When the Appropriators Become the Appropriated:

Battling for the Right to the City in South Phoenix, Arizona

by

Ashlee Tziganuk

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2019 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Kelli Larson , Co-Chair
Deirdre Pfeiffer, Co-Chair
Meagan Ehlenz
Kevin McHugh

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2019

ABSTRACT

Urban planning in the neoliberal era is marred by a lack of public engagement with urban inhabitants. Henri Lefebvre's 'right to the city' theory is often treated as a way to empower disenfranchised urban inhabitants who are lacking control over the urban spaces they occupy. Though the right to the city has seen a resurgence in recent literature, we still lack a deep understanding of how right to the city movements work in practice, and what the process looks like through the lens of the everyday urban inhabitant. This dissertation seeks to fill these gaps by examining: 1) how a minority-led grassroots movement activates their right to the city in the face of an incoming light rail extension project in South Phoenix, Arizona, USA, and 2) how their right to the city movement demonstrates the possibility of urban society beyond the current control of neoliberalism. Through the use of participant observation, interviews, and media analysis, this case reveals the methods and tactics used by the group to activate their right to the city, the intra-and inter-group dynamics in the case, and the challenges that ultimately lead to the group's demise.

Tactics used by the group included protesting, organizing against city council, and creating a ballot initiative. Intra-group dynamics were often marred by conflicts over leadership and the acceptance of outside help, while inter-group conflicts erupted between the group, politicians, and pro-light rail supporters. The primary challenge to the group's right to the city movement included neoliberal appropriation by local politicians and outside political group. By possessing limited experience, knowledge, and resources in conducting a right to the city movement, the grassroots group in this case was left asking for help from neoliberal supporters who used their funding as a way to appropriate

the urban inhabitant's movement. Findings indicate positive possibilities of a future urban society outside of neoliberalism through autogestion, and provide areas where urban planners can improve upon the right to the city. If urban planners seek out and nurture instances of the right to the city, urban inhabitants will have greater control over planning projects that effect their neighborhoods.

DEDICATION

For my grandmother, Aline Marie Anne Tziganuk.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am beyond grateful to have two incredibly intelligent and strong women as my co-chairs. Thank you, Kelli Larson and Deirdre Pfeiffer, for becoming such important role models. To my committee members Meagan Ehlenz and Kevin McHugh, thank you for always offering your academic and professional guidance, and for encouraging me to think outside of the box. I would also like to thank my colleague, Michelle Stuhlmacher, for helping me learn the basics of GIS to create my study area maps. Finally, thank you to my family and friends for sticking with me through this process. I'm not sure I would have made it through without your unconditional love and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES ix

LIST OF FIGURES.....x

CHAPTER

1 THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AND LIGHT RAIL TRANSIT: A CASE OF NEOLIBERAL APPROPRIATION IN SOUTH PHOENIX 1

Introduction.....1

Problem statement.....3

Basic approach.....5

Findings.....7

2 ESTABLISHING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, URBAN PLANNING, AND LIGHT RAIL TRANSIT 9

Introduction.....9

'Right to the City'.....10

Embracing an urgent utopia.....11

The right to the city in practice.....12

Power and justice planning models.....16

Issues with the Right to the City.....22

Neoliberalism.....23

Whose right to the city?.....29

Gaps in the right to the city.....32

Urban inhabitant lens.....33

CHAPTER Page

LRT.....34

The role of the urban inhabitant in transportation planninng.....39

Conclusion.....43

3 METHODS FOR ATTUNING TO THE RIGHT TO THE CITY.....44

Introduction.....44

History of light rail in Phoenix.....44

A history of oppression.....47

Study area.....49

Research methods.....57

Case study design and methods.....58

Participant observation.....60

Media analysis.....63

Analysis.....64

Limitations.....68

4 BATTLING FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN SOUTH PHOENIX.....71

Introduction.....71

The birth of 4 Lanes or No Train.....72

From business to community.....74

“We don’t need a light rail”.....77

LRT perceptions vs. literature findings.....83

Group dynamics.....84

CHAPTER Page

From “4 Lanes” to “No Train”.....88

Glimpses of urban society in South Phoenix.....88

Methods of mobilization (autogestion).....89

Protesting.....89

Self-management.....93

Battling city council.....95

The last resort.....98

Conflicting rights to the city.....101

“Passport to the rest of the city”.....102

Inner group conflict.....104

Building a Better Phoenix Initiative.....110

Challenges to the Right to the City.....112

Neoliberal appropriation.....112

Too little, too late.....114

Perception vs. reality.....116

The failure of public participation.....120

Conclusion.....122

5 NURTURING THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN URBAN PLANNING.....123

Introduction.....123

Key findings and implications.....124

Critical reflections for urban planning.....127

CHAPTER Page

Recommendations for future research.....131

Conclusion.....132

REFERENCES 134

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Pros and Cons of LRT.....39

2. Sociodemographic data comparison for Phoenix (all City Council Districts) and South Phoenix (Districts 7 and 8).....55

3. Coding scheme for case study.....66

4. Comparison of LRT literature to LRT perceptions (4 Lanes or No Train).....83

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Valley Metro light rail system with South Central Extension.....46

2. South Central light rail extension.....51

3. Picture of Central Avenue north of the Salt River.....53

4. Picture of Central Avenue south of the Salt River.....54

5. Timeline of key developments in case study.....59

6. 4 Lanes or No Train Community Forum.....75

7. Residents at a 4 Lanes or No Train protest.....91

8. Residents at a 4 Lanes or No Train protest.....92

9. “Dot democracy” for South Phoenix light rail landscape design 116

10. Comments on question sheet a Valley Metro meeting.....117

CHAPTER 1

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AND LIGHT RAIL TRANSIT: A CASE OF NEOLIBERAL APPROPRIATION IN SOUTH PHOENIX

Introduction

"To see the present urban we must be willing to imagine and demand a possible world, even if that world is impossible under the conditions that exist now" (Purcell, 2013b, 151).

Urban planning in the United States has largely failed to offer inhabitants control over the urban spaces they occupy (Lefebvre, 1991). The 'expert' moniker given to planners suggests that these practitioners of urban space know how to best control and develop cities. In urban planning, this attitude suggests space is an absolute, independent entity that can be controlled through 'rational' practices like zoning (Agnew, 2011). Yet urban space is also a relational, lively entity filled with the everyday experiences of urban inhabitants within and across space, ranging from the most mundane of tasks to the largest of revolutions (Agnew, 2011). As evident in cases of environmental racism and social injustices, space is not an entity that can be simply segregated via zoning without consequence (Pulido, 2000). It is within the everyday experiences of relational space we can begin to understand the fabric of cities, and more importantly, how urban inhabitants claim their right to the city.

Though the right to the city theory has been around for nearly 50 years, it is gaining popularity again for good reason. Cities have only grown more attached to capitalist ideologies, often leaving disenfranchised populations behind for privatized

growth. Since the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s, American society has experienced economic hardships, increased rates of child poverty, environmental degradation, and a breakdown of public health and education (Monbiot, 2016). The power of the state has been reduced in favor of the privatization of what were once state-provided goods and services. Perhaps the most striking consequence of this is that the primary form of democracy, voting, is being replaced with spending power.

In urban America, this translates to disenfranchised populations having little say over what develops in their neighborhood, while millionaires change the course of urban politics through funding. The right to the city offers a way for urban inhabitants to not only become active participants in the creation of urban space but to also look beyond the barriers placed in front of them by capitalism. The theory strikes a balance between realism and idealism, lingering on the edge of possibility (Purcell, 2013b). The right to the city's reliance on the active participation of urban inhabitants is what initially drew me to the concept as an urban planner. Urban planning has a rich history of participatory theories and techniques, some of which push the boundaries of what has become expected in public sector planning. But where are these more radical visions of urban planning now in the neoliberal era?

Like the right to the city, more non-traditional planning theories like advocacy, radical, and communicative planning were established decades ago. Advocacy and radical planning, in particular, stemmed as a response to similar issues facing neoliberal cities now. Yet, it seems like these ideas have gone missing in the wake of recent struggles. While this is partly due to public planning practice becoming a victim of

neoliberal policies, I also question whether urban planners are becoming complacent, particularly in relation to how limited public engagement has become.

Contemporary artist Leda Black encourages us to "use PRIVELEGE to sow JUSTICE" (2017). Under a neoliberal system, urban planners can be considered a part of a privileged urban elite, or a small group of people with a disproportionately large amount of decision-making power in a city. If we become complacent and lose the sense of responsibility to the urban inhabitant, we are only contributing to their disenfranchisement in a neoliberal city. Using the right to the city as a catalyst to understand the power of politically active urban inhabitants allows planners to begin tearing down the walls of the neoliberal system through their inclusion. In many ways, I am offering this dissertation not only as a way to expand and reflect upon the right to the city, but also as an exercise in shattering complacency in urban planning. By inserting myself into the frontlines of a right to the city movement, I hope to demonstrate to urban planners the value of nurturing the voices of the disenfranchised in planning practice.

Problem Statement

The right to the city theory, developed by Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre in the 1970s, offers a way of encouraging urban inhabitants to reclaim urban space and dictate its future outside of a capitalistic political system (Lefebvre, 1991). Though Lefebvre was adamantly hopeful about translating the right to the city theory into practice, existing examples focus primarily on government-led (Belda-Miquel, Blanes, and Fredani, 2016) and small grassroots initiatives (Iveson, 2013), but not from the perspective of the urban inhabitants themselves. Therefore, it is critical to gain

perspective on how the right to the city movement applies to the urban inhabitant's lens, especially when pivoted against a neoliberal economic system that is designed to plan for profit, and not for people (Marcuse, 2009). To help fill this gap in right to the city literature, this dissertation will examine through the lens of the urban inhabitant: 1) how a minority-led grassroots neighborhood group is activating their right to the city against a large public transportation project, and 2) how their right to the city movement demonstrates the possibility of urban society beyond the current control of neoliberalism.

To answer these questions, the right to the city will be explored in the context of a light rail transit (LRT) planning project in Phoenix, Arizona. Transit projects are particularly relevant to the right to the city due to these projects ability to completely change urban space and the communities that occupy it, primarily through economic development around transit. While transit literature does provide many examples of public participation, the neoliberal political system has largely changed the landscape of transit policies since the 1990s, creating more privatized transit systems with reduced public transparency in design processes (Sager, 2011). In addition, more detailed, qualitative perspectives of public opinion regarding transportation projects is limited, especially in relation to minority voices (Ferbrache and Knowles, 2017). This dissertation, therefore, provides a case study focused on how minority voices in a grassroots organization push back against a neighborhood changing transportation planning project that threatens their right to the city. In addition, it details their successes and failures in doing so, and what lessons can be learned for urban planning.

Basic approach

The context for this dissertation surrounds LRT development led by the City of Phoenix, Arizona, and its regional public transportation authority, Valley Metro from May 2018 to March 2019. Responses to this development focus on a grassroots group called 4 Lanes or No Train in the South Phoenix community, where the current Phoenix light rail is set to expand into by the year 2023 ("Projects and Planning", 2019). While other extensions are currently planned around the city, South Phoenix is of particular interest from a planning perspective due to its history of social and environmental injustice. Marred by a history of racial segregation that left them amid environmental industrial contamination and unwelcoming traffic from flight paths and freeways (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005), South Phoenicians have reason to organize against the continual planning decisions that have scarred them in the past. Examining LRT pushback from the perspective of predominately minority South Phoenix inhabitants in a grassroots group will breathe life back into the right to the city concept in a neoliberal American society where race and democracy are increasingly contested.

Understanding the dynamics and nuances of a right to the city movement takes a thorough examination of the interactions between and among urban inhabitants, city officials, and other relevant stakeholders. By using participant observation, and informal and semi-structured interviews, this dissertation will use a variety of methods to capture the right to the city in ways we have not seen before. What these methods offer is a way to demonstrate the right to the city through the lens of the urban inhabitant, rather than as a generalized large scale movement. Although brief, one of the most intriguing demonstrations of this is Colombo and Mascarenhas' (2003) narration of urban inhabitant

and worker perspectives during the creation of neighborhood assemblies in 1990s Argentina. We have yet to see, however, a detailed account of inhabitants in the frame of the right to the city.

To expand upon this type of narration, Lefebvre suggests focusing on the perceived-conceived-lived space triad, also known as spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. While perceived space (spatial practice) is based upon how the body uses and perceives space, conceived space (representations of space) is the realm in which planners operate, "whose system of localization assigns an exact spot to each activity" (Lefebvre, 1991, 45). It is not until representational space that we truly see the world of inhabitants, who assign meanings and symbols to space, creating social movements and ideas such as the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1991). Yet representational space is difficult to find in the urban planning world because planning is so narrowly focused on knowledge and power that representational space is reduced to small acts of art and symbolism. At its core, this dissertation is a way to expand our understanding of the linkages between the representational space that creates the right to the city and the decision-making processes that occur in a neoliberal planning context.

Purcell (2013b) encourages more participation on behalf of the researcher, by helping organized groups through the battle toward democracy. He surmises, "We should document and narrate the exhilaration that participant after participant reported having felt as they refused to be ruled and took on the challenge of ruling themselves" (323). Documenting the exhilaration of participants can demonstrate not only how the right to the city occurs, but how planners can advocate for those rights by knowing where and how it is occurring in urban space. By becoming both an observer and a participant, the

researcher uses their body as a vessel to feel new ways of moving through space, while also developing the skills to observe the nuances that may be missed by those outside (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). The use of the body is essential for Lefebvre's representational space and plays a central role in demonstrating the right to the city in my dissertation.

Findings

Throughout the process of 4 Lanes or No Train's right to the city movement, we see both positive instances of a minority led grassroots group enabling their right to the city, and incredible challenges that ultimately lead to the end of their movement. The use of participant observation illuminated the methods and tactics used by the group to activate their right to the city and the complex inter-and intra-group dynamics that influenced the evolution of the movement over time. Common tactics included protesting, organizing against city council, and creating a ballot initiative. Findings regarding group dynamics often included conflicts over leadership within the group, as well as conflicts between the group and other stakeholders like politicians and pro-light rail supporters. The tactics and methods used by the group in mobilizing their right to the city demonstrate a level of active participation and collective power that allows the movement to push forward despite various barriers.

Such barriers to the movement included limited public participation and appropriation of disenfranchised urban inhabitants by neoliberal supporters such as politicians and political groups. Their battles over rights, limited public engagement, and a lack of experience, knowledge, and resources led to the group seeking outside help,

which ultimately led to their appropriation by outside actors. Despite these challenges, the 4 Lanes or No Train case captures a promising instance of urban inhabitants mobilizing their right to urban space, revealing the possibilities of a future urban society that operates outside of the state and capitalism. Planners can use these findings as a way to nurture such instances of urban society and create more involved public participation processes so that urban inhabitants' rights to the city can be realized more effectively.

Organization of dissertation

This dissertation continues by providing the theoretical context for this case, which includes discussing the right to the city framework, its benefits and issues, and how urban planning can help to address the issues (Chapter two). The literature review chapter will also discuss important literature related to LRT. The methods chapter (Chapter three) then describes the case study context of the South Phoenix light rail extension, including the background on grassroots group 4 Lanes or No Train. The various methodological tools used to capture the right to the city from the perspective of the 4 Lanes or No Train movement are also discussed. Chapter four provides a narrative on the events and key findings in the 4 Lanes or No Train movement before Chapter five concludes by discussing the implications of the case's findings for the right to the city and urban planning.

CHAPTER 2

ESTABLISHING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE RIGHT TO THE CITY, URBAN PLANNING, AND LIGHT RAIL TRANSIT

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the theoretical context for this dissertation by outlining the right to the city framework, understanding its benefits and gaps, and identifying ways in which urban planning can help address the major issues and gaps in the right to the city. While the right to the city offers great potential in addressing concerns of urban social justice, the literature is lacking in applied examples of the theory. More specifically, applied examples are missing important narratives of urban inhabitants struggles for a right to the city in various urban development contexts. In addition, Lefebvre's vision for the right to the city is in great conflict with the current era of neoliberalism, which presents numerous challenges for planning cities for people, not profit. By examining the right to the city theory and its issues, this chapter will help to illuminate how the empirical findings of this dissertation demonstrate promising instances of urban society in a neoliberal system (Chapter Four). The chapter begins by outlining the right to the city theory and practice and addressing issues with both before discussing literature on planning theory and LRT. The chapter then concludes by highlighting the gaps in the theory.

‘Right to the city’

“A city can truly be called a city only when its streets belong to the people” (Friedmann 1993; 139).

In the late 1960s, French philosopher Henri Lefebvre took note of a new urban form in his city of Paris, in which the primary ways of spatially organizing the city came in the form of utilizing property values and exchanging land on the market (Purcell, 2013a). He termed this form of urban production as the “industrial city”, and emphasized its ability to segregate out people and land uses for the benefit of a capitalist market (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2013a). Lefebvre argues that the industrial city creates urban spaces that value the property rights of owners over the rights of inhabitants who use them (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2013a; Attoh, 2011). The theoretical push against the industrial city leaves what Lefebvre calls the ‘right to the city’ and ‘urban society’ (1991). In its most basic form, the right to the city is “an exigent demand by those deprived of basic material and legal rights, and an aspiration for the future by those discontented with life as they see it around them and perceived as limiting their potentials for growth and creativity” (Marcuse, 2009). The right to the city is essentially the right to urban space, and the ability to transform that space for an individual or collective benefit (Lefebvre, 1991; Schmid, 2011).

When inhabitants exercise their right to the city by appropriating urban space, making it their own, and using it to meet their needs, they help to create what is deemed an urban society (Purcell, 2013a; Lefebvre, 1991). For Lefebvre, appropriation of urban

space can occur by rejecting private ownership of property in a capitalist market and creating cooperative social spaces defined by inhabitants (1991). Urban societies are characterized by their ability to create collective spaces and facilitate negotiations between inhabitants to help illuminate differences between them while also creating the urban space inhabitants desire (Purcell, 2013a; Schmid, 2011). Whether or not urban societies are successful at negotiating in practice is yet to be seen. Lefebvre (1991) promotes the concept of autogestion, or self-management, which requires the inhabitant to be an active participant in creating space. The active participation of urban inhabitants can lead to important social movements that advocate for a supportive living environment (Marcuse, 2009).

Embracing an urgent utopia

The need for active participation from urban inhabitants in the right to the city emphasizes the demand for a different perspective from scholars and practitioners. If the right to the city is a living, breathing struggle that can occur in fleeting moments, those studying the topic must be attuned to perceive such small instances of the right to the city (Purcell, 2013b). In addition, the right to the city also requires a willingness to imagine what urban societies would look like if urban inhabitants controlled the urban spaces they occupy. Lefebvre refers to such imaginative possibilities as an “urgent utopia”. However, he does not advocate for a utopia in the extreme and unrealistic sense of the word. He instead advocates for the transformation of pessimistic, realist thinking into imaginative thinking that values possibility in all urban situations (Purcell, 2013b). This type of thinking values the reality of urban situations but does not let current restrictions such as

neoliberalism hinder possible solutions (Purcell, 2013b). Urgent utopia is a key frame for the right to the city as it allows urban inhabitants to reclaim urban space without being disillusioned by existing obstacles. Through increments of autogestion, ranging from the smallest of moments to the largest of revolutions in urban life, urban inhabitants can slowly chip away at the state and capitalism by exposing urban society in their fight for a right to the city. The next section highlights some attempts at examining instances of the right to the city in practice.

The right to the city in practice

Lefebvre was adamant that his theoretical right to the city concept could be applied in a practical, concrete manner (1991). How the right to the city plays out in practice, however, remains an understudied topic. Since its recent resurgence, the right to the city has become a rather muddled concept. In some cases, the right to the city includes an array of differing rights, such as the right to housing, transportation, and social services among others (Purcell, 2013b). In other cases, the right to the city is so narrowly defined that it can lose many of its important distinctions. The various conceptions of the right to the city are not necessarily an issue, however, since the right to the city should be as flexible as the perspectives of urban inhabitants fighting for their rights. Purcell (2013b) advocates for various conceptions of the right to the city in practice, as long as these conceptions and their political contexts are explicitly stated.

Using a method called transduction, Lefebvre advocates that by examining occurrences of the right to the city, we can extrapolate such practices to this theory and infer what an urban society may look like in the future. Doing so would eventually create

a lens of urban society that we can use to examine current practices today (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2013a). Beyond this approach, Marcuse (2009) advocates for using critical urban theory to encourage the right to the city. To go from critical theory to "radical urban practice", he suggests a three-step model: expose, propose, and politicize (43). An urban planner by training, he deems this approach as "critical planning", and used it to examine what planners were doing after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. The expose phase involves analyzing the root of the urban problem and communicating that with relevant stakeholders, while the propose phase follows up by working with those stakeholders to come up with effective proposals and strategies to overcome problems (Marcuse, 2009). The final phase, politicize, involves demonstrating the political implications of the issues and proposals before organizing to implement solutions.

Applying theory to practice, however, is not a simple process and has thus far been a topic of debate in scholarly literature. Applied instances of the right to the city occur in various ways, ranging from government-led initiatives to community-based movements. South American countries, particularly Brazil, have led the way in attempting to institutionalize the right to the city in laws. After informal development became a normalized occurrence in Rio De Janeiro, the city developed a right to the city statute that is based on collective rights and regularizes informal development (Brown, 2013). The successful institutionalization of the right to the city was born out of a unique time when the state was transitioning from military to democratic rule. A shift to democratic rule elevated the role of social actors in governance, allowing for the promotion of democratic management in the city. Therefore, Brown (2013) argues that changes in government are vital to successful right to the city movements.

Meanwhile in the Brazilian state of Bahia, the MSTB, or homeless movement, reflects the right to the city by mobilizing squatters and homeless communities to self-organize and find work (Belda-Miquel, Blanes, and Fredani, 2016). After occupying empty buildings/land and creating democratic organization in the new settlement, the MSTB then pressures public administration to help improve the now occupied space based on a city statute that declares citizens' right to housing and infrastructure (Belda-Miquel, Blanes, and Fredani, 2016).

Purcell (2013b) provides examples of political movements in Argentina, Spain, and Greece that lead to instances of urban inhabitants directly managing themselves, rather than being managed by the state. While Argentines created neighborhood assemblies to govern themselves outside of the state in response to economic and political crises, Spaniards followed suit in the Spanish Revolution of 2011 by holding demonstrations around city squares, advocating for direct democracy (Colombo and Mascarenhas, 2003; Purcell, 2013b). The Spanish and concurrent Greek protests for self-management also spurred the Occupy Wall Street movement in the United States months later (Purcell, 2013b). Though these movements represent a form of the right to the city in practice by demonstrating instances of self-management, they are not representative of urban planning issues that may elicit complex and conflicting rights to the city among various groups under a neoliberal political system. These examples also occur at large scales, which overlooks the right to the city in the everyday practices of urban inhabitants.

A more grassroots example of establishing the right to the city involves the New York Street Advertising Takeover Project (NYSAT), an effort that organizes artists who

paint over commercial billboards with non-consumer messages (Iveson, 2013). The result was a direct show of do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism that reclaimed and appropriated urban space (Iveson, 2013). Yet how effective are these institutional, community-based, and grassroots attempts at implementing the right to the city? At the government scale, the primary danger to institutionalizing the right to the city is that it can potentially fail to address underlying causes of problems and downplay power struggles by co-opting social movements to serve existing power structures (Mayer, 2012). In addition, government-led efforts to implement people's right to the city can also take away the meaning and significance of the concept (Belda-Miquel, Blanes, and Fredani, 2016). In fact, the MSTB demonstrates that the radical change Lefebvre calls for in the original theory is not possible if the right to the city is only conducted by the state (Belda-Miquel, Blanes, and Fredani, 2016). What is more successful is if inhabitants can make small, progressive changes over time, especially when institutions and regulations can severely limit large scale revolutionary actions like Lefebvre envisions. Such small changes over time indicate a major limitation of the right to the city, which is that a total overhaul of government is unlikely in most situations. In the case of NYSAT, Iveson (2013) argues that DIY approaches will not necessarily lead to a right to the city unless they are politicized. To politicize these approaches, groups need to stage their disagreements with existing authorities by publicly demonstrating how their urban politics conflict with current urban practices. In this case, graffiti was used to cover up commercial billboards with critical questions or statements about rights, which eventually did impact the placement of such billboards around the city (Iveson, 2013).

Despite the various examples of the right to the city occurring in practice at different scales, it is important to realize how many of these efforts occur within a neoliberal framework. In the case of Brazil, the government institutionalizes the right to the city, while the other cases rely on the politicization of the right to the city to enact changes in policy. All of these examples still leave decision-making power in the hands of the state and reduce the right to the city to a legal right (Purcell, 2013b). Lefebvre's vision instead sees urban inhabitants gaining control outside of the legal system, eventually withering away the power of the state entirely. For urban planners who work in the public realm, this presents a challenge to the way we think about planning practice under neoliberalism. Fortunately, urban planning has a rich history of frameworks that similarly value the participation of urban inhabitants in the formation of urban space, particularly through the lens of advocacy and social justice. The next section discusses some of these approaches before concluding with the role of public participation in the right to the city theory.

Power and justice planning models

One of the primary issues for utilizing the right to the city in government and public sector planning relates to an imbalance of power among the various actors involved in the process (Davidoff, 1965; Arnstein, 1969). Forester (1982), a planner associated with communicative planning, argues that a planner's access to information, and their ability to misinform the public about this information, is the primary way power is held in the planning process. He elaborates further by outlining five perspectives in which a public sector planner may use information as a source of power. The first

perspective is that of the technician. The technician holds power through technical information such as ownership or access to data and the ability to analyze it, which often does not become involved with politics, as they believe their technical work is the form of best practice (Forester, 1982).

The incrementalist acknowledges the often-complex process of project approval and the various stages of the process. In this perspective, planners hold power by understanding all of the stages in the planning process and where/whom to go to for the fastest approval (Forester, 1982). The liberal-advocate relates back to Davidoff's (1965) call for advocacy planning. These planners see information as power because they can use it to respond to the needs of underrepresented groups. The final two perspectives are the structuralists and the progressives. The structuralist perspective sees a planner's information as a source of power because it "legitimatizes and rationalizes" the existing power structures (Forester, 1982, 69). Progressives, on the other hand, see information as power because it can enable public participation, avoid legitimatizing, and can expose structural, organizational, and political barriers to planning (Forester, 1982, 69). Therefore, the progressive perspective on information and power in planning is heavily related to the progression of public participation as an important tool in current urban planning. This does not mean, however, that planners use this progressive perspective in modern practice. Rather, current planning practice seems to go with the motions, including public participation via public meetings because it is required. One may argue this expectation is due to the previous historical backlash of the urban renewal era, which was characterized by large scale removal of urban blight with little to no public input.

Rather than the government possessing a desire to include public input (which generally slows down planning processes and development), they do so to save face.

To address concerns of power and community representativeness, various social justice oriented models of urban planning started gaining traction in the 1960s as a response to the shortcomings of the urban renewal era. The primary approaches include advocacy, radical, and communicative planning. Before discussing these approaches, it is important to note the importance of public participation in planning for social justice. Akin to the right to the city, justice planning is not possible without the voices of urban inhabitants. The most dominant and widely accepted representation of public participation in planning is Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation. Arnstein highlights a major concern in planning, which is how much stakeholder input is actually considered in final decision-making. If input is not considered at all, those in power will likely try to "educate" or "cure" the participants, which Arnstein deems non-participation (1969, 217).

Steps beyond non-participation include informing, consultation, and placation. All of these ensure that voices are heard, but do not ensure they will be included, which is deemed as "tokenism" (Arnstein, 1969, 217). True public participation will occur with partnerships, delegated power, or citizen control. Partnerships offer the ability to negotiate with the power holders, while delegated power and citizen control ensure the majority of decision-making seats or ultimately full power (Arnstein, 1969). Advocacy and communicative planning utilize Arnstein's (1969) ladder in different ways. The urban renewal era was informed by the *rational* comprehensive approach to planning, which is characterized by surveying a region, conducting analysis of the survey, and

implementing a plan based on public input from the survey (Lane, 2005). In this approach, the planning profession is seen as a scientific process and planners are seen as experts who know what is best for public interest. Many of the problems with rational comprehensive planning are highlighted by its lack of public participation or inclusion of diverse values and perspectives. The approach tends to oversimplify the world, leaving no room for adaptability and for public input (Lane, 2005). It does, however, offer a strong reliance on scientific data and objectivity, which can be extremely beneficial in decision making. Overall, the rational comprehensive approach to planning may be the most closely aligned with a neoliberal economic system, hindering the urban inhabitant's right to city most.

Advocacy planning emerged in response to the desire for more public participation around the same time as the civil rights movement. Some planners during this time developed advocacy approaches to representation, working on behalf of their clients in disadvantaged groups (Davidoff, 1965). Davidoff (1965) takes the position that planners should not only include residents in the process but also become advocates for them. This was a bold shift in thinking compared to the heavily positivist, rational comprehensive planning approach. His position highlights how planning is essentially a value-laden field, or one that cannot escape the opinions and preferences of those involved. Advocacy planning, therefore, moves away from a singular public interest to acknowledging differing and often competing interests among the public.

Advocacy planners typically work with disadvantaged groups who are normally excluded from the planning process. Planners try to actively include them, mainly by facilitating the formation of groups so they can learn to advocate for themselves

(Davidoff, 1965). The most often cited example of this approach is the Cleveland City Planning Commission's work in the 1970s (Krumholz, 1982). The planners in Cleveland were able to serve as activists on behalf of poor populations via improved transit and through opposing certain types of development; that is, stances often eliciting a lot of pushback from other stakeholders such as politicians and businesspeople. This approach to planning follows more closely with the partnership level of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of public participation, and perhaps even beyond depending on the context.

In comparison to the right to the city, advocacy planning adopts similar values of serving those who are underrepresented and teaching urban inhabitants to organize and advocate for themselves. However, advocacy planning offers a couple of potential benefits over the right to the city in practice. Firstly, advocacy planning inherently acknowledges competing interests among the public, which is thus far a primary struggle for the right to the city in practice. Secondly, the urban planner is used as a tool to facilitate social change, rather than as a distant accomplice for neoliberal development. The potential issue with using advocacy planning to facilitate a right to the city, however, is the need to choose who should be advocated for. Even underrepresented groups may have internal conflicts and create their own "sides" to planning situations. How does the advocacy planner choose what and who to advocate for, especially when groups challenge their own personal values and come from different socioeconomic backgrounds? When is it acceptable for a white urban planner to choose what should and should not be advocated for among minority groups? The broader nature of the right to the city may provide enough room to create answers to such challenging questions.

An approach that closely aligns with the right to the city is *radical planning*, which argues a new paradigm is needed to overcome the "elitist, centralizing, and change-resistant tendencies" perpetuated by the current economic system (Grabow and Heskin 106, 1973). The fathers of radical planning continue to emphasize the need for public participation by saying, "It is basic to see that without *authentic* participation of the members of the community, on *equal* footing, no effective planning -- de-alienating and genuinely responsive to human needs -- can evolve," (Grabow and Heskin 107, 1973). Friedmann (2008) argues that radical planning works beyond the state and often against it through mobilizing communities, or grassroots movements.

A more targeted approach is utilized in *communicative* planning. Developed in the 1970s-1980s, communicative planning asserts that knowledge is socially constructed and maintained through communication (Healey, 1992). In this sense, planners are often seen as facilitators who actively work and interact with people to better understand the context of the situation. Planners have a responsibility to collectively create information with the public (Innes, 1998). Innes et al. (1995) demonstrate communicative planning by examining case studies using an approach called consensus building. Consensus building involves bringing together various stakeholders and conducting activities, such as role-playing, to understand each other's perspectives before brainstorming possible ways forward on an issue. In Arnstein's (1969) ladder, communicative planning and methods such as consensus building reflect the partnership rung and the ability for negotiation among those partners. Though less radical than advocacy planning and the right to the city, communicative planning offers consensus building as a viable tool for practice. I argue using the more applied aspects of advocacy and communicative planning in public

sector planning can help to improve the right to the city framework in today's neoliberal system, particularly through their use of public participation.

A key component of power and justice planning models is increased levels of public participation. Participation is also at the crux of the right to the city, but Lefebvre is highly critical of the participation used in city politics. He claims public participation in city government, "allows those in power to obtain, at a small price, the acquiescence of concerned citizens. After a show trial more or less devoid of information and social activity, citizens sink back into their tranquil passivity..." (1968, 105). Therefore, Lefebvre calls for active participation through the mobilization of urban inhabitants. Doing so allows them to be awakened, and see participation "not as speaking at a public hearing or serving on a citizens' panel, but as the living struggle for a city that is controlled by its inhabitants" (Purcell, 2013b, 150). This type of participation shows urban inhabitants what they are capable of as a collective, paving the way for their appropriation of urban space. In the neoliberal city where such participation is minimized, I argue urban planning's rich history of participatory theories and justice models can offer a way to combat the suppression of urban inhabitants. The next section further explores the key issues in right to the city theory and practice.

Issues with the right to the city

Right to the city literature reveals two primary issues with the framework as it stands today. As frequently mentioned in the previous section, the age of neoliberalism brings about new challenges to the right to the city in ways Lefebvre could not account for at the time of his writings. If scholars and practitioners wish to continue using the

right to the city, it is necessary to imagine the possibility of an urban society beyond neoliberalism. Another critical question resulting from the scholarly literature is whose right to the city is it? Though the right to the city has potential to give voices to those who are often unheard in urban planning, certain rights may be privileged over others. Questions about who is choosing what rights and for whom are critical in moving forward in a challenging neoliberal system, especially when handling differing dynamics and conflicts amongst and between groups of urban inhabitants.

Neoliberalism

Lefebvre created the right to the city concept when the United States still operated in a liberal democratic framework. Since the 1990s, however, work on the right to the city and planning policy has focused more specifically on the rising neoliberal political era (Fawaz, 2009; Kemp, Lebuhn, and Rattner, 2015; Sager, 2011; Balzarini and Shlay, 2016). Though related in fundamentals, the basic distinction between liberal democracy and neoliberalism lies primarily in the role that people play in society. While both operate under principles of laissez-faire economics where the economy (and subsequently culture) is market driven, assets are privatized, and there is little government intervention, neoliberalism focuses even less on people and society, and more on the free market. The concept originated in the late 1930s through the ideology of Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek (Monbiot, 2016). Concerned with the increasing levels of social democracy exemplified through collectivist ideologies such as communism, von Mises and Hayek developed an ideology based on individualism, primarily through freedom from regulations and taxes (Monbiot, 2016). The idea eventually caught on with the rich,

and even more prominently in the 1970s after economic crises in the United States and the United Kingdom (Monbiot, 2016). The policies of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan then solidified neoliberalism as the dominant ideology for decades to come.

Urban planning has not been immune to the neoliberal shift, and some even argue that planners facilitate neoliberalism by encouraging growth within cities (Molotch, 1976). In New York City, community garden advocates fought unsuccessfully to save the gardens in the face of a government that wanted to use the space for affordable housing and market-rate revenues (Schmelzkopf, 2002). At face value, this may seem like a loss for community advocate's right to the city. However, what about those community members who would benefit from affordable housing? Again, this illustrates the challenges of using the right to the city in a capitalist system.

Sager (2011) details how planning policies, ranging from infrastructure provisions to housing and neighborhood renewal, have become neoliberal minded since the early 1990s in many countries around the world (even in more socialized political systems like Sweden). Infrastructure provisions in neoliberal policies are characterized by increased private control over the "construction and operation of urban infrastructure" (Sager, 2011, 163). In practice, this means more public-private partnerships for projects ranging from transportation to acquiring drinking water. Consequences of public-private partnerships in urban infrastructure include a bias toward private interests, and in the case where projects are primarily funded through private entities, a lack of democratic processes and transparency with the public (Siemiatycki, 2005, 2006).

Along with neighborhood renewal policies, the most relevant discussion for this dissertation is regarding neoliberal transportation policies. Transportation is inherently

connected to the right to the city because: 1) disadvantaged people, such as the handicapped, may not be able to enact their right to the city due to inadequate mobility, and 2) fixed transportation inherently influences place in positive and negative ways (Attoh, 2012; Farmer, 2011). Rail transit policies are now characterized by separate, private ownership of rail infrastructure, from the tracks themselves to the operating companies (Sager, 2011). In Chicago, such policies have widened the inequality gap by creating unaffordable housing and unequal access to public resources (Farmer, 2011). Privatization is also concerning because it reduces public subsidies, focuses more on share value, and is unconcerned with ridership and consequences of gentrification (Sager, 2011). In addition, it has vast consequences for public participation. The development of the RAV transit system in Vancouver, Canada demonstrated how public-private transit partnerships can result in limited transparency and public input for the benefit of financial gain in a neoliberal city (Siemiatycki, 2005).

One of the most dangerous potential outcomes of neoliberal policies in infrastructure, neighborhood renewal, and transportation is gentrification. Gentrification, a term first coined in 1964 by Ruth Glass, is a well-documented, highly contested area of planning related literature (Lees, Slater, and Wyly, 2013; Smith, 2005). The term is used to describe changes in a population after a change in the built environment, such as the influx of people of higher socioeconomic status after the development of a luxury apartment building (Sager, 2011). Some of the primary characteristics of gentrification include changes in the housing market, economic status, and demographics (Bates, 2013). Initially, the narrative around these policies tends to be positive in the sense that they will improve living conditions, upgrade decaying districts, and attract visitors and business

(Sager, 2011; Atkinson, 2003). Studies consistently show, however, that gentrification in the United States is a highly racialized and class-based phenomenon. It leaves gentrified neighborhood populations primarily white with higher levels of displacement for minorities, and/or surrounding low-income neighborhoods continually disinvested (Hwang and Sampson, 2014; Lees, 2016). In addition, gentrification is becoming more of a strategy used by local governments for economic improvements.

In the UK, quasi-non-governmental organizations called Urban Development Corporations lead urban renewal efforts in many British cities primarily to increase business investments by cleaning up decaying districts (Haughton, 1999). Critics of these efforts suggest a myriad of issues, primarily citing a lack of engagement with local communities and a lack of concern for gentrification (Deas et al., 2000; Haughton, 1999). Such social consequences include the reclamation of the city by the middle class, breaking up concentrations of poor people, and displacement through rent increases and the inability for people to find other homes (Sager, 2011). Some go as far as to say that neoliberal policies that promote gentrification are also promoting the recolonization of the city at the expense of vulnerable populations (Atkinson, 2003).

Community-based responses to gentrification, particularly from low-income, minority populations are also prevalent (Freeman, 2006; Newman and Wyly, 2006). Attitudes and perceptions of gentrification have been explored using interviews with residents and community organizers in Harlem and other neighborhoods in New York City (Freeman, 2006; Newman and Wyly, 2006). Perceptions of residents typically correspond with findings from the academic literature, with primary reasoning including a changing economy, appreciation of housing stock in Harlem, and the locational

convenience of these neighborhoods. For example, a prominent finding is an increase in rents by landlords, and eventual harassment of tenants in the hopes they will move out so rents can be increased. Residents say those who have been displaced have had to move in with other family members, a shelter, or become homeless. In some cases, they will move out of the city or state entirely for cheaper rents. Those who are affected the most are often the elderly and immigrants, with the elderly living on fixed incomes and experiencing long waitlists for senior living communities (Newman, 2006). It is important to note, however, that discussions around displacement are highly contested in the literature. Freeman himself has found conflicting evidence over displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods (2004; 2005). Therefore, displacement is not necessarily a given in any gentrifying neighborhood, but the fear of it happening may spur enough negativity around gentrification itself to ignore any potential benefits (Freeman, 2005).

Even the resident created community organizations that fought to revitalize neighborhoods are now dwindling, and new community organizations are now working to fight displacement (Newman, 2006). Such organizations include Community Development Corporations (CDCs), the Lower Park Slope's Fifth Avenue Committee (FAC), and the Pratt Area Community Council (PACC). In this case, CDCs provide aid for tenants who are experiencing harassment by landlords using illegal tactics for eviction, while the FAC created an anti-displacement campaign (eventually adopted by other community groups) to challenge landlords with excessive rent increases (Newman and Wyly, 2006). The PACC also helps to tackle displacement with the creation of the Displacement Watch program, which is a weekly meeting for tenants that teaches them how to negotiate with landlords among other activities (Newman and Wyly, 2006). With

the support of various community groups, residents can receive aid that helps mitigate the negative effects of gentrification, though it might not be enough to sustain the livelihoods of pre-existing residents.

In sum, what a review of the literature shows is that planning in the neoliberal context is planning for profitability, not for urban inhabitants. Neoliberal policies focus on time efficiency and economic gain, include little public participation processes, and rely on the private market to solve urban problems (Sager, 2011). Many people are left marginalized and underserved by neoliberal policies. Yet as we see with the right to the city, determining whose right should take precedence is tricky, especially when some rights may align with neoliberal policies. In addition, public participation is a vital component of facilitating the right to the city, because without the perspectives of the stakeholders who have developed personal memories, history, sense of place, and attachments to place, planners cannot successfully produce urban space that is representative of inhabitants (Cilliers and Timmerman, 2014; Lepofsky and Fraser, 2003; Hou and Rios, 2003). Using public participation as a tool for producing urban space not only allows for the successful creation of desirable, livable urban spaces that people are proud of, but also creates the social capital needed to maintain it (Cilliers and Timmerman, 2014). One of the biggest threats to public participation in a neoliberal system is the use of public participation to reaffirm the agendas of social elites, or to increase organizational learning rather than empowering inhabitants right to the city. Sager (2011) argues it is the responsibility of planners to show the public that market-driven policies are not to the benefit of society at large.

Whose right to the city?

Yet, what rights and whose rights do these concepts apply, especially when urban inhabitants usually have conflicting perspectives? The answers to these questions largely vary in the literature and seem highly dependent on context. For example, rights can range from the right to housing, the right to participate and be heard, or the right against police brutality (Attoh, 2011). People who are excluded, alienated, and generally those who do not currently have the right such as low income, minority, or undocumented populations typically represent Lefebvre's vision of autogestion and reclaiming the city (Marcuse, 2009; Schmid, 2011). Yet it is important to recognize that the right to the city does not automatically guarantee rights for all, as leaders of corporate organizations are typically the first to possess that right in an industrialized society (Marcuse, 2009). Even in instances where programs are developed to aid those without rights to the city, the outcomes still serve those in greater positions of economic power. In Syracuse, New York, a program called Rides for Work assists welfare recipients by giving them individualized transportation to and from work. By limiting transportation to the workplace, it continually restricts recipients from accessing grocery stores, childcare, and higher paying jobs (Attoh, 2011). In addition, those without a right to the city may find it more difficult to assert their rights due to a lack of knowledge or resources. Therefore, not everyone will be winners in the process, at least not initially.

Purcell emphasizes Lefebvre's point that enabling the right to the city "does not entail a project to achieve a purely democratic, stateless, post-capitalistic ideal city at the end of history" (320, 2013b). Therefore, to what extent can urban inhabitants claim the right to the city, what does that process look like, and what are the outcomes? Harvey

(2008) argues that combating neoliberal rights to the city involves establishing democratic management, which is akin to the citizen control rung of Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969). As McCann (2002) puts simply, the right to the city is "the right not to be marginalized in decision-making" (26). In the context of urban planning, I argue the only way to manage conflicting rights to the city in practice is through collaborative, democratic methods of public participation that promote transparency from the beginning of a planning project. Currently, this is difficult to achieve when urban planners primarily operate within a neoliberal political context that values efficient economic development rather than extensive public outreach and feedback that can slow down development. Even if public sector planners want to facilitate more public participation, they might not possess the necessary tools to deal with complex and conflicting stakeholder perspectives. While Lefebvre continually stresses a working-class, anti-capitalist focus, the reality in a neoliberal city is that self-interests of working-class inhabitants can often be capitalistic and negatively affect the overall public.

Balzarini and Shlay (2016) demonstrate the viewpoints of community members in the face of plans to build a casino in a diverse south Philadelphia neighborhood. In understanding the viewpoints of urban inhabitants on the potential casino, they found two important issues in applying the right to the city in a neoliberal context. Firstly, high variability exists across and among groups regarding the benefits and drawbacks of building a casino. The differing opinions largely varied based on length of residence and social class, demonstrating that different people can desire different rights within the same context. In addition, urban inhabitants who actively participate in opposing or supporting such projects do so based on their own self-interests.

In this example, it was the long-term, working-class residents who favored the economic benefits of the casino, rather than the newer residents who contributed to the gentrification of the neighborhood to begin with and opposed the casino based on their desire to maintain the economic and cultural gains that resulted from previous gentrification (Balzarini and Shlay, 2016). The results of this case study highlight the challenges of using the right to the city theory in a neoliberal planning context, primarily because of the various competing rights within communities. Ultimately, urban inhabitants are left fighting amongst each other for their own self-interests, and not against the overarching economic system as Lefebvre originally envisioned. A reimagined right to the city framework will need to account for competing perspectives, of which possibly promote neoliberal development.

Purcell (2002) further notes that the outcome of the right to the city will largely depend on the political identities of urban inhabitants and that their rights will not always be inherently positive. This is especially the case when considering the perspectives of diverse urban inhabitants who may have conflicting desires and push outcomes that are to the detriment of society at large (Attoh, 2011; Belda-Miquel, Blanes, and Frediani, 2016). As previously mentioned briefly, recent scholarship is discovering and unraveling the complexities surrounding both whose right to the city it is, and what rights those are (Attoh, 2011). The answers to such questions can largely depend on how the right to the city is defined and the undemocratic urban policies that dictate their outcomes. For example, urban policies exist that exclude homeless individuals from sleeping in public parks (Mitchell, 2003). Though such policies inhibit the rights of the homeless to the city, it may be argued that the majority of inhabitants support these exclusive policies so they

can enjoy public parks without seeing the homeless (Mitchell, 2003). This instance highlights conflicts between majority and minority rights to the city. Neoliberal rights to the city, which are those of a small urban elite with private interests, also produce conflict. This conflict is not only defined by urban inhabitants fighting against the urban elite, but also between urban inhabitants who support or do not support neoliberal policies (Attoh, 2011).

Gaps in the right to the city

In addition to addressing the issues related to neoliberalism and conflicting rights to the city, my dissertation will also help fill two gaps in the right to the city literature. Firstly, though the literature discusses the unique dynamics and tensions among and between urban inhabitants, it rarely does so from the lens of the urban inhabitant. Instead of presenting the fight for a right to the city as a living, breathing constant in urban society, scholarly literature is limited by discussing the logistics of social movements and gauging how people feel about them through traditional methods like interviews. I question what the right to the city literature might gain from a researcher putting themselves into a movement, to experience the inner workings of this theory in practice. Because the right to the city is a dynamic, living concept in practice, movements need to be studied in real time to account for the dynamic relationships and potential issues.

Secondly, the right to the city needs to be studied across more varied urban contexts. While the literature provides some examples from large scale movements and government interventions, we lack more examples of the right to the city in small scale, everyday experiences of. Applying the right to the city framework to urban planning

issues such as housing, gentrification, and in the case of my dissertation, transportation, will further help to refine this framework for the benefit of social justice.

Urban inhabitant lens

Right to the city literature typically focuses on its theory rather than its practice. To heed Lefebvre's desire to find instances of the right to the city in practice to further develop the theory, some scholars are making an effort to document the right to the city in various cases around the world. I argue, however, that there has been a primary focus on larger-scale movements and subsequent government responses rather than more localized cases focused on urban inhabitant's responses to neoliberal urban development. The right to the city theory has a lot to gain from understanding the journey of the ordinary urban inhabitant's fight for the right to the city, especially when we know how easily their rights can be restricted in a neoliberal society.

The primary instances in which we see the perspectives of urban inhabitants in the literature is when the right to the city intersects with gentrification. As discussed previously, Balzarini and Shaly's (2016) study on the development of a casino in Philadelphia revealed tensions between residents who supported or opposed the project. The authors use interviews to provide more in-depth perspectives of residents who will be impacted by the casino, which creates a richer depiction of what is at stake with the right to the city. Dialogue from residents questioning the authenticity of residency and who has a right to make decisions provide more powerful glances into the complexity of the right to the city. In Buenos Aires, Argentina, Centner (2012) produces similar work in relation to displacement as a result of development. Using ethnographic methods, the

author's narrative produces the sense of urgency many of those facing displacement are experiencing, as well as their difficulties in mobilizing against the government.

Studies like these provide more personalized evidence of the right to the city in practice, though I believe scholars can push the narrative even further. As neoliberalism continues to make it harder and harder for urban planners to fulfill social justice needs in cities, one of the most radical actions a planner can take is to become a participant in the right to the city themselves. Too often the planner is an outside observer, tasked with fulfilling public participation requirements that are rarely adequate. By becoming a participant, planners are forced to learn the nuances of the urban struggle, and more importantly, are forced to confront their own roles in establishing a right to the city. The next section discusses LRT, an area of urban planning that is lacking in the right to the city literature, and that will provide the context for my dissertation.

Light rail transit (LRT)

LRT initially developed as a response to transportation, land use, and environmental issues that entered the urban consciousness in the 1970s (Babalik-Sutcliffe, 2002). Although LRT has been shown to reduce greenhouse gases, improve public health, and reduce traffic congestion (Topalovic et al., 2012), the overall effects of LRT on various aspects of the urban form have been shown to be rather minimal in relation to their initial problem-solving purposes (Babalik-Sutcliffe, 2002). Studies suggest that positive LRT effects only occur in conjunction with other improvement projects such as transit-oriented development overlay zones. Urban factors such as the liveliness of the central business district (CBD), usage, and image can all impact the

success of LRT in terms of high ridership, cost-effectiveness, and traffic reduction. For example, LRT is more likely to be successful in dense areas such as central business districts, where ridership is higher and subsequently perceived as safer than areas with fewer people around (Babalik-Sutcliffe, 2002). Other aspects that can contribute to successful LRT are: implementing land-use policies that support the system, integrating the LRT system into other urban projects such as redevelopment, linking the system to other transit systems like buses, and keeping the system service frequent, with good security and low fares (Babalik-Sutcliffe, 2002; Dziauddin, Powe, and Alvanides, 2014).

While LRT can stimulate the economic growth of an area by increasing connectivity, LRT investment alone is not enough to create wide-scale economic change. Supportive policies, such as transit-oriented development (TOD), are what help create the most economic investments in a city with LRT. As stated previously with neoliberal policies, public-private partnerships (PPPs) are a popular way for cities to create new transit projects, as they can work with private entities to finance large projects. However, such economic partnerships are not always ideal for populations of lower socioeconomic status, as the private sector is more likely invest in affluent areas where they can make the most profit (Farmer, 2011).

If LRT is only successful in conjunction with other improvement projects, why has it become so popular? The answer typically lies within government funding or support. In the case of six LRT projects in the Netherlands, De Bruijn and Veeneman (2009) reveal how the strict focus of the government to fund only light rail projects led to delayed implementation of the projects due to conflicting perspectives among stakeholders. In the United States, the power of the government over transportation

projects often leaves local officials struggling between serving the economic benefits of serving the suburbs and meeting the needs of the underserved who rely on transportation (Grengs, 2005; Farmer, 2011).

In terms of the production of space, LRT can have large impacts on the shape of cities, their materialities, and subsequent spatial interactions (Olesen and Lassen, 2016). Olesen and Lassen (2016) argue that light rail systems are not just pieces of urban infrastructure, but rather a collection of normative decisions that create 'light rail scapes' or visions and rationalities that center around an object, in this case the light rail infrastructure. Light rail scapes include everything from the color of the trains, the design of the stations, how people interact with the system, and vice versa (Olesen and Lassen, 2016). Of equal importance are the people and cultures that give these light-rail-scapes meaning. In the case of Bergen, Norway, the light rail holds a significant historical and cultural connection to when the system was tram based, indicating how the light rail can be representative of a specific time and place (Olesen and Lassen, 2016).

Although LRT and subsequent development can have many positive impacts on urban space, serious drawbacks exist for establishing a right to the city. Though beneficial to homeowners, one of the primary drawbacks of transit development for renters and low-income populations is an increase in property values, particularly in areas that are desirable to live in, are close to the CBD, and link to other transit forms (Dziauddin, Powe, and Alvanides, 2014; Knowles and Ferbrache, 2016). Improved accessibility to work opportunities and other services due to LRT is also linked to increases in property values, though increases are shown in both low-income and high-income neighborhoods (Dziauddin, Powe, and Alvandies, 2014).

Nilsson and Delmelle (2018) show that impoverished neighborhoods in transit areas have a 62 percent chance of transitioning to a young and educated neighborhood, while all types of neighborhoods have the highest probability of turning into young and educated neighborhoods after the opening of LRT stations. In terms of the link between light rail stations and gentrification, Baker and Lee (2017) found mixed results depending on the context. In some cities like San Francisco, gentrification was prevalent around light rail stations, while in Portland, strong transit-oriented development initiatives incentivized developers to combat potential gentrification (Baker and Lee, 2017). However, the authors also acknowledge that the effects of LRT on displacement are still far from understood. In sum, one of the largest threats of LRT to the right to the city is the potential impact of gentrification and subsequent displacement. Yet given the proper programs and incentives, gentrification can be effectively combated.

Though the literature demonstrates mixed results regarding transit impacts on property values, any increase in low-income neighborhoods can cause more drastic effects as it may displace those who ultimately rely on public transportation the most (Knowles and Ferbrache 2016; Luckey et al., 2018). Luckey et al., (2018) found that affluent, white households with access to multiple vehicles are moving to transit station areas in much larger proportions than low-income households. The negative effects on lower-income populations primarily stem from uneven transit development, which can limit the opportunities and sociospatial relationships one has in a place (Farmer, 2011). Without the support of affordable housing policies, low-income populations are unlikely to compete with affluent populations for desirable housing in transit-oriented communities (Luckey et al., 2018). Aside from these localized effects of transit

development, it is also important to note those people who do or do not support the development of transit to begin with, and how that can positively or negatively impact the right to the city.

Uneven development can be a result of planners creating large projects in the urban core as pressure for transit grows. In these situations, developers and real estate agencies hold enough economic power to control development in the urban core, often displacing working-class residents and minorities (Farmer, 2011). In the case of Chicago, this included the removal of affordable housing in the central city and resulted in these populations moving to the city edge where public transit and the job market are not accessible (Farmer, 2011). This type of developer-controlled, municipal-supported development creates and reproduces spatial inequalities for those populations such as African Americans who are the most dependent on transit than any other population (Farmer, 2011). As Friedmann (2010) summarizes, "…displacement is one of the most common phenomena in modern city life. We often use other words to talk about it—people removal, squatter eradication, slum clearance, gentrification, rehousing, redevelopment—some terms more benign, others more brutal, but in the end, the results are the same."

In addition to issues of displacement and gentrification because of LRT, other important barriers exist in relation to tensions between public and private stakeholders (Dorsey and Mulder, 2013). Since the light rail is developed in a highly normative fashion, differing visions of what the light rail should be create a lack of consensus between stakeholders. Such differing visions of the light rail can have various implications for the right to the city, of which is one of the primary foci of this research.

Dorsey and Mulder (2013) argue that TOD should always be community driven so that the resulting LRT system is one that is representative of urban space and supported by inhabitants. The next subsection addresses how transportation planning goes about including the urban inhabitant through public participation and why it is often problematic for establishing a right to the city.

Pros	**Cons**
○ Reduction in greenhouse gases ○ Improvement in public health (less pollution, promotes walking) ○ Reduction in traffic congestion ○ Increased connectivity ○ Increased access to services and jobs ○ Increases in property values	○ Increases in property values ○ Uneven development ○ Gentrification ○ Displacement of low income residential and commercial populations ○ Potentially less cost-effective than bus rapid transit

Table 1
Pros and cons of LRT

The role of the urban inhabitant in transportation planning

The primary way transportation planners include urban inhabitants in projects is through forms of public participation. Public participation in transportation planning has been required by law since the development of the Federal Highway Act of 1970 (Schary, Brown, and Becker, 1977). The responsibility of planners and other institutional agencies in representing the public in transportation decisions has been subject to criticism, especially because traditional public input meetings may only attract certain stakeholder

interests to the table, and may actively privilege certain values by making them accessible to certain groups (Schray, Brown, and Becker, 1977). The unintentional bias created by voluntary public input meetings may particularly exclude the interests of elderly, ethnic minorities, young people, and low-income persons who cannot drive to meetings, which are the groups who may need transit the most (Elvy, 2014). Even in instances where more innovative methods of public participation are used, such as targeted focus groups, shortcomings can occur when the most vocal stakeholder groups are more represented than others (Bickerstaff, Tolley, and Walker, 2002; Casello et al., 2015).

While these best participation practices provide useful input for planners and other institutional stakeholders, they ignore the potentially contentious dynamics between and within stakeholder groups. For instance, what happens when community-based groups push back against transit plans, or when community groups are hesitant to include certain members of the community? Dorsey and Mulder (2013) address the former in their study examining proposed transit plans for an urban gondola in Ogden, Utah. Due to the gondola's threat to open green space in the city, community groups began to pushback against the project in favor of a rail line instead. This pushback revealed resistance from institutional leaders who began characterizing these groups as against the good future of Ogden. Ultimately the plans were derailed by community resistance because they were able to point to the Mount Ogden Community Plan, which specifically calls for the protection of open space – something the gondola would not do. This not only demonstrates the power of non-authoritative groups, but the often-tense dynamics between stakeholders.

Yet stakeholder tensions also exist within groups as well, as demonstrated by González et al. (2012) in the context of a community coalition in a majority Latin(x) Californian neighborhood facing transit-oriented development. The Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development (SACReD), acts as a voice for residents and to create a community benefits agreement (CBA) that the coalition could offer to the city and developers. The coalition emphasized the need for affordable housing as well as cultural and historical preservation in the forms of community centers, art, open space, and safety. Clear tensions arose between residents with differing opinions, and while the coalition's concerns did show up in areas of the plans, the CBA was never achieved. Reasons why tensions arose in the coalition were primarily due to the emergence of Latin(x) immigrants from neighborhoods not originally present in the formation of the coalition. Some members even questioned the need to create a 'resident group' to capture different perspectives, since the coalition already had a historically shared praxis. These examples show how difficult it can be to reach consensus among and within different stakeholder groups, which can severely impact the ability of all voices to be represented in transportation planning projects.

The case of Ogden, Utah highlights Molotch's (1976) growth machine driven development, which assigns the private sector as the primary actor for development. Doing so creates a system of reactive planning, where public participation is only used after a plan has already been developed and proposed. In this sense, public participation is already limited to a consultation role or less, where the public can provide their opinions but does not necessarily guarantee the inclusion of their opinions in final decisions. This role of participation is further exemplified in the failure to reach a CBA in

the Santa Ana case, where the authors are quick to caution the link between public participation and implementation of opinions (González et al., 2012).

Yet what are these opinions, and what are their implications for the right to the city in transportation planning? In terms of LRT, the literature on stakeholder attitudes and perceptions is sparse, particularly using qualitative methods (Brown and Werner, 2010). Ferbrache and Knowles's (2017) recent review of light rail impacts on city image summarizes three specific aspects that are thus far missing from LRT studies:

1) Stakeholder views about light rail in particular places
2) In-depth qualitative methods that capture the meanings social actors give the light rail
3) The absence of minority voices, which gives the impression that the light rail is "more positive than other populations might perceive" (112).

Brown and Werner (2010) use longitudinal surveys to assess attitudes of light rail before and after station implementation. Their findings show that residents expected the most changes to occur in economic conditions such as housing costs, property taxes, and economic opportunity in the neighborhood. These expected changes proved to be accurate after implementation, and residents felt the LRT enhanced the neighborhood's reputation and sense of community. In addition, LRT increased place attachment and neighborhood satisfaction. Though their study presents a positive image of resident perceptions before and after light rail, their small sample was from a majority white community (79 percent), which addresses another need of examining minority voices in LRT literature.

What these two studies specifically demonstrate is the need for the urban inhabitant's lens in LRT planning. The lack of diverse perspectives potentially leaves out the inhabitants who possess the least amount of rights to the city, and the complex battle to claim those rights in a transportation context. My dissertation will address both concerns by utilizing the lens of the urban inhabitant to explore the fight for the right to the city against neoliberal transportation planning in a predominantly minority community.

Conclusion

The right to the city calls for a radical shift in power, away from the small urban elite and into the hands of urban inhabitants. Including urban inhabitants is vital in enacting the right to the city and can change the way the public is utilized in a socially detrimental neoliberal system. It is clear from this review that much work is left to be done in terms of demonstrating the right to the city from the lens of the urban inhabitant, especially in relation to minority communities. The reality of a dominant neoliberal system is that urban inhabitants who wish to fight for their right to the city must typically collaborate or operate within the confines of this system, often leaving them discouraged and powerless in the decisions that impact their communities. Urban planners have a unique opportunity to assist urban inhabitants through innovative public participation techniques.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS FOR ATTUNING TO THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

Introduction

With its plentiful sunshine, unique Sonoran Desert landscape, and relatively cheap land, the sprawling desert city of Phoenix has quickly become the fifth most populous city in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The city, primarily formed by migrant populations, is still described as a place people move to. Phoenix lacks a larger sense of community and is recognized mostly for its nature rather than its people (Gober, 2006). Perhaps it is this perceived lack of identity or sense of place that is creating more recent redevelopment of the Phoenix urban core, and along with it the development of LRT. Using LRT for city boosterism, or the improvement in city image, is not an uncommon occurrence for cities (Ferbrache and Knowles, 2017). Phoenix is quickly becoming yet another example in which LRT is used as a tool for creating a modern city image. The first half of this chapter provides the history of light rail in Phoenix, Arizona, before providing the context of a recent light rail extension in South Phoenix. The remaining half discusses the data and methods used to examine the right to the city movement of a South Phoenix grassroots opposition group called 4 Lanes or No Train, who are fighting for their right to the city in the face of LRT.

History of light rail in Phoenix

In 1887, the Phoenix Railway Company implemented Phoenix's first mule-powered streetcar service on Washington Avenue in downtown Phoenix ("Our History",

2019). Its early success led to various extension lines and the addition of electric streetcars for faster commutes. Like its successor over 130 years later, the streetcar provided massive investment in residential development in North Phoenix. However, the streetcar's infrastructure was crumbling and in dire need of repairs by the 1920s, and the owner of the Phoenix Railway Company was no longer finding the system as profitable (Towne, 2016). After announcing that the system will close, the City of Phoenix decided to buy the streetcar system and fund its necessary repairs. Unfortunately, the system could not survive after a fire destroyed all but one streetcar, and buses and automobiles quickly took over as the primary forms of transportation in Phoenix (Towne, 2016).

Almost 50 years later, serious discussions of reviving a similar system via LRT began in 1996, when a major investment study was conducted for a light rail starter line ("History and Funding", 2019). A preliminary map of the light rail was then created in 1999, extending from Mesa in the East Valley to Christown Mall in Uptown Phoenix. A 20-mile line similar to the preliminary map was eventually approved by Phoenix and Tempe City Councils in 2000 and was funded by a sales tax increase for public transportation which was passed by voters the same year ("History and Funding", 2019). Predevelopment occurred in the following years, and included the development of the non-profit agency called Valley Metro Rail Inc., which is still responsible for the design, building, and operation of the light rail ("History and Funding", 2019). The first line of track was then built in 2006, with the entire line completed and tested by the end of 2008 ("History and Funding", 2019). The Phoenix light rail officially began service on Jan.1 2009, with higher than expected ridership. A complete map of the system and the South

Phoenix extension is shown in Figure 1. Looking forward 10 years later, however, reveals conflicted narratives regarding the light rail's success.

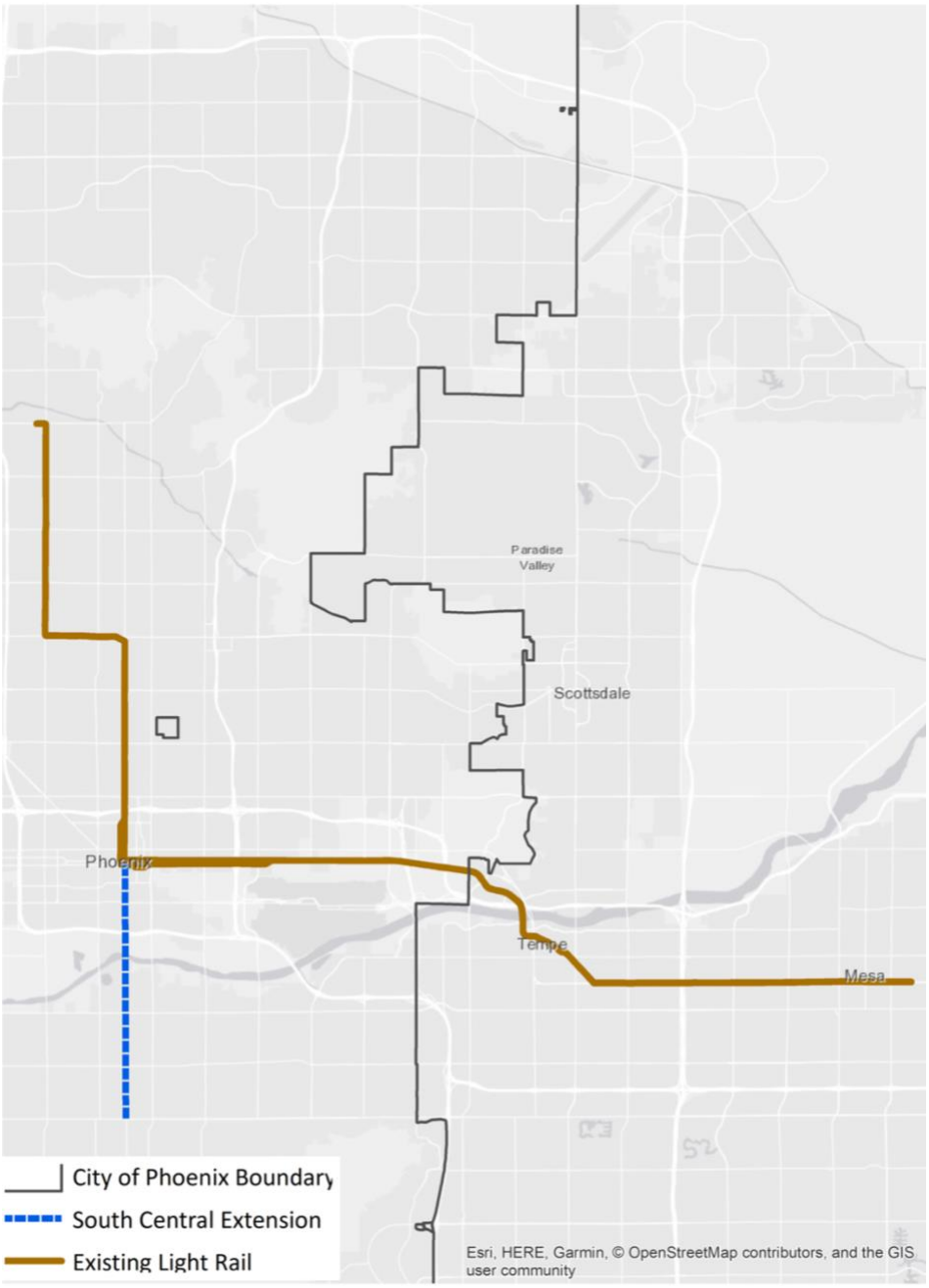

Figure 1
Valley Metro Light Rail System with South Central Extension

A history of opposition

The success of the light rail eventually led to various expansion projects, including the now completed downtown Mesa and 19th avenue Phoenix expansions. The City of Glendale, where the Arizona Cardinals football stadium is located, also seriously considered bringing in light rail service. All of these expansions, however, spurred instances of opposition to the light rail from community members and other stakeholders before, during, and after construction. Outside of Phoenix, the extension under construction from 2013-2015 in nearby Mesa drew the ire of business owners along Main Street where the line was being installed. One business owner complained about how construction left customers unable to turn into his business due to one-way streets, while others had to close entirely (Anderson, 2014). Despite their annoyance during construction, some business owners remained optimistic about the potential benefits post-construction, and also cited instances of financial support such as rebates on utility bills if they attended special light rail meetings (Anderson, 2014).

More serious concerns arose when resident and business owner Joe Price filed a lawsuit that was eventually handed to the Maricopa County Superior Court after multiple rejections (Polletta, 2014). The lawsuit primarily criticized Mesa's use of highway-project advancement notes, which do not require a public vote to be used. Price argued that the $162 million from the project-advancement notes should be used to improve existing infrastructure instead. The court ruled against him, once again, as a public vote is not required by law in instances of advancement notes (Polletta, 2014). The decision allowed Mesa to move forward with the extension project.

In the City of Glendale, voters passed a sales tax increase in 2000, partly as a way to fund a light rail line into downtown Glendale and beyond sometime around 2016 (Vandell, 2017). By October 2017, however, the Glendale City Council killed a seven-mile route set to open in 2026 despite the vote of citizens and supportive recommendations by a council-appointed committee. The Council's reasoning mainly came down to the high cost of the project, which would see Glendale footing $114 million of the cost (Vandell, 2017). Other concerns included a perceived lack of ridership and skepticism of the estimated economic benefits that come along with LRT. As for the completed 19th Avenue extension in North Phoenix, the light rail has brought a series of complaints regarding crime and safety issues. Residents claim the light rail has brought disruptive homeless people into their neighborhoods and that Valley Metro and the city need to respond with increased security (Goth, 2017).

As for the rest of the planned Phoenix extensions, opposition was present from the moment Proposition 104 was created to help fund the expansions over the next 30 years. One of the biggest complaints about the proposition was its reliance on a 0.3% increase in sales tax. Republican Phoenix City Council members Jim Waring and Sal DiCicco were and still are adamantly against the proposition and light rail in general, citing it as too expensive for the kind of service it offers. Based on studies comparing the cost-effectiveness of LRT versus bus rapid transit (BRT), it is really dependent on the city and level of ridership (Hensher, 2007; Bruun, 2005). Other Phoenix residents took to local media to provide opinion pieces lambasting the proposition, and the Arizona branch of a conservative political group called Americans for Prosperity created pushback using the slogan, "No Tax for More Tracks" (2015). In their online statement, the group claimed

the system is an inefficient form of transit if the goal is to remove cars from the road. They also claimed that the light rail loses nearly $10 million a year in operating costs ("No Tax for More Tracks", 2015). Despite this generalized opposition to the tax, Proposition 104 passed in August 2015, leaving Valley Metro and the City of Phoenix moving forward with the South Phoenix extension, set to be completed in 2023.

This dissertation further hones in on opposition to light rail in Phoenix but in the context of a grassroots neighborhood group who are activating their right to the city against the incoming light rail extension. While the other extensions demonstrate instances of opposition before, during, and after light rail is implemented, the level of community organized opposition in South Phoenix is particularly unique due to the history of the area (described in the next section). Specifically, this dissertation focuses on 4 Lanes or No Train opposition in South Phoenix between May and October of 2018, which falls into Valley Metro's design stage for the project.

Study Area

The South Phoenix light rail expansion covers six miles of new track that will affect two distinct communities in this geographic area: South Central Phoenix, which encompasses the first mile or so of the extension north of the Salt River, and South Phoenix, which is the remainder of the line south of the Salt River. The South Phoenix extension is shown in more geographic detail in Figure 2. In general, the South Central region contains fewer businesses and experiences more problems related to food deserts, drugs, and homelessness than south of the river. Though Valley Metro defines this entire expansion as "South Central", I was told by one community leader that the South Central

community has their own distinct community groups and are eager not to be lumped in with Downtown, nor South Phoenix (Figure 3). The area's CDC, the Phoenix Revitalization Corporation (PRC), refers to this area as Central City South. This dissertation, however, focuses on a grassroots group based south of the river (Figure 4).

Figure 2
South Central Light Rail Extension

This general area of Phoenix has been described as a 'hazardscape' due to the presence of environmental contamination by industry and waste sites, and the unwelcoming traffic from freeways and above flight paths (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005; Grineski, Bolin, and Boone, 2007). It is no coincidence that South Phoenix is also home to the city's oldest Latino and African American neighborhoods (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005). As defined by the 4 Lanes or No Train grassroots group, South Phoenix extends west from 19th Ave and east to 43rd street, with the geographic boundaries of the Rio Salado river and South Mountain representing north and south boundaries respectively. For the City of Phoenix, these boundaries fall within City Council districts seven and eight, and sociodemographic data from these districts vary in comparison to the overall city (Table 2). Overall, South Phoenix is predominately Hispanic or Latino (64.6%) and presents a lower median household income, higher levels of poverty, and lower levels of educational attainment when compared to Phoenix as a whole (United States Census Bureau, ACS 2017 5 year estimates). Despite these differences, vehicle availability by housing unit, and methods of transportation to work remain quite similar in comparison, perhaps reflecting Phoenix's continued dependence on cars.

Environmental racism in South Phoenix can be traced back as early as the 1890s when racial segregation and unregulated land use in the area first appeared. Though the Phoenix region's roots trace back to Native Americans (Hokoham) and Mexican migrants, an increase in cotton production left many Mexican immigrants exploited for agricultural labor as early as the 1870s, which is when the City of Phoenix was officially founded (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005; Gober, 2006). Mexicans were marginalized

by Anglos to the agricultural workforce, and as the city began to grow rapidly, meat packing plants and other types of industries were also built in the area (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005). As Anglos continued to develop further and further north in the city, basic services such as sewage and water lines followed, leaving South Phoenix residents without services for decades, often dealing with the stench of untreated sewage from the north (Russell, 1986; Mawn, 1979).

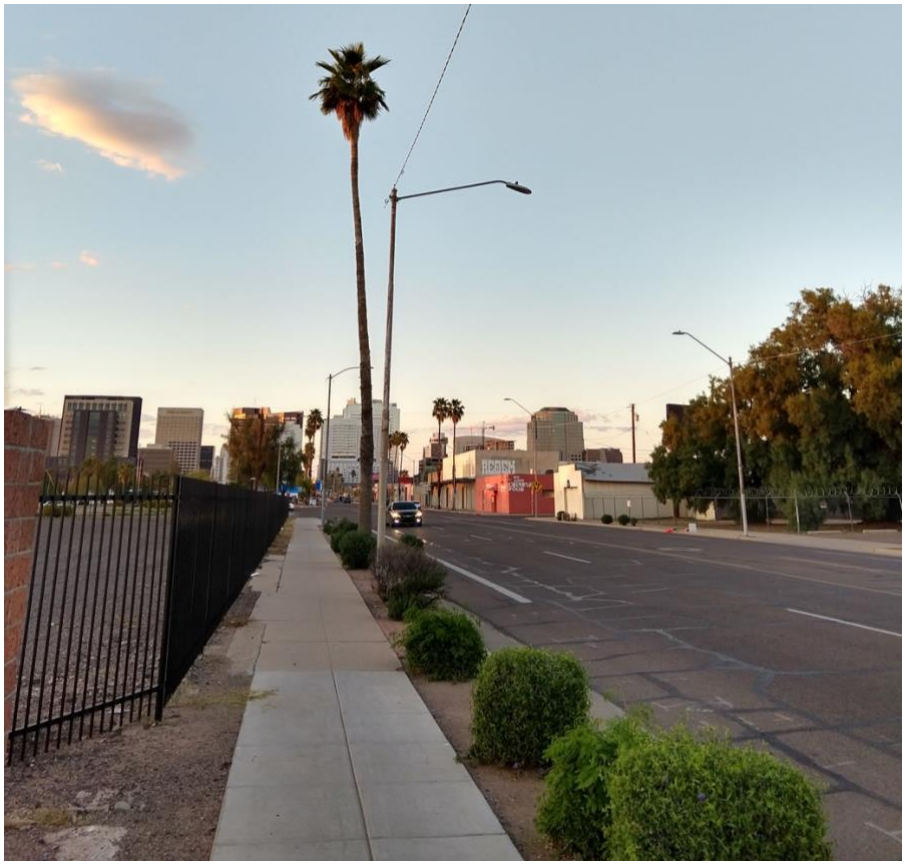

Figure 3
Picture of Central Avenue north of the Salt River

Figure 4
Picture of Central Avenue south of the Salt River

	CITY OF PHOENIX (ALL DISTRICTS)	SOUTH PHOENIX (DISTRICTS 7 AND 8)
TOTAL POPULATION	1,574,421	415,425
HISPANIC OR LATINO (%)	42.5%	64.6%
WHITE (NON-HISPANIC) (%)	43.3%	17.7%
BLACK (NON-HISPANIC)(%)	6.6%	11.5%
AMERICAN INDIAN (%)	1.6%	2.0%
ASIAN (%)	3.5%	1.8%
OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING (%)	53.4%	46.2%
RENTER OCCUPIED HOUSING (%)	46.6%	53.8%
MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME	$52,080	$43,359
FAMILIES IN POVERTY (%)	16.3%	24.0%
HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION OR LESS (AGE 25 AND OLDER)	42.3%	58.0%
FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	63.5%	70.0%
NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS	36.5%	29.9%
NO VEHICLE AVAILABLE (BY HOUSING UNIT)	8.5%	11.4%
1 OR MORE VEHICLES AVAILABLE (BY HOUSING UNIT)	91.5%	88.6%
COMMUTING TO WORK – CAR OR TRUCK (ALONE AND CARPOOL)	87.1%	87.8%
COMMUTING TO WORK – PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION	3.3%	3.7%

Table 2
Sociodemographic data comparison for Phoenix (all City Council Districts) and South Phoenix (Districts 7 and 8)
Source: United States Census Bureau, American Community Survey 2013-2017 5yr Estimates

It was not until the 1970s that the effects of white flight into the outer city were felt in the increasingly decentralized downtown. Billions of dollars were spent to revitalize the central business district (CBD), spurring large amounts of commercial and industrial developments that did not help poverty or environmental conditions in the already marginalized South Phoenix community (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005). Even today, South Phoenix is still heavily zoned as industrial land. This makes the social and environmental changes the community seeks is structurally difficult. Some may argue that the incoming light rail extension will offer a unique opportunity for planners to create more equitable development through federally funded transit; however, understanding South Phoenix's history with mammoth transportation infrastructure is critical.

In the 1970s and 1980s, interstate highways I-17 and I-10 were built along an existing rail corridor that previously segregated South Phoenix from the rest of the city (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005). Not only did these projects continue to reinforce the racial geographic divide in the city, but they also increased air pollution for the area (Bolin et al., 2000). In addition, Phoenix's Sky Harbor International Airport expanded during the same time, removing 1600 residences in one of the oldest South Phoenix Mexican-American neighborhoods called the Golden Gate Barrio (Dimas 1999). The combination of the new interstates and expanded airport left South Phoenix with depreciated home values and increased pollution (Dimas, 1999). Most strikingly, it also left 40 percent of residential land to be converted to industrial zoning (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005).

The struggles endured by South Phoenicians since the 1890s spurred various social movements over the years, though the political and economic influence of minority groups before World War II remained limited. Using the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s as a catalyst, South Phoenix citizens saw an opportunity to fight for improved housing and employment (Luckingham, 2016). Despite the industrial businesses dominating South Phoenix, many residents were unable to actually work there due to racial discrimination and outsourcing (Bolin, Grinkeski, and Collins, 2005). Later in the 1990s, citizen groups organized against environmental hazards from these industries, typically via lawsuits and protests. The success of their movements, however, were often mixed and required little action on the part of the industries (Sicotte, 2003).

South Phoenician's long history with social and environmental racism in the face of Anglo-American economic interests and mammoth public projects understandably leaves some residents concerned about the incoming large light rail project. While some aspects of light rail can prove useful for South Phoenix, it is important to approach any neighborhood changing project with care in such marginalized communities. This is especially true with Phoenix's use of transit-oriented development (TOD) zoning within half a mile of light rail stations, which may create drastic, and not necessarily positive, changes in the urban geography of South Phoenix.

Research methods

Undertaking right to the city research requires a different way of attuning to the city. Purcell (2013b) argues that we have already become so sensitized to capitalist cities that finding instances of the right to the city and recognizing the potential of an urban society

beyond capitalism takes practice. The importance of capturing such potential is even more important in marginalized communities, where community voices are often set aside, and where the effects of structural racism are already prevalent. Due to the complex interactions between 4 Lanes or No Train and other institutional and community-based stakeholders, multiple research methods are used in this single embedded case study. The primary method in this case study, participant observation, is used to examine, through the lens of the urban inhabitant, how 4 Lanes or No Train is activating their right to the city, and to reveal instances of urban society beyond capitalism. Informal and semi-structured interviews, along with media analysis of television and newspaper articles help to triangulate the findings observed through participant observation (Yin, 2014).

Case study design and methods

To collect data on the 4 Lanes or No Train movement in South Phoenix, a single embedded case study design is used. Case studies are used as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within a real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (Yin, 2014, 16). In this study, the phenomenon refers to 4 Lanes or No Train pushback, and the context refers to the light rail extension project that is occurring in South Phoenix. Single embedded case studies are used when there are several different subunits of analysis within a single case. The primary unit of analysis in this case is the 4 Lanes or No Train group, with other secondary units being transportation entity Valley

Metro, pro-light rail supporters, and political actors who interfere with the grassroots movement.

The case is primarily comprised of data collected within 4 Lanes or No Trains meetings and events between May 31, 2018, and October 3, 2018. A timeline of the major case developments (detailed in the next chapter) is shown in Figure 5. 4 Lanes or No Train is the primary opposition group to the South Phoenix light rail extension, and they are originally concerned with the train causing a reduction of vehicle lanes, from four to two, on major corridor Central Avenue. Business owner Celia Contreras and her three children decide to form the group after she grows concerned about the possible effect of the lane reduction on her business and livelihood.

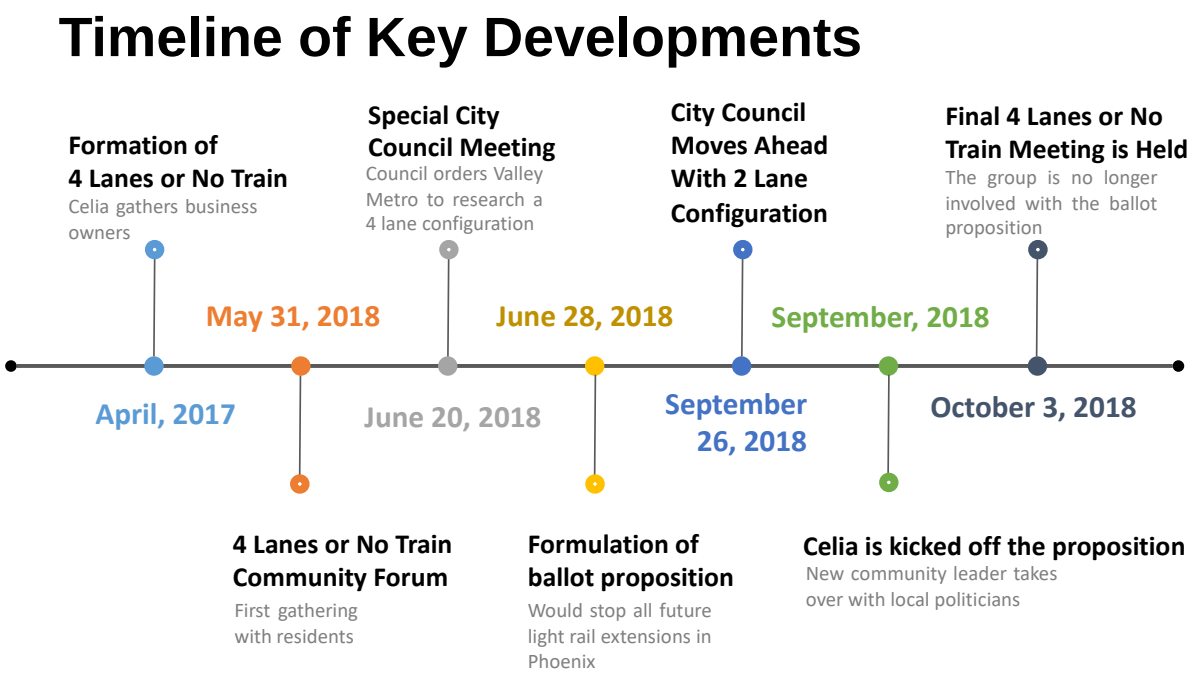

Figure 5
Timeline of key developments in case study

Though many criticisms exist in terms of the generalizability of single case study findings, it is an appropriate method in this context due to the gaps in existing literature regarding qualitative analysis of light rail induced production of space and the right to the city in largely minority communities (Yin, 2014). In addition, this case offers a critical test of Lefebvre's right to the city theory in an urban American neoliberal economic setting. Not only will this critical case help to develop broader theoretical principles of the right to the city in a neoliberal transportation context, but it will also detail the complex systematic relationships of transit induced production of space that cannot be quantified.

Participant observation

At its basic core, participant observation occurs when a researcher takes part in the actions, rituals, or daily life of the people or groups they are seeking to learn from (Musante and Dewalt, 2010). By the researcher participating with their subjects, they can elicit both explicit (what we know) and tacit (feelings outside of our awareness) information regarding everyday activities (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). The key elements of participant observation may include (Musante and DeWalt 16, 2010):

1. Living in the context for an extended period of time
2. Learning and using local language and dialect
3. Actively participating in a wide range of daily, routine, and extraordinary activities with people who are full participants in that context
4. Using everyday conversation as an interview technique

5. Informally observing during leisure activities (hanging out)
6. Recording observations in field notes (usually organized chronologically)
7. Using both tacit and explicit information in analysis and writing

Striking a balance between participant and observer can be tricky, and relies on the development of various skills. On the participation side, successful fieldwork can depend on formal and informal approval, building rapport, and establishing trusting relationships between researcher and participant (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). Observation, however, relies on observing with all of the senses, providing great detail, and understanding the role of the researcher themselves (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). For example, it is important for the researcher to note how they experience the research setting, what biases they bring, and how they influence the research setting (Musante and DeWalt, 2010).

Because participant observation requires the researcher to both observe and participate, or interact and react rather quickly, participant observation often relies on other methods such as informal interviewing, and requires taking detailed field notes for later analysis. Informal interviewing is particularly useful in participant observation since the method relies on casual conversation a lot of the time. In addition, it allows the researcher to gain particular information without necessarily dictating or changing natural conversation (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). This is not to say, however, that more structured types of interviews are not used in participant observation.

The primary way to capture participant observation data, however, is through field notes. While some qualitative researchers rely on audio or video recordings to

capture data, field notes are vital in participant observation as the researcher must be present and active within the context. The process for field notes typically begins with quick jot notes during participation/observation (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). As soon as the researcher is able (preferably right after), the basic jot notes are then expanded into complete field notes, with as much detail and completeness as possible. The final step is then to record any additional thoughts and feelings about the interactions, including self-reflection and concerns (Mustante and DeWalt, 2010). The resulting notes allow the researcher to reproduce the atmosphere of their interactions in their writing.

In the case of analyzing the 4 Lanes or No Train movement in South Phoenix, participant observation and its components offer a way to fill gaps in the literature. As Ferbrache and Knowles (2017) note, in-depth qualitative methods that capture stakeholder views of LRT remain sparse, and the lack of minority voices gives the impression that light rail is "more positive than other populations might perceive," (112). Participant observation with 4 Lanes or No Train offers a way to fill this gap by focusing on the lens of predominately minority urban inhabitants who are fearful of the effects a large transportation project may have on their existing neighborhoods and community. Participant observation in the context of a minority led grassroots group fighting for their right to the city in the face of LRT helps to reveal another side of transit and the potential of a future urban society.

To get at the core of these overarching questions, the participant observation process with 4 Lanes or No Train is focused on the evolution of the group, their methods of mobilization against the light rail, the conflicts they encounter along the way, and the specific external challenges they face. The process began at a community forum held by

4 Lanes or No Train in May 2018. I asked the group's leader if I could participate and focus my dissertation on their movement. After gaining her enthusiastic permission, I regularly attended group functions from May to October 2018. At these events, informal interviews were conducted with group attendees and the outsiders they interacted with at events when possible. A follow up semi-structured interview with the group's leader was also conducted in February 2019 to gain an update on the status of the group since the final meeting in October, and to clarify any remaining information for the written dissertation. Nearly 100 pages of complete field notes are taken over the course of 15 meetings or events over the five months. 4 Lanes or No Train meetings generally ranged from one to two hours, while public meetings could last up to four hours. All meetings were advertised via text messaging or social media event postings via the 4 Lanes or No Train contact list. Jot notes from the meetings were expanded on directly after meetings and included analytical commentary, as well as self-observation. Self-observation included reflecting on the particular biases I brought as a researcher to the group and how my observation influenced the research setting (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). Self-observation in this case was critical because it is used as a way to critically reflect on the role of the urban planner in community organized pushback.

Media documents

The 4 Lanes or No Train pushback creates widespread media attention in local and even national news outlets. Media articles in this case offer differing perspectives from stakeholders outside of the immediate 4 Lanes or No Train group. In addition, they also provide contextual and historical information about local politics and processes, and

in the cases of city council meetings, different perspectives on events. In order to collect relevant media articles, a search protocol is developed and includes search criteria and relevant themes. A systematic search was conducted on the websites of local prominent newspapers, The Arizona Republic and Phoenix New Times, as well as on Google for articles written outside of the local context or in other local news sources. The publication dates of the articles range from January 2009 – February 2019, which covers news from the opening of the Phoenix light rail until the present. The majority of the articles contributing to the findings of this dissertation, however, range from January 2014 to the present, as the South Phoenix extension was not legally approved until 2015. Search terms used included "light rail", "south Phoenix", and "opposition" and produced hundreds of hits, with relevant articles totaling to 52 publications. Once acquired, the articles were organized into a database by title, source, author, date, topic, theme(s), and summary. The following section details how the media articles, field notes, and interviews were analyzed.

Analysis

Though multiple units of analysis comprise this case study, all units are text-based. To analyze the text of field notes, informal interviews, and media documents, a directed content analysis is used to assess why 4 Lanes or No Train are activating their right to the city in the face of the light rail extension, how they are mobilizing against the project, what conflicts arise within the group and between the group and other stakeholders, what challenges the group faces in enabling their right to the city, and finally, how their movement compares to previous right to the city literature and theory.

This type of content analysis begins with previous research and theory, which helps develop initial coding categories. The theory then provides operational definitions for each coding category. In the context of this research, these operational definitions are formed from previous findings in right to the city, public participation, and LRT literature. Aside from the literature, this research also uses an inductive approach to coding, where themes are created from data findings.

Based on the literature and preliminary data, a codebook was developed listing all codes, subcodes, and their definitions (Table 3). Using qualitative analysis software NVivo, the codebook was then used as a guide to highlight, or code, all relevant text into the predetermined theme categories (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). New codes were also created for any text that could not initially be coded into existing theme categories. Although researchers may go into this type of content analysis with an informed bias from the theory, it is most relevant due to the nature of the research questions and its strong ties to conceptual theory. These thematic codes are then categorized into more analytic themes, which are topics or subjects that come up multiple times within or across the content (Bernard, Wutich, and Ryan, 2017). These themes are then used to create a qualitative narrative describing the results of the data.

	PERCEPTIONS OF LRT	METHODS OF MOBILIZATION (RIGHT TO THE CITY)	CONFLICTING RIGHTS TO THE CITY	CHALLENGES TO THE RIGHT TO THE CITY
PRIMARY CODES • **SUBCODES**	LRT Benefits • Decreased congestion • Increased mobility • Revitalization • Beneficial for elderly students, and commuting to work LRT Issues • Gentrification • High cost; • Crime and homelessness • Inefficient travel time • Less focus on needed infrastructure • Lane reduction • Bus comparisons	Protest Self-management • Appropriation Battling city council Ballot initiative	Pro-vs.anti-light rail • Generational • Anti-progress • Social justice Inner group conflict • 4 Lanes vs No Train • Accepting political interference • Struggle over leadership Conflict with other stakeholders • Politicians • Valley Metro	Neoliberal appropriation • Politicians and others using the group for their own agenda Lack of public participation • Expert knowledge • Public meetings • Transparency • Unheard voices • Notions of democracy

Table 3
Coding scheme for case study

In this case, the overarching themes included perceptions of LRT, methods of mobilizing the right to the city, conflicting right to the city, and challenges to the right to the city. Perceptions of LRT include both positive and negative views of LRT, and include subcodes like increased mobility and gentrification. Methods of mobilization codes focus on the specific ways 4 Lanes or No Train enacts their right to the city and includes protesting, self-management, pushing against city council, and creating a ballot initiative. Conflicting rights to the city explore codes demonstrating how different groups conceive of the right to the city and the conflicts that occur within 4 Lanes or No Train and between them and other stakeholders. Finally, challenges to the right to the city capture the barriers 4 Lanes or No Train faced along their journey. Such challenges include politicians and others using the group to push their own agenda, and lack of strong public participation processes. All of these codes were developed using previous theory and literature developed in Chapter two.

To bring together all evidence analyses for the big picture case study analysis, pattern matching and explanation building serves as the primary analytical tools. Pattern matching refers to comparing empirical findings from the case study to prior theoretical predictions, while explanation building is a type of pattern matching which seeks to explain a case through a narrative (Yin, 2014). Using the aforementioned codes derived from the literature to build themes ensures this comparison. For example, the previous literature in this case indicates that the appropriation of urban space by the deprived is necessary for the right to the city. Seeing if the present case study results reflect codes related to the successful appropriation of space by 4 Lanes or No Train is considered

pattern matching. Explanation building is seen as an iterative process in which initial propositional statements are revised after comparing them to initial findings and can continue to be revised given the number of cases (Yin, 2014). These types of analysis tools will frame the case study as a contributor to theory building and as insight into future urban planning processes.

Limitations

Single case study analysis is often criticized for its lack of methodological rigor (Yin, 2014). To maintain the quality of this case study, multiple sources of evidence is used to promote triangulation, improving the study's quality and construct validity (Yin, 2014). Although construct validity can be difficult in case study research due to researcher subjectivity, this study works to ensure proper operational measures for the concepts being studied by examining all previous methods of measurement in previous studies and within the right to the city, public participation, and LRT theory. Internal validity is also considered in the case study research design process as well as in the analytic stage by using the explanation building method. The primary way this case study will ensure external validity is by using theory within the study. This will allow for the generalization of findings to existing right to the city, public participation, and LRT theory. This study will have limited generalizability to other grassroots groups enabling their right to the city in the face of LRT due to its single case design. For example, the 4 Lanes or No Train pushback against the light rail and the methods they used enable their right to the may differ in this study's largely minority population compared to greater non-minority populations. However, findings can have a level of transferability if, for

example, the battle over LRT in this case is similar elsewhere and can be improved through this study's findings.

Other key limitations exist through the use of the participant observation method. In any case of participant observation, it is vital for the researcher to establish their observer bias and how this creates limitations for their study. Observer bias includes how the researcher themselves impact what is observed, how it is observed, and how it is recorded (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). In my work with 4 Lanes or No Train, my personal background greatly influences the results of my findings. Firstly, it is important to recognize that I observed and participated in a predominately minority grassroots group in a historically marginalized area of Phoenix as a young and educated white woman. Though I was able to gain the trust of other participants in the group over time, my background is inherently different from those in 4 Lanes or No Train, a fact that may have influenced individual's interactions with me. In addition, though all meetings and events were held in English, many participants are native Spanish speakers, and I was unable to converse with them in Spanish, possibly limiting more detailed perspectives from them.

My background in urban planning should also not be minimized, especially when some of the older members of the group lived through previous instances of institutionalized racism, and many still believe the City of Phoenix does not care about their community. As an urban planner, I often found my own values challenged by this case, as my study's reliance on Marxist and advocacy inspired theories not only pitted up

against neoliberal ideologies but also against urban activists who are fierce advocates for public transportation despite the potential negative impacts.

Outside of these personal biases, I will also note that I was not privy to "behind the scenes" meetings of the group leaders among themselves or with outside stakeholders such as politicians. All information regarding the interactions of leadership were recounted to me by Celia, which can be considered a major limitation since she was filtering what I know about the group and how I perceived this knowledge. In this sense, while my case study is focused on the group as a whole, much of my analysis is based on the viewpoints of Celia, who is leading the right to the city movement. On one hand, this gives my case a unique perspective on urban inhabitants who become such active participants that they take on the role of activating participation of other urban inhabitants. However, this also limits my understanding of regular group members who may be less engaged and possibly will become disengaged over time. Lastly, my focus on observing and participating with 4 Lanes or No Train limited my interactions with outside stakeholders beyond the immediate group. This limitation was partly strategic, as I did not want to compromise my position with 4 Lanes or No Train by mingling with what they would label as traitors or enemies. However, by remaining within the group I potentially missed narratives from other stakeholders in the process that could be important in the right to the city. Though various limitations exist in this study, the use of multiple methods helps to triangulate the findings revealed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

BATTLING FOR THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN SOUTH PHOENIX

Introduction

On August 26, 2015, Phoenix voters passed Proposition 104, a $31.5 billion transportation plan that seeks to improve bus and street infrastructure and add multiple light rail extensions over a 35-year period. One of the planned light rail extensions is set for South Phoenix, a historically marginalized and predominantly Latino and Black community. The extension is offered as a way to combat many problems South Phoenicians have been previously ignored for, such as environmental issues, crumbling infrastructure, and segregation from the rest of the city (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins, 2005); yet it did not take long for some members of the South Phoenix community to develop skepticism to the point of action. Celia, a business owner of a small window tinting shop on Central Avenue in South Phoenix, initially grew worried after hearing about the extension project's plan to reduce the vehicle lanes on Central Avenue from four to two. What begins as one woman's concern over the future of her business during and after light rail construction eventually morphs into a longstanding battle between a grassroots right to the city movement and the neoliberal economic interests of city government. The first section of this chapter introduces the 4 Lanes or No Train group, including the primary actors, reasons for protest, and evolution of the group's views over time. Section two provides findings from the 4 Lanes or No Train case that illuminate

promising instances of autogestion and the right to the city, before section three details the challenges the group faces in their struggle.

The birth of 4 Lanes or No Train

On an early afternoon in July 2018, Celia stands with her group in a dirt lot across from the Valley Metro community office holding a sign that says "HONK" next to a picture of a crossed out light rail car. As cars drive by honking in agreement at her and other protesters, Valley Metro offers relief from the 105-degree heat with air conditioning and cold paletas in their newly opened community office. The only barrier between peaceful protest and timid celebration is the road median that will soon become a light rail track. "I've never protested in my life, but I have to now," Celia says. Despite her strong voice and presence, her revelation offers a sense of something more to come: a sense that the grassroots movement she began over a year ago is about to become something much larger than she ever anticipated.

Recounting the beginning of her 4 Lanes or No Train journey, Celia remembers how difficult it was to get the attention of other business owners along the central avenue corridor. Many of the business owners she approached agreed with her concerns, but felt there was nothing they could do to change the outcome of the mammoth project. "I had to go door to door," she says. Her initial goal is to gather a group who are willing to create a petition to put forth to city council. Though her fellow business owners were reluctant to get involved in the beginning, she eventually puts together a group and names it 4 Lanes or No Train. As the name implies, the intention of the group is a straightforward call to Phoenix City Council: provide a two-lane design on Central Avenue or forget the train

entirely. The group's primary reasoning for two lanes is to mitigate the negative impacts the train will have on their businesses pre- and post-construction.

With the project affecting more than 250 businesses along Central Avenue, four years of construction is understandably concerning for business owners (Goth, 2016). In addition, the timeline for the project was expedited by nearly five years by the Phoenix City Council, leaving the community at large possibly underprepared for the new development. While politicians and local media often boast about the economic opportunities the light rail brings, business owners along other completed light rail corridors in Phoenix report a mixture of positive and negative feelings on impacts. Some at the heart of downtown Phoenix claim to only have benefitted from the light rail, while those on 19th avenue in Northern Phoenix struggled. While a business owner in downtown claims his business revenue improved and the area is now safer due to light rail, one shop owner off of 19th Avenue says her business was negatively impacted by the years of construction, to the point that delivery trucks could not even access her store (Boehm, 2018; Goth, 2015). Despite the concerns of past and present business owners impacted by light rail, CEO of Valley Metro, Scott Smith, asserts that over 80 businesses will possibly be removed to create space in a four-lane design. In this sense, 4 Lanes or No Train realizes early on that both lane configurations are inherently flawed – a realization that will dictate their movement until the end.

On April 4, 2018, 4 Lanes or No Train voiced their concerns about the project in front of city council with 3,000 petition signatures from community members at their side. Even with a large number of petitions, city council ultimately dismisses the

concerns of the group, claiming that the needs of the business owners should not outweigh those of the South Phoenix community at large. Using this feedback as motivation, Celia planned to have the first 4 Lanes or No Train community forum on May 31st, 2018 at the South Mountain Community Center. "I need the community. They said we are just business owners and not the whole community," says Celia. In retrospect, the community forum would become a pinnacle moment for 4 Lanes or No Train, and an illustrative example of a modern right to the city movement.

From business to community

On the evening of May 31st, the parking lot of the South Mountain Community Center is completely full. Tables equipped with sign-in sheets and 4 Lanes or No Train petitions greet you upon entering. The lobby of the center is buzzing with people discussing the impending meeting, as well as news crews eager to interview community members and leaders. Inside the forum room are dozens of rows of chairs, of which are not enough to seat the over 200 attendees. Attendees included primarily South Phoenix residents and business owners, with two local politicians, and at least two "outside" citizens advocating for the light rail. Of these attendees, ages ranged from high school and college students to the elderly. The crowd also appeared to be representative of South Phoenix demographics, including predominately Latin(x), white, and black attendees. Those without chairs lined the outer perimeter of the room facing a projector screen at the front.

At the helm of the projector is a local Latino facilitator from a grassroots migrant justice organization called Puente ("Puente Arizona," 2018). By the time the forum begins, the room is packed full and the air is hot and musty. After a few minutes, the muffled noise of the microphone radiates from the room's speakers. The noise reduces the audience chatter to a whisper, and the facilitator is set to begin. After a cordial hello to the crowd and brief introduction about himself, he begins by emphasizing this meeting is organized by community residents and not the city of Phoenix. He also notes that Valley Metro and various councilmembers were invited to attend, but only one of the South Phoenix district's councilmembers, Michael Nowakowski, is present. He then presents the purpose of the meeting, which is essentially an opportunity for all attendees to voice their opinion about the train in front of fellow community members.

Figure 6
4 Lanes or No Train Community Forum
Source: Ashlee Tziganuk, 2018

Before attendees get their chance at the microphone, the first question the facilitator poses to the audience is if anyone attended the meeting in which the reduction of lanes on Central Avenue was discussed by Valley Metro. When only a handful of people raise their hands, he uses this as a stepping stone to suggest that Valley Metro and the City of Phoenix have done a poor job of informing and including South Phoenix residents in the planning process, claiming the public was not even allowed to speak at the original meeting. The objective of the forum is clear: convince the attendees that the city has ignored and excluded us, and it is time they hear our voices.

What ensues over the next two hours is a sort of open mic venting session from primarily South Phoenix residents. As resident after resident takes the microphone, three primary themes emerge from their concerns: how the light rail will negatively change the character of their neighborhood, the train's impact on infrastructure, and logistical concerns, such as travel time. The preservation of community and neighborhood character, however, is the underlying driver of most concerns. As discussed previously, South Phoenix has always been a markedly unique area of the city due to its history and racial and cultural differences. "We are totally different than any other place light rail has gone," remarks one local leader (Goth, 2016). As shown historically with environmental racism and segregation, such differences leave South Phoenix particularly vulnerable to potential negative neighborhood changes like gentrification and displacement. In addition, this negative history has created a lack of trust between some residents and the government, possibly adding to the resistance to light rail.

"We don't need a light rail"

The three primary ways in which South Phoenix community members see light rail contributing to the "total destruction" of their community is through increases in crime, homelessness, and gentrification. Since the Phoenix light rail system initially opened, opponents have warned about the increased mobility of people experiencing homelessness and subsequent introduction of crime into previously low crime neighborhoods, such as the 19th avenue corridor in North Central Phoenix. Though light rail literature does not support claims of increases in crime (Ligget et al., 2003; Billings et al., 2011), it does offer glimpses into transit and homelessness. In particular, light rail is shown to offer a form of shelter, and in Phoenix, relief from extreme heat (Nichols and Cazares, 2010; Sanchez, 2011). According to Fischer et. al (2008), the relationship between homeless people and crime is often situational, meaning those struggling to get by may commit non-violent crimes such as panhandling or skipping fare on public transportation. In particularly stressful situations, these groups may be prone to serious or violent crimes such as theft, breaking and entering, and assault. Fischer et al. (2008) are keen to point out that crime is not an inherent characteristic of homeless people, but rather a survival characteristic when they cannot find adequate services.

The homeless population in Maricopa County has increased by nearly 60 percent in the past two years, with 70 percent of those people in Phoenix alone (Boehm, 2017). According to the Central Arizona Shelter Services (CASS), this increase may have been exacerbated by Arizona holding the fourth highest rate of asset poverty in the nation, or the ability of a household to cover three months of expenses in the case of an emergency

(“About Us”, 2019). In addition, Phoenix only has 20 affordable vacant rentals per 100 renters who fall within the extremely low-income range. With 25,000 household evictions in 2017, Phoenix is a prime location for potential and unexpected homelessness (“About Us”, 2019). This rapid increase in homelessness resulted in a significant increase in complaints about this population on light rail (Boehm, 2017).

For some Phoenicians living along the light rail corridor, this increase has created an anti-homeless sentiment, in which they refer to this population as drug addicts who leave behind trash and bring crime to their neighborhoods (Goth, 2017). While some cities like Seattle try to alleviate such issues by allowing city-sanctioned homeless encampments, Phoenix has taken a more strict approach by creating laws that ban people from sleeping on the streets, though this may not last for long due to a ruling in Idaho banning such “unconstitutional” laws (Fifield, 2018). With over 1,000 people sleeping on Phoenix streets each night and little shelter vacancies (Fifield, 2018), it is no surprise that South Phoenicians are concerned about such a shift in their own community due to what one resident calls the “homeless hotel”. Referring back to the literature, however, reveals important questions regarding whose right to the city is more or less important (Attoh, 2012; Mitchell, 2003). In this case, is the homeless population’s right to the city less important than those of 4 Lanes or No Train? This question brings up an important critique that can apply to other populations who do not share the same interests as 4 Lanes or No Train. I encourage urban planners to consciously nurture marginalized urban inhabitants, but to also be aware that marginalized populations can have conflicting interests that need to be mediated in the planning process.

By far, the most commonly mentioned concern of South Phoenicians, however, is that of gentrification and subsequent displacement. While most people recognize the potential benefits of revitalization in their community, they remain realistic about the consequences. “We need revitalization, but not at the expense of businesses at the hands of Valley Metro”, says one resident. Another maintains an even bleaker outlook claiming, “this project is all about a land grab of cheap land and cheap water.” As with their perceptions of crime and homelessness, many of their views are also based on observations around light rail in other parts of the city. Over the years, they’ve watched numerous mixed-use high rises advertising luxury apartments sprout along the light rail line with the help of the city’s transit-oriented development (TOD) zoning. In fact, the city of Phoenix boasts seven billion dollars in new economic development around the light rail since its opening in 2008 (Boehm, 2018). For South Phoenix small business owners, this type of development may signal the end of their business if they are priced out or cannot survive construction, which is a phenomenon that has occurred in Phoenix’s previous light rail extension projects in Mesa and 19th Avenue in Phoenix (Boehm, 2018). For generations of residents, it could mean forcibly moving away from the only neighborhoods they know in search of cheaper rents. “We run the risk of being pushed out,” proclaims one resident.

I was continually surprised by the lack of appreciation for concerns about gentrification and displacement from local urbanists and Democratic leaders. In some instances, I was even challenged by members of a local new urbanist political action committee for my participation in a group that was often labeled as anti-public

transportation. “How can you be an urban planner?”, they asked accusingly. As someone who generally shares their values for densely developed cities, it was an uncomfortable and emotional experience being perceived as an enemy of public transportation. Yet, without my participation in 4 Lanes or No Train, I would have never realized the problematic nature of such blind commitment to public transportation. The reality is that large-scale, progressive planning projects like light rail can come at the expense of communities. Therefore, is fierce commitment to new urbanist development really that progressive if it is potentially contributing to the further marginalization of communities?

Aside from the driving concern of gentrification, community members also report concerns over the physical infrastructure along Central Avenue. Like business owners, the reduction of lanes from four to two is concerning, but for reasons related to perceived increases in traffic. Although Valley Metro engineers maintain traffic along Central Avenue will flow more efficiently with the two-lane design, residents and others traveling along the corridor worry the already congested paralleled seventh avenue and seventh street will become worse as people shy away from Central Avenue. Given that these designs were created by engineers who are experts, it provides an interesting look into just how distrustful some residents are of the government and Valley Metro. Resident concerns are further complicated by the fact that there are no other two-lane designs anywhere else along the light rail system. South Phoenix Councilmember Michael Nowakowski also questions this decision saying, “Everyone else has two lanes, or even three”! Some residents also worry about how emergency vehicles will be able to travel quickly due to blocked and slow-moving traffic if there is only one lane.

“Emergency vehicles won’t have any room to go by,” says an agitated resident. Some even claim that an increase in traffic will create enough pollution to negate the environmental benefits of light rail, though both of these claims are not supported by engineers for the project.

What the non-business owning community members ultimately bring to the table at this community forum is an alternative use of light rail funds that end up becoming a large focus of the movement months later. Simply put, the community wonders why the city chooses to spend nearly one billion dollars on light rail when South Phoenix has so many other infrastructure problems. “South Phoenix is the red headed stepchild. Potholes are getting bigger and bigger here. I can’t send my kids to school in the district. We need basic things first” (South Phoenix resident). Commonly mentioned infrastructure improvements include street repair, improved bus services, more sidewalks, street lighting, and improved city parks.

The desire for improved bus services leads to one of the most common logistical concerns about the light rail for community members: is light rail more efficient than the bus? For many, the cost of light rail is not justified when they perceive that the bus route is more flexible, faster, and safer. In addition, a case from the Bus Riders Union in Los Angeles demonstrates how favoring other forms of transit or particular riders can negatively impact poor bus riders (Grengs, 2005). A young man who lives off Central Avenue said that even with the light rail’s proximity to his home, taking the bus would be faster. Some argue that many people still need to take the bus to get to the light rail station and that the light rail line only serves a fixed area. For some parents, they feel

more comfortable sending their children to school on a bus because drivers can more clearly monitor the riders for safety. Indeed, the comparisons between bus and light rail are prominent in literature looking at mode choice, but there is no clear answer as to whether light rail is better than bus and vice versa. Preferred mode choice is typically highly dependent on geography, infrastructure, and personal preference though the performance of both modes has been shown to be rather equal despite more recent bias towards LRT (Hensher, 2007).

While some advocate for better bus service, other residents claim a general lack of public transportation use in South Phoenix, noting empty bus stops. Their argument then becomes, why add in a light rail system when people do not even ride the bus? Perhaps it is due to inadequate bus stop shelters and infrequent and irregular stop times. Or, it could be that the general perception that low-income minority communities are the most reliant on public transportation is untrue, especially in a sprawling desert city like Phoenix. As noted previously with fears of light rail creating more traffic, we cannot underestimate the prevalence of the automobile. Though comparisons to the bus are at the forefront of community discussions, there is also a perception that South Phoenix is not a prime destination for light rail users. “People from the north aren’t going to come see us and the junkyards here”, says one community member. While other concerns such as increased crime and congestion are not prominent in the literature, it is still an important piece of 4 Lanes or No Train’s movement, and a useful dialogue in rallying concerned residents. In addition, the community’s question asking why light rail over improved rapid bus transit paves the way for exploring issues with the City of Phoenix’s economic motives and

Valley Metro's initial public participation process, both of which will be discussed later in the chapter.

LRT perceptions vs. literature findings

While some issues community members point out about the light rail are consistent with findings from the literature, others deviate from previous studies. Table 4 compares the common findings from LRT studies with the perceptions of 4 Lanes or No Train. The fact that literature shows decreases in traffic congestion and pollution around light rail, while members of 4 Lanes or No Train argue the opposite (Topalovic et al., 2012) leaves for an interesting comparison. The conflicting viewpoints may offer deeper insights into American societal norms, particularly in relation to car ownership and driving. Instead of seeing the light rail as an alternative to driving, some South Phoenicians see it as a threat. "Growing up I wanted a car to get around, not a light rail," surmises Celia's son. Another viewpoint is the perception that low-income populations need public transportation to access basic services and jobs. Increased connectivity is offered as a benefit of light rail in the literature, but the 4 Lanes or No Train group negates this benefit since they mostly own cars and already have the bus as an alternative.

LRT Findings (Literature)	**LRT Perceptions (4 lanes or No Train)**
Reduction in greenhouse gases	Increased traffic from train causes more pollution
Improvement in public health	Light rail will hinder emergency vehicles
Reduction in traffic congestion	Increase in traffic congestion
Increased connectivity and access to jobs	We already own cars
Gentrification	Agree
Displacement of low income residential and commercial populations	Agree

Table 4
Comparison of LRT literature to LRT perceptions (4 Lanes or No Train)

Where the literature and 4 Lanes or No Train perceptions do overlap is with concerns of gentrification and/or displacement. South Phoenician's concerns regarding gentrification are not unfounded, as the literature is clear about the link between economic development in TOD supported light rail systems (Dziauddin, Powe, and Alvanides, 2014; Knowles and Ferbrache, 2016). Though displacement is still not well understood in many realms, the literature does elude to these fears by noting drastic changes in populations around the light rail in other cases (Nilsson and Delmelle, 2018; Baker and Lee, 2017). Overall, differences in perceptions and findings largely center around how light rail impacts existing car infrastructure, and the potential impacts of losing such infrastructure on the community. As shown in Chapter 3, only 3.7 percent of South Phoenicians rely on public transportation to commute to work. Does this mean, however, that the right to the city of car owners matters more than the small percentage of transit users? Both outcomes (train or no train), and indeed many planning issues extending beyond transportation, have the ability to affect specific populations who comprise of the minority. Lefebvre argues it is people like these, in the minority, who should advocate for their right to the city. Yet, it is not clear what minority should "win" when they are competing amongst each other.

Group dynamics

Before I can discuss the primary events and evolutions in the 4 Lanes or No Train movement post-the community forum, it is important to outline the group's dynamics, including the key actors and their backgrounds/motivations. The group's founder, Celia,

is the primary contact and decisionmaker for 4 Lanes or No Train. Celia hails from Mexico and is a single mother of three young adults. Celia and her children live next to her car window tinting shop off Central Avenue in South Phoenix, which is a business space that she rents from the owner of the property. With the help of her children, Celia organizes the group out of fear of losing her livelihood due to the incoming light rail. Her oldest child attends a local university and does much of the behind the scenes work on social media for her mother. All of the children, including the youngest one in high school, attend all meetings and help out the group, particularly with translating and reading legal documents to attendees during meetings. At one point, Celia's son is even listed as a core member of a ballot initiative document (discussed in a later section).

Outside of Celia and her family, two other local business owners are closely involved, including one man who owns a restaurant close to Celia's shop. These two business owners may be considered Celia's right-hand men, and are heavily involved with meetings and the ballot initiative, though they do not speak up often. Despite being the leader or 4 Lanes or No Train, Celia is adamant about making collective decisions with the group at meetings and keeps the contact information of everyone who attends. Regular attendees (around eight people) voice their opinions often, and Celia regularly asks the group how they would like to move forward on particular issues. This is not to say, however, that Celia does not possess a large amount of power and sway over decision-making. She is often very opinionated and will dictate certain issues, primarily because she is the one dealing with all behind the scenes processes.

Eventually, Celia's insistence on conducting things her way leaves some regular attendees feeling helpless in the movement, especially when they are often not involved in behind the scenes work. Two female members in particular are very vocal and have some experience in canvasing for political propositions. They both are residents of South Phoenix who are concerned about their neighborhood changing in the face of the light rail, and actively speak up and participate at meetings and city council meetings. However, conflict arises when they ask Celia for the contact information of everyone who has attended 4 Lanes or No Train meetings. While they claim to want the contacts to help Celia increase attendance and take some of the workload from her, Celia refuses to share the information out of concern for participants privacy. Ultimately, this leads to one of the women, Sandra, to start her own group with the help of local politicians, which provides a big blow to the 4 Lanes or No Train movement (details to follow). Both of the women claim Celia is just too unwilling to accept help, therefore leading them to go behind her back. Overall, though Celia often includes the community in large decisions, group dynamics are dictated by Celia and the behind the scenes work she does with her children and other business owners. The next section outlines how the group's goals change over time, and how that affects the movement.

From "4 Lanes" to "No Train"

Though the initial idea of the group was to advocate for a four-lane design on Central Avenue, the dialogue began to shift after the community forum in which only two people said they wanted the train at all. This revelation from the community spurred

Celia to reconsider a four-lane design on Central Avenue, and instead advocate for no train at all. However, it took a while for the new stance to be clear which was confusing to some people. It was not until July, two months after the community forum, that Celia formally announced to the group that their new name would be: ~~4 Lanes or~~ No Train. Despite this declaration, the new name and concept never really caught on as they were already too deep into the media with the four-lane agenda. I believe this reduced the effectiveness of the group's movement early on because city council and Valley Metro were already rooted into looking at four lanes as an alternative, rather than a no train option.

In addition to their new "no train" stance, the group also experiences issues with political group dynamics. In the beginning, Celia wanted to maintain a non-political stance, stating that she didn't want to play the "games" of politicians. She wanted the movement to be representative of South Phoenix and no one else. However, her stance becomes complicated once Republican politicians and groups offer to help the movement. Celia, who describes herself as apolitical, only agrees to their assistance on the condition that the outcome of the movement benefits South Phoenix. It is not until the involvement of a powerful, nationwide conservative political group (introduced later) that Celia feels like the political involvement has gone too far. This is partly due to the negative image the political group will have on the movement, and partly due to her own personal views not aligning with those of the conservative group, especially regarding immigration and the environment.

Ultimately, Celia believes these groups are not representative of South Phoenicians and can no longer justify their support. Therefore, she makes a deliberate choice to split from these people, which results in letting go of an important ballot initiative she started. However, she says she will vote to get rid of the light rail if the initiative makes it to the ballot. Her admission reveals a surprising and complex decision that illuminates the power neoliberal advocates can have over the right to the city of the underrepresented. In essence, those fighting for their right to the city may not agree with neoliberal methods, but they may still support the outcomes if it matches their cause.

Glimpses of urban society in South Phoenix

As 4 Lanes or No Train evolve into staunch opponents of the light rail regardless of lane design, they also enact their right to the city in ways that are consistent with Lefebvre's vision. These ways include protesting, autogestion, fighting against city council, and creating a ballot initiative. In addition, the 4 Lanes or No Train case also illuminates one of the biggest criticisms of the right to the city presented in the literature: who's right to the city is valid? Conflicting rights to the city are explored in depth, and offer another glimpse into the complex nature of the right to the city framework, before the following section examines the challenges 4 Lanes or No Train faced in this case. All of these findings offer a glimpse into a possible urban society beyond capitalism.

Methods of mobilization (autogestion)

Themes related to a changing neighborhood, infrastructure, and logistics continue to dominate the 4 Lanes or No Train movement for months after the community forum. While the community forum is what lays the foundation for the original 4 Lanes or No Train group to garner serious attention from city council, it is only the first step. Through the months of June to October, 4 Lanes or No Train holds 11 meetings to discuss strategies for altering the light rail extension project. Their strategies for enacting their right to the city evolve over time and include protests, collaborative group meetings, speaking at city council meetings, and eventually creating a ballot initiative. For Lefebvre, such methods of mobilization represent his concept of autogestion, or self-management, where active citizens come together to create space (1991).

Protesting

Nine days after the 4 Lanes or No Train community forum, Valley Metro celebrate the opening of their South Phoenix community office, located on Central Avenue. The event is called the "Saturday Summer Fiesta on Central", and seeks to help people learn more about the light rail extension project and offers other incentives to attend such as traditional Mexican popsicles, or *paletas*, arts and crafts, games, and prizes. Upon entering the building, however, one notices the less-than-festive sight of police officers, indicative of the protesting across the street. Further back into the office are poster boards and employees, some of whom are answering questions about the project. Nothing feels particularly festive about the event, as few people are present.

Upon leaving in search of the protest, I ask a community outreach coordinator how she feels about the 4 Lanes or No Train group protesting. Her response conveys timid joy that the community is getting involved, though she notes city council ultimately holds the power over the future of the project. Her point about who holds power in this process brings up a frustrating factor in this case: Valley Metro is a middle man. Instead of the City of Phoenix handling public engagement, these tasks are delegated to Valley Metro even though they do not have the final say in light rail decisions. I consider this to be a major challenge for 4 Lanes or No Train because they have to find ways to get the attention of city council, which often requires taking hours out of a work day for an afternoon meeting. In addition, the opening of the community office shortly before light rail construction is set to begin is perplexing, and ultimately seems too little, too late.

Across the street, Celia is standing under a large rainbow beach umbrella in 105-degree heat yelling, “the party is over here!”. About 10 people are lined up with homemade and printed signs, all displaying anti-light rail messages. One business owner and his wife show up with an RV that provides even more shade and a home base for protesters. A turning point in the protest occurs when a sharpie marker is attained and people write “honk” on their signs. The amount of honking in support of the protest was near constant with every wave of cars that drives by. Even Valley Metro employed bus drivers stopping at a nearby bus stop start honking. Much of the same continues over the next two and a half hours, though one resident adds to the atmosphere by bringing a vintage Chevrolet car complete with a siren he would set off every so often. Celia’s daughter mentions how these types of old cars are popular in “cruising”, a tradition in

which residents pile into their cars (often lowriders) with friends and drive slowly up and down Central Avenue. The activity is rooted in teenage courtship practices common in Mexican plazas, where teenagers dress up and show off for one another, while also creating a public space for families and friends to gather for socializing (Langegger, 2014). The practice still carries on today in the United States and has become an important part of Latino cultural identity and acts as a way to appropriate urban space. Celia's daughter questions how cruising will remain a popular South Phoenix activity with only one lane?

Figures 7 and 8
Residents at a 4 Lanes or No Train protest
Source: Ashlee Tziganuk, 2018

Both her and Celia mention how 4 Lanes or No Train is becoming even larger than the South Phoenix context. They reveal offers of financial support from auto dealerships in uptown Phoenix who wish to use their platform to prevent light rail expansion into their area. In addition, they also have people approaching them who want to continue using the name of the group when future planned extensions go into other communities around the Valley. Ultimately, the group views financial support from outside stakeholders as a potential means to put all light rail extension plans back on a city-wide ballot, though they see this as a last resort option. Similar to calls for direct democracy in Spain, Greece, and the United States, the group is able to use protests or demonstrations as a tool for creating critical dialogue of the South Phoenix light rail extension by drawing public attention to their cause through signs, honking, and yelling criticisms, but on a more localized scale (Colombo and Mascarenhas, 2003; Purcell, 2013b).

Self-management

Much of the planning and decision-making for 4 Lanes or No Train occurs within their near weekly group meetings. The meetings take place on Wednesday or Thursday evenings at six o'clock and occur in various venues. Initially, meetings are held in the South Mountain Community Center, a building owned by Phoenix parks and recreation that serves as a gathering place complete with a gym, swimming pool, and other recreational amenities. After various negative city council meetings, however, Celia decides she would rather hold meetings in places not owned by the city due to concerns over spying from pro-light rail actors. For a while, the venue changes to a beautiful outdoor space, typically used for events like weddings, before switching to Celia's own window tinting shop for the last few meetings.

Attendance at the meetings significantly pales in comparison to the number of people who attended the 4 Lanes or No Train community forum. At some of the earlier meetings, there were upwards of 20 people in attendance. Near the end of the process, there were around 10 people participating in the regular meetings. The group of core participants who attend nearly every meeting range in age from young college students to the elderly, and also include Latin(x), white, black, and Asian participants. Celia is not too concerned with the number of regular attendees because of the previous turnout at the community forum and the thousands of signatures obtained for the initial petition. Reasons for the lack of participation, however, are likely due to various factors, including limited advertisement, meeting fatigue, evening job commitments, and hot weather. After the discovery of "spies", or people attending 4 Lanes or No Train meetings and giving

information on their plans to pro-light rail supporters before the Phoenix City Council vote on the 90-day pause, Celia decides to change strategy and maintains closer control on the flow of information. One of the spies ended up being the leader of a pro-light rail group called Arizonans for Transportation, and was only discovered after holding a counter-protest at a city council meeting (discussed in the next section). The standard Thursday meetings are switched to Wednesdays. The active Facebook group page, which the group often uses to create event invitations for all of the group's gatherings, suddenly stops doing so. Instead, participants are contacted directly through phone numbers left on the sign-in sheets from the previous meeting. If you miss a meeting, you likely miss the date, time, and location for the following one.

The structure of the meetings, however, remains consistent over time. Participants arrive and write their names and contact information on a sign-in sheet, and then take a seat in available chairs. Celia always leads the meetings, and occasionally invites others to speak before the group, such as Phoenix councilmembers and their staff. The meetings typically start with Celia filling everyone in on any new information that has developed over the course of the past week before opening it up to attendees for questions and comments. In early meetings, she uses PowerPoint to inform attendees of the group's purpose moving forward. Later on, she seeks direct input from attendees on decisions regarding the ballot initiative and rallies everyone for city council meetings.

Various emotions play out each week, though general frustration remains apparent and constant. At times, Celia's strong opinions and passionate demeanor dominate other perspectives. This is especially true of anyone who still sees the value of a

four-lane configuration on Central Avenue, rather than starkly opposing all development per existing plans. By mid-July, she insinuates that anyone who still supports the train on Central Avenue should not attend the group's meetings any longer. Her passion and outspokenness are the heart of the movement, and her leadership is the uniting factor in the protest; in instances where Celia is missing, the group feels disjointed and without direction. Her commitment to her South Phoenix community is unquestionable, and her dedicated leadership is what propels the movement forward. However, by excluding people who still support the train in her community, she is actively ignoring other perspectives in her community which can be problematic for an urban society.

Battling city council

Though the protest allowed the group to visibly and vocally demonstrate their opposition in front of Valley Metro, the group knows city council possesses the most direct power to change the light rail extension. The next stage of mobilization then becomes vocal participation within city council meetings. Similar to Bahia's homeless movement, the group is trying to exert pressure on the local government for change, albeit with much less policy support (Belda-Miquel, Blanes, and Fredani, 2016). The group's specific goal is to acquire a 90-day pause or delay in South Phoenix light rail construction, which has already started in downtown. While their reasoning for a pause is to buy more time to find a solution, they ultimately know a 90-day pause will potentially kill the project entirely by jeopardizing federal funding. Their outward messaging around the pause is to provide Valley Metro with another opportunity to better engage the

community with the planning efforts. The effort to earn the pause represents a crucial switch in the group's desired outcome. It essentially signals a new stance of no train at all, even if a four-lane design is possible. So how does the group end up wanting to kill the project entirely? The decision primarily stems from the realization that the four-lane design would be just as damaging to the community because many businesses would still have to be acquired through eminent domain to make space, and it would not include as many aesthetically pleasing features such as landscaping and bus pullouts.

To put the light rail extension pause on the city council agenda, members from 4 Lanes or No Train go to City Hall specifically to ask the mayor to do so. Recalling the experience, one resident says, "City hall was like a movie. We had unity." Initially, the chief of staff tells Celia they cannot schedule a special meeting until a few weeks out, but her persistence earns a meeting for the following week. "This is a game we are playing", she says. In preparation for the special meeting, she encourages everyone at the prior community meeting to tell everyone they know in South Phoenix to show up at city council chambers for the special meeting.

What ensues at the special meeting is four hours of conflicting opinions and shocking council behavior. What is expected to be a rallying cry of anti-light rail protest turns into a battle between 4 Lanes or No Train, and a new group called "Save South Central". Upon arrival, it is not immediately clear who this counter-protesting group is. They are only identified by their teal blue shirts, which are distributed liberally to people entering the chambers. The blue shirts create confusion among the 4 Lanes or No train group; nobody knows who they are, what their intentions are, or when they emerged. In

addition, Save South Central is an ambiguous phrase – it can resonate with pro and anti-light rail supporters alike. Some 4 Lanes or No Train members put on the t-shirts until they realize what they signify. As I sit down, I ask a couple of white men wearing suits with their teal shirt sitting by me what the t-shirts are for and who organized them. "I don't know, I just took one when I came in," says one. Celia's daughter comments, "These people don't look like South Phoenicians."

Upon further investigation, the orchestrator of the t-shirts is from a brand new group called Arizonans for Transportation. The group comprises of people involved in the South Phoenix extension project such as contractors and engineers. The three people who are identified as the group's directors are an employee of a public affairs and strategic advisory firm, a vice president and business management manager for a transportation infrastructure company, and a transportation marketing manager for another transportation infrastructure company (Boehm, 2018). In addition, one of the directors also worked on the campaign for councilmember Kate Gallego, a staunch supporter of the light rail extension. Perhaps it is no coincidence, then, that Kate Gallego attended the meeting wearing a teal blue blouse.

A further surprise to the 4 Lanes or No Train group is that council does not include a motion to vote on the 90-day pause in the agenda. Instead, Mayor Williams apologizes to everyone in attendance for her mistake and adds it to the following day's agenda. The exclusion of a vote is discouraging to everyone in attendance at the four-hour-long meeting. "These people don't care about South Phoenix. They know we are working people and that's why they made it happen over two days," Celia angrily says

after the meeting. Unfortunately for the 4 Lanes or No Train group, the disappointment continues the following day when the vote finally happens. Knowing that a 90-day pause would likely result in a loss of the federal funding for the project, city council does not approve the pause. They do, however, task Valley Metro with creating an alternative four-lane design and community outreach process to compare a four-lane or two-lane design.

Although the 4 Lanes or No Train group cannot secure the pause, they garner enough attention to force city council to consider an alternative design. At this point, however, the group has no longer has an interest in either lane design. Adhering to city council's request, Valley Metro plans six community outreach meetings in locations around South Phoenix over the month of August to present findings on a four-lane design. For 4 Lanes or No Train insists that these community meetings (discussed in detail later in the chapter) are too little, too late, and should have occurred in the beginning to work out the lane design with the community. Celia decides efforts to stop the extension project entirely through city council are futile. It is time to bring in the last resort option: the ballot initiative.

The last resort

"We need to be ready to defeat the light rail and put it on the ballot," urges Celia at a 4 Lanes or No Train meeting a few weeks after city council's vote. In essence, the group wants to put the future of all planned light rail extensions across the city of Phoenix back into the hands of voters. They are confident that Phoenicians feel

differently about the light rail now that they have seen its negative effects. Over the next few weeks, the group plans the details of the proposition, from the name of it to deciding the specific benefits South Phoenix and other stakeholders will receive. Two major challenges in developing the proposition are the cost and time constraints. Because Valley Metro is already preparing for construction in South Phoenix, it is essential for the proposition to be submitted as soon as possible to ensure it can be included in a March election. To help expedite the process, members of the group who are business owners collectively hire a lawyer to help write a legally acceptable proposition. The chosen title is the "Building a Better Phoenix Act". The purpose of the act is to create alternative uses of funds used for light rail extensions across the city.

The nearly one billion dollars of funding for the South Phoenix light rail extension comes from federal, regional, and city monies. As discussed previously, killing the light rail project would lead to a complete loss of $595 million in federal funding. Therefore, the focus of the 4 Lanes or No Train proposition is to redistribute $150 million in regional funding and $220 million in city funding to other transportation-related infrastructure in South Phoenix. If the proposition passes, however, it does not solely affect the South Phoenix extension. As the city's other extensions start dates arrive, each of those areas will also receive back the original funds. In all cases, funds must be redistributed only for transportation improvements, and no other key needs in South Phoenix such as improved schools and parks. For members of 4 Lanes or No Train, the primary requested improvements included improved bus service and bus stop shelters, sidewalks, and pavement repairs.

The proposition also includes two other components: allocation of funds for public safety and the creation of a steering committee. Public safety specifically refers to providing funding for the Phoenix police. A focus on police stems from both political strategy and personal concern over perceived high crime and inadequate police response in South Phoenix. “Police say they can’t go here because they must service the light rail,” says one resident at the community forum. Perhaps more importantly, however, is that the Phoenix Law Enforcement Association (PLEA) is a significant lobbyist in city politics. The likelihood of the proposition passing increases significantly with their support. A main topic of discussion at group meetings, then, is what percentage of the monies should be allocated to the police. The group consensus is that 30 percent should be enough to ensure their support, as that should help address their desire to hire more needed staff. In exchange for the funding, PLEA will then help campaign for the proposition and be active in media. However, promising money for public safety appears empty considering the monies may only be used for transportation. Indeed, the official initiative measure (created by a different group) received by the city clerk in September 2018 mentions nothing about the allocation of funds to public safety, therefore making it unclear if the police union is still involved, and if so, where this money will come from.

The purpose of a South Phoenix steering committee is to prevent city council from independently deciding what happens to the monies if the proposition passes. “We don’t want it to be in the hands of the government,” says Celia. The steering committee will comprise people who live in South Phoenix, and their responsibility is to decide what happens with the money from the proposition. The committee will receive funds to elicit

extensive public input on needed transportation infrastructure in South Phoenix before making any decisions.

The creation of the ballot initiative not only provides the best chance 4 Lanes or No Train has for killing the light rail extension, but also provides an example of an underexplored tactic for right to the city studies. However, the ballot initiative also poses the biggest challenges. What begins as a self-organized group of business owners and residents fighting against a mammoth project quickly turns into a struggle to maintain control of the group amid political adversaries pushing their own agendas. The next section explains the challenges 4 Lanes or No Train faces as other stakeholders enact their right to the city, as well as the tensions and conflicts within and outside of the group.

Conflicting rights to the city

The right to the city literature shows there is no universal right to the city, especially when dealing with diverse communities (Attoh, 2011). As the 4 Lanes or No Train group rally residents in an energetic and inspiring community forum, others in support of the light rail extension begin plotting ways to counter the opposition. What ensues is a toxic and unproductive feud between pro- and anti-light rail supporters who are advocating for differing rights to the city. To understand how contentious the light rail extension case is, this section begins by examining the views of light rail supporters and their perceptions of the 4 Lanes or No Train movement.

"Passport to the rest of the city"

LRT literature reports the following benefits of light rail: reduction in greenhouse gases, improvement in public health, reduction in traffic congestion, increased connectivity, increased access to services and jobs, and increases in property values (Babalik-Sutcliffe, 2002; Topalovic et al., 2012). Supporters of the light rail extension report similar perceived benefits, with increased mobility for specific populations like students and the elderly at the forefront. Literature also relates increased mobility to enabling the right to the city (Attoh, 2019). One light rail supporter and resident of South Phoenix at the 4 Lanes or No Train community forum says the people who have the most to lose are transit users, and questions why 4 Lanes or No Train is pushing a car-oriented design when bus commutes can also be up to two hours for some. "Transportation is lacking. When the car breaks down, what are you going to use? The light rail." The idea of mobility particularly resonates with South Phoenix students who wish to go to school in other parts of the city, such as Arizona State University's downtown and Tempe campuses, both along the light rail trajectory. Mobility also expands to those in the workforce who may benefit from accessing jobs in other parts of the Valley, as well, though residents never spoke of wanting to take the train outside of South Phoenix to work. At first glance, supporters' desires to provide marginalized people with access to opportunities via transit is hard to argue with. In fact, the supporter's narrative is typically presented as a form of social justice. For community members, this will be a rare instance in which South Phoenix is presented with millions of dollars for a neighborhood changing project. "South Phoenix has been left behind. We deserve this," passionately

proclaims one resident. However, the social justice narrative seems less genuine when coming from larger stakeholders like Valley Metro and the City of Phoenix. Digging deeper into their reasoning reveals ulterior motives.

Revitalization, and specifically, increased economic development, is at the heart of light rail supporting arguments. “We don’t need to miss the economic blessing that light rail will bring”, claims one South Phoenix resident in support of the train. Sources cite $11 billion of investment has occurred within a quarter mile of light rail tracks, with more than 25,000 new residential units, and 35,000 new jobs (Peters, Rimsza, and Giuliano, 2018). It should come as no surprise that city council members are backing such immense economic development for Phoenix. In fact, the dialogue of city council members during anti-light rail discussions reflects more of a fear of losing nearly one billion dollars of federal funding for the South Phoenix extension than compassionate concern for the aftermath of such development on existing communities.

In this sense, pro-light rail city council members conveniently hide behind the narrative of urbanists who use light rail as a means for social justice. Between city council’s desire to revitalize South Phoenix and other supporters’ demand for increased mobility, they often critique the 4 Lanes or No Train movement as being anti-progress. “It’s insulting to suggest South Phoenix should remain low-income with no chance of getting light rail because that’ll bring swanky condos, coffee shops and other types of development,” says local columnist Elvia Diaz (Diaz, 2018a).

Similar characterizations of pushback also occurred in the Ogden, Utah gondola case, where institutional leaders labeled pushback as against the good future of the city

(Dorsey and Mulder, 2013). Just as this case illuminates differing rights to the city, it also demonstrates different notions of progress. Is progress economic development, increased mobility, or neighborhood preservation? It would be unfair to suggest any of those notions of progress are wrong. Is it fair, however, to suggest progress should come at the expense of certain community members or groups it is said to be serving just because they have a differing right to the city? The 4 Lanes or No Train movement embodies this concern, urging pro-light rail supporters to consider the negative consequences of revitalization and subsequent gentrification. At a 4 Lanes or No Train meeting, Celia says loudly and with great conviction, "When you come to the south side to bring us 'progress' you have to do it with respect. Not with 15 people behind closed doors." As mentioned previously, however, we must also consider the negative consequences of killing the light rail extension for those who do rely on public transportation or who do genuinely want to see the light rail come to their neighborhood.

Inner group conflict

As pro-light rail supporters make strides to counter anti-train protest, inner group conflicts erupt over community representation, power, and politics with the creation of the proposition. By the time 4 Lanes or No Train are developing the Building a Better Phoenix Act, the group is finding itself pigeonholed by its original name. Despite the group's evolution from supporting 4 Lanes to the creation of a ballot initiative to kill the project entirely, city council members continue to focus specifically on the debate of four-lanes or two-lanes, seemingly treating other valid concerns as secondary issues. The

council even orders Valley Metro to hold six community meetings specifically to compare a four- or two-lane design, leaving no room to discuss an option of no train. The erasure of the group's concerns and desires by city council is what spurs the ballot initiative and eventual explosion of conflict amongst the group's members.

The primary source of conflict is due to sources of funding for the proposition. While Celia always had some issues with getting other business owners in South Phoenix to donate money for 4 Lanes or No Train signs and petitions, the conflict reaches a new level as outside stakeholders offer money to pay for the proposition. Before discussing the key financial actors, it is important to understand what makes the proposition so expensive. First, a lawyer is needed to create the proper language for the proposition. Once the proposition is written, the group then needs to collect 40,000 signatures to ensure it will make it to the ballot before the November deadline. At first, the discussion around collecting signatures is volunteer based. With only two months to collect the signatures in time for the March election, however, the group starts looking into hiring collectors through private companies. The group eventually decides on an out-of-state signature collecting company, as in-state companies are allegedly unwilling to participate for political reasons. The estimated cost of collecting the necessary 20,000 signatures alone is between $150,000-200,000. The funds for the lawyer and signature collection also do not account for any campaigning strategies for the initiative. Even with many of the group members identifying as business owners, over $200,000 is an incredible amount to front for a proposition that may or may not be passed by voters.

By this stage in the battle over light rail, media outlets and local politicians are fueling rumors about who is paying for the opposition group's ballot initiative. Nearly a month after the 4 Lanes or No Train community forum and in the midst of heated city council meetings, the New York Times publishes an article called, "How the Koch Brothers Are Killing Public Transit Projects Around the Country" (Tabuchi, 2018). As oil billionaires, the Koch brothers (Charles and David) are not new to conservative political activism. The brothers took over ownership of Koch Industries after the passing of their father, which is a private company dealing with oil, chemicals, paper, trading, and cattle ranches (Monbiot, 2018). The brothers are now some of the richest people on earth, and often use their wealth to fund their own political interests by contributing so-called "dark money" to "organizations, academic departments, thinktanks, journals, and movements" (Monbiot, 2018). In fact, their group Americans for Prosperity helped to set up the Tea Party Movement, a political group of conservatives who push for lower taxes and lower national debt (Monbiot, 2016). The group contains local chapters across the United States and is a way for the Koch Brother's ideals to translate to a local scale. One of the local issues they are tackling is public transportation. In Nashville, Americans for Prosperity is trying to encourage people to vote "no" on a transit plan which includes light rail. Aside from the threat increased public transportation may have on oil chugging cars, the ideals of Americans for Prosperity fit well with neoliberal interests like lower taxes and smaller government.

As Phoenix councilmember Kate Gallego points out during the special light rail meeting, Nashville is not the only city listed in the New York Times article. "Surprise

Attack on Phoenix Light Rail Expansion Reeks of Koch Brother Interference", headlines one Streetsblog USA article (Schmitt, 2018). Local Democratic politicians like Ruben Gallego publicly shame this Koch Brother affiliation on social media, and local media follows suit, speculating over the group's involvement with Koch brother connected group, Arizona Free Enterprise Club. Though Celia and 4 Lanes or No Train are approached by the Arizona Free Enterprise Club, they choose to never utilize any Koch brother related money, primarily due to conflicts between the political beliefs of Celia and the Koch Brothers. Despite this conscious effort, the public narrative is already set against them.

In addition to the Koch brother's national crusade against public transportation, the group must also deal with the interference of local political actors. Republican Phoenix City Councilmembers Sal DiCiccio and Jim Waring have always openly opposed Phoenix light rail, claiming it is a waste of taxpayer money that should be distributed elsewhere. While Waring, councilmember for wealthier North Phoenix district two, supports the group during city council meetings, it is DiCiccio who takes anti-light rail support to the next level. Like Waring, DiCiccio represents a wealthy district (six) in Phoenix. His communication style is rather brash and accusatory, with local media labeling him a "rabble rouser" (Diaz, 2018b). In the special South Phoenix light rail meetings, he animatedly shames the rest of council and questions the city manager's position over the light rail "fiasco" (Diaz, 2018b). His behavior leaves one local reporter labeling him an "unexpected hero" of the meeting.

The heroics do not end after the meetings. DiCiccio's chief of staff starts attending 4 Lanes or No Train meetings. In the meeting after city council denies a 90-day pause, he acts as a sort of informational guide for the ballot initiative, as well as a motivational supporter. He uses war-like language to rally the group, saying things like, "You are about to go to war," and "You're going to be the army that comes out and fights"! Celia and the group are initially content with using Republican political support for the ballot initiative, with the condition that the light rail money goes back to South Phoenix. After a few weeks, however, DiCiccio's chief of staff takes his position too far for Celia's liking. "He came into the meeting and had an agenda ready. No one makes agendas for the group but us," she says. She goes on to explain how politicians often come to her shop to earn the group's support, even though they don't care about the cause.

Celia's growing skepticism of stakeholders outside of the immediate group only grows during the creation of the proposition. Little does she know, however, that internal members are also plotting their own moves. On August 30th, 2018, Valley Metro holds its first community meeting in South Phoenix to compare the four-lane vs. two-lane designs. Celia emphasizes to the group how important it is to attend all of the Valley Metro meetings to protest. Therefore, it is surprising to everyone that she is nowhere to be found at the first meeting. Group members frequently ask each other where Celia is throughout the event, and no one is able to get in touch with her. I later find out from another business owner that the same South Phoenix property investor who offered to pay for half of the ballot initiative signatures had submitted his own initiative to the city along with

Sal DiCiccio without Celia's knowledge. The initiative was essentially the same, with a much higher percentage of the monies going to the police union. This news left Celia too upset to attend the meeting and protest.

Despite the news of a competing initiative, Celia continues on protesting at remaining community meetings and moves forward with the Building a Better Phoenix Act. After Valley metro holds all six of their community meetings, city council plans to vote on a two or four lane design moving forward. The vote occurs on September 26th, 2018, and unsurprisingly, city council moves forward with the initial two-lane design. Many light rail opponents left the meeting feeling like city council essentially wasted everyone's time by putting on a show of concern, knowing they would keep everything the same. Celia is absent from the meeting once again, which provides an opportunity for a third actor to undermine Celia's control of the group. A resident and committed member of the group, Sandra (name changed for anonymity), starts to tell other members that Celia has actually quit. In reality, Celia's absence is due to the passing of her mother, but the rumors provide enough speculation for members to start taking direction from Sandra.

At the final 4 Lanes or No Train meeting on October 3, 2018, Celia reveals that though she never quit the group, she has been kicked off of the proposition by Sandra, Sal DiCiccio, South Phoenix business owners who were once involved in 4 Lanes or No Train, and a prominent member of the Koch brothers-affiliated Arizona Free Enterprise Club. The new leaders were able to achieve this by changing the names of the key actors on the ballot initiative document before submission. After her admission, she continues

on to say that as South Phoenicians and as predominately minorities, they cannot be associated with the Koch brothers and their political views. “We need to clear the name of 4 Lanes or No Train,” she says, because “the Koch brothers are in control of the proposition and want to hide behind the image of our group.” This is the group’s official split from the proposition they created. Though Celia does not think the proposition will be successful now that the Koch brothers are publicly involved, she concludes the final meeting by saying, “Don’t participate in this proposition, just vote if the time comes.”

Building a Better Phoenix Initiative

Even though 4 Lanes or No Train discontinues action against the light rail, the proposition lives on through those who took over using the name Building a Better Phoenix Initiative. Through the funding from outside political actors, the new leaders secure enough signatures to officially submit it to city council. By late January 2019, the ballot is certified by the City of Phoenix and is set to appear on the August 2019 ballot. Having the proposition certified by the city presents challenges to the new group. They say city council is trying everything they can to stall the initiative, with DiCiccio claiming the city clerk’s office is “slow rolling” the certification (Kwok, 2019). Though his argument does not hold up due to the clerk’s office filing within the required 20 day period, the group does face real opposition over the signatures they collected.

The already expensive process of creating the proposition and gaining enough signatures is further exacerbated by a lawsuit filed against the group by the Arizona chapter of the Associated General Contractors of America. The association describes themselves as, “Arizona’s oldest and most influential not-for-profit association of general

contractors, subcontractors, and other construction industry affiliated firms engaged in highway, heavy, industrial and municipal-utility construction" ("Arizona Chapter/Associated General Contractors", 2019). They claim the initiative petition did not include enough detail about the vote's effect on the entire system and where the money will go after. They also claim that the process of paying petition gatherers by the signature is illegal under Arizona state law, though the legislation is not entirely clear. While it is true that the state of Arizona made it illegal to pay petition circulators by the signature in 2016, it is not clear whether this state law applies to municipal initiatives (Boehm, 2019).

In response to the lawsuit, new initiative leader Sandra is quick to point out how the association is affiliated with the same construction company who will profit off of light rail extensions. The association's attorney is also currently under contract with the city of Phoenix (Boehm, 2019). It comes as no surprise, then, that current Phoenix mayor Thelma Williams and one other councilmember come out in support of the lawsuit. As of March 2019, the ballot initiative is set to feature on the August 2019 ballot, though it will have to survive the lawsuit court hearing in April 2019.

Overall, the conflicts that emerge in the South Phoenix light rail extension case further support previous findings of the right to the city in practice, as well as offers critical new insights. Though the literature provides instances of community groups struggling with conflict between public-private partnerships and inner group conflict (Gonzalez et al., 2012; Dorsey and Mulder, 2013), the South Phoenix case provides a more detailed glimpse into these conflicts, as well as how the group becomes vulnerable

to appropriation by outside stakeholders. Appropriation and other issues stemming from differing rights to the city are discussed in the next section.

Challenges to the Right to the City

The evolution and demise of 4 Lanes or No Train illustrates the practical challenges of enacting a right to the city within a complex urban transportation planning project. In addition, it particularly highlights how neoliberal economic interests challenge right to the city movements in various ways. While the findings of the 4 Lanes or No Train case further illustrate established issues such as conflicting rights to the city within and between community groups, it also provides unique findings related to neoliberal appropriation, inadequate public participation, and notions of democracy.

Neoliberal appropriation

The interference of political actors such as councilmember Sal DiCiccio and the Koch brother affiliated group implicates an issue with the right to the city not yet fully explored: the appropriation of grassroots right to the city movements by those in positions of power. What initially begins as a grassroots movement led by residents and business owners in South Phoenix becomes a ploy for wealthy national influencers to bolster the influence of local Republican politicians. Their strategy is to hide behind the face of community groups while controlling the process from behind the scenes. “They try to move us like Muppets,” Celia says when she realizes the intentions of DiCiccio’s camp. She specifically focuses on how everyone wants power, but warns wealthy

influencers and local politicians "cannot be the face of this group." Despite her best efforts to maintain the ballot initiative as a grassroots, non-political, community-led movement, she cannot win in the end.

Outside actors go behind Celia's back in many instances, producing heated conflict between both groups. A primary example is when councilmember Sal DiCiccio attends a meeting originally scheduled to be between Celia and leaders of the Phoenix police union. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss how much money the police union will gain from the Building a Better Phoenix Act in exchange for their support. Though 4 Lanes or No Train collectively decides to offer 30 percent, DiCiccio makes an offer of 50 percent without their consent. This leads to an argument between Celia and DiCiccio during the meeting, and eventually he storms out. "He wants to be the hero," she says. One member of 4 Lanes or No Train says Celia reminds him of Deborah from the bible, a woman of great strength and fight. Yet by this point in the group's journey, Celia reveals, "When I go home, I cry a lot." Her struggle to maintain a non-political stance is taking its toll as political stakeholders continue to take advantage of what she started, with the sole intention of protecting her community and her business.

The word *appropriation* is used in right to the city literature to characterize the process of the deprived taking back urban space controlled by the rich elite (Mayer, 2012). Marcuse argues that the right to the city does not exist without this appropriation (2009). What happens, however, when the appropriators become the appropriated? In the case of 4 Lanes or No Train, the partnership between the City of Phoenix and Valley Metro creates a powerful bias toward the potential economic benefits of the light rail, and

provides little opportunity for the public to voice their opposition. When the opposition is heard, it is often given a show of consideration with no real compromise. In addition to these factors, the outside political groups who come in to use 4 Lanes or No Train to push their own agenda make it impossible for this grassroots right to the city movement to overcome the rights of the elite in a neoliberal economy. The next subsection will discuss how this partnership created a lack of transparency with the public.

Too little, too late

One of the potential consequences of public-private partnerships in urban infrastructure is a lack of democratic processes and transparency with the public (Siemiatycki, 2005, 2006). In preparation for the expansion project, Valley Metro CEO Scott Smith claims that they held 380 community meetings and posted 20,000 door hangers from 2012-2018 (Flaherty, 2018). However, another local article reports that sign-in sheets indicate only 730 people attended 22 meetings over a six-year period from 2012-2018 (Boehm, 2018). Regardless, if Valley Metro feels their public outreach process was so extensive, why did members of the community feel so unheard to the point of creating a ballot initiative?

The Valley Metro and city council meetings held between April and October 2018 reveal public participation practices that would fall on the less involved rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation. Valley Metro's meetings typically occur in a specialized informational format. For example, meetings on light rail platform and track design are held to show the public design options such as vegetation and traffic barrier

types. Attendees at these meetings go around looking at various poster boards and use stickers to “vote” for their favorite design choices, a participatory technique often referred to as “dot democracy” (Figure 9) (Creighton, 2005). Meetings for station art are a little more involved, as public attendees hear from pre-chosen, primarily locally based artists on their design plans before they are able to talk more with them individually about their planned art installations. These meetings feel more genuine because the artists are supposed to design with the character of South Phoenix in mind and are invested in engaging the local community throughout the design process.

Despite holding some meetings on weekends and providing translation for Spanish speakers, turnout at the meetings I attended was rather low considering the fierce pushback shown through community forum and city council meeting attendance, and protests (~10 people at each). The lack of participation is not necessarily surprising, however, considering a major component of neoliberal cities is participating via what you choose to buy and not what you choose to spend time advocating for. Despite this, the lack of attendance is not only concerning, but also continually used against the 4 Lanes or No Train opposition. South Phoenix councilmember Michael Nowakowski tells the group at their community forum, “If you’re not at a meeting then someone will always put a mess in your backyard.” Valley Metro CEO Scott Smith continues in the same vein saying, "Looking back at records, everyone, I think, had an opportunity to be involved," he said. "I don't know why they weren't, but they had an opportunity." (Boehm, 2018). These key actors in the light rail project are quick to shift blame to South Phoenicians for not attending meetings, despite many residents claiming they were unaware of them. In

fact, it is not until the four-hour long special meeting at city council that Valley Metro CEO admits they may have not fully captured everyone's opinion. The result, of course, are the five community meetings city council asks Valley Metro to create specifically to discuss the four- vs two-lane design.

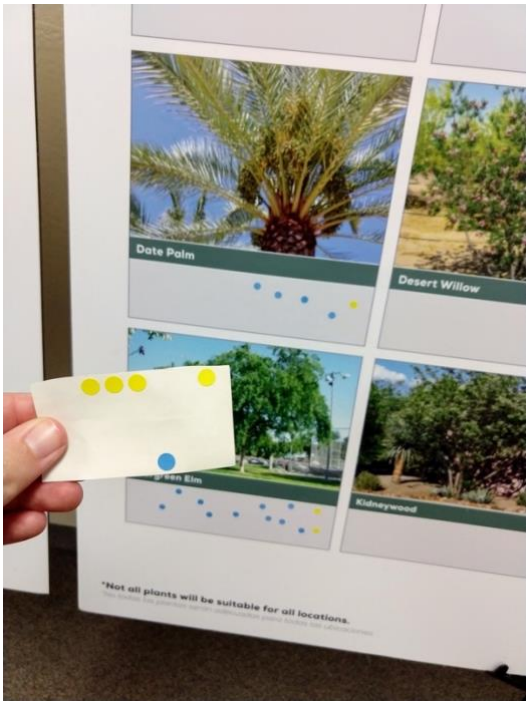

Figure 9
"Dot democracy" for South Phoenix light rail landscape design
Photo by: Ashlee Tziganuk

Perception vs. Reality

Valley Metro's special community meetings are supposed to appease the opposition by entertaining the idea of a four-lane design. At this point, however, the group is already creating a proposition that may kill all future extensions in the city. The group's only purpose at these meetings, then, is to disrupt the meetings with counter-protesting vocally and in written documents (Figure 10). On August 30, 2018, I arrive at

the Rio Salado Audobon Center in South Phoenix. The parking lot is so full that people are unable to park. Upon entry to the building, Valley Metro employees greet attendees at tables and ask them to sign in. Those in opposition of the train choose not to sign in because they do not want to be used as positive data for Valley Metro.

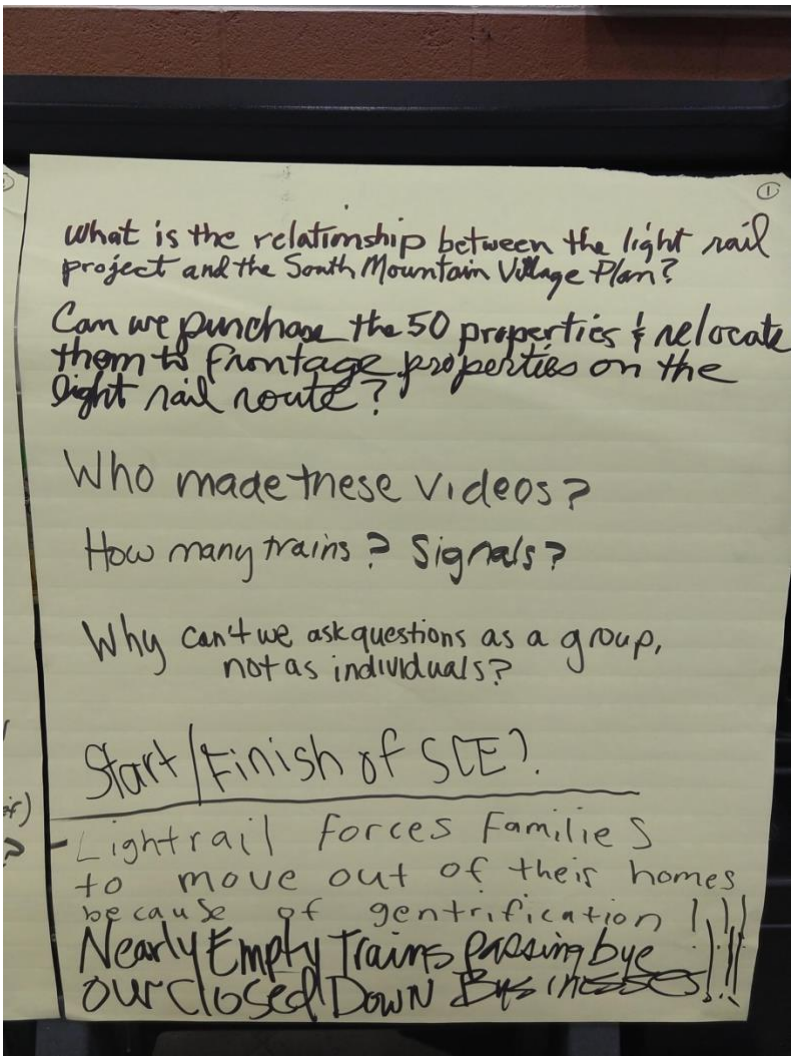

Figure 10
Comments on question sheet at a Valley Metro meeting

The meeting presentation is tucked away in a smaller room, which is completely packed with people. The majority of these folks, however, appear to be Valley Metro employees, city council staff, and people from urbanist organizations in support of the train based on their name tags and roles at the meetings. News crews also line up in the back of the room with cameras. At the helm of the presentation is a Valley Metro-hired moderator. Before the presentation begins, employees pass out an informational sheet that only lists the benefits of light rail. The moderator begins by making it very clear that the task of the meeting is to talk about four lanes vs. two lanes, leaving no room for any other discussion. I sense this is a way to keep out any discussion regarding no train. For those opposing the train, the meeting only gets worse from here.

Instead of moving straight into information on lane design, the moderator begins by talking about human understanding, and specifically about perceptions versus reality. He tries to use marriage as an example of this throughout, describing arguments with his wife as battles between personal perceptions and the reality of the situation. I am astounded at the implications of his dialogue, which often comes across as belittling and disrespectful to those in opposition because he is trying to undermine arguments against the train. What I *perceive* him to be saying to those in opposition is that you may have perceptions about this light rail project, but in reality, they are false. The first pre-recorded Valley Metro informational video that plays next is even more pointed. The video begins with prominent community leader, Ed Pastor, talking about what makes South Phoenix unique before discussing the history of light rail in South Phoenix. They

also interview a black woman and a Latino man who are “residents” in favor. One young student says how peaceful it is to take the light rail to school.

After the video ends, the moderator names the commonly posed questions that will be “out of the scope” of this meeting. These include, 1) why Central Avenue?, 2) Why rail?, and 3) Can this money be used for other projects? A Valley Metro employee answers two of these questions by explaining how they looked at alternative transportation options before deciding this was the best for South Phoenix. “We want to provide a service that promotes ridership,” he says. Valley Metro CEO Scott Smith is tasked with answering the question regarding money, but he is not present in the room. He eventually strolls in after someone goes to find him and asks, “what do you need me for?” before explaining no new information on the breakdown of funding from local, regional, and national funding.

“Four lanes is not impossible,” says the moderator leading into the second video, which compares the two- and four-lane configurations. Everything from the tone of the narrator to the dialogue is biased toward a two-lane configuration. As the video’s narrator talks about the two-lane design, her voice is chipper and positive. Yet as she discusses the details of the four-lane design, she uses words like “but” and “however” to extenuate that while it can be done, there will be negative tradeoffs. One such example is how buses would not have their own turning lanes in the four-lane configuration. Though they claim a four-lane design will create more traffic, they do not provide any time estimates on how long a commute would take in both models.

By this point in the presentation, the bias toward the two-lane configuration is frustrating, especially for opposition members who have long since moved past a four-lane agenda. To cap off the dreadful presentation, the moderator then broaches a tangent on debates, and how it is not helpful to debate simply out of motivation of winning it. Instead, he insinuates that some form of compromise is necessary. After the presentation, I speak with 4 Lanes or No Train members discussing their frustrations with the meeting. The overall consensus is that Valley Metro and the City of Phoenix clearly want to keep a two-lane configuration, and that the only way forward is with the ballot initiative. The next five of Valley Metro's community meetings occur in various venues around South Phoenix. However, the presentation and format remain exactly the same, indicating that public input was never really a priority on their agenda.

The failure of public participation

In many ways, the four- vs. two-lane Valley Metro community meetings are representative of the entire public participation process for the South Phoenix light rail extension. Instead of treating the public outreach process between 2012-2018 as a way to mend previous neglect of the more vulnerable populations in South Phoenix, the facilitators blame the public for not attending original meetings and then ignore opposition when they are forced to hold last-minute meetings. As stated previously, Valley Metro's public participation process falls low on Arnstein's ladder and ranges from non-participation to tokenism (1969).

While city council only allows resident two minutes to speak on an issue before councilmembers vote, Valley Metro's preferred method is the comment card. Even in meetings where Valley Metro attempts to give some power to participants by gauging their preferences for design elements, it remains unclear if those preferences will be implemented. The four- vs. two-lane meetings, however, only exist for "participants" to ask questions of experts. The whole presentation is clearly seeking to "educate" or "cure" those in opposition (Arnstein, 1969, 217). The moderator who is sold as an expert in communication never actually facilitates any conversation among attendees. Instead, expert knowledge is presented and attendees are split into specific "stations" around the room to ask more experts, such as engineers, lingering questions. Valley Metro's emphasis on expert knowledge harkens back to Forester's (1982) structuralist perspective, in which a planner's access to information continually "legitimatizes and rationalizes" existing power structures (69). What results is an uninspired public participation process, where opposing opinions are purposefully disorganized and ignored, and no constructive collaboration occurs.

In the neoliberal era, public participation is further muddled by perceptions of democracy. In the United States, voting is a primary form of civic engagement, and in some ways defines its democracy. Therefore, one of the most cited arguments used by light rail advocates is, "you voted for this" so why is it an issue? Despite only 14 percent of registered South Phoenix voters turning out for the August 2015 special election and claims of misinformation, many light rail supporters find opposition insulting claiming that the outcome of the vote is clear (Boehm, 2018). It is almost as if public participation

should end after voting, and any extra community work is a show for required participation processes. Unfortunately, the same August midterm election time that saw the light rail extension's approval (and that historically spurs little voter turnout compared to primary's) is now set to happen again with the Building a Better Phoenix Initiative.

Conclusion

The case of the South Phoenix light rail extension reveals a difficult and fraught journey for one grassroots community group seeking to challenge a massive transportation project in a sprawling desert city. Despite rallying cries from residents mobilizing their right to the city, concerns over their own livelihoods and light rail spurred gentrification is no match for those already in power. Republican members of city council and highly engaged political groups hide behind the face of 4 Lanes or No Train to push their own agendas, turning a once genuine movement into a political ploy. While those who are happy to be taken advantage of for the sake of their own interests move forward in their fight to kill light rail in Phoenix, other residents can only wait and see what the future holds. For urban planners, perhaps the most concerning result of all is the lack of respect for public participation processes in the face of massive economic opportunity. The concluding chapter will further reflect on these ideas by focusing on the possibilities this case offers to an urban society beyond neoliberalism, and how planners should move forward in nurturing the right to the city in practice.

CHAPTER 5

NURTURING THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN URBAN PLANNING

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to examine, through the lens of the urban inhabitant, how a minority-led grassroots group is activating their right to the city against a large light rail project, and how their movement demonstrates the possibilities of urban society beyond a neoliberal system. By using detailed participant observation and media analysis, the results of the 4 Lanes or No Train case study illuminated various successes and challenges within this right to the city movement. Findings from the case show a promising instance of urban inhabitants asserting their right to the city via various methods of autogestion, such as protesting, organizing against city council, and creating a ballot initiative. Despite the immense time and resources the leaders of 4 Lanes or No Train put into the movement, they also encounter several challenges. Primary challenges included the appropriation of disenfranchised urban inhabitants by neoliberal supporters and inadequate public participation processes.

Inherent to these challenges is the often unnamed, but pervasive economic system of neoliberalism. Though Lefebvre pitted his Marxist based theory against this opposing, more extreme laissez-faire foundation of neoliberalism, he relied on scholars who came after him to provide examples of what his ideals look like in an existing neoliberal city. Nearly 50 years after the right to the city theory was created, cities are still primarily organizing based on property values and the exchange of land on the market. While previous studies have demonstrated instances of the right to the city around the world,

their focus was typically on large scale movements rather than detailed accounts from inside organized groups of urban inhabitants. Due to my immersive experience in a right to the city movement via participant observation, the findings from South Phoenix reveal novel insights into autogestion, the challenges of the right to the city, and how we can attune to glimpses of urban society. The next section discusses the key findings revealed in the 4 Lanes or No Train case, as well as the implications of these findings on advocacy efforts and urban planning practice. Finally, the chapter concludes with directions for future right to the city scholarship.

Key Findings

The underlying and novel finding among the challenges faced by 4 Lanes or No Train is that of neoliberal appropriation. The most prominent challenge for 4 Lanes or No Train was that the disenfranchised group was left susceptible to appropriation by neoliberal political actors. The characteristics that contributed to their appropriation included battles over rights, limited public engagement, and a lack of experience, knowledge, and resources. Ultimately, these characteristics lead the group to seek outside help from wealthy neoliberal advocates. By accepting help from such groups, the vicious cycle of neoliberalism continues on by keeping power in the hands of those who can afford it.

The 4 Lanes or No Train case exemplifies this cycle of power after they are initially ignored by city council members who would rather advocate for economic development around the light rail than for concerned residents. Once they move forward with the creation of a ballot initiative, they are then in need of legal experience,

knowledge, and monetary resources, all of which are beyond the scope of the core group. Their only option, then, is to go where the money and resources are, which just happens to be patiently waiting in the hands of Koch-affiliated groups and conservative local politicians. Once 4 Lanes or No Train dissolves and the Building a Better Phoenix Act takes over, the transaction with neoliberal advocates occurs, and is a win for nationwide conservative political groups like the Koch's Americans for Prosperity.

Despite 4 Lanes or No Train sharing enough values to catch the attention of neoliberal advocates, the outcome of this case study is not necessarily a win for the grassroots right to the city. Instead, the findings ultimately demonstrate just how vulnerable urban society is in a neoliberal economic system. To recall its definition, the right to the city is "an exigent demand by those deprived of basic material and legal rights, and an aspiration for the future by those discontented with life as they see it around them and perceived as limiting their potentials for growth and creativity" (Marcuse, 2009). I argue that the focus on those who are discontented with life around them and who are aspiring to a better future is a key component of their susceptibility to outside appropriation.

This susceptibility is primarily due to how neoliberal politicians use these feelings of disenfranchisement as a tactic to manipulate people. As Monbiot (2016) states, "As parties of the right and former left adopt similar neoliberal policies, disempowerment turns to disenfranchisement. Large numbers of people have been shed from politics." After the disenfranchised are shed from politics via neoliberal policies and a lack of public participation, they are then rallied by politicians who acknowledge that they have

been forgotten. As evidenced historically by fascist movements, and more recently by the 2016 election of Donald Trump, people who feel disenfranchised are more likely to respond to "slogans, symbols, and sensation," (Monbiot, 2016). Therefore, the rich can use their slogans, symbols, and sensation to become elected and continue the cycle over again.

In the case of 4 Lanes or No Train, the group became susceptible to local actors in the Phoenix chapter of the Koch brother's Americans for Prosperity political group and to local Republican politicians who then played on their feelings of disenfranchisement. Though 4 Lanes or No Train and these outside actors share the intention to kill the light rail project, it is important to remember the geographic and sociodemographic context of this case. Some South Phoenicians, like Celia, have not forgotten their area's history of segregation and environmental racism. The idea of an organization led by wealthy white men (with a history of their own environmental degradation on communities) leading a lower income, predominately minority grassroots movement is enough for her to step away from her creation. For others like Sandra and the Building a Better Phoenix Initiative, the desire to get rid of the light rail is enough to overlook political ties. In both cases, the right to the city movement could only reach a higher level through the financial support of neoliberal political groups, which is inherently contrary to the Marxist inspired right to the city framework.

In essence, wealthy neoliberal influencers can keep widening the gap between the haves and the have not's by preying on the disenfranchised and appropriating their causes through funding. While ordinary urban inhabitants see this funding as the only way to

continue pushing for their right to the city when public participation fails, accepting help only further widens neoliberal political influence at the local level. Such growing influence can lead to the passing of neoliberal policies which are further unfavorable to the disenfranchised. While the Building a Better Phoenix Act could possibly kill Phoenix light rail if the ballot measure passes, it could also open up more opportunities for damaging neoliberal policies later down the road. In sum, disenfranchised urban inhabitants cannot assert their right to the city as long as those with the most money also hold the most political power and influence.

Critical reflections for urban planning

The key findings surrounding neoliberal appropriation in this case make it easy to become pessimistic over the future of the urban inhabitant in urban planning. In my fieldwork with 4 Lanes or No Train, there were many times I also felt helpless, not only for the group, but also in my role as an urban planner. Capitalism is often treated as a monolithic system that cannot be overcome, and in a profession that commonly operates within government, it can feel as though we are not only complacent, but active contributors of disenfranchisement. Stepping outside of this complacency into a role of activism can be uncomfortable, especially when our senses are already so attuned to seeing the city through the lens of capitalism (Purcell, 2013b).

My research with 4 Lanes or No Train provided an instance where I could step outside of my own complacency as an urban planner and take on the role of an activist for the rights of urban inhabitants. In doing so, I was able to recognize ways in which I

could contribute to creating a city outside of the neoliberal restrictions that plagued the group's movement. It taught me to challenge my own conceptions of what is just and whose rights matter in planning projects. Before this experience, I likely would have undermined or misunderstood why anyone would fight against public transportation, especially in marginalized groups. Instead, I learned to attune to the nuances of marginalization in ways I never would have realized by avoiding conflict and remaining complacent. I encourage other planners to willingly experience the uncomfortable situations presented by conflicting rights to the city in planning projects, so that we better learn how to nurture the right to the city in our own practice. For 4 Lanes or No Train, the potential of the movement could have been maximized if urban planners were the ones waiting to nurture the movement with the experience, knowledge, and resources the everyday urban inhabitant might lack, rather than neoliberal advocates.

Ways to nurture instances of the right to the city do not necessarily have to be revolutionary in planning. As discussed previously, participatory planning models like advocacy, communicative, and radical planning all offer ways to engage the urban inhabitant on a deeper level. Inherent to these models is the role of planners as nurturers of the development of experience, knowledge, and resources with urban inhabitants. While advocacy planning focuses specifically on building the capacity of deprived groups, communicative and radical planning step outside of single groups by focusing on community knowledge and communication between stakeholders, as well as the mobilization of communities through participation. These approaches, however, need to be revised based on the findings from this case.

Firstly, the right to the city does not occur in a vacuum. As I've mentioned in the limitations of this case, focusing on a singular group's rights as one would in advocacy planning effectively ignores other rights and are not representative of entire communities. Conflicting rights arise frequently in urban life and *within* communities, often resulting in a breakdown of communication and mobilization. This is not to say that advocating for particular causes is unjust in planning, but the reality of the right to the city is that even within 'deprived' and 'disenfranchised' communities, differing rights to the city exist. Even though I advocated 4 Lanes or No Train's right to the city in this case, I cannot forget other members of the same community who do rely on public transportation, even if they are in the minority. This dialogue should also extend to those who are fierce advocates of public transportation. In any type of planning activism, two critical questions should be: what am I advocating for and at whose expense? If our activism is potentially harming another marginalized population, it is necessary to revise the strategy.

Secondly, my work with 4 Lanes or No Train revealed tensions within the movement that may challenge the communicative planning approach. While communication between different stakeholders in a right to the city movement would be ideal in creating equitable rights, the primary actors in 4 Lanes or No Train left no room for engaging with opposing opinions. Celia was so passionate about her views that she often came across as aggressive and unwilling to negotiate with pro-light rail supporters. While I believe this passion and hard stance in movements can be valuable, it poses a challenge for planners who wish to use tools like consensus building to create open and

productive dialogue between different stakeholders. It is therefore vital to nurture relationships and healthy communication between groups from the onset of project development, or else stakeholders may get to a point where they no longer hold room for negotiation.

The final critical consideration for urban planners more closely aligns with the ideals of radical planning. Radical planning is probably the most related to Lefebvre's vision in that it seeks to mobilize communities outside of the state. The reality of public planning issues, however, is that planning is operating within a neoliberal economic system. This is not to say that the right to the city will never come to fruition under neoliberalism, but rather that urban inhabitants and planners need to find ways to deal with the system's challenges. In the case of right to the city statutes implemented by the state in Brazil, acceptance of the right to the city in legal terms did have some positive effect for urban inhabitants (Brown, 2013). However, Lefebvre did not see the right to the city as a legal right that should be added to existing neoliberal structures (Purcell, 2013b). For 4 Lanes or No Train, this is an important point in the evaluation of the ballot initiative because it is representing a method of autogestion, but is still following the legal guidelines of the state.

Probably the most difficult question to grapple with is how we can nurture urban inhabitants outside of the state. Just as Lefebvre argues, I believe participation is vital to the right to the city, and it is central to how planners can advance the possibility of urban society. In the case of 4 Lanes or No Train, I argue that issues with public participation played a large role in the exclusion of opposition groups concerned with neighborhood

changes. If public participation had been used more effectively from the beginning, the contentious disagreements that occurred may have been prevented, or at least left stakeholders open to more constructive dialogue. In sum, planners have the existing participatory tools and knowledge to nurture the right to the city—they just need to step out of complacency and challenge the status quo of the neoliberal system. Over time, the power of the state and private economic interests will lessen as decisions are shared equally among stakeholders. As the fathers of radical planning state, "It is basic to see that without *authentic* participation of the members of the community, on *equal* footing, no effective planning—de-alienating and genuinely responsive to human needs—can evolve," (Grabow and Heskin, 107, 1973).

Recommendations for Future Research

Findings from the 4 Lanes or No Train case and previous studies indicate a wide variety of ways the right to the city occurs in practice. The outcomes of right to the city movements largely depend on the context of the movement, as well as the various actors involved. While the 4 Lanes or No Train case provides a glimpse into the lens of the urban inhabitant in such movements, the process may ultimately be very different in another case. This may be particularly true of movements occurring around other types of urban planning issues, as heavily funded light rail projects are not necessarily an everyday occurrence. Therefore, I recommend that future studies in urban planning continue to explore the right to the city in relation to other types of planning issues, especially those that occur more frequently and on a smaller scale. Doing so will continue

to help urban planners understand how to best serve the needs of urban inhabitants, particularly in contentious cases.

The results of the 4 Lanes or No Train case were highly influenced by local politicians, and the group represented an often overlooked community in Phoenix. Studying the right to the city from the urban inhabitant's lens in other cities and sociodemographic contexts may produce more variable results. In addition, working with grassroots groups as early as possible in their movement and for longer periods of time would offer even more detailed perspectives. Finally, though immersion into groups enacting their right to the city is a good way to understand their processes and barriers, future research should also spend time understanding opposing processes to gain a more complete picture of right to the city movements.

Conclusion

Despite the challenges presented in this case, 4 Lanes or No Train offered a unique glimpse into the possibility of an urban society beyond capitalism through various methods of autogestion. Purcell (2013b) argues scholars and practitioners should offer various formulations of what the right to the city is and how it occurs in practice. The primary area where planners can help is in relation to the capacity building of urban inhabitants. By offering them the experience, knowledge, and resources needed to navigate the system, planners can help to avoid future appropriation of marginalized groups by neoliberal advocates, and eventually create more equitable urban societies through greater citizen control. The role of public participation in nurturing urban

inhabitants should not be understated, and planners should use existing participatory theories while also accounting for their pitfalls. Part of the revision process for participatory theories lies within each individual planner. We must critically assess our roles in a neoliberal system, and ask ourselves who we are harming by remaining complacent.

It is my hope that this dissertation not only highlighted the positive struggles of urban inhabitants in establishing their right to the city, but also the positive struggles I encountered as an urban planner challenging my own complacency. Lefebvre's ideas on the disenfranchised urban inhabitant becoming an active contributor of urban space is a useful reminder for planners who have lost sight of the daily experience of the urban inhabitant. The urban planner ultimately has the potential to become a "radical agent of change", if they can facilitate the plans of the people (Grabow and Heskin 112, 1973). As Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer (2017) proclaim, we need to underscore "the urgent political priority of constructing cities that correspond to human social needs rather than to the capitalist imperative of profit-making," (176). Planners are a prime candidate to help achieve this goal.

REFERENCES

About Us. (2019). Retrieved March 17, 2019, from https://www.cassaz.org/about-us/

Agnew, J. A. (2011). Space and Place. In *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge* (pp. 316-330).

Altheide, D. L., & Schneider, C. J. (2013). Qualitative Media Analysis.

Anderson, J. (2014, December 13). Businesses buckling down for end of light rail construction. *East Valley Tribune*. Retrieved from http://www.eastvalleytribune.com/local/mesa/businesses-buckling-down-for-end-of-light-rail-construction/article_2004e774-8262-11e4-9cf1-5f6350f97428.html

Arizona Chapter / Associated General Contractors. (2019). Retrieved from http://www.azagc.org/about

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35*(4), 216-224.

Arreola, D. (2004). Introduction. In: D. Arreola, ed. *Hispanic places, Latino places: community and cultural diversity in contemporary America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1–12.

Atkinson, R. (2003). Introduction: Misunderstood Saviour or Vengeful Wrecker? The Many Meanings and Problems of Gentrification. *Urban Studies, 40*(12), 2343-2350.

Attoh, K. A. (2011). What kind of right is the right to the city? *Progress in Human Geography, 35*(5), 669-685.

Attoh, K. A. (2012). The Transportation Disadvantaged and the Right to the City in Syracuse, New York. *The Geographical Bulletin*, 1-19.

Babalik-Sutcliffe, E. (2002). Urban rail systems: Analysis of the factors behind success. *Transport Reviews, 22*(4), 415-447.

Baker, D. M., & Lee, B. (2017). How Does Light Rail Transit (LRT) Impact Gentrification? Evidence from Fourteen US Urbanized Areas. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 39*(1), 35-49.

Balzarini, J. E., & Shlay, A. B. (2016). Gentrification and the Right to the City: Community Conflict and Casinos. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 38*(4), 503-517.

Bates, L. (2013). Gentrification and Displacement Study: Implementing an Equitable Inclusive Development Strategy in the Context of Gentrification.

Belda-Miquel, S., Blanes, J. P., & Frediani, A. (2016). Institutionalization and Depoliticization of the Right to the City: Changing Scenarios for Radical Social Movements. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 40*(2), 321-339.

Bernard, H. R., Wutich, A., & Ryan, G. W. (2017). *Analyzing qualitative data: Systematic approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bickerstaff, K., Tolley, R., & Walker, G. (2002). Transport planning and participation: The rhetoric and realities of public involvement. *Journal of Transport Geography, 10*(1), 61-73.

Billings, S. B., Leland, S., & Swindell, D. (2011). The Effects of the Announcement and Opening of Light Rail Transit Stations on Neighborhood Crime. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 33*(5), 549-566.

Boehm, J. (2017, December 11). Phoenix sees 'significant' spike in complaints about homeless on light rail. *The Arizona Republic.* Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2017/12/07/phoenix-spends-125-k-homeless-outreach-light-rail/915154001/

Boehm, J. (2018, July 16). Facts behind the south Phoenix light-rail rhetoric. *The Arizona Republic.* Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2018/07/16/facts-behind-south-phoenix-light-rail-expansion-central-avenue-city-council-valley-metro-transit/723115002/

Boehm, J. (2018, September 25). Koch brothers? Valley Metro? Who's paying for pro- and anti-light rail campaigns? *The Arizona Republic.* Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2018/09/25/koch-brothers-valley-metro-whos-paying-light-rail-campaigns-arizona-free-enterprise-club-phoenix/1410690002/

Boehm, J. (2019, January 3). General contractors group challenging legality of light-rail-ending initiative. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2019/01/02/general-contractors-challenge-legality-light-rail-ending-initiative/2464905002/

Bolin, B., Matranga, E., Jhackett, E., Ksadalla, E., Davidpijawka, K., Brewer, D., &

Sicotte, D. (2000). Environmental equity in a sunbelt city: The spatial distribution of toxic hazards in Phoenix, Arizona. *Global Environmental Change Part B: Environmental Hazards, 2*(1), 11-24.

Bolin, B., Grineski, S., & Collins, T. (2005). The geography of despair: Environmental racism and the making of South Phoenix, Arizona, USA. *Research in Human Ecology,12*(2), 156-168.

Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (2017). *Cities for people, not for profit: Critical urban theory and the right to the city*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Brown, A. (2013). The Right to the City: Road to Rio 2010. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(3), 957-971.

Brown, G., Strickland-Munro, J., Kobryn, H., & Moore, S. A. (2016). Stakeholder analysis for marine conservation planning using public participation GIS. *Applied Geography, 67*, 77-93.

Brown, B. B., & Werner, C. M. (2010). The Residents' Benefits and Concerns Before and After a New Rail Stop. *Environment and Behavior, 43*(6), 789-806.

Bruijn, H. D., & Veeneman, W. (2009). Decision-making for light rail. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice, 43*(4), 349-359.

Bruun, E. (2005). Bus Rapid Transit and Light Rail. *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board, 1927*(1), 11-21.

Casello, J. M., Towns, W., Bélanger, J., & Kassiedass, S. (2015). Public Engagement in Public Transportation Projects. *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board, 2537*, 88-95.

Centner, R. (2012). Moving Away, Moving Onward: Displacement Pressures and Divergent Neighborhood Politics in Buenos Aires. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 44*(11), 2555-2573.

Cilliers, E. J., & Timmermans, W. (2014). The Importance of Creative Participatory Planning in the Public Place-Making Process. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 41*(3), 413-429.

Colombo, P., Mascarenhas, T. (2003). We're nothing: We want to be everything. In Notes From Nowhere (ed*), We are everywhere: The irresistible rise of global anticapitalism.* New York: Verso, 458–63.

Creighton, J. L. (2005). *Public participation handbook: Making better decisions through*

citizen involvement. Place of publication not identified: John Wiley & Sons.

Davidoff, P. (1965). Advocacy And Pluralism In Planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 31*(4), 331-338.

Deas, I., Robson, B., & Bradford, M. (2000). Re-thinking the Urban Development Corporation 'experiment': The case of Central Manchester, Leeds and Bristol. *Progress in Planning, 54*(1), 1-72.

Diaz, E. (2018a). Díaz: It's an insult to stop light rail in south Phoenix. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/elviadiaz/2018/06/12/stop-south-phoenix-light-rail-extension-insult/692883002/

Diaz, E. (2018b). Sal DiCiccio is using light rail and the city manager to make a power grab. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/elviadiaz/2018/06/20/councilman-sal-diciccio-using-south-phoenix-light-rail-power-grab/716807002/

Dimas, P. R. (1999). *Progress and a Mexican American community's struggle for existence: Phoenix's Golden Gate Barrio*. New York: Peter Lang.

Dorsey, B., & Mulder, A. (2013). Planning, place-making and building consensus for transit-oriented development: Ogden, Utah case study. *Journal of Transport Geography, 32*, 65-76.

Dziauddin, M. F., Powe, N., & Alvanides, S. (2014). Estimating the Effects of Light Rail Transit (LRT) System on Residential Property Values Using Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR). *Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy, 8*(1), 1-25.

Elvy, J. (2014). Public participation in transport planning amongst the socially excluded: An analysis of 3rd generation local transport plans. *Case Studies on Transport Policy,2*(2), 41-49.

Evans-Cowley, J., & Hollander, J. (2010). The New Generation of Public Participation: Internet-based Participation Tools. *Planning Practice & Research, 25*(3), 397-408.

Farmer, S. (2011). Uneven Public Transportation Development in Neoliberalizing Chicago, USA. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 43*(5), 1154-1172.

Fawaz, M. (2009). Neoliberal Urbanity and the Right to the City: A View from Beirut's Periphery. *Development and Change, 40*(5), 827-852.

Ferbrache, F., & Knowles, R. D. (2017). City boosterism and place-making with light rail transit: A critical review of light rail impacts on city image and quality. *Geoforum, 80*, 103-113.

Fifield, J. (2018, December 10). Can homeless sleep on the streets? Phoenix area cities are rethinking bans. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/glendale/2018/12/10/arizona-cities-change-laws-banning-homeless-sleeping-streets-urban-camping/2195323002/

Fischer, S. N., Shinn, M., Shrout, P., & Tsemberis, S. (2008). Homelessness, Mental Illness, and Criminal Activity: Examining Patterns Over Time. *American Journal of Community Psychology*.

Flaherty, J. (2018, September 26). South Central Light Rail Survives as City Council Backs Two-Lane Design. *Phoenix New Times*. Retrieved from https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/south-central-light-rail-survives-phoenix-city-council-vote-10870233

Forester, J. (1982). Planning in the Face of Power. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 48*(1), 67-80.

Freeman, L., & Braconi, F. (2004). Gentrification and Displacement New York City in the 1990s. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 70*(1), 39-52.

Freeman, L. (2005). Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review, 40*(4), 463-491.

Freeman, L. (2006). *There goes the hood: Views of gentrification from the ground up*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Friedmann, J. (1993). Toward a Non-Euclidian Mode of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 59*(4), 482-485.

Friedmann, J. (2008). The Uses of Planning Theory. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 28*(2), 247-257.

Friedmann, J. (2010). Place and Place-Making in Cities: A Global Perspective. *Planning Theory & Practice, 11*(2), 149-165.

Glass, R. (1964). Introduction: Aspects of change. In *London: Aspects of Change* (pp. xiii-xlii). London: MacKibbon and Kee.

Gober, P. (2006). *Metropolitan Phoenix Place Making and Community Building in the*

Desert. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

González, E. R., Sarmiento, C. S., Urzua, A. S., & Luévano, S. C. (2012). The grassroots and New Urbanism: A case from a Southern California Latino community. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability, 5*(2-3), 219-239.

Goth, B. (2015). Phoenix-area light rail: Boon or bust for businesses along lines? *The Arizona Republic.* Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2015/07/23/phoenix-light-rail-benefits-delayed-those-along-new-lines/30596239/

Goth, B. (2016). South Phoenix light rail on fast track, to come a decade early. *The Arizona Republic.* Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2016/02/09/south-phoenix-light-rail-fast-track-come-decade-early/79653582/

Goth, B. (2017). 19th Avenue residents say light rail damaging Phoenix neighborhood. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2017/03/21/19th-avenue-residents-say-light-rail-damaging-phoenix-neighborhood/99233140/

Grabow, S., & Heskin, A. (1973). Foundations for a Radical Concept of Planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 39*(2), 106-114.

Grengs, J. (2005). The abandoned social goals of public transit in the neoliberal city of the USA. *City, 9*(1), 51-66.

Grineski, S., Bolin, B., & Boone, C. (2007). Criteria Air Pollution and Marginalized Populations: Environmental Inequity in Metropolitan Phoenix, Arizona. *Social Science Quarterly, 88*(2), 535-554.

Haughton, G. (1999). Environmental Justice and the Sustainable City. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 18*(3), 233-243.

Harvey, D. (2008). The right to the city. *New Left Review*, 53, 23–40.

Harvey, D. (2014). A Brief History of Neoliberalism. In *The Globalization Reader*. John Wiley and Sons.

Healey, P. (1992). Planning Through Debate. *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, 233-253.

Hensher, D. A. (2007). A bus-based transitway or light rail? Continuing the saga on

choice versus blind commitment. *Research in Transportation Economics, 18*, 353-378.

History and Funding. (2019). Retrieved March 15, 2019, from https://www.valleymetro.org/history-and-funding

Hou, J., & Rios, M. (2003). Community-Driven Place Making. *Journal of Architectural Education, 57*(1), 19-27.

How big of a success is metro Phoenix light rail? The numbers tell the story. (2018, December 6). *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/2018/12/06/phoenix-mesa-tempe-light-rail-10-year-anniversary-impact-success/2190147002/

Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(9), 1277-1288.

Hwang, J., & Sampson, R. J. (2014). Divergent Pathways of Gentrification: Racial Inequality and the Social Order of Renewal in Chicago Neighborhoods. *American Sociological Review, 79*(4), 726-751.

Innes, J. E. (1995). Planning Theory's Emerging Paradigm: Communicative Action and Interactive Practice. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 14*(3), 183-189.

Innes, J. E. (1998). Information in Communicative Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 64*(1), 52-63.

Iveson, K. (2013). Cities within the City: Do-It-Yourself Urbanism and the Right to the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(3), 941-956.

Kemp, A., Lebuhn, H., & Rattner, G. (2015). Between Neoliberal Governance and the Right to the City: Participatory politics in Berlin and Tel Aviv. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(4), 704-725.

Knowles, R. D., & Ferbrache, F. (2016). Evaluation of wider economic impacts of light rail investment on cities. *Journal of Transport Geography, 54*, 430-439.

Krumholz, N. (2018). A Retrospective View of Equity Planning Cleveland 1969-1979. *Introduction to Planning History in the United States*, 258-279.

Kwok, A. (2019, January 3). Are Phoenix employees really trying to thwart an initiative to stop light rail? *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/abekwok/2019/01/03/phoenix-light-rail-initiative-stalling-sal-diciccio/2470540002/

Lane, M. B. (2005). Public Participation in Planning: An intellectual history. *Australian Geographer, 36*(3), 283-299.

Langegger, S. (2014). Curbing cruising: Lowriding and the domestication of Denver's Northside. In *Incomplete Streets* (1st ed.). London: Routledge.

Lees, L. (2016). Gentrification, Race, and Ethnicity: Towards a Global Research Agenda? *City & Community, 15*(3), 208-214.

Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2013). *Gentrification*. Florence: Taylor and Francis.

Lefebvre, H. (1968). The right to the city. In E. Kofman and E. Lebas (eds.), *Writings on cities*, Blackwell, Cambridge, Mass.

Lefebvre. (1991). *The Production of Space*. John Wiley and Sons.

Lepofsky, J., & Fraser, J. C. (2003). Building Community Citizens: Claiming the Right to Place-making in the City. *Urban Studies, 40*(1), 127-142.

Liggett, R., Loukaitou-Sideris, A., & Iseki, H. (2003). Journeys to Crime: Assessing the Effects of a Light Rail Line on Crime in the Neighborhoods. *Journal of Public Transportation, 6*(3), 85-115.

Luckey, K. S., Marshall, W. E., Durso, C., & Atkinson-Palombo, C. (2018). Residential preferences, transit accessibility and social equity: Insights from the Denver region. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability, 11*(2), 149-174.

Luckingham, B. (2016). *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Marcuse, P. (2009). From critical urban theory to the right to the city. *City, 13*(2-3), 185-197.

Mayer, M. (2012). The 'Right to the City' in the context of shifting mottos of urban social movements. *City, 13*(2-3), 362-374.

Mawn, G. (1979). *Phoenix, Arizona: Central City of the Southwest, 1870-1920 Vol. I* (Doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University). Tempe: Arizona State University.

Mccann, E. J. (2002). Space, citizenship, and the right to the city: A brief overview. *GeoJournal, 58*(2/3), 77-79.

Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: Guilford.

Monbiot, G. (2016, April 15). Neoliberalism — The Ideology at the Root of All Our Problems. *The Guardian*.

Monbiot, G. (2018, December 7). How US billionaires are fuelling the hard-right cause in Britain. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/dec/07/us-billionaires-hard-right-britain-spiked-magazine-charles-david-koch-foundation

Molotch, H. (1976). The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place. *Cities and Society,* 15-27.

Musante, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2010). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Newman, K., & Wyly, E. K. (2006). The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies, 43*(1), 23-57.

Nichols, L., & Cázares, F. (2010). Homelessness and the Mobile Shelter System: Public Transportation as Shelter. *Journal of Social Policy, 40*(02), 333-350.

Nilsson, I., & Delmelle, E. (2018). Transit investments and neighborhood change: On the likelihood of change. *Journal of Transport Geography, 66*, 167-179.

No Tax for More Tracks. (2015). Retrieved March 3, 2019, from https://americansforprosperity.org/no-tax-for-more-tracks/

Olesen, M., & Lassen, C. (2016). Rationalities and materialities of light rail scapes. *Journal of Transport Geography, 54*, 373-382.

Our History. (2019). Retrieved March 15, 2019, from https://www.phxtrolley.org/our-history.

Peters, M., Rimza, S., & Giuliano, N. (2018, December 6). How big of a success is metro Phoenix light rail? The numbers tell the story. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/2018/12/06/phoenix-mesa-tempe-light-rail-10-year-anniversary-impact-success/2190147002/

Polletta, M. (2014, March 4). Future Mesa light-rail extension OK'd by Supreme Court. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/mesa/2015/03/04/az-supreme-court-mesa-can-proceed-future-rail-extension/24394521/

Projects & Planning. (2019). Retrieved March 18, 2019, from https://www.valleymetro.org/projects

Puente Arizona. (2019). Retrieved from http://puenteaz.org/

Pulido, L. (2000). Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 90*(1), 12-40.

Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal, 58*(2/3), 99-108.

Purcell, M. (2013a). The right to the city: The struggle for democracy in the urban public realm. *Policy & Politics, 41*(3), 311-327.

Purcell, M. (2013b). Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 36*(1), 141-154.

Russell, P. L. (1986). *Downtowns downturn: A historical geography of the Phoenix, Arizona, central business district, 1890-1986* (Master's thesis). Tempe: Arizona State University.

Sager, T. (2011). Neo-liberal urban planning policies: A literature survey 1990–2010. *Progress in Planning*.

Sanchez, C. (2011). *Tricks of the shade: Heat-related coping strategies of urban homeless persons in Phoenix, Arizona* (Master's thesis).

Schmelzkopf, K. (2002). Incommensurability, Land Use, and the Right to Space: Community Gardens in New York City. *Urban Geography, 23*(4), 323-343.

Schmid, C. (2011). Henri Lefebvre, The Right to the City, and the New Metropolitan Mainstream. In *Cities for People, Not for Profit* (1st ed., pp. 42-62). London: Routledge.

Schmitt, A. (2018, September 25). Kochs Want to Kill Light Rail in Phoenix. *Streetsblog USA*. Retrieved from https://usa.streetsblog.org/2018/09/25/the-koch-brothers-are-behind-a-phony-grassroots-effort-to-kill-hight-rail-in-phoenix/

Schary, P., Brown, D., & Becker, B. (1977). Consumers as participants in transportation planning. *Transportation, 6*(2).

Sicotte, D. M. (2003). *Race, Class and Chemicals: The political ecology of environmental injustices in Arizona* (Doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University). Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University.

Siemiatycki, M. (2005). The making of a mega project in the neoliberal city. *City, 9*(1), 67-83.

Siemiatycki, M. (2006). Message in a Metro: Building Urban Rail Infrastructure and Image in Delhi, India. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 30*(2), 277-292.

Smith, N. (2005). *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. London: Routledge.

Tabuchi, H. (2018, June 19). How the Koch Brothers Are Killing Public Transit Projects Around the Country. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/19/climate/koch-brothers-public-transit.html

Topalovic, P., Carter, J., Topalovic, M., & Krantzberg, G. (2012). Light Rail Transit in Hamilton: Health, Environmental and Economic Impact Analysis. *Social Indicators Research, 108*(2), 329-350.

Towne, D. (2016, February 29). Phoenix streetcars operated light years before light rail. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/contributor/2016/02/29/phoenix-streetcars-operated-light-years-before-light-rail/80788668/

Use PRIVILEGE to sow JUSTICE. (2017, September 15). Retrieved from https://www.ledablack.com/new-persisters-variations-honoring-eleanor-roosevelt-and-elizabeth-warren/privilege-justice-just-eleanor/

U.S. Census Bureau. (2016). The 15 Most Populous Cities. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/releases/2017/cb17-81-table3-most-populous.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). *Selected housing characteristics, 2013-2071 American Community Survey 5-year estimates*. Retrieved from https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF

Vandell, P. (2017, October 23). Glendale City Council kills plans for downtown light rail. *The Arizona Republic*. Retrieved from https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/glendale/2017/10/23/glendale-city-council-kills-plans-downtown-light-rail/781004001/

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research design and methods*. Los Angeles (California): Sage Publications.