strategies and have become more common in urban centers. This viewpoint seeks the advantage of the private sector's assistant in addressing public desires in downtown areas to revive failing CBDs (Garvin, 2002; Stone, 1989), perceived as a standard redevelopment model in U.S. cities creating landmarks and significant urban spaces, a strategy also employed and practiced in downtown Dallas through its signature parks. However, another perspective underlines the importance of being critical of the social consequences of privatized public spaces. Nevertheless, it is crucial to make the distinction between private urban space and privacy in space, as Sorkin opines: "Public space should be about choice, and choice, finally, is a private matter. Public space needs to be rethought as a conceptual resource out of which an infinity of private fantasies and behaviors can be drawn" (2001, p. 9).

Banerjee (2001) suggests three key trends contributing to the rise in privatized public spaces: First, the increased use of the market to provide public goods and services. Second, the growth of transnational corporate power and the prioritization of the global economy over local public interests. Third, technologically advanced forms of communication altering social relations, places, and locations (Banerjee, 2001). On the other hand, in many cities, planning codes identify that private owners can set out what they consider reasonable rules of conduct. They are not forced to follow the same regulations as public owners (Kayden et al., 2000). Therefore, the rules governing these spaces are often volatile and more inconsistent than those in publicly owned spaces. Kohn (2004) argues the governing rules of privatized public spaces illusion openness while maximizing management's control. She considers their flexible nature and differentially enforcement signal the appropriate uses and users of space (Németh & Schmidt, 2007, 285).

2.2.6.2. Design Programming – Commercialization

Design programming is a critical aspect of public space design that can impact social inclusiveness or exclusiveness. Numerous features may impact the use of a public space positively or negatively. For instance, access to different pieces of equipment in a park supports active and passive recreational activities, including those for structured (e.g., sports) and unstructured (e.g., play) activities (Franck & Stevens, 2006; Stevens, 2007). Nevertheless, park amenities such as barbeques, seating options, water fountains, picnic tables, and bathrooms are critical regardless of age, gender, and race (Griffin et al., 2008; Krenichyn, 2006).

Though some specific attributes reportedly encourage or discourage park use by some groups. For instance, dog owners identified dog litter bins and bags and dog-specific agility equipment as important park features (Cutt et al., 2008). Simultaneously, shade and appropriate placement of shading-providing devices are linked to park use by children and caregivers (Tucker et al., 2007; Veitch et al., 2006; Ferré et al., 2006). Therefore, the physical design aims to attract different 'publics' to each public space. However, some strategies might mislead taxpayers' money into facilities that only particular segments of the public can use and contribute.

Consumer culture emerged with the advent of post-Fordism when commerce and consumption became instrumental for the modern city (Miles & Paddison, 1998). As a result, despite their long-term cohabitation, the dialectics between the city and consumerism shifted. "By the end of the 1990s, consumption is understood to be both the means and a motor of urban social change" (Zukin, 2015, 835). As part of urban renewal strategies, public spaces also needed to be secured for investment turnover.

The commercialization of public space goes hand in hand with its privatization. Critics maintain that the privatization of space signals the erosion of the public realm and the destruction of genuinely democratic expression (Kohn, 2004), arguing that privatized spaces prioritize consumption for a more targeted audience than supporting interaction among diverse groups (Crawford, 1992). The commercialized public spaces' primary function is commercial; thus, private security guards filter their clientele. They also vary in political potential with traditional public spaces (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2015).

2.2.6.3. Activation Programming – Eventization

Space is part of the continuity of the events within it, and it can be interpreted as an event comparable with other events and not just a container. The space between objects is part of the same structure as the objects themselves. 'Disneyfication' of cities is a trend towards more leisure and entertainment functions in urban public space. It incorporates a rising number of top-down organized events in public spaces. It happens with a common goal: to attract people with discretionary income to the city center by transforming it into a 'Pleasure Dome' (Oosterman, 1992).

Hence, signature spaces increasingly serve as venues for the arts and culture, typically for performances, festivals, concerts, parades, and outdoor film shows, which were once happening in other indoor land uses. Mikhail Bakhtin's (1984) idea of the carnivalesque comes to mind when thinking about pleasure, consumption, events, and embodiment. Bakhtin's concern with carnivals was to see how they meddled with the rules and hierarchy of everyday practices. He found that carnivals upended several hierarchies (Paterson, 2006, 105).

> "The carnivalesque crowd in the marketplace or in the streets is not merely a crowd. It is the people as a whole, but organized in their own way, the way of the people. It is outside of and contrary to all existing forms of the coercive socioeconomic and political organization, which is suspended for the time of the festivity" (Bakhtin, 1984, 255).

The established geography of events is shifting, and public spaces, including parks, serve as a stage for many sanctioned events. Previously, every event in public parks was pro bono, but recently, parks have been used for various commercial and ticketed events. Urban designers employ events as a tool for animating and diversifying public spaces. However, scholars have started to probe this process, exploring the eventization of not only our public spaces (Smith, 2016) but also of our society (Žižek, 2014) and economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Smith (2014) states that while temporary events can provide guidelines for future developments, they can also have other consequences, leaving behind a legacy of lasting changes to the urban landscape and generating value from their critical assets, including public spaces and parks.

Providing memorable images and optimizing place marketing prospects generally aims to use centrally located public spaces to stage contemporary events. Staging events is a way to realize symbolic and financial capital from public spaces that may prevent the ordinary uses and users of these spaces, leading to the social exclusion of some groups and the denigration of spaces. The role of those events that do not necessarily turn the space upside down is critical. Allowing a certain level of appropriation and contestation represents the inclusiveness of a space. It can also act as a test or phase 0 of sanctioned and commercialized events, in which many successful unsanctioned activities may soon become sanctioned or permanent catering consumer's class desires (Lafrombois, 2018; Lydon & Garcia, 2015). On the other side, few spaces may tolerate various voices, appropriations, and contestations during very limited or prescribed moments in

time. These cyclical, chronologically determined, or temporal spaces continually redefine the 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' in the space and shape the relationship of the space, people, and time.

2.2.6.4. Policing and Surveillance – Securitization

In the past decades, urban planners and geographers have given considerable attention to the problems associated with public space security, policing, and surveillance because the private sector increasingly undertakes the provision and management of public space (Davis, 1992; Ellin, 1996; Fyfe, 1998; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996; Low, 2003; Pain, 2001). Authorities employ architecture and design to reassert their power during a crisis (Dovey, 2001), known as defensive urban design (FEMA, 2011). There is an agreement that the perception of safety is essential for a viable city (Oc & Tiesdell, 1999, 265); therefore, peopling public spaces is a prerequisite for maintaining more eyes on the street, deter criminals, and create safer areas (Jacobs, 1961). However, the private managers of publicly used spaces and parks justify intensification and increase in behavioral control, acknowledging the potential for terrorist attacks after 9/11 (Davis, 200l; Marcuse, 2002; Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005; Warren, 2002).

This reassertion of space into the analysis of social control is particularly evident in the work of Foucault. Lefebvre (1991) lauds the 'political and strategic' functions and uses of space, while Foucault declares that "space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power." He argues that space could be used as "an instrument of repression" (1984, p. 252). Soja (1989) also describes the more covert and political uses of space and how human geographies are filled with politics and power (p. 6). Powerful government officials and decision-makers use legal measures to maintain or refute the use and visibility of particular

groups. Scholars have addressed how different actors work together to remove the most vulnerable groups and cleanse public spaces and parks of the so-called 'undesirables' in NYC or Berkeley (Harvery, 2007; Mitchell, 2003).

For instance, after the September 11, world trade center terrorist attack, New York City and many other core cities in the US installed Jersey barriers, erected bollards, chain-link fencing, and other security improvements around public and signature buildings and spaces. These new security measures eliminated 'the public' and 'public use' through sterile fortress-like spaces known as security zones (Hollander & Whitfield, 2005; Németh & Hollander, 2010; Sorkin, 2008), which has been an addition to already militarized and fortified urban spaces in many US cities (Coaffee, 2009; Davis, 2001; Graham, 2007).

Exploiting the culture of fear, 'fear economy' (Davis, 2001), and 'systemic fortification' (Graham, 2007) have expanded the fortified enclaves and increased social polarization, injustices, and exclusion in our cities. Securitization and fortification of urban space eradicate the geographies of protest and demonstration, thereby the first amendment rights. It also filters citizens into 'appropriate and inappropriate' groups (Németh, 2009) and excludes the most vulnerable ones.

> "There is a real risk that with the excuse of stopping terrorists before they strike, the very processes of interchange, interconnection, privacy, political mobilization, and social and democratic innovation that make cities livable, dynamic, creative and successful, might be seriously undermined" (Graham, 2007, 15).

2.2.7. Conclusion

Public space is a multifaceted and multilayered notion with extensive use and meanings across disciplines, and it is no more equal to open or accessible space. The pronounced end of public

space was more concerned about change and co-optation than the end and about the public sphere than the physical space, which stresses the significance of investigating public space politics, accessibility, and inclusion. However, public-private is not a binary distinction, but a continuum, and each space has a varying degree of publicness (Benn and Gaus, 1983; De Magalhães, 2010; Staeheli & Mitchell; 2007). Thus, publicness cannot be evaluated across the ownership line without considering the needs and desires of diverse groups and employing notions of difference, representation, and agency (Young, 1990), or in Lefebvre's term, rights to participation and appropriation (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2014).

The complicated and often contradictory relationship between neoliberalism, planning, and the social production of space reframe citizens and public space users as consumers (Bodnar, 2015; Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013; Smith, 2014; Zukin, 1995), move from managerial towards entrepreneurial governance approach through privatizing public services, including public spaces (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; 2005). The privatized spaces with formalized agreements regulate public space provision, management, programming, and maintenance. Previous studies criticize high-profile or signature public spaces in the US and UK cities that have become increasingly privatized and as a consequence, exclusionary (De Magalhaes & Carmona, 2006; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Figure 3 represents how various prominent urban planning, design, and geography scholars identify privatization as the main reason for over-commercialization and over-securitization of public spaces that deliberately foster exclusion (Bodnar, 2015; Davis, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Németh & Hollander, 2010; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995).

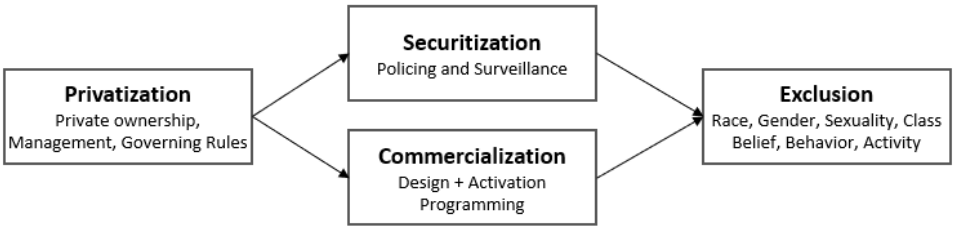


Figure 3-Privatization of Public Spaces and the Resultant Exclusion

(Bodnar, 2015; Davis, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Németh & Hollander, 2010; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995)

Critics accuse privatization of public space of excluding individuals and groups based on race, gender, class, social status, beliefs, behavior, and activities (Davis, 2012; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Mitchell, 2003; Schmidt and Nemeth, 2011). Thereby, intersectional frameworks help to study and deconstruct racialized, gendered, classed, and sexualized implications of publicly used spaces. The third section of the literature review discusses intersectionality and representation as two overlooked concepts in previous literature of urban planning, design, and geography on the social inclusiveness of public spaces.

2.3. The Neglected Factors: Representation and Intersectionality in Public Space Governance and Use

This section explores social inclusiveness in urban spaces through an intersectional lens and representativeness of governance structures, highlighting the gendered, sexualized, racialized, and classed biases and perplexities within the conceptualization of the topic and actors and activities within urban spaces. It introduces intersectionality as a critique of binary distinctions and how intersecting identities impact disadvantaged populations. Later, it addresses representations and intersectional framework concerning the inclusion of the historically underrepresented and tackling the power structure, which segues to discussions of representation within institutions and bureaucracy.

2.3.1. Intersectionality, a Critique of Diversity and Binary Distinctions

The concept of justice requires focusing on the "distribution of society's benefits and burdens, and how this comes about" (Smith, 1994, 1). Feminist, post-colonial, post-humanist, and other critical scholars criticize dissections that rely on binary divisions like women and men and overlook uneven and unique experiences. A profound political critique of feminism as a white, western, elite scheme that has not mobilized around pressing inequalities pertaining to colonialism, race and ethnicity, citizenship, and sexuality narrate these viewpoints (Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 1983; Holland, 2012; McKittrick, 2006, 2011; Mohanty, 1988; Swarr & Nagar, 2010).

The critique of feminist theories originating in the Black women's movement, and women from the Global South (Collins, 1990; Hooks, 1999) questioned other 'markers of difference' such as class, race, ethnicity, and their intersections (Chow, 1996; McCall, 2005; Nash, 2008; Valentine,

2007). Intersectionality provides an analytical framework focused on understanding how intersecting identities can increase the impact of discrimination and how different confluences of identities shape the experiences of disadvantaged populations. It consolidates identities to unveil multiple, compounded manifestation of oppression. Thus, intersectionality contextualizes marginalization with an overarching "imperialist, white supremacist, capitalist patriarchy" (Hooks, 2013).

Intersectionality provides an analytical lens to explore the multiplicity of subjects and their compounding relations to the power structure (Strega, 2005). It allows examining gendered, classed, racialized, and other intersecting social identities positions and everyday life experiences within a space and power structure, as they are mutually produced within and through space (Jarvis et al., 2009; LaFrombois, 2017; Leavitt, 2003). For example, feminist scholars and critical race theorist argue that most American cities have historically been planned with gendered, racialized, and classed values (Katz, 2001; McDowell, 2008), in alignment with public versus private space, as men versus women's place (Sandercock and Forsyth, 2005), or economically productive versus economically unproductive or socially reproductive spaces (Brenner & Theodore, 2005; Harvey, 2012; Tickell & Peck, 1996).

The lived experiences of compounded oppression stem from society's mistreatment along with multiple, intersecting marginalized identities. Intersectionality predicts heightened barriers to engage with social inclusiveness, alluding to the three following assumptions:

(1) Identities are fluid and dynamic (Else-Quest and Hyde, 2016).

(2) Identities are interconnected and operate simultaneously (Hancock, 2007), and

(3) Privilege and oppression are connected to systems of power (Else-Quest and Hyde, 2016).

> "Theories of intersectionality hold discrete forms of oppression shape and are shaped by one another [...]. This approach still retains a notion of structural inequality and operates with groups as the subjects of equality policies rather than individuals but is attentive to the cross-cutting nature of the structure of oppression and the overlapping nature of groups" (Squires, 2008, 55).

2.3.2. Representation, Intersectionality, and Including the Historically underrepresented

Harvey (2000) argues that public space can become the site of social struggle or movements against oppressive social orders, and that is where and when justice can be achieved by those frequently marginalized. While most Marxist studies had economic interpretations, some discussed certain groups' control over others based on race, gender, or class (Dikec, 2001; Mitchell, 2003; Harvey 2012). Theorists affirmed that social exclusion damages notions of democracy and liberty (Fraser, 1990; Gould, 1996; Mansbridge, 1996; Young, 1990), as "the best hope for the representation of difference is the expansion of opportunities for participation in the diversity of common activities" (Gould, 1996, 185), and "being together of strangers" (Mitchell, 2003a, 229).

Falling outside the definition of 'appropriate' users can also exclude people from public space since social identities are constructed in space (Soja, 1989). For instance, according to Mitchell (as cited in Németh & Hollander, 2010, 21), "only in public spaces can the homeless represent themselves as a legitimate part of 'the public.'" Public spaces are the locus of powerful existing inequalities (Mitchell, 2001, 16). In other words, "differences are constructed in the city and public spaces, and themselves are constructs. They are also constituted spatially, socially and

economically, sometimes leading to polarization, inequality, zones of exclusion and fragmentation" (Bridge & Watson, 2000, 251).

There is an increasing mismatch between how everyday rights are framed within public spaces and the direct experiences of historically marginalized communities. 'Intersectionality' unveils the complexity of gendered experiences in tension with race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, or ability (Beebeejaun, 2017, 323). Bottom-up interventions like top-down plans and policies are gendered, racialized, and classed. Thereby, "masculinist ideas about public space, physical and economic infrastructures, and public activities are privileged, while a vast array of other 'do-it-yourself' activities, which are 'private' and focused on social reproduction and survival, are ignored" (Lafromboise, 2017, 433).

Many citizen-led, creative and place-based interventions focus on reclaiming and re-purposing, or in Lefebvre's term, appropriation of urban space occurs outside formal structures and systems (LaFrombois, 2017, 421). However, studies reveal non-elected business elites are the groups most involved in creating plans, places, and policies outside of city halls, overshadowed by neoliberal or privatization or white male urban political agendas (Kern & Wekerle, 2008; LaFrombois, 2017; Reichl, 2002).

As Chun et al. (2013) observe, "[i]ntersectionality primarily concerns the way things work rather than who people are" (p.923). For instance, in the United States, race, combined with geography, affects several aspects of life, such as income, employment, health, education, exposure to prison, electoral office, social alienation, and exclusion (Parker, 2016; McCall, 2005; McDowell, 2008). However, the evaluation of intersectionality is very complicated because particular identities may be an advantage in some situations and a disadvantage in others. For

example, how being a male positively affects employment policies (Budig, 2002), but has a negative impact in the criminal justice system (Steffensmeier et al., 1998).

There are two arguments against group-based representation: first, group identity does not always accurately match members' lived experiences. Second, people identify as members of multiple groups due to the complexity of lived experiences. Therefore, a shift toward a more expansive definition emphasizes the diminishing recognition of historically underrepresented groups. To some scholars strengthening the analytical basis of representation is harmful (Omi & Winant, 1994; Lopez, 2006). Pulling away from historically underrepresented groups as the main objective of representativeness may acknowledge the problems associated with various identities and intersections. Yet doing so recognizes individuals as the unit of analysis, and in turn, fails to address the systemic inequalities and biases for historically underrepresented groups (Yuval-Davis, 2007; Glenn, 1998).

Issues of intersectionality and social equity remain underdeveloped and oftentimes ignored in urban design, planning, and public affairs literature. However, National Recreational and Park Association (NRPA) has launched parks for inclusion initiative to ensure that all people have access to parks and recreation. They describe inclusion as removing barriers and providing equal opportunity, particularly to the most vulnerable individuals and families (National Recreational and Park Association, 2018, 1). The association researched and provided policies regarding inclusion in downtown parks in metropolitan areas, in which Dallas did not cooperate.

The report highlights the importance of including individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities, multicultural, racial, ethnic communities, LGBTQ+ communities, and refugee and

immigrant communities in their parks programming (National Recreational and Park Association, 2018, 3). In the first section of the literature review, right to the city and social inclusion, I identified two approaches to inclusion: expanding the inclusive horizon and challenging the status quo of the power structure. NRPA report helps elucidate the answer to who has been historically excluded from accessing parks and recreational benefits.

2.3.3. Representation, Intersectionality and Challenging the Power Structure

The term 'diversity' as urban planning, design, and affairs goal has generated and redistributed power. It "has maintained its veneer of concern for social justice, but picked up new meanings associated with hipness, as it's used in new contexts that have nothing to do with inclusion, power sharing, or social justice" (Modan, 2012, 190) that caters the well-minded consumer-class lifestyle. Marion Young (1990) asserts that any public policy conceiving of equality as sameness is suspicious (p. 250) because differences among groups in the US exist and impact members of different groups in different forms. She traces differences rooted in identities (de)valued based on historical and current social constructs connected to the power in every dimension. Therefore, she recommends that differentiated treatment is the best way to achieve all members' inclusion and participation (1989, p. 251).

Non-feminist scholarship, neoliberalism, and other veins hostile to feminism have co-opted the nuanced and vital discussions while gender, sexuality, race, class, and ability remain a lived reality, and intersectionality often lies unexamined (Crenshaw 1989; Parker, 2016). Despite the importance of categories, they do not always capture the reality of lived experiences. However,

they can provide a framework for reflecting and realizing some elements of existing structural privilege, power, and collective resistance in cities (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2014).

In 2015, the Spanish government adopted the Citizens' Security Law enabling police unprecedented discretionary powers over protestors. The new law imposes fines on unauthorized demonstrations and activities, including filming and photographing police during authorized protests. Yet, Spain is one of many democracies that have enfolded coercive policies and excessive policing to control social unrest and fear of 'claiming the space.' Since 2012, several democratic governments have implemented legislation meant to suffocate peaceful public protest and the right to assemble in public spaces. For example, demonstrating near government buildings, conventions, and global summits have been prohibited and listed as a federal crime in the US since 2012, where protestors are only allowed to gather in heavily policed 'free-speech zones' (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016, 104). 'Occupy Wall Street' and 'Black Lives Matter' movements were valuable in revealing these inequalities.

Construction of relational concepts like race, class, and gender involves both representational and social structural processes in which power is a constitutive element (Glenn, 1998, 9). Moreover, passive and active representations are crucial for historically underrepresented groups, especially when examining structural power relations to describe actual social organization patterns (Collins, 1990, 208).

However, Thompson Summers (2021) discusses various instances where Black culture has been aestheticized as a mode of representing blackness in urban capitalist simulacra (p. 121). Instances of aesthetic emplacement and markers of diversity representing minority cultures on display do not necessarily serve the minority population and casually decontextualize the

culture favoring neoliberal agenda alongside other popular aesthetic markers of gentrifying landscapes. The presence of these racial, ethnic, gendered, and sexualized aesthetics disrupts narratives commonly associated with tension, exclusion, isolation, or displacement (Boyd, 2008; Lees, 2008; Lees et al., 2008).

For instance, the Black Lives Matter murals in American cities that claimed "to make it a place for healing, strategizing, protest, and redress," offer a purely symbolic, aesthetic gesture, disconnected from the movement's goals and agenda. The mural depoliticizes and decontextualizes critical histories of Black resistance and activism and obscures the displacement and exclusion caused by excessive policing, predatory lending, increased tax burdens, and various structural issues the officials have caused Black population (Thompson Summers, 2020).

Figure 4- Aesthetic Emplacement - Black Lives Matter Murals

2.3.4. Representativeness of the Bureaucracy

The structure of governance is the most substantial component that directly or indirectly affects the entire governance arrangement. In traditional community governance forms, power is concentrated in the public sector (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). As a result, the local government is responsible for financing, developing, and managing public spaces. But the private and nonprofit sectors and the local communities may or may not have the power to intervene. By employing the private sector's expertise and resources, market-based partnerships bring efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and delivery to public service conduct (Pierre, 1999). New forms of urban governance with effective mechanisms coordinating power, resources, and information (Paquet, 2003), are emerging that bring together various economic and social objectives.

In these models, users are treated as customers, and their satisfaction influences the space management agency's decisions. Thus, power and authority distribution can vary based on the agreement between the government and the private sector. However, the democratic nature of these new forms has been continuously a question, especially on how they treat citizens (Purcell, 2002). "In essence, what has emerged is an informal but nevertheless strong public-private partnership, a common neoliberal governance structure for promoting an economic growth agenda" (Purcell, 2006, 1934).

Representative Bureaucracy refers to a situation where different social groups have representation in administration, public or private. Thus, it captures most or all aspects of a society's population in the governing body and has been considered as liberalization of social classes, which happens instead of the dominance of the social, political, and economic elites that have historically resulted in programs or policies that did not meet the needs and interests of

all social groups (Meier & Stewart, 1992; Meier et al. 1999; Selden, 1997; Sow & Selden, 2003). Representation in representative bureaucracy is inherently 'political,' because it targets struggling subjectivities, therefore, perspectives, affecting policy outcomes and other benefits affiliated with these different identities.

The most critical assumption for representative bureaucracy theory is one's demographic attributes, including race, color, gender, sexuality, ability status, and other physical characteristics are the most significant factors in shaping people's lived experiences as well as the way others perceive relative value, capability, and merit in bureaucracy. These demographic and physical factors are primarily rooted in collective identities. This theory assumes that "public organizations are more responsive to users' needs when their workforces reflect the demographic characteristics of those users" (Walker & Andrews, 2013); thus, in theory, "representative bureaucracy is good to be provided, the attainment of which will produce a better-served, more-satisfied clientele" (Thielemann & Stewart, 1996, 168).

Some may argue representative bureaucracy looks for administrative sympathy (Andrews & Miller, 2013). Through a resource-based lens, representativeness constitutes a fundamental human resource provided by managers seeking to improve results (O'Toole & Meier, 2003). Walker and Andrews (2013) claim that "representation matters most at the street level" (p.121) since the "higher level personnel are relatively 'faceless bureaucrats'" but the clientele level "characterizes the agency" (Thielemann & Stewart, 1996, 192). Several studies investigating the police system corroborate the significant role of street-level agents (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Roberts, 1997; Richardson, 1997). Thereby, the representativeness of police and private security guards (securitization), variety of food, activities, and prices that cater to

different demographics needs (commercialization), as well as vendors and organizers of activation programming (eventization) play a significant role in the inclusiveness of public spaces.

2.3.5. Conclusion

Intersectionality theories originating in the Black women's movement question various 'markers of difference' and criticize binary divisions that neglect how intersecting identities shape the spectrum of uneven everyday experiences and discriminations, particularly for disadvantaged populations (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989; Valentine, 2007). It allows analyzing gendered, classed, racialized, sexualized positions within a space and power structure because both space and power structure shape these unique experiences and are produced by them (LaFrombois, 2017; McDowell, 2008).

It is critical to employ an intersectional framework for addressing one of the wicked problems of the age, social inclusiveness in urban spaces, as most cities have been historically planned and built with gendered, classed, and racialized values. Intersectionality presumes that privileges and oppressions are interrelated and connected to the systems of power. Nevertheless, differences are constructed within the city and its spaces, where users and activities can easily fall outside the definition of 'appropriate' and be excluded.

Public spaces are the sites of social struggle against oppressive structures governed or overshadowed by neoliberal or privatization or white male urban political agendas (Kern & Wekerle, 2008; LaFrombois, 2017; Reichl, 2002). That is why NRPA, through Parks for Inclusion Initiative, seeks to include and embrace multicultural, racial, ethnic communities, LGBTQ+ communities, refugee and immigrant communities, and individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities.

Signature parks' governance regimes seek to bring parks back into economically 'productive' use and engaging the upper-middle-class families as the appropriate users, yet ignore the social reproductive issues that affect citizen's access to the means of freedom, socialization, co-existence, and public health. This narrow focus privileges the 'masculinist' viewpoint about the production and use of public spaces as economic spaces and ignores 'feminine' ideals about the infrastructures of care, survival, and reproduction of social space (Katz, 2001; LaFrombois, 2017).

2.4. Literature Review Synthesis and Theoretical Framework

Many prominent urban scholars have contributed to the narrative of loss and decline in various qualities of public spaces, including publicness, social inclusiveness, diversity, and authenticity (Carmona, 2010; Lefebvre, 1991; Németh & Schmidt, 2007; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995). Societal, political, and economic shifts in the mid to late twentieth century have stimulated changes in the provision and management of public spaces, and local governments are no more the only responsible actor providing public spaces. The contributions of numerous public and private organizations, whether for- or nonprofit, shape and re-shape urban spaces worldwide (Banerjee, 2001; Murray, 2010). American downtowns have been the most vulnerable to the growing interest and involvement of the private sector in public space management processes, compared to their pre-WWII precedents (Banerjee, 2001; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1993).

The governance shifts and the private sector's accelerating involvement led to introducing new 'umbrella' terms, including privatized public spaces, quasi-public spaces, or pseudo-public spaces (Boyer, 1993; Kohn, 2004; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995). However, De Magalhães (as cited in Zamanifard et al., 2018, 156) argues privatization is an oversimplified concept that "does not explain the complexity and nuances of the new redistribution of responsibilities and rights in public space."

This dissertation's theoretical framework is built on Németh & Schmidt's (2011) proposed model of publicness. They argue that "the appropriate or desirable public for any given space is contingent on users, owners, and managers acting as conscious agents" (Németh & Schmidt, 2011, 9). The model assesses publicness by three core components: ownership, management, and uses/users, each represented as an axis that intersects and interacts with the other two

elements. Németh & Schmidt define ownership as whether the government or private individual or corporation owns space. But management identifies how space is controlled and maintained. They discuss the features, techniques, and attitudes that encourage or discourage freedom of use. The publicness model does not operationalize the use axis since the researchers find the third axis challenging to measure and interpret, quantitatively and qualitatively.

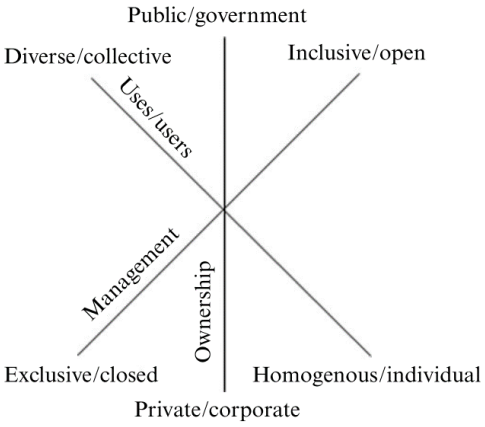


Figure 5- Elements of publicness, source: Németh & Schmidt (2011)

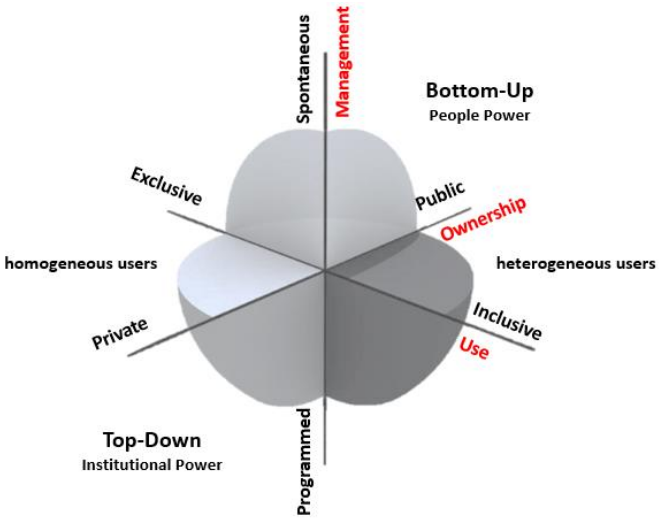


Figure 6- Elements of inclusiveness

Building on Németh & Schmidt's model of publicness, I outlined a 3D model of social inclusiveness along the three same axes: ownership, management, use. I call the plane resulting from the intersection of the ownership and management axes as governance regimes. In which the governance structure and strategies contribute to the level of social inclusiveness/exclusiveness across time-space-event.

This dissertation investigates social inclusiveness in three downtown Dallas signature spaces with different levels of private control, where the main focus is on each space's governance regimes - structure and strategies. Consequently, it is in constant dialogue with Lefebvre's right

to the city, public space, and public space governance theories. Instead of frequency, I investigate instances and anecdotes across the time/space/event continuum. Lefebvre's theory of the right to the city informs my studies of instances and anecdotes to discuss when and how governance regimes (structures and strategies) expand or shrink inclusive horizons and how situations, if any, challenge the power structures. The public space and public space governance theories help me navigate and identify unique governance strategies employed by each park and their respective nonprofit organization to govern the publicly accessible spaces.

Governance Structure

Public space has multiple actors and stakeholders with differing and even contradictory attitudes and motivations. The actors and stakeholders beyond local governments range from planners, designers, managers, and developers to users. Three distinctive groups of stakeholders cover from citizens to the public sector and the private sector. However, the private sector is not homogeneous and is comprised of a variety of corporate and for-profit institutions to conservancies and nonprofit organizations.

The governance structure is the most substantial governance component and the primary determinant for this study. It floats between the two extremes of fully public to fully private involvement and can impacts the entire governance strategies (in)directly and/or (un)intentionally. Thereby, it plays a significant role in the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of public spaces. The attitudes, motivations, and agendas for three primary groups of stakeholders - public, for-, and nonprofit organizations - in public spaces are distinctive and often contradictory (Carmona, De Magalhães, & Hammond, 2008; Murray, 2010). Thus, the

governance structure explains the types of partnership with the government and the range of responsibilities for each actor.

According to Carmona and Wunderlich (2012, 245), the differences among the stakeholders' line-up, leadership, and power relations indicate the governance structure; and there are no standard governance processes among privatized public spaces (Carmona, 2016, 723). Thereby, the Royal Town Planning Institute (2014) advocates for the significance of being pragmatic about what works best, when, and where rather than making generalizable governance cases. The governance structure and arrangement practices have a broad range from the traditional form to a managerial or market-based condition. In the former, the government has full authority over the decision-making processes and all forms of interventions. However, in the latter forms, responsibilities, decisions, and interventions are transferred to a managing agency to bring efficiency and cost-effectiveness (Pierre, 1999), favoring the neoliberal agendas (Kayden et al., 2000; Kohn, 2004; Miller, 2007).

Governance Strategies

Privatized public spaces have become common in urban centers and failing CBDs of American cities and act as a stimulus to urban growth and revitalization (Garvin, 2002; Stone, 1989). The triad of ownership, management, and use shape various public-private constellations along the public-private continuum (Bodnar, 2015; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2015; Zukin, 2010). Several scholars lamented privatized public spaces for diminishing publicness and excluding the so-called 'undesirables' (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Mitchell & Staeheli, 2008). Commercialization and securitization are the leading strategies employed by the governance to signal the appropriate uses and users (Bodnar, 2015; Kohn, 2004).

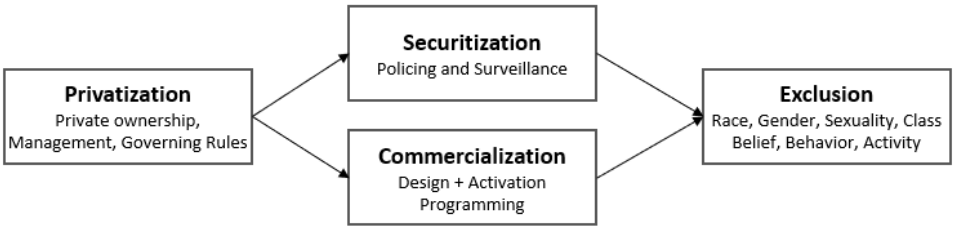


Figure 7- Privatization of Public Spaces and the Resultant Exclusion

Design programming plays a significant role in the social inclusiveness of public spaces through amenities and numerous features that support active or passive structured or unstructured activities (Franck & Stevens, 2006; Stevens, 2007). The physical design intends to attract different 'publics' to different spaces, but some strategies might lead to the inclusion of only particular segments of the public, particularly the consuming class (Miles & Paddison, 1998; Zukin, 2015). Thus, scholars assume the commercialization of public space is associated with its privatization (Bodnar, 2015; Kohn, 2004), where public space users convert to consumers and clientele.

With the increasing involvement of the private sector in the provision and management of publicly used spaces, scholars gave considerable attention to how different actors work together to remove the most vulnerable groups and cleanse public spaces and parks of the so-called 'undesirables' (Harvery, 2007; Mitchell, 2003; Németh & Hollander, 2008). Thus, the acceleration and intensification of policing and surveillance or securitization of public spaces have also known as the second exclusionary strategy that works in tandem with privatization among scholars (Davis, 200l; Marcuse, 2002; Mitchell & Staeheli, 2005; Warren, 2002).

Signature public spaces increasingly serve as venues for small and large events, festivals, and parades. 'Disneyfication' as introduced by Sorkin (1992), is a trend towards more leisure and entertainment functions in urban public spaces that intend to attract people with discretionary income by transforming the space into a 'Pleasure Dome' (Oosterman, 1992). Many urban scholars view the eventization of public space as a dimension of commercialization (Carmona, 2010; Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Zukin, 1995). However, with the transformations of the established event geographies and the accelerating eventization of not only our public spaces (Smith, 2016) but also of our society (Žižek, 2014) and economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1999), this dissertation considers eventization as a separate strategy employed by governance regimes of the signature public spaces.

my analysis of the literature and preliminary field observation reveal publicly accessible spaces, whether public or private, are increasingly governed by neoliberal strategies and heightened fear of terrorism. Thereby, each of the four governance strategies is utilized separately to counter undesirable groups and social activities.

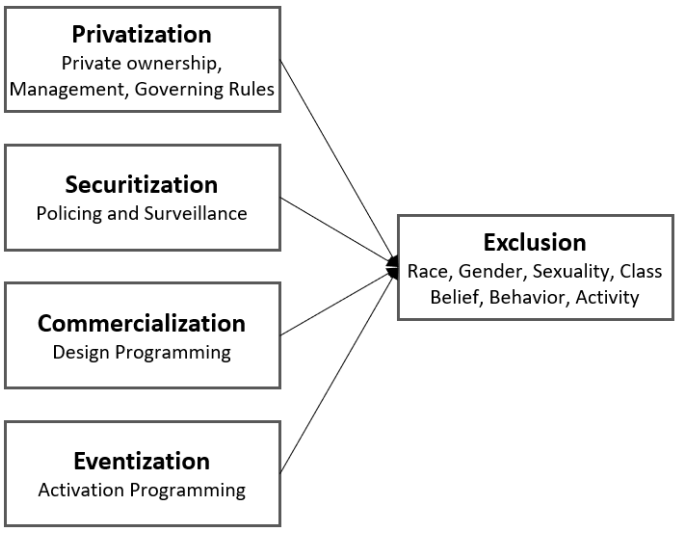


Figure 8- Four Exclusionary Governance Strategies

Inclusion and Right to the City

This dissertation identifies social inclusion with the help of Lefebvre's theory of the 'right to the city.' Lefebvre introduces urban spaces as a capitalistic commodity and the battlefront of citizen resistance and struggles for justice in neoliberal cities (Isin, 1999; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 2010). Borrowing from Lefebvre, this dissertation distinguishes six dimensions for the right to the city, including the "right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit — the right to the oeuvre, participation, and appropriation" (Lefebvre, 1996, 173-174). It establishes social inclusion and exclusion within the broader discourses of power and institutions (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008), with two mutually inclusive approaches. First, by expanding the inclusive horizons to enfranchise the historically marginalized communities. Second, by tackling the exclusionary power structures within the neoliberal governance regimes that reinforce gendered, racialized, classed, and sexualized practices within urban spaces.

Figure 8 depicts the theoretical framework of this dissertation.

2.4.1. Theoretical Framework

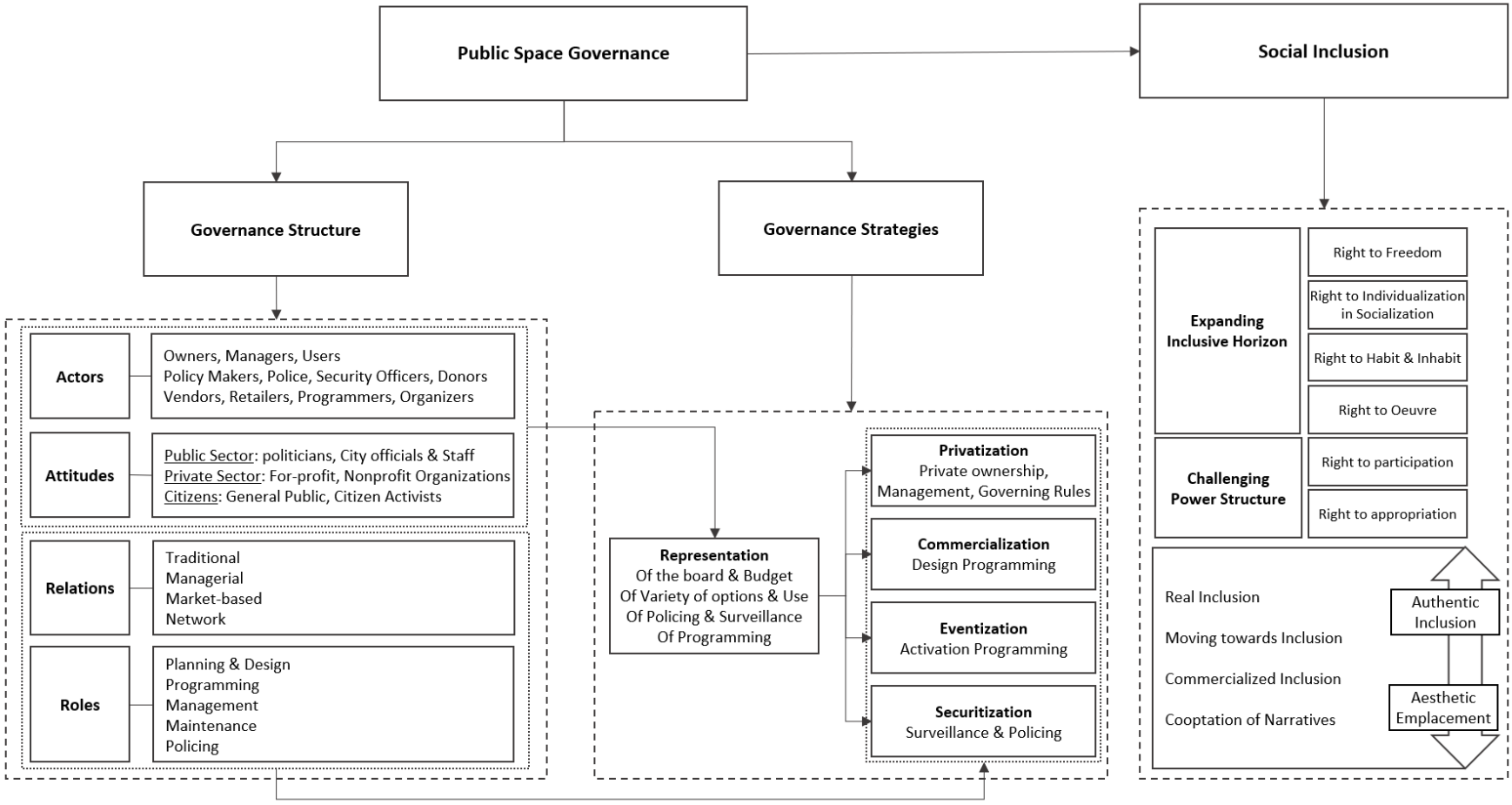


Figure 9- Theoretical Framework

Chapter 3:

Methodology

3. Methodology

As previous studies and my preliminary field observation suggest, the five strategies mentioned in chapter 2 influence the number and diversity of occupants and activities, and generally, the park spaces' inclusiveness (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2008; Németh and Hollander, 2010; Bodnar, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to document how private control influence other exclusionary/inclusionary strategies in each publicly used park. Who is being excluded, and how, and to uncover the rationale behind the governance regimes? For that, it draws on site observation, interviews with city officials and public space managers, and content analysis of official documents, newspaper articles, public spaces' websites, and social media presence. Below, I identify the methodological strategies used in this dissertation.

3.1. Positionality Disclosure

I knew I wanted to study public spaces but to find a timely relevant concern of mine traceable in the social and physical fabric of the DFW Metroplex occupied me for a while. Interestingly, I found literature that recommended novice researchers to not focus on a topic, place, or community close to their personal ties, as it may bring an additional difficulty to an already complicated process of a qualitative study (Denezen & Lincoln, 2000; Kitchen & Tate 2000).

So, I embraced my unfamiliarity with Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex and Texan culture as opportunities. Incredibly, my Ph.D. courses, teaching an undergraduate course called 'The Metroplex,' the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19, and the outcry for justice in American cities with the murder of George Floyd and the recent wave of 'Black Lives Matter'

demonstrations,' helped me disentangle and observe different levels of injustices in Dallas' signature public spaces.

The selection of case studies happened right after the Muslim ban; President Trump's executive order ignited a series of protests in different airports across the country. There were also some supporting gatherings in cities. In Dallas, local leaders, community groups, refugee organizations, and several hundred people gathered for an interfaith vigil at Thanksgiving Square to protest the travel ban on Muslim countries in 2017. Thanksgiving Square is a privately-owned and managed space. Still, most of the planning and geography literature blames privatization as a significant factor that undermines wide public dissent, social activism, picket lines, and protests. This apparent contradiction signaled then that I had found my case studies revealing to me the angle from which to investigate inclusion/exclusion in public spaces.

Muhammad et al. (2015) reveal the need for a more explicit discussion of power related to identity and intersectional positionality of researchers, based on gender, sexual orientation, race and ethnicity, ability, education, and other forms of identity, as one of the more prominent, though under-theorized dimensions of power and privilege within research processes. My dissertation stemmed from personal experiences as a Middle Eastern immigrant cisgender woman living in the US. My experiences as an Iranian urban designer and feminist activist woman who has lived a much more complex and colorful life than the one prescribed by the Islamic Republic or perceived by foreign lenses force me to continuously reflect on the dialectics of freedom and constraint, philanthropy and marginalization, provision and exclusion, as well as engagement and isolation.

To provide some context, in Tehran's parks, women rent out bikes from the municipality bike-share system to cycle under signs that prohibit women from cycling. In other settings, as an urban designer who worked with Tehran Municipality, I strongly disagreed with gender-segregated spaces and women-only parks. Yet, I was able to see and praise its benefits for those who were victims of patriarchy both at society and household scales. I also observed several women-led resistance initiatives organized and originated in these parks that were under less surveillance. So, I have observed how women navigate the multitude of restrictions, opportunities, and the evolving segregation that the regime affords them personally and professionally.

Similarly, before the 'downtown parks master plan,' downtown Dallas was not pedestrian-friendly, lacked usable open spaces and people places (Carter & Burgess, Inc., 2004, 4). Yet, those who had invested in providing vital, vibrant, green, and functional spaces for Dallasites, the Metroplex residents, and tourists are also the ones who were excluding people with a variety of commercial, ticketed, or corporate events and through various security measures. It brought me to my research purpose questioning the 'how's and 'who's of inclusion and exclusion in downtown Dallas signature parks.

Studies on community-based participatory research have brought attention to methodological challenges in researching justice, as the study itself may reproduce gendered, classed, racialized, and sexualized inequities for power imbalances (Muhammad et al., 2016). Since this dissertation explores social inclusion within the governance regime structure and institutional governance strategies, it does not deal with vulnerable communities and disenfranchised populations. Therefore, in the interaction with key actors during interview sessions, I was the one with less power.

I was an immigrant, younger 'student' interviewing white American experts, who were either the CEO or manager of a successful nonprofit organization in charge of a signature park in our Metroplex. Besides, the sense of pride in their organizational endeavors and outcome could stage the interview to narrate their success story. Thereby, a social constructivist comparative case study analysis was the most appropriate methodology for my topic and research questions and to navigate social exclusion practices within these power imbalances. I also benefitted from scenario-based questions to ask the managers to describe how they may respond to a hypothetical situation when addressing the exclusion of the so-called 'undesirables.' Lastly, to balance the power difference, I report the critical points of the interviews through quotes that capture long pauses and shifts from an active to a passive sentence where the object of exclusion is deliberately omitted from the narration.

3.2. Case Studies

With this dissertation, I hope to shed light on a broader set of theoretical and professional concerns as opposed to the search for generalizability about 'privatized public spaces.' Comparative case study analysis is employed for this research project. Exploring 'public' spaces with different private control levels helps trace how private control impacts governance regimes inclusionary and exclusionary strategies in the three downtown Dallas signature parks.

As part of studying social worlds, qualitative researchers are encouraged and urged to start where they are to provide meaningful linkages between personal experiences and intellectual curiosity. Following Lofland's suggestion of "starting where you are" (Lofland et al. 2005, 11), I researched my other options of very well utilized, publicly accessible spaces around me and close to Thanksgiving Square. I selected the other two cases among award-winning parks with

similar functionalities in downtown Dallas, located 0.3 to 0.6 miles away from each other. This deliberate decision was made as a controlling factor to eliminate the weight of external variables like travel distance to get to the park or the number of potential tourists visiting adjacent areas and increase the potential of having similar users in all three cases.

Dallas's signature parks are regional attractions and admired landmarks created and activated in the urban core with the cooperation of various public, private, and nonprofit organizations to provide a new vision, identity, and economic vibrancy for downtown (Dallas Park and Recreation Department, 2004). Despite their differential public or private ownership and management, my three case studies are considered three 'publicly used parks' in the Dallas municipality and Downtown Improvement District organization documents.

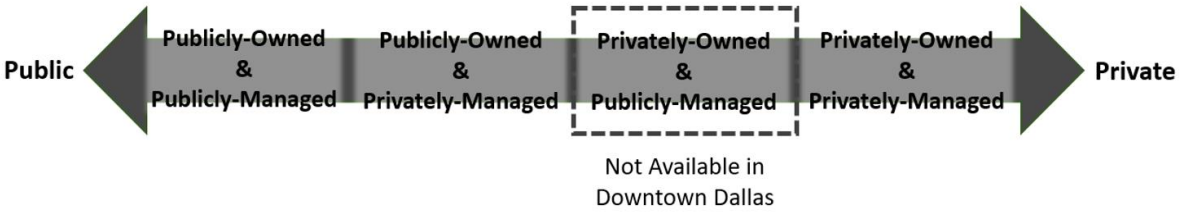


Figure 10. Comparative Case Studies

As described in Chapter 2, research on the inclusiveness of public spaces suggests that social practices of inclusion and exclusion are challenging to categorize and research given their complexity and dynamic nature (Lefebvre, 1996; Stevens, 2007; Purcell, 2003); a situation further exacerbated in my main focus exploring the differences and similarities of the three parks' governance regimes.

When phenomena and context are dynamically co-produced, case study analysis is one of the most relevant research methods (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Yin, 2009). Case studies also allow the

researcher to prioritize "real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 82), which is a significant gain for studying complex social relations. Also, case studies facilitate exploration of a phenomenon within its context, with different data sources, and through various lenses that help the researcher understand a multifaceted phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008, 544).

I approach case studies on a constructive paradigm that relies on relative interpretation and perspective on truth. This approach allows for a close collaboration between the researcher and her participants, where participants can describe their views and tell their stories (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). Through their stories, the researcher will better understand the participant's actions (Robottom & Hart, 1993). By interviewing each space's manager, city officials, and security teams, I could disentangle the issue's complexity and detect contradictions between intentions and the outcomes.

Yin (2003) suggests case studies when:

- The research attempts to answer 'how' and 'why' questions.
- The researcher could not manipulate participant's behaviors.
- The contextual conditions are relevant to the phenomenon under research; or
- The boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and the context.

All four suggestions are relevant to this dissertation, which attempts to answer three 'how' - questions:

- How does privatization manifest itself in the governance structures and strategies of three downtown Dallas signature parks?

- How and to what extent social inclusion/exclusion in three downtown Dallas signature parks reflects their degree of public-private control?
- How governance regimes define and exclude 'inappropriate' and 'undesirable' in three downtown Dallas signature parks?

On the other hand, the relationships between design, programming, and management are contingent and subject to change. Therefore, quantitative research utilizing datasets and statistics in search of broad, generalizable findings would not address research questions that intend to unpack the political meanings and public-private partnership possibilities that appear from the cracks and contradictions of private control of public spaces.

Some may argue that case studies are somehow more vulnerable to bias, validity, and reliability issues. Still, scholars address how knowledge is always partial and situated (Haraway, 1991; Pickering & Guzik, 2008). Feminist theorists also argue that all scientific research, social and natural, are 'biased' and not objective (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1986). Let alone the subject of inclusiveness and justice that has these two inherent questions within itself: 'for whom,' and 'at whose expense?'

So, my research benefits from qualitative, descriptive multiple case studies. I try to understand the production of public spaces, emphasizing and analyzing structuring forces and actors. Multiple case studies enable me to explore differences within and between each signature park case regarding their design, governance structure, and strategies. Comparative case study analysis helps to apprehend the complexity of the social processes guiding and influencing the inclusiveness in three Downtown Dallas publicly used parks. The goal is to replicate the research procedure across the three cases carefully and deliberately selected along the public-

private continuum. Comparing similarities and differences helps me uncover the significant factors that make signature public spaces relatively more inclusive or exclusive.

Solid lines in picture 10 depict the physical borders of each park and their respective nonprofit organizations, and dashed lines represent their respective nonprofit organization's scope of action. As evident from the diagram, Downtown Dallas Inc., the nonprofit organization that manages, programs, and surveils Main Street Garden Park, has the same managing roles for several other downtown parks and policing, programming, and activating responsibilities regarding downtown streets and sidewalks. However, the Woodall Rogers Foundation's scope of action finish at the physical borders of the Klyde Warren Park. Contrary to both parks, Thanksgiving Foundation organizes many of its events and programs in other third-party venues besides Thanksgiving Square, often because of the event size or sometimes for having the best impact on the community.

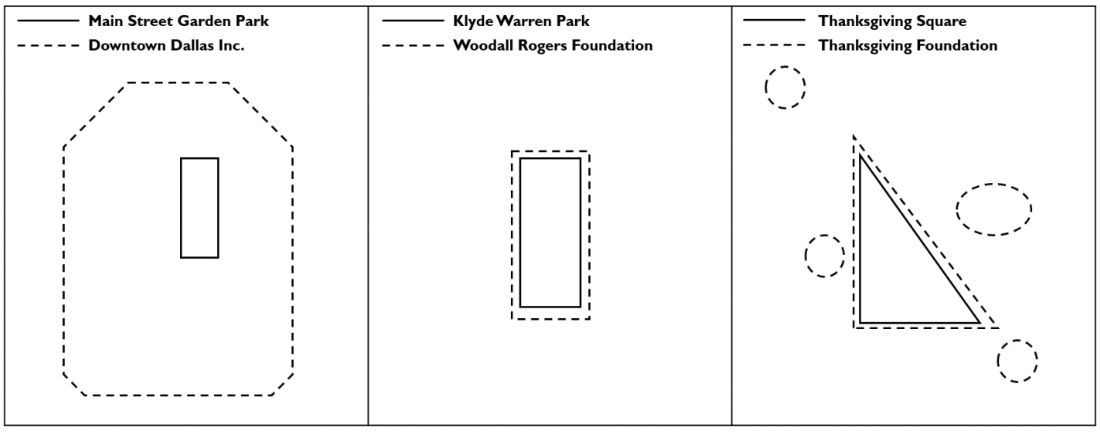


Figure 11- Case Studies/ Units of Analysis

In this dissertation, I highlight social (use) and administrative (governance) processes that affect public spaces' degree of inclusion. My preliminary observations revealed substantial differences in the degree of inclusiveness among the three parks in Downtown Dallas. Previous literature in

urban planning and geography blames privatization for over-commercialization and over-securitization of urban spaces that lead to the exclusion of various groups and activities (Bodnar, 2015; Németh & Schmidt, 2007; 2011; Németh & Hollander, 2010; Smith, 2014; Zukin, 2015) which appear as 'undesirable' and 'inappropriate' particularly or generally (Davis, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Miller, 2007; Peterson, 2006).

3.3. The 'How's of the Research

Lefebvre's theory of the production of space has a foundational role in critical urban studies. It presents a threefold perspective of space that incorporates physical, perceptual, and social dimensions; and defines how space is created, maintained, and used. It is one of the best theories that contextualize the conflicts between contradictory ideas and ideals between planners, designers, and officials versus users and citizens domains and how they represent, use, and reproduce the space to achieve social inclusion. (Mitchell, 2003). Instead of paying attention to design and nostalgic recollection of urban space, it critically focuses on how public spaces are produced, regulated, eliminated to a new meaning, and reproduced through struggles (Iveson, 2008; McCann, 1999; Mitchell 2003; Smith & Low, 2006; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008).

Inspired by Lefebvre's three-part triad, Mitchell identifies this tension as a two-part dialectic of public space, "public space is the product of competing ideologies about what constitutes that space—order and control or free, perhaps dangerous, interaction" (2003, 128-129). This dialectic allows the researcher to focus on how public spaces are eliminated or restricted or highlight creative and collaborative processes with which public spaces are produced and reproduced, made and maintained. Lefebvre (1991) incorporates different processes and connections that shape space through his spatial triad.

- Representations of space or the conceptual space is the space of designers and planners. It is the space of planning, designing, and materialization. It is also known as the principal space of any society or the space of domination, as the most powerful actors operate within it. It identifies how space can, should, and will be used and by whom, which is decided first through design, and then by regulation and management by professional practices of urban planners, public administrators, engineers, designers, and city officials.

- Representational space is lived, used, or experienced space, and it is associated with symbolic values, incorporating the meanings users assign to space. It is the space that meaning becomes materialized.

- Spatial practices represent the space of everyday life. It can be interpreted as relations that produce and reproduce a space, including the property regulations or the processes that stimulate them. Yet, it incorporates all interactions and negotiations among the powerful and the powerless.

I began with the field observations, primarily to observe the 'spatial practices' that actualize the space, stemming from an ontological/epistemological position that sees space as something that is always practiced and constantly produced. The preliminary observation that had led to the selection of case studies indicated that Thanksgiving Square, the privately owned and managed case study, had engaged Muslims and community leaders to stand in solidarity against Travel Ban imposed by President Trump. Also, homeless individuals were using Thanksgiving Square among other users of the garden without security surveillance. Similarly, Main Street Garden Park, the publicly owned and managed case study, was heavily used by the downtown homeless population, and they had reclaimed the west edge of the park or the garden side. However,

there were no signs of homeless individuals in Klyde Warren Park in my visits, the publicly owned but privately managed case study. Yet, the park had some permanent commercial structures and was also regularly used for festivals engaging various vendors. However, later field observations in three downtown Dallas signature parks, were conducted not only because I was interested in what was happening in parks but out of curiosity about how design, management, and occupation were practiced in each publicly used park. Thus, there is no objective separation between the parks and various architectural elements, people, and events that activate and govern them.

On the other hand, interview transcripts, websites' materials, social and local media posts, and photographic representations of spaces are not taken as writings or pictures about independently existing spaces. Instead, they are conceptualized as (re)productive articulations, 'representations of space' that could not be meaningfully separated from the more 'objective' or physical space of each park. In this way, each park transcends its physical borders, existing in a scattered and complex web of representation. The third element, or the representational space, is yet to be investigated in each case study.

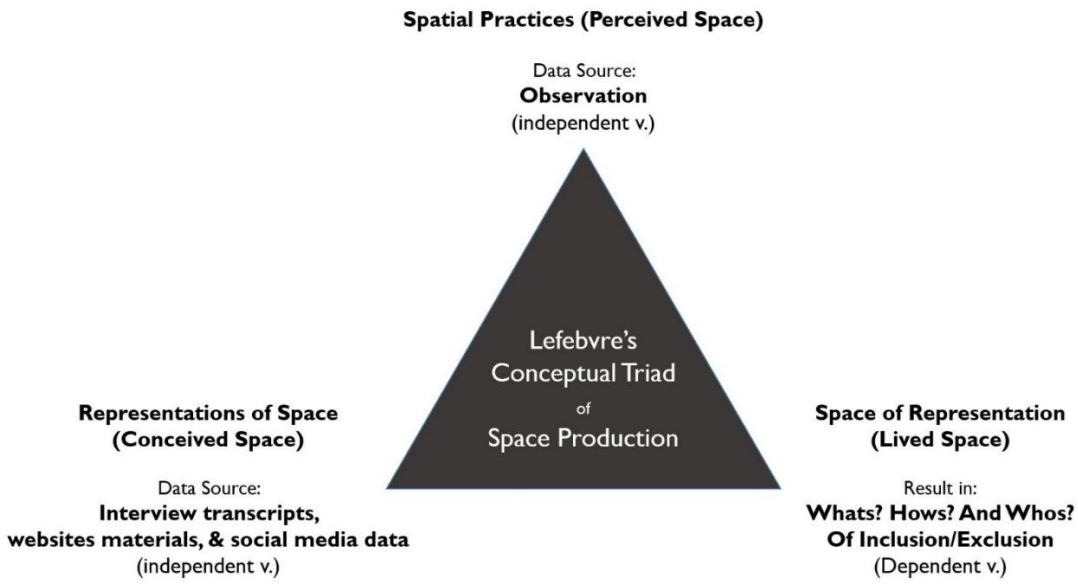


Figure 12- The 'How's of the Research

3.4. Research Methods

3.4.1. Site Observation

For each of the three chosen case studies, I conducted eight two-hour-long qualitative observation sessions. The observation sessions took place in Summer 2019 and Summer 2020 during the morning, afternoon, and evening hour. I conducted observation sessions on both a weekday and a weekend in each park, as seen in Table 9.

Table 3 - Field Observation

Case Study	Date	Weekday	Time
Main Street Garden Park	07/03/2019	Wednesday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM 6 PM – 8 PM
	07/06/2019	Saturday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM 6 PM – 8 PM
	07/08/2020	Wednesday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM
Klyde Warren Park	07/02/2019	Tuesday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM 6 PM – 8 PM

	07/07/2019	Sunday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM 6 PM – 8 PM
	07/07/2020	Tuesday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM
Thanksgiving Square	07/09/2019	Tuesday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM 6 PM – 8 PM
	07/14/2019	Sunday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM
	07/14/2020	Tuesday	10 AM – 12 PM 2 PM – 4 PM

Although the occupants and activities in each space changed dramatically at different times of the day and the week, the site observation aimed to study governance strategies. I studied design and activation programming as well as policing and surveillance in each case. I conducted observations to understand how governance regimes relate to inclusion/exclusion in each space and who is included/excluded. Therefore, my priority was to capture inclusionary/exclusionary governance strategies and instances in each park, including the presence of signs, vendors, or security guards.

3.4.2. Park Management Interviews with governance actors

'Interview' is a qualitative research method employed to gather firsthand knowledge and data. I used interviews to analyze the governance structures and approaches in the three case studies through the views of institutional actors involved in the decision making and managing of the parks. I conducted interviews with park managers, staffs from the City of Dallas Park and Recreation Department, and Downtown Dallas Security Supervisor. Unfortunately, the City of Dallas Planning and Urban Design Department officials were not interested in participating in this research and recommended speaking to their colleagues in the Park and Recreation

Department. Also, Dallas Police Department advised contacting Downtown Security Team instead. Downtown Dallas Security Team is part of Downtown Dallas Inc. who also manages one of the case studies, Main Street Garden Park.

For this dissertation, I utilized semi-structured interviews, with questions derived from the established themes in the literature review and preliminary archival and field research. With an 'interview guide,' the semi-structured interviews allowed to focus on questions related to governance structures and strategies while granting freedom and flexibility to discuss critical issues suggested by the interviewees, such as depart from or restructure the interview's question order, reorganize or reword a question, and probe new questions, if necessary. In the case of this study, each subject was interviewed once via Zoom due to COVID-19 concerns.

Given the nature of the topic, probing for answers regarding both inclusionary and exclusionary strategies employed by each managing organization, I avoided 'direct questions,' and rather utilized, 'introducing,' 'follow-up,' 'probing,' 'indirect,' and 'interpreting' questions (Bryman and Bell, 2011, 318-319). The interview questions dealt with five primary topical sections that best address the dissertation question: How and to what extent do governance structures and strategies impact the social inclusiveness/exclusiveness of the three downtown Dallas signature parks? The leading five topics include private control, design programming, activation programming, policing and surveillance, and governance structure.

The park's management interviews help construct specific and contextual knowledge regarding the governance regimes' structures and strategies in each case study with different private control levels exercised by various nonprofit organizations responsible for their management. Each interview with each park manager queried the extent and breadth of private control and

the strategies employed in design programming, activation programming, and policing and surveillance. It also questions the extent to which each managing organization Dallas community the methods they rely on to put inclusion into action.

The interview with City officials also incorporated all factors yet benefitted from a comparative nature among different case studies. The Parks and Recreation Department official did not discuss Thanksgiving Square at any length, although the Square is listed in downtown Dallas signature parks list produced by Downtown Dallas Inc. Dallas's signature parks are regional attractions and cherished landmarks created with public, private, and nonprofit partners to enhance the vision, vibrancy, and economic development of the city.

The interview with the downtown security team supervisor included questions about security and surveillance in each park, the approach towards 'undesirables' including homeless individuals, protestors, and other groups considered to be less fit. It also incorporates questions about policing and surveillance during post-COVID-19 and after the second wave of the 'Black Lives Matter' movement.

Table 4- Interview

Interviewee	**Organization**	**Status**
Park Management	Downtown Dallas Inc.	Completed
	Woodall Rogers Foundation	Completed
	Thanksgiving Foundation	Completed
City staff	Parks and Recreation Department	Completed
	Planning and Urban Design Department	Referral: park and Rec. Dept.
	Police Department	Referral: Downtown Security Team

The purpose of the interviews is threefold:

1. Identify the governance structures.
2. Identify the inclusionary and exclusionary strategies.
3. Identify 'Undesirables.'
    - Who is to be excluded?
    - How are they being excluded?

Due to the controversial nature of the research subject, verbal and non-verbal behavior and long pauses also were recorded.

3.4.3. Content Analysis of Official Documents, Local and Social Media

Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique for analyzing text and images, focusing on the content or contextual meanings (Cavanagh, 1997; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2000; McTavish & Pirro, 1990). Weber (1990) recognizes qualitative content analysis beyond counting words and examining language to classify large amounts of text into an ample number of categories. These categories represent similar meanings through a "systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, 1278) "to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study" (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992, p. 314). The researcher chooses her approach to content analysis among the various specific types regarding the research theoretical and substantive concerns and the problem being studied (Weber, 1990). Hsieh and Shannon (2005) have identified three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, and summative, in which this dissertation benefits from a directed approach. Contrary to conventional content analysis that best serves when the

existing theory or research literature on a phenomenon is limited, directed content analysis is for furthering existing theories.

I study each park's website, social media (Instagram and Twitter) displays, local media coverages, and the responsible non-profit organizations' business plans, annual reports, tax forms, and City of Dallas planning documents through content analysis. Neither the city nor the private managing organizations shared their public-private partnership agreements with me. Although, it was not directly declined, the correspondence remained unresponsive regarding questions about bureaucratic procedures. The content analysis informs research of the exclusionary governance strategies and the so-called 'undesirables,' primarily through programming, and examine programs that activated each park from January 2019 to December 2020. For this study, I consider 'programs' as ongoing and recurring activities, opposing one-time events. Figure 11 depicts how I categorize each event into three main groups – commercially-, politically- and community-oriented events and if they are planned and sanctioned by the managing organization or happened with community involvement.

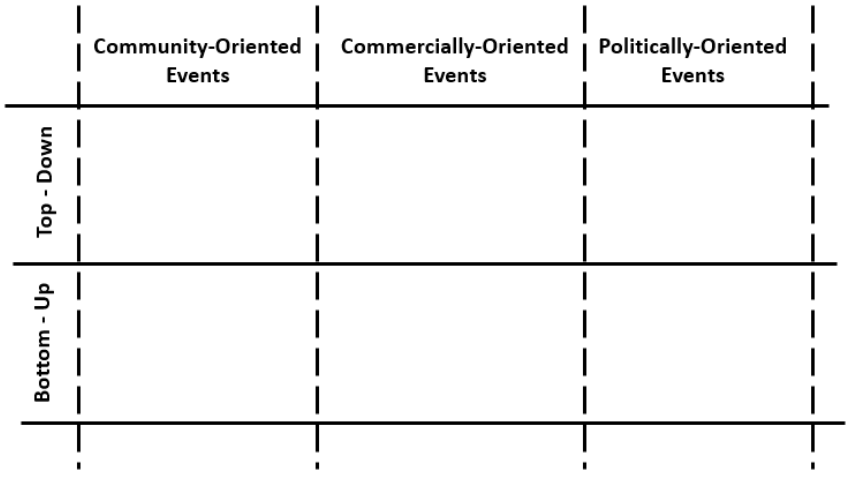


Figure 13- Events classification

Figure 12 shows the content analysis process utilized in this dissertation to investigate social inclusiveness/exclusiveness of the three downtown Dallas signature parks. For the summative content analysis, I studied and specifically observed the following themes - borrowed and modified from Lofland, Snow, Anderson, and Lofland (2006) in Saldaña (2009) - in the interview and social and local media data.

Figure 14- Content Analysis Procedures

The studied themes are as followed.

- Cultural practices: the daily routines and frequent and regular programming
- Episodes: irregular and special events and activities
- Encounters: the potential for temporary interaction
- Roles: different stakeholders and players in each space, including city officials, owners, managers, security guards, Dallas police, donors, retailer, vendors, users, activists, volunteers, sponsors
- Social relationship: dialectics of the space, for instance among managers and users; excluding and excluded, and other groups with competing ideologies and conflicting interests.
- Organizations: including all nonprofit, for-profit, and public organizations involved in the governance of each space

3.5. The Conceptualization of Governance Strategies as Independent Social Constructs

I found five significant elements impacting the inclusive-exclusive continuum of space through an extensive review of the literature in the second section or the literature review and instantiated in a preliminary field study. Each factor is extended along an inclusive/exclusive continuum—over-management and approaches at their most extreme in private control, design programming, activation programming, and policing and surveillance will lead to the infamous critics of the contemporary public spaces, privatization, commercialization, eventization, and securitization. The tables below show how I conceptualized and studied each governance strategy; the tables also specify the sources of information for each criterion.

3.5.1. Private Control – Privatization

Table 5- Privatization dimensions

Concept	Dimensions	Source
Privatization	Private property	Archival Sources/Interview
	Private management	Archival Sources/Interview
	Public-Private Partnership contract	Archival Sources/Interview
	Visible sets of rules posted	Observation/Archival Sources
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance	Archival Sources/Interview

3.5.2. Design Programming - Commercialization

Table 6- Commercialization dimensions

Concept	Dimensions	Source
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use	Observation/Interview
	Sponsored Spaces	Observation/Interview/Archival Sources
	Variety of food/Activity options	Observation
	Diversity of seating space	Observation
	Various Microclimates	Observation
	No/ Partial/ High coverage of Cafés, restaurants and shops	Observation/Maps
	Availability of food vendors	Observation/Maps/Archival Sources
	Restroom available accessible with purchase/ permission	Observation/Interview
	Parking availability and price	Observation/Maps
	Entrance/orientation accessibility	Observation/Maps

3.5.3. Occupational Programming – Eventization

Table 7 - Eventization dimensions

Concept	Dimensions	Source
Eventization	Types and frequency of free events	Archival Sources/Social Media/ Interview
	Types and frequency of ticketed events	Archival Sources/Social Media/ Interview
	Availability of community-, commercially-, and politically-oriented events	Archival Sources/Social Media/ Interview
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)	Archival Sources/Social Media/ Interview
	Information Accessibility	Archival Sources/Social Media/ Interview

3.5.4. Security and Surveillance - Securitization

Table 8 - Securitization dimensions

Concept	Dimensions	Source
Securitization	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)	Observation/Interview
	Security personnel	Observation/Interview
	Enforced by local police/private security	Observation/Interview
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	Observation
	Hostile Architecture	Observation
	Presence of homelessness	Observation
	Permitting protests	Observation/Interview/Archival Sources
	Room for appropriation/Contestation	Observation/Interview/Archival Sources

3.5.5. Governance Structure – Representation

Table 9- Representation dimensions

Concept	Dimensions	Source
Representation	Governance structure	Interview/Archival Sources
	Governance tasks	Interview/Archival Sources
	(In)formal governance tools	Interview/Archival Sources
	Funding resources	Interview/Archival Sources
	Funding restrictions	Interview/Archival Sources
	Actors beyond government	Interview/Archival Sources
	Representativeness of boards, managing personnel, security personnel, vendors, programming	Interview/Archival Sources

3.5.6. Inclusion/Exclusion

Table 10 - Inclusion/Exclusion dimensions

Concept	Dimensions	Source
Inclusion/Exclusion	Freedom of speech	Interview/Archival Sources
	Right to protest	Interview/Archival Sources
	Potential to interact with strangers	Observation
	Potential to play	Observation
	Potential to engage in creative and self-actualizing experiences	Observation
	Potential to participate in the space governance	Interview/Archival Sources
	Allows appropriation in consumption (access)	Interview/Archival Sources
	Allows appropriation in production (use)	Interview/Archival Sources
	Programming for historically marginalized and disenfranchised communities: women, kids, elderly, individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities, LGBTQ+ communities, refugee and immigrant communities, multicultural/racial/ethnic communities	Interview/Archival Sources

3.6. Conclusion

This dissertation utilizes a social constructivist comparative case study analysis. In chapter 3, I explained my reasons and procedures as followed in this dissertation in greater detail. I also explained the development of my line of thought and how I have conceptualized each significant governance strategy. The next chapter will review the three downtown Dallas signature parks regarding the dimension of the five governance strategies: privatization, securitization,

commercialization, eventization, and representation mentioned above to evaluate the HOWs and the WHOs of social inclusion and exclusion.

Chapter 4:

Analysis

4. Case Study Analysis

4.1. The History of Placemaking in Dallas

The history of placemaking in Dallas goes back to George Kessler's 1911, the first comprehensive plan for the city that "has been regularly rediscovered and integrated into successive plans, facilitating the repetition of his vision over many years" (Graff, 2008, 224). The early 20th century City Beautiful plan has remained one of the most discussed development models in Dallas (Brettell, 2017). Although it was never fully implemented, it has shaped the city's very fabric. Despite its claim that it is a plan for all, the plan favored certain groups of people. Its racist and classist nature should make planners more cautious of their current plans' impacts on social, racial, and spatial justice in the city.

The Kessler plan for Dallas tried to mitigate the city's problems and increase livability through a network of parks, parkways, and boulevards connecting the civic focal points in the city. The other very significant plan for the Central City is Downtown Parks Master Plan outlined in 2004 and adopted by the Dallas City Council and Dallas Park and Recreation. In the early 20th Century, there were only 150 acres of dedicated land for parks and playgrounds in Dallas, 130 acres of which belonged to the Fair Park, which was not a traditional park but the ground for the State Fair of Texas (Park and Playground System, 1921-1923, 9). Interestingly, a Century ago, Dallas elites spearheaded the initiative to improve the city, not the government. This Dallas Style action can be traced to the date and two of this dissertation's cases, Main Street Garden and Klyde Warren Parks.

Back then, they formed several boards, committees, and a non-government-based organization as an "adjunct of the chamber of commerce…for securing expert advice" to drive the Kessler plan's creation (Wilson, 1989, 260). In his book The Architecture of the City, Aldo Rossi discusses the contribution of (urban) history to urban science, reflecting on Poete's and Lavedan's theory of permanences. He identifies cities as human-made objects with "a past that we are still experiencing." He explains permanences around the phenomenon of 'persistence.' Monuments, physical signs of the past, and the city's basic layout unveil some of these persistences. In his view, cities on their path toward development aim to maintain their original layout and older artifacts; thereby, Rossi recognizes plans as the most meaningful permanences, where the substance is never displaced.

In this respect, permanences manifest two aspects: propelling or pathological elements (Rossi, 1982, 57-59). This is particularly relevant for the Kessler plan, Dallas's first comprehensive plan, and the new park development as a leading planning and branding strategy for Dallas. According to a 2012 Pew Research Center report, the year my most recent case study was opened to the public, Dallas had the second-highest residential income segregation index (RISI) among the nation's ten largest metropolitan areas after Houston. Moreover, 95% of the upper-income areas were dominated by white households in the DFW Metroplex (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Dallas's first comprehensive plan in the era of Jim Crow spatialized racist and classist values of those who influenced the plan and its implementation. Those values have spatialized many areas in the city, including the newly evaluated Central City, one of the main focuses of the new wave for planning and investment in the past two decades. The recent park system is also an influential factor in gentrifying downtown and its vicinities. Figure 13 depicts the locations of the

three case studies of this dissertation. This chapter discusses in-depth the dimensions of each case's governance structures and strategies.

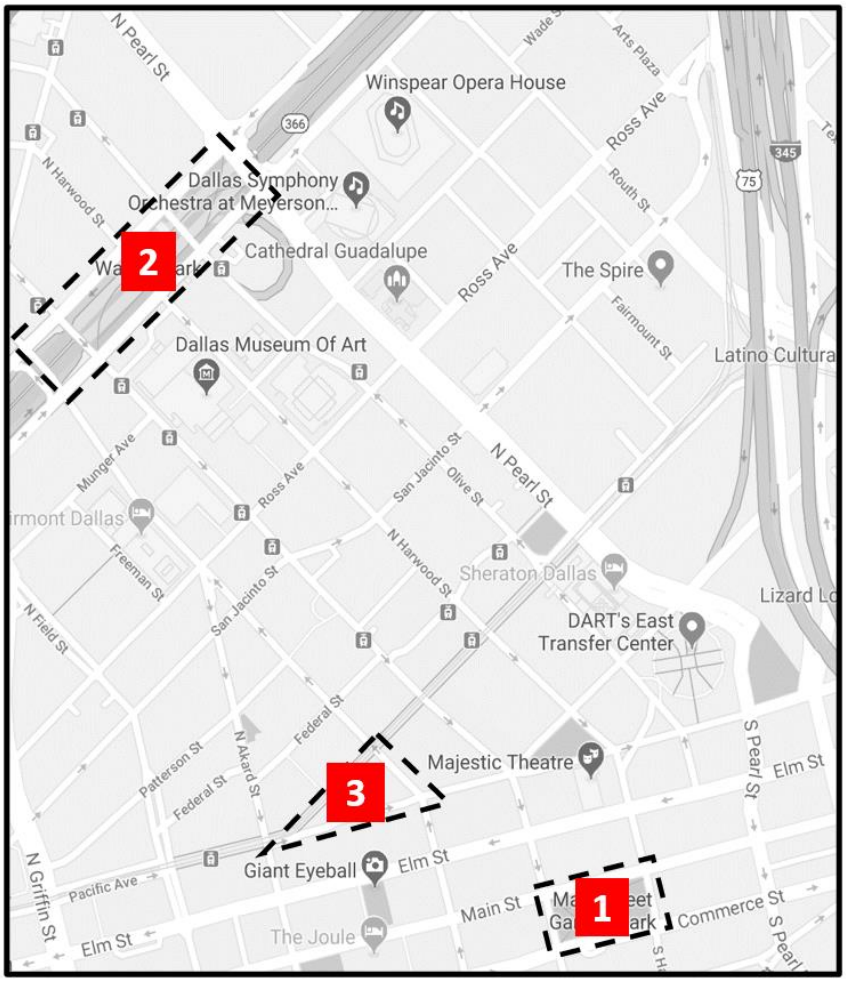


Figure 15- case studies location

4.2. Case Studies

4.2.1. Main Street Garden Park

4.2.1.1. Private Control - Privatization

4.2.1.2. Property Ownership and Park Management

Main Street Garden Park is a city-owned asset, constructed by the Municipal bond funds in 2009 and dedicated as parkland. It is managed jointly by the City of Dallas Park and Recreation

Department in partnership with Downtown Dallas Inc. (DDI), a Public Improvement District (PID) Nonprofit Organization. The management agreement between the City and DDI was for Main Street Garden, the first newly developed park in downtown Dallas, and all other parks within the Central Business District. The first management agreement had a 10-year term expired and was renewed recently for an additional 10-year term in early 2020. The agreement bifurcate roles and responsibilities between the two entities: The City is responsible for the park's infrastructure, including utilities, electricity, horticulture, irrigation. DDI is then accountable for programming, rentals, activations, events, and supplemental works within the park, which could be anything from daily security and cleaning to supplemental maintenance, including capital improvement projects.

4.2.1.3. Governance Rules: What? Why? Who?

Both the DDI management and Park and Recreation official claimed that Main Street Garden Park is governed by the City of Dallas Parks' rules and ordinances posted on http://dallasparks.org/, as far as daily park rules. The general rules include no smoking, no drinking, no littering, no dumping, and no sleeping. Motorized vehicles, golfing, vending or sales, and unauthorized firearms are prohibited on site. Dogs must always be on a leash unless in the Dog Run, and the owners should clean after their dogs. Also, signages are available to remind the park users about the official rules, and per signages, scooters and skateboarders are also not allowed in the Main Street Garden Park. DDI funds these signages to help with additional ordinance enforcement with the DDI security staff patrolling the park.

Figure 16- Governing Rules, Main Street Garden Park, Source: Downtown Dallas Inc. Blog, 08/28/2020, https://downtowndallas.files.wordpress.com/2020/08/park-sign.jpg

Moreover, DDI, per their managing agreement with the City, can place additional restrictions on the park rentals and third-party events. If the planned activity or event impacts the park's general use, a permit is required, and additional rules may be imposed. For instance, when the third party will sell goods, products, or services, serve alcohol, set up pop-up tents, stages, perform music, or produce loud noises, bring a temporary power generator, have commercial photography or videography, etc. Larger events require rental agreements with the DDI as well as the office of special events permit in the City of Dallas. Chapter 42A of the code discusses the topic to the extent of the provision, permits, and enforcement of such venues. Special event means a temporary event or gathering, include demonstrations, large performances, or parades, using either private or public property, in which the estimated number of participants and spectators exceeds 75 during any day of the event, and that involves one or more of the

following activities: The third-party bring heaters, generators, a performance stage, portable buildings, portable toilets, and the intent is to close a public street and block or restrict a public property. In such cases, the City of Dallas requires a 30-day notice and insurance, as well as emergency medical services, additional security and traffic control staff on-site, extra portable restrooms, and specific qualifications regarding the vendors (The City of Dallas, Section 42-A, https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/dallas/latest/dallas_tx/0-0-0-61780).

The DDI officials claim the rules as "pretty general, and a citywide standard." The City of Dallas Park and Recreation Department and the Park Board governs the general park rules. Downtown Dallas Inc. has 50 licensed security officers who patrol all areas in downtown Dallas but focus heavily on parks. The DDI security staff can ask for compliance. Still, they do not have the legal authority to issue citations, and Dallas Police Department's code officers, or Dallas Park Rangers, who also work for the City, have more enforcement ability. So, the park board sets the rules, and DDI enforces and asks for compliance on those rules. However, the managing organization claims, "everybody is welcomed within the public space, but we don't want any user or any activity to negatively impact or reduce other user's experience in that park."

4.2.1.4. Hours of Operation

When I asked about the Main Street Garden Park operations hour, the DDI managing official said: "I'm on the record here. Let me check before telling you the wrong thing." I said that I know the hours are 5 a.m. to 11 p.m., but Google considers the Park as a 24-hours space. He replied: "So, you know, the park in an urban environment is … and that is one of the reasons I hesitated … The park rules changed at one point."

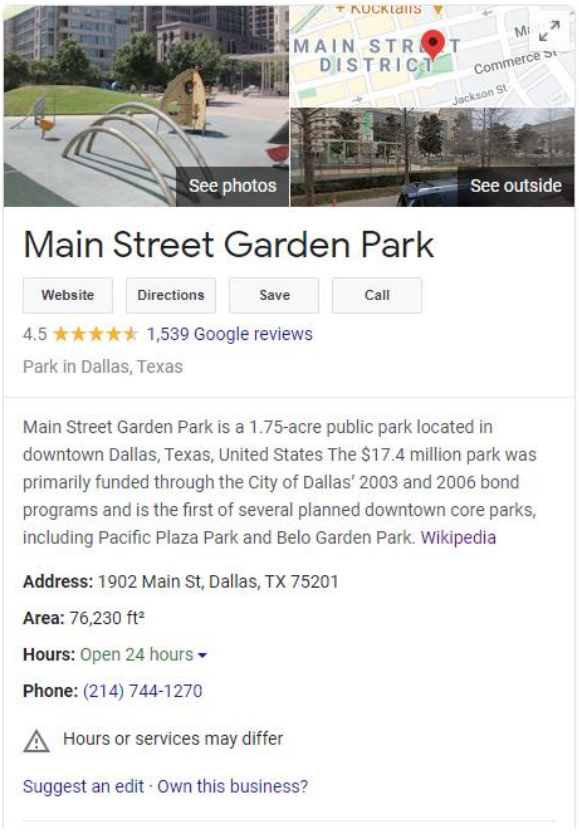


Figure 17 - Main Street Garden Hours of Operation, Source: Google

Apparently, downtown parks had a later closing hour than the rest of the city, but the City decided to match the hours of operation in downtown parks with the rest of Dallas parks several years ago. However, people, particularly downtown residents, walk through the park as a detour or walk their dogs at all hours, and those uses are allowed. "What the City and DDI enforce is if someone actively uses that park or stays there overnight. Right? So, it is a tool to mitigate potential bad behavior again. I hate to use the word 'bad behavior' but unintended or the behavior we don't want to see within the park in those late hours. Right? You do not want people down there gathering or doing anything disruptive. However, DDI works very hard with the Police Department to ensure the smoothest experience for everyone using but not occupying the park after hours."

4.2.1.5. Analysis

Main Street Garden is a publicly owned and publicly managed park located in a downtown improvement district (DID). Downtown Dallas Inc. is a nonprofit organization responsible for the programming, security, and management of the park and all other public spaces within downtown with a 10-year, recently renewed contract with the City of Dallas. Main Street Garden is governed by the City of Dallas Parks' rules and ordinances on the park's day-to-day life, yet scooters and bicycles are also prohibited. Signages in the park and the DDI security team are present to remind the park users about the official rules. However, DDI has the privilege to impose additional restrictions for park rentals and events per their managing contract, and larger events, those with 75+ participants, require special permits from the City of Dallas with a 30-day notice. Main Street Garden Park is listed as a 24-hours space, though the operation hours are from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m., where downtown residents could use the park to walk a dog or for a detour, yet others are prohibited, particularly from actively using the park.

Table 11 - Private Control Analysis - Main Street Garden Park

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Privatization	Private property	Public Property
	Private management	City of Dallas + DDI
	Public-Private Partnership contract	10 Year contract
	Visible sets of rules posted	Posted in the park
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance	Local ordinance + no scooters, no skateboarders.

4.2.2. Design Programming – Commercialization

4.2.2.1. Design Ideas and Expectations

Downtown Dallas had 120 residents in the late-90s, while today, the population has grown to about 12,000. Hence in the mid-2000s, the City, Downtown Dallas Inc, and other stakeholders gathered to discuss downtown's redevelopment. The decision was to renovate the buildings and public spaces to be more inviting for residents and visitors and increase their quality of life. Parks has historically been a great tool and amazing assets to activate Dallas.

Downtown Dallas has around 120 Acres of park space, some of which dates back to the original George Kessler design of the downtown. Main Street Garden was the first large urban park in the city, design and built in the mid-2000s. Main Street Garden is a multi-use park and provides a wide range of design programming. It also acted as a learning laboratory for the City of Dallas Department of Park and Recreation and Downtown Dallas Inc., to replicate or avoid in newer parks. According to the DDI managerial team: "We learn that we do not need to put every park use within one site."

Main Street Garden is designed and built to be a flexible park, both for the day-to-day operation and hosting large events and festivals. It is designed to minimize damages to the park and make it easier for appropriation, or as the DDI team mentioned, "easier for the event producer." For instance, the availability of hidden events power connection eliminates the need to bring in large generators. Although it was a deliberate decision in Main Street Garden, DDI and the City did not follow the successful example for their next endeavors because they do not want every downtown park to become a special events venue.

4.2.2.2. Redesign

Representatives from DDI and the Park and Recreation Department argued that Main Street Garden could benefit from several transformations, particularly from a design perspective. DDI representative mentions constant 'tweaks' to bring additional enhancements or modifications to the Park by engaging landscape architecture firms. They try to keep the vision of the original designer, Thomas Balsley Associates, also feel the urge to respond to the changing dynamics of the park's users and uses around the facility. Because "the environment changes much more rapidly around urban spaces and urban parks than a traditional neighbor park. Right? and Downtown parks should evolve and constantly respond to the changing use, pattern, or development around them."

Downtown Dallas Inc. addresses these small-scale changes or tweaks as 'reimagination' of the space and use and has addressed and completed some small-scale projects over time. For instance, the transformation of the playground in 2018, because it was not designed in anticipation of heavy utilization. However, Downtown revitalization caused a tremendous population growth, and accordingly, the number of families using the park increased dramatically. Hence DDI and the Park Department expanded the playground by 30% and put more active equipment per families' requests. Moreover, Main Street Garden was not fully designed for dog urine, and the heavy dog use damaged planting, flowerbeds, and turfs. Thereby, they have created and provided spaces at the corners of the Park and adjacent to residential uses permanence to dog over-use and urine, called them 'dog relief zones.'

Main Street Garden still suffers from other design-related problems, including inactive spaces, particularly on the Main Street side. There are five garden shelters on the Main Street side of

the Park, which have caused problems for the park's operation. First, the boxes have an artistic light installation on the top, and the LED light components have proven to be challenging to maintain for their specific technology. On the same side, plantings, gardens, and shelters encourage more inactive/passive use. The DDI representative argued, "if we were going to reimagine the park or start fresh, we would like to see active uses adjacent to the sidewalk and inviting uses in an active park, like Main Street Garden." DDI representative called them 'defensible spaces,' which in my opinion, conflicted with Oscar Newman's 'Defensible Space Theory.' The inactive use was creating challenges for the management concerning homelessness. "Once I get into some of these spaces like garden shelters, you would feel uncomfortable approaching me because it has become my space, and I can occupy that space as long as I want without having to talk to anybody. That in itself can create vagrancy issues." However, they preferred to have active, vibrant, transparent, and changing spaces.

Similarly, the structure envisioned as the stage has expanded inactivity in the park day to day operation on Harwood Street side. It not only has created vagrancy issues but according to managing staff, "general park users do not know what to do out there." Even from an event perspective, the stage is problematic and not working because it is small for having concerts. However, the managing team believes adding some steps could make the stage area more inviting and flexible. Stairs provide free movement and sitting space, allowing people to use the space in a more unencumbered, informal, and spontaneous manner and solve inactivity and homelessness issues.

The managing team tried to change the inactivity by movable furniture, which were removed due to COVID concerns. In general, they aimed to redesign or reimagine the Park that reduces policing. "Activities, life, and eyes on the street are what really makes urban parks thrive, be

safe, feel inviting, and minimize perceived public safety issues or things of that nature. So, that is a lot of what we have looked at in the Main Street Garden and learned for our new park designs and new implementations."

4.2.2.3. Design Programming

The most important design elements in Main Street Garden parks that entice activity and appreciation are as followed:

- The Playground

The playground is one of the favorite features of the park. The City and DDI have recently expanded the playground by 30% and added more active equipment to the area. It attracts children and families to the park, ignites interactions among kids and parents, and provides a thriving space for socialization.

Figure 18- Playground

- The Urban Dog Run

The dog run is a recent addition to the park and was not part of Thomas Balsley Architects' original design. It is a successful and active section of the park that serves a dual purpose:

providing a space for the downtown dogs to exercise and dog owners to socialize. It also attracts frequent, inexpensive dog-friendly events.

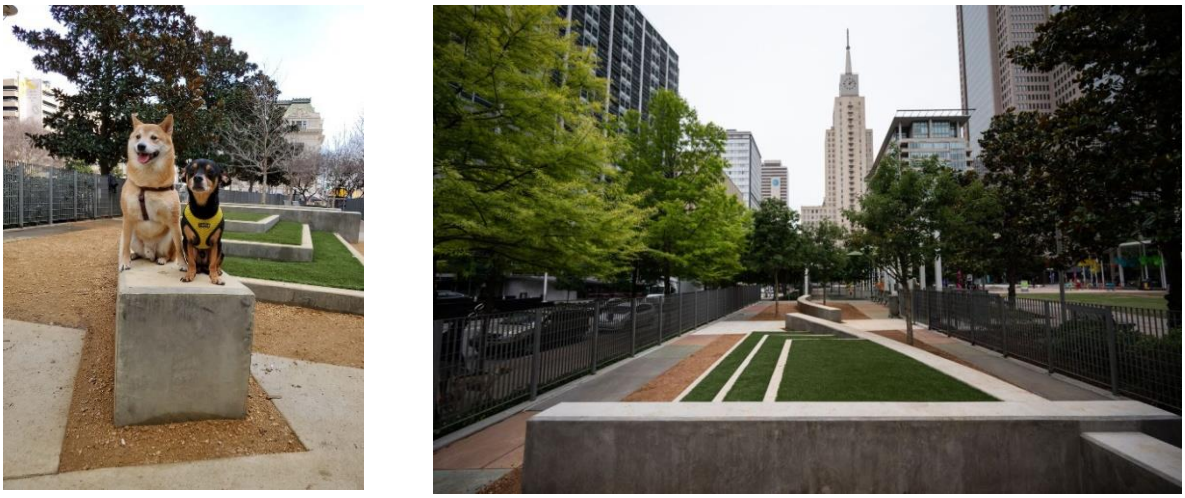


Figure 19- Dog Run

- The City Park Café

Main Street Garden has a small café with bistro seats that sell sandwiches, beer, and wine. It plays a vital role in drawing different groups of people to the park. The café had a partnership with 'Pulse Dallas,' a nonprofit organization founded to enhance the downtown Dallas street experience through sponsored street artist performances, for frequent small performances during lunch hours to attract downtown workers to the park. It also makes a significant contribution to attract downtown residents for regular neighborhood meetings and play nights, known as 'Bingo nights.' The original design envisioned the café as a grab-and-go style that does not allow for on-site cooking, limiting the variety of food options.

Figure 20- Park Café

- The Fountains

The fountains help reduce the urban noise. They attract visitors to sit beside to relax or gather around the fountains to interact while watching and listening to water. They also attract kids to play with water in the fountains.

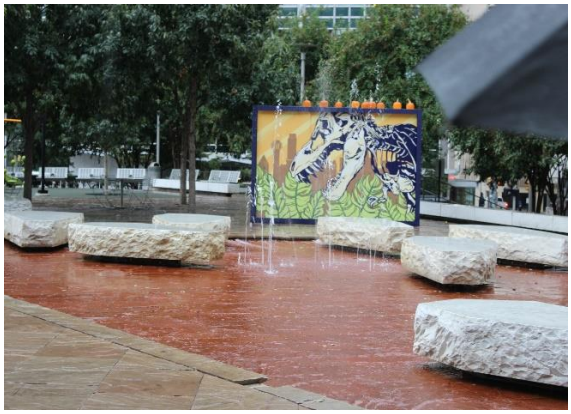



Figure 21 - Fountains

- The Sitting Options

The park provides different sitting options, and the visitors can sit alone or in groups, shade or sun, close to activities or further away. Also, moving furniture provides people with flexibility and enhances the sense of comfort and control.

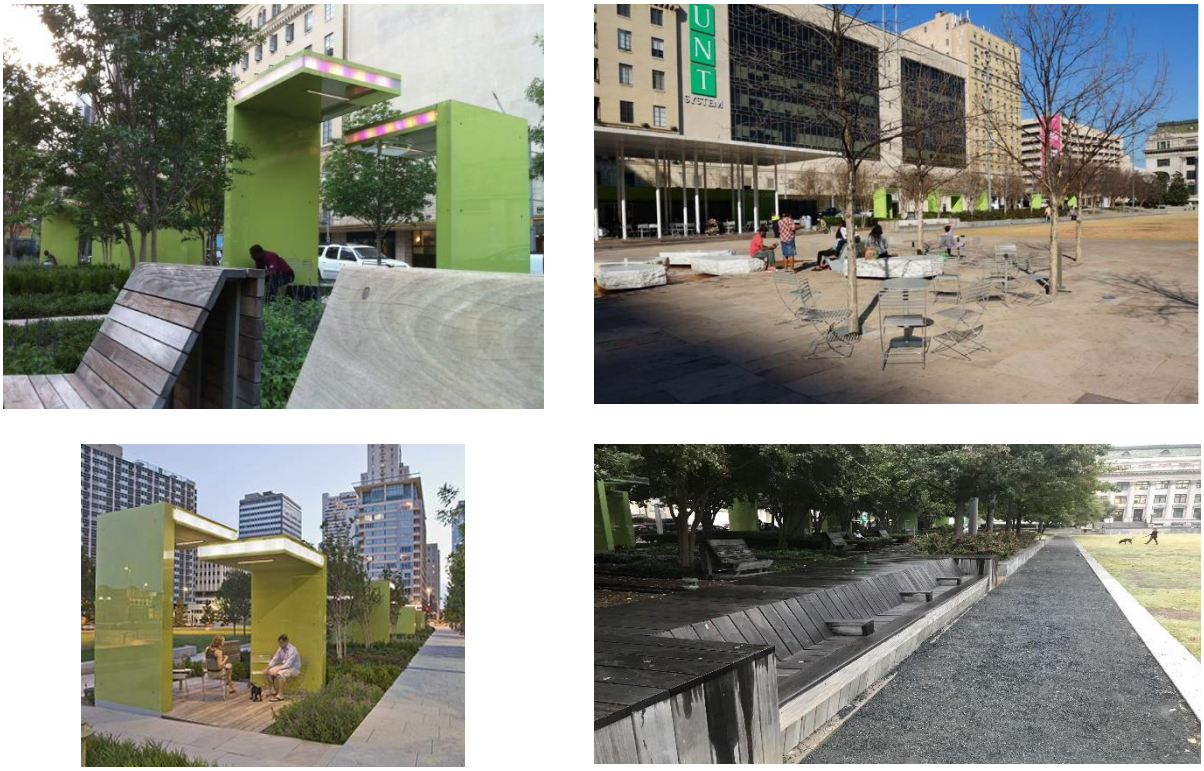


Figure 22- Sitting Options

4.2.2.4. Sponsored Spaces

The City of Dallas has a park naming or park sponsorship protocol that requires confirmation through the Park and Recreation Board and Department staff. According to the DDI representative, during the initial public-private cooperation between the City of Dallas and Downtown Dallas Inc., most of the sponsorship discussions for Main Street Garden Park channeled towards new capital investment for creating new parks. In Main Street Garden, a green area comprised of five trees baroque between the fountains and playground is named after an accounting firm that had donated money to the Park. Besides, the City has never gone after long-term sponsorship for the Main Street Garden Park. However, some other downtown parks, owned by the City and programmed by DDI, have received extensive private donations, and have long-term sponsors. For instance:

- Belo Garden Park that has been sponsored by Belo Foundation, the charitable arm for Belo Corporation and currently known as Parks for Downtown Dallas (https://parksfordowntowndallas.org/).
- Carpenter Plaza that has been sponsored by Parks for Downtown Dallas and John and Cele Carpenter (City of Dallas, 2015, 18).

DDI representative clarified that DDI has regular funding as a PID (Public Improvement District) that allows for working on behalf of the stakeholders. For events and activations in the Main Street Garden Park, DDI continuously looks for sponsors or funding partners, but not for the Park sections.

4.2.2.5. Mechanisms for Renting out Areas or Activities

DDI has a staff member working on park rentals and activation; event producers, organizers, or individuals who want to rent the park reach out to the staff directly to fill out the permit application. The staff member evaluates the application and lets them know about: availability on the date, charges, specific rules, and regulations pertaining to their event, as well as the need for fencing, security forces, police, or securing other permits required by the City of Dallas that Downtown Dallas Inc does not govern.

However, DDI's mindset is to provide a smooth process, especially when additional City permits are not required. DDI representative stated small events like kids' birthdays, weddings, luncheons, and filming permits are completed under the DDI umbrella very quickly, within 2 or 3 days. "We are not here to over-regulate that; we are here to make sure there are no conflicts with other things that may be going out on the park, in our managing calendars and other uses, and to protect all park users and the park from the public safety standpoint." But

the City permits generally take 45 days for an event in the park to get through all required channels. "You know, somebody comes and says we really want to do this next week. I did not know that we needed a permit; walk me through the steps. We can turn that around really fast because we want to see activity in the parks."

DDI management team emphasized the importance of being in an Improvement District (PID) as their 'luck' because being located in a PID allows the NPO to value activation rather than revenue generation. So, despite the importance of generating revenue, if an activation opportunity arises or a vendor has a proposal to serve the public for free or a nominal fee, DDI would facilitate and embrace the opportunity. "I am not going to look at that as a revenue generation or opportunity, so to speak. So, I am going to cover any hard cost that we may have for the park for the management of that event, but I am not there to look at it as a revenue stream. It is a benefit for the City of Dallas. Right? It is a benefit for the citizens, downtown residents, and park users. And we are here to bring activation to the parks."

4.2.2.6. Restrooms Availability

Main Street Garden Park has restrooms as part of its cafe structure. The restrooms at Main Street Garden are just one fixture - a toilet and a sink - per restroom. Pre-COVID, the restrooms were open whenever the cafe building was open, and the cafe employees controlled the facilities. They were free and did not require buying from the cafe, yet to visit with a controlling member. "So, they knew when people were going in and out, and if someone occupied the space for a long time, the security could knock and check on them."

Figure 23- Men's and Women's Rooms

The representative accentuates the significance of control for encouraging good behavior and not about charging the users or concerns regarding cleaning the facilities. This concern is mainly due to the heavy presence of homeless individuals and groups in Main Street Garden Park. The DDI representative considers Main Street Garden restrooms a vital lesson, as separate facilities with no control could easily lead to unwanted behaviors and illicit activities. The managing representative mentioned with challenges within Main Street Garden, they put a considerable amount of work designing the restrooms in Pacific Plaza and other future downtown parks with an open concept. "So, space could police itself."

Since COVID, DDI decided to close all public restrooms within Downtown parks, which impacted both Pacific Plaza and Main Street Garden. Once there was more activity in the Downtown, DDI reopened the restrooms at Pacific Plaza. Sadly, the last cafe tenant in Main Street Garden lost his life to COVID, and the place is vacant. "The biggest issue we have is that people use there to smoke cigarettes, some. Again, do I want people smoking in the park? No, but it is not something that ruins my day. So, we have reopened restrooms at Pacific and continue to evaluate the Main Street Garden." The Main Street Garden restrooms remained close for several reasons: not enough available staff to patrol the space and no cafe operation.

The other challenge was regarding the small size of the facilities. The managing organization was concerned about the safety protocols and the safety of the cleaning staff. But there are exceptions; for instance, DDI helped the DISD creating the Downtown Montessori School across Main Street Garden in the UNT building during COVID. The security staff has the Key to the facility to unlock restrooms for kids when necessary.

4.2.2.7. Availability and Variety of Food Options

A small outdoor café on the Northwest corner of the park provides paninis, salads, and coffee and has covered seating. The park's managing representative recognizes the café structure as another problematic area, particularly from a design perspective. Since the original designer from NYC envisioned the café as a grab-and-go place. Thereby, it was not constructed to serve on-site cooking and does not have gas service or room for a venting hood, making it restricting and challenging for the operator.

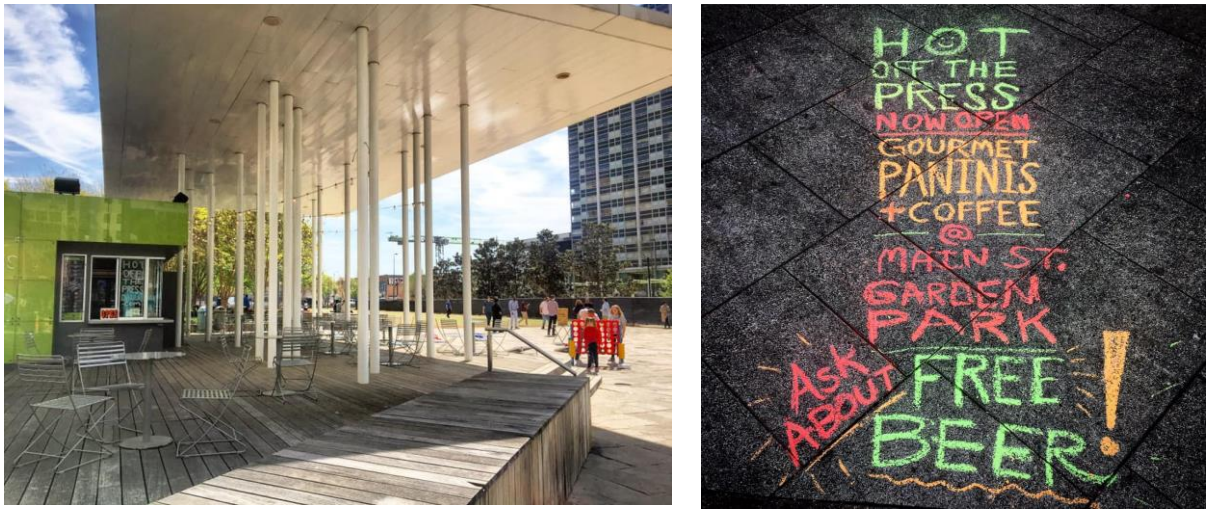


Figure 24- café space

Per the agreement with the City, DDI is the landlord for the café space, so they advertise and find tenants for it. Still, the café organizes small-scale events for the community. They also rent

its half or entire patio space to individuals or groups for birthdays, family reunions, company parties, fundraisers, so on.

Figure 25- Hot off the Press Advertising

The size and limitation of the café do not allow for a variety of food options, yet it is more affordable than other downtown authentic food vendors, cafés, or restaurants. Also, they accept both cash and credit cards to serve a larger population.

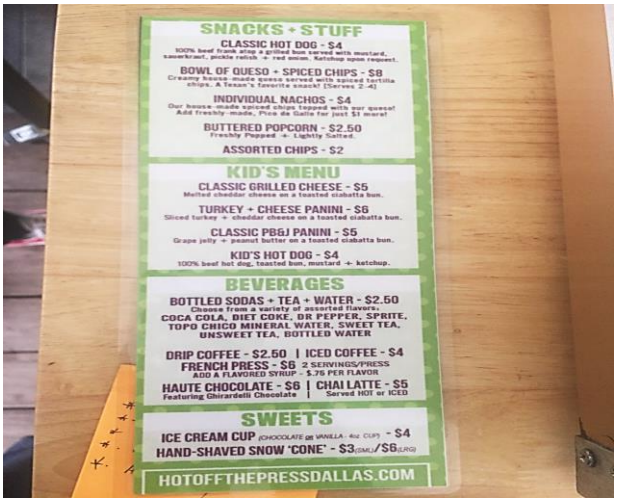


Figure 26- Menu Price

4.2.2.8. Parking Availability

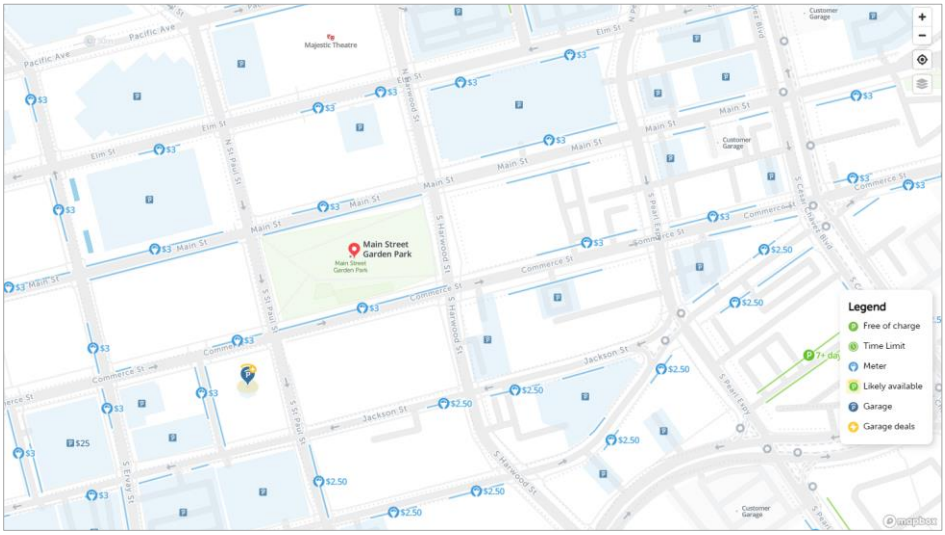


Figure 27- Parking Availability and Price

Figure 28- Main Street Garden - Transit Map

4.2.2.9. Analysis

Main Street Garden is a multi-use urban park that provides a wide range of design programming in downtown Dallas. Designed by a New York-based designer less familiar with the Dallasite's

open space use culture and Texas climate, the park is built to be open and flexible for daily activities and as a special events venue, making it easier for appropriation. The managing organization has various design-related issues dilemmas with the park, particularly for creating passive, inactive, and less inviting spaces that have caused vagrancy problems. These spaces are not transparent and do not police themselves to solve inactivity, homelessness issues, and unwanted behaviors.

Table 12 - Design Programming Analysis - Main Street Garden Park

Concept	**Operationalization**	**Measure**
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use	None
	Sponsored Spaces	None
	Variety of food options	Limited
	Variety of Activity options	Diverse
	Diversity of seating space	Diverse
	Various Microclimates	Diverse
	coverage of Cafés, restaurants and shops	Limited
	Availability of food vendors	None besides the main restaurant
	Restroom available	Available with permission
	Parking availability and price	Available/Affordable
	Entrance/orientation accessibility	Accessible

4.2.3. Activation Programming - Eventization,

4.2.3.1. Types of Programmed Activities

Before COVID, there were different types of activities and events in Main Street Garden Park. First, DDI in-house produced events, wholly planned and produced by DDI resources and staff, which were open to the general public for free. Second, third party rentals that DDI provided additional funding for different activities with various audiences and scales. It could be anything from a large music festival with a crowd of 10-15 thousand people over a day, a BBQ Festival, filming permits, etc. Third, DDI produced activations and events on a day-to-day basis. For instance, DDI has a partnership with different fitness classes and yoga places to activate parks, particularly Main Street Garden, which has continued even during COVID. Also, the DDI representative mentioned that they have invested in public game carts, currently stored in facilities because of COVID, to help activate the daily life of Main Street Garden and a couple of other parks. The plan was to have the carts without staff checking games in or out with this assumption that most people will bring them back. The DDI representative stated that parks are not as active as they once were but still, they get many day-to-day activities, particularly in the Main Street Garden and its dog run, "You know, dogs are one of the best ways to activate a park." Main Street Garden dog run was part of the renovation completed with the playground. "So, looking into the future, you will continue to see those daily fun things pushed by the organization."

Main Street Garden has also benefitted from artistic, creative installations and interactive public arts. (Put pictures of the light-up seesaws).

They see a value in creating whimsy, Instagramable moments, "young people really respond to them right now." For instance, there is a temporary art wall in Main Street Garden that can be

changed relatively easy, inexpensive, and fast. Instead of focusing on large, expensive sculptures or everlasting arts for generations to come, the DDI focuses on temporary interventions and enhancements that may last for a short period. They refer to this type of activation as experimentations. "So, those things that we are doing there right now are very temporary and very grungy. It might not be the most professional, but that was the point of beginning to play with these notions within public space, which I call interventions. So, we can move the needle and check if this idea works? And say, it didn't work, but we only spent a few hundred dollars on that, or this idea worked with only a few hundred dollars. What if we had spent, let's say, $10,000 and made it semi-permanent. So, that is really a lot of focus that we have." During COVID, many DDI staff who operated game nights, movie screenings, and other physical activation have been redirected towards visual activation.

The main street Garden Park is used as a stage for various commercially-, community- and politically oriented events. It allows specific tweaks, contestation, and community appropriation, though DDI should sanction all irregular activities. The park is a stage for small-scale community-oriented events that serve placed-based communities or downtown residents and workers.

Figure 29- Bingo Night for Downtown Residents

Figure 30- Weekend Yoga

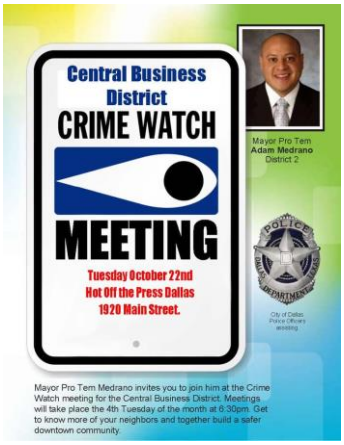


Figure 31- Downtown Crime Watch Meeting

It also serves small-scale community-oriented events that attracts interest-based communities that gather from all over the DFW Metroplex.

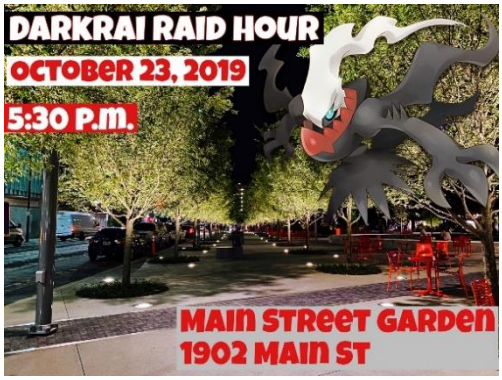


Figure 32- Pokemone Go Crowd

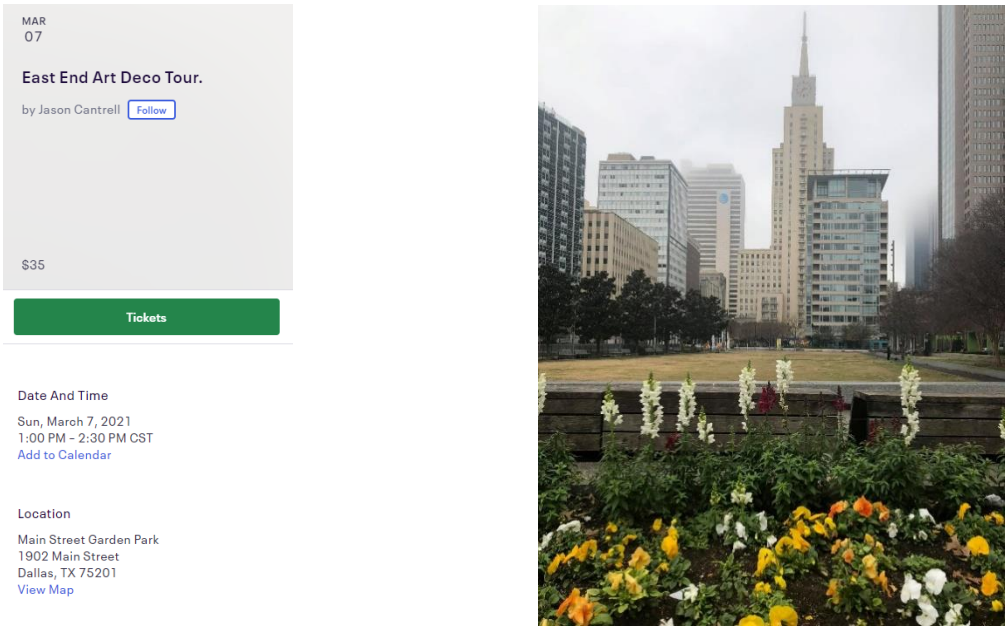


Figure 33- AD EX - Ticketed Architectural Tours - Price Range: $8-$35

The park is also a perfect location designed to accommodate different scale festivals. Thereby, various free or ticketed commercialized events occur in Main Street Garden Park, including music festivals, cultural and heritage festivals, sporting gatherings, and food festivals. Pop-up markets are also held regularly in the park.

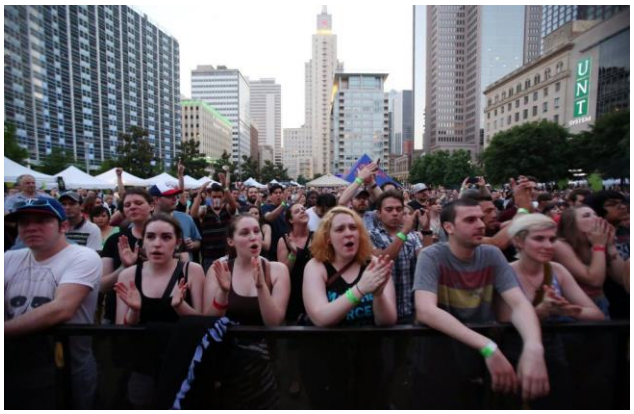


Figure 34- Homegrown Music Festival, Source: Dallas Morning News, 05.12.2017

Figure 35- Mexican Independence Day, Source: Downtown Dallas Instagram

Figure 36- Free Day of Yoga

Figure 37- Ticketed Food Festivel, Smoked Dallas and the Counter-protest

Aside from the pop-up holiday market, before the pandemic, Main Street Garden Park held an outdoor pop-up market on the Second Saturday of every month. Whereby supported local

small-scale vendors and their handcrafted items, arts, and goodies. The market was so racially diverse, representative of the Dallas community.

Figure 38 - Pop-up market

Main Street Garden Park is also one of the most open and welcoming spaces in downtown Dallas for politically oriented events, both top-down imposed and bottom-up requested.

Figure 39- Politically-oriented Events

Main Street Garden Park is also one of the most open and welcoming spaces in downtown Dallas for politically-oriented events, both top-down imposed and bottom-up requested. Important parades and festivals, including Dallas Christmas Parade, Dallas Pride Parade, Parking Day, and many more, occur on Main Street. Thereby, Main Street Garden Park serves as a backup stage or a space for the following concert or food festivals.

Figure 40- Christmas Festival and Parade

Main Street Garden Park is also open to many small-scale activation projects, community appropriation, and experimentations.

4.2.3.2. Analysis

DDI utilizes various free and ticketed activities and events to animate Main Street Garden Park produced by DDI resources and staff or third-party organizers and rentals. It also sanctions small-scale appropriation and contestations to activate the park on a day-to-day basis. The park is used as a stage for a wide range of commercially-, community- and politically-oriented events with different scales to engage downtown residents, workers, and visitors, Dallasites, or regional residents to the park. Main Street Garden is one of the most open, liberating, and accomodating spaces in downtown Dallas for politically oriented events that engage multiple publics in the park. Yet, the nonprofit organization only advertises large-scale and ticketed events but not small-scale free and empowering activation programming.

Table 13- Activation Programming Analysis - Main Street Garden Park

Strategy	Dimensions	Measure
Eventization	Free events	Frequent free events
	Ticketed	Frequent ticketed events
	Events types	Community-oriented events (placed based) Community-oriented events (interest based) Commercially-oriented events (free and ticketed) Politically-oriented events (Designed and spontaneous) Pop-up markets Small-scale contestations and appropriations
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)	Mostly Accessible
	Information Accessibility	Only for Large scale and commercialized events

4.2.4. Policing and Surveillance – Securitization

4.2.4.1. Security and Surveillance Strategies

All three case studies are under Downtown Dallas Inc. Security; however, the two other cases have other managing, thereby controlling organizations. Dallas Parks and Recreation representative, DDI representative, and DDI security representative all argued that governing rules are similar to other Dallas parks, including no sleeping, no drinking, no vehicles, etc. Still, Downtown Dallas Inc. Security requests compliances of those different rules and ordinances.

Downtown Dallas Inc. Security team is comprised of 50 licensed security officers. They patrol downtown but do not have the authority to give any tickets or citations or send anyone to jail. According to their representative, they only remind people of the rules and ask them to comply.

The Downtown Dallas Inc. Security team has a close relation with Dallas PD. In fact, some of their officers are former Dallas police officers and/or still are sergeant with the Police

Department. Besides, the Downtown Dallas Inc. security team hires off-duty officers to patrol parks. When the security team encounters a law-breaker, they first remind the person of the rules, but if the user refuses to abide by the rule, the situation will escalate to Dallas PD. At this point, the law-breaking user may get a ticket or go to jail, "which is very rare that gets to that point. But there are cases that they simply refuse and make the situation worse by refusing the compliance with the officers, and the officer ends up giving a citation."

The park operation hours are from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m., and security officers are on duty from 6:30 a.m. until 11 p.m., seven days a week. DDI provides additional security coverage at Main Street Garden Park and two other publicly owned and managed signature downtown parks - Belo Garden and Pegasus Plaza. The 56 hours of weekly additional security presence occur from 9:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. and 3:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. Also, there is a dedicated off-duty Dallas Police officer at Main Street Garden Park every day for a four-hour shift. This is in addition to the newly increase deployment of park rangers by the Park Department in downtown parks to provide additional patrol and security coverage. So, always security personnel are present on-site; also, the clean and homeless outreach team members frequently visit the park. But the park is not surveilled by CCTVs, although there are cameras around the park facing streets operated by the police department.

In response to my question regarding mechanisms to avoid discrimination and exclusion of Black and Brown youths, the security representative mentioned that after the recent wave of the BLM movement, the private security team name has changed from 'Downtown Safety Patrol' to 'DDI Security Team.' He also claimed that 98% of the security team is comprised of minorities, "we are minorities. We are all Latino and Black Americans. We obviously can

empathize and not discriminate against our own people." Several different mechanisms prevent bias from playing a role in any decision-making or patrols from the corporation standpoint.

All employees, including the security team, engage in annual training programs about biased, proper protocols. Also, the nonprofit organization monitors their employees, particularly the security officers, in action, as all security officers have to wear body cameras. So, the managing team routinely monitors and previews the body cameras.

Before the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter movement and the demand for defunding the police, Downtown Dallas Inc. changed DDI security officers' uniforms because, according to the security team representative pre-COVID, "we sort of looked like a police officer." New uniforms are solid blue with a 'security' on the shirt. DDI security mentioned that "the defund the police movement has truly not had an impact on us. Because I think many people, especially the downtown residents and stakeholders, realize that a) we're not the police, and b) we're sort of an intermediary. So, we are not this overwhelming […] You know, we don't have guns and rifles and things like that. So, some people that are for- defunding the police don't particularly think of and mark us as that heavily armed force." So, there was no particular change in the DDI's security team's staffing or approach.

4.2.4.2. Undesirables, Homelessness

Main Street Garden Park is among the few public spaces in downtown Dallas that homeless individuals and groups heavily use. DDI has created a homeless outreach program with full-time staff dedicated to their mission in 2018. The homeless outreach team works in tandem with the security team, causing a shift of attitude towards bridging the gap between homeless individuals and resources. "So, that is something we have started to explore: how to use our security team

as outreach workers as well. You know, bridging that gap. That caught the attention of the City, and we actually have a meeting with the Police Department, one of the chiefs, to talk about how police department can even get in on our success."

DDI sees the reasons for success in their long-term staff, who have been with the organization for five-plus years. "We have some folks that have been there for 10, 15, or 20 years." These long-term security employees have established relationships with homeless individuals in downtowns and know them by their first names and stories. By November 2020, they had removed 43 people out of downtown parks and streets and connected them with services and resources. The DDI success story has engaged other philanthropists and nonprofit organizations with the mission. "The overall attitude in general have shifted toward how can I play a part in getting this person some help. So, it's a very positive attitude."

Still, according to the City ordinance, no one can occupy or sleep in the park overnight, and the Police Departments and park rangers would escort them out of the park. The removal happens because downtown residents and those who walk their dogs late at night complain about homeless individuals occupying the parks late at night. However, Downtown Security Team tries to find a middle ground. The representative mentioned, "as long as it's our hours and the person is awake, and not drinking beer and anything. Our team's attitude is that they have every right to be there. [...] We explain that to our stakeholders. We get complaints that there are homeless people here. And you know, our response is: what are they doing specifically, besides just being homeless? Because being homeless is not illegal. If they pop open a beer, so that's something different. But if they're merely sitting there with their belongings [...], they have every single right as much as the next person does."

4.2.4.3. Undesirables, Protestors

Downtown Dallas is an epitome for protests and demonstrations in the DFW Metroplex. Consequently, DDI and notably Main Street Garden Park are open and receptive to peaceful assemblies comprising multiple publics. According to the DDI security representative, "our organization welcomes activism, welcomes protests, obviously peaceful protests. We almost take it as a badge of honor that they select Downtown to be the location, where they come to exercise their first amendment right." I have observed several political, social, and ethical instances that allowed the 'counter-public' to occupy downtown spaces simultaneously. For instance:

- The MAGA Rally and the BLM supporters,
- Women's March and Pro-life supporters, and
- Smoked Dallas, one of the most famous music and food festivals in town, engages and features the local BBQ pitmasters and animal support groups.

Despite the inherent inclusiveness of engaging and permitting multiple publics, there were instances of violence and rigor. For instance, Far-right armed agitator assault and mace Black Lives Matter protestors at a 'Reclaim America' event at Main Street Garden Park that became viral on Twitter in September 2020.

Figure 41- Far-right armed agitator assault and attack Black Lives Matter protestors,

Source: https://twitter.com/seizethewhiskey/status/1

The DDI security protocol asks their officers to stay three blocks away from the protestors. Maintaining the physical distance is mainly because DDI officers do not carry firearms or wear bullet-proof vests. Their presence is not to control protestors but to ensure downtown safety, particularly regarding properties. "So, we stay three blocks back, and if the protest gets really big, like we have seen in the early months of June and July, I'll make assessment of the situation, and pull our people in and send them home for the day. Because we are not law enforcement officers and ultimately, their safety is our number one priority."

4.2.4.4. Public Health, the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19

DDI has removed movable furniture and public game carts and closed the café and restrooms due to COVID concerns. With COVID being a highly aerosol transmission, DDI prioritized clean team and security team employees' safety. The security team also no more approaches the public during their patrols and maintains the 6 feet physical distance. Other than that, the security officers and other field officers (clean team and homeless outreach team) have been in

the parks and surrounding streets. “We’ve been in the field. We’ve been considered as the essential workers. So, I would say the only change the COVID has had to our patrols is the distancing. Because other than that, we’re still on foot; we’re still on bikes, and we’re still on T-3s and Jim Cars.”

4.2.4.5. Analysis

Main Street Garden Park is under the constant surveillance of the Downtown Dallas Inc. Security team and the City of Dallas Police Department, in addition to the newly increase deployment of park rangers by the Park Department in downtown parks. Daily surveillance hours are from 6:30 a.m. until 11 p.m. Yet, DDI provides an additional security presence in the park from 9:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. and 3:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. However, the DDI security team does, but they do not have the authority to give tickets or citations. Besides security personnel, frequent visits from the homeless outreach program and clean team provide additional ‘eyes on the street.’ Yet, the park is not surveilled by CCTVs. Despite the heavy monitoring of police and private security officers, the park is actively occupied by homeless individuals and groups. Also, it is one of the epitomes for peaceful assemblies, protests, and demonstrations in downtown Dallas.

Table 14- Policing and Surveillance Analysis - Main Street Garden Park

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Securitization	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)	No
	Security personnel	Presence during hours of operation
	Enforced by local police/private security	Local Police and Private Security
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	Yes
	Hostile Architecture	No
	Presence of homelessness	Yes
	Permitting protests	Yes
	Room for appropriation/Contestation	Yes

4.2.5. Governance Structure – Representation

4.2.5.1. Governance Structure

Downtown Dallas Inc. and the City of Dallas are the two entities responsible for governing Main Street Garden Park. According to the nonprofit organization and park department representatives, there is no other entity involved, especially regarding events and activations, which is the case for all public Downtown Dallas Parks. However, these entities work with Parks for Downtown Dallas or Belo Foundation in Belo Garden Park and Pacific Plaza. Their involvement extended beyond design and construction to management. For instance, Parks for Downtown Dallas provides supplemental Fountain maintenance and management and some additional horticultural work beyond what the City of Dallas or DDI can perform in Main Street Garden Park.

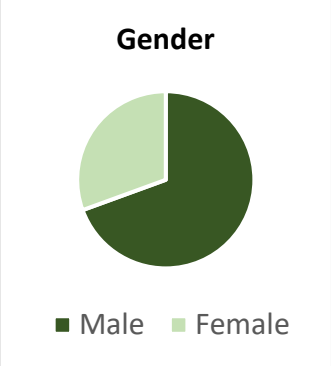
In 2015, Belo Foundation - established in 1952 - devoted its assets to the furtherance of four priority parks identified in the 2013 Parks Master Plan, including Main Street Garden Park. With the land acquired for one of the signature parks, Belo Foundation contributed near $30 million, the largest gift ever made by a single donor to the Dallas Parks and Recreation Department. The generous donation comes from the Foundation, A. H. Belo Corporation, Belo Corp., Maureen H., and Robert W. Decherd, a mixture of for-profit and nonprofit organizations and their owners. A critical aspect of the Foundation's commitment is providing a sustainable endowment for major capital repairs and enhancements for the new and existing park, including Main Street Garden. These permanent endowments were previously reserved for parks with more private involvement, like Klyde Warren Park.

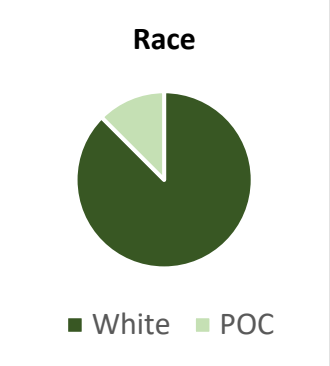
DDI is bound by the management and operations agreement contract in partnership with the City that describes their roles and responsibilities. The DDI representative introduced themselves as the middle ground that balances the needs and ideals of their constituents and various other stakeholders. The DDI representative also pointed out a critical distinction in their governance model. In some cases, a third-party fully control a municipal asset and manages it with the lens that fits the entity's mission, and they call it a semi-private space. However, "I would argue that in the case of the parks that DDI manages with the City, we are a supplemental resource and assets to the City of Dallas, but we are managing that asset as a municipal asset under the rules and spirits of a municipal public space." Thereby, they categorize their governance as a formal governance model and structure in comparison to AT&T Discovery District or even Klyde Warren Park - both in Downtown Dallas. "The AT&T Discovery District is a good example of that, as it is formally taken as public streets, still owned by the City of Dallas but managed as a private campus. Now, is the public invited, and is the

place available to them? Yes. However, is AT&T going to allow … Are they going to be as flexible as we are for managing public space? Absolutely not."

4.2.5.2. Governance Board

In 2018, Downtown Dallas Inc Foundation was created to support DDI in its charitable projects, contributions, fundraising activities, and public-private partnership to promote downtown Dallas civic community. DDIF engages in projects and initiatives that make downtown and adjacent neighborhoods more vibrant and livable for residents, workers, and visitors. DDFI is constituted of a board of directors, a board of governors, and members. The board of directors comprises 19 influential and well-known nonprofit organizations, foundations, corporations, and coalitions in downtown Dallas. DDI members represent commercial and multi-family property owners, major corporations, and businesses. The governance board is not representative of Dallas residents, but Dallas elites and corporate system.





4.2.5.3. Participatory Decision-Making Processes; Inclusion into Action

Downtown Dallas Inc. is bound by the management and operations contracts in a partnership with the City. DDI representative denotes the basic tenement of inclusion in public spaces as a beautiful, active, and safe space that welcomes everyone. Therefore, "if someone, anyone, does not feel welcome into space, we as managers, operators have to visit with them, we have to determine why they don't feel welcome, why they don't feel safe, and work to address those concerns." This reactive attitude towards questioning social inclusion and exclusion was evident and constant in the interview, which may cause some voices to overpower the others. Yet, as an example, the managing representative mentioned, "Oftentimes we think about these public spaces, and maybe they are disenfranchising people, particularly the historically disenfranchised groups. But we also have to look at the full spectrum, and you think public spaces may feel unwelcoming to a broad range of the public. We have got to fix that first. We have to make sure that the mom feels safe bringing her child to the park. The park may be very safe, and historically are downtown parks very safe environments. Still, her perception of that space will never overcome crime statistics."

Downtown Dallas Inc. communicates regularly with its residential-base and commercial-base stakeholders, owning property or running a business, corporation, or any organization in downtown Dallas. Regular feedback gets through social media, emails, and personal connections, particularly with their 'core stakeholders.' The NPO representative identifies "those people that are the most active, those who see these parks like their backyards, because they are" as the core stakeholders.

DDI is so proud of how the organization uses its field workers, including the security, cleaning, and homeless outreach team, as channeling agents between users and the leaders. Because in most organizations, there are no processes in place to funnel the users' feedback back from the security officers to the chain of implementation. Yet, DDI has a strict process for real-time feedback to get to planning, programming, and security managers.

The organization has many long-term workers who have worked for 15 or 20 years for Downtown Dallas Inc. and have their connections and social capital in the community. "They may have a better grasp of public Space Management than anyone in the world, because they're there every day. They see that, and they get the really weird questions. They get people's reactions and feedback. We work really hard as management staff within the organization to have regular conversations and dialogues with our field employees."

4.2.5.4. Sources of Funding

Downtown Dallas, Inc. (DDI) is a private, nonprofit organization that serves as the primary advocate and steward for Downtown. DDI funds come from two primary sources: voluntary membership dues and revenue assessment of the Downtown Improvement District (DID). The first source or membership is an essential source of funds that enables downtown agencies and organizations to engage deeply in the DDI economic development and marketing initiatives. The second source of funding comes from an assessment of properties within downtown Dallas or the loop. In Texas, PIDs are funded through an assessment of properties in assigned geography. Thus, the property owners or the ratepayers and the City govern the PID. The Downtown Improvement District geography is within the loop of I-30, I-35, I-345, and I-75, and the

assessment rate is 12.9 cents per $100 of value. The DID is required for renewal with the owners' petition every six or seven years and renewed in 2001, 2006, 2013, and 2020.

4.2.5.5. Analysis

Main Street Garden Park is owned and managed by the City of Dallas and Downtown Dallas Inc., is a downtown improvement district (PID) nonprofit organization that facilitates the City with planning, programming, activating, and securing downtown. The actors involved in the Main Street Garden Park governance are the City of Dallas, DDI leadership and staff, including the security team, homeless outreach team, cleaning team, and DDI Foundation's board of directors, board of governors, and members. The Foundation has a 10-year partnership agreement with the City of Dallas to manage, secure, program, and activate the Park. The funding resources for the Park come from the membership dues and assessments of the DID properties.

Table 15- Governance Structure Analysis - Main Street Garden Park

Aspect	**Type**
Attitude	Local Government Nonprofit Organization, Downtown Improvement District (DID)
Actors	The City of Dallas Downtown Dallas Inc. (Nonprofit organization) - DDI leadership - DDI staff - DDI security team - DDI cleaning team - DDI homeless outreach team - DDIF board of directors - DDIF board of governors - DDIF members Parks for Downtown Dallas

Roles	Planning, Programming, Management, Maintenance, Policing, Funding
Relations	Network, Downtown Improvement District (DID)
Resources	Membership Due, Assessment of DID properties
Representativeness Representative of:	
- boards	Representative of downtown's Institutions and Corporations
- Leadership	Mostly White, Upper-middle class, elites
- security personnel	Mostly People of color
- vendors	No particular attempt
- programming	No particular attempt

4.2.6. Conclusion

Main Street Garden Park is publicly owned and managed, where DDI, the nonprofit organization, acts as the facilitator for the City to manage, secure, maintain, program, and activate the Park. It is governed by local regulations and ordinances, and all park rules are posted in the Park for users' reference. Still, DDI has the ability to impose additional rules and restrictions for large or special events. The Park is open from 5 a.m. to 11 p.m. The Park is designed as an open and flexible space that provides various activities, various microclimates, and sitting areas for relaxation, pleasure, and socializing.

It serves everyday needs and activities and acts as a venue for special events and region-wide free and ticketed festival space. DDI engages all ranges of events in the Park, from community-, commercially-, to politically-oriented events and from the small scale that attracts the downtown lunch crowd to a region-wide scale that serves the Metroplex residents and visitors. However, it only has a grab-and-go style café. The two restrooms are only available by permission of the café operator, mainly due to the over-presence of the homeless in the Park.

Despite being publicly owned and managed, Main Street Garden is under constant surveillance by various actors, from the Downtown Dallas Inc. Security team to Dallas PD and Dallas park rangers. The Park also has regular visits and is under constant monitoring of the DDI homeless outreach and cleaning teams, which both act as an 'eye on the street.' The former attempts to find resources for the homeless who occupy the Park despite the heavy surveillance and policing.

Table 16- Inclusionary/exclusionary Governance Strategies Analysis - Main Street Garden Park

Strategy	Dimensions	Inclusive	Moderate	Exclusive
Privatization	Private property	■		
	Private management		■	
	Public-Private Partnership contract		■	
	Visible sets of rules posted	■		
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance	■		
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use		■	
	Sponsored Spaces	■		
	Variety of food/Activity options		■	
	Diversity of seating space	■		
	Various Microclimates	■		
	No/ Partial/ High coverage of Cafés, restaurants and shops		■	
	Availability of food vendors		■	
	Restroom available accessible with purchase/ permission		■	
	Parking availability and price	■		
	Entrance/orientation accessibility	■		
Eventization	Types and frequency of free events		■	
	Types and frequency of ticketed events		■	
	Availability of community-, commercially-, and politically-oriented events	■		
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)		■	
	Information Accessibility		■	
Securitization	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)		■	
	Security personnel			■
	Enforced by local police/private security			■
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	■		
	Hostile Architecture		■	
	Presence of homelessness	■		
	Permitting protests	■		
	Room for appropriation/Contestation		■	

4.3. Klyde Warren Park

4.3.1. Private Control - Privatization

4.3.1.1. Property Ownership and Park Management

Klyde Warren Park is a deck park built over Woodall Rodgers Freeway. So, basically, the City of Dallas owns the land created for the building of the park. The $110 million project was funded through a public-private partnership, with $56.7 million raised through the City bond funds, State highway funds, and federal stimulus funds. The balance was directly donated to the Woodall Rodgers Park Foundation, a nonprofit organization responsible for managing the park. Through a separate use agreement, the Woodall Rodgers Park Foundation leased the park for a 50-year period, with the option to renew for four other ten-year periods. So, the nonprofit organization has a 90-year lease agreement with the City to raise money for and manage the park by keeping it clean, safe, programmed, and active.

4.3.1.2. Governance Rules: What? Why? Who?

The following are prohibited in Klyde Warren Park: smoking or drug use, glass containers, weapons, fireworks, panhandling, organized sports, camping, open flame, barbecue grills, feeding birds, amplified sounds or before 8 a.m. and after 10 p.m., and excessive noise throughout the day, sidewalk chalks or use of paint, motorized vehicles, driving stakes or poles into the ground, tents or temporary covers, affixing anything to the park property, or commercial activity without a permit. Moreover, any structure larger than 4' x 4' requires a permit. Also, pets are to be on a leash, except for the "My Best Friend's Park." Moreover, any activity that involves setting up and restrict access to the Park or a specific area for invited or paying guests, as well as all commercial photography and filming, or anything that utilizes more than a tripod, require a permit (Klyde Warren Park, Event Planning Guide, https://www.klydewarrenpark.org/),

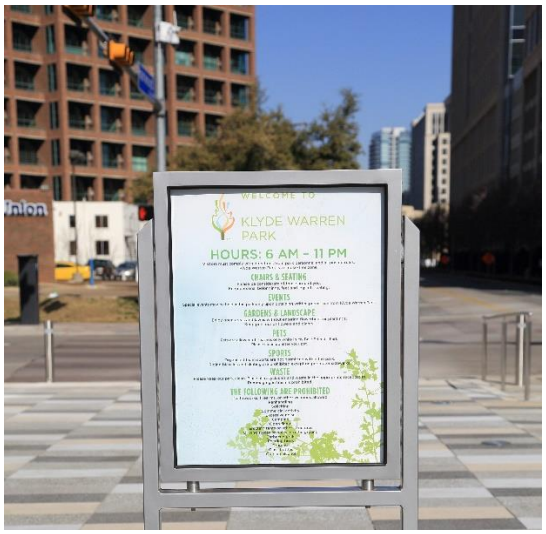


Figure 42

Figure 43

Klyde Warren Park Governance Rules, Source: Author

Woodall Rodgers Foundation also requires an agreement for events. They reserve the right to modify policies, rules, and regulations per events and agreement since every event has a unique nature, so they cannot cover every possible scenario. The Foundation claims the imposed rules are to ensure the success of every event and the safety of all visitors. They recommend submitting an event application one to two months in advance for small-scale and six months prior for large-scale events. The event organizer should also provide a certificate of insurance upon signing a rental agreement, and advertising events before signing an agreement is prohibited.

The customers should provide proper flooring for protecting the lawns. The following items require prior approval with the Park's event manager: floor plans, custom set-ups (at least three weeks in advance), cooking displays, live animals, inflatable or mechanical amusements, security plan, merchandise sale, electrical needs, lasers for light shows or live demonstrations, motor vehicles, use of heating or cooling equipment, areas with a ceiling or a covering, inflatable and

carnival-style elements, signages, and additional restrooms. The customers should submit the list of all required equipment and vehicles' operation schedule at least three weeks in advance. Klyde Warren Park works with exclusive vendors. So, all tents must be provided by their exclusive provider, Rental Stop; Farm to Market Catering is the exclusive food and beverage provider for the Park. Platinum Security provides event security, and ACT is the exclusive cleaning vendor for all events held at Klyde Warren Park. The Park reserves the right to demand additional portable restroom facilities for specific events.

However, customers must apply for a meter hooding permit with the City of Dallas, two or three weeks in advance, for utilizing the parking meters along the Woodall Rodgers Freeway service road. Moreover, all drone pilots must have appropriate documentation and may be searched by the Dallas Police Department. Per the City of Dallas ordinances, the client should monitor the volume with amplified sound during sound checks and throughout the event. Failure to immediately lower the noises more than 85 decibels is subjected to terminating the performance agreement (Klyde Warren Park, Event Planning Guide, https://www.klydewarrenpark.org/),

The official associated with Woodall Rogers Foundation claims, "the rules are basic, evolved based on usage to give a complete daily experience to the daily park goers. For example, no open flame was to ensure that no one would set the park on fire. Most rules in Klyde Warren Park have been a result of realizing specific problems that happened. They are just for the protection of the park and the experience for the guests." So, most regulations are reactive; for instance, with the emergence of the scooters in Downtown Dallas, they came with the scooter policy to "provide a safer environment for the people walking, small children and dogs." Klyde Warren Park has a full-time operation team and full-time security staff. "They are there to

explain the rules to the guests. But if there is something to escalate, their job is not to handle that but to call DPD to bring in somebody to handle the issue. So really, they're just there to make sure people know the rules and are abiding by the rules."

4.3.1.3. Hours of Operation

The park hours are posted on the website and in the park. Also, Google shows the same timing as the park hours but does not indicate the limitation of the playground, restaurants, food trucks, and game carts hours.

Park Hours	Everyday 6 a.m. – 11 p.m.
Game Carts	Weekdays 12 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.
	Weekends 10 a.m. – 5:30 p.m.
Playground	Everyday 10 a.m. – 7 p.m.
Food Trucks	Weekdays 11 a.m. – 3:00 p.m.
	Weekends 11 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.
Relish (Hours vary)	11 a.m. – 8 p.m.
Savor (Hours vary)	11 a.m. – 10 p.m.

Figure 44- Klyde Warren Park Hours of Operation

4.3.1.4. Analysis

Klyde Warren Park is a publicly owned but privately managed park located in a public improvement district (PID). Woodall Rogers Foundation is a nonprofit organization responsible for the Planning, Funding, programming, security, and management of the park. The Foundation has a lease contract with the City of Dallas for 50 years renewable for four more decades to keep the park safe, clean, programmed, and active. Klyde Warren Park is governed by special

ordinances. The Foundation has imposed additional rules for everyday use of the park and reserves the right to modify policies, rules, and regulations per third-party events. Still, small events' organizers are advised to reserve and rent a spot one to two months in advance, and six months prior is the required time for large events. The park's hours of operation are from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m.. However, the playground, restaurants, food trucks, and game carts have differential hours that are just posted in the park.

Table 17 - Private Control Analysis - Klyde Warren Park

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Privatization	Private property	Public Property
	Private management	Private Management, Nonprofit Organization (PID)
	Public-Private Partnership contract	10 Year contract
	Visible sets of rules posted	Posted in the park and website
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance	Special ordinance

4.3.2. Design Programming – Commercialization

4.3.2.1. Design Ideas and Expectations

When I asked about the design expectation, the Woodall Rogers Foundation representative told me that "I think no one really knew what it is going to be like! There are many parks in Dallas, but not well utilized. The difference is Klyde Warren Park was supposed to become a very programmed park. [...] It created a different space, almost like a venue rather than a true park, per se." The park was designed and built with high expectations. According to Woodall Rogers Foundation, those who funded the park traveled worldwide to visit and experience best practices firsthand and learn how the great parks are operated. Thereby the foundation claimed

their jobs in the first days until now is "to teach people truly how to use the park." The park was about creating opportunities for the community and create situations to bring people together. The Foundation and the City are confident that the park has exceeded expectations on all fronts, and the park has over a million visitor each year.

4.3.2.2. Redesign

Klyde Warren Park is ongoing an expansion plan to the west and adding 1.7 acres to its 5.2-acre footprint. This extension will bring the Park closer to the Perot Museum of Nature and Science, since "in an event-filled night or a perfect Sunday afternoon it can barely contain the crowds" (Wilonsky, 2015). With the extension and redesign of some parts of the current park space, including the Children Park will become larger, since the managerial team had realized the very first days that the playground is too small for the number of kids visiting the Park. Also, according to Woodall Rogers Foundation representative, "there has always been a plan to have a fountain on the East Lawn, and with the expansion, the park will finally have it. That was always expected. It's just a $10 million fountain. They just got tired and wanted to build the park and get it going." Because of the fountain, landscaping requires some adjustment in the East Lawn toward Pearl Street. "This "super fountain" will shoot jets of water up to 10 stories high with syncopated lights and music and will be the tallest immersive fountain in the world" (Hall, 2020). So, it is envisioned as the Marquee visual of the city. The news about the World's largest fountain hit local and social media, which brought considerable controversy and opposition, in a way that Klyde Warren Park disabled comments in its Instagram post regarding the fountain (Di Furio, 2020). They later took out a full-page reserved advertisement in the Dallas Morning News, lamenting Mark Lamster's, the paper's architectural critic, 'myopic criticism' of their proposed Vegas-style fountain (Lamster, 2020).

The $10 million fountain was announced as a Christmas gift to the Dallas skyline as "the next-generation, interactive 'super-fountain." Many journalists, architectural critics, and concerned citizens considered the news as tone-deaf, mainly because many Dallasites were suffering from eviction notice and food insecurity and were falling into debt.

Mark Lamster had addressed the fountain as "Just what KWP doesn't need: another gimmick, what ab embarrasment." Robert Wilonsky, an op-ed columnist for The Dallas Morning News, wrote: it is "THE most Dallas-goes-Disney rendering I've ever seen." Holly Hacker, an investigative reporter and data evangelist at Dallas Morning News, wrote, "Maybe they could install it in a local community that still needs running water."

Figure 45- Klyde Warren Park to get $10 million for the world's tallest interactive fountain (Hall, 2020).

Local architects responded to the news as followed. Barnes, A [@and_barn]. (2020, December 3). *Can we tell Randy and Nancy that we'd rather have them donate $10m to support disadvantaged neighborhoods, instead of adding another gimmicky tchotchke to an already over-programmed park?* [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/and_barn/status/1334554817180692480. Thorn, N.

J. [@nickjthorn]. (2020, December 3). *Or maybe to help find the deck park over 35 by the zoo. Or refresh/build numerous parks in south Dallas. Or literally anything other than a giant fountain*. [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/nickjthorn/status/1334569667827011586?s=20.

In the redesign plan, the current dog park will move to a larger and shadier spot. The current space will change to a green space with snack bars and additional restrooms "to accommodate visitors' number, so they enjoy most of the park." On the west of Akard, a lawn with a 37,000 multi-use venue will provide a "space for the kind of festivals and markets that help define a city." Space will be transformed into an ice-skating rink under the stars during the winter months and will be used for unique events for the rest of the year.

Gensler New York designed a two-story building in the expansion site with a rooftop deck with an unobstructed view, where people can watch the sunset while having cocktails. They have planned for a ballroom on the second level, just below the rooftop deck, to accommodate wedding receptions. The first floor is still in contemplation, but the managing representative thinks of it as a radio and TV station with a concierge. Foods and beverage options are also in consideration. Designers and nonprofit organization leaders are also thinking of dedicating an entire floor to parking and Uber and Lyft lounges to drop off people for the events (Perez, 2018).

Figure 46- Klyde Warren Park Expansion Renders, (Perez, 2018)

Figure 47- Klyde Warren Park Expansion Renders, (Perez, 2018)

Jacobs engineering firm has also donated $8 million to the Park for the Jacobs Lawn, where it will host markets, festivals, and seasonal events, including fashion shows every December and January. It will also accommodate a winter ice rink in the size of the rink at Rockefeller Center in New York City (Collins, 2020).

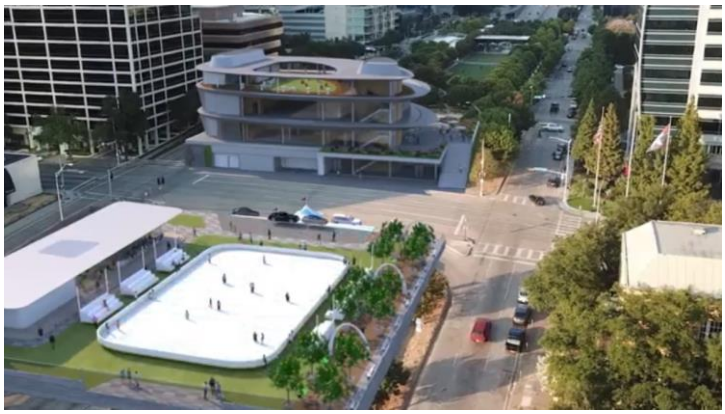


Figure 48- Jacobs Lawn

4.3.2.3. Design Programming

- Jane's Lane and Chase Promenade

Jane's Lane and Chase Promenade are the two most scenic walkways in the Park that offer visitors multiple activity options.

Figure 49- Jane's Lane

Figure 50- Chase Promenade

- Children's Park

It is an exclusive space for children in the Park with interactive fountains, playground facilities, kid-size amphitheater, and kids' restrooms.

Figure 51- Children's Park

- Dog park

It is a fenced area with fountains for dogs to run and play off-leash.

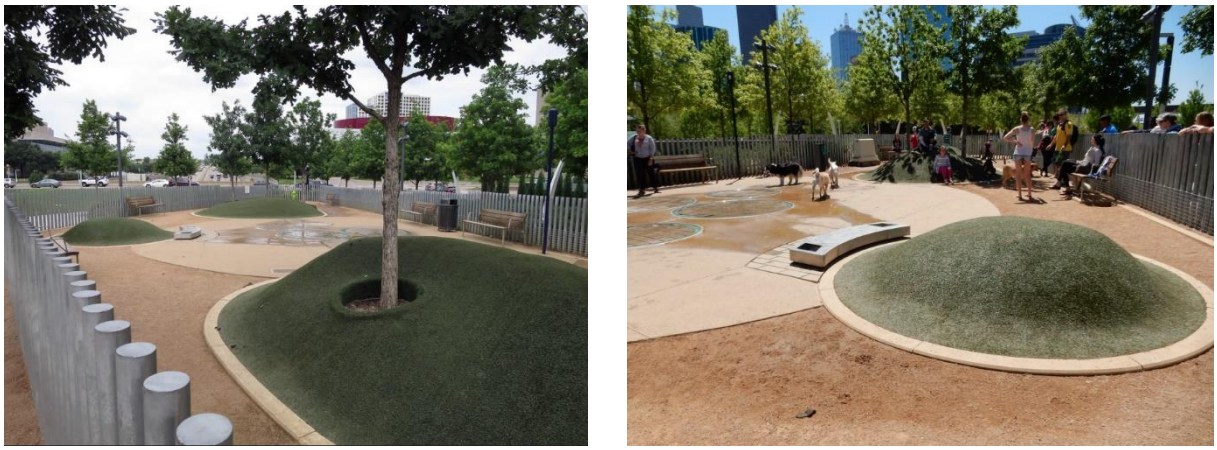


Figure 52- Dog Park

- Muse Family Pavilion

It is the main event space that hosts various performances throughout the year, from dance to music and theatres. It also offers a seating spot under the shades in everyday life of the Park.

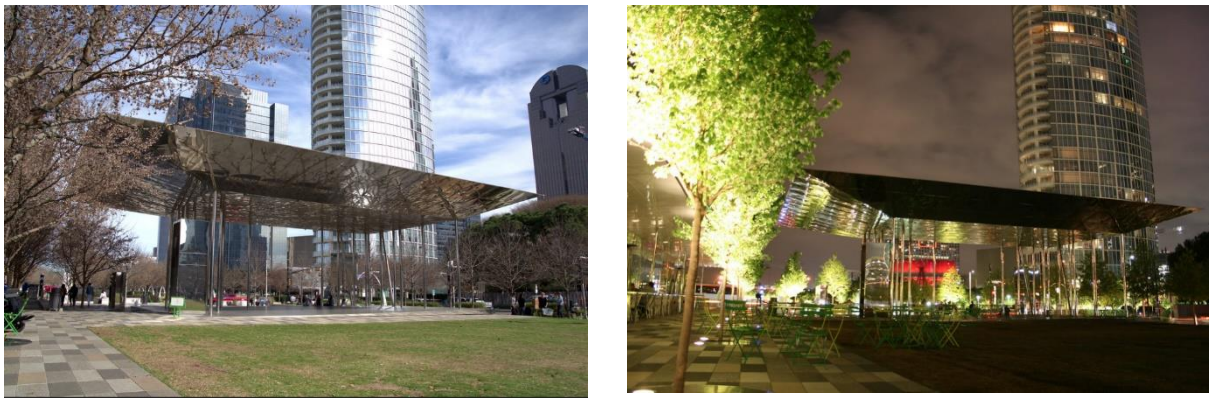


Figure 53- Muse Family Pavilion - Shade, Performance Stage

- Moody Plaza

It is the most significant entry into the Park from the Arts District with splashing water that attracts children and connects users to the main amenities.

Figure 54- Moody Plaza - Park's Main Entrance

- Lawns

Ginsburg Family Lawn and East Lawn are the hosts to many events and provide loose spaces for users to relax and play.

Figure 55- Lawns

- Botanical and Butterfly Gardens

The Gardens are the quieter areas in the Park that allow users to relax and enjoy being in/with nature.

Figure 56- Botanical Garden

Figure 57- Butterfly Garden

- The Grove and Dallas Morning News Stand

They provide activation, recreation, and entertainment facilities to users.

Figure 58 - The Grove

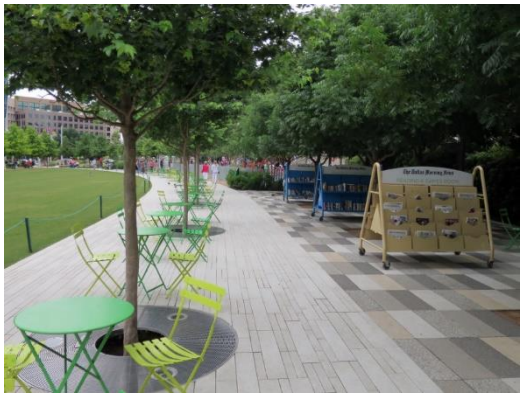


Figure 59- Dallas Morning News Stand

- CBS 11 Food Truck Lane

Food trucks are a fixture at Klyde Warren Park. They have become popular with the downtown lunch crowd and park visitors.

Figure 60- Food Truck Lane

- Restaurants

It is a modern, lavishing structure a 5,200 square foot eatery, with an attached patio that brings the entire pad to 11,000 square feet and functions as a restaurant in the green space.

Figure 61- Savior Restaurant

4.3.2.4. Sponsored Spaces

Different parts of the Park are named or sponsored. The Klyde Warren Foundation receives donations from families, foundations, corporations, or corporate foundations, to name a part of the Park after them. For instance, the arches' area is called Jane's Lane, a gesture and gift to name the space after a gentleman's wife, Jane Smith.

Figure 62- The park itself was named after the son of an influential donor.

Figure 63- Jane's Lane

According to the Klyde Warren Park managing representative, the sponsorship creates annual operating dollars for the Park, and the named opportunities pay for the implementation of a space or an activity. Apparently, the Foundation sometimes mixes them up and has a sponsored component of a named piece, which is not regular. These cases accommodate pop-up events rather than an ongoing deal since there cannot be two names on one space. Southwest Airlines sponsored the porch for a little while, on Olive Street intersection next to the kiosk used to be 'Relish,' one of two restaurants in the Park and an active lunch spot. The sponsorship has expired, and the Park is seeking another sponsor for the area.

According to the managerial representative, there are no rules or regulations associated with the sponsored spaces, and the strings are attached to the branding process. For instance, Southwest Airlines paid annually into the operating budget of the Park, and the Foundation guaranteed to program the porch on a regular basis. The Foundation works out the specific terms and agreements unique to each sponsorship and donor. There is also a more typical sponsorship process for activation processes with a determined timeline for a day, week, or month. For instance, Samsung paid and installed a couple of hand sanitizing and phone sanitizing

stations in the Park. The managerial staff called the process, where the money goes toward the 'bottom-line,' instead, Park agrees to promote the donor in their newsletter or social media.

Figure 64- Sponsored Space - Southwest Green

Figure 65- Sponsored Space - Ginsburg Family Great Lawn

Figure 66- Sponsored Space - Chase Promenade

Figure 67- Sponsored space - Moody Plaza

Figure 68- M&M's Activation Event

Figure 69- Samsung Hand and Mobile Sanitization Stations

4.3.2.5. Mechanisms for Renting out Areas or Activities

For Woodall Rogers Foundation, "it is a constant marketing initiative to let people know that there are areas of the park for rent, and that's an income generator for us. We are a nonprofit. You know, a lot of people think we're a city park, and we received city funding and tax dollars from the city, and we don't receive any of that."

A staff member is responsible for the ongoing marketing initiative of the Klyde Warren Park, who responds to inquiries, works out the specifics, writes the rental agreement, and determines what the group needs. The management representative mentioned, "that really works in the traditional rental space in a way." However, there are some restrictions. For instance, the Park restaurant has the first right for catering in-house-planned or external events, and if they do not want to bid, the potential renter would have the opportunity to bring an outside caterer.

The managing staff declares the lack of a backup plan in case of rain. Hence, they encourage events in parts of the park to comply with a rainy day, as the full calendar does not allow postponing the events.

4.3.2.6. Restrooms Availability

According to Woodall Rogers Foundation representative, "There is nothing for purchase in the Park other than food or alcohol," and the restrooms are free. There are two restrooms in the Park: in the children's area and on the Porch, adjacent to the restaurants. They are both clean, air-conditioned, and well-lit restrooms with the full-time cleaning staff. The park representative mentioned that cleaning in restrooms has been upgraded to the hospital-grade level with the COVID outbreak. They never had an issue or complaints about transgender people using the

facilities, but claims, “If somebody needed special accommodations, we would make sure that security will help them in whatever way.”

Figure 70- Restrooms

4.3.2.7. Accessibility and Parking Availability

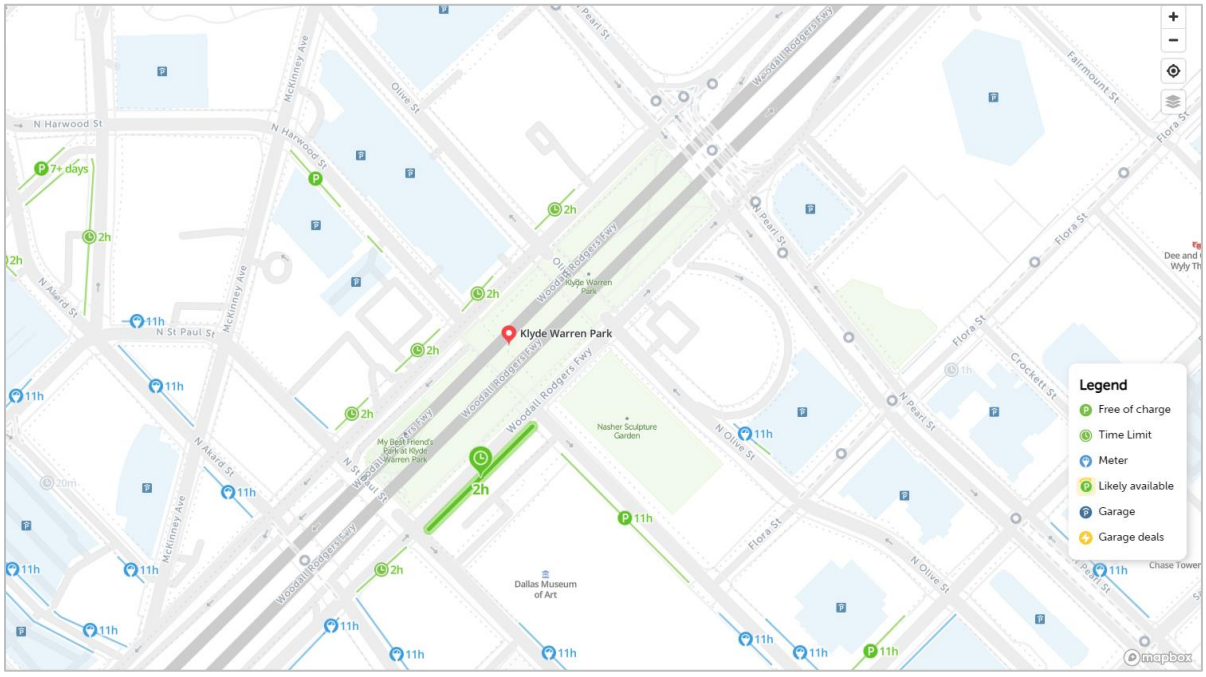


Figure 71-Parking Availability

Figure 72- Transit Map

4.3.2.8. Analysis

Klyde Warren is designed by a California-based designer to provide various opportunities and become a multi-use, overly programmed urban park. Therefore, the park features 15 programmed spaces, including children park with interactive fountains, dog park, a pavilion to host main events, a food truck lane, news and activity stands, botanical and butterfly gardens, two restaurants, various lawns, and entrance and connecting plazas. Different park spaces are named and/or sponsored by families, foundations, corporations, or corporate foundations to create annual operating dollars for the park. The park has an expansion plan to add $10 million for the world's largest interactive fountain, an ice-skating rink in the size of the rink at NYC's Rockefeller Center, a two-story building with radio and TV stations, a ballroom to accommodate wedding receptions, and a rooftop deck with bars and restaurants.

Table 18- Design Programming Analysis - Klyde Warren Park

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use	Yes, Playground and Restaurant
	Sponsored Spaces	Heavily sponsored
	Variety of food options	Yes, but limited variety of pricing
	Variety of Activity options	Very diverse
	Diversity of seating space	Very diverse
	Various Microclimates	Very diverse
	coverage of Cafés, restaurants and shops	extensive
	Availability of food vendors	Food trucks, vendors, and food stations
	Restroom available	Available
	Parking availability and price	Available/Affordable
	Entrance/orientation accessibility	Accessible

4.3.3. Activation Programming - Eventization

4.3.3.1. Types of Programmed Activities

Pre-Covid, Klyde Warren Park had many programs activating the Park throughout the week including, exercise and fitness classes, movies in the Park, children's book reading, adults poetry club, etc. It also accommodates a series of free passive activation opportunities, including games and magazine set up, where visitors can check out pieces of equipment like foosball, ping pong paddles, and various board games with a driver's license. The managing foundation has a partnership with an architectural group in the Park's adjacency that offers architectural tours in town. There was live music in the Park over the weekends, called Sunday Setlist. These were the activities and programs produced by the Park management. However, Pre-COVID, they

actively searched and encouraged external groups to bring their programs to the Park. For instance, for the annual 'Latino heritage festival,' or 'say their names' memorial. "In a sense, programming in the Park is free and open to everybody, but we're not putting it on. We partner with other groups to do that."

4.3.3.2. Special Programs for Historically Marginalized Groups

With the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter Movement, Klyde Warren allowed for a series of gatherings and demonstrations in the Park. They also accommodate a memorial/exhibition/tribute honoring over 200 Black lives lost due to racism and police brutality. In December 2020, and in partnership with the Intown Chabad, Chabad of Dallas, and The Friendship Circle Dallas, the Foundation organized a safe, socially distant Menorah Lighting festivities to celebrate Christmas and Chanukah. In April, they are home to Avance Latino Street Fest, a free, family-friendly festival to celebrate the vibrant Latino culture in North Texas. It is the largest event of its kind, attracts tens of thousands of people, and showcases Latino talent in dancing and singing contests, live music, mariachi, food, and more.

The park management representative mentioned, "we wanted to make sure that we continue to be reflective of the community. So, we got a corporate counsel and started organizing a DEI task force in about March. Right now, they're trying to figure out their role … and it's not just, you know, racially-racial diversity inclusion but to your point to make sure that we have addressed mobility. That different age groups are feeling included in the Park. We want everyone to feel like this Park is for them." According to the NPO representative, the task force will help the management identify different possible events in the Park. The NPO will continue on their regular in-house programming, but they are also committed to amplifying

others' works. For instance, the Park management provides space for a drag show in the Park in conjunction with the Dallas Arts District and the LGBTQ+ community to extend the Pride Parade.

Additionally, Park management has recently partnered with a disability advocacy group to provide specialized programs for people with mobility issues. "In addition to collecting partners for architectural tours or fitness classes, we are collecting and working with Partners who were more experts in their field cause we're not experts in these fields; we are just facilitators. This DEI task force is really going to help us connect with opportunities there around in Dallas that we can tap into. Because otherwise, it's just us up there in our office trying to figure out what Dallas is for. And we both know that not going to accomplish. I can only bring to the table what I bring to the table, right? So, the more that we have our tentacles out there in the community, the more we will be able to be reflective of the community."

4.3.3.3. Analysis

The Woodall Rogers Foundation has an ongoing marketing initiative to invite groups to rent the park as an income generator to provide free activities throughout the week, including fitness classes, movie nights, children's book reading, poetry club, etc. The park is used as a stage for a wide range of commercially- and community-oriented events across the scales to attract downtown residents, workers, and visitors, Dallasites, or regional residents and tourists to the park. The nonprofit organization has started a DEI task force to identify different possible events. With the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter Movement demonstrations in Dallas, the Foundation allowed a handful of heavily policed gatherings and demonstrations in the park

for the first time. The nonprofit organization only advertises large-scale and ticketed events but not free small-scale activities on their social media.

Table 19- Activation Programming Analysis - Klyde Warren Park

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Eventization	Free events	Daily free events
	Ticketed	Frequent ticketed events
	Event types	Community-oriented events (placed based) Community-oriented events (interest based) Commercially-oriented events (free and ticketed) Politically-oriented events (sanctioned) Pop-up markets
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)	Moderate Accessibility
	Information Accessibility	Only for Large scale and commercialized events Does not advertise community-based free events

4.3.4. Policing and Surveillance – Securitization

4.3.4.1. Security and Surveillance Strategies

Klyde Warren Park has full-time security staff. In the case of larger events, the management brings in EMT (Emergency Medical Technician) on-site. They also engage extra security and set up a central command to monitor the park divided into different sections. Monitoring in large events happened both from the ground and up above. The park is also completely covered with surveillance cameras, frequently watched by the head of the operations. The CCTVs are not connected to the City of Dallas camera system, but the park management will provide the footage to the Dallas Police Department immediately if any issue occurs. "The only issue that we had so far was a couple of cars going through the park."

4.3.4.2. Undesirables, Homelessness

I have never encountered evidence of the homeless presence in Klyde Warren Park and its adjacent sidewalks in my three years of observation. However, the management representative states, "if someone is homeless in the Park and are just guests, wandering through the Park… there's no ... you're not allowed to … the Park closes at 11 p.m., and you're not allowed to sleep overnight, nobody is. If someone has come to sleep in the Park, they are gently asked to find someplace else." On the other hand, the Park and Recreation Department of the City official argues, "Homeless individuals can visit Klyde Warren Park, but they do not like it there because it is so busy with so many activities. Usually, homeless people do not like to be in busy places; you know what I mean? They usually do not like to be bothered." There are no special governing rules regarding homeless use. No one is allowed to sleep in the Park, and it closes at 11 p.m. Also, no one can fix or set up things in the Park.

The management representative explained the degree of their partnerships, affiliations, and involvements with other entities working on homelessness to communicate their empathy and support for the issue, particularly in Downtown Dallas. "We have a partnership, a loose partnership with several groups, like the Metro Dallas Homeless Alliance. So, I'm working with them to help them with the new board they are creating. So, we are very involved. We have a lot of our board members who are involved with the Bridge (a Homeless Recovery Center in Downtown), the Austin Street Shelter, but it's more of affiliation rather than a true partnership."

4.3.4.3. Undesirables, Protestors

With the recent wave of unrest in the city, several gatherings were held in or started from Klyde Warren Park. Apparently, the attitude has changed recently, and I could not find any evidence from any political gatherings in the Klyde Warren Park before the Black Lives Matter Movement's recent wave, despite the management representative stating, "when you're a town square, you're a town square." Based on the representative descriptions, protestors can walk through and carry banners and placards through the Park. Still, they cannot fix anything (for safety reasons) or amplify sound (according to the amplified sound regulations). "You and I could go, carry banners, or placards and walk through the Park. We can talk, we could gather people, any of that's fine. But if you got a bullhorn, or plug yourself in, or I tried to put sticks in the ground, that's when our park rules come into effect."

The Klyde Warren Park representative mentioned that because the park management knows many protest organizers, they can work with the demonstration's leadership to avoid problems and set them for success. The management contacts unfamiliar and new groups to ensure they have a grasp of the 'rules,' achieved by constant monitoring of the social media. "You know, people say let's meet at Klyde Warren Park, and create a poster that we were able to see that and DPD looks for that! That's how we get in touch with the organizing body to tell them, you know, it's not to dissuade them; it's their first amendment right to be in the Park. It's more to try to set them and the park goers up for success and coexistence."

4.3.4.4. Public Health, the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19

Klyde Warren Park has gone beyond cleaning and painted 10 ft apart circles on the ground, "to go the extra mile, beyond 6 ft, and provide better safety than the protocols." The management

closed the Children's Park for almost a year and the food trucks for a couple of months and reopened them cashless with social distancing stickers on the ground. The management improved the restroom cleaning service to the hospital-grade.

On the website, the management repeatedly asked that guests not visit if showing any signs of illness. Also, they set up several sponsored hand sanitizing and phone sanitizing stations in the Park and did a blood drive with Red Cross to collect plasma from those who already had COVID. "So, we really just tried to set it up as a safe space for people as much as possible and in every way, and it's a daily call. It's kind of like driving the car down the highway; we're making constant adjustments."

4.3.4.5. Analysis

Klyde Warren Park has full-time security staff. For larger events, they engage extra security, divide the Park into different sections, and set up a command center to monitor the event from the above. The Park is also covered by security cameras that are not connected to Dallas PD and are randomly monitored by the managing team. Despite the managing representative's claim that well-behaved homeless individuals are welcomed to use the Park, I have never encountered evidence of their presence in or close to the Park. With recent demonstrations of the Black Lives Matter movement in downtown Dallas, Klyde Warren Park opened the space for a couple of heavily policed gatherings in the Park, where protestors cleaned the Park after gatherings.

Table 20 - Policing and Surveillance Analysis - Klyde Warren Park

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Securitization	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)	Yes
	Security personnel	24/7
	Enforced by local police/private security	Private Security
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	Yes
	Hostile Architecture	Yes
	Presence of homelessness	No
	Permitting protests	Minimal
	Room for appropriation/Contestation	No

4.3.5. Governance Structure – Representation

4.3.5.1. Governance Structure

Despite the partnership with the Parks and Recreation Department Board, the Woodall Rogers Foundation board of directors and Klyde Warren Park staff are primarily responsible for the Klyde Warren Park's governance. Now, we have a relationship with the park and rec board. The management representative emphasized the Klyde Warren Park staff's effort to stay in line with the works of the other groups, "we don't want to do something that's totally different from what everybody else is doing."

Thereby, the park keeps a close connection with other local public and nonprofit organizations focusing on the neighboring areas, including Downtown Dallas Inc., Uptown Dallas Inc., Dallas Art District, Dallas Police Department, and Dallas Parks and Recreation Department, especially the Office of Cultural Affairs, and the Office of Special Events. According to the management

representative, these connections are not for governing the space but to create a common experience for the residents and visitors, to avoid confusion for those who use different entities. The Klyde Warren Park representative stated that the management perspective and decisions are strictly stemming from the Woodall Rogers Foundation Board despite the constant connection between all these intersecting and connected NPOs.

4.3.5.2. Participatory Decision-Making Processes; Inclusion into Action

Woodall Rogers Foundation benefits from a recently appointed corporate counsel as an informal governance tool, focusing on DEI (Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion). Some other involved groups are:

- The Friends of Klyde Warren Park program,
- The Park Membership groups,
- The park partners,
- Programming groups,
- The food trucks.

These groups are in constant dialog with the park staff and management and are involved in the Klyde Warren Park decision-making processes. "So, it's not governance per se, but it's definitely partnerships and getting ideas about what's working and what's not. The management bolsters the significance of feedback in the Park's evolution and progression through formal and informal partnerships, discussions, and users' survey. "So, a lot of it is just based on the feedback we get. But we've got a very small management team. That's why we're trying to expand into other areas for additional influence and direction." The most recent survey collected people's opinions about the new restaurant tenant in November 2020 in the Park

newsletter. The survey questioned their preferences about the type of restaurant, type of food, and the price range.

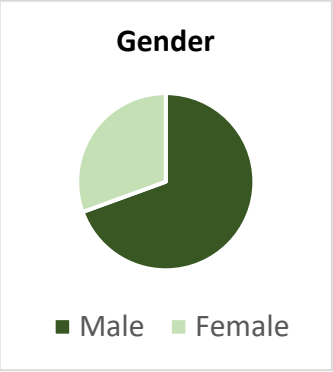
Klyde Warren Park's management considers their 'community,' as far as the users, to be reflective of the entire city of Dallas. "The goal is to make sure everyone feels like it's their community." Still, the management discerns the challenges and steps for the long way to go. For instance, to have another Spanish website, which is not yet affordable but planned for the foreseen future. The management has ideas about achieving essential items to make bilingual users feel more welcome and view themselves as a current and future DEI leader in the city. "We're going to continue to build on that every year, and we plan to be a leader in that every year."

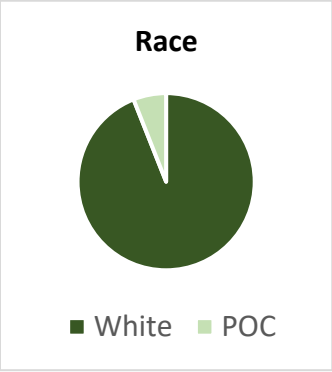
Accordingly, they consider "the Park" as the way they put inclusion into action. As the wods' diverse' and 'townsquare' are in their mission statement. "Our mission is to provide free programming and educational opportunities for the enrichment of visitors' lives, to showcase the diverse multitude of cultures and talents Dallas has to offer, and to be a town square where citizens may congregate and create traditions together." So, DEI is the "core to every single solitary decision [they] make." However, in response to the extent that Klyde Warren Park benefits from the community in its decision-making processes, the management representative argued:

"Well, Klyde Warren Park is a little different. I mean, we benefit by having obvious people's voices. It allows us to hear different opinions and have different resources. We also benefit financially from our membership society. You know, they pay. I would say, Klyde Warren Park is a little bit of a Unicorn, the first one in Dallas; that is what it is, and has been the most

successful. So, people tend to look at us to see how we're doing things to help downtown Dallas parks. So, it is more of a … we try to partner and benefit from each other. It's more of a collaborative approach than receiving wisdom from others because we're so much further down the road. On the flip side, we try to allow them to benefit from our experience. Not only we have regular calls [for new park developments]. In a group, we share all the errors we made, we give them advice about what they might want to avoid, and even how to pull in their community more, but in a very different setup. Because many parks are truly going into neighborhoods, Klyde Warren Park is in more of a business neighborhood. We also work with people around the country. You know, there are something like over a hundred deck parks being built around the country, and they come from all over. Everybody comes to learn not only from an engineering standpoint about how Klyde Warren Park was built but also how it's programmed. We try to make sure we pass on the good things about the park and the mistakes we've made to them so that everybody can benefit from those."

4.3.5.3. Governance Board





4.3.5.4. Sources of Funding

Klyde Warren Park's budget is about 5.3 million cut this year to 3.6 due to COVID. Typically, about a million dollars come from the Public Improvement District (PID), a voluntary tax that the neighbors pay to keep the Park clean, safe, and active. A million dollars a year come from the annual fundraiser called 'Park & Palate,' which includes an evening seated dinner and a daytime food-and-wine festival, which was canceled in 2020 due to July's coronavirus spike in Dallas County and the rollback of the state's phased reopening. The Park's restaurant and food trucks generate around a million dollars annually; the restaurant was not in place in 2020, and the food trucks were terminated during the lockdown. The last two million dollars come from the membership societies that the park management has put together, like the corporate counsel and the friends' program; they guarantee grants from different foundations, sponsorships, and third-party events the Park puts together. There are strings attached to the funding sources, reflecting on what each funding partner can deduct. For instance, "if it's a sponsorship or if it's a members' society and they have given $500, but then they get to attend the party. Then, they don't deduct the entire 500. So, those are each individually addressed by group and by the level of donation."

4.3.5.5. Analysis

Klyde Warren Park is owned by the City of Dallas and managed by Woodall Rogers Foundation, a public improvement district (PID) nonprofit organization. The actors involved in the governance of the Klyde Warren Park are the Foundation's board of directors, the park managing team and staff, Friends of Klyde Warren Park, the membership society, and individual donors. The Foundation has a 90-year lease agreement with the City of Dallas. However, they

are the only responsible actor for planning, programming, maintaining, policing, and managing the Park. The funding resources for the Park come from the neighboring tax-based and assessments of the PID properties, annual fundraising events, restaurants and food trucks, as well as the membership society.

Table 21- Governance Structure Analysis - Klyde Warren Park

Aspect	**Type**
Attitude	Nonprofit Organization, Public Improvement District (PID)
Actors	The City of Dallas Woodall Rogers Foundation (Nonprofit organization) Klyde Warren Park Managing Staff - The Friends of the Klyde Warren Park
Roles	Planning, Programming, Management, Maintenance, Policing, Funding
Relations	Network and Market-based, Downtown Improvement District (PID)
Resources	Assessment of PID properties, Annual Fundraising, Restaurants and Food trucks, Membership society
Representativeness Representative of: - boards - Leadership - security personnel - vendors - programming	 Representative of Elites Communities of Park Cities Mostly White, Upper-middle class, elites Mostly People of color No particular attempt No particular attempt

4.3.6. Conclusion

Klyde Warren Park is publicly owned but privately managed by the Woodall Rogers Foundation that is in charge of planning, designing, programming, policing, fundraising, and maintenance or, in other words, management of the park. The Foundation has a 50-year lease agreement with the City of Dallas renewable for four more decades. The Foundation imposes special ordinances for park use and appends additional restrictions and controls for large events or rental instances. The park has full-time security staff and is covered by CCTVs. However, for larger events they engage additional security and set up a command center outside the park's borders to monitor the space from above. Third-party event organizers are advised to reserve and rent a spot two to six months in advance for small to large events.

Klyde Warren is a multi-use park that features over 15 programmed spaces. The park is open from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m.; however, the hour of operations for each programmed space vary. Almost every park space is named and sponsored by families, foundations, corporations, and corporate foundations. Besides the passive programmed space, the Foundation has an ongoing marketing initiative to engage various groups for free, ticketed, and private activities and events. The park is staged for a wide range of commercially-oriented and community-oriented events, primarily caters to the needs of the consumer class. Recently the park has been used for several heavily policed peaceful political gatherings.

Table 22- Inclusionary/exclusionary Governance Strategies Analysis - Klyde Warren Park

Strategy	Dimensions	Inclusive	Moderate	Exclusive
Privatization	Property ownership	■		
	Private management			■
	Public-Private Partnership contract			■
	Visible sets of rules posted		■	
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance			■
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use		■	
	Sponsored Spaces			■
	Variety of food/Activity options	■		
	Diversity of seating space	■		
	Various Microclimates	■		
	No/ Partial/ High coverage of Cafés, restaurants and shops		■	
	Availability of food vendors	■		
	Restroom available accessible with purchase/ permission	■		
	Parking availability and price	■		
	Entrance/orientation accessibility	■		
Eventization	Types and frequency of free events	■		
	Types and frequency of ticketed events			■
	Availability of community-, commercially-, and politically-oriented events			■
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)		■	
	Information Accessibility			■
Representation	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)			■
	Security personnel			■
	Enforced by local police/private security			■
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	■		
	Hostile Architecture		■	
	Presence of homelessness			■
	Permitting protests		■	
	Room for appropriation/Contestation			■

4.4. Thanksgiving Square

4.4.1. Private Control - Privatization

4.4.1.1. Property Ownership and Park Management

Thanksgiving Square is my oldest case study and not part of the recent Downtown Parks Master Plan, but one of the first Downtown green spaces. It is owned and managed by a faith-based non-profit organization named Thanksgiving Foundation. Four businessmen came together in 1964 and raised money to buy a block in Downtown Dallas and create Thanksgiving Square. So, it was a private endeavor that was completed with all private funds. However, there was and is some degree of cooperation with the City. Two levels down below the Square is a truck terminal owned by the City. In effect, these businessmen raised money and bought this block in Downtown Dallas. Then, they sold the sub-surface area to the City of Dallas for a truck terminal that has docks for all buildings surrounding Thanksgiving square. The pedway is the pedestrian network between the truck Terminal and the Square, owned by the Square and leased by the City. It involves complicated and various public-private cooperation, but the Foundation owns and continues to operate the Square.

4.4.1.2. Governance Rules: What? Why? Who?

Smoking, weapons of any type, including open or concealed carry handguns, bicycles, scooters, skateboarding, skating, swimming in the fountains, climbing on trees, attaching hammocks and slacklines to trees or structures, soliciting including selling goods or services, panhandling, distributing literature, gathering signatures, demonstrating, outside alcohols are prohibited. Food and drinks are not permitted in the chapel, and mobile phones must remain silent. Dogs

are not allowed in the Thanksgiving Garden. Commercial photography requires a permit and would be granted on a case-by-case basis.

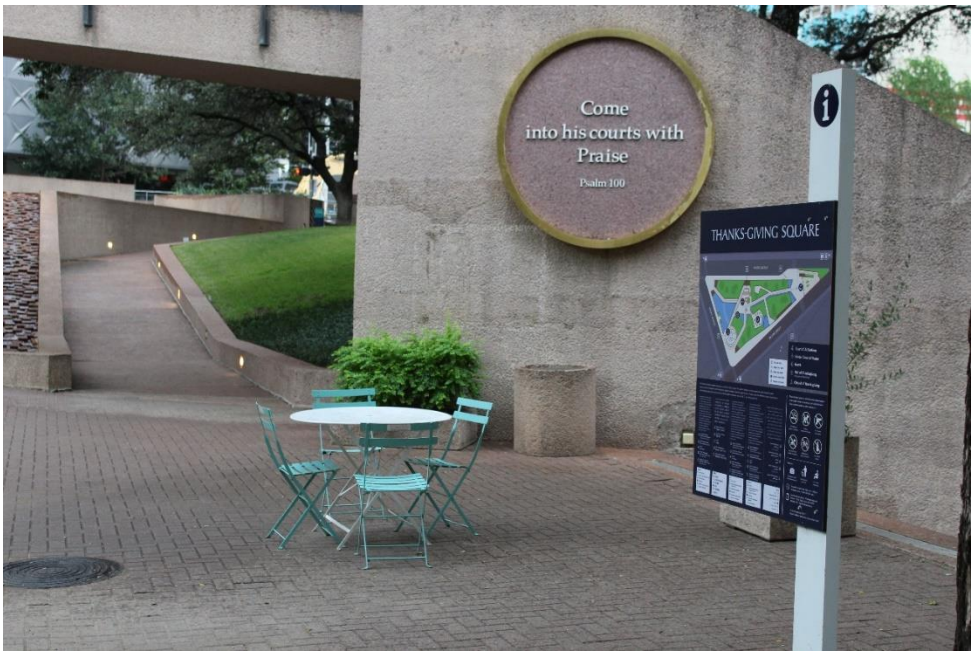


Figure 73- Thanksgiving Square - Governance Rules

Figure 74- Thanksgiving Square - No Dogs Sign

According to the City of Dallas Code, Section 31 -22.1, all demonstrations, entertainments, and speeches may not take place on sidewalks or streets surrounding the Square unless with

permits. Also, per City of Dallas ordinance #8019, all dogs beyond the walls and on the sidewalks must remain on a leash all the times (Thanksgiving Foundation, https://thanksgiving.org/thanksgivingsquare/visit/).

The Thanksgiving Square official told me that "there are really only a handful of rules like no smoking, and no dogs. We enforce our unofficial set of rules by curating the visitor experience to the extent that we can. But there is no published set of rules about who can or cannot be here. Quite to the contrary, we very much are inclusive, it is part of not only the visitors' experience but also the ideals that we advocate for like inclusiveness, diversity, and equity. You know, that is part of who we are as a Foundation. So, we certainly try to live into that as part of our visitors' experience. Again, within boundaries, any kind of well-behaved visitor is welcome here." He later explained a practical side to creating some of the governing rules since the foundation has limited staff. Thanksgiving Square does not have security officers on-site during operation hours. Still, one officer serves overnight to close and open the gate and prevent 'unwanted behaviors.' However, during the hours of operation, they suggest users report violations to staff or Dallas 311.

4.4.1.3. Hours of Operation

Thanksgiving Square has two primary levels of experience: entering what the Foundation calls the garden, which is open from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m., and then the Chapel of Thanksgiving, the famous Philip Johnson structure with the stained-glass ceiling, open every day from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. The Hall of Thanksgiving is only open for special events or by appointment. A note on the website suggests visitors contacting staff to confirm the hours, as the facilities may be closed for

maintenance or private events. A simple Google search shows the hours of the Chapel and may be confusing for the potential visitors of the Square.

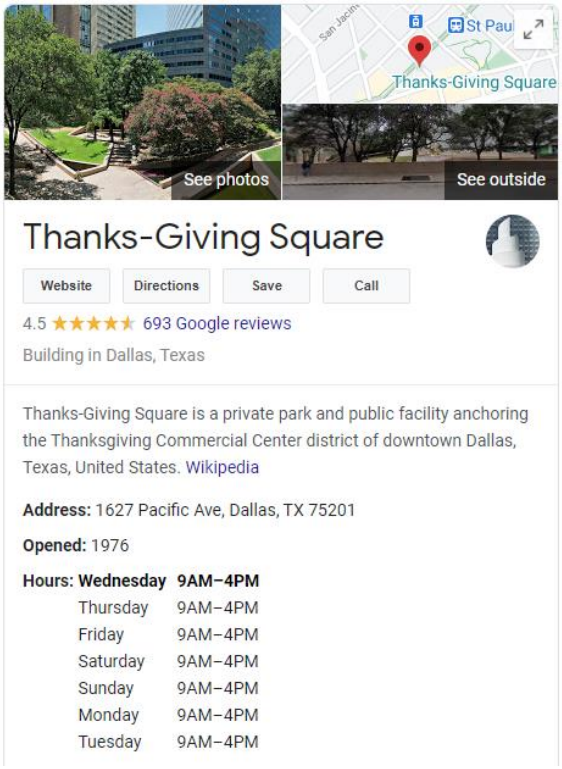


Figure 75- Thanksgiving Square Hours of Operation - Source: Google

4.4.1.4. Analysis

Thanksgiving Square is a privately owned and managed park. Thanksgiving Foundation is a faith-based nonprofit organization that owns and operates the space. Thanksgiving Square is governed by special rules and ordinances imposed in addition to the City of Dallas codes; for instance, dogs are not allowed on the premises. The garden's operation hours are from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. However, the Chapel and the Thanksgiving hall have different hours. It is suggested on the website that visitors contact and confirm the hours before visiting the Square.

Table 23 - Private Control Analysis – Thanksgiving Square

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Privatization	Private property	Private Property
	Private management	Private Management, Thanksgiving Foundation
	Public-Private Partnership contract	(Underground) Leased by the City
	Visible sets of rules posted	Posted in the park and website
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance	Special ordinance

4.4.2. Design Programming – Commercialization

4.4.2.1. Design Ideas and Expectations

The four founding partners did an international search for a designer, and Philip Johnson was selected from a pool of prominent architects, including I. M. Pei and Frank Lloyd Wright. The Thanksgiving Foundation representative said, "Peter Stewart [the founder and first president] thought he was building a monument to gratitude, similar to what the Statue of Liberty is to freedom. Again, that just speaks to how ambitious and how high-minded they thought this project would be. And clearly, we have fallen short by a long way, but it's important to understand what they wanted to create. They weren't trying to create a place to go and throw a frisbee with your dog. They were trying to create a monument of gratitude on the level with the Statue of Liberty."

4.4.2.2. Redesign

The Thanksgiving Foundation looks forward to rejuvenating and updating various dimensions of the Square since it has not changed for more than 40 years since its opening in 1976. The aim is to make the Square a more engaging and significant part of the community. "The board feels the

path toward continuing to be more relevant to and important for the city is an inclusive renovation, and kind of a rededication to going both directions to the city of Dallas and the ideals of compassion, inclusion, gratitude, and goodwill. We are symbolic of all those things and should embrace it as a community and try to work towards it." For the Foundation, the rejuvenation plan is part of an overall effort to "rise from a place of relative obscurity." So, the Square becomes a centerpiece of the Dallas community known by everyone and stands for the Dallas reputation and its positive sides.

The plan comprises both changing and preserved elements. The Foundation seeks to preserve Philip Johnson's designed and deliberate visitor experience. Thereby, they do not want to tear the walls down or level the park and turn the Square into a more traditional and engaging space like other active downtown parks. The plan continues to see the Square as a destination with a curated visitor experience around self-reflection, contemplation, and meditation. Thereby, there would be two types of rejuvenation, inside and outside of the walls. The former respects and complements Philip Johnson's design. The latter seeks to become more modern and engaging and create a "more communal and less off-putting streetscape and visitor experience." The outside experience will be a dog-friendly space and revolve around food, music, community, and things that bring people together.

"The Foundation believes that by increasing the presence of gratitude in daily life, they can promote understanding and create a common ground for harmony" (Koonce, 2020). Thus, it attempts to continue developing the ideas for a Thanksgiving District in downtown Dallas, spreading key signature elements from the Square repeated in different space pockets throughout the district. They seek to increase vibrancy and provide a magnet for people with the new plan, considering options like an event pavilion and/or a restaurant outside the wall and

different pocket spaces across the district. Thereby, the Foundation has a partnership with a "famous Dallas-based nonprofit restaurant, which provides a 12-month paid post-release internship program for kids coming out of juvenile detention" (cafemomentum.org). With the partnership, the Foundation seeks to bring them to the Square to bring vibrancy and excitement outside the wall. Inside the walls' experience would contrast the external use through a contemplative space as an escape from the city, providing a monument to gratitude. The inner wall visitors' experience should reflect the ideals, virtues, values, and programs promoted by the Foundation to drive connection, engagement, diversity, and other things they advocate for in the city.

CallisonRTKL is a global architecture, planning, and design practice with an office adjacent to the Square that helps re-envisioning Thanksgiving Square. CRTKL provides pro-bono design services to Thanksgiving Foundation.

Figure 76 - Conceptual Re-envisions of Thanksgiving Square, Source: CallisonRTKL

4.4.2.3. Design Programming

The most important design elements in Thanksgiving Square that entice activity and appreciation are as followed:

- The Thanksgiving Chapel

The Chapel of Thanksgiving is the spiritual center of Thanksgiving Square. The famous postmodern significant building designed by the Starchitect Philip Johnson serves as a gathering place and a spiritual center for the daily life of the Square.

Figure 77- Thanksgiving Chapel

- Thanksgiving Square

The Square is fifteen feet below ground level, surrounded by a four-foot wall blocking the urban fast pace to create a serene, green island. Walkways provide areas to sit and meditate.

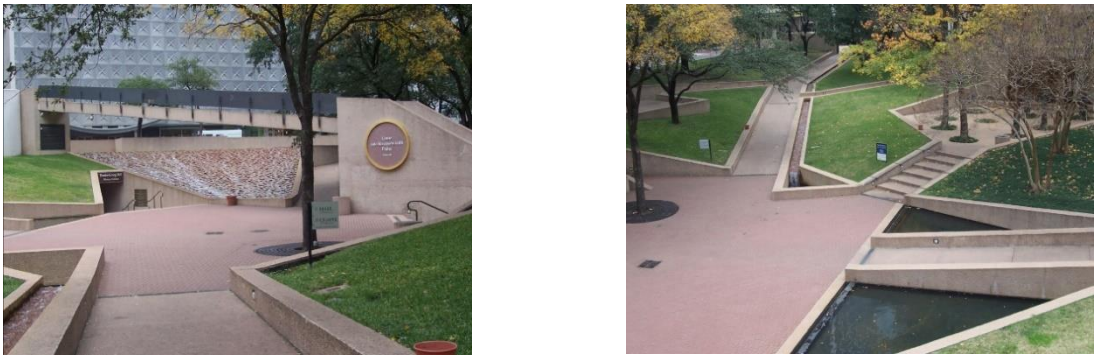


Figure 78- Thanksgiving Square, Sunken and Serene Nature

- Water Elements

Water plays a notable role in the design of the Square. Active fountains mask the city noise and provide a Zen feeling in the central courtyard or the court of praise located between the pools and the Hall of Thanksgiving.

Figure 79- Water in Thanksgiving Square

- Hall of Thanksgiving

The hall is the exhibition, meeting, and resource center for Thanksgiving Square that provides a forum for lectures, interfaith meetings, and educational programming.



Figure 80- Thanksgiving Hall

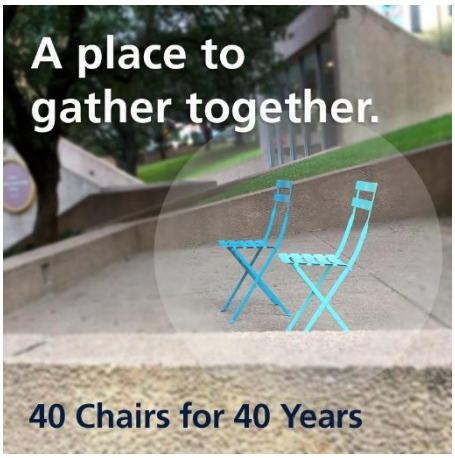
- Court of All Nations

The court is a ceremonial entrance to the Square that celebrates gratitude as a worldwide culture.


Figure 81- Court of All Nation

- The Sitting Options

Thanksgiving Foundation, on its 40th anniversary, asked for donations for 40 movable chairs for the Square. Each chair donation includes an engraved, personalized message on a patron charm.



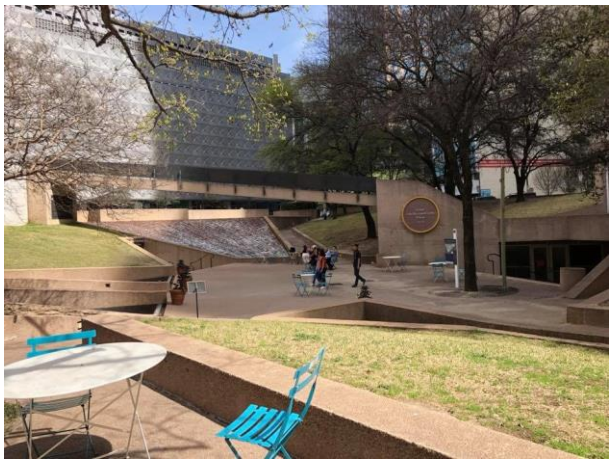


Figure 82- Movable Furniture

4.4.2.4. Sponsored Spaces

The Thanksgiving Foundation representative mentioned an evidence of one-time sponsorship in the Square, but they did not have a good record of its timing, and they do not currently have a sponsored space. However, it is an ongoing discussion regarding the rejuvenation process. They find it appropriate and will probably seek sponsors for the area outside the walls, in the community space. However, the foundation is working on a guideline to be very cautious regarding sponsorship to avoid 'over-commercialization of the space.' Because the expansion is happening to "create an experience that everybody will enjoy and be a part of and not feel it is commercial."

4.4.2.5. Mechanisms for Renting out Areas or Activities

Thanksgiving Square is mostly used for in-house-planned or the Thanksgiving Foundation's events, including faith in conversation. The interfaith community comes together for talks and workshops regarding religious, humanistic, or community beliefs. In pre-COVID days most sessions took place in the Square or its buildings; in the last year, most of them have been held online. Moreover, Thanksgiving Foundation also hosts few weddings annually in the small Chapel for up to 60 people. There were instances that the Foundation had rented the space but not regularly. The management representative mentioned, "we would reserve that to the times that we do not have visitors and during our down hours." The Foundation representative underlined opportunities or circumstances to rent their space for events. However, they seek to be a destination for after-hours gatherings for conventions or conferences in Dallas, to probably brand the Square and market the Foundation missions for 'prominent outsiders.'

4.4.2.6. Restrooms Availability

All restrooms are internal to the building and are not generally available for visitors. The Foundation and management see it as a problem and grant access for small events like weddings because they remain in the building when having guests. Gathering, lectures, and discussion sessions held in the building also have access to the internal restrooms. However, no restrooms face public Square.

When I asked if providing restrooms is part of the rejuvenating plan, the management representative said, "we have not decided that yet. We do not know how we would address that. My guess is if we bring more visitors here, we will certainly need to provide visitor facilities." In that case, the degree of publicness, availability in all circumstances, and operation hours were still being explored.

4.4.2.7. Availability and Variety of Food Options

There is no food vendor available in Thanksgiving Square. However, there are instances of sanctioned food truck events, which are issued to programming. The underground pedway provides a variety of food options, but it is leased and controlled by the City.

4.4.2.8. Accessibility and Parking Availability

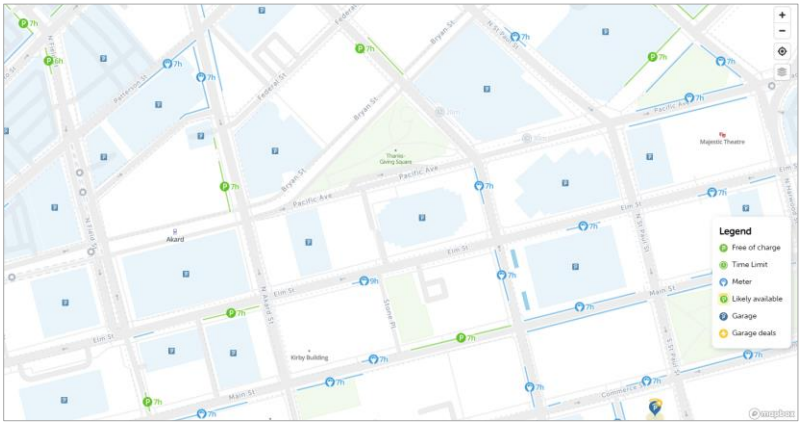


Figure 83- Parking Availability and Price

Figure 84- Thanksgiving Square - Transit Map

4.4.2.9. Analysis

Thanksgiving Square is a multi-use Square that provides a wide range of design programming. However, a few of them happen in the garden or the open space of the Square. The Square intended to brand Dallas post-JFK assassination as a city of gratitude and thanksgiving. Thereby, the Chapel designed by the Starchitect Philip Johnson was meant to be a monument to gratitude known on the national scale. Yet, the open space was not supposed to serve as a regular park but to attract various users to the green space for reflection. There is no sponsored or commercial space within the Square, which could change with the upcoming rejuvenating plan designed by their neighboring designer in downtown Dallas. With respect to Philip Johnson's famous structure, the rejuvenating plan attempts to bring upbeat and activity evolving around food, music, and community outside of the existing walls of the Thanksgiving Square. Currently, there is no restroom available on the Square beside the one in the Hall that is accessible for small events and weddings.

Table 24 - Design Programming Analysis – Thanksgiving Square

Concept	**Operationalization**	**Measure**
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use	Yes: Chapel and Hall
	Sponsored Spaces	None
	Variety of food options	None
	Variety of Activity options	Limited
	Diversity of seating space	Limited
	Various Microclimates	Diverse
	coverage of Cafés, restaurants, and shops	None
	Availability of food vendors	None besides the underground pedway

	Restroom available	Internal restroom, none facing the Square
	Parking availability and price	Available/Affordable
	Entrance/orientation accessibility	Accessible

4.4.3. Activation Programming - Eventization

4.4.3.1. Types of Programmed Activities

Thanksgiving Foundation programs and organizes several annual events. These events range from a regular activation program in partnership with other nonprofit organizations or agencies to make the space vibrant and animated to annual fundraising events or cultural performances to further their aims and missions. A well-known function that attracts a couple of thousand people to the Square is the Tuba Christmas with almost 300 Tuba players that happens every Christmas Eve but canceled in 2020 because of the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19.

Figure 85- Tuba Christmas, Thanksgiving Square

The other important function is the 'Festival of Faiths,' a themed festival (each year on different items like foods, arts, costumes, clothes, etc.) of different religions and cultures that includes performances and participation of diverse communities of faith and cultures. The Foundation sponsors this event twice a year. The festivals have been held on the Square and outside, for

instance, in an auditorium setting. It is the most diverse and inclusive event in the Thanksgiving Square.

Figure 86- The Festival of Faiths, Source: Thanksgiving Foundation Archive

Figure 87- The Festival of Faiths, Source: Thanksgiving Foundation Archive

The Foundation also holds a monthly series of conversations with scholars and academicians regarding faith and faith traditions. All similar functions have been held online during 2020

because of COVID. The community also unite for a Luncheon on the National Day of Prayer on the First Thursday of May. The event always has a prominent speaker, and then people from all faith communities have lunch together and pray together.

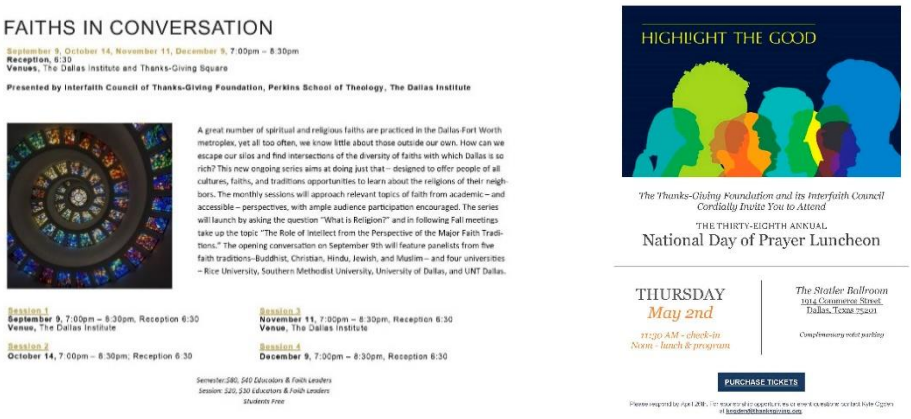


Figure 88- Posters - Faiths in Conversation and National Day of Prayers Luncheon

Thanksgiving Foundation representative mentioned that one of the main things they do is hosting convening groups. First, Interfaith Council is a lay group (laity) where people from different faiths participate. The Council rotates between different people's places of worship, and visitations are involved; So, there are also meetings outside the Square and even outside Dallas. This group aims to understand and appreciate differences in various cultures and faiths. The other permanent convening is Faith Forward Dallas in Thanksgiving Square, which is a multi-faith clergy convenient. The representative defines it as "really an activist group that tries to drive change in the city, and generally advocate for the marginalized groups in the city. They work on affordable housing, homelessness, gun safety, and you know, a handful of issues like that to create conversation and drive change in some of those areas." For instance, the Civil Right Pilgrimage Group had a trip to Alabama and Georgia and advocated for the civil rights values. They visited Dr, King's birthplace and crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the site of the

'Bloody Sunday.' So, their activities and focus scope stretch beyond the square or even Dallas community.

Figure 89- Convening Group Trip to Alabama and Atlanta, 2018, Source: Thanksgiving Foundation Archive

During COVID, Thanksgiving Foundation initiated a program called 'Serving for gratitude,' a donor-supported program. The Foundation took money from the philanthropy community and provided meals from local restaurants to frontline workers: first responders, healthcare workers, and teachers. It was a very successful program because it allowed for expressing gratitude to frontline workers. The Foundation could also provide 25,000 meals for six months, which provided meaningful support for the local restaurants that have been badly damaged by the pandemic.

Figure 90- Serving Up Gratitude, Source: Thanksgiving Foundation Archive

Following the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter Movement, they were about to start a community conversation called 'Breaking Bread and Building Bridges.' They have invited the Dallas Police Department, Café Momentum's youth (kids coming out of juvenile detention in a paid post-release internship program), community leaders, faith leaders of color, and other people of color about issues around policing to create conversations in Dallas. They were also the first organization and site in Dallas that hosted the 'Say their names memorial.'

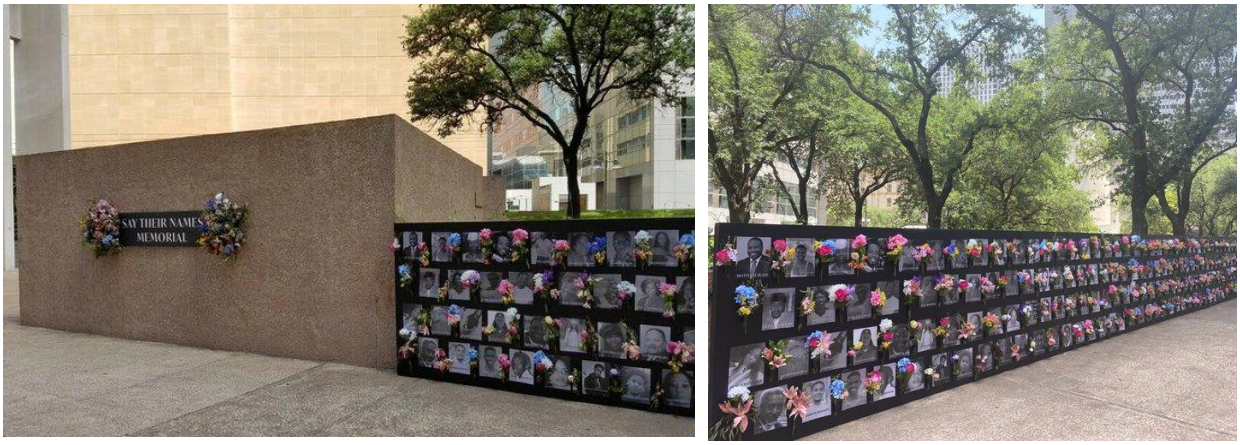


Figure 91- Say their Names Memorial

Besides the effective annual plans and programs that work in tandem with the NPO's mission, Thanksgiving Square also benefits from a series of small-scale activation projects. For instance, street performers, food trucks, yoga and meditation, and landscaping with the community.

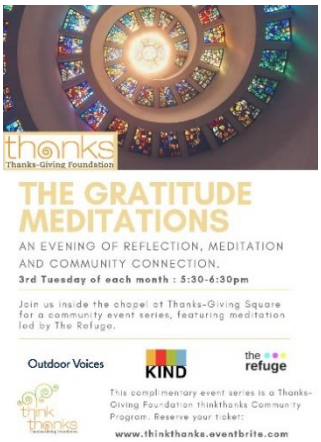


Figure 92- Thanksgiving Square Activation Programming

4.4.3.2. Special Programs for Historically Marginalized Groups

The focus of Faith Forward Dallas, "our clergy group, is on the marginalized and disenfranchised groups, and they have acted on many meaningful fronts." For instance, Faith Forward Dallas strongly advocates for the immigrant community. With the 'Dallas Response' program, Thanksgiving Foundation created a center at Oak Lawn Methodist Church and brought illegal immigrants seeking asylum from El Paso and helped them transition to the US and connected them to their sponsored destinations.

There is also a task force inside Faith Forward Dallas focusing on the homeless community to advocate for changing local regulations about sheltering the homeless in inclement weather. "There has been a difficult thing for the city and from a regulatory standpoint and a permitting standpoint. So, our group has worked through a set of solutions to address the problems that the faith community can respond to homelessness in freezing conditions, which, you know, has been a real benefit to that community as well. So, there is a good bit of advocating for the marginalized. I would say most of that has been done by Faith Forward Dallas and supported by us. But that has been a priority for sure."

4.4.3.3. Analysis

Thanksgiving Foundation annually provides several free and ticketed events and programs to activate the Square and serve the Foundation's mission. Thereby, many events arranged and organized by the Foundation occur in an auditorium setting to encourage conversation, in other public spaces to engage more population and other institution, on streets to communicate better with the public, and even in other cities to support a greater cause. The Foundation holds monthly conversations and annual themed festivals that engage diverse communities of cultures and religions. One of the Foundation's laities is an activist group that attempts to drive change in Dallas and advocate for the marginalized. Thus, they stand in solidarity with several causes and permit demonstrations and other politically oriented events in the Square. Several non-place-based events are also among the Foundation's programming list, such as 'serving for gratitude' in support of first responders and local restaurants or 'Breaking Bread and Building Bridges', initiating conversations between youth out of the juvenile system and the Dallas police department.

Table 25 - Activation Programming Analysis - Thanksgiving Square

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Eventization	Free events	Frequent free events
	Ticketed	Frequent ticketed events/ Fundraisers
	Event types	Activation programs Annual events and fundraisers Regular discussions and speaker series Timely workforce projects
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)	Often accessible
	Information Accessibility	Only for Large scale events and fundraising programs

4.4.4. Policing and Surveillance – Securitization

4.4.4.1. Security and Surveillance Strategies

According to the Foundation representative, the security and surveillance strategies are currently transitioning in Thanksgiving Square. The Square has on-site security seven days a week from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m., which means an outside security team surveils the Square overnight when the operation teams are not present. It was an inherited situation from the first Thanksgiving Square president and CEO to the current CEO in January 2018. There is also no active surveillance camera in the Square. "We are in the process of adding some security cameras. So, it will be accessible to us over the internet, likely to reduce the investment in outside security. We are hopeful that it is not a move that we regret down the road."

The walls around the Square and the Sunken nature of the space are two reasons that concern the Square management for uses other than intended purposes. "We have been the location for things that we don't care to continue, mostly homelessness. It is an interesting dilemma that we have because, on the one hand, we advocate for the homeless in our programs, but we do not really want to supply a place for the homeless to nest in effect. We are happy for them, for

anybody, to come here and behave well in the posted hours that we are open. But we are concerned that we would invite that type of activity with the absence of some security." During the hours of operation, the management encourages visitors to report violations to staff or Dallas 311.

4.4.4.2. Undesirables, Homelessness

Homelessness is a complicated matter for the Thanksgiving Foundation. "I think it is a very difficult place for us because we know that our inclusiveness and our programs are in support of and with empathy toward the homeless, drives us to be hopeful and helpful." Not only do they welcome homeless individuals in the Square, but they also work on other meaningful and helpful ways through an advocacy task force to resolve the issue of homelessness in the city. Notably, to the extent that the faith community can respond to homelessness and shelter individuals in inclement weather with fewer regulations also happened in the historical Texas blizzard in February 2021. However, the Foundation is concerned about encampments to impact the visitor experience or even diminish others' experience as a destination place. "you can diminish that experience by not picking your trash, drinking, being loud, and not observant of rules in a number of ways and affecting the quality of experience for the others trying to enjoy. Those are things we are looking to stop, not from homeless people but anybody, to stop ways to be in our space in a way that is offensive to others."

4.4.4.3. Undesirables, Protestors

Thanksgiving Foundation embraces free speech and free expressions of ideas. In the past three years, I have observed, attended, and followed the news of various peaceful protests and demonstrations in the Square on local and social media. Despite the Foundation

representative's claim that there is no political or religious leaning, and no ideologies are promoted over the others, all peaceful protests in the Square supported marginalized groups. For instance, in solidarity with Muslims and against the travel ban executive order, supporting dreamers (DACA and DAPA), in support of refugees, honoring Vegas mass shooting victims, commemorating Dallas, Marching for MLK, and annual compassion walk supporting peace.

Figure 93- Against Muslim Ban

Figure 94- Supporting Refugees and Immigrants

Figure 95- Supporting the dreamers, DACA and DAPA

Figure 96- Commemorating Dallas Loss

Figure 97- Thanksgiving Leaders on the frontline of the MLK Mega March, Source: Thanksgiving Foundation archive

Figure 98- Thanksgiving Leader in City Hall on immediate removal of confederate statues, 2018

The Foundation representative asserted, "some of our folks are protesters. So, our attitude is open towards it, but we want to do it in a way that again does not impede on the inclusive visitors' experience for everyone. We think it is important for us to be a place that you respect and take care of. We know that it is a special space to many people, and we do want to

preserve that for everyone." Accordingly, the Foundation closed the gates earlier and engaged extra securities on-site during the recent unrest in Downtown, in response to the 'experience of vandalism on the Chapel.'

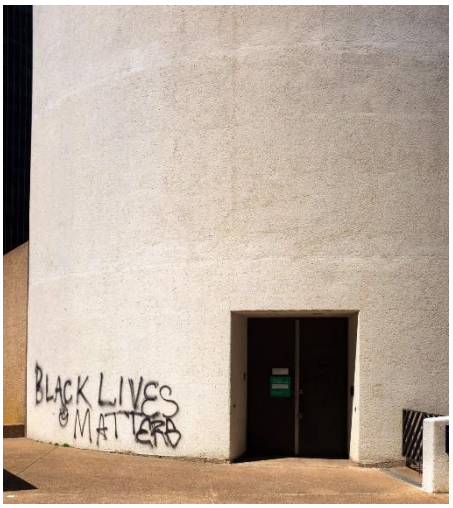


Figure 99- Black Lives Matters Graffiti on the Chapel, June 2021

4.4.4.4. Public Health, the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19

During the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19, Thanksgiving Foundation ensured public safety protocols with signages. The Chapel was closed for several months and then opened with a limited number of visitors and marks enforcing physical distancing; all other communal programs were canceled or hosted online. "Truly, our only effort has been to try to warn people to continue to be safe."

4.4.4.5. Analysis

Thanksgiving Square's security and surveillance strategies transitioned after the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter movement. Visitors are encouraged to report violations to staff or Dallas 311 during the hours of operation, as no security camera or staff were surveilling the

Square. However, an on-site security officer observed the Square overnight in the absence of the operation team, primarily because of the sunken nature of the space that may encourage unexpected activities. Homeless individuals are welcomed in the Square, and there is an advocacy task force to help resolve homelessness in the city. However, the Foundation is concerned about encampments that may impact the space quality and experience. The Foundation also encourages and organizes peaceful protests and assemblies within and outside of the Square physical boundaries.

Table 26- Policing and Surveillance Analysis - Thanksgiving Square

Concept	Operationalization	Measure
Securitization	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)	Not yet, but in near future
	Security personnel	Overnight when closed, to be substituted by CCTV
	Enforced by	Private Security overnight
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	Yes
	Hostile Architecture	No, but sunken nature with surrounding 4 ft. walls
	Presence of homelessness	Yes
	Permitting protests	Yes
	Room for appropriation/Contestation	Limited

4.4.5. Governance Structure – Representation

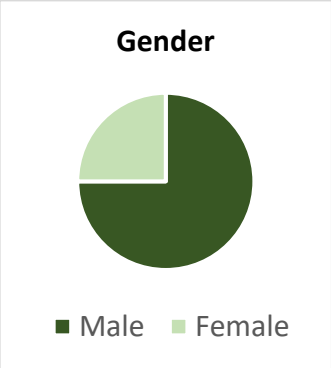
4.4.5.1. Governance Structure

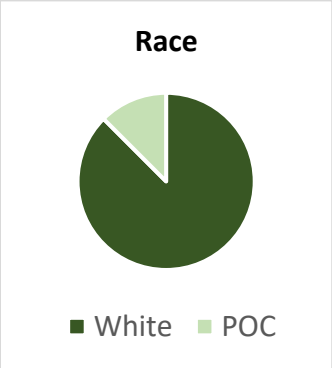
Thanksgiving Foundation has a board of directors with 27 people on the board. The Foundation also has an executive committee, facilities committee, a program committee, and a support or donations committee, all as subsets of the board of directors. According to the management

representative, some of these committees are more active than others; for instance, the executive committee and the program committee are the most active ones. The Foundation has a CEO who reports and promotes ideas up to the board of directors. So, the board helps guide the path forward and provides directional strategies. According to the Foundation representative, they might convene a committee to discuss or evaluate an idea. The two most recent convened committees concern the new CEO and the renovation of the Square and rejuvenation plan.

4.4.5.2. Governance Board

The Thanksgiving Foundation board of directors comprises mostly White men who belong to the upper-middle-class Dallas social elite community. However, the interfaith community leaders are more representative of the Dallas community regarding race and religion.





4.4.5.3. Participatory Decision-Making Processes; Inclusion into Action

Thanksgiving Foundation is proud to have a very engaging community in constant communication with the Foundation and interfaith leaders through their events, programs, and

other communication modes, including mailing listservs and social media. "I do not have a bunch of experience with other communities to figure if ours is more energized than others or not. But certainly, we meet with our community regularly at our events, programs, and such. So, we do have the opportunity to get reactions and see their feedback, and so, I think we have a good idea of where we are going to take the Foundation and the kinds of people that come along with us as we do that." Thereby, the Foundation believes they are in harmony with their community across their visions, mission, agendas, and programs. Thanksgiving Foundation identifies its community in layers:

- The physical neighbors, including Downtown businesses and Downtown residents that are inherently two different communities.
- The interfaith advocates, who are not in geographic proximity but are culturally aligned with the Foundation's mission and works.
- The architectural advocates, who are amused by and interested in Philip Johnson sites.
- The outdoor enthusiasts who appreciate open green spaces.
- The DEI enthusiasts who relate with the Foundation's missions.

Figure 200- Thanksgiving Community, Source: Thanksgiving Foundation, 2020

Thereby, the Foundation acknowledges different reasons for people to be on the Square but sees users as an endorsement of their activities. "I would say they are mostly people with goodwill that enjoy what we do programmatically and endorse what we do, and they are part of our community for that reason." But the Foundation representative had difficulties answering how they put inclusion to action because, according to them, it is so much a part of everything they do. "I think we seek inclusion; we seek diversity. A big part of what we do is trying to put a diverse community of interfaith, people of different faiths or different races and cultures in the same room, on the same video call, or whatever we plan. It is a goal of ours to be as inclusive as we can be. And we are on that journey."

As mentioned earlier, the Foundation does not have a diverse, inclusive board, and the board comprises 100% Dallas elite society, 75% Male, and 87% White. However, the Foundation representative acknowledges the attempt to bring diversity to their governance to have a leadership representative of their constituency. "We are trying to add diversity to our board and leadership. Like most institutions in the city, we are behind on that. Because of the legacy we inherited from the leaders that were here before us. The new additions to our board and additions to our leadership team are almost exclusively women or people of color, and hopefully, both. [...] There are people who have been engaged over the years at our National Day of Prayer Luncheons, or we have somehow touched them. Then they joined our community, and they tagged along with us all along the way. We try to bring a few more people on the board every day. It is mostly our inclusive messaging and effort to be a force to positive change in the city."

4.4.5.4. Sources of Funding

Thanksgiving Foundation benefits from different sources and types of funding. First is general support that the Foundation receives from specific donors. The management representative introduced them as part of their 'community' and as well-wishers who want to support the Foundation with its mission. The second source concerns various initiatives that the Foundation holds fundraising events to accomplish the goals. That money comes with string and is contributed with expectations for spending towards the initiative mission, like the recent Serving for Gratitude Program that was supposed to provide meals for the frontline workers from the local restaurants. Fundraising campaigns also serve for the modifications in the Square or when a piece of equipment is required. Those dollars also come with an expectation. "So, those kinds of strings are attached. We do not generally have to do something and act another

way because a donor has some sort of undue influence. Fortunately, that is not something that we routinely experience to hold in some way for somebody's self-interest."

4.4.5.5. Analysis

Thanksgiving Square is owned and managed by Thanksgiving Foundation, which is a faith-based nonprofit organization. The actors involved in the governance of the Thanksgiving Square are the boards of directors, various committees, including executive, facilities, programming, and donation and support, two laity group comprised of community leaders and faith leaders dedicated to the vision of gratitude, support, and inclusion, and occasional task forces that focus on the ongoing issues, ranging from rejuvenating plan to homelessness. Thanksgiving Foundation has a public-private partnership with the city regarding the subsurface of the Square. However, they are the only responsible actor for planning, programming, maintaining, and managing the Square. The funding resources come from well-wisher donors and the leasing of the pedway (Thanksgiving Square subsurface) to the City of Dallas.

Table 27 - Governance Structure Analysis - Thanksgiving Square

Aspect	**Type**
Attitude	Nonprofit Organization, Faith-Based Organization (FBO)
Actors	Thanksgiving Foundation (Nonprofit organization) - Board of Directors - Committees: executive, facilities, program, donations - Interfaith Council - Faith Forward Dallas - Occasional Task forces
Roles	Planning, Programming, Management, Maintenance, Funding
Relations	Network, Communities of Faith and Cultures

Resources	Donors, Leasing the subsurface to the City
Representativeness Representative of: - boards - Leadership - security personnel - vendors - programming	 Representative of Elites Communities of Dallas Mostly White, Upper-middle class, elites No security personnel Local and marginalized communities Diverse communities of faith and cultures, very representative and inclusive

4.4.6. Conclusion

Thanksgiving Square is a private signature park in downtown Dallas, owned and managed by Thanksgiving Foundation, a faith-based nonprofit organization. It is a multi-use park with a couple of indoor spaces, the Chapel and Hall of Thanksgiving. The space is open from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. However, the Chapel and the hall have different hours. The park is governed by special ordinances posted for public reference in the space and online. There are no commercial or sponsored spaces within the Square, yet it changes with the rejuvenating plan. Restrooms are only indoor and not accessible to users of the Square.

The Foundation provides monthly and annually free and ticketed events and programs to activate the Square and serve the Foundation mission. Thereby, not all events occur on the Square but also in neighboring streets, facilities, foundations, as well as other faith-based organizations in the DFW Metroplex and beyond. There are a few commercially oriented events, but the Square is used for many politically- and community-oriented events that engage diverse communities of culture and faith. The Square's security and surveillance strategies changed with the recent BLM demonstrations cry and demand police reform. The park had an

overnight security officer and no CCTVs, yet with the installment of security cameras, there will not be a security team present on-site. Through a sign and online, the Foundation advises park users to call Dallas 311 to report violations.

Table 28 - Inclusionary/exclusionary Governance Strategies Analysis - Thanksgiving Square

Strategy	Dimensions	Inclusive	Moderate	Exclusive
Privatization	Property ownership			■
	Private management			■
	Public-Private Partnership contract			■
	Visible sets of rules posted	■		
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance			■
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use		■	
	Sponsored Spaces	■		
	Variety of food/Activity options			■
	Diversity of seating space	■		
	Various Microclimates	■		
	No/ Partial/ High coverage of Cafés, restaurants and shops	■		
	Availability of food vendors			■
	Restroom available accessible with purchase/ permission			■
	Parking availability and price	■		
	Entrance/orientation accessibility		■	
Eventization	Types and frequency of free events		■	
	Types and frequency of ticketed events	■		
	Availability of community-, commercially-, and politically-oriented events	■		
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)	■		
	Information Accessibility	■		
Representation	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)	■		
	Security personnel	■		
	Enforced by local police/private security	■		
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	■		
	Hostile Architecture		■	
	Presence of homelessness	■		
	Permitting protests	■		
	Room for appropriation/Contestation		■	

4.5. Case Study Analysis and Discussion

The investigation of the three downtown signature park case studies demonstrates that public space and social inclusion are rich, contestable, because 'public,' 'public space,' and 'social inclusion' are complex and evolving concepts concerning many variables. After scrutinizing and examining the three case studies, I argue it is difficult to claim a sharp conceptual distinction between the two realms of inclusive versus exclusive.

This work has examined ownership, management, and access to downtown parks as important contributing factors of public space governance. The study has aimed to shed light on how public space's governance structure and strategies constitute governance regimes that shape and reshape practices of social inclusion. The documented governance regimes' attributes center around five general concepts: privatization, commercialization, eventization, securitization, and representation. This dissertation introduced these concepts as governance strategies and questioned how these strategies are handled and applied by those in power, including designers, managers, board members, security guards, and city officials.

It critically studied a variety of inclusionary and exclusionary instances in different times, spaces, and situations. Investigating the governance practices in different times and spaces challenge some long-held assumptions about privatization and the degree of inclusion in publicly used spaces. Through numerous instances, this study has shown while undoubtedly significant to classify and analyze public spaces, private ownership and management are not as central to practices of social inclusion as previous studies have shown.

Privatization discussed in this dissertation involves nonprofit organizations, yet the nonprofit sector is not a homogeneous entity with shared visions, missions, and objectives. However, as

part of the private sector, whose intentions and aspirations regarding public spaces differ from the public sector, it is a valid concern to study the decline of publicness, inclusiveness, and thereby justice in spaces owned and/or managed by nonprofit organizations.

Previous studies of privatized public space tend to focus on design features and management practices that make the space exclusive (Kayden et al., 2000; Kohn, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Miller, 2007; Nemeth, 2007; 2009; Smithsimon, 2006; 2008; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Yet, the governance structures and the level of private involvement, and its impact on decreasing the activities and occupants' diversity, thereby social inclusiveness, have been overlooked.

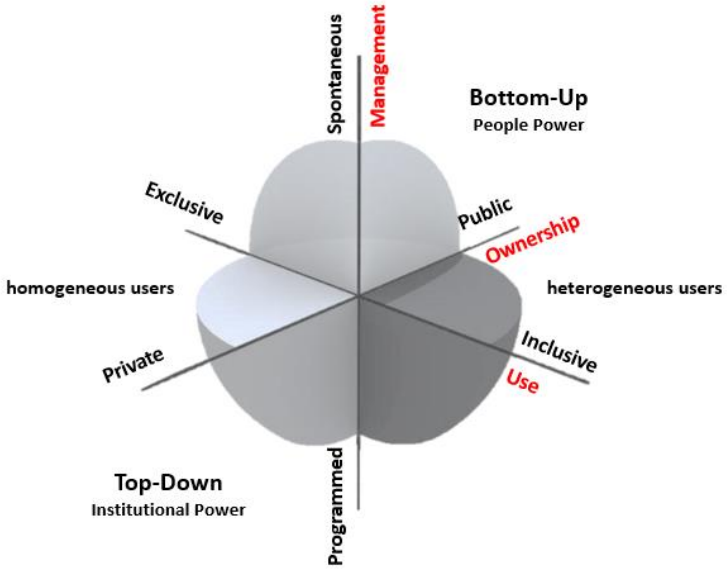


Figure 101- Dimensions of Social Inclusiveness

This chapter addressed how privatization manifests itself in inclusionary and exclusionary strategies. It also discussed policies and practices employed by each governance regime and

uncovered in the dissertation that increases or decreases social inclusiveness. Later, it demonstrated how each park's management maintains homogeneity or heterogeneity and ensures the exclusion of 'inappropriate' and 'undesirable.'

4.5.1. Whose Public Space?

Interestingly, managing representatives introduce spaces differently, respectively, 'community center and festival space,' 'town Square,' 'reflective garden.' All managing representatives indicated they conceive their spaces as public and for every well-behaved person who respects the curated users' experience. However, the design, management, and programming of the three spaces accommodate the needs of different 'publics.'

Table 29- How Managers Conceive Each Space

Space	**Type**	**Classification**	**Perception**
Main Street Garden	Park	Destination/Neighborhood	Main Street Gathering Spot Festival Space
Klyde Warren	Park	Destination	Townsquare Art District Epitome
Thanksgiving	Square	Destination/Hiatus	Garden (to reflect) Corporate Hiatus

The three signature publicly used spaces studied are differentially inclusive across the space-time-event continuum, indicating that the level of inclusion on a day-to-day basis is different from small or special events. The design and centrality of Klyde Warren Park make it more inviting to the general public to serve as a regional catchment, reflective of Dallas or the DFW Metroplex population on a day-to-day basis, as evident in the number and diversity of occupants and activities. However, the two other case studies' locations and designs classifies them as a

local catchment and make them more inviting to downtown regulars. Thereby, mostly office workers, downtown residents, or Dallas tourists frequent them on weekdays.

All three spaces are heavily active in weekday lunch hours, and each park engages downtown workers with street performers, new vendors, food trucks, and small-scale activation programs. The availability of various microclimate spaces and ample numbers of chairs and tables in each park make them very popular and welcoming to the downtown lunch crowd. The sunken nature of Thanksgiving Square makes it less engaging with outsiders. So, few people frequent inside the space and use it as a 'Zen space' or a 'quite extended office corner.' The availability of WiFi in Main Street Garden and Klyde Warren Park also serves freelancers or those who can work outside the office space.

Yet, large events in Main Street Garden Park are less commercialized than those in Klyde Warren Park. So, they are more inclusive to especially minorities and historically disenfranchised communities in the DFW Metroplex. Main Street Garden Park and Thanksgiving Square also welcome homeless individuals and groups, particularly Main Street Garden is frequented and occupied by the homeless population. Main Street Garden and Thanksgiving Square are also more inviting to protestors and demonstrators. They welcome free speech, yet Main Street Garden serves a larger population and more diverse causes. However, Thanksgiving Squares authorize those protests in line with the Foundation's mission and are supported by their leaders, mainly addressing injustice towards a historically disenfranchised group in Dallas.

Both Main Street Garden and Klyde Warren Park have security guards during hours of operation, yet the latter extends their presence after hours. In my observing sessions, I never spotted vagrancy in Klyde Warren Park. According to the DDI, Woodall Rogers Foundation,

and Downtown Dallas Inc Security representatives, their securities intend to eliminate possible danger and discomfort rather than responding to it.

All three spaces are very engaging to the general public. However, the lack of playgrounds, kid-friendly activities, cafes, and restaurants in Thanksgiving Square makes it less frequented by women, kids, and families on a day-to-day basis. Contrarily, Klyde Warren Park provides daily free programs that accommodate the needs of different groups of people. However, many programmed activities are scheduled in hours less accessible to those who work or reside beyond downtown or uptown Dallas.

4.5.2. Conclusion

This study's findings are quite surprising compared to earlier studies conducted in New York or Los Angeles (Boddy, 1992; Loukaito-Sideris, 1993; Loukaito-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Miller, 2007, Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Smithsimon, 2006). Former research finds lower user diversity in hybrid or pseudo-public spaces with often homogeneous occupants that are mostly (upper) middle-income educated white professionals. However, the three downtown Dallas signature parks studied in this research have quite diverse occupants regarding gender, race, age, and class in ordinary and planned activities and programs. With lower diversity, these spaces are known as less inviting. However, planned activities and scheduled events can change perceptions of the space.

Main Street Garden and Klyde Warren Park both benefit from the diversity of design and activation programming. Klyde Warren Park has the most frequency of design and activation programming among the three case studies. But both parks appear to be inviting. According to Kayden et al. (2000), occupants of destination spaces are from both the immediate

neighborhood and other areas that are further away. However, this study could not collect users' demographics data. Previous studies found the homeless people and political activism absent from such spaces and considered them among the most 'undesirable' users and use. However, Main Street Garden and Thanksgiving Square, the publicly owned and managed and privately-owned and managed case studies- are heavily used by the homeless population and protestors. Klyde Warren Park, the publicly owned but privately managed case study, has also allowed the previously prohibited protests in the park after the civil unrest in 2020.

Table 30- Evaluating Inclusion/Exclusion in three case studies.

Concept	**Dimensions**	**Main Street Garden**	**Klyde Warren Park**	**Thanksgiving Square**
Inclusion/Exclusion	Freedom of speech	Moderate	Minimal	Moderate
	Right to protest	Frequent	Minimal	Moderate
	Potential to interact with strangers	Excessive	Excessive	Minimal to Moderate
	Potential to play	Moderate	Excessive	Minimal
	Potential to engage in creative and self-actualizing experiences	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
	Potential to participate in the space governance	Moderate	Minimal	Minimal
	Allows appropriation in consumption (access)	Moderate	Minimal	Minimal
	Allows appropriation in production (use)	Moderate	Minimal	Minimal
	Programming for historically disenfranchised communities: - women - kids, - elderly, - individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities, - LGBTQ+ communities, - Refugee and immigrant communities - Multicultural/racial/ethnic communities	 - Moderate - Moderate - Moderate - Minimal - Moderate - Moderate - Moderate	 - Moderate - Moderate - Minimal - Minimal - Minimal - Minimal - Moderate	 - Moderate - Minimal - Moderate - Minimal - Minimal - Frequent - Frequent

Chapter 5:

Conclusion and Discussion

5. Findings, Conclusion, and Discussion

This dissertation explored some of the more current tendencies in the governance of public space and their relationship with social inclusion to understand whether current directions, in three deliberately selected case studies among downtown Dallas signature parks, are driven by a desire to improve social inclusion and justice in such spaces. The study benefits from the theoretical lenses provided by Lefebvrian sociology and three groups of his interpreters that equate the 'right to the city' as claiming (1) social justice (Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009; Mitchell, 2003), (2) spatial justice (Soja, 2010; Dikeç, 2009); and (3) radical urban political justice (Purcell, 2003; Schmidt, 2012). It further relies on the theories discussing the 'production of public space,' particularly the domain of planners, designers, and city officials or 'conceived space' to further investigate the governance regimes' structures and strategies and their relations with social inclusion.

This dissertation focuses on three downtown Dallas signature parks with different degrees of private control over ownership and management to examine how privatization manifests within the parks' governance regimes and what degree of influence do governance structures and institutional governance regime strategies have on social inclusiveness in those signature parks. It also distinguishes the 'inappropriate' and 'undesirable' across time, space, and events. It also discusses the complexity and nuances of neoliberal privatization that were overlooked and oversimplified by using umbrella terms, 'privatized public spaces' (Peterson, 2006; Németh and Hollander, 2010) or 'privately owned public spaces (POPS) (Németh, 2009; Mitchell, 2017) that

fail to detect the heterogeneity and the new redistributions of power and responsibilities in the private sector.

This dissertation posed three research questions and tried to find answers by examining three case studies in downtown Dallas. This section tries to elucidate and answer those questions with reference to the aforementioned study's findings. It also attempts to derive general conclusions about the implications of privatization of signature public spaces.

5.1. Findings: What the Cases Suggest

5.1.1. Privatization and the Governance Regimes

Q1. How does privatization manifest itself in the governance structures and strategies of three downtown Dallas signature parks?

Actors and Attitudes

Analysis of actors, attitudes, relations, and roles indicate different governance structures and strategies among the three case studies. The cases show that even the publicly owned and managed park, Main Street Garden, is not governed in a traditional governance format, where power is fully concentrated in the public sector. However, it follows the managerial governance style, where a managing agency is established as an arm's-length organization (Johnston, 2000) to bring efficiency, the private sector's expertise, and customer satisfaction. The responsible nonprofit organization's representative describes DDI's activities and presence as a 'facilitator to the City of Dallas' to make the bureaucratic procedures more accessible and faster.

However, all three parks are also involved with a degree of network governance, where various stakeholders from public, for- and nonprofit sectors, and sometimes community organizations or citizens collaborate in the governance of the public space (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). In this

case, power is distributed among various stakeholders and decision-makers. DDI and Thanksgiving Foundation have organizational arms and institutions to provide the basis for collaborative decision-making processes.

The Main Street Garden Park participation occurs through the Downtown Dallas Inc. Foundation (DDIF), where every downtown property owner and all downtown businesses, foundations, corporations, and coalitions can become members and participate in partners' events. However, they have to pay their membership dues based on either gross floor area or the number of their employees. Thanksgiving Foundation provides network governance and collaboration of various stakeholders through its laity groups, 'Interfaith Council' and 'Faith Forward Dallas.' The former group is comprised of people from different faith and cultural groups. The latter is an activist group that seeks to "drive change in the city, and generally advocate for the marginalized groups in the city" by creating discussions around issues of gun safety, homelessness, affordable housing, COVID recovery, etc., on which they form task forces to act upon afterward.

The manager of the Klyde Warren Park also regularly meets with the Downtown Dallas Inc. managers, Arts District managers, and a couple of other conservancies. However, the representative portrays the nature of their collaboration as, "Well, Klyde Warren Park is a little different. I mean, we benefit by having obvious people's voices. It allows us to hear different opinions and have different resources. We also benefit financially from our membership society. You know, they pay. I would say, Klyde Warren Park is a little bit of a Unicorn, the first one in Dallas; that is what it is and has been the most successful. So, people tend to look at us to see how we're doing things to help downtown Dallas parks. So, it is more of a … we try to partner and benefit from each other. It's more of a collaborative approach than receiving wisdom from

others because we're so much further down the road. On the flip side, we try to allow them to benefit from our experience."

This attitude of tokenism and controlled participation to legitimate through limited window dressing rituals, such as informing or seeking public consultation (Arnstein, 1969), validates a story covered by Dallas Morning News in 2015 about the 'plan to expand the park towards Perot Museum.' In the article, "Perot Museum and Arts District officials, sitting at opposite ends of the Park, [said] they have not been formally briefed on the plans yet. But they also say they like what they've heard rumored about for the past several weeks" (Wilonsky, 2015).

Roles and Relations

The public and quasi-public case studies, Main Street Garden - publicly owned and managed - and Klyde Warren Park - publicly owned but privately managed-are located in Improvement Districts (IDs). The former is located within the downtown improvement district (DID), and the latter is part of the Dallas Arts District public improvement district (PID). Thereby, the property owners, businesses, and corporations pay an imposed fee, and the revenue collected is spent exclusively within the district for services like cleaning, policing, and programming. However, Klyde Warren Park's managing representative explained that "about a million dollars [of its $5.3 million budget] come from the Public Improvement District (PID), a voluntary tax that the neighbors pay to keep the Park clean, safe, and active." But the DDI DID tax-based revenue is spent in all downtown Dallas public spaces, including all the parks, plazas, streets, and sidewalks, and Main Street Garden does not receive a dedicated fix amount.

Klyde Warren Park and Thanksgiving Square are governed through a market-based governance style (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013). This governance structure and style is what urban planning,

design, and geography literature commonly recall as 'privatization of public space.' In the former case, the City of Dallas has authorized the Woodall Rogers Foundation to act in charge of the provision and management of the park. In the latter, the private ownership right has granted the Thanksgiving Foundation the power and authority to make decisions about eligible uses and users in the Park. As a result, both foundations have imposed special ordinances, regulations, and rules of conduct for both parks.

5.1.2. Privatization and Social Inclusion/Exclusion

Q2. How and to what extent social inclusion/exclusion in three downtown Dallas signature parks reflects their degree of public-private control?

Privatization

The three case studies have different degrees of private involvement and control over ownership and management of the park. Moreover, different types of nonprofit organizations are responsible for managing these parks, from a downtown improvement district (DID) in the public case to a public improvement district (PID) in the quasi-public case and faith-based organization in the private case study. The study reveals, even though all three nonprofit organizations are responsible for planning, managing, programming, funding, and policing their respective parks, the level of private control has impacted the public-private partnership contract duration, which compromises citizens' right to participation and right to appropriation.

The DDI, the DID is in charge of Main Street Garden and all other public spaces in downtown Dallas, including parks, plazas, streets, and sidewalks, and has a 'management and operation' agreement with the City of Dallas for a 10-year period. However, the Woodall Rogers Foundation responsible for managing Klyde Warren Park has a 'lease' agreement with the City

of Dallas for 50-years with the option to renew four times for 10-years (adds up to a 90-year lease agreement with the City). Yet, despite providing a publicly used space, Thanksgiving Foundation does not have a contract or agreement with the City of any kind about management, control, or the use of the Square because of the private property and ownership rights. Still, the City has leased the under-surface or ped-way from the Foundation, and an agreement is in place for that matter.

All three parks close at 11 p.m. However, the public, quasi-public, and private parks open at 5 a.m., 6 a.m., and 7 a.m., respectively. The hours of operation are the same for all uses and programmed spaces in the Main Street Garden. However, both Klyde Warren Park and Thanksgiving Square have different hours of operation for different programmed spaces that shrink the inclusive horizons and impact users' 'right to habit and inhabit,' Since the right to inhabit is linked to the dynamics that make spaces fit for individual's needs and access to resources.

The public case study, Main Street Garden, is governed by local ordinances and regulations. However, both quasi-public, Klyde Warren Park, and the private case, Thanksgiving Square, have adopted special ordinances to govern the parks, limiting the individuals' 'right to freedom' and 'oeuvre.' All three parks require permits and authorization for larger events, festivals, protests, demonstrations, picket lines, and all forms of bottom-up 'appropriation,' restricting the rights to 'participation' and 'appropriation.' The timeframe to apply for authorization and permit for large events in the public case study is a month and up to six months for the quasi-public case. However, there is no clear indication for the private case study of an imbalance in power between citizens and managers.

Commercialization

Commercialization of public space is not always an unfortunate side effect of market forces and increasing commercialization of our world, but a deliberate strategy that undermines the use-value of public spaces in favor of their exchange value. The parks' governance regimes attract commercial activity to the parks to help animate them but also to generate revenue. The problem arises when the governance regimes justify creeping commercialization as required animation of the park's green and open space; animation that caters to the needs of the upper-middle-class and turns the park into a place of individualized consumption rather than casual socializing (Smith, 2016).

Klyde Warren Park, the publicly owned but privately managed case study, generates $1 million annually from its restaurants and food trucks. Klyde Warren Park has two restaurants, a luxury sit-in and a grab-and-go kiosk, both owned and managed by the former executive chef and director of food and beverage at the Ritz-Carlton, which determines the targeted restaurant's clientele. The financial partner in the restaurant is a member of the park foundation board that was also among the private donors who gave millions to help defray the cost of building the park (Robinson-Jacobs, 2012). Other than that, restrictions for third-party catered events at the restaurant, which may indirectly restrict the provision of inclusive events and festivals.

The Main Street Garden has a small grab-and-go cafe that attracts the downtown office workers and supports small-scale gatherings, such as game nights or solo performances for the local community (downtown residents and workers). However, interestingly, in contrast with the previous studies that associate commercialization with privatization, to date, Thanksgiving

Square does not have a cafe or restaurant on-site, which is subject to change with the Square's future rejuvenating plan.

Parks are also sometimes used for large private events, including weddings, corporate events, or fundraisers. Fundraisers are often justified for supporting good causes or for the park itself. Using the same logic, Klyde warren Park justifies its annual fundraiser event, the 'park and palate,' "a high-dollar, 21 and up event that will include appearances by celebrity chefs." Tickets start at $150 for general admission and $275 to $450 for VIP tickets (Blaskovich, 2015), which generate $1 million for the park's annual budget. However, Thanksgiving Square holds its annual fundraising events in an auditorium setting, outside the park boundaries. Still, Thanksgiving Foundation hosts few small weddings, up to 60 people, in the Chapel. The Foundation management stated, "There is opportunity or circumstances to rent our space for events. You know, we have not done that, but we have talked about. For instance, when a convention is in town, after hours may be, they could have a gathering in our space. But for the most part, we would reserve that to the times that we do not have visitors and during our down hours probably."

Eventization

Events played a significant role in this dissertation methodology to investigate social inclusiveness in three downtown Dallas signature parks. This study gauged the impact of governance regime structures and institutional strategies on practices of inclusion across the time/space/event continuum. Eventization of public space can be discussed as an inclusionary or exclusionary strategy depending on the size, nature, accessibility, and the targeted spectators or participants of the events.

Previous researchers divide events into two categories: those involved in the production and revitalization of public space, and the ones that commodify public spaces (Jakob, 2013; Pløger, 2010, Smith, 2016; Spracklen et al., 2013). This dissertation evaluates events in three main categories, community-oriented, politically oriented, and commercially oriented. The first two types of events could contribute to inclusion practices within public space, and the latter may contribute to commercialization and securitization processes. Also, Lefebvre's rights to 'oeuvre,' 'participation', and especially 'appropriation' can be very well discussed, located, and evaluated by the spontaneity and bottom-up nature of the event as opposed to top-down, authorized, staged ones.

All three nonprofit organizations grant and sanction ticketed events that restrict access to ticket holders and the 'consumer class.' However, interestingly, Thanksgiving Foundation arranges most of its ticketed programs beyond the Square's physical borders in ballroom or auditorium settings or museums, community centers, or other faith-based organizations. The price range for ticketed programs in the quasi-public park is higher than two other parks; still, the publicly owned and managed park close its boundaries to regular park users for the ticketed events. However, there were instances that its nonprofit organization permitted negotiations and the picketing of the ticketed event's cause, for instance, animal rights activists for a ticketed closed barbeques events in Main Street Garden Park.

Events become problematic when they cause long-term changes, such as sponsorships, and act as a 'Trojan horse' for increased commercialization and securitization of public space. Both Main Street Warren and Klyde Warren Park, public and quasi-public parks, are used for recurring monthly 'pop-up market' events. It will bring us to the question Zukin asked more than two decades ago, "does anyone know, in these days of entertainment, security and retail

shopping what a park is" (Zukin, 1995, 261)? The ensuing question would be: who can borrow public space for 'appropriation' events? Further research is required to answer both questions. The eventization process is interlinked with the processes of commercialization and securitization. However, at least in Downtown Dallas, it is not associated with privatization, yet publicly owned and managed spaces also utilize the same neoliberal logic to activate the park and generate proceeds.

Securitization

Along with commercialization, securitization represents another threat to the publicness and inclusiveness of public spaces. It highlights the spatial logic underpinning surveillance and control in public spaces. The governance regimes use a range of hard and soft measures to manage and identify the 'appropriate' and 'desirable' users and uses - discussed in the next section - which represents a threat to civil liberties and diversity of uses and users.

This study's findings are quite surprising; the publicly owned and publicly managed park has more numbers and types of security personnel present on site among the three case studies. The Main Street Garden Park is surveilled during hours of operation by the private DDI security team, Dallas Police Department, and Dallas Park Rangers. Furthermore, the DDI homeless outreach team and cleaning team who frequent the park also provides 'eyes on the space.'

According to the DDI security team manager, 98% of the street-level bureaucrats are minority officers. "We are minorities. We are all Latino and Black Americans. We obviously can empathize and not discriminate against our own people." The DDI security team has established a close relationship with many downtown residents, workers, and homeless

persons. Also, they are unarmed and do not have the authority to give tickets and take people to jail. "The defund the police movement has truly not had an impact on us. Because I think many people, especially the downtown residents and stakeholders, realize that a) we're not the police, and b) we're sort of an intermediary. So, we are not this overwhelming […] You know, we don't have guns and rifles and things like that. So, some people that are for- defunding the police don't particularly think of and mark us as that heavily armed force."

However, Thanksgiving Square, the privately owned and privately managed park, previously had just an overnight security guard, who has been dismissed with the recent addition of CCTVs following the recent demand of 'defunding the police' with the recent wave of Black Lives Matters demonstrations. Yet, Klyde Warren Park, the quasi-public space, has full-time (24 hours) security in the park. Yet, the most 'undesirable' users addressed in previous literature, homeless persons and protestors, heavily claim and use Main Street Garden and Thanksgiving Square. But no evidence of homeless persons was observed in the course of this dissertation in and around Klyde Warren Park. However, the park management has granted a few heavily policed but peaceful gatherings following the recent wave of BLM demonstrations in Dallas.

Interestingly, the Klyde Warren Park management, besides monitoring activities within the park, monitors social media, which may be a mechanism to exclude the so-called 'undesirable' and 'inappropriate' before entering the park's boundaries. As the park manager stated, "We also monitor social media for things that we see might be … You know, people say let's meet at Klyde Warren Park. They create a poster that we were able to see that and DPD looks for that, and so that's then how we get in touch with the organizing body to tell them, you know, it's not to dissuade them. It's their First Amendment right to be in the park. It's more to try to set them and the park goers up for success and for coexistence."

Although traditionally, events are perceived as times for loosening policing and regulation, they are negatively associated with the securitization of parks. Major events contribute to the tightening of security within parks, caused by fear of terrorism, demonstrations, and unrest, because of the signature events and the signature park's symbolic value. For all special events in which the estimated number of participants exceeds 75, the City of Dallas requires a 30-day notice, insurance, emergency medical services, additional security and traffic control staff on-site, extra portable restrooms, and specific qualifications regarding the vendors. Similarly, Klyde Warren Park manager said, "If we have an event expecting a larger number of people, not only we have EMT on site, we might also have like a Central Command set up to monitor the park as have been divided up in different sections. And so, we monitor from the ground and from up above."

Table 31 depicts the differential degree of inclusion/exclusion across four institutional governance strategies in three signature parks.

Table 31- Inclusionary/exclusionary Governance Strategies Comparative Analysis

Strategy	Dimensions	Main Street Garden			Klyde Warren Pak			Thanksgiving Square		
		Inclusive	Moderate	Exclusive	Inclusive	Moderate	Exclusive	Inclusive	Moderate	Exclusive
Privatization	Property ownership	■			■					■
	Private management		■				■			■
	Public-Private Partnership contract		■				■			■
	Visible sets of rules posted					■		■		
	Arranged by local vs. special Ordinance	■					■			■
Commercialization	Areas of restricted or conditional use	■				■			■	
	Sponsored Spaces		■				■	■		
	Variety of food/Activity options		■		■					■
	Diversity of seating space	■			■			■		
	Various Microclimates	■			■			■		
	No/ Partial/ High coverage of Cafés, restaurants, and shops		■			■		■		
	Availability of food vendors		■		■					■
	Restroom availablity		■		■					■
	Parking availability and price	■			■			■		
	Entrance/orientation accessibility	■			■				■	
Eventization	Types and frequency of free events		■		■				■	
	Types and frequency of ticketed events		■				■	■		
	Availability of community-, commercially-, and politically oriented events	■					■	■		
	Events Accessibility (times of day/week)		■			■		■		
	Information Accessibility		■				■	■		
Securitization	Surveillance cameras (CCTVs)		■				■	■		
	Security personnel			■			■	■		
	Enforced by local police/private security			■			■	■		
	Lighting to encourage nighttime use	■			■			■		
	Hostile Architecture		■			■			■	
	Presence of homelessness	■					■	■		
	Permitting protests	■				■		■		
	Room for appropriation/Contestation		■				■		■	

5.1.3. Exclusion of the 'inappropriate' and 'undesirable' – The Who?

Q3. How governance regimes define and exclude 'inappropriate' and 'undesirable' in three downtown Dallas signature parks?

A significant and critical aspect of Whyte's research (1972, 1974, 1980) was categorizing various user groups of public spaces as the desirable, appropriate, and those to be encouraged in contrast to the undesirable, inappropriate, or to be discouraged. "Who are the undesirables? For most businessmen, curiously, it is not the muggers, dope dealers, or truly dangerous people. It is the winos, derelicts [...] the most harmless of the city's marginal people [...] For retailers, the list of undesirables is considerably more inclusive; there are the bag women, people who act strangely in public, hippies, teenagers, older people, street musicians, vendors of all kinds" (Whyte, 1980, 60).

Homelessness

Previous studies determine homeless persons as one type of undesired users who are intentionally excluded from many public spaces (Whyte, 1980; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998; Németh, 2006; Mitchell, 1995; Peterson, 2006; 2010; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Their presence symbolizes that almost everyone is welcomed in space and indicates the inclusiveness of the public space. Homeless persons with dirty, layered clothes who possess many large bags occupy Main Street Garden Park and Thanksgiving Square. In both cases, the number of male homeless persons is often higher than female ones. Homeless persons tend to appear in Thanksgiving Square during working hours, but in Main Street Garden, they are present round the clock.

Homeless people tend to occupy certain areas of each park. This is more evident in the Main Street Garden, where homeless individuals and groups tend to gather on the Main Street side and Harwood Street side, in the areas envisioned as gardens and the stage because they are relatively inactive areas on a day-to-day basis. It has created a concern for the managing organization. "Once I as a human being get into some of these spaces like garden shelters, you would feel uncomfortable approaching me because it is it has become my space, and I can occupy that space as long as I want. […] We are not a management group trying to remove individuals from the park, homeless individuals so to speak, but we do need good behavior, and no park user should necessarily occupy that space and take that away from the opportunity of you as an individual coming back for multiple days or for multiple hours."

DDI has a homeless outreach program with full-time staff dedicated to bridging the gap between homeless persons and resources, which has caused a shift in the Downtown Dallas Security team and Dallas Police Department attitudes towards homelessness in the parks. The program claims it has successfully removed 43 people from the streets by August 2020, when I conducted last interviews. The security, homeless outreach, and cleaning team may also have established relationships with certain homeless persons who frequent the park. Homeless persons were observed waving to security guards and sometimes chatted with them for a while. The DDI security team manager claimed, "We have some folks (security officers) that have been there for 10, 15 or 20 years. So, I recognized about a year ago that a lot on my team officers have established relationships with homeless individuals, knowing them by their first name."

Although several rules prohibit occupying or sleeping in the park overnight, the Downtown Dallas Security Team does not always enforce these rules. The DDI Security team manager

said, "as long as it's our hours and the person is awake, and not drinking beer and anything. Our team's attitude is that they have every right to be there. We explain that to our stakeholders. We get complaints that, there are homeless people here, and our response is: what are they doing specifically, besides just being homeless? Because being homeless is not illegal. So, if they pop open a beer, so that's something different. But if they're merely sitting there with their belongings, we go and engage them, and our engagement is: hey! Have you had a chance to talk to our homeless outreach? To try to abridge the connection, but other than that, we let them be! Because again, they have every single right as much as the next person does."

In Thanksgiving Square, homeless individuals tend to gather in the shades and next to the Fountains. Thanksgiving Foundation was in the process of changing its security and surveillance strategy in Summer 2020 to implement CCTVs and dismiss the security guard that surveilled the Square overnight. The Foundation feels the need for surveillance because of the homelessness and encampment issue caused by the Square's walls and sunken nature. However, Thanksgiving Square's manager views homelessness as one of their 'interesting dilemmas,' and 'a very difficult place' for them. "On one hand, we advocate for the homeless in our programs, but we do not really want to supply a place for the homeless to nest in effect," mainly because of the impact it may have on the visitor's experience of the Square.

The Thanksgiving Foundation has created a task force to advocate for changing local regulations about sheltering the homeless in inclement weather, with one of their laity groups, faith Forward Dallas. "There has been a difficult thing for the city and from a Regulatory standpoint and a permitting standpoint. So, our group has worked through a set of solutions to address the problems that the faith community can respond to homelessness in freezing conditions."

The absence of homeless persons in Klyde Warren Park could be for the heavy presence of private security guards or regular events and programs that animates the Park almost every day, which is in tandem with the city officials' perception. The Parks and Recreation Department representative claims, "usually homeless people do not like to be in busy places. They prefer to be left alone. But Klyde Warren Park is so fully programmed and so fully personnel around, so they usually do not like to be bothered."

No particular rules are in place to exclude homeless individuals from Klyde Warren Park. This suggests that homeless persons can use this space occasionally. However, the not-so-welcoming attitude towards homeless persons was evident in the interview. The Klyde Warren Park manager expressed, "If someone is homeless in the Park, and they are just guest, wandering through the Park, … there's no, you're not allowed to, … the Park closes at 11 p.m., and you're not allowed to sleep overnight, nobody is. And so, if someone has come to sleep in the park. Then they are gently asked to find someplace else. But that's one of those park rules."

All interviewees, including park managers, City of Dallas representative, and the downtown Dallas security team manager, declared that these places are for everyone to utilize, and homeless persons following the rules of conduct are welcome in the parks.

Protestors

Downtown Dallas is the foremost visible place for protests and demonstrations in the DFW Metroplex. As a result, Downtown Dallas Inc. and Main Street Garden Park, the main downtown's publicly owned and managed park designed to accommodate large gatherings and festivals and welcome peaceful assemblies. The DDI security manager affirmed, "our organization welcomes activism, welcomes protests, obviously peaceful protests. We almost

take it as a badge of honor that they select downtown to be the location, where they come to exercise their first amendment right."

In the same spirit, the Thanksgiving manager asserted that "Thanksgiving Foundation embraces free speech and free expressions of ideas. [...] Some of our folks are protesters. So, our attitude is open towards it, but we want to do it in a way that again does not impede on the inclusive visitors' experience for everyone." So, not only do they gain pride in supporting peaceful demonstrations, but also the organization is an active agent for change, inclusion, and justice in Dallas.

Youth

Age is also a factor defining the 'undesirables.' An unfortunate category of unwanted users are teenagers or adolescents, who also could heavily use and benefit from the public spaces. However, "their energy and vitality [...] is often seen as disruptive and undesirable to 'nice communities.'" In other words, their undesirability is framed by an intersectional exclusion based on two of their personal attributes, age and activity, which may be bolstered by their race and hanging in groups.

Younger children are not primarily considered an issue or generally the users of the three case studies, except for playgrounds, fountains, or other recreational settings in the Main Street Garden and Klyde Warren Park. Contrarily, their presence is often accompanied by women or families, which is an indicator of the safety and comfort of the public spaces (Carmona, 2003; Whyte, 1980). However, all three parks employ exclusionary strategies to control teenagers and adolescents.

Objections to adolescent users most often revolve around their use of space, behavior, and activities. All three parks prohibited the use of skateboards, scooters, and bicycles in the park. However, in addition to everyday uses (e.g., eating, chatting, and reading), my observations indicate that users bring their laptops and electronic gadgets with them and work from the parks. Some users gather in the space, mainly Main Street Garden and Klyde Warren, to play games (e.g., chess, Jenga, and board games).

Klyde Warren Park has the most programmed spaces catered to the needs and pleasures of younger users. However, the managing organization controls the presence of teenagers and youth through differential hours of operation. For instance, although the park is open from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m., game carts and playgrounds have different hours. The playground hours are from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. The game carts hours still vary on weekdays and weekends. It is open from 12 p.m. – 5:30 p.m. on weekdays and 10 a.m. – 5:30 p.m. on weekends, where people can turn in their driver's license and check out board games, foosball, or even ping pong paddles. By limiting hours of oepration and requiring driver's licenses, the park managing organization excludes younger individuals and non-consumer class that use the park merely to play or 'hang-out.' Unlike Klyde Warren Park, the Main Street Garden does not require an ID to check out free games, and the playground is open until 11 p.m. when the park closes.

Thanksgiving Square identifies its green space as a garden for reflection. The Square's manager mentioned, "we resist to use the word park, because park connotes a place where you want to go and throw a frisbee with a dog or play a catch football, but that is not what we are. We are green like a park, but we are not, our visitor experience, are not similar to a park." However, Thanksgiving Foundation initiated a non-place-based program for youth called 'Breaking Bread and Building Bridges.' The program involves the youth of Café Momentum, a downtown

restaurant that provides a year-round paid post-release internship for youths coming out of juvenile detention), the Dallas Police Department, organizers of color, and Faith leaders around race to create a conversation around policing youth, especially youth of color.

Similarly, DDI had a series of youth-dedicated programs partnered with other local nonprofit organizations over the years. A project observed for this dissertation was called 'activating vacancy,' where the young, female students from the lower socioeconomic school type schools were asked a question, "what do you dream about?" Later, with the help of local artists and the National Education Association (NEA) grant, their fantasies turned into artworks to activate vacant windows throughout Downtown.

Street performers and Street vendors

All three parks have several artsy events that are quite elaborate and take over the entire space so that spectating is the only option for the users. However, other events are designed to be perceived as spontaneous such as a hired musician who appears to be a street musician or performer (Carr et al., 1992; Francis, 1989, 1991; Stevens, 2007). The right to appropriation and spontaneous use of public space plays significant roles in its inclusiveness. Nevertheless, spontaneous does not necessarily mean without planning or preparation but indicates activities that do not involve acquiring permits and giving advance notice.

None of the three parks grant such free-speech activities, a musician playing, temporary vending without prior permission. However, both Main Street Garden and Thanksgiving Square partner with a nonprofit organization called 'Pulse Dallas,' founded to enhance the downtown Dallas's street experience through sponsored street artist performances. They have regular performances in both parks, especially during lunch hour, to attract the downtown lunch crowd

and activate the park. However, Klyde Warren Park's music performances are always large, involving bands and several artists, pre-planned and pre-advertised designed for the main stage.

Both Main Street Garden and Klyde Warren Park sanction regular small-scale markets on the lawns and call them 'pop-up' as if they are completely the result of a bottom-up effort. In both markets, small-scale local vendors showcase and sell their handcrafted items, pieces of art, and other goodies that engage many visitors and animate the park.

5.2. Declining or Thriving: Questioning Inclusiveness?

As disclosed in chapter 3, this dissertation's qualitative research is interpretative. It heavily relied on in situ participant observation, local and social media content analysis, and interaction with participants and interviewees. My interpretations have been filtered through a lens influenced by my experiences as an Iranian immigrant woman living in the US and observing paradoxes of supposed 'venues' that deliberately or symbolically exclude their users. The paradox is evident because these vibrant and active yet managed and surveilled publicly-used spaces in downtown Dallas are 'spaces of provision' and 'spaces of prescriptions' simultaneously. Therefore, the users' experiences differ in the time-space-event continuum. For instance, an adolescent Black man, a transgender Brown woman, or a lower-middle-class family may perceive each space and their governance regimes at the intersection of 'provision' and 'prohibition.' These paradoxes forced me to reflect on dialectics of freedom and constraints, philanthropy and marginalization, provision and prohibition, and inclusion and exclusion.

Depending on public space governance, each signature public park engages different publics. Some users may appreciate these new parks and their freely provided opportunities as a turning point in Dallasites' lives. Others may consider these spaces with private security officers,

expensive eateries, and ticketed event spaces as 'security zones' or 'strilled fortresses' that exclude them. Others may be reluctant to play by the parks' rules. Yet, there may still be a group engaging with these parks and their provided opportunities whenever possible, during the free events and/ or being the everyday 'public' life of these spaces.

This dissertation aims to challenge the prevailing frameworks around the privatization of public spaces. There is a tendency to explain concepts like inclusiveness, publicness, diversity in connection with ownership and management practices when addressing privately-owned public spaces, POPS, POPOS, or hybrid spaces. However, it is an over-simplistic classification since the private sector is not a homogenous structure or body. It is a common idea that private owners and managers strictly force exclusionary strategies, such as commercialization and securitization, to exclude the so-called 'undesirable' users based on neoliberal ideals. However, this study's findings challenge this understanding on different levels. With this in mind, this section uncovers and delayers the findings, suggested by the close investigation of each case study, in relation to the theoretical framework presented and explained in the conclusion of chapter 2.

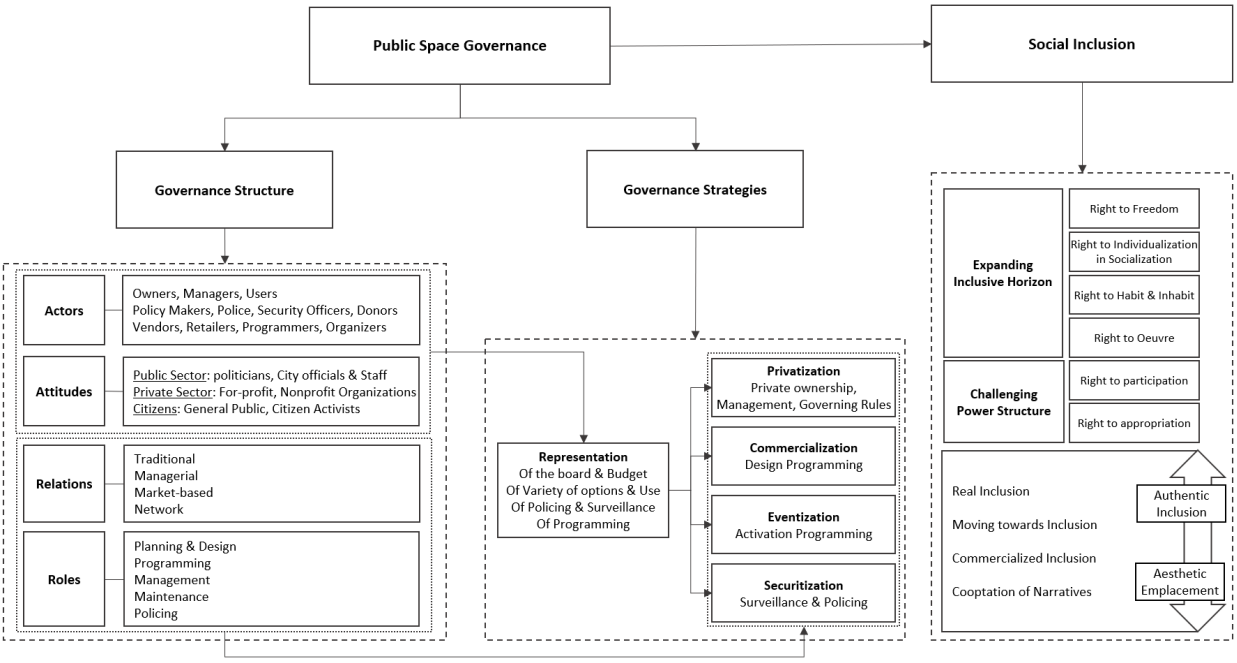


Figure 1- Theoretical Framework

5.2.1. Governance Regimes Structure and Social Inclusion

After the close investigation of the three case studies, it is evident that despite their critical role, private ownership and management are not as significant to practices of social inclusion as previous research has suggested. I argue it is difficult to claim a sharp conceptual distinction between the two realms of inclusive versus exclusive. Thereby, it is problematic to reduce the social inclusiveness value to a simple dichotomy of private versus public. Perhaps trichotomies like private-faith-based-public or continuums from less to more public across time, space, and events can better express the phenomenon. The trichotomy helps to accentuate the weight of actors and their attitudes and relations.

The governance regimes of public space are multi-faceted entities that stretch across various scales and entail actors beyond space's owners and managers. In this context, I found

'programming' to be a useful entry point to look at social exclusion and recognize who is being left out and how? It also serves as a thread that links the governance strategies to the governance regime structure with differential attitudes, actors, roles, and relations to social inclusion practices. In this respect, it allowed me to acknowledge public space governance and social exclusion/inclusion at various levels. It allowed me to look at social exclusion at the park space level, municipality level, and perhaps at the event/intention level that may be similar across all signature public spaces.

Acknowledging the various faces of the governance regimes helps distinguish governance strategies and policies at different levels and instances. These strategies might be inclusionary or exclusionary. To gauge this, it is critical to examine higher decision-making levels and the lower level or the public space's everyday life for assessing the degree of inclusiveness. Inclusionary or exclusionary policies are designed, formulated, and discussed at the higher levels of the organization and practiced and implemented by everyday agents or the street-level bureaucracy, including police, security guards, different vendors, and other temporal actors. This layered notion helps render the transition from one regime of governance to another, each characterized by different inclusion, exclusion, or alienation logics, different forms and patterns of regulations, surveillance and policing, and shifting notions of 'undesirables.'

This research reveals the three signature public parks are differentially inclusive across the time-space-event continuum during everyday life and temporal appropriations of each space. There are shifts from one regime of exclusion to the other in the everyday life of the space. The City of Dallas with the help of these nonprofit organizations and other private entities has turned the not accessible and not welcoming downtown into a district that allegedly facilitates

everyone's return to the city center. Downtown parks have shifted the perception of masculine-crime-driven CBD to the diverse and playful, family-oriented-yuppie-friendly area.

So, the management mode or objective has shifted from prohibition of undesired uses and users to coordination of the desired activities and image that renders an image of socially inclusive open space accessible to every gender, race, ethnicity, class, ability, etc. Thereby, one may argue that downtown Dallas signature spaces' everyday life has shifted from the 'spaces of exclusion' to 'spaces of inclusion.' On the contrary, although parks are not sites of direct displacement, they are still aestheticized spaces of consumption conforming more closely to the conventional model in which a more socio-economically privileged population displaces the local Black and Brown low-income residents of the CBD.

I tried to capture various regulatory modes that lead to exclusionary instances by focusing on various time/event fragments within each public space. It helps to elucidate the governance regimes structures and strategies in interaction with either public or various other for- or nonprofit agencies. I recognized a network of nonprofit organizations since these organizations see themselves as members of a community of local, regional or national NPOs (and sometimes beyond) in the business of providing and enhancing signature public spaces, activating and branding downtowns, and improving quality of life.

- Local: Downtown Dallas Inc., Uptown Dallas Inc., Dallas Arts District Foundation, The Bridge Homeless Recovery Center.
- Regional: Foundations responsible for other signature public spaces in the DFW Metroplex, Regional Faith-based communities

- National: Foundations that attempt to build deck parks, Downtown Improvement Districts (DIDs), National Interfaith Communities

Yet, these institutions' everyday attempts only paint part of the story because the narratives and dynamics between the general public, users, and these spaces change regularly in response to the larger trends and general conditions. For instance, I was fortunate to capture some of each governance regime's responses regarding the pandemic, the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and the Texas blizzard of 2021. These disruptions in public spaces' everyday life render an explicit picture of the authenticity of the governance regimes' inclusionary or exclusionary strategies, policies, and actions.

The managing organizations of the parks position themselves and their actions as space protectors of the quality of users' experiences, not space's police to exclude the so-called undesirables. However, the multiplicity and transitions of governing modes are also applicable to other instances, but I discuss them connected to DEI actions and policies in this study. The governance regimes have changed the narratives around the 'geographies of fear' (fear of crime, fear of the unknown, fear of 'others') to the narratives around the 'geographies of desire' (desirable landscape, desirable activity, desirable community). So, exclusionary policies have transformed from a means of imposing or implementing racist and classist policies to quality of life-enhancing measures, like providing free programming, multicultural events, activities, foods, etc.

This shift happened because not only the managing nonprofit organizations but also the local government had to reconcile diverse imperatives to the glocal influences and conditionalities. For instance, in response to:

- Technocratic necessities: building the first deck park.
- City branding and place marketing: the tallest interactive fountains, a monument to gratitude similar to what the Statue of Liberty is to freedom.
- Glocal influences: embracing the 'woke society' outcry for social justice and equality.
- Local concerns: responding to the demand of 'defunding the police.'

Public spaces are contested spaces and fields of struggle for social control. Thereby, the historically disenfranchised communities, along with local advocates and activists, regularly navigate the racist, classist, or gendered spaces, comply with the unjust rules, and subvert them in subtle or conspicuous ways. Thereby, it is challenging to ascribe the credit of inclusionary strategies, policies, and actions to the managing organization. This research could not capture the essence and significance of the pushback from historically marginalized and disenfranchised communities. These disruptive moments forcing a change, reframing, and responding to different discourses – including the discourse around privatization.

In order to capture the multi-facetedness of governance regimes, it is important to look at how the managing organization engages downward with its vendors and users, but also upward and toward multitudes of actors on boards, outside collaborations with the local government, and other non- or for-profit entities. 'Neoliberal adaptation' illustrates the expansion of inclusive horizons, that is yet debatable. I used neoliberal adaptation because governance regimes constantly adapt and adopt new norms and trends, in a way to serve the larger neoliberal agenda. My three parks attract and welcome diverse groups of people to Downtown Dallas, particularly in comparison to the 1990s. The degree of provision and activation experienced in Downtown Dallas during the past two decades through a series of physical transformations and

managerial accommodations, shifted demographics, feminized public spaces, and reduced various classist and racist boundaries and segregations.

However, these changes happened in response to a larger goal to revitalize downtown and rebrand Dallas for then and future residents and visitors. Although, the provision of the downtown parks could be interpreted as an inclusive strategy and action, I argue the government along with the owners and managers of these spaces have reduced the potential for co-presence of strangers in the signature events of these signature spaces but have either consciously or unconsciously continued the racist, classist, and 'othering' exclusionary strategies. So, one may call the last two decades a green, back to the city, and inclusionary decades of Dallas but those actions and decisions were in response to different goals and expectations. So, whether the inclusion, feminization and decolonialization of the spaces were the projected outcome or byproduct requires a whole other dissertation.

Consequently, in response to the bottom-up activities and the push from bellow, the local government and the spaces' governance did not drop its segregationist and neoliberal policies rather modified them. Most of the time these changes are interpreted as people's or activists' winnings. Nevertheless, though the accessibility for women, LGBTQ+, POCs, disabled, and other disenfranchised communities has been expanded, the government's and governance's reach has also been expanded. So, some of these accessibilities could be seen as provision through expanding neoliberal policies. So, the notions of inclusion and empowerment are complicated.

5.2.2. Governance Regimes Strategies and Social Inclusion

It is essential to study various relations and instances within the managing institutions to understand all opportunities that have been created along the way to mobilize and include disenfranchised and marginalized groups or help them negotiate or challenge exclusionary spaces, programming, policing, policies, and decisions. I argue the disenfranchised and marginalized, or the so-called 'undesirables,' find themselves in different positions within the space vis-a-vis the space policing, and programming that the managing organization provides.

The binary distinction to 'include' or 'exclude' does not convey the complexity and multiplicity of experiences in the time-space-event continuum. Users experience social exclusion differently in and outside of the space, during events or in the everyday life of the space, and in response to the accessibility and temporality of the opportunities. For instance, regular kid-friendly events in Klyde Warren Park are scheduled on Tuesdays and Thursdays between 10 a.m. to 12 p.m., or similarly, most live music performances in Main Street Garden Park are planned during weekdays lunch hour to cater and attract office workers. I used 'curated inclusion' or 'symbolic exclusion' to introduce these differential instances. I argue the very same groups may find themselves in different positions on this continuum of inclusion and exclusion, of being or feeling in and out of place in different contexts and moments, and through different experiences of prohibition and provision that might happen simultaneously. For instance, the historically marginalized groups have differential experiences when excluded from an expensive ticketed event or a private corporate party than when enjoy being among diverse groups of strangers on a breezy summer evening.

Public space is constantly contested. Citizens and citizen activist groups deploy a variety of strategies to encounter and engage with these exclusionary spaces. Contrarily, the managing organizations continuously use alternative narratives to co-opt contesters' pushbacks and

instances of resistance. In this research, I was able to witness these contestations when both groups, management and protestors, seek to repurpose and reappropriate the spaces. The managing organizations consolidate their control by generating consent for their existence, programming, and policing through force and by generating imagery of provision of comfort or solutions for the local government, downtown, and residents' daily problems.

The managing organizations also exemplify how minorities and historically disenfranchised groups become active participants in their managed and somewhat exclusionary spaces. So, the space benefits from the same neoliberal logic that revolves around 'commercialization' and the 'consumer class,' therefore, unaffordability, and continues to oppress minorities and disenfranchised groups in large, signature events. Still, it embraces their participation and presence in space's everyday life or vice versa.

The minorities and disenfranchised groups eagerly and voluntarily use these 'curated inclusionary/symbolic exclusionary' spaces. They also become active agents to promote and advertise these spaces by posting about the space on social media and recommending their friends, colleagues, and family members to pay a visit to these parks and gain pride in the 'aesthetics of gentrification,' for instance, the news of the world's largest interactive fountain in Klyde Warren Park. In that way, they even become promoters of the exclusionary spaces. These nuanced positions of the minorities, historically disenfranchised, and marginalized groups reflect how these groups' interests and needs overlap with the amenities each space provides.

One of my motivations to investigate this topic was to offer a better conception of these spaces' everyday life and acknowledge and understand many nuances between these dualities of 'public' versus 'private' and 'inclusive' versus 'exclusive.' One may argue that at some level,

privatization, particularly in signature downtown spaces and some collaboration among various nonprofit organizations, has given rise to negative consequences like the neoliberal logic of placemaking and place-marketing, and perhaps led to the production of new forms of marginality. However, some may claim these have empowered marginalized and disenfranchised communities through the opening of new discourses and tools of transformation. These in some cases may have opened back doors for seizing opportunities, and in some minimal cases, reclaim the space as the product of local activism, and national and international trends and movements.

Downtown Dallas's signature public parks are becoming more like event venues not only in terms of their design and function but also in terms of management, regulations, programming, and policing. Our publicly used parks are being 'perceived,' 'conceived,' and 'lived' as event venues with restrictions defining 'who' can do 'what' in the 'public' space. These perception, conception, and experience extends beyond the temporal dimensions of official and staged events into the everyday life of the parks. However, this transformation that shapes the inclusionary and exclusionary practices is not only because of the park's management, whether public or private, for- or nonprofit. Serving as a 'venue' has been speculated within the design and planning procedures from the scratch with the landscaping, design layout, and design programming of each park.

Generating revenue is only a stimulus for signature design and activation programming in a public space. Staging the space for regional, national, and global tourism and consumer audiences is another reason for these signature programming that commercialize and eventize the space. The public spaces deliberately or symbolically cater to the interests of broader audiences (tourists) and exclude the most disenfranchised communities who have historically

been deprived of access to free amenities and opportunities. Thereby programming not only contributes to staging the space but also (re)produces the 'exclusive' space through privatization, commercialization, eventization, and securitization practices.

5.3. Final Points

As discussed, in the past four decades, cities have heavily relied on the private sector for provision, management, maintenance, and policing of public spaces, justified as a pragmatic solution to decreasing public budgets and the demand for local upgrades. Downtowns significantly endured these governance shifts, and downtown Dallas was no exception. The City has established partnerships with various public and private agencies, including nonprofits, corporations, businesses, and community organizations, to provide resources or assist in the construction, fundraising, programming, and management of its signature parks, designed to animate and stimulate activities in downtown.

Signature public parks define the identities of their cities and situate themselves as venues for consumable experiences. They have also become a mission focus for philanthropists and conservancies amid other contemporary urban problems, such as homelessness, food deserts, etc. Public spaces are the prominent places for socially-, culturally-, and racially-alienated groups to claim themselves as a visible part of the 'public' (Staehili et al., 2009, 633). Yet, privatized public spaces are lamented for excluding users based on race, gender, class, social status, beliefs, behavior, and activities (Davis, 2012; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Mitchell, 2003; Schmidt and Németh, 2011).

Rosalyn Deutsche's viewpoints in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* were influential in this study. She argued, "public spaces are structured by exclusions and, moreover, by attempts to erase the traces of these exclusions. Exclusions are justified, naturalized, and hidden by representing

social space as a substantial unity that must be protected from conflict, heterogeneity, and particularity" (Deutche, 1996, xiii). This study captured Deutsche's insight through the multi-faceted strategies that governance regimes employ to exclude the 'undesirable' and 'inappropriate' and justify the traces of such exclusion. I was able to observe shifts between three different modes of regulation or action.

- Prohibition or disabling the undesired effects, where the governing organization eliminates the 'undesirable' and 'inapporpriate.' In this mode, the governing organization repeatedly situates itself as the protector of the place, people, and the desired experience, not the police.
- Coordination, where the governing organization regulates the urban space and bodies that occupy the space across time/events. In this facet, governance put the undesired but coordinated bodies -Blackness, Brownness, Queerness, Youthness - on display to represent diversity. So, as it may feel space has been integrated and people have equitable access to services. However, in these coordinated spaces, most items, services, and opportunities are less accessible to Black, Brown, Queer, Youth bodies, and more emphasis is on the services, events, goods that require money. So diverse people use the space but do not engage with it in its entirety. Thereby, diversity becomes a narrow institutional commitment to inclusion. Yet, there are times that Blackness, Brownness, Queerness, or Youthness circulate without Black, Brown, Queer, and youth bodies but through art, culture, and other aesthetic emplacements (Summers, 2019).

- Provision or enabling the desired image, well suited in the image-making discourse, where the governing organization repeatedly situates itself as the protector, not the police, of the place, people, and the desired experience.

For instance, the Klyde Warren Park managing representative situated and justified their prohibition regulation mode:

- Regarding specified park rules and regulations: "for the protection of the park and the experience for the guests."
- Regarding bottom-up activities: "We're working together to make this a safe experience, and I'm trying to be creative with that."
- Regarding post-COVID rules: "So, we are all in touch with each other to try to figure out how to create a common experience so that it's not confusing to the people who use these different entities."

Similarly, Thanksgiving Square representative frequently discussed 'visitor experience,' while addressing their prohibition regulation mode:

- Regarding homelessness: "So, something that we are sensitive to is again, we invite everybody to be here, so long as you don't diminish the experience for others that want to be here as well."
- Regarding protestors: "We want to do it in a way that again does not impede on the inclusive visitors' experience for everyone."

In a similar vein, the Main Street Garden Park representative also discussed protection while recognizing prohibiting attitudes.

- Regarding renting out space: "We are not here to over-regulate that, we are here to make sure there are no conflicts with other things that may be going out on the park, in

our managing calendars and other uses, and to protect all park users, and the park from the public safety standpoint."

- Regarding restroom closure during COVID because of heavy presence of homeless: "I think we as park managers play a role in helping protect the general public's safety."

So, the managing organization situates itself and its actions as space protector, not space police. However, the multiplicity and transitioning governing modes are also applicable to other instances, but I discuss it connected to Justice, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion (JEDI) actions and policies in this study. The governance regimes have changed the narratives around the 'geographies of fear' (fear of crime, fear of the unknown, fear of 'others') to the narratives around the 'geographies of desire' (desirable landscape, desirable activity, desirable community). So, exclusionary policies have transformed from a means of imposing or implementing racist and classist policies to quality of life-enhancing measures, like providing free programming, multicultural events, activities, food, etc.

In chapter 2, I discussed staging signature parks for signature events. Scholars describe this utilization of events as an attraction for middle-class professionals to parks to spend money on tickets, refreshments, and cultural goods (Madden, 2010; Smith, 2016; Zukin, 1995). It produces a desirable effect and image for various stakeholders, the city officials, the park managers, and event organizers. However, events play a controversial role for transforming the space temporarily or on a longer-lasting basis (Foley et al., 2012, 23), resulting in over-regulation, over-control, and commodification of the park leading to privatization, securitization, and commercialization.

Mainly because events are a significant function of signature parks, these short and longer-term implications range from changing the image, meaning, sponsorship, activity, to even changing the

use of the space. For instance, after the programmed event, both Main Street Garden Park and Thanksgiving Square usually return to their former and regular state. However, there were various instances of more durable impacts in Klyde Warren Park, referred to as 'an already over-programmed park' on Twitter by local architects, columnists, and activists in different instances, particularly with the news of the installment of the largest interactive fountain in the world.

Throughout this dissertation, I have observed instances that a highly commercialized monument has remained in the Klyde Warren Park for an extended period, depicted in figures 68 and 69. Also, all designated spaces within the park are named after either highly renowned and influential families in Dallas, such as Ginsburg Family Great Lawn or Muse Family Pavilion, or a corporation, such as Chase Promenade or Jacobs Lawn. The park itself is named after the son of the most eminent donor of the park. The only named segment of the park that may signal a public image is the Dallas Morning News stand, owned by a Dallas-based venture-capitalist Corporation.

These named and sponsored spaces play a significant role signaling whose signature made possible the spaces in the signature park—a sign of exclusivity and wealth attached to the name, the donations and funding sources. As the Klyde Warren Park manager stated, "the strings are reflected on what they are able to deduct, [and whether] they get to attend parties." Moreover, with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the management limited several park events to the donors' list but recorded and broadcasted them to the public via local media. By contrast, neither Main Street Garden, public case, nor the Thanksgiving Square, private case, have designated named and sponsored space.

Although this dissertation did not capture users' perception of each space, various studies argue that events change the way people think of space and shape their memories and images of the place (Belghazi, 2006; Lehtovuori, 2010; Pløger, 2010). Also, as disclosed in chapter 4, the longevity of events' implications is extended to the virtual space. The greater representation of these spaces in their managing entities' social media (Instagram and Twitter) and all other public and local authority accounts are dominated by event imagery compared to the regular daily life of the park, which may infuse a public imaginary with the parks' image of commercialized and eventized space. The event-related images are also more representative of the Klyde Warren Park since DDI is responsible for all public spaces in downtown Dallas, including all parks, plazas, streets, monuments, businesses, sidewalks, etc., and Thanksgiving Foundation is dedicated to various non-place-based activities and programs.

Nevertheless, both Main Street Garden Park and Klyde Warren Park are increasingly lived, conceived, and imagined as 'venues' for organized events. This dissertation relies on Lefebvrian sociology of the 'right to the city' to demonstrate social inclusiveness. It identified social inclusion as "a superior form of rights, [including] the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit — the right to the oeuvre, participation, and appropriation" (Lefebvre, 1996, 173-174).

All three parks limit the rights to freedom, participation, and appropriation. In this dissertation, I classified the six dimensions of the right to the city within two inclusive approaches that extend the inclusive horizons to the historically marginalized and challenge the systemic injustices built within the governance regimes of each public space. The second approach involves two principal rights: the right to participation and the right to appropriation.

The right to participation revolves around citizens' contributions to the production of public space. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the multi-faceted and multi-layered park governance regimes involve various permanent and temporal actors beyond the owners and managers of the space. Ostensibly, citizens' participation should also happen across various scales. Although Lefebvre remains implicit regarding the centrality of citizens, he highlights the significance of their direct participation (Purcell, 2002, 102). However, in all three cases, citizens' voices are indirect and enfranchised and filtered through the governance regimes' structure and institutional strategies.

Yet, the right to appropriation discusses citizens' right to physically access, occupy, and use urban spaces (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2002; Purcell, 2002; Purcell, 2009; Stevens, 2007). Lefebvre's right to appropriation is the right to produce and reproduce urban space to meets its users' needs. It is the right to "full and complete usage of urban space" in its everyday life (Lefebvre, 1996, 179). As discussed earlier in this chapter, all three parks require permits for either collective or irregular use of their spaces. Thereby, no spontaneous activities such as birthdays, entertainment, street performance, speeches, demonstrations, and commercial photographing are allowed in all three parks.

The right to appropriation is the most critical among all rights to produce and reproduce public space. It maximizes the use-value for citizens in contrast to property rights that support the exchange-value for capital (Purcell, 2002). Thereby, this right upends the neoliberal citizenship structure for a broader meaning and involvement of citizens. However, downtown Dallas signature parks limit this right and the meaning of citizens to downtown residents, workers, and tourists as those invited and welcomed to participate in their small-scale, everyday activation

and programming. Klyde Warren Park's manager refers to the space as a 'unicorn' and 'the first and the most successful,' allowing other entities to benefit from their wisdom and experience. DDI has the most intact and transparent mechanism for its stakeholders' participation at the organization and street levels. Yet, their contributors are limited to downtown property owners and managers and all downtown companies, organizations, and businesses. Thanksgiving Foundation has a broader range of constituents compared to the two other cases. They consider their community among all enthusiasts for community engagement, DEI, goodwill and kindness, gratitude and mindfulness, and Starchitecture, as well as their fellow advocates and interfaith explorers. Still, they also see the residential and business neighbors, property owners and operators, and proud Dallasites being among their targeted community and audiences. Yet, this dissertation could not find a precise mechanism for how the park's organization reaches out to these broad audience groups.

In conclusion, this dissertation argued umbrella terms, such as 'privatized public spaces' and 'privately-owned public spaces,' neglect the heterogeneity of organizations involved in the provision, management, programming, and policing of publicly used spaces. Also, they fail to recognize how publicly owned and managed spaces follow similar neoliberal agendas, strategies, policies, and actions to generate revenue and animate and brand their space. That is why this dissertation suggests evaluating the social inclusiveness in signature public spaces through their governance regimes' structures and strategies to assess the full spectrum of possibilities and capture each organization's nuanced way to exclude the 'undesirable' images, effects, and users. Privatized management of public spaces and their resultant public services, controlled by contractual ties, has important implications for the governance regime's structures dominated by four critical aspects: actors, attitudes, roles, and relations. These four key aspects, along with

the strategies employed, significantly influence the degree of social inclusiveness. In order to include the historically marginalized and disenfranchised communities and not exclude the so-called 'undesirables,' there is a need for more integrated links between the public and nonprofit organizations to coordinate, monitor, and enforce the outcomes of public-private agreements across the time-space-event continuum; there is also a need for increasing the parks' governance transparency, accountability, and thereby social inclusion and justice in the parks, particularly since the park's management involves a wide range of private actors beyond space managers.

This dissertation uncovers a significant realignment of urban representation within signature 'quasi private' public spaces. As the current models of park governance have exclusionary implications by implicitly valuing certain styles of expression and certain social groups' voices—the middle class, educated, and otherwise privileged with money and cultural or social capital. Although Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are becoming an increasingly popular arrangement for the management of signature public spaces, this study indicated the difference between various types of Improvement Districts. The significant criteria were if the managing organization is responsible for managing one or several public spaces and to what extent their scope of action expands beyond a destination space towards other forms of public spaces, such as streets, sidewalks, small openings, etc. This study finds the latter format more inclusive, as it provides a forum for participation and achieving a degree of consensus. However, in this model, the separation between clients (benefactors) and users has fundamental implications for the social inclusiveness of public spaces.

5.4. Limitations and recommendations for future research

In drawing the conclusions outlined above, some of the limitations of this dissertation need to be acknowledged. The limitations fall into two main categories: the scope of the research and the methods employed. The top limitation recognized was brought on by the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19. Parks have been a lifeline during the pandemic. Yet, the pandemic resulted in limited access to parks, especially for underserved communities. Signature downtown parks could boldly justify their exclusionary strategies and actions and cater towards the needs of their friends' groups and adjacent communities, mostly encompassing young White professionals. It brought a complete halt to the activation programming, surveillance and policing, and management of public spaces.

Moreover, this study deliberately selected a privately-owned and managed park that surprisingly does not employ securitization and commercialization and welcomes and embraces the so-called 'undesirables,' namely homeless persons and protestors. In other words, this study of downtown Dallas's signature public space hopes to shed light on broader theoretical, social, and political concerns of inclusive governance regimes' structure and strategies as opposed to the generalizability of 'privatized public spaces.' Without assuming that the findings from this study can be extended or generalized to other contexts because they refer to the particularities of three parks in downtown Dallas, they can certainly help unpack the factors contributing to social inclusiveness/exclusiveness of similar signature spaces and their 'philanthropic' governance regimes that are now popular in the US.

Moreover, it is critical to acknowledge the limitations of interpretation in any research that employs narrative information as data. Also, the power imbalances and issues of insiders and outsiders or oppositional groups and conflicting interests are fundamental limitations in works that examine inclusion/exclusion. Furthermore, a historical background could enlighten the investigation of current inclusion practices within the gendered, racialized, sexualized, and classed setting. However, an in-depth analysis of the background that leads to current pivotal practices could not be covered here because of the limitations of this dissertation.

I consider my dissertation an exploratory study that all its elements could be the subjects of future investigations. It demonstrates the value of careful documentation, the significance of nuances, and the problematic nature of binary divides. This dissertation is an initial venture into a more in-depth exploration of public spaces governance regimes. Much additional work remains to be done to understand precisely the nuances within governance structures, strategies, actors, and processes. More stories of inclusionary/exclusionary instances should be told and heard.

Future studies could evaluate each story in the time-space-event continuum and critically delayer the nature of contestation in each instance. Intersectionality provides a better lens to evaluate different instances. Many policies, practices, and programs may include minorities and historically disenfranchised populations, including multi-ethnic and racial communities, immigrants, LGBTQ+ communities, still shift the focus towards those who are most privileged in those marginalized groups. We also need to question the cooptation of the narratives that reduce inclusionary strategies, policies, and actions to gestures and aesthetic emplacement.

Future studies in this vein might examine individual perceptions and experiences of these commercialized, eventized, and securitized landscapes. Using similar methodology and

dimensions to those used in this study, one could assess whether specific securitization, commercialization, and eventization tactics are more or less acceptable to different populations, recognizing that perceptions of inclusion differ from person to person. Another potentially fruitful research avenue would further interrogate and explicate the geographies of public and private philanthropies with geographies of inclusion and exclusion. There is also a need to explore and examine the social interactions that occur during these 'curated inclusive' landscapes and how social media impact these lived experiences along with perceptions and conceptions of the space.

Appendix I: Interview Protocols

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Interview with City Officials

Date: _____

Time: _____

Name: _____

Location: _____

Introduction

Thanks for accepting this interview. This interview will cover the governance strategies of three downtown Dallas signature parks: Main Street Garden, Klyde Warren, and Thanksgiving Square. The interview will be about 60 to 90 minutes. I would like to record the interview so that our conversation can be transcribed. I will not include your name in any publication and presentation. If you do not have any questions, should we start now?

Public/Private Ownership/Management

1. What are the official rules for using each park and where are they posted?
2. What are the reasons to impose these rules?
3. How were these rules created?
4. How are these rules enforced?

Design Programming

1. What were the city design ideas or expectations of each space?
2. What would city do (add/remove) if they could redesign the space?

3. What is the mechanism of renting out an area/activity within each space?

Occupational Programming

1. What activities are programmed inside each park?
2. How does the city ensure the availability of special programs to include historically marginalized groups in each space?
    a. Women
    b. Kids
    c. Elderly
    d. Individuals with Physical/Cognitive Disabilities
    e. LGBTQ+ Communities
    f. Refuge/Immigrant Communities
    g. Multicultural/Racial/Ethnic Communities
3. How are these programmed activities determined?
4. How does the public receive the information of the programmed activities and events?
5. How many annual hours can the space be closed for private/ticketed events?
6. How are annual hours to close the space determined?
7. What do city require each space to do before closing the space?

Security and Surveillance

1. How is security and surveillance practiced in each park?
2. What is the management attitude towards homelessness?
3. What is the management attitude towards protests and protesters? Has your attitude regarding protestors and political representation changed after the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter Movement?
4. How does each park ensure the public safety protocols and physical distancing during the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19?
5. Has the new demand of "Defunding the Police" implemented in city of Dallas public spaces?

Governance Structure

1. To what extent is the X_1 foundation responsible for the governance of the X_2 Park?

2. To what extent is the city of Dallas involved in the governance processes of each park?
3. How does city put inclusion to action?
4. To what extent the city benefits from the community in decision-making and operation processes of these parks?
5. By the way, who is the community or targeted audience for each park?
6. How do you ensure that community voices not only were heard during planning and design, but continue to be heard in a public space as it evolves?
7. what do you do when some voices overpower or conflict with others?
8. Are there any string attached to the city's contribution in funding of each park?
9. What are the reasons for you to think that each space is inviting (or uninviting)?
10. What other things would you like to add?

Closing

Thank you for your participation. I do appreciate your time and kindness. Thank you again for this interview. I really learn a lot from this interview. If I have any further questions during the analysis, I will contact you for further clarifications.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Interview with Nonprofit organization Managers

Date: _____

Time: _____

Name: _____

Location: _____

Introduction

Thanks for accepting this interview. This interview will cover the governance strategies of the park. The interview will be about 60 to 90 minutes. I would like to tape record the interview so that our conversation can be transcribed. I will not include your name in any publication and presentation. If you do not have any questions, should we start now?

Public/Private Ownership/Management

1. What is the ownership/management status of the space?
2. What are the official rules for using the space and where are they posted?
3. What are the reasons to impose these rules?
4. How were these rules created?
5. How are these rules enforced?
6. What are the hours of operation of the space?

Design Programming

1. What were your design ideas or expectations of this space?
2. Have you ever redesign the space? Why?
3. What would you do if you could redesign the space?
4. Do you have sponsored areas within your space?

5. What is the mechanism of renting out an area/activity within your space?
6. Are restrooms available within the space? Are they free or available with purchase?
7. Are restrooms trans-friendly?

Occupational Programming

2. What activities are programmed inside the space?
3. Do you have special programs to include historically marginalized groups?
    a. Women
    b. Kids
    c. Elderly
    d. Individuals with Physical/Cognitive Disabilities
    e. LGBTQ+ Communities
    f. Refuge/Immigrant Communities
    g. Multicultural/Racial/Ethnic Communities
4. How are these programmed activities determined?
5. How does the public receive the information of the programmed activities and events?
6. What are your advertising priorities?
7. How many annual hours can you close the space for private/ticketed events?
8. How are annual hours to close the space determined?
9. What do you require to do before closing the space?

Security and Surveillance

1. What are your security and surveillance strategies?
2. How do security and surveillance of the public space enable or constrain presence and encounter between strangers?
3. What is the management attitude towards homelessness?
4. What is the management attitude towards protests and protesters? Has your attitude regarding protestors and political representation changed after the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter Movement?
5. How do you ensure the public safety protocols and physical distancing during the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19?

6. Have you incorporated the new demand of "Defunding the Police" in your public space public or private security?

Governance Structure

1. To what extent is the X_1 foundation responsible for the governance of the X_2 Park?
2. What are your formal and informal governance tools?
3. How do you put inclusion to action?
4. To what extent your entity benefits from the community in decision-making and operation processes?
5. By the way, who is the community?
6. Are your security personnel representative of your community? How do you ensure that?
7. Are your event organizers/sponsors representative of your community? How do you ensure that?
8. What are your sources of funding?
9. Are there any string attached to your funding source?
10. What are the reasons for you to think that this space is inviting (or uninviting)?
11. What other things would you like to add?

Closing

Thank you for your participation. I do appreciate your time and kindness. Thank you again for this interview. I really learn a lot from this interview. If I have any further questions during the analysis, I will contact you for further clarifications.

INTERVIEW PROTPCOLS

Interview with Downtown Safety Patrol Office

Date: _____

Time: _____

Name: _____

Location: _____

Introduction

Thanks for accepting this interview. This interview will cover the governance strategies of three downtown Dallas signature parks: Main Street Garden, Klyde Warren, and Thanksgiving. The interview will be about 30 to 45 minutes. I would like to tape record the interview so that our conversation can be transcribed. I will not include your name in any publication and presentation. If you do not have any questions, should we start now?

1. Are these three parks arranged by local or special ordinance?
2. How has the downtown Safety Patrol Office been notified about the official rules of each park?
3. What are the reasons to impose additional rules and follow special ordinance in each park?
4. Were the Dallas PD and Downtown Safety Patrol office involved in creating the special rules?
5. How are these special rules enforced?
6. How is security and surveillance practiced in each park?
7. How does the information generated by CCTVs selected, evaluated, and acted upon?
8. Which activities are acted upon as Zero Tolerance and worthy of removal in each park?
9. How does downtown safety patrol office avoid discrimination and exclusion of Black and Brown youth?

10. What is the management and downtown safety patrol office attitude towards homelessness?
11. What is the management and downtown safety patrol office attitude towards protests and protesters? Has your attitude regarding protestors and political representation changed after the recent wave of the Black Lives Matter Movement?
12. How does downtown Safety Patrol Office practice security and surveillance during events, festivals, parades, and protests?
13. How does parks' managements and downtown safety patrol office ensure the public safety protocols and physical distancing during the pandemic outbreak of the COVID-19?
14. Has the new demand of "Defunding the Police" in downtown Dallas public spaces?
15. Are your security personnel representative of your community? How do you ensure that?
16. What are the reasons for you to think that each space is inviting (or uninviting)?
17. What other things would you like to add?

Closing

Thank you for your participation. I do appreciate your time and kindness. Thank you again for this interview. I really learn a lot from this interview. If I have any further questions during the analysis, I will contact you for further clarifications.

Appendix II: IRB Approval

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS ARLINGTON | OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION
REGULATORY SERVICES

10/12/2020

IRB Approval of Minimal Risk (MR) Protocol

PI: Nazanin Ghaffari
Faculty Advisor: Ivonne Audirac
Department: Architecture
IRB Protocol #: 2020-0766
Study Title: *Declining or Thriving: Questioning Inclusiveness in Downtown Dallas Signature Parks*

Effective Approval: 10/12/2020
In-person interactions with human subjects must comply with UTA's list of permitted research activities and the related requirements under COVID-19 limitations:

https://resources.uta.edu/research/regulatory-services/human-subjects/news-and-announcements.php.

Notification of plans to initiate must be provided to (1) your Associate Dean of Research (or Dean in absence of ADR) for college-level/resource considerations and (2) to the IRB at via email (regulatoryservices@uta.edu) for tracking purposes.

The IRB has approved the above referenced submission in accordance with applicable regulations and/or UTA's IRB Standard Operating Procedures.

Principal Investigator and Faculty Advisor Responsibilities

All personnel conducting human subject research must comply with UTA's IRB Standard Operating Procedures and RA-PO4, Statement of Principles and Policies Regarding Human Subjects in Research. Important items for PIs and Faculty Advisors are as follows:

- **Notify Regulatory Services of proposed, new, or changing funding source**
- Fulfill research oversight responsibilities, IV.F and IV.G.
- Obtain approval prior to initiating changes in research or personnel, IX.B.
- Report Serious Adverse Events (SAEs) and Unanticipated Problems (UPs), IX.C.
- Fulfill Continuing Review requirements, if applicable, IX.A.
- Protect human subject data (XV.) and maintain records (XXI.C.).
- Maintain HSP (3 years), GCP (3 years), and RCR (4 years) training as applicable.

REGULATORY SERVICES | The University of Texas at Arlington, Center for Innovation
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