Planning a Just City: Examining waterfront redevelopment projects from a social justice perspective

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the concept of social justice in urban planning: it explores how social justice is negotiated in urban redevelopment projects, and it investigates what actors, strategies and factors are at play in creating more socially just redevelopment outcomes. The projects selected for case studies in this research are waterfront redevelopments. Waterfronts are suitable sites for the investigation of social justice issues due to the presence of economic, social, cultural, and environmental forces that operate together in these symbolic and contested spaces. On the one hand, waterfront redevelopments typically provide public access to the water and create opportunities to foster social and environmental justice by means of high-quality public spaces and proximity to nature. On the other hand, they often result in high-end developments that potentially exclude large numbers of residents from the revitalized space and inscribe certain values and memories over others in the urban landscape. These tensions present a fruitful opportunity for questioning what socially-just planning means, to whom, and how it may be achieved.

By analyzing cases of waterfront redevelopment that involve racial or ethnic, environmental and economic conflicts, this research addresses the following questions: How is social justice addressed in waterfront redevelopment plans? What processes and factors enable planners to achieve social justice goals in waterfront redevelopment projects? How might social justice considerations be more effectively integrated into and operationalized in waterfront redevelopments? From a theoretical perspective, this comparative, qualitative research builds on theories of social justice and the city, as well as on a large body of literature on waterfront redevelopments. The analysis shows how actors involved in planning, economic development and nature conservation interact over questions of identity and power.

I perform in-depth case studies of three recent waterfront redevelopments located in two cities: Tel-Aviv- Jaffa and Washington, D.C: 1) the redevelopment of the Jaffa port, 2) the Anacostia waterfront Initiative, and 3) the 11th Street Bridge Park. In both Tel-Aviv-Jaffa and Washington, D.C., racial, environmental, and economic inequalities have been central to waterfront redevelopment plans. Jaffa's port is at the heart of a former Palestinian city facing strong development pressures, and Washington's polluted riverfront is located in a poor area of the city that is home to racial minorities and has suffered from long-term neglect. Yet the

redevelopment of these two areas demonstrate some level of commitment to social justice in their visions and plans.

My research examines vision statements and planning documents but also pays close attention to the outcomes of the development projects, which are not always in line with the stated goals. In each case I draw on historical accounts, policy documents, master plans, media stories, visual and participant observations, and interviews with over 45 key stakeholders (planning officials, developers, community representatives, and NGO leaders) to sketch out the process of deliberation, decision-making, and implementation that led to the current redevelopment project. I pay particular attention to the implications of development on social justice in these projects: Who are the 'winners' and who are the 'losers'? What is considered 'just' by planners and by the community, and are there differences in their approaches? What elements of the plans and of the implementation contribute to making the project more just? What strategies did actors use to advance social equity? In what ways have these strategies changed over time?

The dissertation contains ten chapters. The introduction presents the research questions, hypotheses and their significance. The research design and methodology are discussed in chapter two. Chapter three, a literature review, presents theoretical and empirical writings on the main elements of this work: social justice in urban planning and waterfront redevelopments. Chapters four (Jaffa) and six (Washington, D.C) provide a brief history of each city and background information on the cases. The findings are discussed over chapters five (Jaffa port), seven (Anacostia River redevelopment) and eight (11th Street Bridge Park). The findings from the three cases are compared and contrasted in the discussion (chapter nine). In the conclusion (chapter ten), the theoretical meaning of findings are discussed, and recommendations are offered for further research.

The research yields various insights with regard to waterfront redevelopments, social justice and urban planning. First, while plans for the three projects explicitly address issues of social justice—in one case an Equitable Development Plan was developed—demands for social justice get watered down and compromised in a variety of ways in the implementation process. Second, much of the success or failure in delivering socially just results rests on the ability and motivation of particular individuals to advance certain goals. Leadership is a significant component of urban policy and more emphasis should be placed on urban leaders—politicians,

planners or other public servants—and on their role in pursuing social justice. Third, the discussion on justice in planning must extend beyond the arena of urban planners. Urban planners carry great responsibility for redevelopment, yet among potential urban leaders, they are perhaps most limited in their actions by policy constrains and governance structures. Moreover, they may or may not possess the necessary skills to act in difficult environments. Fourth, achievements in the struggle for social justice in planning is greatly dependent on the agency of civic society groups—NGOs, community organizations or others—in advancing their interests and securing benefits. Social justice is therefore not simply the product of a 'top-down' policy or a 'bottom-up' struggle; it is the result of long-lasting, persistent negotiations between different actors and hierarchies. Finally, I suggest that notwithstanding the usefulness of a 'social justice' lens to look at planning, future examination of urban justice would benefit from a fourfold perspective that includes not only social but also economic, environmental, and identity aspects of justice.

The theorization I suggest here on the basis of waterfront redevelopment cases can be applied to other planning activities, and it broadens the concept of justice beyond aspects of planning process and spatial distribution. At the same time, findings from the three case studies can help planners and other actors contribute to the wellbeing of residents anywhere, especially in contested spaces.

Résumé

Cette thèse traite du concept de justice sociale en urbanisme, sur la manière dont la justice sociale est négociée dans les projets de réaménagement urbain et sur les acteurs, stratégies et facteurs qui entrent en jeu dans la création de réaménagements plus justes. Les études de cas portent sur des réaménagements de sites riverains. Ces lieux symboliques et contestés permettent d'examiner les questions de justice sociale parce que d'importantes forces économiques, sociales, culturelles et environnementales y agissent. Les réaménagements de sites riverains peuvent favoriser la justice sociale et environnementale en intégrant des espaces publics de haute qualité et en offrant une plus grande proximité à la nature. Mais ils accueillent souvent des aménagements urbains haut de gamme qui excluent de nombreux résidents et inscrivent certaines valeurs et mémoires plutôt que d'autres dans le paysage urbain. Ces tensions présentent une riche opportunité pour interroger ce que la planification socialement juste signifie, pour qui, et comment elle peut être accomplie.

Par l'analyse de cas de réaménagement de sites riverains qui impliquent des conflits raciaux ou ethniques, environnementaux et économiques, ce travail de recherche traite des questions suivantes : Comment la justice sociale est-elle intégrée dans les plans de réaménagement de sites riverains ? Quels procédés et facteurs permettent aux urbanistes et planificateurs d'atteindre des objectifs de justice sociale dans les projets de réaménagement au bord de l'eau ? Comment les questions de justice sociale peuvent-elles être mieux intégrées et opérationnalisées dans les réaménagements de sites riverains ? D'un point de vue théorique, cette analyse comparative qualitative s'appuie sur les théories de la justice sociale et la ville, ainsi que sur une vaste littérature sur les réaménagements de sites riverains. L'analyse montre comment les acteurs impliqués dans la planification, le développement économique et la protection du patrimoine naturel interagissent sur des questions d'identité et de pouvoir.

J'effectue des études de cas détaillées de trois réaménagements récents de sites riverains, dans deux villes, Tel-Aviv – Jaffa et Washington, D.C. : le réaménagement du port de Jaffa, la « Anacostia Waterfront Initiative », et le « Bridge Park » de la 11ème rue. À Tel-Aviv – Jaffa et à Washington, D.C., les inégalités raciales ou ethniques, environnementales et économiques ont été au centre des préoccupations de certains acteurs. Le port de Jaffa est au cœur d'une ancienne ville palestinienne soumise à de fortes pressions de développement, tandis que le corridor pollué de la rivière Anacostia est située dans une zone pauvre de Washington, qui abrite des minorités raciales qui ont longtemps été négligées par les autorités. Malgré tout, les réaménagements démontrent un certain niveau d'engagement en faveur de la justice sociale dans leur vision et leur planification.

Mon travail de recherche examine les énoncés de vision et les documents de planification tout en étant attentif aux résultats des projets d'aménagement, qui ne correspondent pas toujours aux buts énoncés. Dans chaque cas, je mobilise des récits historiques, des documents de politique publique, des plans directeurs, des publications dans les médias, de l'observation visuelle et participante, et des entretiens avec 45 acteurs clés (responsables de la planification, promoteurs immobiliers, représentants des communautés, et chefs d'ONG) pour reconstituer les processus de délibération, de prise de décision et de mise en œuvre qui ont mené aux réaménagements actuels. Je me concentre particulièrement sur les implications du réaménagement au sens de la justice sociale : Qui sont les « gagnants » et qui sont les « perdants » ? Qu'est-ce que les planificateurs et les membre de la communautés considèrent comme « juste », et existe-t-il des différences entre leurs approches ? Quels éléments de la planification et de la mise en œuvre contribuent à rendre le projet plus juste ? Quelles stratégies les acteurs ont-ils utilisées pour promouvoir l'équité sociale ? Comment ces stratégies ont-elles changé dans le temps ?

La thèse contient dix chapitres. L'introduction présente les questions de recherche et les hypothèses ainsi que leur signification. La conception de la recherche et la méthodologie sont discutées dans le deuxième chapitre. Le troisième chapitre, une revue de la littérature, présente les écrits théoriques et empiriques sur les principaux éléments de ce travail : la justice sociale en urbanisme et la revitalisation d'espaces riverains. Les chapitre quatre (Jaffa) et six (Washington, D.C.) contiennent une courte histoire de chaque ville ainsi que des éléments de contexte des cas. Les résultats sont discutés dans les chapitres cinq (port de Jaffa), sept (revitalisation des rives de la rivière Anacostia) et huit (parc *11th Street Bridge*). Les résultats des trois cas sont comparés et contrastés dans la discussion (neuvième chapitre). La conclusion (dixième chapitre) présente la signification théorique des résultats et offre des recommandations pour des recherches ultérieures.

La recherche mène à plusieurs conclusions sur la revitalisation des zones urbaines riveraines, la justice social et l'urbanisme. Premièrement, alors que les trois projets ciblent explicitement les enjeux de justice sociale – un Plan de développement équitable a été produit dans l'un des cas – les demandes en la matière sont édulcorées et compromises de diverses façons au cours de la mise en œuvre. Deuxièmement, une grande partie de la capacité à produire des résultats socialement justes repose sur les habiletés et la motivation d'individus à promouvoir certains objectifs. Le leadership constitue une composante essentielle des politiques urbaines et une importance particulière devrait être accordée aux leaders urbains – politiciens, urbanistes et autres fonctionnaires – et à leur rôle dans la poursuite de la justice sociale. Troisièmement, la discussion sur la justice en urbanisme doit dépasser le cercle des urbanistes. Les urbanistes portent de grandes responsabilités en matière de revitalisation, mais parmi les leaders urbains potentiels, leur champs d'action est peut-être le plus limité par des contraintes découlant des politiques et

des structures de gouvernance. Qui plus est, ils n'ont peut-être pas les compétences requises pour exercer du leadership dans ces environnements difficiles. Quatrièmement, les résultats obtenus dans la lutte pour la justice sociale dépendent largement de l'action de groupes de la société civile – ONG, organisations communautaires et autres – pour faire avancer leurs intérêts et obtenir des avantages. La justice sociale n'est donc pas seulement un produit d'approches politiques descendances ou ascendantes ; elle constitue le résultat de négociations à long terme et continues entre différents acteurs et hiérarchies. Finalement, nonobstant l'utilité du prisme de la justice *sociale* pour étudier l'urbanisme, la recherche future pourrait tirer avantage d'une perspective quadruple, qui englobe les aspects sociaux mais aussi économiques, environnementaux et identitaires de la justice.

La théorisation suggérée à partir de cas de revitalisation d'aires riveraines est également applicable à d'autres activités en aménagement du territoire et élargit le concept de justice au-delà des processus de planification et de la distribution spatiale. Les résultats des trois études de cas peuvent aider les urbanistes et autres acteurs à contribuer au bien-être des habitants dans toutes les villes du monde, particulièrement dans des espaces contestés.

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Preface

This dissertation was researched and written by the author with no co-authors. All of the empirical research and analysis of findings are considered original scholarship and distinct contributions to knowledge.

1. Introduction

A casual passerby at the Jaffa port, Israel, will walk along this ancient site noticing, perhaps, the beautiful views of the Mediterranean Sea, the salty smell of the water, and possibly the famous Andromeda Rock just opposite the port. Some might happen to visit just when some fishermen spread their nets after having retuned from a fishing trip, or visitors might come across sea scouters as they get ready to go into the water on their kayaks or sail boats. These visitors may or may not be familiar with the history and heritage of the port, and are likely unaware of the struggles that still take place over the identity of this small and contested site. The port carries different layers of meaning for different people. Serving both a as a fishing port and as a hub of tourism means that some ideas about the use of this space are incompatible. The port's regeneration is part of a wider development trend taking place in Jaffa, in which this previously neglected part of the city has been transformed into a hotspot of investment, real-estate transactions, and wealth. These changes raise concerns for gentrification and the displacement of long-time residents.

The Anacostia River in Washington, D.C. is another area where major changes have taken place in recent years. Visitors to the attractive Yards Park or well-maintained Anacostia Rivewalk Trail may not know that until 2010, this riverfront area was inaccessible. The river, which had been neglected, contaminated and underutilized for decades, has become the center of a large-scale redevelopment plan since 2003. Similarly to the Jaffa case, this change is not uncontested. While many Washingtonians are just becoming aware of the existence of the riverfront, which had been inaccessible and out of the public eye for so long, those who live close by view the river as a symbol of a legacy of environmental and racial injustices. The development of the riverfront brings some benefits in the form of more housing, jobs and greater access to the river's shores, however, it also runs the risk of creating a luxurious environment that does not cater to the needs of the long-term residents of the area.

In the last few decades, the waterfront is back at the center of public attention. The changes taking place at the Jaffa port and around the Anacostia River are part of a global waterfront redevelopment trend. From spaces of labour, transportation, and production in the industrial era, waterfronts have been repurposed and rebranded as centers of leisure, recreation, and consumption in the post-industrial era. The waterfront redevelopment trend has been documented extensively in the literature (Smith and Ferrari Soledad Garcia, 2012; Desfor and

Laidley, 2011; Hoyle, 1997; Marshall, 2001). Previous research demonstrates the ways in which waterfront redevelopment projects opened up the waterfront for new uses and improved access to the water, however, these projects often delivered mixed results with regards to accessibility. As the waterfront regained its prominence as a symbolic and desired area of the city, it naturally became attractive for high-end—and potentially excluding—developments. Therefore, ironically, while many barriers (e.g. fences, highways, railroads) were removed from historically inaccessible waterfronts, new ones were introduced in their stead (e.g. luxurious housing, shops, and tourist attractions). In recent years, the acknowledgement of the potential conflicts that such developments generate have become more pronounced. Recent articles published in the media confirm the waterfront's critical and symbolic role in many locales, emphasizing the tensions that are inherent in the revitalization of these spaces as well as the opportunities for change. For example, the online magazine *The Nature of Cities* (2016) dedicated one of its monthly Global Roundtable section to the economic, social and economic benefits of urban waterfronts, noting the potential tradeoffs between them.

Though in many instances waterfront redevelopments have produced tensions regarding their contribution for all city residents, increasingly, waterfront redevelopment projects are recognized for their potential benefits. For example, the title of a recent *Next City* publication informs that "Detroit Plans for Fewer Condos, More Public Space on Waterfront" (Dovey, 2017). According to the article, a new plan released by the city prioritizes public access to the riverfront over upscale private developments. An area that is currently slated for development would be made publicly accessible, with three new public parks. This vision replaces a long-established belief that the riverfront would be filled with upscale housing and shops in order to boost Detroit's economic growth, which was the rationale behind the old plan. Instead, through the new plan planners wish to prioritize public access to the river and reclaim this space for all residents. With the city's legacy of racial segregation, "planners wanted to make sure equity was part of the equation" (ibid., n.p.). Thus, planning for the riverfront included a comprehensive public engagement process and a RiverWalk trail opened in 2007.

In a similar vein, a story in the Atlantic's *CityLab* features the Chicago Riverwalk as an equity-inspired project. "A Vision for a Chicago Unified by Rivers" delineates how the Riverwalk's revitalization has been influential in reframing the river as a public asset for all city residents (Anzilotti, 2016). Following the 15-year-long revitalization of the river, it had turned

from an area avoided by city residents to a popular destination filled with restaurants and monuments that is accessible by a Riverwalk trail. This successful transformation has also triggered a citywide effort to transform all three rivers in Chicago by 2040.

The stories from Detroit and Chicago point to a different, and promising, lens of examining the waterfront. They link the subject of urban development to social benefits and the public good, and speak to the potential of the redeveloped urban waterfront to serve goals of social justice and the right to the city. This 'new wave' of developments provide fruitful ground for questioning the role of social justice and social equity in waterfront redevelopment projects. The research presented here answers similar questions about the potential of waterfront redevelopment projects to successfully balance economic, social, and environmental goals while securing benefits for all city residents, including marginalized ones. In other words, my research identifies how the concept of social justice is negotiated in waterfront redevelopment projects, and it investigates what actors, strategies and factors are at play in creating more socially just redevelopment outcomes.

The focus on waterfront redevelopment projects as cases for researching justice is not coincidental. Waterfronts are suitable sites for the investigation of social justice issues due to the coexistence of economic, social, cultural, and environmental forces that operate in these symbolic and contested spaces (Wessells, 2014). On the one hand, waterfront redevelopments typically improve public access to the water, thus create opportunities for social and environmental justice through the delivery of high quality public spaces and proximity to nature. On the other hand, they often result in increased land values and thus catalyze high-end developments that potentially exclude many city residents from accessing or otherwise benefiting from the revitalized space. This tension produce a productive opportunity for questioning what socially-just planning means and how it may be achieved—questions that stand at the heart of this research.

Social Justice

The notion of justice has been central to the planning field. However, in recent years there has been a renewed interest in engaging this concept following the work of scholars such as Heather Campbell, Peter Marcuse, and Susan Fainstein. While these scholars have different interpretations of justice and they take a different stand in analyzing justice and incorporating it

into their work, they do have a common interest in how the philosophical concept of justice—which dates back to antiquity—is translated into space, geography and spatial policies. As a result, many academic publications, conferences and research projects have centered on issues of social, environmental, racial, urban, and spatial justice. However, despite these important contributions, few works have integrated a theoretical examination of urban justice with empirical research. Therefore, I situate this research in the tension between theory and practice and I wish to contribute to both worlds through a grounded examination of redevelopment cases in light of the lens of social justice. Moreover, an important objective of this research is to track the outcomes of redevelopment projects beyond their vision statements and plans, as many plans may include goals for increased social justice and equity. However, despite the noble intensions, in practice, these goals are not met.

In my analysis of justice, I rely on theories of urban justice that have developed in urban planning and geography literatures over the last five decades. Susan's Fainstein's (Fainstein, 2010) theorization of the Just City has been a particularly helpful approach of applying the criterion of justice to public policy and analyzing redevelopment policies in this light. However, I also draw on the works of David Harvey (Harvey, 1973), Iris Marion Young (1990), Oren Yiftachel (2009), Heather Campbell (Campbell, 2006), Peter Marcuse (2009a), Kurt Iverson (2012) and others. Importantly, and in light of this literature, I view justice as both a procedural and substantive concept. The extensive literature on waterfront redevelopments, highly multidisciplinary and diverse in nature, has also been instructive in identifying relevant trends for analysis. For example, this literature has highlighted the role of environmental justice as an important pillar of justice, which led me to examine the role of environmental justice in one of my case studies. While initially my focus was on social justice, the literature inspired me to consider broader conceptions of justice, which manifest in political dynamics of urban development and planning in the 21st century.

Objectives and Research Questions

Research objectives

The notion of social justice has been key to planning theory and practice. Similarly, waterfront redevelopments have been a symbolic and important type of urban development.

While both topics—social justice and waterfront redevelopments—have been documented and explored, some substantial knowledge gaps are still evident in our understanding of these concepts and phenomena. With regards to social justice, while there is a general consensus that justice is an important goal of urban policy, few scholars have employed this term empirically and evaluated policies in light of it. Even fewer works have applied the lens of social justice to urban redevelopment projects, although these projects—including waterfront redevelopments—are often justified on the basis of their contribution to the 'public good'. With regards to waterfront redevelopments, little research to date has examined aspects of social justice and equity in the planning and execution of these projects. Given the above, I undertook my research with the following objectives:

1. To make a contribution to the evolving conceptualization of social justice in the urban planning and geography literatures.
2. To fill the knowledge gap in the waterfront redevelopments literature, in order to gain a better understanding of how social justice is conceptualized and practiced in waterfront redevelopments, and to understand which factors contribute to better practices.
3. To produce policy lessons for more socially sustainable waterfront redevelopments, and large-scale redevelopment projects in general, with an emphasis on social justice aspects.

Research questions

1. How is social justice addressed in waterfront redevelopment plans?
    a) How is social justice conceptualized in waterfront redevelopments plans?
    b) How is social justice operationalized in waterfront redevelopments plans?
    c) How is social justice prioritized relative to environmental, economic and other objectives?
    d) In what ways are the plans responding to local demands for social justice?
2. What processes and factors enable planners to achieve social justice goals in their waterfront redevelopment projects?

a) What contextual and institutional factors contribute to more just redevelopments?
b) What actions and approaches by the various stakeholders contribute to more just redevelopments?

3. How might social justice considerations be more effectively integrated into and operationalized in waterfront redevelopments?

Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation includes three parts and ten chapters.

Part I consists of the theoretical and methodological foundation for this research. The *methodology* (chapter two) explains the research design and the rationale for selecting the cases and introduces the methods employed. It is followed by a literature review (chapter three) which lays the theoretical foundation for the research. The literature review includes two main themes: social justice and planning, and urban waterfront redevelopment.

Part II is composed of the empirical chapters of this research. The findings are presented and discussed in chapters four, five six, seven, and eight: Jaffa port redevelopment, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa (chapters four and five); Anacostia River redevelopment, Washington D.C. (chapters six and seven); and the 11th Street Bridge Park, Washington D.C. (chapter eight). Each case study is preceded by a short introductory chapter that presents the geographic and political background of the city with a focus on urban planning, the project background and a description of the redevelopment. Since both the Anacostia River redevelopment and the 11th Street Bridge Park are located in Washington, D.C., these two chapters share one introductory chapter.

Part III presents the discussion of the empirical chapters (chapter nine), compares and contrasts the research findings, in the context of the theories outlined in the literature review. The discussion is followed by concluding notes (chapter 10).

2. Literature Review

This literature review sets the background for the empirical chapters. To contextualize my work within the existing literature and to highlight the knowledge gaps that still exist, I will introduce and describe two main topics: social justice and urban waterfronts. In the section about social justice, I will introduce the main theories and debates that have shaped the understanding of social justice in urban planning and geography. Key turns in the conceptualization of social justice in planning include: first, the increasing recognition that justice affects, and is affected by, spatiality and space. Second, that the analysis of social justice should expand to contain non-material terms, including, for example, identity, gender, and culture. While some general definitions of social justice are provided, it is also highlighted that the very definition of social justice is elusive and contested. Moreover, while the history of social justice as a term is long, dating back to antiquity, this literature review will focus on scholarly work from the second half of the twentieth century, predominantly since the 1970s. The reason for this is that it is generally accepted among scholars that contemporary discussions on social justice in planning have largely followed John Rawls' (1971) classic *Theory of Justice* and David Harvey's (1973) seminal book *Social Justice and the City* (Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1996; Stein and Harper, 2005; Basta, 2016; MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014). These works still serve as the basis for many subsequent theories of justice, as well as critiques.

In the second section about urban waterfronts, I will provide a brief historic background of the waterfront redevelopment phenomenon. This background is followed by providing a rationale for urban waterfronts as a distinct research field. Then, I briefly outline key themes in waterfront redevelopments, including neoliberalism and governance, policy mobility, access, heritage and culture, and nature and environment. The literature review ends by tying the two main themes—social justice and urban waterfronts—together. Waterfront redevelopment is a relatively contemporary phenomenon, and as such, the literature review contains sources especially from the last three decades.

Justice and the city

> The ideal of social justice is the bedrock of any democratic society within which citizens can actively participate in a free, tolerant and inclusive political community. (Merrifield and Swyngedouw, 1996:1)

The discussion on justice and planning—and justice in planning— has been revived in recent years. Scholars are engaged with finding 'just' characteristics, values, and policy measures (Carmon and Fainstein, 2013; Marcuse et al., 2009b; Fainstein, 2010). In particular, Susan Fainstein's (2010) recent call to consider justice a primary criterion in the evaluation of planning policies has placed it at a center stage in planning theory (Lake, 2017). Fincher and Iveson (2012) note that, more specifically, there is a growing interest in exploring solutions to injustices and in normative thinking that extends beyond a focus on the planning process. The link between justice and the city is certainly not new; in fact, it goes back to ancient times: in Plato's classic, *The Republic*, Socrates elaborates on the nature of the just city-state (Connolly and Steil, 2009). However, the role of justice as a key concept in planning theory and scholarship has changed over time (Novy and Mayer, 2009), and so has the relationship between philosophical principles and the application of these ideas to actual circumstances (Fincher and Iveson, 2012). In this section, I will present some of the key debates and concepts of justice as they have emerged in planning and geography literatures over the past few decades. Prior to the debates, some definitions of the key terms are provided.

Social justice: The term justice has deep historical roots. Justice has been broadly conceptualized using abstract norms of fairness and equity (Williams, 2016b). Dahan (2014) notes the distinction between distributive justice and social justice. The term distributive justice predates social justice and is more comprehensive; it is employed to refer to the standards of distribution of goods and obligations between people who share social or economic activities, or are members of joint social and economic organizations. The term social justice emerged much later, in the mid nineteenth century, and it refers to justice of institutions. In other words, to the criteria according to which political, social and economic institutions should allocate goods and social obligations among citizens. Social goods include liberties, opportunities, and other resources such as capital, property, jobs, health services, security, housing, transportation, and childcare. Justice principles also deliver obligations, such as military service and risky or demanding jobs. The essence of the goods that should be distributed, the nature of the principles that determine the distribution, and the extent to which these principles apply have been profoundly contested by (political) philosophers (ibid.).

The term urban social justice conveys that inequalities are socially produced rather than bound in universal truths (Newman, 2009). Contrary to broad theories of social justice, urban social justice implies that justice has a decidedly spatial component. According to Newman, who adopts a Marxist approach, justice is fixed in social processes that are "directly related to the mode of production as it is expressed spatially" (Newman, 2009: 195). Newman contends that urban social justice is also about equitable processes and outcomes, and the state has a role in their production. Theories of justice explore questions that pertain to the scale of production of justice, the nature of economic versus other forms of injustice, the universality of the concept of justice, and the importance of process versus outcomes.

Cities are places where injustices occur and also in which justice is fought for. Despite the importance of the urban as a sphere where justice is shaped and contested both in theory and in practice, the meaning of justice in urban life has remained fuzzy (Connolly and Steil, 2009; Fischer, 2009). As Cardoso & Breda-Vazquez (2007: 385) note:

> The meaning of social justice can be very diverse. As 'an expression of different views of the world and hence of different sets of normative tools to act within it' (Corubolo, 1998: 1), social justice is 'something contingent upon the social processes operating in society as a whole' (Harvey, 1973: 15). Consequently, theoretical debates on issues of social justice and the city inevitably operate within argumentative tensions between dissimilar views of urban development and planning.

In a similar vein, Harvey and Potter (2009), responding to the question of what is social justice, highlight the abundance of interpretations from which one can choose, including utilitarian, contractual, cosmopolitan, and Hobbesian views. Despite the ambiguity of the terms, Harvey and Potter (2009: 40) argue that "we cannot do without the concept of justice"—confusing as it may be—since historically, the sense of injustice has been one of the most powerful forces to drive social change. More theories of justice will be explored in the coming sections.

Equity: The International Encyclopedia of Human Geography defines equity as related to social justice and fairness, reflecting a concern to reduce systematic discrimination and marginalization. One way to envision equity is by the absence of systemic differences—for example in access to health, employment opportunities, housing, etc.—between advantaged and disadvantaged social groups. Equitable policies should prioritize the most disadvantaged groups, often by means of redistribution. Others, however, depict equity as inclusiveness and

confirmation of opportunities for all, while still others see equity as related to human rights (Wiles and Kobayashi, 2009).

In the context of urban planning, Emily Talen (2008) notes that social equity can be defined in various ways. One way to define it rests on a component of civic engagement across a community (Putnam, 2000; in: Talen, 2008). However, Talen notes that another way to define social equity is based on elements of spatial distribution—who gets what. In that sense, social equity is about equalized access to resources. In planning, this this perception has been addressed, for example, in the writings of Norman Krumholz and John Forester (Krumholz, 1999; Krumholz, 1982; Krumholz and Forester, 1990). Talen notes that the translation of social equity to principles of equal access to resources, or spatial distribution, has been central to planning literature and different methodologies have been developed to assess access to goods and services. Talen herself, in her analysis of social equity in new urbanist plans, views equity as composed of three related categories: community, diversity, and access.

Philosophical Principles of Justice and Their Influence

The view that the profession of planning is strongly underpinned by normative concepts of justice and fairness has been widely accepted in academic scholarship (McKay et al., 2012; Harper and Stein, 1992; Steinø, 2003). Indeed, critical scholars have highlighted the ways in which planning has been used in practice as a tool of oppression and social control, for example Oren Yifatchel's (1998) well-known essay on the "dark side of planning" and Lenonie Sandercock's (1998a) overview of the 'noir' of planning history. However, equity and social justice, among others, have still been held by many as values that form the legitimacy of planning as a profession. Stollman (1979) includes equity in his list of values of the city planners. Campbell and Marshal (2012: 240) stress that planning is about ethical choices, values, and making decisions about "good and bad", right and wrong." It is therefore profoundly concerned with justice.

Much of the conceptualization of justice in urban theory in the last half-century, especially in the West, has derived from the fields of political philosophy and political economy, and rests on liberal principles (Connolly and Steil, 2009). Liberal political philosophers, such as John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, John Rawls and Martha Nussbaum, were especially influential in how justice is perceived among planners. John Rawls's (1971)

foundational book *A Theory of Justice* underlined the value of liberty and equality and has dominated the Anglo-American liberal concepts of justice in the last four decades (Connolly and Steil, 2009). John Rawls's approach is rooted in the liberal tradition, yet it challenges utilitarian traditional thought of the 'greatest good for the greatest number' (Campbell and Fainstein, 2012) by posing justice as the primary object of agreement among citizens (Basta, 2016). Rawls conceptualized his argument for a fair distribution based on a hypothetical situation in which individuals are positioned behind a 'veil of ignorance.' Without knowing their own status in society, and based on a rational behaviour, these individuals will presumably choose a system that is based on fairness and equality of opportunity; otherwise, they may find themselves at the bottom of the hierarchy.

The first principle in Rawls's framework for a just society is *liberty*, which applies to all individuals: "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others" (p.60). The second principle is composed of two sub-principles. First, the *Fair Equality of Opportunity Principle* determines that there should be a fair equality of opportunity for all, and goods should be distributed equally. Second, the *Difference Principle* states that any inequality should benefit the least-advantaged members of society (Rawls, 2001). Rawls' theory of justice has become one of the most influential political philosophy writings of the twentieth century, changing the field of political philosophy and affecting other disciplines in turn (Basta, 2016; Dahan, 2014). It was identified in a growing body of planning literature as a sound moral basis for contemporary planning, and recognized for its analysis and evaluation (Stein and Harper, 2005; Alfasi and Fenster, 2014). Fainstein (2010) contends that Rawls's argument became so powerful because it is based on principles of rationality and common sense without resorting to natural law, theology or social ideologies such as Marxism. Applying Rawlsian principles to urban policy, Fainstein argues that public policy should aim to distribute benefits fairly and mitigate disadvantages. Additionally, justice in Rawlsian terms "requires the attainment of material equality as a goal" (Campbell and Fainstein, 2012: 548).

Rawls's "justice as fairness" theory served as a foundation for following conceptualizations of justice. *The capabilities approach*, developed by Amartya Sen (2011; 2005) and expanded upon by Martha Nussbaum (2001)[1], offers a pathway to broaden the

[1] In Sen's writings the approach is called the capability approach while Nussabuam further developed it as the capabilities approach.

conditions necessary for a just society, beyond material goods, by referring to what people can do in the concrete realm. In contrast to theories of justice that examine the nature of goods that should be distributed and how they should be distributed, the capabilities approach emphasizes humans' living conditions and ability to utilize different resources. Sen and Nussbaum argue that material conditions are insufficient criteria for the achievement of a just society since different life circumstances affect individuals' capacity to make use of the available goods. Importantly, Sen and Nussbaum's geographical scope is also more comprehensive and encompasses not only the Western world.

The capabilities approach outlines basic capabilities that should be available to anyone in a just society: opportunities to which individuals are entitled, and which they may or may not choose to exercise (such as life, health, bodily integrity, access to education, and control over one's environment—the delineation of the capabilities was developed by Nussbaum: Sen did not subscribe do the idea of specific capabilities). At the same time, there is a certain threshold underneath which humans are not able to live and flourish. Sen himself defined the difference between Rawls's and his own philosophies as Rawls's being an *arrangement-focused* view of justice and his a *realization-focused* interpretation. Basta (2016) compares Rawls's theory of justice with the capabilities approach and concludes that the integration of the two leads to productive lessons for planners. She argues that Rawls's focus on how goods are identified and allocated cannot be the sole focus for planners, but neither can the detection of capabilities. It is the relation between the two that should be considered. Finally, she observes that the capabilities approach has not been widely embraced by planning scholars despite its instructiveness to planning (Basta, 2016).

Notwithstanding the important inclusion of non-material propositions in the capabilities approach, Connolly and Steil (2009: 3) note that "neither Rawls, Sen nor Nussbaum elaborate how their normative conceptions of justice, based on equality and fairness, can be realized or what forms they might take, a problem that has characterized the philosophy of justice since Socrates' attempt to define a Just City in *The Republic*." These theories, the authors claim, leave the audience wondering what justice means in everyday life and what a Just City would look like in a concrete political structure. Low and Iveson (2016) further support this claim, noting that with a few exceptions (such as Iris Marion Young), most philosophers who have grappled with the nature of justice have not dealt with the spatial configurations that such forms may take.

Campbell (2006) is cautious against direct translation of these philosophical ideals into planning, since, she argues, the concerns of justice philosophers were about whole societies: relationships between people, institutions and the wider world, hence much broader than a subsection of public policy concerned with the creation of spaces—planning.

Grounding Justice in Space

The academic discussion in the fields of geography and planning on what constitutes a just society was reinvigorated in the 1960s and 1970s, in response to political and social unrest in many cities in Europe and North America. Fainstein (2014) observes that these uprisings gave rise to a normative thinking about justice in the social sciences, which contested the dominance of positivism and added a moral dimension to scholars' work. In 1968, the French philosopher Henri Lefebve published his influential book on the 'right to the city', which laid the foundation for thinking about space as mediated and constructed by social relations rather than strictly by physical features (Fainstein,2014). In 1973, David Harvey published his seminal text *Social Justice and the City*, which continued this line of thought through a political-economic critique of urban development.

Many scholars agree that Harvey's book played a significant role in relating the concept of justice to geography, space and planning, and bringing it to the forefront of the geographical investigation (Fincher and Iveson, 2012; Williams, 2016b; MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014). In this book, Harvey emphasized the importance of redistribution as a response to the unequal distribution of wealth, resources and power through the lens of political economy. Essentially, he "aimed to transcend the notion of distributive justice, dominant among liberals (Rawls 1971), in favor of a revolutionary socialist conception underlying the relations between production and distribution. . . and questioning the social power of money as the only measure of value" (MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014: 857). Turning to a Rawlsian perspective at first, Harvey failed to find answers in the liberal approach, which led him to adopt a Marxian analysis (Connolly and Steil, 2009). He perceived planning, as a tool employed by the state, as perpetuating and enhancing inequalities.

Harvey emphasizes that spatial inequalities result from the unequal accumulation and distribution of capital and power, which are an inherent part of capitalism. In order to change the outcomes, transformations in the processes that create them in the first place are required

(Connolly and Steil, 2009). Following Harvey, justice has been regarded as something that is contingent upon social processes, grounded in space and in place. It became clearer how (in)justice translates into issues at the urban scale, such as the provision of housing, social services, employment, and more (ibid.). To Harvey, a just city is a vision that cannot be materialized under the current capitalist system of production. Yet he still regards justice as a powerful concept that can mobilize political action (Harvey, 2002). While he is skeptical of the possibility of a just city, his perspective of justice is nonetheless idealistic.

David Harvey, however, was not alone in his critical approach. In the 1970s, he was part of the Research Committee on the Sociology of Urban and Regional Development of the International Sociological Association (RC21), a group that also included members such as Manuel Castells, Peter Marcuse and Michael Harole. Together they formed a critical approach to urban studies, which was manifested in the journal they launched, the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. The 1960s and 1970s also saw the emergence of advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965) and equity planning (Krumholz, 1999), which argued that planners, including those employed by the government, should advocate for disenfranchised groups. Krumholz himself, as the Director of the Cleveland City Planning, introduced an approach that emphasized providing more choices to residents who have few or none, as a way of addressing poverty and racial segregation. This was executed, for instance, through the provision of affordable transit fares and the enhancement of bus services, and by opposing private developments that would be heavily subsidized by the city (Krumholz, 1982). Thomas (2008: 230) notes that both of these approaches, while focused on results in the field, "have not focused on the social structures that underlie uneven distribution", in that they differ from the political economy approach, evident in the works of Harvey, Fainstein and others.

Spatial justice

To be sure, Harvey is not the only scholar who views justice through a spatial lens. Boyne and Powell (1991) employed the term territorial justice to empirically evaluate the spatial relationship between needs and provision of services in the UK. The term spatial justice is closely associated with the work of scholars such as Edward Soja (Soja, 2010) and Peter Marcuse (2009), although their approach to spatial justice differs. For example, while Marcuse sees spatial justice as "derivative but causal of social injustice", Soja (2009) asserts that the

spatial component of justice is fundamental: not just in the city but at all geographic scales. At its basic sense, spatial justice means a fair distribution of resources in space and the opportunity to use them. As Iveson (2011) suggests, however, their approaches are not incompatible. To Soja, justice is primarily a geographical concept and the equitable distribution of resources is a basic human right (Low and Iveson, 2016). He argues that the search for justice necessitates gaining control over the processes that produce unjust spaces, and views group-coalitions demanding the right to the city as a path toward greater material equity and respect for marginalized groups (Soja, 2010). Spatial (in)justice is both outcome and process (Soja, 2009).

Marcuse (2009) argues that there are two key forms of spatial (in)justice: first, the ghettoization of groups in urban space and second, the unequal distribution of resources in space. Marcuse expands on the latter by establishing the following propositions: a) the causes of spatial injustice derive from the causes of social injustice more broadly (the derivative argument); b) social injustices are articulated in space and reproduce injustice, so spatial aspects have to be addressed (the spatial remedies argument); c) spatial remedies are necessary but insufficient to amend injustice (the partial remedy argument). Marcuses' final argument with regards to unequal distribution is "the historical embededness argument", that is, that the role of spatial justice relative to social justice is dependent on changing social, political and economic conditions.

From Redistributive Justice to the Politics of Difference

The 1980s and the 1990s saw the introduction of new and challenging concepts into the debates about social justice, notably recognition, diversity, difference and multi-culturalism (Yiftachel et al., 2009). While Harvey's groundbreaking work shed light on the structural forces that produce injustice, it also drew criticism for overlooking non-class factors. Castells' *The City and the Grassroots* (1983) exemplifies the shift from Marxian to post-Marxian analyses: for the first time, a Marxian scholar said that not everything in urban power struggles can be described and explained in terms of economic structures and class relations; culture and identity play a role as well. Following scholarly work in the 1990s, produced notably by scholars with a feminist, post-colonial and cultural perspectives such as Iris Marion Young, Nancy Fraser and Leonie Sandercock, identified the limitations in Harvey's analysis and argued that while justice is defined in the context of social processes it is also related to other factors that extend beyond class such as gender, ethnicity, sexuality and age (Fincher and Iveson, 2012). Thus, redistributive

conceptions of justice, which are focused on economically-based criteria, are insufficient in and of themselves. This body of work, argues Fainstein (2014), has also begun to address the topic of justice within the city more explicitly (with the exception of David Harvey, who already applied that lens).

Iris Marion Young, Nancy Fraser and Lenonie Sandercock put forward issues of domination, oppression and the position of social groups, highlighting the role of recognition in striving toward justice. In her influential book *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Young (1990) observes that social groups are defined by a sense of shared identity, and therefore justice does not mean dissolving differences but promoting institutions that protect and respect these differences without oppression. Young identifies five faces of oppression that lead to injustices: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. She also emphasizes *institutionalized* forms of oppression and their effects on decision-making processes, and ultimately defines justice as the absence of forms of domination mentioned above. Her vision of social justice is one of deliberative democracy in which groups and individuals sustain their identity and hold discussions with the goal of self-development and self-determination (Young, 1990). Subsequently, there has been a growing understanding of *group difference* and the need to include multiple voices. For example, Sandercock (1998b) in *Towards Cosmopolis* is concerned with the components of difference and diversity that characterize urban life. She argues that Marxian analysis is short of recognizing other forms of oppression. Influenced by Young's work on the politics of difference, Sandercock contends that justice is not simply a matter of redistribution but also of *recognition*.

Nancy Fraser (Fraser, 1995; 1998) asserts that both recognition and redistribution are fundamental elements of justice. With regards to redistribution, Fraser recognizes that a just society entails a just distribution of resources and goods. However, she argues that injustices that result from misrecognition cannot be remedied by redistribution alone. Fraser brings gender as an example of a category that contains both economic and cultural aspects. Gender injustices result from economic structuring that favours paid, productive labour associated with men over unpaid, reproductive labour associated with women; as well as from androcentric norms that advantage attributes associated with masculinity and devalue ones that are associated with femininity. Redressing gender injustices requires attending to both distributive and recognition aspects. Thus, recognition and distribution relate to each other, but are analytically separable.

Fraser also takes a critical stand in response to Young's argument about the "politics of difference" as a globally applicable principle. She argues that some group differences should be valorized but others are a result of the forces of oppression that Young rejects. Fraser also shows that the politics of difference could interfere with the pursuit of redistribution in some cases: "The struggle to remedy women's cultural oppression by affirming women's "difference" on the model of ethnicity might militate against the struggle to abolish the gender division of labor, which entails decreasing the social salience of gender" (Fraser, 1995 :198). This is one example that Fraser provides to illustrate the tensions that arise between recognition and redistribution.

This body of work has further emphasized that justice is not simply a matter of including under-represented groups but of changing the power relations that create unfair hierarchies in the first place (Connolly and Steil, 2009). Indeed, Fincher & Iveson (2012) note that earlier works were not indifferent to other non-economic forces, and a focus on recognition is not inherently incompatible with a focus on redistribution. Still, there is a question of which of them receives more prominence. As well, recognition is not simply acknowledging difference but rather transforming the ways in which identities are produced (ibid.). In sum, poststructuralist theories "shift [the argument for justice] from a fair distribution to 'social differentiation without exclusion'" (Young, 1990: 44), from redistribution to recognition. Even Harvey himself embraced some of these claims in his later work, specifically Young's five forms of domination (Harvey, 2002) and in general, "'diversity' was accepted as part of the 'new orthodoxy' of planning theory" (Fainstein, 2005: 1).

The shift from a materialist approach to justice to a post-structurlaist one is not without limitations. Yiftachel et al. (2009) critique the concept of recognition through a threefold argument, based on their analysis of the city of Beersheba, Israel. First, they note, recognition presupposes a benign state and an operating constitutional democracy where rights can be secured; however, rights alone are insufficient. Second, the emphasis of liberal recognition is mainly procedural, focusing on participation and inclusion, but overlooking "the material, economic, and concrete power aspects of planning recognition" (p.124). Third, "most importantly, liberal multicultural recognition tends to overlook the possibility that the marking of distinct groups may also harbor a range of negative consequences beyond the neglect implied by the previous point" (ibid.). Recognition might lead to unjust consequences, especially in situations of conflict, as opposed to the inclusion and democratization that liberal scholars

assume will emanate. Therefore, the authors offer the concept of 'hostile recognition', which implies that recognition does not necessarily equal a more progressive or just approach. From a different angle, Novy & Mayer (2009) note that while gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity are today recognized as bases of difference, political economists have struggled to include these elements in the framing of justice—in addition to equality—and as a result have resorted to offering critique without defining what social justice is. The authors argue that by adding richer dimensions to the theorization of justice, scholars have also, to a certain extent, undermined the struggle for economic equality that has been the central goal of previous leftist scholars.

Process or Outcome: Communicative Planning

The growing awareness to the politics of difference also brought forward a focus on procedural justice and more specifically, an examination of the *planning process* in relation to justice. Whereas traditionally social justice was associated with fair outcomes, procedural justice means that the ways in which multiple voices are included or excluded in the planning process are also considered important to social justice. Attention to the planning process was noted already in the 1960s, with Sherry Arnstein's (1969) classic paper bringing to the forefront issues of citizen participation and the controversies that are intertwined with that notion. Other approaches that developed in parallel, such as advocacy planning, also paid attention to the planning process and advocated for the representation of various stakeholders in the planning process. While many planning theories have supported the participation of citizens in planning processes, communicative planning (Healey, 2003; Innes, 1995; Healey, 1992; Forester, 2001), which emerged in the 1990s, has become one of the most influential ones to date.

Communicative planning draws on Habermas's philosophical concept of the ideal speech situation. This approach highlights the multiplicity of voices and stakeholders that takes part in planning and sees the planner as in charge of bridging between different viewpoints in order to forge consensus. While communicative planning does not address social justice explicitly, it promotes the notion that 'good' or 'just' cities should be planned through a fair and inclusionary process, which brings in a diversity of opinions and representations. Moreover, procedural concerns emphasize that notions of the 'public good' can be contentious, depending on the identity and interests of the various stakeholders (Campbell, 2006). Healey (1992) explains that the mechanisms that were established to promote goals such as social justice and environmental

sustainability have been based on a narrow scientific rationalism. In order to renew the struggle for the accomplishment of these goals, new and progressive forms of planning must be created, reflecting the notion that planning is socially situated. Healey, reflecting on her earlier work, makes the following observation:

> As I recognized the significance of the social situatedness of planning endeavours, it became clear to me that concepts of the 'good' and the 'just' were themselves constructed through relations of knowledge and power. Beyond a certain level of specificity, the meaning of these concepts was both contingent and contested. This meant that the processes of articulating values and the manner in which these might become embedded in established discourses and practices were important. (Healey, 2003: 110-111)

Indeed, the communicative planning approach highlights that substance and process are co-created rather than separate domains. At the same time, communicative planning has also been fiercely criticized for placing too much emphasis on process while overlooking power-relations and structural inequalities, which may lead to unjust results despite a seemingly just process (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Fainstein, 2000). However, the communicative approach did contribute to a more well-rounded understanding of justice as a concept that is influenced both by process and outcomes, as well as values, and that is socially constructed.

The Just City

The Just City theory, developed by Susan Fainstein (2010), is one of the most concrete attempts in planning scholarship to develop an urban theory of justice and examine it empirically against existing planning policies. Fainstein's point of departure is her critique of urban theories that do not define the criteria for social justice in explicit terms, as well as theories that address justice as a matter of process and not outcome (Fainstein, 2005; 2000). At the same time, she advocates for a normative approach to planning theory and defines justice as the leading norm for evaluating urban policy. Based on her research of influential texts on social justice, Fainstein conceptualizes justice as being composed of equity, democracy and diversity, thus extending the traditional political-economy approach to include non-material factors. In equity, Fainstein refers to the (public policy-driven) distribution of material and nonmaterial goods that does not favour the better off. In democracy, she emphasizes broad participation and deliberation in decision-making processes, as well as the representation of various groups in the city, including marginalized ones. In diversity, she enlarges the concept of justice beyond material equity to

accommodate group affiliation and to highlight the role of social inclusion and recognition. Fainstein then examines urban redevelopment cases in New York, London and Amsterdam in light of these pre-stated norms and develops recommendations for policy-making in reference to equity, democracy and diversity. She is concerned with how justice might be achieved under contemporary conditions, i.e. the political-economic structure of the capitalist urban regime (and in that she differs from Harvey, who sees capitalism as an inherent contradiction to social justice). Since Fainstein recognizes that there may be tensions between the three norms she specifies—democracy, equity and diversity—she prioritizes equity among them.

Fainstein is influenced by poststructuralist theories, those cultural and feminist approaches that acknowledge group-based differences such as race, ethnicity, gender and culture. But her main interest is less with a planning regime that valorizes and asserts the difference of these groups and more with planning that benefits a diversity of groups by fair redistribution (Watson, 2002). Moreover, she is wary of essentialism that might result from adhering to poststructuralist theory, by placing too much attention on diversity as opposed to political mobilization and economic equality (Thomas, 2008). While Fainstein acknowledges that participation in the planning process is important in order to represent multiple interests, she sees it as a means to end: hence, she rejects the communicative planning approach as too centered on process and reiterates the significance of substantive policy outcomes.

Fainstien's pragmatic approach has been criticized by some scholars. For example, Novy and Mayer (2009) are skeptical that social justice and a capitalist regime can concur. In their opinion, Fainstien's pragmatism "unnecessarily constrains the struggle for urban social justice, sweeping alternative visions and alternative possibilities aside" (p.116). These alternative visions and possibilities might be powerful in creating a more progressive future. Fainstein has also been criticized for applying top-down principles of justice rather than working relationally in analyzing her empirical cases, which would have provided a greater understanding of the different ways in which planning goals might have been achieved rather than simply the extent to which these goals have been achieved (Fincher and Iveson, 2012). The authors are not against specifying norms in advance, but they stress that these norms should be "tentative and suggestive rather than dogmatic and final", so that norms and practices can be "held in tension, in conversation" (ibid: 237). Harvey and Potter (2009: 40) refer to Fainstien's conceptualization of the just city as a "hazy outline". To them, Fainstein's idealistic blueprint for a just city is

detached from social processes, such as capital accumulation, and as such, cannot lead to meaningful social change through a shift of the dominant paradigm.

Libertarian perceptions of justice

While there is more than one school of thought among libertarian scholars, libertarianism in its essence places emphasis on liberty as the most important value of all. Libertarian perceptions do not always align with other perceptions of social justice described hitherto—and are sometimes even absent from discussions on justice in contemporary geography and planning writings—yet they have important implications for discourse and policymaking. Friedrick Hayek, one of the most cited in the libertarian literature and a winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1974, argued that a model of redistributive justice where individuals are entitled to resources according to predetermined criteria is not plausible (Hayek, 1976). According to Hayek, individuals try to maximize their interests in the free market, and as a result no one can be held accountable for an 'unjust' distribution. In the libertarian view, the state is a hindering factor that works against individuals' liberty. Therefore, theories of justice such as John Rawls', which place the State in charge of resources and rights, are considered unjust in the libertarian perception. Furthermore, adopting the value of social justice as the overall organizing logic of society may lead to a redistribution that would, in fact, result in the elimination of individuals' rights to property, wealth, or power, which would be unjust. In the libertarian view, social justice is perceived as an illusion, since the distribution of resources in society is not a result of deliberate action but an unintended result of the behaviour of individuals in the market (Dahan, 2014).

The famous American philosopher Robert Nozick is also known for his advocacy of libertarianism. According to him, liberal theorists of justice are wrong in assuming that the meaning of justice is redistribution of income and wealth. Instead, Nozick argues, justice means respecting the rights of individuals, with emphasis on their rights to property, and avoiding placing restrictions on what they are allowed to do with their material possessions (Nozick, 1974). The role of the just state, according to Nozick, is not to redistribute resources according to theoretical principles but to protect the rights of its citizens. Politically and economically, this means the establishment of a free market economy, where the state's role is limited to minimal functions such as enforcing law and order. In this view, there is no overall purpose to society

beyond the individual purpose of each member. Therefore, it would be considered illegitimate to limit the liberty of individuals even if some individual actions would impose cost on society as a whole. Nozick further developed an Entitlement Theory, which defines principles for historic justice. According to this theory, no distribution of resources could be predefined as just. Rather, only procedures could be considered just or unjust (Dahan, 2014). In sum, libertarian perceptions tend to reject theories that suggest equal distribution of rights and resources. Instead, they promote individual liberty as the highest criterion that should govern society. Moreover, in the libertarian perception the adjectives 'just' or 'unjust' refer to the actions of individuals rather than to the description of society as a whole.

Table 1 summarizes notable theories of social justice that have been reviewed in this section so far. This list is not exhaustive nor does it go into detail about each theory or set of theories. The goal is to present a brief and concise view of different principles that shaped different conceptions of justice.

Table 1: Theories of social justice- an overview

Theory	**Overview**
Rawlsian: justice as fairness	A social contract based theory that outlines the principles of justice in a democratic society. According to Rawls's thought experiment, representatives negotiate the criteria for the delivery of primary goods—liberties, income, wealth, and authorities—behind a veil of ignorance. In this scenario, two main principles of justice will apply: First, each person has an indefeasible right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others. Second: a) fair equality of opportunity for all and b) the difference principle: any inequality should benefit the least-advantaged members of society
Marxian: just distribution justly arrived at (Harvey)	Spatial inequalities result from the unequal accumulation and distribution of capital and power. Thus, a socially-just society should attend not only to redistribution but to a radical change in the means of production. The question of a just society cannot be detached from social processes that create injustices. Justice is not achievable under a capitalist regime.
The capabilities approach (Sen, Nussbaum)	Justice should be understood in terms of people's capabilities, that is, what they are effectively able to do. The capabilities approach moves the concept of justice from an institutional-level theorizing to the realm of concrete living environments. Instead of discussing what primary goods should be distributed, the focus is shifted toward "what goods do to human beings" (Sen, 1979: 219).
Poststructuralist approaches (Young, Sandercock, Fraser)	While poststructuralist approaches represent a wide variety of approaches, they all critique previous theories for overlooking non-class factors such as gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and age. Redistributive conceptions of justice that focus on economically-based criteria are simply insufficient to overcome injustices. Moreover, universal and supposedly neutral assumptions about individuals and

Table 1, Cont.	
	groups are not applicable in the diverse societies in which we live. Theories of justice must account for these differences and recognize the social and economic structures that determine the distribution of goods.
The just city (Fainstein)	The conceptualization of the Just City is premised upon three values: equity, democracy and diversity. It concerns how justice might be achieved under contemporary conditions, i.e. the political-economy structure of the capitalist urban regime. According to the Just City approach, participation in the planning process is an important but not as an end in and of itself. A Just City approach emphasizes the outcomes of planning policies according to the three main values.
Libertarian views	A fair society is one in which individuals' liberty is valorized and protected. Rather than justice, liberty is considered as the most important value that needs to be prioritized by the State. Arrangements under which resources of justice are to be distributed according to need are considered unjust since they could possibly undermine the rights and possessions of others.

Environmental Justice

While this literature review is focused on social justice, it is important to note that a considerable strand of the planning and geography literature has studied justice from an environmental perspective (although to a larger extent in geography). The environmental justice literature is rich and diverse, and will not be covered here in depth. However, this brief section emphasizes that in recent years, with the rise in prominence of the sustainability concept, the seemingly distinct literatures—of environmental and social justice—are starting to integrate. However, this process is still preliminary and limited in scope.

The traditional environmental justice literature highlights the disproportional proximity of toxic and contaminated land uses to low-income and minority communities. Studies have examined how these communities have been victims of environmental harm compared to well-off populations (Carruthers, 2008; Varga et al., 2002; Bullard, 2000; Mitchell and Dorling, 2003). Both in the global north and south, poor people have been more exposed to environmental hazards that are a result of contamination and exploitation of resources, such as mining, soil erosion, toxic waste, water pollution, and chemical industries (Anguelovski, 2013). The environmental justice movement, which began in the 1980s in the US, recognizes the racial and class factors that lead to environmental inequity (commonly referred to as 'environmental racism'). It seeks to reconcile the uneven distribution of environmental risks and protect all people from environmental degradation and its associated impacts (Cutter, 1995).

The environmental justice framework is also used to analyze access to parks and greenery, underlying that these beneficial areas—from a health and wellbeing perspectives—are usually adjacent to wealthy neighbourhoods and are less accessible to marginalized ones (Wessells, 2014; Wolch et al., 2014). Pearsall and Pierc (2010) add the inclusion of all people in environmental decision-making processes as another component of environmental justice. They also report that despite progress on environmental justice in policy, empirical studies show that environmental justice components are underrepresented in urban sustainability plans. Anguelovski (2013 :163) identifies that in recent years, traditional perspectives of environmental justice have expanded their focus to include a broader and more inclusive definition of what constitutes "the environment" of places. The new agenda increasingly frames claims to environmental justice within the discourse of the right to the city. Food security, affordable and clean transit systems, healthy housing, initiatives to address climate change, and spaces for greenery, are some of the themes that Anguelovski classifies as the more recent focus of environmental justice movements. Anguelovski also emphasizes the active role that residents take in demanding and fighting for these rights, noting that the claims for a healthier environment resonate with broader calls to justice and equity.

Despite the obvious links between social and environmental justice, the conversations about these terms have often been held in separation. One of the first works in planning to take note of the tensions between environmental and social justice was Scott Campbell's (1996) publication: "Green cities, growing cities, just cities? Urban planning and the contradictions of sustainable development." In this seminal paper, one of the most cited in planning literature to date, Campbell illustrates the tensions between three broad planning goals——social justice, economic growth, and environmental protection—through a planning triangle; each goal is placed at a corner of the triangle and sustainable development is located at its center. Campbell argues that an inherent conflict emerges between the corners: the property conflict represents the tension between social justice and economic growth, the development conflict represents the tension between social justice and the environment, and the resource conflict stands for the tension between environmental protection and economic growth. With this simple illustration, Campbell introduces a powerful argument: that sustainability is a vague and idealistic notion, composed of competing logics that are intrinsically in tension, and planners are unsure of how to go about resolving them (Rosenbloom, 2016).

Campbell's triangle has had a significant impact on contemporary planning discourse (Hirt, 2016). A special issue recently published in the Journal of the American Planning Association in celebration of the 20th anniversary of Campbell's 1996 paper explores its legacy (JAPA, 2016). In this issue, Schweitzer (2016) tracks how Campbell's work has been received by other scholars and finds that only few papers that cite Campbell focus on the conflict over values or the emphasis on justice. She also notes that

> Campbell does not get into the possibility that with environment, economy, and equity, the first two have formidable structural advantages that the latter—justice—simply does not have in contemporary politics. Campbell rather takes for granted that justice is a planning goal that matters in the sustainability matrix without really getting into how much of a disadvantage those who advocate for justice possess in terms of political, economic, cultural, and institutional power. (ibid.: 378)

She concludes by asserting that today we still struggle by what it would mean to incorporate both justice and sustainability in developments, both local and regional. Hirt (2016) argues in the same issue that while Campbell made a significant contribution to planners in framing their work, he neglected to include health and art in his triangle. Moreover, she questions whether the three concepts are inherently contradictory or, as she suggest, compatible in the long-run.

While in some respects much progress has been made in the study of sustainability since 1996, in some respects—as Schweitzer (2016) identifies in the special issue—much work remains to be done. Scholars generally agree that of the 'Three E's' of sustainability—environment, economy, and equity—equity has received significantly less attention than the other two (Oden, 2010; Schrock et al., 2015; Wachsmuth et al., 2016). The term *social sustainability* emerged in response to this gap, and some scholars employ it to examine social aspect s of sustainability such as accessibility to services, infrastructure, affordable housing, equity, and inclusion (Holden, 2012; Vallance et al., 2011). The term social sustainability has also been adopted by policy-makers as a policy framework for cities: for example, the city of Vancouver adopted the term as a basis for city-wide policies. Research on *green gentrification* has also brought closer the discussion on social and environmental justice, by tracing the social impacts of urban greening interventions such as new parks, urban agriculture projects, and community gardens (Curran and Hamilton, 2012; Gould et al., 2012; Pearsall, 2010; Dale and Newman, 2009). However, to a large extent discussions on environmental and social justice still compose complementary, but separate, strands of literature.

Theory and Practice of Justice in Planning

This section of the literature review has highlighted the various ways in which scholarly thinking about justice has unfolded chronologically and conceptually, or both. It also stressed that while the concept of justice has underpinned planning theories for a long time, not all of these theories considered the spatial configurations of justice. However, even theories that have paid attention to spatiality may or may not be instructive to planners. Campbell and Marshall (2006) argue that there has been a discrepancy between planning theories about justice and the practice of planning. They test the applicability of the conceptual tools that derive from the theories of Rawls and Habermas, which have dominated thinking about justice in planning, asking to what extent a liberal procedural conception of justice may be suitable to the everyday practice of planning, in other words the "planning activity."

Campbell and Marshall conclude that "in making what are essentially ethical choices about place planners will never find themselves in the Rawlsian original position, behind the veil of ignorance nor in a situation of Habermasian practical discourse" (ibid., 246). Additionally, they argue that Habermasian and Rawlasian conceptions of justice were not meant to provide the basis for the types of ethical choices that concern planners, although others would contest that claim (see, for example, Stein & Harper, 2005). Therefore, a theory of justice in planning should start from a particular socio-economic and institutional context, and then link that context to both processes and outcomes. Otherwise, theories of justice run the risk of being not only abstracted from a particular context—which is understandable in theorization—but also of applying only to idealized settings. In an earlier paper, Campbell (2006: 103) emphasized that justice must be understood in a relational and collective sense, in order to avoid "essentializing forms of localized justice". She explains that planning, as a value-laden profession that is grounded in time and space and involves making decisions, necessitates making ethical judgments. While she is careful not to suggest a relativist approach, she insists that "normative thinking about justice needs to start from an understanding of the way contexts are and the processes that shape their destinies" (p.98). Since planning is a political activity, planners should not hide their reasoning and present their decisions as neutral but, on the contrary, should bring questions and contestations into the open.

In general, the literature about social justice in planning has been heavily theoretical. A large strand of the literature is characterized by analyses of Rawlsian and Habermasian theories

of justice and ethics (McKay et al., 2012; Stein and Harper, 2005; Basta, 2016), while a much smaller strand of the literature has grounded those in empirical cases. Notable exceptions include Cardoso and Breda-Vazquez's (2007) analysis of the Portuguese planning system; Thomas's (2008) work on the role of minority-race planners in the search for a just city; Marcuse et al.'s (2009) edited book on the search for the just city with case studies from around the world; and Fainstien's (2010) book on the Just City, where principles of justice are tested against urban redevelopment policies in three cities. Notwithstanding the significant contribution of the theoretical literature, there is a lack of research that integrates theory and practice and informs on the relationship between conceptualizations of (in)justices and their implementation 'on the ground'.

Actually existing justice

Notably, several scholars have recently offered to concentrate efforts on finding cases of justice in the city, in other words, to adopt a more hopeful approach to justice (Fainstein, 2010; Williams, 2016b). Critical theorists such as Soja and Marcuse have pointed out that urban theory needs to move forward from exposing instances of injustice to identifying future possibilities (Iveson, 2011). Williams (2016b) takes the approach that researchers need not only document cases of injustice but also locate practices of justice and possibility at the urban scale, or, as she defines it, 'actually existing justice.'

While this is not an entirely new idea, as earlier works on utopia (Pinder, 2002), the good city (Friedmann, 2000) and emancipation (Lees, 2004) have shown, Williams (2016b: 3) argues that the focus of urban theory has been to examine injustice and oppressive power, risking "framing neoliberalism and globalization as totalizing discourses, as implicit forces that shape urban life." She offers instead to augment knowledge on how justice is practiced 'on the ground' in order to foster just cities through these identified practices. Importantly, Williams contends that we should not confuse 'critical research' with researching injustice, since research on achieving justice can be similarly critical. Related claims have been made by Fincher and Iveson (2012), who have stressed that planning for justice requires normative thinking, which has been ever present amongst planners but less of a concern for geographers. They too call to document cases where justice is being achieved in order to produce spaces of hope "alongside the many examples of despair" (ibid: 240).

Conflicting ideas of justice

Another thread of the literature has picked up on the challenge of defining social justice universally. While Fainstein and others have attempted to provide a working definition of justice, which if not entirely universal is at least applicable to democracies in the Western world, other scholars have emphasized the individuality and context-dependence of values such as equity and justice (Thomas, 2008; Watson, 2006; Watson, 2002; Campbell, 2006). Promoting a theorization of planning from the 'Global South', scholars such as Ananya Roy, Oren Yiftachel and Vanessa Watson, have called to rethink concepts such as social justice and the right to the city as contingent upon their respective geographies and politics. Watson (2006) has argued that normative theories that rest on the philosophies of Rawls and Habermas, which assume liberal conditions, may not be suitable to non-Western contexts, and in fact, a universal definition of justice does not exist.

Relatedly, different concepts of justice could be contradictory to one another. Alfasi and Fenster (2014), analyzing planning rhetoric associated with the Israeli Protest Movement in 2011, identified two competing sets of 'justice discourses' in their case study. The first, which they term *socio-spatial justice*, is rooted in applying principles of distributive and procedural justice to the planning field and the second discourse—termed *urban justice*— is a relatively new approach that emerged from New Urbanism and is concerned with the built environment. Alfasi and Fenster argue that each of these discourses adopts a different Rawlsian principle: the first discourse is associated with the principle of difference and the latter with the principle of fair equality of opportunity.

In practice, planners with different perceptions of justice struggled to reach an agreement of what would be just planning policies on a national scale. For example, some planners insisted that every settlement in the Israeli space should be treated equally in terms of distribution of governmental resources, support and regulation, whereas others argued that settlements with a majority of Arab residents should receive special treatment that takes into account their ethnicity. The authors show that the perception of what is considered just planning, even among advocates of justice, is deeply contested. Similarly, Brand's (2015) analysis of the meaning of equity in post-Katrina New Orleans shows that even within the same city, residents of different neighbourhoods had different interpretations of what equity meant. Their opinions were influenced by the different racial, class and cultural compositions of their respective

communities, which shows that equity is socially and politically constructed and reflects different material and political agendas.

Urban Waterfronts

In the last four decades, waterfront redevelopment projects have become a global phenomenon (Kostopoulou, 2013; Fisher and Benson, 2004). From the inner harbor in Baltimore to the docklands of London, from Shanghai to Toronto, Vancouver and Barcelona, virtually every city with a waterfront—be it a on a river, canal, an ocean or a lake— has undertaken a revitalization project centered on its waterfront. While not all projects are alike, global trends such as de-industrialization have opened up waterfronts for new uses, including tourism, housing and recreation in many post-industrial cities (Smith and Ferrari Soledad Garcia, 2012). The popularity of waterfront developments is owed to the abundance of waterfronts in cities around the world, which are typically close to the city center, and offer a range of uses as well as opportunities for further development (Shaw, 2001). Waterfront regeneration is a way of 'reclaiming the city' for different purposes and audiences (Chang and Huang, 2011). The waterfront redevelopment phenomenon has presented the waterfront with new uses such as leisure, recreation, retail and tourism, reflecting both economic and social needs (Cheung and Tang, 2015). Whereas initially waterfront redevelopment projects have been injected with mainly leisure and retail uses, contemporary redevelopments have been influenced by a move towards the service-economy, and a growing demand for cultural facilities. Accordingly, waterfronts increasingly host cultural venues and events, and their historic value has been capitalized on for attracting visitors and tourists (Kostopoulou, 2013). Many have associated waterfront redevelopments with a transition to a post-industrial, market-oriented economy, as ports bear witness to changing forms of labour and transportation.

The terminology of urban waterfronts encompasses a broad range of definitions depending on the landscape and environment, key ones being riverfronts, harbour-fronts or ports, coastal zones and beaches (Cheung and Tang, 2015). Al Ansari (2009) observes that while many definitions of the waterfront outline types of water bodies, a more holistic definition would describe the waterfront "as a special border type of urban zone that is both part of the city and in contact with a 'significant' water body" (adapted from Bruttomesso, 2001:46-8). This definition

not only refers to the water but also to the interaction between the built and natural environments, a combination that is a key element of waterfront redevelopment projects.

Waterfront redevelopments have been extensively documented in the literature, in the broad fields of geography, urban planning and design, architecture, environmental science, ecology, engineering and political science (Hoyle, 2000). It is important to note, however, that a majority of the available literature on waterfront redevelopments comes from the West, notably Europe, North America and Australia. This trend is slowly shifting, however, as more case studies from Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East become available (Al Ansari, 2009; Hoyle, 2002; Cheung and Tang, 2015; Broudehoux, 2013).

The Evolution of the Waterfront

From ancient times, the establishment of cities has been linked to the presence of a water body nearby, usually a river or a natural harbour (Porfyriou and Sepe, 2017). Water provided means of transportation, defence, leisure, and recreation (Shaw, 2001). Ports were integral parts of urban development throughout history, facilitating exchanges of goods, ideas and traditions through their multicultural nature (Porfyriou and Sepe, 2017). However, the relationship between cities and their waterfronts has changed considerably over the years, in response to transitions in the economy and industry, and in particular, changes in maritime technology. Davidson (2009) notes that while imperial trade and military expansion were the main drivers behind urban waterfront development throughout history, it is the industrial development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that left the greatest mark on contemporary waterfronts.

During the nineteenth century, the scaling up of manufacturing and a greater demand for raw materials meant an expansion in the physical infrastructure of port facilities to accommodate the growing traffic of shipping and goods. Hence, docklands became larger, extensive railway terminals were constructed, large warehouses were built, and the labour force grew accordingly (Davidson, 2009). In the past, waterfronts were an integral part of cities. However, the expansion of ports in the nineteenth century led to a growing detachment between cities and their ports. This process was due to changes in infrastructure, transportation, and the handling of goods. In many cases, a rigid separation between cities and their harbours developed (Porfyriou and Sepe, 2017) and "waterfront areas simply became the domain of heavy industry, rarely seen by most city residents" (Davidson, 2009:216). Port areas became home to water-dependent industries

such as textiles, dyes, breweries, milling, steel, power-stations and chemical plants, giving rise to land and water contamination (ibid.).

This period of growth was followed by a period of decline in the second half of the twentieth century, with the shift towards a postindustrial economy. According to Kostopoulou (2013), with the evolution of maritime technology and post-industrialization processes, as well as faster modes of air transportation, the twentieth century saw a drop in the importance of ports. Historically symbolizing growth and affluence, ports began to embody economic and social decay. In the 1960s, technological changes, namely the shift to container ships (containerization) significantly affected the relationship between cities and ports (Hein, 2016). As bigger vessels required deeper water and a considerably larger land area for loading and storage, new ports were built away from city centers (Hoyle, 2000). Containerization also considerably reduced the manpower that was necessary to handle shipping, subsequently affecting labour practices. The old central ports were rendered obsolete and thus available for redevelopment (Sieber, 1991; Davidson, 2009; Porfyriou and Sepe, 2017). Once home to manufacturing plants, cargo facilities and warehouses, historic ports nowadays mostly serve coastal transport needs and passengers, whereas freight activities are executed elsewhere (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2017).

To a large extent, then, the phenomenon of waterfront redevelopment stems from fundamental changes in the role of inner-city ports. These ports transformed from lively areas, in proximity to the historic heart of the city, to a zone of dereliction and decay. "The massive industrial and trading complexes that once dominated urban waterfronts", writes Davidson (2009:216), "became landscapes of despair." The communities that were left behind experienced economic decline, unemployment, and social problems. Davidson (2009) explains that initially, governments responded to the declining role of the port by attempts to restructure and modernize it, for example in London and in Toronto in the 1960s. However, changes in technology and labour were so profound that many conflicts arose between labour unions and the government. When government revitalization responses failed, container ports were built and the historic waterfront was left to dereliction, at a high cost for the dockland communities.

However, Hoyle (2000) stresses that the waterfront redevelopment phenomenon is not restricted to post-industrial port cities but also became popular in other locations, including rural areas. Thus, while waterfront redevelopment originated from changes in maritime technology, the spread of the phenomenon indicates that it became rooted in the realm of urban planning and

urban redevelopment (Hoyle, 2000). Figure 1 summarizes stages in the evolution of port-city interrelationships according to Hoyle, from medieval cities to the developments of the 2000s (2002).

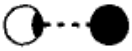
Stage	Symbol ○ City ● Port	Period	Characteristics
I primitive port/city		Ancient/medieal to 19th century	Close spatial and functional association between city and port.
II Expanding port/city		19th-early 20th century	Rapid commercial/industrial growth forces port to develop beyond city confines, with linear quays and break-bulk industries.
III Modern industrial port/city		Mid-20th century	Industrial growth (especially oil refining) and introduction of containers/ro-ro (roll-on, roll-off) requires separation/space.
IV Retreat from the waterfront		1960s-1980s	Changes in maritime technology induce growth of separate maritime industrial development areas.
V Redevelopment of waterfront		1970s-1990s	Large-scale modern port consumes large areas of land/water space; urban renewal of original core.
VI Renewal of port/city links		1980s-2000s+	Globalization and intermodalism transform port roles; port-city associations renewed; urban redevelopment enhances port-city integration.

Figure 1: Stages in the Evolution of Port-City Interrelationships
Source: Based on Hoyle, 2000.

The return to the waterfront

Shaw's (2001) typology distinguishes between three generations of waterfront redevelopments from the 1960s to the 1990s. During this period, the North American model of waterfront redevelopment, beginning in Baltimore and Boston, spread out to more and more cities around the world, becoming accepted into the mainstream and being applied in various contexts. In the first stage, cities such as Baltimore, which had retained much of their historic fabric, embarked on preservation heavily controlled by the public sector. These plans responded to the decay of the inner city that had characterized the postwar decades by reclaiming the waterfront with a series of flagship projects, such as aquariums and festival-market places. In the second stage, during the 1980s, public and public-private organizations were specifically set up to lead the development process, building on the Baltimore model. At this stage, waterfront

redevelopment had become a global phenomenon with projects in Sydney, Toronto, Cape Town, London and Barcelona. Additionally, the private market gained a more prominent role and planning was more plan-led and flexible. In the third stage, the international model became mainstreamed and applied to smaller cities and towns.

Shaw describes a process where ports were abandoned as a result of technological changes and deindustrialization, finding new life as high-profile developments with a mix of uses. Whereas Shaw postulated that the fourth generation of waterfront redevelopments in the new millennium would be scaled down due to the uncertainty that arose from the global economic recession, waterfront redevelopments seem to be continuing unabated. The popularity of waterfront redevelopment stems from the availability of former industrialized land in prime locations, close to downtown (Al Ansari, 2009; Stevens and Dovey, 2004). Furthermore, these areas contain great historical significance in the form of old buildings and quays (Kostopoulou, 2013). Porfyriou and Sepe (2017) argue that the 1960s waterfront development approach asserted a division between the harbour and the city that never existed before, considering the harbour as a separate element with respect to the city and constituting the 'waterfront' as a new concept in urban regeneration.

Waterfronts as a Field of Research

The emergence of waterfront redevelopments as a key theme in planning literature—and practice—began in the 1970s following the famous revival of North American waterfronts. Baltimore's waterfront has been noted by many scholars as the pioneer example. The transition of ports presented a major planning challenge but also an opportunity (Hoyle, 2000). With regards to the challenges, Gordon (2001: 16388) explains:

> The port authorities and railways withheld their lands and interjurisdictional conflicts impeded planning. Conflicting demands for economic development, parks, and jobs increased political difficulties. The sites were often polluted and encumbered with industrial structures like grain elevators, which have heritage value but are difficult to reuse. Port lands had inadequate local utilities and were often cut off from the CBD by expressways and railway lines, requiring large early infrastructure investments.

In a similar vein, Hein (2016) notes that cities had to develop new strategies to deal with the industrial structures, pollution, and deserted infrastructure that were typical of many inner-city

ports. Nonetheless, the development opportunities that were intertwined in these well-located, mostly publicly-owned lands, overcame the difficulties.

It is challenging to categorize waterfront redevelopments in one analytic framework—or theme— since waterfronts differ in scale, use, purpose, geographic context, and organizational frameworks. Accordingly, scholars have addressed waterfront redevelopments through various categories and disciplinary perspectives. Yet scholars have also identified important elements that make waterfront redevelopments a distinct form of urban redevelopment. From a *political* perspective, waterfronts have a significant symbolic value due to their central location: they are highly visible and often known as the 'face' of the city. From an *economic* perspective, waterfronts have served as prime locations for production and, increasingly, consumption, as well as a central touristic attraction. They also share a typical context of disinvestment, once unwanted and derelict areas and today in their new role they represent a high 'exchange value' in the form of desirable real-estate. In addition to the political and economic similarities associated with waterside locations, the *sociocultural* values—which refer to the perceived communal value of waterfronts—contribute to the distinctiveness of waterfronts as redevelopment sites (Davidson, 2009). Waterfronts are often part of the city's inventory of open spaces, which are valued for their sensual and physical qualities and their function as spaces of community gatherings (ibid.). These similarities have generated interest in the 'waterfront' as a distinct field or sub-field of inquiry, yielding in turn professional meetings, conferences, and various books and publications.

As the 'borders' between water and land, and as gateways to cities, waterfronts present unique challenges from a planning perspective. The competition for waterfront space, the need for public access to the shore and the conservation of waterfront biodiversity as a natural resource have thus become increasingly topical issues in urban policy (Sairinen and Kumpulainen, 2006). Moreover, the transformation processes involve the negotiation of a complex set of power relations between public and private stakeholders operating at a variety of scales (Dodman, 2008). The complexity of planning and executing waterfront regenerations is what makes them an interesting terrain for investigation. At the same time, as a form of urban redevelopment, waterfront redevelopments are affected by forces that shape regeneration more broadly, such as the intentions of planners and developers, the economic conditions and forms of governance that direct urban activity (Wakefield, 2007).

'Live, Work and Play': The Neoliberal Waterfront

A large strand of the literature has attributed waterfront redevelopments to the desire of cities to gain prestige and be competitive in a globalizing world (Boland et al., 2017; Rubin, 2011). Boland et al. (2016) explain that under the framework of neoliberal competitiveness, some cityscapes—waterfronts included among them—are valorized and receive enhanced planning attention. These high-profile spaces are perceived as new lifestyle centers that facilitate and attract "expensive apartments, creative, cultural and technological industries and commodified leisure and entertainment spaces" (p.3). Kostopoulou (2013) similarly observes that waterfronts have become hubs of 'creative' activities. In their examination of a riverfront transformation in Singapore, Chang and Huang (2011) have foregrounded the notion of 'worldliness', which means that cities employ these projects in order to create world class environments defined, notably, by Western terms. The authors note that, in this threefold process, cities reclaim: functionality, by transforming land-uses to maximize economic utility; access, by 'opening up' spaces; and local history and culture. However, this is often at the risk of losing indigenous lifestyles and the particularity of places.

The tendency of waterfront redevelopment projects to serve as tools for place-marketing and attraction of capital has been well-documented in the literature (Atkinson et al., 2002; Broudehoux, 2013; Jauhiainen, 1995). Projects such as the Docklands in London, Barcelona's waterfront redevelopment and Battery Park in New York have been touted as examples of neo-liberal governance and used to illustrate how corporate interests shape development. Andersen and Røe (2016) link the restructuring of the waterfront to the boost in entrepreneurial urban policy in many Western cities. Porfyriou and Sepe (2017:6) note that unless a more inclusive approach is adopted, one that is conscious of the historic and geographic context of the waterfront, waterfront redevelopments—whether property-led, housing-led or environmentally and culturally-led—are typically market-led redevelopments.

From a political perspective, the waterfront redevelopment trend coincides with broader trends in urban governance. Galland and Hansen (2012) observe that waterfront planning in the last several decades has been executed on a project-led approach taken by quasi-governmental or public–private agencies. This type of planning regime is open to market forces. Accordingly, many plans were led by a planning and economic development agency, for example, the Boston Redevelopment Authority, or a quasi-governmental organization, such as the London Docklands

Development Corporation. Galland and Hansen explain, however, that waterfront developments are influenced by diverse factors and political players, and so planning models are flexible and hybrid. They conclude that "waterfront redevelopment projects are being carried out as spatial strategy-making projects comprised by several actors and arenas that engage in specific governance processes qualified by a range of embedded cultural values" (ibid., p.220). Still, they note, the private sector has an increasing role in shaping how the public interest in these projects is defined. Changing perceptions of the public good were also documented in Toronto's waterfront by Lehrer and Laidley (2008), who identify a shift from a collective to a more individualized form of public benefits. The authors attribute this process to changes in institutional frameworks that are associated with urban development; in the Toronto case, a mega-project executed in the context of global competitiveness and economic restructuring, and run by a corporation funded by all three levels of government.

Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez (2002) include several waterfront redevelopment cases within a larger study that examines large-scale urban development projects (UDPs) in the context of neoliberal urbanization in European cities. With regards to urban governance, the authors argue that these projects, rather than being a result of changes in urban policy, are the drivers of a new political and economic regime in and of themselves. Through surveying 13 large-scale UDPs, the authors contend that the newly created urban regimes entail the submission of formal government structures to new institutions and organizations. By means of greater flexibility, "these quasi-private and highly autonomous organizations compete with and often supersede local and regional authorities as protagonists and managers of urban renewal" (ibid., 556). These new organizations are celebrated as a better and more transparent form of governance although in practice, the authors note, UDPs often lead to social exclusion. Importantly, and in contrast to the prevalent entrepreneurial discourse, the state is an important factor in the creation and execution of large-scale UDPS. States and local governments encourage the 'exceptionality' of these projects by creating new policy tools, actors, and institutions to implement them. Planning is still powerful, but it takes on a new form. Indeed, the authors summarize," the [New Urban Policy] is closely associated with fundamental shifts from traditional government structures to a more diffused, fragmented, and flexible mode of governance" (ibid.: 573).

The argument that waterfront redevelopments reflect broader changes in politics and governance has been picked up by other scholars. For example, Desfor and Jørgensen (2004) delineate the redevelopment of Copenhagen's waterfront in the context of urban governance, elucidating how the growing emphasis on economic growth pushed for a more flexible, ad hoc model of urban planning. The cases mentioned above—from Copenhagen, Toronto, Aalborg, and others—are used to illustrate how in the last four decades the waterfront has been retrofitted to accommodate shifting rationales and accordingly, new governance models. This process is not unique to the waterfront but is indicative of a larger process of capital accumulation and shifting urban regimes that is taking place worldwide. In all of these cases, scholars call attention to issues of social exclusion and marginalization, which might proliferate with the rise of new political actors that are not in charge of the 'public good'—such as developers—as well as from changing governmental priorities. However, Feldman (2000), through the example of Tallinn, emphasizes that governance structures vary greatly and one has to be careful in making universal claims.

A glocal phenomenon

To be sure, the tensions between the 'local' and 'global' aspects of waterfront redevelopments have occupied scholarls' attention (Brownill, 2013; Desfor et al., 2011). The universality of the Western model of redevelopment is apparent, with many waterfronts in Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and North America all resemble one another "with their ubiquitous cafés and stylised architecture"(Chang & Huang, 2011:2096). In Singapore, Chang and Huang note that ironically the revamped, cosmopolitan riverfront space has been a source of pride and content for locals, yet a disappointment for tourists who traveled great distances to observe "yet another 'global' landscape" (ibid.). In her analysis of waterfront developments in Barcelona, Cardiff and Genoa, Jauhiainen, (1995 :20) provides an acute observation about the policy mobility process that is characteristic of such developments:

> Unfortunately, it has been common practice for some members of local councils and planning offices, even including the mayor, to make a trip to the most well-known redeveloped waterfront areas, especially to Baltimore Inner Harbour and to London Docklands, to see (= *to look*) how the regeneration was done (= *how it looks like*). The slide shows of the dramatic views before and after the redevelopment connected to the festival market-style atmosphere of the present situation have turned all glittering to gold in the mind of the viewer. After the visit their own waterfront easily looks like the black-

> and white pictures 'before', and the developer's multi-coloured multi-media presentation gives a certain idea how the 'after' was reached. It is no wonder that there is always a clear blue sky and water in the developer's regeneration schemes and how the reality seems to be often so grey.

Jauhiainen (1995: 21) nicely summarizes this global policy mobility process in the famous saying "something old, something new, something borrowed and something blue": the *old* refers to the physical environment, the *new* to the waterfront development phenomenon, the *borrowed* to the similarity across projects, and the *blue* to the omnipresent water ingredient and to the ways in which development models are transplanted anywhere, often at the cost of marginalization and displacement of people. The tension between the local and global, then, generates questions of authenticity, as well as the audience for the development. Indeed, the balance between the different needs is not an easy one to achieve. Waterfront redevelopments are glocal, however, not only due to policy mobility processes. The ubiquity of the redevelopment phenomenon means that waterfronts represent a local response to global processes as they affect a given place.

It is not surprising, then, that waterfront redevelopments have been contested in the literature. On the one hand, celebratory accounts from around the world convey success stories of how waterfront redevelopments have breathed new life into decaying economies of post-industrial cities, attracted tourists, and transformed derelict areas into lively hubs (Breen et al., 1994; Smith and Ferrari Soledad Garcia, 2012; Marshall, 2001). Brownill (2013) notes that many of these 'success stories' were promoted by practitioners who designed 'models' of transformation to encourage policy-transfer of the North-American prototype through international symposiums, handbooks and visits. On the other hand, critics see these projects as mere reflections of global economic restructuring, where neoliberal regimes and developers join hands to powerfully shape the new waterfronts as 'profit-generating machines', in a unidirectional, predictable manner (Broudehoux, 2013). According to these accounts, issues of social equity are marginalized as redevelopments often result in high-end, exclusive spaces (Tasan-Kok and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2011).

Nevertheless, one must be careful in depicting waterfronts univocally as "victims of global forces" (Brownill, 2013: 49). In practice, waterfront developments are not an 'either-or' phenomenon; they are neither serially identical developments subject to universal economic forces, nor places where local issues and participatory planning can determine the outcome. To

quote Brownill (2013, 206), "waterfronts are contested arenas bounded in space and time in which the local interacts with global processes in a way that is mediated by unequal power relations, but does not in itself have to lead to a particular outcome or follow a prescribed model." Adopting a simplistic view of development, Brownill argues, denies the possibility for alternative models, such as developments that include social housing, community land-trust and community uses. Moreover, she posits, the ways in which 'models' are shaped and implemented are complex and the outcomes are debatable.

Indeed, recent literature on waterfront redevelopments highlights the contingency of 'market forces', 'culture' and 'identity' to simultaneously exist, hence presenting a more nuanced view on development dynamics (Ferreira and Visser, 2007; Ramsey, 2011; Oakley, 2014; Chang et al., 2004; Rubin, 2011). Desfor et al (2011) have situated waterfronts between the 'fixity' of places (built environments, institutional and regulatory frameworks, and cultural practices) and the 'flows' (processes of capital accumulation, information, labour and knowledge). Oakley (2014) offers the theoretical framework of critical urban assemblage, a concept that brings together ideas, policies, people, capital and strategies. Adopting this approach in her analysis of the Port Adelaide redevelopment in Australia allows her to conclude that the logic of the redevelopment is dynamic and flexible, serving not only a neoliberal agenda but a wide array of interests.

Access and Public Space

The related themes of access(ibility) and public space have been key to waterfront studies. These themes directly stem from the key rationale of many waterfront redevelopments, that is, connecting cities with their waters and, as evident in many policy documents, reviving under-utilized areas as spaces of civic engagement. Accordingly, scholars have critically examined whether waterfront redevelopments have indeed resulted in accessible and inviting public spaces. Many have documented cases of exclusion and argue that waterfront redevelopments result in the sanitzation of public space (Searle and Byrne, 2002), although these outcomes are not uniform. Ramsey (2011) notes that the notions of 'openess' and 'reconnection' with the city were important narratives in the debate about Seattle's waterfront, framing the discussion as 'a waterfront for all'.

Dodman (2008) explored three case studies in Jamaica to compare the ways in which the waterfront spaces are being used and appropriated by locals. He found that the three locales differed in the level of welcoming locals and in the implementation of deliberate and more subtle mechanisms of exclusion. While the Caribbean islands are a unique example due to the heavy influence of cruise ship tourism on their economy and development, Dodman's findings point to the relations between the physical transformation of the waterfront and the local historical, social, economic and cultural circumstances, as well as the different forms of urban regime, which vary even within the same country. Ferreira and Visser (2007), who studied the impact of the Victoria and Alfred waterfront development in Cape Town, argue that, despite common critiques of waterfront developments as exclusionary spaces, the waterfront in Cape Town is used by, and accessible to, diverse crowds including lower-middle class residents and on occasion, even the poor.

Importantly, issues of exclusion relate to the control of public space and are not necessarily unique to the waterfront. Stevens and Dovey (2004 :354) emphasize the tensions that emerge between the "global urban design formula" of the waterfront as a place of play and spectacle and its local appropriation by diverse groups for unplanned leisure or political activities, in other words, "[the] cracks in the spectacle" (p.358). While Melbourne's riverfront was planned to attract wealthy clientele, the less carefully-designed section of the promenade draws, in fact, diverse and unintended audiences such as skateboarders, cyclists and occasional performers, who use it as a lively public space. Thus, the use of the waterfront as a civic space is not always predictable.

Culture, Tourism and Heritage

Heritage issues in waterfront redevelopments have received widespread attention, as scholars have examined the transformation of the waterfront from an industrial hub to a tourist attraction, examining both physical and cultural aspects (Marshall, 2001; Oakley, 2005; Chang and Huang, 2011). Much attention has been directed towards the built environment and tangible aspects of maritime heritage. Steinberg (1999) notes that the 'postmodern urban waterfront' tends to treat the ocean as a nostalgic source of spectacle and folk culture for capital accumulation purposes, but fails to represent its role in contemporary marine activity including labour, production, or transportation. This trend is particularly evident in the 'festival

marketplace' type developments, which tend to be located in former warehouses and use fishing nets and anchors as decoration. Oakley (2005: 322) has pointed to the challenges of maintaining the "manual, dirty and working class" nature of the working port in redevelopments that prioritize lifestyle and entrepreneurship, noting that the architecture of ports tends to be privileged over working and community life.

Indeed, waterfront redevelopment projects across the world have shown that the treatment of heritage may be confined to material aspects such as the reuse of old buildings and/or museums: the maritime heritage is typically highlighted through a conversion of obsolete industrial structures to new spaces of retail and recreation, while keeping their industrial facades. Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner (2002:28) observe that "former mills or warehouses, although stripped of their industrial functions and sanitised as clean, modern spaces, nevertheless serve as symbolic reminders of the original industrial functions of the locality and, consequently, of the distinctive history and identity of their city." They continue by arguing that these buildings serve not only to celebrate the maritime past but also "to mobilise this history and commodify memories for contemporary economic development" (ibid).

However, maritime heritage extends beyond the symbolic role of the built environment and the nostalgic past, especially in places where the waterfront is still an active space of livelihood and community. Thus, the shift from the waterfront as a site of production to a site of consumption can be a source of contention as well as a "misuse" of heritage values (Porfyriou and Sepe 2017:6). Examining the waterfront from a heritage perspective means that special attention must be paid to the traditional users of this space. In the context of fishermen, for example, Nadel-Klein (2003) shows that in light of the declining fishing industry worldwide, their salvation ironically may lie in embracing a new identity as symbolic showcases of heritage— without catching or selling fish—thus becoming subjects of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990 cited in Nadel-Klein 2003). However, such transformation threatens their core identity as "primary producers of food" (Martindale, 2014:283) and as such, causes resentment and resistance in some cases (Nadel-Klein 2003). Fishermen, thus, experience environmental, economic and social transformations as their livelihood becomes subject of heritage tourism.

Finally, examining waterfronts from a heritage perspective highlights the need to understand both the tangible and intangible aspects of maritime heritage. The waterfront is a physical place, but also a site where cultural practices take place. Oakley (2005) observes that

paradoxically, redevelopments utilize the maritime heritage and history of ports in the process of converting them to new landscapes of leisure and consumption. This often results in a lost sense of place for local communities.

Ecology, Nature and Sustainability

As places where land and water meet, waterfronts have also been studied as contact zones between human and non-human entities from the perspectives of sustainability, ecology, political ecology and environmental justice. In their introduction to a special issue on Political ecologies of urban waterfront transformations in the journal *Cities*, Bunce and Desfor (2007) wish to draw attention to the ways in which a political ecology approach may enhance the understanding of waterfront transformations since it:

> (1) incorporates analyses of the complex and fluid connections in society and nature, and further, the inseparability of society and nature in the production of these landscapes; (2) includes relationships between urbanization, scale, and policy in urban waterfront planning and development; and (3) provides for analyses that view urban waterfronts as subjective, open, and constantly changing areas for research rather than static and insular sites of investigation (p.253).

In particular, Bunce and Desfor argue, a political ecology approach accentuates how nature is being socially produced by society. The authors contend that the presence of nature in urban waterfronts—in the form of bodies of water, land formations and ecosystems—has been instrumental to [their] "history of power relations and economic production" (ibid.). More recent trends in waterfront redevelopments, they note, have included cleanups of contaminated lands and water from their industrial legacy, restoration of ecosystems and the adoption of more 'environmental friendly' enterprises. However, Hein (2016) finds that environmental issues, such as sea-level rise, climate change, water quality and waste management, have been overlooked in practice and understudied with respect to waterfront redevelopment planning.

Hagerman (2007) uses the case study of Portland to show how concepts of nature and ecology can be used cynically in revitalizing waterfront neighbourhoods with 'liveablity' principles. Even in a city known for its progressive politics such as Portland, he claims, the ecological and greenery aspects of planning the waterfront areas were minor compared to economic development goals. The green discourse was used to "soften criticism of other aspects of the development plans, such as views blocked by new condominium towers, increased traffic

congestion, lack of schools or services, little planned affordable housing, relocation of social services for the homeless and the creation of exclusion areas for marginalized populations" (p.293). Much of the green space that was promised throughout the planning process was not delivered, and one of the two parks that were developed aimed, in fact, at selected publics by restraining access to dogs and unwanted activities. Thus, the connection with the river was only symbolically achieved, and ecological considerations were selectively deployed to serve the image of a liveable city but without applying the concept holistically.

Waterfronts and Social Justice

As this literature review has accentuated, waterfront redevelopments have served as fertile grounds for investigating a wide array of topics, such as urban revitalization, urban design, heritage conservation, tourism, ecological and environmental issues, leisure, and culture. Despite the extensive research that has been carried out on waterfront redevelopments to date, little research has examined issues of justice in the design and implementation of redeveloped waterfronts (Hein, 2016); rather, far more attention has been placed on the global, entrepreneurial and neo-liberal regimes under which many projects are undertaken. The lack of research on justice is despite the fact that waterfronts are often places of high-end housing and facilities, illustrative of "elite-dominated decision making mechanisms, social polarization, and spatial fragmentation" (Tasan-Kok and Sungu-Eryilmaz, 2011: 257). While some scholars raise questions on social justice in their overall analysis (e.g. Jauhiainen, 1995), few have used the angle of social justice as the main anchor of their research. Recently, however, scholars have begun to emphasize social aspects, including, for example, Sairinen and Kumpulainen's (2006) "Assessing social impacts in urban waterfront regeneration" and Smith and Ferrari Soledad Garcia's (2012) *Waterfront regeneration: experiences in city building*; yet even though these examples examine social aspects, they do not explicitly look into issues of social justice.

Sairinen and Kumpulainen (2006) developed a methodology to assess the social impacts of waterfront redevelopments. They examine the different ways to experience the waterfront. Their goal is to increase the awareness among planners of the social and cultural aspects of waterfront areas, such as the physical, recreational and cultural links between waterfronts and communities. Consequently, they identified four categories that fall under the social dimensions

of waterfronts: resources and identity, social status, access and activities, and waterfront experience.

Wessells's (2014) "Urban Blue Space and 'The Project of the Century: Doing Justice on the Seattle Waterfront and for Local Residents" is a promising step in addressing justice explicitly. Wessells examines social justice in Seattle's waterfront redevelopment through a four-layered understanding of justice: environmental, economic, social and tribal. She finds that in order to bring about just urban development on the waterfront, equal emphasis should be placed on economic prosperity, environmental protection, social equity and cultural diversity. Indeed, translating these principles into practical terms is not a straightforward task, but she offers lessons to help alleviate patterns of injustice. More recently, Andersen and Røe (2016) evaluated the social and political context and planning process of a flagship project in Oslo's waterfront, paying particular attention the role of architects in the planning process. They conclude that although one of the project's goals was to contribute to social sustainability, in reality the project was insensitive to its social environment and detached from it, thereby not contributing to the fulfillment of a Just City. The authors ascribe this gap to the architects' desire to create a first-class urban space that would glorify their firm, which took priority over concerns for the social fabric of the city.

Finally, Tasan-Kok and Sungu-Eryilmaz (2011) examine innovative instruments for socially sustainable waterfront redevelopment in Antwerp and Rotterdam. They note that with the shift towards neoliberal policy and entrepreneurial government regimes, local administrations move away from social policies and welfare towards greater competiveness. In both Antwerp and Rotterdam, although to a lesser extent in Rotterdam, policies that promoted social cohesion, affordability and diversity in the new developed waterfronts were sporadic and only secondary to economic development goals. While some affordable housing was provided in these cases, its scope was limited and the local communities were not engaged in meaningful ways in the planning process. The authors propose that the North American models of Community Land Trust and Community Benefit Agreements may be useful to enhance the social sustainability of such projects, however; these tools were not employed in the cases they studied.

3. Research Design and Methodology

Qualitative Research

This research builds on a qualitative, comparative, case-study methodology. Qualitative research is a complex and rich field that encompasses a wide range of practices and methods (Maginn, 2007; Leavy, 2014) and is used in a wide range of disciplines. The qualitative methodology suits questions that aim to understand processes in depth. It is particularly useful to understand the root causes of social phenomena and lived experiences of people, as well as the contextual, cultural, and political factors that shape social realities. Thompson (2006:19) notes that qualitative research practice typically includes a range of methods; incorporates the participants' points of view; gives prominence to context; and involves "a reflective, connected researcher; and flexibility in the application of the research process."

Qualitative research is about cultivating a thorough understanding of a case or cases through their practices, processes, meanings, and structures. This investigation relies on a wide range of primary and secondary data sources including oral, textual, visual, and even statistical (Maginn, 2007). The definition of a case is broad; cases may include places, policies, groups and communities, or organizations. Since the research presented in this dissertation focuses on understanding phenomena in depth, including decision-making processes, perceptions of individuals and groups, and political conditions, a qualitative methodology is well-suited to answer the research questions. Essentially, qualitative research has the capacity to produce analytic accounts that advance our knowledge of the world. This knowledge may be utilized to improve conditions through a contribution to policy making and evaluation (Maginn, 2007).

A Comparative Framework

My research calls for a comparative approach that enables us to understand the global spread of ideas and processes in urban development, while being conscious of the local context (Harris, 2008; Herbert, 2010). Waterfront redevelopments are a global phenomenon, and yet, they are shaped by local factors. Comparative research entails accounting for both similarities and differences, although one of these components may be more prominent than the other, depending on the situation (Palmberger and Gingrich, 2013). Palmberger & Gingrich (2013:98) note that comparative research "[moves] beyond the particular without necessarily reaching out

for universals." Comparative inquiry is not an independent method per se, but it offers an approach to doing research. In essence, a comparative approach enables one to work with concepts and question their applicability across a spectrum of different cases. Having more than once case allows researchers to examine the relationship between one instance and many instances of phenomena; to question how far concepts travel and to what degree of validity; and to build on greater diversity in the process of developing conceptual understanding (Robinson, 2016). Bringing cases in conversation with each other also allows one to reflect critically on existing theories, to point to limitations or to raise questions about one case while being aware of the dynamics of another case (Robinson, 2011).

There is more than one approach to selecting case studies for comparison. While some researchers argue that comparisons should be made with relatively similar cases in order to single out striking differences, others note that even seemingly similar cases exhibit many differences, so the significance is in choosing relevant elements for comparison. Accordingly, a wide variety of examples can be found in the literature, stretching from comparing cities in the same country to comparing cities with a radically different geographical and political contexts. For example, Harris (2008) compares gentrification in London and Mumbai, and Rokem (2016) compares segregation, violence and non-governmental organization involvement in planning in Jerusalem and Stockholm.

In a widely-cited paper ("Cities in a World of Cities: The Comparative Gesture"), Jennifer Robinson (2011) argues that despite the centrality of comparative thinking to urban studies, there has been relatively little international comparative research. While there is not enough space here to delineate her complex argument in full, Robinson argues that researchers should move beyond traditional comparative thought that assumes the incommensurability of different kinds of cities towards a more flexible approach. There is no reason to presume, she contends, that wealthy and poorer cities hold no relevance for each other. Comparisons should not be based on narrow geographical foundations, economic systems, or political environments (e.g. cities of similar size, geography, or development status). Robinson also resists the pseudo-scientific method of choosing cities that are presumably similar on many grounds, with the assumption that "if you work with relatively similar contexts, you can more easily control the likely sources of variation" (p.10). She questions whether nationally defined levels of economic development, for example, are the variables that are really the most significant ones to examine.

Alternatively, Robinson suggests that in many cases, comparisons on a smaller scale (e.g. projects, processes), and/or of diverse cities, may produce fruitful lessons even if radically different cities are compared.

In a more recent paper, Robinson (2016) further develops her call for a more creative and experimental approach to comparative studies. The title of her paper—"Thinking cities through elsewhere: Comparative tactics for a more global urban studies"—summarizes her proposition to think about the urban through "elsewhere", meaning through various cases, contexts, theories and connections to other places. Instead of comparing cities, researchers may compare specific elements or processes and/or the circulation of ideas. Robinson suggests to reconceptualize the grounds for comparative research as 'genetic'— tracing the strongly interconnected genesis of often repeated urban phenomena—and generative—choosing cases with similarities to create and revise concepts. She concludes by arguing:

> A reformulated comparativism can start theorizing anywhere, imagine any city as a destination for thinking from elsewhere, if that seems productive, and find openings for new analyses in the certain knowledge that conceptualization is fraught with both uncertainties and potentialities, disjunctures and analytical proximities. Our inspiration then can be to seek opportunities for thinking the urban with elsewhere, in order to multiply and to unground analytical insights. (p.23)

Robinson makes an important contribution in moving away from methodological constrains towards a more inclusive, and possibly more productive, framework for comparing diverse urban settings (e.g. wealthy and poor cities, small and large, capitalist and socialist).

Case Studies

A case study "documents a particular situation or event in detail in a specific sociopolitical context" (Simons, 2014: 455). It is an in-depth exploration of a particular project, policy, institution or system via various methods and from multiple perspectives (ibid). Case studies are invaluable for understanding processes in depth within their 'real-life' context, for testing existing theories and for generating new ones, and for examining the interaction between individual action and public institutions (Yin, 2014). Case study research can produce rich information and consequently affect our understanding of social phenomena. The importance of case studies as a meaningful qualitative research tool has been established in the literature time and time again (Yin, 2014; Fischler, 2000; Flyvbjerg, 2006). The case study methodology

enables researchers to comprehend the historic context of each case, identify the actors involved, and sketch out the process of deliberation, decision-making, and implementation that led to the current situation. Simons (2014) notes that case study research is not defined by methodology or method. It may include a variety of sources and methods and "no one has a monopoly on the term [case study]." Duminy et al. (2014) emphasize that the uniqueness of the case study is in the process of delineating conceptual, geographic and temporal boundaries around a case unit and studying what is occurring within these boundaries.

Case studies require intensive analysis and understanding of complexity. Their strength is in presenting "what has happened in a given setting, and how" (Duminy et al., 2014: 23), as well as why. Case studies are also suitable to analyze dynamic processes over time. They allow the researcher to focus on actors as well as structures, always in relation to the wider context of the environment in which they are located. In a widely-cited paper, Bent Flyvbjerg (2006) refutes five common misunderstandings about case-study research:

> (a) Theoretical knowledge is more valuable than practical knowledge;
> (b) One cannot generalize from a single case, therefore, the single-case study cannot contribute to scientific development; (c) the case study is most useful for generating hypotheses, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building; (d) the case study contains a bias toward verification; and (e) it is often difficult to summarize specific case studies.

Flyvbjerg analyzes these claims one by one, showing how thoroughly executed case studies are not only valuable but critical to producing "concrete, context-dependent knowledge" (223) since, essentially, this is the only type of knowledge that we have in the study of human affairs (ibid.).

In a similar vein, Duminy et al. (2014: 30-31), following Flyvbjerg (2001), argue that selecting a good case:

> Depends strongly on a researcher's experience, or perhaps even a vague 'hunch' that a particular case is rich in information and learning potential. These facts are somewhat problematic in institutional academic contexts where researchers are meant to observe rigorous criteria for selecting cases, and to justify their decisions before commencing fieldwork.

In fact, Duminy et al. note that justifying the selection of a case is often done retrospectively, which is not necessarily a problem. They make a point that researchers should be aware that the selection of cases is often an 'educated guess' rather than a definitive methodological

predetermination, and so they should be flexible and inductive in how they approach case study research.

Selection of cases

The cases selected for this research are waterfront redevelopments located in two global, multicultural cities: Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, Israel, and Washington, D.C., US. Waterfront redevelopments already exhibit some important similarities, yet there is clearly still great diversity across waterfront projects. Since this research explores questions of social justice, I have identified redevelopment cases where at least some reference has been made to issues of justice and equity in the redevelopments' vision and plans; while one can study the question of social justice in any redevelopment process, there is value in studying cases where issues of justice have been negotiated. The reference to justice can be made by various actors (e.g. municipal planners, developers, grassroots organizations), explicitly or implicitly, and with different degrees of commitment to that goal.

Whereas the academic literature is rich with accounts of injustice and exclusion in redevelopment projects, examining cases where justice and equity were a focal point may generate an understanding of the conditions that allow more inclusive redevelopments. While each redevelopment case is unique, the selected cases—in Jaffa and Washington—indicate some level of intention to integrate the local community and deliver spaces of work, recreation and leisure for all. Furthermore, since inequality issues are central to each of these two cities, as well as to the redevelopment process, they are appropriate cases to investigate questions of social justice. Since this research also examines the potential tradeoffs between social and environmental justice, I ensured that one of my cases (Anacostia Waterfront Initiative) includes a significant environmental component.

However, as this research shows, planning goals do not always translate neatly into planning outcomes. As in any research, there is always a 'risk' that the findings will not match the objectives set in the original research design. Flyvbjerg (2006) notes that many researchers have experienced findings that contradict their hypotheses and preconceived views. He candidly shares his own experience of picking the 'wrong' case study (231):

> Therefore, instead of a critical case, unwittingly I ended up with an extreme case[2]. . . . But this selection of Aalborg as an extreme case happened to me, I did not deliberately choose it. It was a frustrating experience when it happened, especially during those several months from when I realized I did not have a critical case until it became clear that all was not lost because I had something else. As a case researcher charting new terrain, one must be prepared for such incidents, I believe.

In his case, this 'mistake' did not prevent Flyvbjerg from publishing his findings in what turned out to be a well-known book. Still, the selection of case studies may lead to unexpected results. It is important to pay attention to the potential discrepancy between research objectives and findings as the research unfolds.

The period in which the projects were executed was also an important selection criterion. Since I was interested in evaluating the outcomes of the redevelopments, I was interested in cases where the project had been completed or is at an advanced execution stage. At the same time, in order to be able to access materials and interview stakeholders who have been involved in the planning process, the projects had to be relatively recent. The Jaffa Port and the AWI are nearing completion, although they might be further developed at a later stage. The 11th Street Bridge Park is an exception to this criterion, however, since the park is at an early execution stage. Nevertheless, the fact that the project is relatively recent enabled me to learn about the planning process more in depth. I intend to continue to follow-up on this project as it develops.

The selection of the cases also included pragmatic considerations such as language, location, accessibility, and availability of sources. These practical issues are, in fact, extremely important, since they affect the fieldwork process and the researcher's access to data (Duminy et al., 2014). It was important to me to choose cases where documents were available in English and/or Hebrew and interviewing did not require translators. I was already familiar with the urban history of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa from previous work, which was a significant asset in this current research. In addition, I had met the former CEO of the redevelopment and knew he would be willing to be interviewed for my research. In D.C., I had contact with the former director of planning (during the time that the AWI was conceived), thanks to the supervisor of this research.

[2] By a 'critical case', Flyvbjerg (2006) means a case with strategic importance in relation to the general problem. A critical case follows the logic of "if it is valid for this case, it is valid for all (or many) cases" (p.230). An extreme case is an unusual case, "[which] can be well-suited for getting a point across in an especially dramatic way" (p.229). These categories are not mutually exclusive.

In addition, in both cities there has been virtually no or very little research on these projects, which made the potential contribution more significant.

Selected cases

This dissertation includes three cases in two cities. Initially, I selected the Jaffa port redevelopment and the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI) as my two cases for comparison. When I began researching the AWI, however, I learned about another ongoing redevelopment called the 11th Street Bridge Park, also in the Anacostia area. The managers of the project have placed a large emphasis on equity—producing an Equitable Development Plan—which made it a relevant case for this study. While the Bridge Park is executed in an area that was included in the AWI, it is a separate project, not part of the AWI. Therefore, I treat it as a separate case throughout this dissertation. The following section includes a brief background on each case.

Jaffa Port Redevelopment, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa (2007-2010): Jaffa is a former Palestinian city that was incorporated into the Tel-Aviv municipality in 1950 following the 1948 Israeli-Arab War. About 30 percent of the Jaffa population is of Palestinian origin. The port of Jaffa is one of the most ancient ports in the world, and it carries a significant cultural and historical value. The old city of Jaffa is an ethnically contested area facing strong development pressures and rapid gentrification (Monterescu and Rabinowitz, 2007). In the late 1990s, the Israeli Land Authority, the owner of the port's land, decided to sell it to private developers; however, as a result of a public campaign led by the fishing community and other organizations, the ownership was transferred to Tel-Aviv-Jaffa municipality instead. In 2007, the municipality embarked on a redevelopment plan that sought to reposition the port as a tourist attraction—an arts and culture and leisure center—alongside its historic function as a fishing port. The vision of the redevelopment indicated an inclusive, participatory approach that took into consideration the conflicting uses of this space.

The Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, Washington, D.C. (2003-present): The Anacostia Riverfront redevelopment in Washington, D.C. started in the early 2000s as a joint federal and local venture. The predominantly Black neighborhoods east of the riverfront are amongst the poorest areas of the city, characterized by a history of displacement of residents, public housing projects and decay, and a legacy of environmental contamination. The

redevelopment project aimed to create a lively waterfront, rehabilitate the contaminated river and connect it to the communities, as well as generate new growth areas west of the river. The project was initiated by Mayor Anthony Williams, who had a central role in forging the local-federal partnership and promoting the progressive vision for the redevelopment project (Brandes, 2005). Today, the riverfront offers a mix of recreation, mixed-use developments and sports facilities over a large stretch of the river.

The 11th Street Bridge Park, Washington, D.C. (2013-present): Initially originated in the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, the Bridge Park project is a public-private partnership promoted by an NGO east of the river. This proposed elevated park will be constructed on the remaining piers of the former 11th Street Bridge on the Anacostia River, physically connecting the District's poorest and richest wards. Efforts to promote the park are led by a coalition of organizations that aim to make its development equitable and inclusive. The 11th Street Bridge Park has been executing an Equitable Development Plan since 2015, and although construction has not yet begun, a special Task Force is coming up with initiatives to prevent gentrification and displacement of residents from the area.

Cases are selected both for their similarities and for their differences. The similarities among cases allows for a comparative analysis of key issues, while their differences makes possible the study of some issues in greater depth. The cases exhibit important similarities and differences:

Similarities

a) Redevelopments undertaken in relatively poor and marginalized areas of the city, areas with a history of institutional neglect and exclusion of residents.
b) Cities with significant ethnic (Jaffa) and racial (D.C.) minorities: Palestinian minority in Jaffa, Black population in Washington D.C. In both cities, the areas under development are home to these minorities. Indeed, Jaffa is particular in terms of its status as a mixed city in Israel, a country that has been described in the literature as an ethnocracy (Yiftachel, 2006b; Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2003). Therefore, some of the lessons may be specific to the context of conflict/divided cities. However, both countries—and cities—have histories of painful majority/minority relations and violence.

Differences

a) Scale: small scale redevelopments in Jaffa and in the 11th Street Bridge Park, large-scale redevelopment in the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative,
b) In Jaffa the *environmental* aspect is absent, while in Washington, D.C. it is prominent due to pollution of the river.
c) The Jaffa port still functions as a fishing port. Thus, the conflict between labour and tourism is more apparent there in contrast to D.C.
d) Different government structures: a municipal project in Jaffa, Federal-local partnership in Washington, D.C., a non-governmental public-private partnership in the Bridge Park case.

Methods

The case study methodology applied in this research included several methods, including semi-structured and unstructured interviews, participant and visual observations, and analysis of documents. More information on each method is provided in the following sections.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the main research method employed in this research. They are one of the most common tools in qualitative research (Longhurst, 2003). Employed in a wide range of the social sciences, and increasingly in the 'hard' sciences, semi-structured interviews provide a relatively accessible way to generate information on people's beliefs, interpretations, experiences, and understanding of various phenomena. Yet, they also present challenges in their execution, scope and analysis. For example, interviewees may not be very talkative or, they might drift off to other topics. The interviewer has to listen carefully to the interviewee and think of the next question at the same time, which can be demanding. Often, due to time constrains, not all topics and questions can be covered, which might pose difficulties later during the analysis phase.

Situated between the extremes of structured and unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews employ an interview guide. The guide is a list of open-ended questions and topics to be covered in the interview, usually in a certain order and according to themes (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). The level of detail in the interview guide varies, from detailed questions to general themes (Harrison, 2009). In this research, I chose to employ the semi-structured

interview method. While the overall structure and themes of the interview are prepared in advance, the researcher is not restricted to the pre-planned order, wording or content of the questions. Similarly, the interviewee is free to answer with his or her own words. A semi-structured interview allows for flexibility, so the interviewer can develop new questions through the conversation, refrain from addressing certain topics or linger on others (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). Additionally, the interviewee can raise points on a subject as they respond to questions, and the interviewer can pick up these issues or not. This dialogue produces much richer information than either side thinking on their own. In this type of interviewing, the interviewer has a stronger role in intervening compared to unstructured interview: for example, in redirecting the conversation if it has strayed too far from the topic (Dunn, 2005). I chose the semi-structured interview to ensure that I cover specific topics while at the same time allow for flexibility.

In addition to semi-structured interviews, I also conducted a number of unstructured and informal interviews. In these interviews, I did not use an interview-guide, and in some cases, the interviews were not recorded. In total, I have interviewed over forty key informants who represent the relevant stakeholders in the planning process. The main groups include urban planners, politicians, academics, NGO representatives, developers, community representatives, residents, and business owners. Some informants were identified and contacted in advance, based on policy documents, articles and the available literature. Others were selected through the snowball method, according to suggestions from other interviewees and information that became available during fieldwork. While the majority of informants were interviewed face to face, several people were interviewed by phone and/or Skype. The turnout was high and very few people were not available for an interview.

While I had designed two types of interview guides in advance—one for policy makers/planners and the other for community representatives—in practice, I updated the interview guides before each interview took place. The overall themes and questions remained identical across the interviews, but some questions were modified to accommodate the interviewees' specific roles.

Coding

Most interviews were recorded. The recordings were transcribed and coded using ATLAS.ti. Data from the interviews were organized and analyzed using thematic analysis; the coding helped me to identify patterns and build the narratives of each case. The thematic coding was done separately for data from each of the case studies. As post-structuralist researchers have noted, the analysis of the data is an iterative and interpretive process; while coding helps to identify trends, the analysis is also linked to the theoretical assumptions that underpin the research and the continued engagement with data that were collected through other methods, not just the interviews. In other words, coding and categorizing the data is a step in the interpretation of the data but not necessarily a form of analysis in and of itself (Roulston, 2013). Moreover, coding is an interpretive process that involves subjective judgment and evaluation. The thematic analysis presented in each empirical chapter is a result of the coding process. For example, the decision to analyze the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (chapter six) from economic, social and environmental justice perspectives was based on the themes I identified in the analysis of the data through the coding process. I have used interview excerpts throughout the empirical chapters to engage the readers with the different themes and tell a coherent story through the findings. Indeed, many coded sections fit into more than one coding category; hence, some overlaps are virtually unavoidable and there is more than one way to narrate the story.

Analysis of documents

I have reviewed all the available documents that I could find on each case study. These included: policy briefs, plans, public participation reports, planning protocols, historical accounts, newspaper articles, academic articles, blog posts, Facebook posts, and websites. These sources complemented the information gathered from the interviews, and in some cases, were the primary source of information. Coffey (2013:369) notes that "documents are 'social facts', in that they are produced, shared and used in socially organized ways. They are versions of reality, scripted according to various kinds of convention, with a particular focus [in] mind." This holds true for all document types, whether blog posts or official plans. Fischler (1987) also demonstrates how planning texts are far from being neutral artefacts, in their representation of complex social and political realities. Thus, when I analyzed the documents, I paid attention to the narratives they present and to the context in which they were produced. Simons (2014) also notes that existing

documents are extremely useful for understanding policy context. Access to all relevant documents relating to a program or policy is not always possible, however, since documents may be missing. In some cases, access is not granted. Moreover, some processes may not be well-documented. In some cases in my research, important documents were not available; some were not found and others were not available to the public. Hence, some limitations do exist with regards to document analysis.

Visual and participant observations

In addition to conducting interviews and collecting policy documents and secondary materials, spending time in each city allowed me to familiarize myself with the cases. In order to assess the different functions and layouts of the waterfronts under study, I surveyed each site via land-use maps, zoning information and personal walks. Visual observations were an important way to familiarize myself with the study area, both physically and socially, and to witness how the redevelopment plans have materialized. The observations allowed me to document the sites, make contact with visitors and business owners, and take note of how the space is being used.

Participant and visual observations and informal visits were also extremely useful methods in both cities. In Washington, D.C. for example, I was taken on a tour of the Anacostia River by the chair of the board of the Anacostia Watershed Society and its founder, who generously showed me around and shared their experiences with me. I also participated in a gala that the organization hosted and attended the Lantern Walk and the Anacostia River Festival, the latter two being major events organized by the 11th Street Bridge Park project. In Jaffa, I still regularly visit a few of my former interviewees, take part in public and academic events about the port and the city, and benefit from visiting the port and observing it. These experiences have been meaningful in gaining deeper insights into these spaces, and while these informal methods are complementary to the formal ones, I would not have the same level of familiarity with my cases in their absence.

Positionality and Reflexivity

In the last several decades, positionality has emerged as a key concept in qualitative research. The term conveys the notion that the researcher's background and perceptions—including factors such as ethnicity, class, education, age, and gender—shape the research process

and outcomes. Recognizing our positionality as researchers means that we understand that the research process is shaped both by how we perceive others and how others perceive ourselves (Bourke, 2014). Considering our positionality marks a shift from the traditional perception of research as a supposedly neutral and objective process, with a strict dichotomy between subject and object, towards an understanding that "we never shed our identities or biographies to become neutral observers" (Moser, 2008: 384). Another important concept in this context is reflexivity, which is the act of examining the research process in light of our positionality (Bourke, 2014). Reflexivity also refers to how researchers pay attention to the manifestation of power and bias during every stage of the research process (Leavy, 2014). The need to consider one's positionality and be reflexive about it has been advocated by feminist scholars, who claim that knowledge is situated, partial and limited. Gillian Rose (1997: 306-307) explains that "the need to situate knowledge is based on the argument that the sort of knowledge made depends on who its makers are." Thus, researchers should pay attention to the subjectivity of knowledge production.

Accordingly, the multiple identities that I bring with me to the field—key ones being white, Israeli, Jewish, international student, middle class, young woman—influence my access to interviewees, my interactions with them, and my understanding of the socio-political context of the cases I study. Both the Jaffa port and the Anacostia River area are highly contested environments in terms of their ethnic, racial and political realities. I am an outsider to both places, although to different degrees. In fact, today I am a resident of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa; however, at the time of research I was not. Among the Arab interviewees in Jaffa, my 'foreignness' was articulated in the fact that I am Israeli-Jewish, academic, not a resident of the city, and do not speak Arabic. But even to the Jewish fishermen I was an outsider, especially as a young, academic woman in a predominantly masculine, working-class environment. In Washington, another layer of foreignness was added as a White, Jewish Israeli, who studies in Canada and is not a resident of D.C, nor a US resident.

While much can be said about every aspect of my identity with regards to my research—for example, my educational background, age, or marital status—being a student played an important part in accessing interviewees and information. My 'student identity' was both an asset and a liability, depending on the context. Being a student allowed me to contact interviewees with relative ease, but it also meant that when meeting with senior stakeholders I was aware of

my disadvantaged position in the interviewer-interviewee power dynamics. While in qualitative methodology literature the researcher is typically portrayed as the 'powerful' one in the research dynamic, in my case, interviewing senior planners meant that at times I felt that the interviewee had more leverage than I did as a graduate student (see Bradshaw, 2001). In most cases, however, I was positively surprised with an overall willingness to be interviewed for my research, and a generally pleasant and smooth interviewing experience. In fact, only few people declined my request for an interview or did not reply to my emails or calls.

Importantly, as Moser (2008) notes, it is not only the positionality of researchers, but also their personality and emotional intelligence, that play a role in the process of field research. In some cases, I felt that being an outsider who expresses genuine interest and enthusiasm about the cases allowed me to gain collaboration and build rapport with my interviewees. Moreover, my multicultural background, social skills, and experience in conducting research in diverse environments were strengths in this research.

However, I am not misled to assume that as an outsider to both projects (although to a greater degree in Washington, D.C. than Jaffa) I can fully immerse myself in the areas and communities under study. In both Washington and Jaffa, race and ethnicity play an important role in the development trajectories of the cities and in people's lived experiences. With regards to the 11th Street Bridge Park case, for example, I am aware that as a White person who does not live in the area I have limited access to the Black residents of the Anacostia, especially the poor and the underrepresented. Some would even question my legitimacy to conduct research in such a sensitive environment that has experienced long-term institutional racism and discrimination. Bearing this in mind, I am careful not to make claims and/or speak for the communities under study. As Rose (1997:311) argues, even for reflexive researchers who are aware of their positionality, "[knowing] fully both self and context" is an impossible task. As a researcher, it is not my role to decide what is 'good' or 'bad' for the residents of the area, but to represent a variety of voices while understanding my own limitations in accessing and interpreting the data.

4. Jaffa: The Bride of the Sea[3]

This background chapter sets the context for the following chapter on the Jaffa port redevelopment. It includes a brief historical background on Jaffa (formally Tel-Aviv-Jaffa), with emphasis on the city's development since the establishment of the state of Israel. This chapter is not a detailed history of the city and/or the port: the aim is to provide the reader with key information and terms to better understand the analysis of the port's redevelopment.

Jaffa is one of the oldest port cities in Israel and the Mediterranean basin. Archaeological remains found in the area attest to a settlement about 4,000 years old. Jaffa is mentioned several times in the Old Testament, famously noted as the place where the cedar trees used for the building of the first Tempe had arrived to from Lebanon. Jaffa port is also mentioned as the place where Jonah the prophet passed in his flee from God's mission. After it existed as an independent settlement for thousands of years, in 1950 Jaffa was annexed to Tel Aviv and since then became a borough in the city of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa. Located in the south-west of the city (Figure 2), Jaffa occupies about 12 percent of Tel-Aviv's total area, and about 12 percent of its population. The Jaffa district is sub-divided into four quarters containing 12 neighborhoods, of which ten are zoned for housing and two are under-populated: Old Jaffa is designated for artists, commercial and tourism use; Givat Herzl is zoned for trade, industry and commerce (Tel-Aviv municipality, 2016).

The development of Jaffa is tied to its port, which has served as a critical gateway to the region, until the Haifa port was constructed in 1933. From the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries, Jaffa was a notable player in the regional and even international trade system, especially in the areas of agriculture and textiles (LeVine, 2001). In the 18th Century, Jaffa was under a short French occupation by Napoleon Bonaparte, which left the city heavily wounded. During the 19th century, under Ottoman rule (1516-1917), Jaffa gradually developed from a crowded walled city into the largest commercial and cultural center of the region (Abu-Schada and Sheveita, 2010). In the early nineteenth century, the population of Jaffa grew from 2,750 to 50,000 people and its size expanded tenfold. Internal and external migration to the city made it very heterogeneous and cosmopolitan, gathering Muslims from North Africa and central Asia, Christians from the Middle-East, Greeks, Armenians, and a small Jewish community. The

[3] Bride of the Sea (Arus Al-Bachar in Arabic) or Bride of Palestine is a popular nickname for Jaffa.

city expanded north and south, and the citrus crops—the famous Jaffa oranges—became established as a prominent export industry, contributing to the city's economy (Radai, 2014). At the end of the century, the clock tower of Jaffa was erected, the city walls were demolished and modern avenues were constructed (Abu-Schada and Sheveita, 2010).

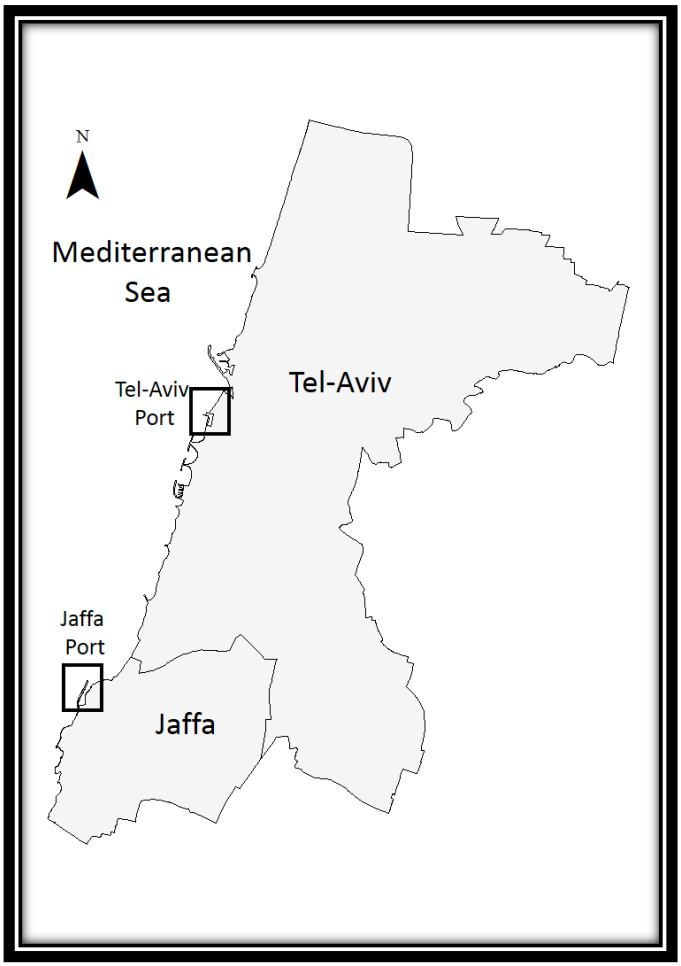


Figure 2: The location of the Jaffa port, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, Israel.
Source: Adapted from Tel-Aviv municipality's GIS.

After the First World War, in 1917, Jaffa was occupied by the British. Following an economic decline during the war, the city quickly bounced back (Radai, 2014). During the British Mandate, Jaffa was the largest city in Palestine: its population numbered approximately 80,000 people in addition to some 40,000 who lived in nearby villages. Most of the population was Arab; the Jews of Jaffa lived as a minority alongside Muslims and Christians. The rapid growth led to informal housing and slums that surrounded the urban core, which was

characterized by more affluent residents (Radai, 2014). Jaffa was the economic center of the Palestinian economy in various fields, notably the export of citrus, as well as culture and tourism (Abu-Schada and Sheveita, 2010). Public institutions, cinemas, hotels, cafes, and sports and culture clubs dotted the city center and its wealthy quarters. Jaffa became a modern city, with hospitals, cars, and services, in contrast to its rural periphery. These socio-economic gaps between the city and its hinterland led to political unrest among the poor, composed mostly of rural migrants (Radai, 2014).

According to the UN partition plan of 1947, Jaffa was designated as an independent Palestinian enclave within the future Jewish state. The battle for Jaffa, however, began shortly after the announcement of the partition, and during the war, most of Jaffa residents became refugees and fled to Lebanon, Jordan or the Gaza strip. On May 14 1948, the city was occupied by forces of Jewish paramilitary organizations that fought for Israeli independence. Jaffa was briefly put under martial law and then annexed to Tel-Aviv (Monterescu, 2007), making it a city-turned-neighbourhood (LeVine, 2001).

Under the new Israeli regime, many of the abandoned houses were appropriated by the Israeli Government using the Absentees Property Law (1950), applied in Jaffa and elsewhere in Israel to confiscate land previously owned by Palestinians. It is estimated that about two thirds of Jaffa's population lost ownership over housing assets due to the law. Most of the war refugees were not allowed to return, and instead, the government housed other Arab and Jewish residents in these houses with the special status of protected tenure, valid for only three generations (Valerstein, 2011; Avni and Yiftachel, 2014). The 1948 War had devastating effects on Jaffa's Arabs: from a thriving city it was turned into a marginalized borough with a small Arab population, and was soon settled by tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants (Mazawi and Machul, 1991). Many residents lost their familial, cultural, social and economic ties, as well as their property. With the annexation to Tel-Aviv, the Arab population of Jaffa became a small minority in the metropolis (Goldhaber, 2004).

Jaffa, a Mixed City

The term 'mixed city' describes an urban situation in which Jewish and Arab communities occupy the same space. The term emerged for the first time in the Peel Commission

Report in 1937, in the context of efforts to divide the land of Palestine between Jews and Arabs.[4] Whereas the term originally referred to the plight of Jewish neighborhoods that were under Arab authority, since the foundation of Israel in 1948 it describes the reversed situation (Monterescu, 2007). In practice, mixed cities have been profoundly judaized through an ethno-spatial logic since the foundation of the state of Israel (Yacobi, 2002; Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2003). Formally, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa is considered to be a mixed city, but only Jaffa is characterized by a mixed population. The ethnic composition of Jaffa has gone through many changes since 1948. Of the 80,000 Arabs residing in Jaffa during the British Mandate, only five percent remained after the 1948 war (Abu-Schada and Sheveita, 2010). Today, the Arabs of Jaffa represent only four percent of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa's population; however, they are about a third of Jaffa's population (Tel-Aviv Municipality, 2016) of which about two-thirds are Muslim and one third Christian (Monterescu, 2007). The Arab population is a majority in the old neighborhoods of Jaffa (where the Jaffa port is located), constituting about 61 percent of the population. In the last forty years, however, the proportion of Jaffa's Arab population in the city has been declining (see Table 2).

Table 2: Trends in the size of the Arab population in Jaffa (1950-2008).

Year	**Arab population in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa**	**Total Jaffa population**	**Total population in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa**
End of 1950	5,000		335,000
End of 1961	5,782		386,070
1972	6,350	51,712	363,750
1983	9,455	46,065	327, 265
1995	19,800	46,635	348, 245
End of 2008	17,354	50,314	392, 486

Source: Adapted from Valerstein, 2011.

Finally, even though Jaffa is mostly Jewish, its significant Arab population makes it an important political, cultural and economic center for the Arab population of Israel. The old neighborhoods

[4] The report brought up the partition of the land as a compromise to the conflict, and highlighted that it was impossible to create clear division in the "mixed towns": Tiberius, Zefat, Haifa and Accra. The report recommended leaving these cities under the British Mandate in order to protect minorities (Monterescu, 2007; 2015).

in particular, where the Arab people form a majority of the population, have succeeded in keeping their Arab character.

Major Planning and Development Phases in Jaffa

Anthropologist Daniel Motrescu (2003; 2007; 2009) identified five key periods in the development of Jaffa's urban space from 1948 to present:

1948 War: About 95 percent of Jaffa's Palestinians residents fled the city (from 70,000 thousand to 3,647 Arabs).

1948-1960: Jaffa: an immigration center. Jaffa transformed from a major Palestinian center to a borough of Tel-Aviv. The built environment remained largely intact. Tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants were housed in existing houses, often with Arab families. The main housing and land-use policies were determined by the office of the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property, the owner of most property in Jaffa.

1960-1985: Disinvestment. The prevalent urban planning policy was one of neglect, eviction and destruction of residential and public buildings. This 'urban renewal' policy included eviction and demolition of 'slums' to encourage economic development and private investment. The greatest damage was done in the old Arab neighborhoods: about 70 percent of the buildings were damaged, and the Manshia neighborhood was razed. The housing stock was drastically depleted and very little new building took place (Monterescu and Fabian, 2003) . This brutal approach lasted until the mid-1970s.

1985-2000:"" "Facing south" (Monterescu, 2007:16). A change of approach was evident following the massive destruction. The new agenda was meant to attract private investment and new populations to the city. The suspension of planning was replaced with vigorous revival attempts. Jaffa was also included in a national urban renewal project, this time with a more rehabilitative approach. The city founded a professional team responsible for planning in Jaffa. In the early 1990s, private entrepreneurs launched several luxury projects in old Jaffa.

2000s-2007: Further gentrification with occasional slow-down. The gentrification that started in the 1980s continued into the 1990s and 2000s. However, occasional political unrest, such as the

October 2000 events[5], signaled a temporary slow-down of the real-estate market (Monterescu, 2007).

For a personal-professional account of these major shifts in planning policy, Doron Zafrir's *Urban Design in the Shadow of Politics* (see Shmueli et al., 2001) provides a helpful source. Zafrir worked as a freelance planner at Tel-Aviv Municipality's Jaffa planning team, and during his work there he experienced firsthand these major transitions from a policy of destruction to preservation.

Jaffa today

Despite occasional political tensions, further development of the old neighborhoods of Jaffa has continued at an accelerated pace since 2007, including The Jaffa Slope Park, a major waterfront park built on the remains of the demolished old Arab neighborhoods, just south of the port. Meanwhile, the Arab population has been facing a major housing crisis. Many still reside in the protected tenure status from 1950 that expires after three generations, some face eviction, and others are forced out by soaring housing prices (see Valerstein et al., 2011). In the old neighbourhoods of Jaffa, wealth, development and luxury housing are juxtaposed with poverty and neglect. Mixed cities such as Jaffa experience the legacy of ethnocratic national policies (Yiftachel, 2006b) in tandem with multiple structural and hybrid trends such as gentrification, civic engagement and capital-led development (See Avni and Yiftachel, 2014; Yiftachel, 2016; Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2004; Monterescu, 2015; Monterescu and Fabian, 2003). Continuous gentrification and rising property prices threaten the future presence of Jaffa's long-term residents. Whereas these processes occur in other Israeli cities, in Jaffa and other mixed cities they carry unique consequences for the Arab minority of Israel and its ability to meet its social, political and cultural needs.

The Jaffa port

The Jaffa port is nestled at the foot of old Jaffa, on the south-western coastal strip of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa (Figure 3). Historically, the port is an important landmark that connected Jaffa and

[5] The October 2000 events were a series of protests and riots, which originated in Arab villages in northern Israel and spread out throughout the country. The protests led to riots by Israeli-Jews and clashes with the Israeli Police, ending in the death of 13 Arab demonstrators.

the area to the world and positioned it as a significant Mediterranean focal point. The port has been actively used for thousands of years. It is mentioned in the book of Jonah as the place where the prophet Jonah escaped to the city of Tarshish. The Jaffa port is

> A small and eventful port, among the most ancient in the world, which serves over 3,000 years Jaffa's fishermen and sailors, as well as merchants, pilgrims, conquerors and immigrants from abroad. (Arnon et al., 2008)

Despite its central role, the port is in fact characterized by unfavourable natural conditions, such as shallow waters and boulders, which prevent large vessels from entering it. In the past, large vessels had to anchor about 800 meters from the coast, where they were served by smaller boats and rafts to unload goods: the expression 'Go to Jaffa' was known as a curse among sailors (Avramovitz, 2015).

Figure 3: The Jaffa port, at the foot of Jaffa.
Source: Amos Meron via Wikimedia Commons.

While the port has been active for thousands of years, its current built form is mostly a result of construction that took place in the Ottoman (1517-1917) and British (1917-1947) periods. In the 19th century, the Ottoman rule decided to spur Jaffa's economic activity by renovating the port. The port became a busy hub, in parallel to Jaffa's urban growth (Figure 4). In 1864, the port's lighthouse was initiated. In 1871, Christian Templars began to export the famous Jaffa Oranges through the port and in 1876, the Ottomans built a customs building at the edge of the docks. In 1892, the railroad from Jerusalem to Jaffa was inaugurated.

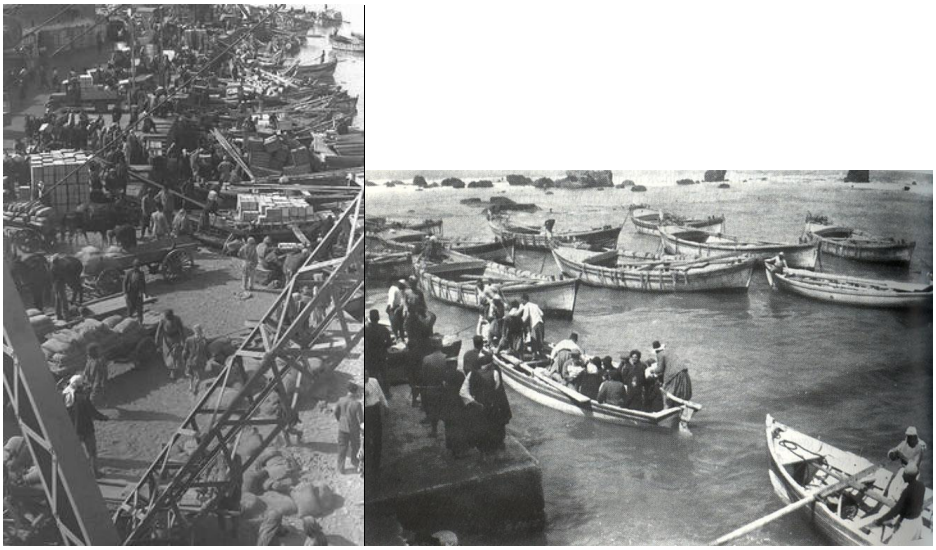


Figure 4: The Port during the Ottoman Empire: a) a busy maze of people and goods (left). B) Boats approaching the port (right).
Source: Eitan Eden.

However, it was during the British Mandate (1917-1947) that the port was substantially developed and modernized: the British dried land and built warehouses, seawalls, docks, a new customs building and a new lighthouse (Figure 5). They also renewed the railroad, deepened the marina and introduced new mechanization technologies. In the 1930s, the port served as an important site of Jewish immigration.

Figure 5: Renovated Docks in the British Mandate.
Source: Eitan Eden.

Yet, the refurbished port did not enjoy prosperity for much longer: global economic decline, joined by growing tensions between Arabs and Jews that culminated in the Arab Revolt (1936–39), led to the opening of the Tel-Aviv port in 1938. Throughout the Arab Revolt, the Jaffa port was on strike. Furthermore, the outbreak of World War II and the construction of more modernized ports along the coast marginalized the role of the Jaffa port in the regional economy. The port never fully recovered from this decline (Avramovitz, 2015).

The port in the Israeli period

From 1948 and until today, the port has gone through several administrations and witnessed periods of wealth and decline. In 1965, shortly after the Ashdod port was launched, commercial activity ceased at the Jaffa port; ships no longer loaded and unloaded goods there. In 1970, the port was transferred from the Port Authority to the government. The government then initiated an ambitious plan that allocated an area of the port for historic preservation and assigned the rest to hotels, commerce and a bigger marina (the Ya'ar plan, named after its award-winning architect). While the development plan allocated some space for fishing, it would ultimately result in the privatization of the port and in an upscale waterfront neighborhood. Due to various implementation difficulties, the plan was put on hold. In the meantime, the port was further renovated in the 1980s under new management and gradually became a popular site with restaurants, a few shops and a nightclub (Avramovitz, 2015). In 1993, however, the government decided to privatize the land (Lavi, 2006). The government implemented a disinvestment policy in order to facilitate a smooth transition of the port into private hands. It backed away from its responsibility to maintain the land and maritime facilities and instead imposed hardships on the fishermen and business owners. As a result, businesses and shops closed down and the port was almost deserted (Avramovitz, 2015). In 1998, the Israel Land Authority (ILA) became the new owner of the port, replacing the Ministry of Transportation. Privatization efforts continued under the new owner.

"A Port is not for sale"

The government's decision to privatize the port spurred the beginning of an opposing public campaign. The notion of privatizing a historic port was resisted on many grounds. A number of organizations formed a coalition with the fishermen and together they initiated a

series of demonstrations, displays, journal articles and media stories to reverse this decision. For instance, the organizers offered the public free fried fish in one of Tel-Aviv's main squares to sway public opinion and they organized a protest flotilla off the coast of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa. These organizations included, for example, the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel, the Council for Conservation of Heritage Sites in Israel, the residents' association of old Jaffa, Jaffa-based Arab human rights organizations, and more. The fishermen and activists interviewed for this research highlighted the collaborative spirit that guided the campaign, which overlooked differences between Jews and Arabs, as well as the different interests that sparked participation, such as nature conservation, heritage, culture and labour. A journalist and community activist who was involved explained:

> . . . There were two things, there was the man, and there was the place. First of all [the goal was] to protect the fishermen, since one of the things that the Ministry of Finance and [Israel] Land Authority really wanted to do was to get rid of the fishermen, turning the place into a marina. We just told them to get lost…it was simply fun… [It was] a really fun social struggle where Jews and Arabs were truly involved and it was clear that everyone was working for everyone. (Interview, February 2016)

The journalist's words portray the spirit of togetherness that united the activists in their campaign. While the videos that document the campaign show a relatively small group of activists (and audiences), their dedicated actions succeeded in gaining public attention countrywide, as well as affecting influential policymakers.

Redevelopment

After several years of protest, the public campaign bore fruit and the privatization plan was put on hold (Efrati, 2006). In 2001, the Tel-Aviv Municipality, led by Mayor Ron Huldai, initiated a land-exchange with ILA. After lengthy negotiations, the city was finally handed ownership over the majority of the port's area in 2007, in return for other real-estate in Jaffa that was given to the ILA (Globes, 2012). Another outcome of the protest was that the city acknowledged the fishermen's tenure rights at the port (Ben-Yehoyada, Forthcoming). A result of a round-table discussion that included representatives from the anti-privatization coalition and the city, this recognition afforded the fishermen usage rights over some of the port's areas and facilities, including docks and warehouses and the right to build and operate a fish market. These

rights were grounded in a new plan to be drawn for the port following the round-table negotiation.

The transfer of the port to the city opened up development opportunities. In the ensuing phase, the port was designated as a cultural and recreational center in addition to a fishing port. The municipal body that was put in charge was the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Economic Development Authority, which managed the port through the port's existing administrative structure. Given his previous experience at the Tel-Aviv's port redevelopment, the first port CEO was hired. As an urban planner and project manager, his role was to plan and execute the redevelopment while serving as the director of the port. The preliminary budget allocated to the project was 100 million NIS (about 33 million CAD), the biggest municipal investment in a project of this scale at the time. Table 3 summarizes important landmarks in the history of the port, including its redevelopment.

Table 3: Key dates in the port's history

Period/landmark	**Year**
Ottoman empire rule	1516-1917
British mandate	1917-1947
Tel-Aviv port is inaugurated following the 1936-1939 Arab revolts	1938
Port transferred to the Israeli Port Authority	1948
Closing down of the port for commercial activity	1965
Further construction and renovation of docks	1980s
The government decides to privatize the port	1993
Civic campaign to stop privatization	1993-2000s
Negotiations between ILA-Tel-Aviv-municipality	2001-2007
Redevelopment	2007-2010
Next stage of redevelopment	2017 (anticipated)

The Redevelopment Project

The redevelopment of the port was led by the port's new CEO and his staff, who came up with the development strategy through a consultation process that will be described in the next chapter. Overall, it was decided that the redeveloped port would integrate a host of uses in three

main areas, including: a) *maritime*: fishing, sailing, maritime education and sports, b) *culture*: music, arts, cinema, theatre and events and c) *leisure*: culinary offers and events, tours, entertainment and tourism. The physical redevelopment of the port included the upgrade and replacement of old infrastructure such as sewerage, pavements and lighting, renovation of the peers and boating areas, and the construction of new elements such as a small public square. The most significant change was the rehabilitation and preservation of Warehouses 1 and 2, storage structures that were built by the British in the 1930s and still occupy most of the port's built area to this day (see Figure 6). The lion's share of the budget was directed towards the renovation of Warehouse 1, which was designated as the port's flagship (Figure 7).

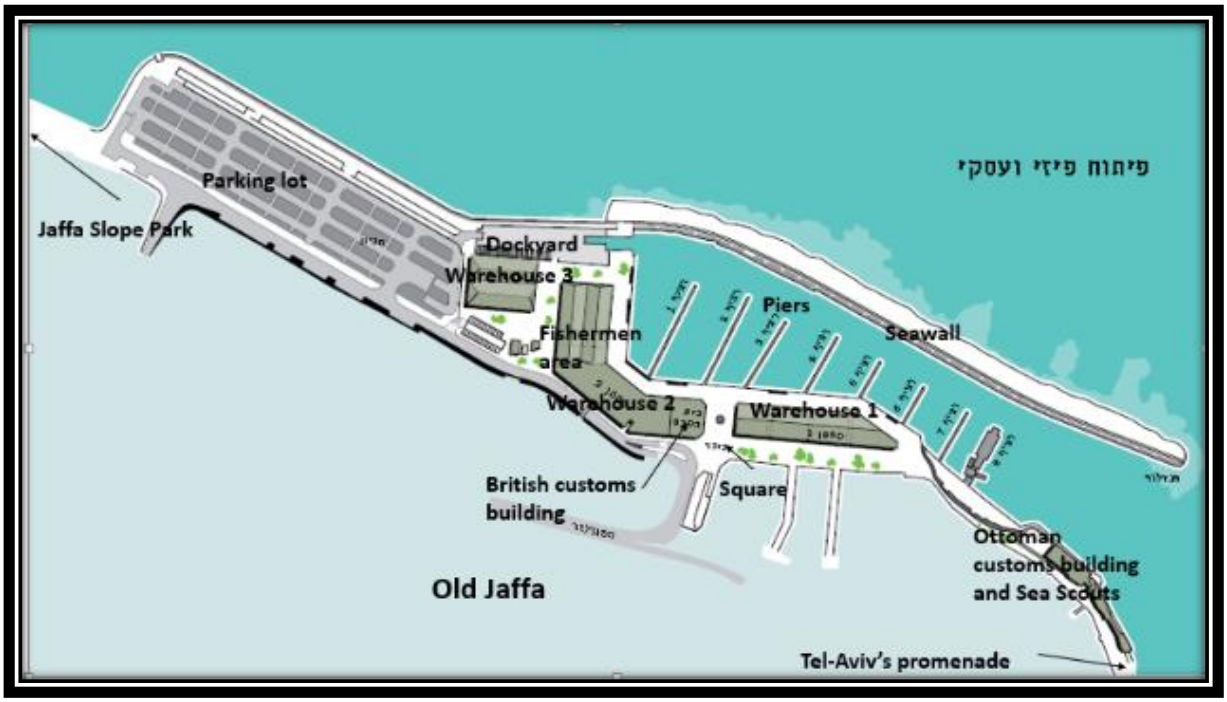


Figure 6: A diagram of the port.
Source: Arnon, Levi and Maor, 2008.

When it was inaugurated in 2010, the revamped Warehouse 1 hosted restaurants, a few shops, and a food market. Warehouse 2 was modestly renovated and was populated with a small theatre, a few workshops, a gallery, a restaurant and some storage space for the fishermen (Figure 8). Warehouse 3 has not been renovated to date and Warehouses 4 and 5 were demolished due to safety concerns.

Figure 7: Warehouse 1.A) The southern entrance to the building (top). B) The northern façade. Source: Author

A designated area adjacent to Warehouse 1 was assigned to temporary stalls and events. A boutique hotel is planned to open instead of the British customs building, which currently serves administrative purposes. The Ottoman customs building, which serves the local Sea Scouts chapter,[6] is facing demolition: however, the future of this building is not related to the port's redevelopment but to a decision made by Tel-Aviv's Mayor Huldai.

[6] The Sea Scouts Chapter in Jaffa is part of the national Scouts movement, only it specializes in maritime activity. Members learn how to sail, navigate, maintain and repair boats and compete. The Jaffa Chapter is one of seven chapters in the country.

Figure 8: Warehouse 2.
Source: Author.

To date, most of the redevelopment stages have been completed, with the exception of the renovation of Warehouse 3. Recently, however, the municipality decided to update the redevelopment plan and hired several planning and architecture firms to propose new development strategies within the framework of the existing master plan; the new policy must respect the fishermen's usage rights that were previously secured. The final stage of redevelopment was scheduled to start in 2016, but at the time of writing, is still delayed. The next chapter will discuss the redevelopment process and its outcomes in greater detail.

5. From Port to Waterfront: the Jaffa Port Redevelopment

In the last two decades, the ancient Jaffa port has transformed from a neglected site on the urban coast to a hub of urban development (Ben-Yehoyada, forthcoming). Joining a global trend of waterfront redevelopments—where 'obsolete' deindustrialized harbours are repurposed for public use—the Jaffa port has been reimagined by the city as a space of spectacle, 'culture' and entertainment. Its redevelopment was supposed to bring back the glorious days of the past and remake the port a thriving center of labour and maritime activity, with a modern twist of leisure and recreation. This chapter examines the success of this vision from a social justice perspective, highlighting the many different, and sometime conflicting, interpretation of the planning process and its outcomes. By telling the story of the Jaffa port, I wish to emphasize the critical role of the port in the construction of the city's identity, status and urban development.

This chapter is built on 24 interviews with various stakeholders: community activists, planners, architects, fishermen, and others. The available policy documents and media coverage were also analyzed. The coding and analysis of the interviews and documents resulted in the identification of the five sub-themes that are discussed in this chapter: the "Working Port", "Trust", the "Fish Market", "Whose port: Public Participation and Inclusion", and "Jewish-Arab Relations". I chose these five themes for their prominent role in demonstrating different aspects of justice and in portraying the contradictions and conflicts that have emerged throughout the redevelopment. Indeed, some themes overlap. For example, the section on "Jewish-Arab relations" also refers to issues of trust, however, these were unique to the categories of Jewish/Arab and so they were discussed within that framework. I recognize, however, that there are many ways to tell the story of the port. I end with a discussion that ties these themes to the overarching topic of planning and justice.

The Vision of a 'Working Port' and Its Implementation

Since the 1960s, the redevelopment of waterfronts around the globe has been concerned with transforming former industrial hubs into spaces of recreation, leisure and a connection to nature (Smith and Ferrari Soledad Garcia, 2012; Fisher and Benson, 2004). Within this global phenomenon, the role of the waterfront as a space of labour as well as a source of livelihood has been somewhat marginalized. Even in Tel-Aviv itself, the commercial Jaffa port is only a small section of the otherwise recreational seashore, which emerged as an important part of the city's

image and cultural geography as early as the 1920s (Azaryahu and Golan, 2007). The Jaffa port, while it had never been an industrialized port on a large scale, due to the surrounding physical conditions, is a case in point to demonstrate the tensions that exist between the reimagined leisurely waterfront and its former labour-centered use.

One of the most pivotal themes that emerged in the interviews in Jaffa was the *working port* topic, which includes references to the functions of the port as a fishing port, both in the past and at present. In this section, I focus on the discrepancies that emerged between the promises of maintaining the port as a working fishing port and the outcomes in practice. I argue that the success or failure of this mission—the working port—is one of the most important aspects of social justice, as it relates to people's livelihoods, heritage and sense of place. While labour practices in the port extend beyond the mandate of the current port administration,[7] the administration still holds considerable power in this respect.

The vision

The objectives of the redevelopment stated that the fishing and maritime uses of the port will remain central in its new phase.[8] In a list of the port's core values prepared in the early stages of redevelopment, "working" was listed as one of the core values. Furthermore, "fishing, maritime and sailing" appear as the three principal uses of the port, in addition to "culture and society" and "leisure". In their interviews, past and present port managers explicitly stated that a 'working port' is one of the key elements of the redevelopment. The former manager explained:

> In terms of the mix of uses, we talked about fishing, maritime activities and sailing, which are the basis: to strengthen and maintain what's there, to ensure its continued existence. The whole issue of culture and society is really something we decided to develop, and we wanted to produce a different situation in the port and a different experience . . . leisure products that are essentially restaurants, a food market, things like that, commercial things on the border between culture and leisure. A fishing port, a cultural port and a leisure port, or a combination of all three – this is the right mixture for the port. [9]

[7] As I explain in section on Jewish-Arab relations, fishing is also tied to national policies that are dictated by the Ministry of Agriculture and other governmental agencies.

[8] Since there is no official policy document outlining the redevelopment, I rely on a power point presentation that outlines the vision, principles and suggested uses, which I refer to as the Vision Statement May 2009. I received this document from the former CEO of the port.

9 All translations, whether of academic or newspapers reports, interviews, or Internet content, are the author's own.

In line with this rationale, the redevelopment was initially relatively modest in scale and in the changes it brought to the physical landscape. Probably the most ambitious part was the renovation of Warehouse 1, which was meticulously restored and brought to new life as an indoor culinary and shopping center. Not surprisingly, its modern façade was criticized by many interviewees as an eyesore or a "scar" that disrupts the skyline of Old Jaffa. But—other than this structure—Warehouse 2 kept its rustic look and Warehouse 3 has not been renovated at all to date. Old infrastructure was replaced and new lights and pavements were introduced, yet on the whole, despite these physical changes, the port remained relatively under-developed (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Fishers attend to their nets (on the right). Warehouse 2 is on the right side. The edge of Warehouse 1 is visible on the right.
Source: Author

In terms of land-use, the shopping opportunities are limited, and at least some of the businesses combine social and cultural elements, such as a Jewish-Arab theatre for children and a shop that trains disadvantaged female youths in the fashion industry. In this sense, the redevelopment remained loyal to the original vision. The CEO's statement also highlights the significant role of the 'working port' elements, but the wish to transform the port into a cultural and recreational center is mentioned in the same breath. It is in fact asserted that the 'right' thing to do would be

to open up the port to new uses and reinvent it as a 'cultural district'. Yet from a social justice perspective, who does this transformation serve and is this view a premise that should be taken for granted?

In waterfront transformation processes around the world, the notion that justifies these complex undertakings is that the waterfront belongs to the public and should therefore be 'opened up' to all (Ramsey, 2011). The North-American model that was pioneered in Baltimore and spread out globally since typically offers a mix of retail, recreation and leisure uses. Yet does this logic apply to Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, a city that stretches over a nine-mile-long coastal strip that already hosts a redeveloped port, numerous beaches and a lively promenade? Once the prevailing logic of the waterfront as a 'festival marketplace' or a 'cultural district' is uncontested, then indeed the main challenge becomes one of balancing out the different functions of this space—such as leisure, recreation and retail— as evident in Jaffa's case. For instance, opinions varied on whether the port should host a marketplace or a shopping complex, or whether the design standards should follow traditional or modern influences. Yet this discourse also obscures the reality that reshaping the port as a 'cultural district' is only one possible path among others, and it reinforces the view that a waterfront must serve as a place of entertainment.

As one interviewee—a former council member in the municipality—commented, the choice between a market and a mall is a false one:

> Why should there be a mall or a market at the port? Why is it not possible to support the fishermen? The budgets they allocated [to the redevelopment] are huge. Wouldn't it have been possible to save the fishery in Jaffa and build a fishing port of the highest standard? You could save the fishery in the country. Many millions were poured over there. (Interview, March 2016)

In other words, an alternative vision could be to utilize public investment towards support of the fishermen and the local community, instead of reconstructing the port as a space of consumption and recreation. The idea is not to deny public access to the waterfront, or even to prohibit other uses, but to weigh the idea of a leisurely port against alternative considerations that might be more prominent in the context of Jaffa, such as the fishermen's livelihood. If the fishermen's livelihood is the core principle that guides redevelopment, then other uses, such as restaurants and shops—which may be welcomed and encouraged—should be promoted to the extent that they support the main redevelopment goal. Especially in a city like Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, which is

blessed with unhindered access to the Mediterranean Sea on its west, the vision of a working port is not far-fetched on a city-level scale.

While the aforementioned interviewee stated that a working port can also be profitable, he also emphasized that

> . . . You need to come with this attitude . . . that people are important, that it's their port too. . . .And worst case it won't be profitable. The Opera is not profitable either. [Yet] you subsidizes it by millions. Then subsidize these poor people by one million. (ibid.)

The parallel that the interviewee is drawing between livelihood and culture is particularly relevant considering the marketing of the port as a cultural district. As the redevelopment sought to create a cultural and recreational hub at the port, 'culture' was interpreted—not unlike many culture-led redevelopments around the world (Gunay and Dokmeci, 2012; Markusen and Gadwa, 2010; Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007)—as 'arts and culture', for example, contemporary art, theatre, cinema and music, which would serve as an engine for economic growth . Yet, culture, in the broad sense of the term, also refers to traditions, heritage and practices (Cardinal, 2002) and is intrinsically valuable. One can argue that fishing, one of the oldest and most traditional modes of livelihood—and a vulnerable one— is an equally significant manifestation of the local culture of Jaffa and as such should be prioritized. However, my findings reveal that despite continuous statements from the developers about maintaining the port as a fishing port in addition to being a cultural hub, many fishermen—Jewish and Arab alike—were concerned about their future at the port, due to various limitations that they have experienced since the redevelopment started.

Redevelopment projects in the last decades have been overwhelmingly criticized as products of neo-liberal regimes (Weber, 2002; Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). In a reality where economic profitability is the main objective of redevelopment projects, the idea of creating an alternative, socially-driven vision may seem implausible. In Jaffa, the option of keeping the port exclusively for fishing was never fully considered, even after a successful public campaign to prevent the port's privatization. However, the redevelopment vision did promise to enable new uses while protecting the existing ones. Two of the three elements of the port's vision (2009:24) refer specifically to these principles:

- *"Fixing without breaking*": The process of the port renewal will be perceived as an act of "repairing" a historical injustice of neglect and abandonment. The mending process, which involves dramatic physical operational changes, will be made, to the extent

possible, modestly and with an effort not to fix what is not broken; **namely , to preserve the unique ambience of the port and its mix of uses, and users, while opening it up for new audiences.**

- *"Thriving without excluding"*: The renewal process involves the entrance of capital through private and institutional investments, and increasing the attractiveness of the complex to consumers of leisure, culture, commerce and tourism. **The regeneration of the port will be accomplished in ways that will allow the port to become prosperous and profitable, with a responsibility not to exclude and alienate the complex for publics that currently exist in around the port. (**Author's emphases)

These objectives create space for hope, as they articulate notions of inclusivity and sensitivity to the port's unique character within the framework of economic prosperity. Yet interviews with different stakeholders reveal striking differences in the opinions on whether or not these goals have been accomplished.

The working port from the administration's perspective

According to the port's first CEO who was in charge of setting the strategic policy for the following years, ensuring the continuing port's former functions was key to the redevelopment. This, he said, was achieved through giving undivided attention to operational issues:

> No matter which meeting I attended, if there was a problem, I said, pull me out of every meeting, I mean it's a port, it needs to function as a port… I will stop every meeting if there is a problem… and solve it…. There was a perception that we give [the fishermen] service above all in this context, and that our intent is first of all to leave the port as it is: active, alive, working in the context of fishing, maritime services and sailing.

Of course, managing the different uses is not an easy task, but nevertheless it is part of the challenge, and may even be perceived as an opportunity:

> Ultimately, people want to live and the fishermen's concern—which is the dominant clientele, those who live and work there every day—was their territory: where they will put the nets, where they will dock, how they will exit, fuel etc. . . . And if you understand that the magic of a place like this is that [fishermen] sew nets and fuel nearby …and throw the fish off the boat and so on, and you can do an art exhibition, and it is also possible for a restaurant to serve, and all [these uses] coexist—and if the forklift suddenly crosses you in the middle of your dinner, and you see a forklift unload, or a ship that arrived with sardine—this is not a problem. This is the advantage of this place.

Indeed, the presence of fishermen at the port adds a flavour of authenticity to the port experience. The port's marketing has taken advantage of this in slogans and billboards around the city, which read *Jaffa port: fishing, food and culture for 4,000 years.* The former CEO talks about allowing

space for ‘real’ experiences. However, while the intention to run the port as a mixed redevelopment—one that offers culinary, recreational and cultural experiences, in addition to maritime functions—is evident in the quotations above, many of these promising statements have not come to fruition in the decade since the redevelopment began.

The Working port from the fishermen’s perspective

The fishermen have continuously voiced their concerns about what they perceive to be their gradual displacement from the port. For instance, some fishermen were ‘temporarily’ evacuated from their storage spaces when Warehouse 1 was revamped and promised they would receive alternative storage space in Warehouse 2. To this day, they have not been provided with this space and instead they continue to use temporary containers that are poorly maintained and exposed to sea waves (interview with a fisherman, February 2016). Other fishermen have pointed out that they are prohibited from accessing their boats when events are held, due to the volume of visitors at the port. Some stopped working on weekends, which are the peak days in terms of visitors. More concerns have been raised with regards to the distance from the parking lot, which hinders the fishermen’s ability to move around products such as fish and gas tanks, and to various limitations on where they are allowed to spread their fishing nets or repair their equipment.

In a similar vein, the port’s administration has been slow to care for the maritime functions of the port through renovation of docks, sand removal and general maintenance. These actions, or lack thereof, raise questions about the fulfillment of the working port principle, as it seems as if it largely consists of tokenism. Statements given by current officials such as “we are trying hard to make it easy for [the fishermen] because we know that their lives are not easy” (interview with the port’s current manager and marketing director, January 2016) have been contested by the fishermen. In practice, the harmony that is described in the above quotations has proven difficult to achieve, as the previous examples illustrated.

Today, while the port officials claim that they are working in cooperation with the fishermen, the Fishermen’s Association virtually does not exist. The fishermen are tired of continuous battles over the years, which for the most part did not end well for them. One fisherman I interviewed, who has been one of the fishermen’s leaders, is currently involved in a labour dispute with the port’s administration. They want him to relocate from his current

warehouse, with no guarantee of when and where he would be moving to, presumably once the renovation of Warehouse 2 is complete; an eviction notice had been issued. Since he has served as the unofficial head of the fishermen association, his sense is that the administration is 'after him' in order to weaken the fishermen's standing. An Arab politician whom I interviewed, says that he attended a few meetings at the port and was troubled first by the "profitability discourse" that was employed, but more importantly by the attitude toward the fishermen, who are treated as "nuisance" to the port's activity. Hence, the current CEO's statements about working in full collaboration with the fishermen ring somewhat hollow.

In conclusion, the success or failure of the redevelopment is judged against the extent to which the port continues to function as a working fishing harbor. My interviews with the fishermen and activists suggested that the benefits of the redevelopment should not only be examined from the perspective of the 'public' at large, but also more specifically through the lens of the existing 'users' of the port, i.e. the fishermen and other laborers who depend on the port for their livelihoods, as well as the Jaffa community. Earlier in the section I questioned who does the port's transformation serve? While upgrading the port does justice to visitors who are able to enjoy better facilities due to the renovation, the fishermen and community activists I interviewed feel that the redevelopment did not serve their interests.

Trust

The issue of trust was pertinent to the port's redevelopment and it unfolded in different stages. The category of trust is based on explicit and implicit references to trust, including, for example, references to promises that were made, whether fulfilled or unfulfilled, and relationships that were built. Similarly to the working port category, trust was a key theme. The port redevelopment should be understood in the wider context of Jaffa's history of urban planning policies, including a large-scale destruction period that took place during the 1960-70s. This legacy has resulted in great distrust of governmental institutions and actors. Against this backdrop, the starting point of the planned redevelopment was deep apprehension. Questions such as "How did the project managers respond to the inherent mistrust, and were they successful in overcoming anxieties?" guided my examination.

From the very beginning, the level of suspicion was very high between the fishermen, business owners, community activists and residents on the one hand, and the port's

administration on the other. The fishermen in particular have suffered the consequences of long-term disinvestment in the port, which affected their working conditions and sense of security. Within this group, the Arab fishermen have historically suffered more consequences due to discriminatory national policies, but the group as a whole has been disadvantaged by the decision to privatize the port. The interviews with the first CEO revealed that he and his staff were well aware of the importance of trust in building the relationships with the fishermen, business owners and community members.

To him, building trust meant supporting words with actions and creating, literally, an open-door policy:

> …The project in its first three years was … a sort of a social welfare office of the port: fishermen's children, fishermen addicted to drugs, family issues and apartment leases—all drained to the administration, and we didn't say no to anyone. The policy was always yes and it came down to even absurd situations, but the door was always open—at some point we took the door down, because there were complaints that it was locked, and that opened people's hearts. (Presentation at a public planning forum, July 2014)

The relationship that the first CEO describes is one of mutual understanding, and his narration points to the underprivileged population he was working with. According to his account, the relationship was not perfect, but they managed to create good lines of communication:

> The main objective was to build trust, create a good atmosphere…I mean, it's not that everything was ideal, we also exchanged 'compliments', there were rough crises… but it never got to bad places. It was always confined to a level of talking, fighting, being angry, it's all right. The boundaries of the game were very clear. In its basis the cooperation was good. Even in the events that we held—we hosted some big events with big crowds—the fishermen had fish stalls where they could sell fried fish, even if they did not get a license I authorized them to work, I mean we were in a kind of complicated, but good, relationship. (Interview, January 2016)

Yet there are contradictions between the "good relationship" described by the first CEO and the accounts given by other interviewees. While several interviewees sided with his version of events, others contested it. Quite similarly to the working port category, two different stories emerged: one of keeping promises, and the other of failing to fulfill them. More than ten years after the early stages of redevelopment, with no record of the procedures, it is impossible to know for certain how the interviewees felt in 'real time'; one can only extrapolate from their answers today. What is evident, however, is that with the exception of two interviewees, most of the respondents reacted to the outcomes with a sense of disappointment, if not betrayal. As some

interviewees highlighted, speaking about trust is insufficient to create trust; and in the end, the promises that were made were worthless if they did not bear fruits. In addition, it seems that there are two issues of trust: trust that developed in the process and trust that arose from the implementation, which depends upon delivering outcomes along the way.

The differences between the CEO's version and the other interviewees were intriguing, as he continually emphasized the issue of trust and one could get a sense of genuine care for the fishermen from his words. One of the explanations could be his departure after five years on the CEO seat, which created a crisis of trust. After working with the fishermen for five years and establishing a level of trust, however fragile, his departure was a dramatic event since people were counting on him to complete the project. One resident said:

> He left pretty much in the beginning. We were very disappointed that he left. But he was an opportunist. For him it was to promote his own career, he did not really care about the port. If he cared he would not leave in the middle. He left at a critical stage, when it was needed to implement the development. (Interview, February 2016)

When I asked if in the beginning it seemed like the redevelopment was heading in a positive direction, she replied:

> Yes. But very quickly we became disillusioned. [The CEO] was not here long enough…It isn't a 'big deal' to plan it all on paper. But when he had to implement it on the ground he got up and left. He moved on. He went to his next job. For him it was another step in his career, the port didn't really matter to him. And that's sad. (ibid.)

The resident's words reflect the trust that was broken with the CEO's end of term. His departure was interpreted as a total disregard for the port: if he really cared, he would have stayed. One of the fishermen echoed the feeling of disappointment quite vividly: "[the CEO] left us in the middle of the hole and ran away. We were in the well and he didn't give us a rope to pull ourselves out" (interview, February 2016).

As the CEO himself explains, the trust that he believes he succeeded in building was based on personal relationships rather than institutionalized procedures:

> When I started the project, there were many people who said to me that there are… intruders and criminals and delinquent [fishermen]. Now it is true. . . but in the end they're people. I mean, you talk to them in the most basic way and explain to them what you are going to do and what will happen to them, you are being very transparent with them and you don't trick them. . . .Because they really came with a high level of suspicion because they have been 'screwed' over for decades there. It reached a level that I would represent them in front of the Ministry of Agriculture and they would call me to

> help them…it was a very high level of trust. Unfortunately, and perhaps this is a bit of my failure, the trust was very personal and less systemic. . . . (Interview, January 2016)

Therefore, while on a personal level he managed to overcome suspicions, his departure signaled the end of the trustful relationship. As he further explains, hinting to the current administration, not only was the trust personal, but it was very fragile:

> And it always takes two to tango. I mean, I'm not very familiar with the details now, but it's very easy to spoil the relations with them. To build a relationship with them is very complex and it takes time but to ruin it is very simple. It's enough that you don't mean what you say once or twice, and that is, you don't need more than that. (Ibid.)

While the CEO refers to the present, this logic also applies to his term. In retrospect, he is perceived as an opportunist, who built his professional portfolio at the expense of the port's community and moved on while his presence was most needed. In contrast, the current administration did not even attempt to build trust with the fishermen and the community. I will continue to discuss trust and relationships through the example of the fish market in the next section.

The Fish Market

The CEO's departure also shattered the dream of launching a local fish market at the port, one that would be run by the fishermen and used to sell fresh fish directly to customers. While the story behind the fish market is complex and requires a subtle understanding of the fishing sector, I will outline an abbreviated version of the story to highlight issues of trust and to raise questions of justice and planning.

The initiative to found the market was put forward by Ethan, a fisherman who served as the leader of the Fishermen's Association. He worked tirelessly to promote the fishermen's interests since the early days of the civic campaign—in which he was one of the key leaders—and until he retired recently from his position at the association. When I met with Ethan, he was still much passionate about his long-time dream and equally disappointed with the failure to bring this market to life. The idea, essentially, was to establish a market that would be located at the port and serve the fishermen to sell fresh produce to clients. It was to be run collectively by the fishermen and for the fishermen, thereby allowing them a way out from the virtually monopolized fish trade that exists today where a few traders control the market and the fishermen have no bargaining leverage over prices. Selling fish directly to clients would give the

fishermen agency over their economic status and would create, in Ethan's words, no less than "a social transformation." The market would be a means to help the fishermen sustain themselves, as rising fuel prices, the degrading fishery and the state's withdrawal of support have made it hard to earn a living from fishing (Ben-Yehoyada, 2016). Such fish markets exist in many port cities around the world. In addition to supporting the fishermen, they serve as points of interest and touristic attractions. In theory, the market should be beneficial to all: the fishermen, the port's administration and visitors.

With the successful completion of the civic campaign, the future of the fish market seemed promising. The new plan allocated space for the market in Warehouse 2 and it seemed like an appropriate means to support the working port's vision. In Ethan's view, the first CEO was "the right person in the right place" to help him achieve this old-time dream of his, as he understood the vision and was willing to support it. However, making this dream a reality was far from being simple, especially in the cooperative model that Ethan wished to implement. In the conversation with Ethan, his wife clarified:

> Ethan really wanted it to be a fish market run by fishermen and for the fishermen, and it is very difficult to accomplish such a thing. You need financing, you need organization, you need the fishermen to be willing to invest… [He] really wanted it to be something that comes from within, not built by an outside tycoon. (Interview, January 2016)

Yet working together with a large group of fishermen that come from heterogenic cultural and socio-economic backgrounds is a challenging task, even for Ethan who spent most of his life at the port and is well-immersed in its milieu. Moreover, the fishermen differ greatly from each other in the fishing methods they use and in the amount of fish they are able to catch, which influences their economic status and capacity to sell.

As the idea of the market progressed, the CEO got in touch with a lawyer from Tel-Aviv University's Legal Clinic and invited her to step in and help with the case. Her role, together with her students, was to mediate between the port's administration and the fishermen in the redevelopment process, as the fishermen felt that they were being pushed aside. More specifically, the legal clinic's role in the following two years was to assist in the process of promoting the fish market. The clinic's staff repeatedly met with the fishermen and studied their needs, as well as the social complexity that exists within this group and the port's willingness to invest in the market. They even developed a preliminary physical plan for the market with an architect. However, despite ongoing efforts, the process came to a halt shortly after the first CEO

ended his term. In the interview with the Sharon, the lawyer in charge, she specifically referred to his departure as a critical crisis that eventually led to the demise of the attempt to start a market. In her words:

> [The CEO] had initiated the process, he brought the vision of providing a place for the fishermen, to strengthen the port [as an] active fishing port. . . .None of his successors had seen it in the same way, and did not support it the same way, and in fact the process has not progressed at all. . . .It was clear that in order to build trust and to enable this project to grow the port needs to offer something. [The CEO] was at a place where he was willing to offer. I think that he was also subjected to all kinds of pressures and interests that did not make it easy for him, but he was at a place where he was willing to invest money on that matter. . . After him nobody even spoke that language.

At around the same time that the CEO left, another related incident occurred, which together with his departure signaled the end of the process from Sharon's perspective. In brief, the port's administration decided to allow one fisherman to use a small shop and storage space independently from the group to sell his produce, despite the fact that the fishermen have collective ownership rights over this space. Naturally, this development undermined the long process of group-formation that Sharon and her students had been working to build.

Essentially, even after two years of the clinic's involvement, the ground was not ripe for a market. As Sharon the lawyer explains, while the potential benefits of a market were clear to various stakeholders, the fishermen and the port administrators faced myriad controversies that prevented them from moving forward with the market proposal. On the one hand, the fishermen had encountered many limitations regarding operational issues such as the use of lighting, entrances for vehicles, which areas of the port they were allowed to use and more. On the other hand, the port's administration was concerned with the fishermen's commitment to the project and whether they could organize as a group and resolve internal divisions regarding who would operate the market, who would be entitled to sell and how the profits would be distributed amongst them. These are very intricate questions that require a long and thoughtful process and investment by all sides, especially under the dependency that characterizes the fishing sector today. Under the circumstances of lack of trust between the fishermen and the administration, Sharon says, it was unrealistic to expect anyone to invest the millions necessary for the market.

The CEO's dramatic leave not only took away the vision for the market and beyond, but in a sense undermined the fragile trust that Sharon and her team had worked so hard to achieve. After he had left, Sharon felt that her original position as a mediator between the two sides had

become confrontational: she no longer had the support she previously had from the former CEO. She emphasized that in parallel to the social processes that the group had to resolve within itself, the port's administration needed to take concrete steps that would make the market worthwhile economically for the fishermen, especially considering their disadvantaged financial status. However, these steps were not taken.

Without the appropriate administrative and economic investment, the market could not take off:

> I agree that [the fish market] is a win-win for everyone. Even for the State of Israel. But it's not a work-free win, it required a lot of work, it required a large financial investment, it required working with this group and recognizing it, the alienation that this group has experienced and continues to experience over the years, there's also a political statement in that, okay? (Interview, January 2016)

As Sharon explained, working with a disadvantaged minority group meant that it necessitated a long process of trust-building and a symbolic recognition before solving the practical issues, which are also challenging. For example:

> And who even follows [the fishermen's] income and expenses, and if they get government support and have unreported income from selling fish, what does that mean? It's an enormously complex alignment of local and national levels, and economic and social levels, that a project like this would have to address…It would have required a solution to all of these questions. You can't solve them hypothetically. There is no relevance to a hypothetical dilemma, maybe an academic relevance but not in practice. (Ibid.)

Indeed, a fish market would require solutions to many challenges that extend far beyond the required financial resources, such as, but not limited to, the degrading fishery and the conflicts of interest. For example, what would happen if the market was to be run daily but the fishermen would not be able to provide enough merchandise? Would everyone be entitled to open a stall in the market? Who will be in charge? But as long as these dilemmas remained theoretical, and with the change of attitude in the administration following the first CEO's leave, eventually the fishermen lost hope for the market to realize.

Today, the idea of the fish market is still mentioned occasionally, yet no one is actually pushing for it. The CEO has left, Sharon and her staff followed suit, and Ethan retired. The current administration does not seem interested in leading the way, despite statements to the contrary. In an interview with the current port's CEO and the marketing director, the marketing director said:

> We really want a fish market. We want it in cooperation with the fishermen, they really want it, and we told them that we do not start businesses; we'd love it if they would bring an entrepreneur, or they themselves organize to do it, because it is expensive to do a fish market. We are very interested in it, but we do not operate a fish market. Just as we don't operate a convention center, a market or a café. We are looking for an entrepreneur to do it. We really hope to have a fish market, but again, this is subjected to an investor who would want it. (Interview, January 2016)

While the administration declares that they are open to the idea of the market, in practice, their words clarify, it is up to the fishermen to find an investor and organize and plan the market themselves. As previous experience shows, this scenario is unlikely to happen. Thus, implicitly, the administration does not genuinely support the market. The marketing director added:

> The barrier is not just financial…the fishery situation is also somewhat problematic, they say there is not enough [fish], and it's very important to us that [the market] would be with the fishermen. …it's hard for them to commit to such a thing because a market is very dynamic, I mean if tomorrow the conditions for fishing would be good they would not open their stall, they would prefer to go to sea…It's a bit complicated, it's not just money. Because one can find someone who wants to run the market…But since it's important to us that it would be with the fishermen it's a bit more complex… it is important to us that everyone will take part in it, not just the better off or worse off fishermen. (Ibid.)

While the director says all the right words, recognizing that the market brings to the surface pressing issues, such as the problematic fishery situation, the administration does little to address these concerns. In fact, the director shifts the responsibility to the fishermen, and to a certain extent blames them for being uncooperative and/or unable to fully commit.

The fish market is another example of how the 'working port' vision is not fully embraced when it comes to implementation. The marketing director explained that successful markets in other port cities operate very early in the morning, therefore they are not 'touristy'. As such, the attractiveness of the idea in the Jaffa context is compromised:

> This combination–that we want it to be authentic and real, by the fishermen, relevant to their work hours—and at the same time open to the public, a commercial or touristic attraction—there is a difficulty in combining [these elements]. (Ibid.)

And so, once again it appears that supporting the fishermen's livelihood is secondary to the port's role as a tourist destination.

The story of the fish market, even in its condensed version, is telling. The opportunity to use the redevelopment process in order to open up new opportunities for the fishermen, while maintaining the working port vision, has been missed. The first CEO seemed to be willing to invest in the market even as he understood the social and economic complexity. The involvement of Tel-Aviv University's Legal Clinic indicated an openness to search for innovative solutions. Yet, as the CEO left and at the same time the port's administration authorized one fisherman to operate his business, the window of opportunity closed. As no investor for the market was found and the discussions were confined to a hypothetical level, the idea of a market finally dissolved. Eventually, the port administration did not go through with its vision and trust was broken. With the current administration's approach, it is unlikely to revive the market initiative.

Whose port? Public Participation and Inclusion in the Redevelopment Process and Outcomes

The Jaffa port, with its rich history, diverse users and location in the heart of a mixed city, is a good test case to examine issues of inclusivity, belonging and public engagement. Despite extended government disinvestment and deteriorating infrastructure prior to its redevelopment, the port has continued to serve fishermen, business owners and community members as a place of work, leisure and community interaction. In this section, I examine issues of public participation and inclusion in the redevelopment process and outcomes. I show that despite good intensions and some measures that were taken to promote openness and engagement, most of the informants were disappointed with the redevelopment outcomes and felt excluded from the revamped space.

The public participation process

The public participation process for the redevelopment started informally. The new CEO and his staff met with various groups. However, there was no formal call for participation and the meetings were not advertised to the public at large. Public participation, in fact, began from day one, even if unintentionally, when the CEO took office:

> On the first day I officially started working I didn't need to call people because 50 people were waiting outside the door. There was a demonstration that asked me to return to the Tel Aviv port and they gave me an interesting reception. The truth is that at first I panicked but it took me a few minutes to pull myself together and I was very happy that it happened. Because it actually allowed [me] to talk to the people in the most spontaneous

> and sincere way. Now I really didn't have anything to tell them, I didn't really know the plans yet, all I knew was to talk to them about transparency and participation and a desire to work with them. (Interview, January 2016)

Public participation then continued through a more directed, but still somewhat spontaneous, process, including meetings with targeted groups such as fishermen, residents of old Jaffa, Muslim and Christian representatives, women's groups, business owners and 'external' groups such as philosophers and artists:

> We were our own consultants and every meeting led to another meeting. We met the Islamic movement, they recommended that we meet two Muslim women who encourage women to do sports and walk near the water, just an example, and they introduced us to someone who cooks and she met us with . . . It all rolled out unplanned and we had a goal to meet as many [people] as possible, that was the stated goal. (Ibid.)

In the interview with the first CEO, the issue of public participation came across as compelling through numerous anecdotes. For example, he defined the level of participation as "extreme" and to emphasize this point he explained how the landscape architect repeatedly changed the paving due to ongoing discussions with the fishermen. His conclusion from the public participation process was that despite the vast differences between the different stakeholders—rich and poor, Jewish, Muslim or Christian—they all shared similar sentiments for the port. The former CEO said that

> The story in Jaffa is that no matter what community in Jaffa: Jews, Arabs, Christians… everyone is sure that the port is theirs, and everyone is right. You cannot argue with a narrative nor with a feeling. You need to know how you work with this and respect everyone and listen to everyone's comments. Of course, you can't implement all the fantasies of those sitting with you. Often it brought us to the conclusion of a common denominator, that is, we did not seek to do something drastic that would relate well to one group but maybe less so to another. We wanted to keep it very similar to what it was. Under the most extreme state of neglect, everyone felt that the port belongs to them, so the more you take it to another direction there is a chance that someone else will suddenly feel that it was taken away from them. (Interview, January 2016)

The above quotation demonstrates a strong sense of belonging to the port in its pre-redevelopment phase, experienced by diverse groups.

In contrast to the CEO's description, however, most of the interviewees see the public participation process as purely instrumental for the purpose of gaining their consent to the project. One of the long-term fishermen said:

> Did we participate? I'll tell you what…. [the CEO], the person who was in charge of the whole thing, is a very nice guy. They are very nice when they start a project because they want to achieve their goal, so they have a very simple exercise that they do: they are very nice to the locals and it's like they really want to help the locals, and they include the locals: what do you say, etc., so we don't disturb their plan big, you know what I mean? (Interview, February 2016)

Another resident said that there was public participation to an extent, but it was not as engaging and substantial as it should have been. A business owner in the port added:

> There was allegedly a public participation process in the beginning. . . I say allegedly because there was a dialogue, but the results on the ground have not always matched what allegedly came up. . . . If you call that a public participation process, then there was one. The director of this project was a graduate of the same degree as yours [the author's: urban planning]. That means that he was working by the book, it's not the only project that he managed in this area. So he is working by the book, but on the ground, in practice. . . .
>
> Notice that I used the word 'allegedly' more than once. . . [The CEO] gave a very good feeling that this project is going to better places, that he listens, shares, gives a hand sometimes, but the actual results were different. (Interview, January 2016)

Once again, there is a striking discrepancy between the 'official' story of the redevelopment, represented by the first CEO's accounts and the vision documents on the one hand, and the story told by the other interviewees on the other hand. One explanation could be that while the public participation process was inclusive to the extent that it involved various stakeholders, it was not deeply engaging in that the various groups did not take an active part in the redevelopment process. Put differently, participants were heard, but not further engaged.

While it is impossible to know at this point in time exactly what went on in the public participation meetings, it is evident that the interviewees judge the participation process also by its outcomes. One interviewee, a resident of Old Jaffa who was involved in the redevelopment process, offered an explanation for the aforementioned discrepancy:

> Listen, he [the CEO] is a charming person, really. Warm and friendly and charming, and he really talked with everyone. And he was the sheriff, okay? And one was needed… [He] could speak with the most serious criminals and all the spoiled residents from the old city, and there's a lot of communities to be considerate of here. And he knew how to do it, and he did it well. And there was a pleasant atmosphere. But I am saying, it's all well and good, as a person he is great, I'd love to sit down with him and be his friend, he is a great person. But it's the reality that matters. (Interview, January 2016)

On a personal level, informants agreed that the CEO played his part well: he connected with the different actors and managed to create a congenial atmosphere. Some interviewees mentioned

that they have even become friends with him. But personal charisma and rapport are insufficient in and of themselves: fulfilling promises was deemed more important by the interviewees.

Reflections on participation and inclusion in the redevelopment outcomes

To a certain extent, it is understandable why the fishermen would have reservations about the port's redevelopment. As described in the 'working port' section, the role that they were assigned in the process was not a central one. If anything, the redevelopment was likely to interfere with their lives and expropriate the space that had been their home long before anyone thought of the port as yet another tourist attraction. This sense of loss is articulated in one fisherman's words as he describes the port as a place of refuge from the city, a home where anyone could wear whatever they liked and do as they pleased; but this freedom was taken away from them as the "city entered [their] neighborhood" [in his words] and the fishermen were no longer essential to the port:

> They built Jaffa and renovated the port and did everything on our shoulders, on the attraction called fishermen and Sea Scouts and kayaking and the special people who lived here. This is what the port is built on. This is what drew the people here. This is what is special about it. And once they finished–you are in the way, remove the nets from here, you are in the way, get the boat out of here…. (Interview, February 2016)

In the new life of the port as a leisure and recreation center, the fishermen feel that they have become secondary to the 'real' goal of redevelopment: profit-making. In accordance with his words, a few others described themselves as mere decoration, contributing to the 'authentic' experience of the port's visitors while their own needs are being neglected. Yet as described previously in the working port section, the outcomes of the port's transformation extend beyond feelings of exclusion and the minor inconveniences, as the port administration interferes with fishing by placing limitations on the fishermen and weakening their bargaining power. Furthermore, the fishermen are not the only ones expressing their discontent. Representatives of the other groups who participated also shared feelings of exclusion and frustration. A community activist who also takes a leading role in the local Sea Scouts branch said:

> What they did to the Jaffa Port is in my opinion a crime. People don't like it when I say: they cut and pasted the Tel Aviv port without the soul of the place. If today the municipality prides itself on the issue of public participation, let's just say that here nothing like that happened. They did not come and sit with those who are the owners, who live in the area and experience it. The architect just had a vision and he forced it on the ground without adjusting the program to the real needs of the place, without

> addressing the real nature of the Jaffa port, and that's why the port has failed. (Interview, February 2016)

When asked specifically whether the CEO held a social vision, she responded:

> He just said that. . . He was a servant of the mayor, that's all. He was a yes-man who told us what we wanted to hear, there was nothing behind it. No one will tell you otherwise. There was nothing that he did. So he promised . . . he talked a lot and did nothing… Presenting Kappa boards[10] is easy, but between the situation today and the new proposal on the kappa board there is a process. He did not do it. (Ibid.)

Another resident of old Jaffa who was involved in the process said:

> At first I was very active of course in all of the committees… And at some point I lost my innocence and realized that… money is the most important thing to Tel Aviv's municipality, more than the historical, national, cultural value…So there was a phase of involvement, followed by a lot of anger when I realized that the system is cruel, it is not really how I'd like it to be. After that I would just sit and cry, and today I'm indifferent. I really don't care because I don't see that something can be done today. (Interview, February 2016)

While it is almost inevitable that every redevelopment project would encounter objections, in the port's case the discontent was consistent with almost all of the interviewees. The redevelopment itself was not opposed: most people welcomed the change after a prolonged period of disinvestment. However, the outcomes resulted in a place that serves tourists rather than locals. Even from a narrow touristic or economic point of view, the loss of authenticity has consequences as well. As one interviewee succinctly summarized:

> The port, with all its difficulties, is still a lovely place that is joyful to visit. But if [one] won't care for the fishermen there, and if you turn it into something pretentious where you can't smell the fish, and you won't see fishermen fix their nets and everything will be very sterile, you will lose the port. (Interview, January 2016)

Even though her words might be read somewhat ironically, as she is referring to the appeal of the place for visitors, she is also concerned with the spirit of the place—which, it seems, most of the interviewees were in agreement has already been lost.

In contrast, when I asked the first CEO about the retrospective successes and failures of the project, he mentioned working with the fishermen as a point of strength and highlighted the fishermen's substantial gains:

[10] Kappa (foam) boards are used to present models.

> The whole fishermen's issue, we gave it great validity. We set them as a very high priority: there was criticism about it, by the way. We gave them an important place, we consulted with them on everything, we did not do anything one-sidedly. We explained to them what their rights are, they have rights in the master plan, they didn't even know it…. We let them stand on their own. I think it was the right thing to do.

From his perspective, the redevelopment actually did justice to the fishermen in keeping them informed and giving them a voice. As for weaknesses, in retrospect he believes that the costly renovation of Warehouse 1 was a mistake. Not that there was anything essentially wrong with the design plans, he says, "but from a procedural perspective, to take such a place that is known for years and then transform it in two years and expect it to go smoothly, it's hard to swallow and it affects the warehouse's commercial success." (Interview, January 2016)

Although the first CEO generally portrayed a success story when he described the redevelopment process, speaking about Warehouse 1 revealed a crack in his narrative. He takes pride in the fact that they managed to "tone down" the redevelopment, even though he was initially perceived as a "bulldozer" in light of his previous involvement in the Tel-Aviv's port redevelopment. Nevertheless, he recognizes that

> Eventually the port will be commercialized, unfortunately…the fact that I arrived with a certain ideology, that I managed to convince those around me that it is right, that's nice, but in today's reality I'm a little pessimistic if it will sustain. (Ibid.)

His prediction likely stems from the fact that although the renovated Warehouse 1 was supposed to be the flagship marker of the redevelopment, it has failed economically. Many businesses closed down and half of the warehouse is presently unoccupied. At the same time, Warehouse 2, which was renovated with a small budget, is doing relatively well. The investment in Warehouse 1 generated great expectations and set the tone of the redevelopment. In hindsight, the first CEO presumes that it would have been easier to include more social and cultural elements in Warehouse 1 with a different, more modest approach.

Naor Ben-Yehoyada (2016) argues that from the city's perspective, the fishermen of Jaffa were supposed to embody live "Zorbe the Greek" characters as symbols of a fabricated authenticity to begin with. The development plans, according to him, aimed to present this authenticity to the port's visitors in a controlled and insulated way. While I do not know if this was the explicit intent of the port's developers, it does seem that the 'gritty' but otherwise undesirable presence of the fishermen is celebrated because it is framed as an authentic

experience. But this authenticity is only tolerated to the extent that it serves the port's officials, and it engenders a social cost. When there is a conflict in demand for space, for example activity necessary for an operational port that would not be enjoyable as spectacle, the fishermen do not have the upper hand.

The architect who is in charge of the current redevelopment plan was confident in our interview that the new plan for warehouses 2 and 3 will create spaces for community engagement, through more public space. The economic balance of the port, he explained, would rely on "things that will make money, things that will make less money and things that will cost money" (Interview, March 2016). But, he said, this also means that the city will allow for commercial events to compensate for the non-profitable activities. According to the architect, the city had made a principled decision to support this balance and is willing to invest. Time will tell whether this balance will be implemented.

In sum, the redevelopment of the port started in the context of a successful civic campaign, and yet, is the campaign still perceived successful today? According to Sharon

> The fishermen fought over the nature and character of the port that faced privatization. To a certain extent they were successful in the fight and the port was not privatized. It was not privatized in the sense that it remained in the hands of a public body, Tel-Aviv municipality, but the way [the port] has been commercialized and its operation are completely private. The considerations that drive its development are of profit and loss, and therefore the victory in this struggle is only partial. (Interview, January 2016)

This quotation nicely summarizes the outcomes of the civic campaign as are perceived today by its leaders. The port was presumably 'saved' from privatization, but, as Sharon notes, the fact that it remained in public hands did not guarantee the development's trajectory, since even a public project can be excluding and unjust. The redevelopment project started in the context of success, which allegedly set the ground for a fruitful process. Even though the fishermen never asked for the redevelopment, and would probably be more content if the port was left for them, the preliminary redevelopment vision shows that their needs were supposed to be taken into account. This section has shown, however, that the fishermen do not feel ownership over the redeveloped port. In conclusion of this section, the answer to the question whose port is it? is contested. While official rhetoric emphasized that the port belongs to everyone, in practice many stakeholders felt excluded. The transformation of the port from a local, hidden gem to a city-

wide commodity did not necessitate a substantial physical makeover. Yet even in its relatively modest reincarnation, the port feels estranged to many of its former and present inhabitants.

Ethnicity, Diversity and Recognition: Jewish-Arab Relations

Social justice in the context of the port may also be examined through the lens of ethnic and cultural diversity. That is, was the redevelopment successful in respecting the heritage and practices of the diverse religious and cultural groups of Jaffa and the fragile Jewish-Arab coexistence in the port? If so, in what ways? In answering these questions, it is important to understand the complexity of Jaffa as a 'mixed city'. Jaffa is not simply a neighborhood in Tel-Aviv: it is a former Palestinian city, with a significant Palestinian minority, which still serves as an important cultural and religious center to the Arab community of the region. Thus development in Jaffa will always have political, cultural and ethnic ramifications.

In this section, I analyze the Jewish-Arab aspect of the redevelopment at two levels: the first one relates to the immediate scope of the redevelopment and the symbolic actions it undertook; for example, the participation process and the physical demarcations of space. While I have touched on these aspects in the previous section, in this section I discuss them in the context of ethnic identity. The second layer of analysis requires a deeper understanding of the role that national policies played out in Jaffa over time; for example, in the shaping of the fishing sector. While these national policies are not at the center of this research, and neither is the fishery sector in itself, it is critical to contextualize the redevelopment in light of these policies in order to fully understand the implications of the redevelopment on social justice.

Jewish-Arab relations at the port

The early 2000s were a time of tension concerning the future of the Arab population in Jaffa (Avidan and Heywood, 2009; Kaldor, 2007). The old waterfront neighborhoods in particular, such as Ajami, were subjected to substantial gentrification processes and expedited development (Monterescu, 2007). Whereas gentrification is a highly contested process anywhere, in the Jaffa context ethnic aspect has added a layer of complexity. The housing market in Jaffa is strongly affected by the substantial number of absentees' properties, a special form of protected tenure that was enforced in Jaffa following the Israeli-Arab war of 1948. A large number of absentees' properties with a forthcoming 'expiration date', combined with decades of

destruction and neglect, failure to provide new housing, and finally gentrification, have led to an explosive housing crisis that specifically affects the Arab population of Jaffa (Valerstien et al., 2011). The port's redevelopment was set in motion against this backdrop of political tension.

The Jaffa port is— and has been—a special place in terms of Jewish-Arab coexistence. Even during times of political tension, Jews and Arabs have worked jointly in fishing and related activities. While one should be careful not to idealize the Jewish-Arab relationships at the port, it does seem that the joint labour practices and space-sharing have resulted in tolerance and mutual respect here. The following dialogue between an Arab (Musah) and a former Jewish fishermen (Shlomi) reflects this complexity:

> Musah: Here at the port there is no Arab, Christian, Muslim, Jewish, nothing.
> Shlomi: No no, there is.
> Musah - Not here at the port, no.
> Shlomi - There is.
> Musah - No, you are mistaken. It's the things that are at the port, we eat together, we drink together. If you have a dispute with someone it's nothing, but really you don't…See, you [the author] came here. If you go somewhere else and you will hear Arabic you will be scared.

As some of the interviewees mentioned, the port was somewhat immune to the political tensions that were present outside the port's gates. One interviewee explained:

> I have always said that the real world ceased to exist at the two gates of the port…life there was different. If it's in terms of both Jews and Arabs who fish, on the same boat Jews and Arabs partner. If it's in the shared lives, even in the warehouse at the end …there were all kinds of warehouses of fishermen and they were all together. If it's fishing nets and boat technicians, Sea Scouts, everything was authentic, real, not something synthetic and tacky. (Interview, January 2016)

Another interviewee, a yacht owner who has lived with his family in the port for the last twenty years, similarly said:

> What struck me when I arrived here in 1990 was that I arrived to a place of peace, where Arabs and Jews and Christians and Philippinos and Sudanese all work, make a living, and these are people of a low socio-economic background… So at the port too, there were drug dealers and criminals of all types, and they all agreed to live together and make a living; and you know, there are little mishaps between people but it's never been on a racial or discriminatory background. The place was a place of peace, that's what charmed me at first. (Interview, February 2016)

As the interviewee's words reflect, the port was not a perfect place, and people dealt with various problems, and yet, in terms of coexistence of various cultural groups, it functioned well.

While Jaffa as a whole is a shared space for Jews and Arabs, the port created opportunities for intense interactions that were based on daily work practices. In other words, it produced a 'bottom up coexistence', which resulted from sharing a space of work, and not necessarily due to shared ideology or a sense of brotherhood. This coexistence is valuable regardless of whether or not it evolved out of necessity. Notably, the Sea Scouts' local chapter, located at the northern tip of the port, has become a symbol of coexistence as it consists of both Jewish and Arab youths, and is perhaps one of the most successful examples of Jewish-Arab education in the area. Still, it would be an oversimplification to assume that the port is immune to national political ideologies and the Arab-Israeli conflict at large. My observations at the port revealed that despite friendships and work relationships between Jews and Arabs, there are also differences, and even tensions, between some groups. These were articulated in comments made by Jewish or Arab fishermen throughout the interviews. The aforementioned short dialogue between Musah and Shlomi is an example of the different views they had on coexistence at the port.

Jewish-Arab relations in the context of the redevelopment

On a symbolic level, the salience of the port as a place that belongs to both Arabs and Jews was articulated in the interviews with the first CEO. When asked about how he engaged with the historical significance of the port for various groups, he responded:

> It's something we realized is very sensitive . . . There is a lot of complexity in the historical story, you have the Zionist story– my whole family immigrated through the Jaffa port, like most of us. It is certainly a very beautiful Zionist story, a gateway to the country, and there is the Christian story of pilgrimage for hundreds or thousands of years through the port. . . And the more contemporary Muslim story in the context of the Nakba[11] and the port as their activity and life hub, and the port as the main employment center of Jaffa for many years. (Interview, January 2016)

Throughout the interviews, the CEO also referred several times to the politically tense climate that surrounded development in Jaffa, which was reflected in the port's redevelopment being perceived as yet another attempt to force the Arabs out of Jaffa through an 'economic transfer'. He recalls how the Arab fishermen specifically felt threatened. For example, when they were asked by the administration to spread their fishing nets in a different area than they were used to,

[11] Nakaba is the Palestinian term that literally translates as "disaster" or "catastrophe" and is employed to describe the outcomes of the 1948 War that were devastating for the Palestinians.

it was hard for them to let go of the territory they had retained for years: "[They] felt like they can't let go of those twenty square meters, like they owned it", whereas the Jewish fishermen were more accommodating.

Influenced by the air of suspicion, the new port administration took a few concrete steps to foster a sense of inclusivity, including the creation of a new tri-lingual logo (Figure 10). According to the first CEO "one of the insights about the logo was that you can't give a symbol to a place like this because of the same reason I mentioned before, that there are so many groups that are certain that the port belongs to them and they are all right". Therefore the new logo is composed of words only, since any symbol they were to choose could be interpreted as excluding towards certain religious or cultural groups. It was introduced through new signs that replaced the old Hebrew-only signs. According to the first CEO, these branding steps were meant not only to serve the port employees but were also geared towards the Arab population of Jaffa that refrained from frequenting the port. In this regard, the goal was successfully met:

> There is war these days[12] but if you go to the Jaffa port in the next three days… the port is bustling with Arabs who celebrate the holiday…They were previously doing a lot of activities in Bat Yam mall, that was [their] entertainment . We changed recreational patterns for this population at least, that I can say with certainty. (Presentation at a public planning forum, July 2014)

Creating an inclusive historical narrative, however, turned out to be more difficult than designing a logo. The original idea was to create three different stories—Zionist, Christian and Muslim–told by prominent figures. For example, the Palestinian story would be told through the eyes of a Palestinian poet who left on a boat during the Nakba and the Zionist story would be told by a famous author who immigrated to Israel in the early twentieth century. This was a rather innovative, if not groundbreaking, concept, given that Israel does not officially recognize the Nakba and that Palestinian narratives tend to be left out of the history books. The controversial nature of the idea was probably the reason it never materialized:

> We wanted to tell these stories based on people's experiences and not give our own interpretation of what is right…We did not do it in the end . . . and I was very careful not to go into politics, although I really like to get into politics… I have not played this game. I came and introduced what's good for the port and nothing beyond that. And also what's good for the residents around, who are Jews, Arabs, Christians, Muslims. Overall it worked very well. In this context, we did not have crises. In the historical context, we did not implement the solution we had in mind in the end. (Interview, January 2016)

[12] The CEO is referring to the Gaza war that took place in the summer of 2014.

When I inquired why the idea was not implemented, the first CEO replied that it is hard to explain, but essentially he did not proceed with this idea, likely because of its complexity. And so, while the presence of the trilingual signs and logo is important and should not be taken for granted, the redevelopment vision stopped short of promoting more radical means of inclusion.

Figure 10: All signage is in three languages: Hebrew, Arabic and English. The logo is printed on the upper left of the photo.
Source: Author.

Today, the historical importance of the port—to all religious and ethnic groups—is barely evident, despite the fact that the Council for Conservation of Heritage Sites in Israel was one of the main stakeholders in the campaign to save the port. With the exception of a few historic signs and brief audio explanations available through a mobile phone application, visitors to the port are not offered any explanations about this site. The requests of community activists to open a maritime museum have been turned down. The minor role that heritage played in the

reconstruction of the port was criticized by virtually all of my interviewees, for example a former activist:

> Jaffa port is one of the pearls of the State of Israel, from all aspects. If we look historically, this is the oldest port in the Middle East to the best of my knowledge. Culturally there is a coexistence of generations, there's a history. All the first immigration waves passed through the Jaffa port. This is a port: ports, in any normal country, are very important places historically because [they were] the place of entry and exit from the state throughout historical times. And here we have a historic port that is not treated like a historical site, a national monument, a cultural site. . . . (Interview, February 2016)

Despite the vital role that the port has played in different historical times in Palestine and Israel, its contribution and rich history, this resident points out, are overlooked. Interestingly, the main threat to the built heritage of the port today is actually directed towards a building that symbolizes Zionist heritage. The mayor of Tel-Aviv is determined to demolish the British customs building, which played a key role in Zionist immigration in the 1930s. At the time of writing, the Council for Conservation of Heritage Sites in Israel and local activists are fighting this decision.

With regards to the businesses that exist at the port, there have been some attempts to represent the cultural diversity that exists in Jaffa. These attempts include a Jewish-Arab theatre for children, an art gallery for Palestinian art, and one of Jaffa's culinary institutions, The Old Man and the Sea, run by an Arab family. Since government regulations prohibit tendering for local businesses only, the port's administration proactively convinced local institutions to apply, however, they all failed in meeting the requirements due to technicalities. As the first CEO describes, this was a significant setback, "a giant trust crisis", which was heavily criticized in the local media as an intentional "plot" by the city. At this point, he personally convinced the mayor to approve the Old Man and the Sea, and today it is one of the most successful businesses at the port.

As Warehouse 2 is facing further renovation in the future, it is not clear, however, if the businesses mentioned above will return to the port. In the new policy document (2015), under the fourth principle of 'mix of businesses', there is no mentioning of Arab or local businesses, with the exception of Arab women home cooking. While the document acknowledges the "historic, cultural and social" significance of the port, it refrains from addressing its multi-cultural nature. Furthermore, one of the businesses that currently operates in the port is a TV channel known for

its extremist right-wing Jewish views, which has been interpreted by many interviewees as a symbol of the port's failing multi-cultural vision.

Jewish-Arab relations beyond the redevelopment process

While a sleek new logo and bold ideas about historical narratives and local businesses are all well-intended, they are insufficient in themselves to fully repair "an historical injustice of neglect and abandonment" (Tel-Aviv Municipality, 2009: n.p.) that has characterized planning in Jaffa since 1948. Moreover, examining the redevelopment process and outcomes outside the historical national context is inadequate, since some of the major issues that relate to the port, such as fishing, extend beyond the redevelopment scope. That is not to say that the redevelopment process should not attend to these issues. On the contrary, in order to become truly inclusive, policymakers must address the range of issues that surround the port's redevelopment, both local and national, past and present.

The story of the fish market already hinted to the political dimension of the fishermen's identity. When Sharon, the lawyer from Tel-Aviv's University Legal Clinic, talked about the alienation that the fishermen experienced, she referred to the Jewish-Arab division of the group:

> It's a group, most fishermen are Arabs fisher from Jaffa, not all, some are Jewish. When you look at how this group is segmented then the Jewish fishermen are of course more powerful, they fish with trawlers compared to the Arabs fishermen that use more traditional methods. The economic, social and politics questions are so intertwined with each other, and that of course immediately reflects on how much the Ministry of Agriculture invests in the fishing industry and what type of license is required for each type of fishing… . (Interview, January 2016)

Sharon's observation indicates that the fishermen group is not cohesive, and some of the differences are traced back to national fishing policies. These have different ramifications for Jewish and Arab fishermen due to historically discriminatory policies. While the history of the fishing sector is beyond the scope of this research, it is important to recognize that state imposed policies created different hierarchies between Jewish and Arab fishermen. After the 1948 war, the government created a hegemony of Jewish fishermen along the coast by restricting Palestinian fishermen's access to fishing equipment and by excluding them from the national fishing project run by the Ministry of Agriculture. Palestinian fishermen were allowed to operate the few fishing supplies that were not confiscated or destroyed by the government. Until the

early 1960s, various restrictions prohibited them from operating modern fishing techniques and accessing government support (Ben-Yehoyada, Forthcoming).

The consequences are still visible today: most of the Palestinian fishermen use more traditional, and less profitable, fishing techniques compared to the Jewish fishermen who had more access to modern technology and support from the government (*ibid).* Therefore, the collegial relationships that may exist between some Jewish and Arab fishermen do not reveal the whole story. Furthermore, a new logo and inclusive historical narratives are insufficient to resolve these deep inequalities. Indeed, the scope of the redevelopment is limited. One cannot expect the port's administration to be held accountable for national policies. But at the same time, overlooking the inherent inequalities cannot lead to a fully inclusive process. The problems that the fishermen face are consequences of national policies, but they need to be addressed throughout the redevelopment process even if they seem to exceed the intended scope of the project.

Beyond the politicalized fishing sector, questions of Jewish-Arab justice relate to the agency of the Arab population of Jaffa to make its own choices. The port is not only 'Arab' space, but it is located at the heart of old Arab Jaffa and traditionally has been a source of livelihood for hundreds of Arab families. Therefore, the 'Arab identity' of the port is integral to its development. And yet, the politics of identity have often been left out of planning discourse and practice. A local Arab politician and former member of city council emphasized that the problem is not specifically with the port, but with planning in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa as a whole. The Arab population of Jaffa, according to him, is "not even in the game, not even in the margins", and this reflects on the port.

As an example, he referred to the argument about a shopping mall versus a market at the port as "distasteful" and "elitist", since it assumes that the Arab population needs a stereotypical Arab development: "Not everywhere where there are Arabs you need to sell humus; we can do without Abu-Hassan [a famous humus place] at the port, it's okay", he said half-jokingly. It was him who talked about the false choices of redevelopment before—a market or a shopping mall—which was framed as an "either-or" option without consulting with the local population. When I asked him about his vision for the port, he emphasized strengthening the maritime functions of the port, including fishing, so that the fishermen would "feel that the port is theirs", and opening a fish market, a museum and a multi-cultural shopping and recreation center. But overall, he

stated that what needs to be changed is not one project or another, but the current political structure that does not give a voice to the Arab population of Jaffa.

Discussion: So Long and Thanks for all the Fish?

Under Mayor Huldai's term (1998-present) Tel-Aviv-Jaffa municipality made great efforts to enhance access to the Mediterranean Sea, especially in Jaffa, which had been the neglected 'backyard' of Tel-Aviv until the late 1990s. The Jaffa Slope Park (2010) replaced the monumental mountain of garbage that accumulated over the former ruins of Jaffa's old neighborhoods (Meishar, 2015); further construction of the boardwalk from north to south has been planned and executed; and both Tel-Aviv and Jaffa's ports have new lives as cultural and entertainment districts. Yet, examining the Jaffa port redevelopment through the lens of justice reveals that it did not do justice to the main stakeholders involved in the process, such as representatives of fishers and community activists. To a certain extent, the port nowadays is more welcoming to visitors who perhaps avoided it in the past thanks to its upscale infrastructure. However, the redevelopment created spaces of exclusion for others.

Conflicting visions of the seashore are not a new phenomenon. From early in the history of Tel-Aviv, tensions emerged between the perception of the beach as a sphere of nature and a basic public resource on the one hand, and a real estate commodity on the other (Rosenberg, 2016; Schlor, 2009; Azaryahu and Golan, 2007). Yet, while some research on the history of the Tel-Aviv seashore has emerged in the last decade, that strand of research focuses mostly on the Jewish aspects of maritime history and on Tel-Aviv more specifically (ibid.). The Jaffa port, however, due to its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural identity as well as its role as a hub of labour and its long history that proceeds the forming of Tel-Aviv, is thus an exception. In this chapter, I emphasized its unique role. Overall, the analysis of the port's redevelopment revealed to me that there are two different narratives—or storylines (Ramsey, 2011)—of how this project is perceived today. The difference in the two stories should not be attributed to timing, i.e. 'before and after' versions. As all of the participants were interviewed around the same time, the different stories reveal diverse interpretations of the redevelopment retrospectively, at multiple points of time. While I have outlined many of the contradictions in the previous sections, I will now briefly delineate the two prominent narratives.

Story 1 [The official story]

Jaffa's port redevelopment was initiated by a successful public protest, led by fishermen and community activists, who opposed plans to privatize the port and sell the land to private developers. The mayor has taken to heart the need to compensate Jaffa's residents for the faults of the past: it was agreed that a port should remain public. The port redevelopment is therefore one step in a series of actions that aimed to better the residents of Jaffa. The project was executed following round-table discussions with the fishermen, which led to a new master plan, in which the rights of the fishermen were guaranteed. Once the land was transferred to the municipality, the CEO launched a public participation process. The vision of the port was constructed with the interest of all of the stakeholders in mind; the goal was to create a relatively modest redevelopment, local, with great consideration for the fishermen's needs. Today, the port management sees the fishermen as important stakeholders and continues to work with them in cooperation. The second phase of redevelopment is underway.

Story 2 [The unofficial story]

The port was saved from privatization by a successful public protest, which guaranteed its existence as public space. Following the protest, the fishermen and community activists were invited to discussions with officials, which indeed led to a new master plan. Initially, it seemed that things were going in the right direction. But soon after, the fishermen became disappointed by unfulfilled promises and an economic agenda that excluded them from the port. Some fishermen were evicted from their previous warehouses and have not received appropriate replacement space until today. Furthermore, their work is hindered by the redevelopment and they fear for their future at the port. They were never given the fish market that was promised to them. Community organizations did not benefit from the new development as prices are skyrocketing and the port management offers no substantial offerings to the residents, such as gathering spaces or a community center. The port management is not concerned at all with people, as their main agenda is economic; they want to increase traffic and profits. Overall, the port redevelopment is a considerable disappointment.

The two juxtaposed stories are not entirely dichotomous. Yet, they reveal compelling differences in how the redevelopment story is understood by the official 'makers' of the redevelopment and its 'receivers'. The stories prompt discussion on why these differences have

emerged, whether they can be reconciled, and in what ways. The rhetoric employed by the first CEO to describe the redevelopment process shows an awareness of intricate social issues, such as the underprivileged position of the fishermen and the politically contested symbolism of the port. As I have shown, he succeeded in building rapport with various stakeholders through his personality. Yet, he left before the redevelopment was completed and his departure created backlash on the people involved. Moreover, his ideas for a local, relatively under-developed port were worthwhile but not consistently carried through. Good intentions were insufficient in this case; this kind of vision requires a long-term commitment that surpasses expectations for short-term revenues. However, this was not the case here. Since the redevelopment project is under the mandate of Tel-Aviv's Economic Development Authority, there was great pressure for quick returns and profitability (interview with a former marketing director at the Jaffa, February 2016). Even the vision of the first CEO was "more cautious… [He didn't] 'Fight tooth and nail' over the idea", Sharon the lawyer observed (interview with Sharon, January 2016).

The subsequent CEO has not expressed meaningful aspirations for a social agenda and did not even attempt to create personal relationships with the port's community. The current CEO, as some interviewees pointed out, was hired due to his previous work experience in managing shopping malls. It is evident that the main goals that guide the present stage of the redevelopment are attracting more visitors and capital to the port. With the exception of involving the Legal Clinic for two years, there have been no attempts to engage social workers or other professionals who are experienced in working in such complex environments. The port, as some interviewees have noted, is a special place. It requires a more nuanced set of expertise than is usually associated with planning and managing projects. Managing the port, one interviewee suggested, is like managing a community center. It calls for close familiarity with the community and its needs. While the Jaffa planning team at the Tel-Aviv municipality should in theory have the appropriate skills and knowledge, the port project has been outsourced to external planning and architecture firms that may not be closely acquainted with the port's context.

The contradictions between plans and how they are perceived is, in fact, common to many redevelopments where tensions exist "behind… the façade of a postmodern leisure landscape" (Stevens and Dovey, 2004: 361). While in Jaffa the redevelopment is inspired by the site's local history and heritage, these are employed on a superficial level rather than fully engaged with. Ultimately, the redeveloped port did not escape from the all too common fate of

becoming an artificial, spectacle waterfront space. Rosenberg (2016:81), in her historical analysis of Tel-Aviv's promenade, argues that the postmodern waterfront is characterized by a basic paradox: it "draws upon local history and unique architecture to create place identity, while adhering to a generic globalized pattern common to waterfront redevelopment worldwide". She further contends that within this globalized, consumerist trend of waterfront redevelopment, the fishing sector is threatened. As I have shown, the diminishing fishing sector is also affected by other factors, such as the lack of governmental support and environmental conditions. Nevertheless, the redevelopment itself plays a part in the marginalization of fishing and its recreation as spectacle, a view that is also supported by Ben-Yehoyada (2016).

While the health of the working port is a pivotal factor in the evaluation of the redevelopment, it is not the only element of the project in which injustice may be manifested. The negation of heritage and the refusal to build a museum or address Jewish-Christian-Muslim history in more depth than through signage must also figure in the assessment of social justice outcomes. At the time of writing, some of the local businesses, including the Palestinian art gallery and the shop benefiting disadvantaged women, had closed down and not been replaced with other local businesses. Since these businesses symbolized a connection to the local community and a social agenda, their absence is yet another sign of the project's overall failure to contribute back to the local population.

As the city is about to launch a new phase in the redevelopment, the lessons from the previous stage have hardly been learnt. The new development policy for the port, which was devised by an architecture firm, a planning office and two consultants, did not call for an extensive public participation process. Rather, it was based on a phone survey of 1,300 respondents. While this policy builds on the existing master plan, no process has thus far been put in motion to evaluate the outcomes of the redevelopment so far from the perspective of the port's users and wider community.

6. The Anacostia River in Washington, D.C.

This background chapter sets the context for the following two case studies from Washington, D.C.: a) "Recapturing the Forgotten River" on the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative and b) "Transform. Connect. Engage: The 11th Street Bridge Park in Washington, D.C.". The first section of this chapter presents information on Washington, D.C., focusing on planning, demographics and inequality, and the second part is on the Anacostia River more specifically. This chapter is by no means a detailed history of the city and/or the river: rather, it provides the reader with background information in order to understand key terms, familiarize oneself with the city and river, and introduce important milestones in their development. Mayor Anthony William's term and the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative that he led will be elaborated on in the next chapter.

Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C. (formally the District of Columbia) was founded in 1791 following the signing of the Residence Act (1790), which approved the creation of a national capital on the Potomac River. The location of the capital—between the states of Maryland and Virginia—was a political compromise between the North and the South. It was far enough inland to protect the capital from an attack from the Atlantic front but still central and accessible enough due to its location on the Potomac River, a major transportation and commerce route at the time (Acosta et al., 2015) (see Figure 11).

Washington, D.C. is not a part of any state but a federal district under the jurisdiction of Congress. The District is home to the seats of all three branches of the Federal Government including the Capitol, White House, and Supreme Court. Since 1973, the District has been managed by a locally elected mayor and a city council of 13 members. However, the Congress still holds authority over the city. Moreover, residents of the District are not represented in Congress (Knox, 1987). As of 2016, the District's population was estimated at 681,170 (see Table 4). The entire metropolitan area includes over six million people (United States Census Bureau, 2016).

Figure 11: Location of Washington, D.C. in relation to Maryland and Virginia.
Source: Worldatlas, 2016.

Table 4: Population of the District of Columbia, 1800-2016

Year	Population
1800	14,903
1850	51,687
1900	278,718
1920	437,571
1950	802,178
1990	606,900
2000	572, 059
2010	601, 723
2016	681,170

Source: (Gilmore, 2016). *2016 figure is based on United States Census Bureau, 2016.

Planning Landmarks

The original design for Washington, D.C. was proposed by the French-born American architect and civil engineer Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who was commissioned with this role by George Washington in 1791. L'Enfant's ambitious vision for the city entailed grand diagonal avenues with water-filled plazas and trees, and sites for major governmental buildings (Williams, 2001). The public and ceremonial focus of the plan was oriented towards the Potomac, whereas

the “Eastern Branch”—the Anacostia River as it was then called—was clearly secondary. This was because the Potomac was more accessible and geographically advantageous (District of Columbia, 2003) . Although L’Enfant’s role terminated after one year, his vision was translated into an official plan by Andrew Ellicott in 1792. During the nineteenth century, the city grew slowly, somewhat in the shadows of the bustling port towns of Georgetown and Alexandria, which were then independent towns. Only in 1901 was another plan prepared for the District: the McMillan Plan (1901) outlined the development of the capital’s core and park system, including the Federal Triangle, and a new design for the National Mall.

Today, the L’Enfant and McMillan plans are still considered major milestones in Washington’s history, although other plans were created in the mid-to late-twentieth century. During the 1910s and 1920s, planning was becoming a more established field in the capital, and in 1924, federal legislation created the National Capital Park Commission to develop comprehensive plans for D.C.’s park system (National Capital Planning Commission, 2016). The Commission prepared comprehensive plans in 1950, 1965 and 1967, which expanded the commission’s focus from parks to land use and transportation, including highways, facilities and urban renewal projects. In 1952, the National Capital Park and Planning Commission was renamed the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) and made responsible for all planning matters in the District (National Capital Planning Commission, 2016). The 1950s and 1960s also marked a period of intense urban renewal, in which the residents of Washington’s southwest were evicted and the entire area was erased and built from scratch.

In the second half of the twentieth century, D.C. was characterized by a significant suburbanization process. In the 1960s, federal agencies started to lease extensive office spaces in the neighbouring suburbs of Maryland and Virginia. In the first half of the 1980s, the annual population growth rate in the District was at a loss of 1-2 percent, while the first-tier suburbs grew by 1 percent, and second and third-tier suburbs grew by 3-4 percent (Knox, 1987). The launch of the Metro system in 1976 also affected the spatial organization of the metropolitan area by creating faster connections to the suburbs. Knox (1987) also notes that the most striking feature of D.C. in the 1980s was the segregation of the large Black population, concentrated mainly in the eastern section of the District.

From a political perspective, in 1973, the federal Home Rule Act designated the Mayor of the District of Columbia as the city’s principal planner, an authority that is exercised through the

DC Office of Planning (National Capital Planning Commission, 2016). Planning was divided into local "District" Elements, which were under the responsibility of the District's Office of Planning, and "Federal" Elements to be created by the National Capital Planning Commission. The first Comprehensive Plan of this type was completed in 1984, with consecutive amendments from 1984-2005, including the release of the 1997 Legacy Plan, a long-term vision for the capital. Since then, "the District has moved into a new era of urban planning, headlined by neighborhood plans, corridor studies, the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, and the citywide 'Vision for Growing an Inclusive City'" (Comprehensive Plan, 2010, p.1-2), which is a revised 20-year plan adopted in 2006 and amended in 2011 (Office of Planning DC, 2016).

Demographics and Socio-Economic Geography

Washington, D.C. is divided into four quadrants (Northeast, Southeast, Northwest and Southwest) and eight wards (Figure 12).

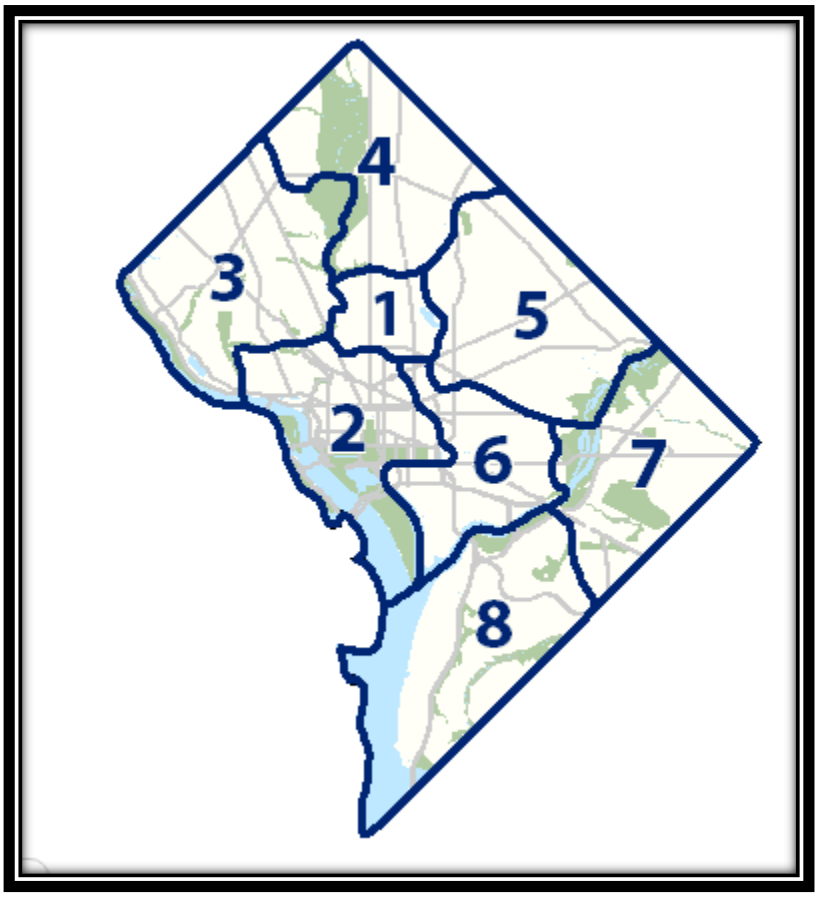


Figure 12: Washington's eights wards.
Source: DC Office of Planning, 2016.

The following is information on Wards 5, 6, 7 and 8, which form the areas of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, cited from the Office of Planning of DC's website:

> **Ward 5** is extremely diverse in character and history, ranging from quiet residential neighborhoods and local shopping streets, to new high-rise development and industrial uses. The Brookland neighborhood sits in the middle of the ward in the northeast quadrant. Developed as a commuter rail village in the late 19th century, it is full of charming Victorian homes and a number of Catholic institutions such as Catholic University of America and the Franciscan Monastery of the Holy Land in America (pictured at right). Brookland gives way to early 20th century bungalow neighborhoods such as Michigan Park to the north and Woodridge to the east. To the west, neighborhoods such as Eckington and Bloomingdale, on either side of North Capitol Street, are more typical of the townhouse neighborhoods of central Washington, DC. To the south, Trinidad and Carver Langston are dominated by 20th century porch-front townhouses. To the east, Fort Lincoln is a modern "new town" development, with a mix of townhouses and apartments from the 1960s and 1970s. Ward 5 has a great deal of both industrial land and open space. Florida Avenue Market is the city's wholesale center, with other industrial spaces in Eckington and Fort Totten, and along the railroad tracks, New York Avenue and Bladensburg Road. The Ward is also home to the rolling hills of the National Arboretum and the great lawns of the U.S. Soldiers' and Airmen's Home. The northern portion of the NoMA neighborhood sits within Ward 5, and a number of mixed-use, high-rise developments are finished or in the works, bringing a bit of the hustle and bustle of downtown to the ward.
>
> **Ward 6** is located in the heart of Washington, DC, and is the only Ward to include portions of each of the four quadrants of the city. As a consequence, it has a highly diverse population and housing stock, and a myriad of neighborhood characteristics. To the west, Ward 6 covers parts of Downtown and the Penn Quarter, Gallery Place and Chinatown neighborhoods, home to office buildings, major retail and restaurants, hotels, museums and theaters, federal buildings, and, particularly over the past ten years, a growing number of residential buildings. To the south are the Modern high-rises and townhouses of the Southwest Waterfront, and the major new development of the Capitol Riverfront neighborhood, anchored by the new Nationals Stadium and soon to include a variety of housing, retail and office buildings as well as two new parks. The center of the Ward is the historic Capitol Hill neighborhood, with its townhouses and local commercial corridors. While this area includes major national symbols such as the United States Capitol Building and the Library of Congress, it is also a tight-knit community with local resources such as Eastern Market and the Old Naval Hospital.
>
> **Ward 7**, a very diverse section of the District is distinguished by its leafy streets, single-family homes, transit stations and above all, its greenspace. It is home to a number of Civil War fort sites that have since been turned into parkland including: Fort Mahan Park, Fort Davis Park, Fort Chaplin Park and Fort Dupont Park, the largest city-owned park in the District. Ward 7 is also home to green spaces such as Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, Watts Branch Park, Anacostia River Park and Kingman Island. The neighborhoods of Ward 7 are proud, distinct and numerous. Deanwood, situated on the north end of the Ward, is one of the oldest communities in the northeast quadrant, and has a pleasant small-town character with its many wood-frame and brick houses. To the south of

Deanwood are neighborhoods such as Capitol View, Benning Heights and Marshall Heights, characterized by a variety of single-family homes, duplexes, garden apartments and apartment buildings. Further south, neighborhoods including Hillcrest, Dupont Park, Penn Branch and Randle Highlands have a very suburban character, dominated by single-family detached homes with large yards and lawns. Ward 7 also has an extensive waterfront along the Anacostia River, and riverfront neighborhoods have their own unique identities. River Terrace, Mayfair and Eastland Gardens abut the east side of the river, while Kingman Park sits to the west.

Ward 8: Much of what is now Ward 8 was farmland during the early history of Washington, DC, and a rural character is still sometimes evident among the houses, apartment buildings and institutions of the ward. The historic Anacostia neighborhood is the oldest in the ward, having been founded as Uniontown, one of Washington's first suburbs, in 1854. It has a variety of wood frame and brick houses and townhouses, as well as grander homes such as Cedar Hill, the Frederick Douglass House (pictured at right). Further south is the neighborhood of Congress Heights, which has the largest commercial area in the ward, which runs along Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X Avenues, as well as a number of garden apartments and single-family bungalows. Washington Highlands is located further south, and is home to many apartment complexes, as well as new single-family homes at Walter Washington Estates. The neighborhood of Bellevue sits at the far southern end of the District, and has many garden apartments, one high-rise apartment building and some 1940's era detached homes with yards. Ward 8 also has several large federal and local institutions. Bolling Air Force Base, for example, is in many ways a small town of its own, stretching along the Anacostia riverfront. Saint Elizabeths Hospital is a large campus with sweeping views of the city. The Blue Plains Wastewater Treatment Plant and DC Village both take up significant acreage at the southern tip of the city.

Growth and inequality

These informative descriptions, however, lack socio-economic and racial profiles of the different wards, which are critical to fully understand the geography of the District. DC has had a large proportion of Black residents for generations. It is also one of the most racially segregated cities in the United States and as a result, the city's geography has been greatly shaped by racial factors, including patterns of housing, development, and employment. For example, the Historic Anacostia neighbourhood was once a Whites-only neighbourhood (Uniontown), but it was turned into a predominantly-Black neighbourhood in the urban renewal of the Southwest. Another example is the 1968 riots that erupted following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., which led to devastating results including loss of jobs, massive damage to housing and rising crime rates.

Since the 1950s and until recently, the city had experienced 'White flight'. Middle-class, White people were moving to the suburbs, many of whom as a result of the school and

neighbourhood desegregation that was taking place. Zimmermann summarizes (2016) the process as following:

> White people, mostly middle class, were leaving to seek the new suburban housing. . . African Americans, for the first time, had some access to live in DC neighborhoods that had been off limits in the past. Some African Americans who could afford it moved to the formerly off-limits neighborhoods. African Americans who did not have the financial resources and were living in the downtown area, were removed through racial zoning and real estate practices to east of the Anacostia River to make way for development that was to occur.

In the 1970s, the large numbers of incoming Black residents and a continuous 'White flight' led to a peak in the percentage of Black residents (71%). Around that time the District was nicknamed the Chocolate City. Despite the growing proportion of African Americans, racial segregation persisted (ibid.).

Today, the racial segregation of D.C. is still very much present: Wards 7 and 8 on the east have a majority of Black residents (94.4% and 93.7%, respectively), while Wards 6 on the west is majority White (50.9%). The east-west divide is not only racial, but is also evident in significant gaps in wealth (Urban Institute, 2016). A recent report by the Urban Institute (Schwabish and Acs, 2015) mapped the District's economically challenged neighbourhoods, defined as those exceeding the citywide average by more than 20 percent in the following areas: the unemployment rate, share of residents with less than a high school degree, and share of households headed by a single mother. The report found the following trends: In 1990, about 60 percent of challenged neighborhoods were located east of the Anacostia River; In 2000, a few more neighborhoods east of the river became challenged and a few less were counted west of the river; In 2006-2010, there was a rise in challenged neighborhoods east of the river while some areas in Northeast DC were no longer considered challenged. Overall, among the 28 neighborhoods that were classified as challenged in both 2000 and 2006-2010, only six are located west of the river. Table 5 presents more data on gaps in equity across the eight wards in the areas of education, homeownership and employment. Figure 13 presents the share of population by Race or Ethnicity by Ward (2010-2014).

Table 5: Gaps in Equity in District of Columbia Wards and Neighborhoods

	To match citywide rates, each area needs:		
Wards	More people with diplomas	More homeowners	More people with jobs
1	1,550	2,740	-1,680
2	-3,180	2,760	-3,130
3	-5,740	-3,380	-3, 160
4	1,660	-4,980	370
5	2,300	-1,690	2,180
5	-2,040	-1,220	-1,500
7	2,300	370	2,970
8	3,140	5,400	3,930

Notes: Data are presented for neighborhood clusters. Numbers for the Congress Heights area are much larger because it is twice the size of other neighborhoods east of the River.
Source: (Neighborhood Info dc, 2016).

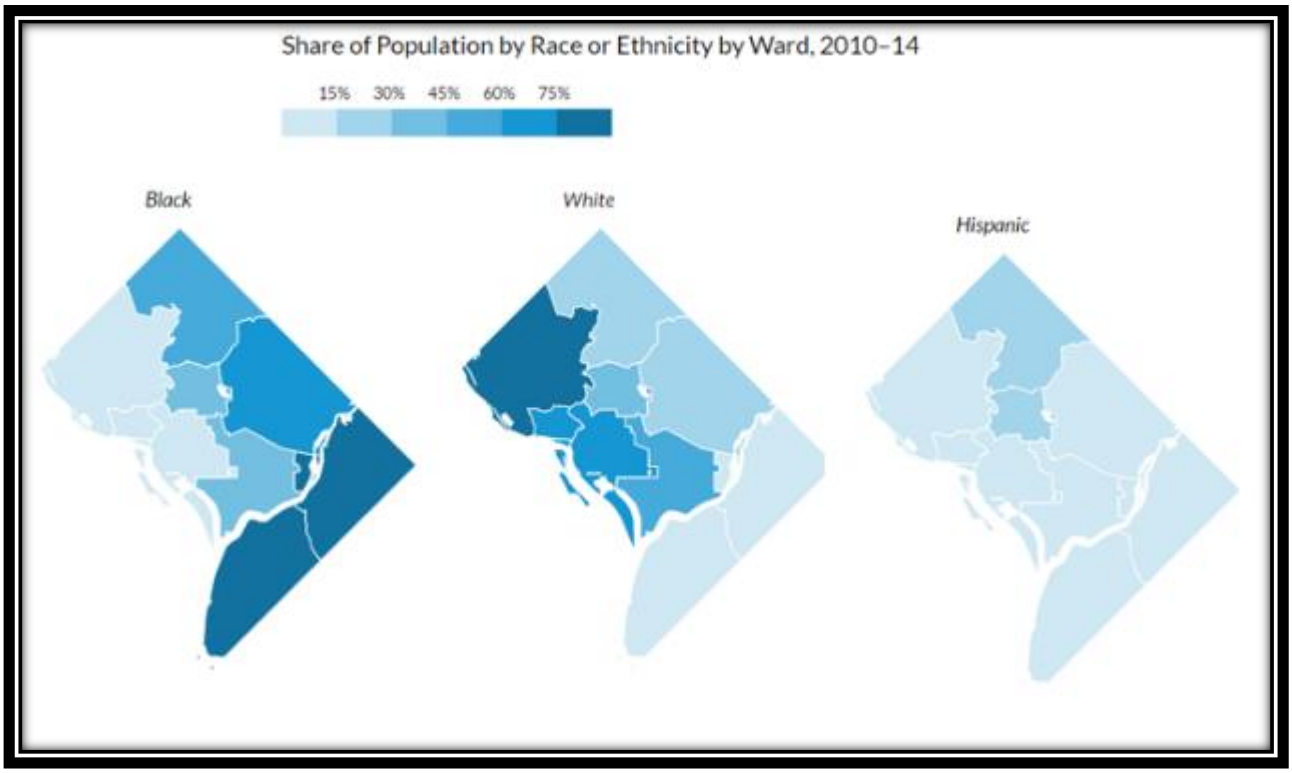


Figure 13: Share of population by Race or Ethnicity by Ward, 2010-2014.
Source: Urban Institute, 2015.

During the last two decades, great changes have taken place in D.C. Once described as a murder capital and a symbol of government corruption, Washington, D.C. today is celebrated as a booming city. In the last decade and a half (2000-2010), the District's population has grown

from 572,000 people to almost 602,000 and it is projected to surpass 668,000 by 2020 (Hendey and Tatian, 2016). New condominiums, retail spaces and cafés are being built in large numbers, indicating accumulated wealth (Hyra & Prince, 2016). Yet even though the city has prospered at times when other municipalities declined following the 2008 recession, class and race inequalities in the city have also grown. Poverty, homelessness, unemployment and lack of affordable housing are still major issues confronting the city despite its overall growth. The racial demographics of the city are changing too: once referred to as the Chocolate City due to its high percentage of Black residents, the number of Black residents have declined from 71 to only 41 percent (Hyra and Prince, 2016). The inequalities in DC are clearly manifested in the segregated geography of the city.

The Anacostia River

The Anacostia River is a nine-mile tributary of the Potomac River, of which seven miles flow within the District of Columbia (Brandes, 2005). It runs from Prince George's County into Washington, D.C., where it joins the Washington Channel and eventually empties into the Potomac River not far from the US Capitol (Figure 14). The Anacostia watershed encompasses 176 square miles in the eastern half of the District of Columbia and large portions of Prince George's County and Montgomery County in Maryland (Anacostia Watershed Society, 2014). The river's watershed is the most densely populated sub-watershed in the Chesapeake Bay and it has been identified as one of the bay's three primary toxic hotspots, a result of legacy toxics, non-point source contaminations and direct discharges of sewage (Brandes, 2005).

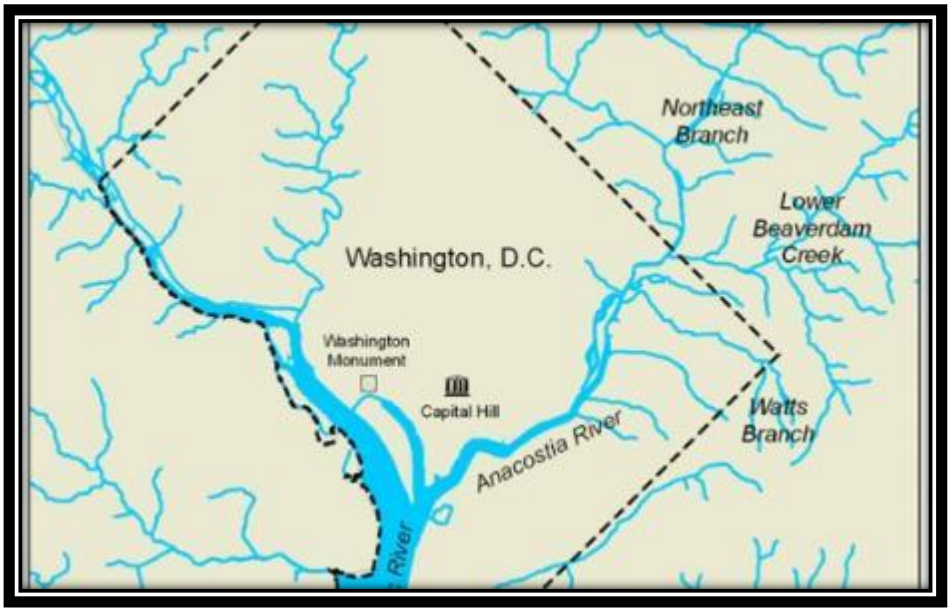


Figure 14: The Anacostia Watershed in relation to Washington, D.C.
Source: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), United States Department of Commece.

Major facilities along the Anacostia River include the National Arboretum, the National Park Service's Anacostia Park, the Washington Navy Yard, and the United States Army's Fort McNair. The District leases or has jurisdictional control over several federal parcels, including RFK Stadium, the DC General Hospital, the DC jail, and the main sewage pump station, as well as all of the streets and bridges that form the city's transportation system. The District also owns several sites, including the Southwest Waterfront (Brandes, 2005). A majority of the shoreline is owned by the federal government (Figure 15).

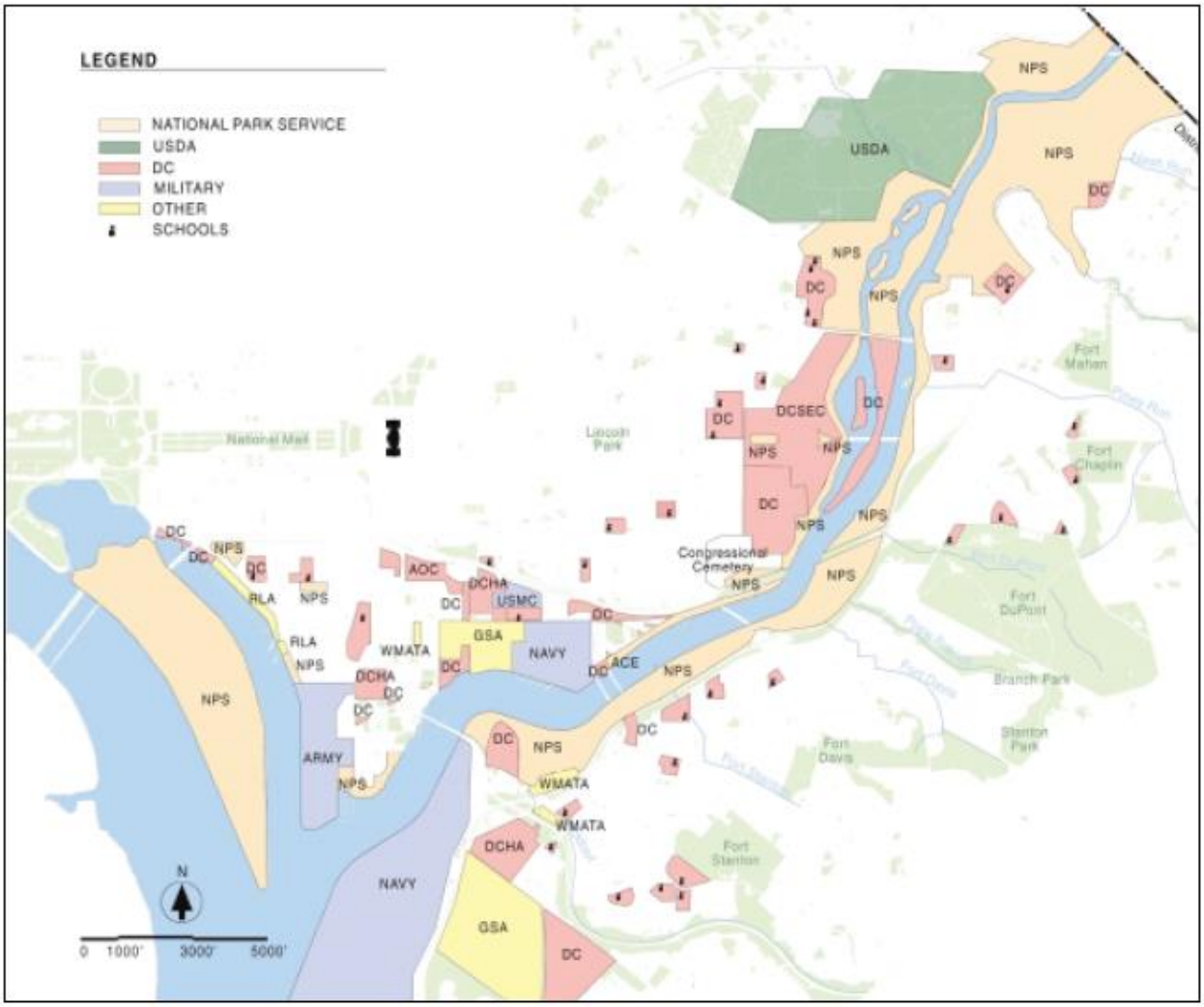


Figure 15: Land ownerships along the Anacostia shores (2003). Most land is owned by public agencies. Source: AWI Framework Plan, 2003, p.10.

A Brief History of the Anacostia River

The history of the Anacostia spans over 11,000 years of human settlement. Broad forces, such as colonialism, nationalism, militarism, racism and inequality have shaped the river's more recent history (Williams, 2001). "In the years since the Anacostia became an urban river, its course, ecology, and character have been deeply altered so that today it is almost unrecognizable from the river encountered by early European explorers", notes Haynes (2013: 1948). The Anacostia watershed and its rich ecosystem served the Nacotchtank Indians in pre-colonial times for over 1,000 years (Anacostia Framework Plan, 2003). The Anacostia watershed was a

prosperous center of Indian culture. The water of the tidal river was then 40 feet deep and 2500 acres of wetlands provided abundant wildlife, fish and vegetation to support its inhabitants' semi-agricultural life (Wennersten, 2008). The river's pristine conditions, however, changed course rapidly with the arrival of colonial powers.

In the early 17th century, European settlers arrived to the area. When Captain John Smith sailed in 1608 to explore the region, he found extensive and sophisticated agriculture. The Europeans therefore viewed the Anacostia as an ideal port for ships that imported slaves from Africa and exported tobacco and other goods back to the old world (Wennersten, 2008). In the next 100 years, the ecology of the river drastically changed as a result of tobacco plantations (Haynes, 2013). The slavery-based tobacco farming was one of the main reasons for the exploitation of the watershed. Around 1688, the settlers started intensive tobacco farming, which filled the river with unhealthy amounts of nutrients and soil, clearing massive amounts of forests and causing severe land erosion in the process. By the mid seventeenth century, the native Nacotchtank Indians were gradually pushed away from their land as the White presence grew larger. The influx of colonial settlers meant destruction of the river's wetlands and its ecosystem. Soil erosion, over-silting and floods became a concern. The river was increasingly filled by silt, to the degree that ships struggled to make their way in its shallow waters (Wennersten, 2008).

The ecosystem of the river and the demographics of the area continued to change with growing urbanization. In the eighteenth century, Europeans entirely replaced the indigenous Nacotchtank (Williams, 2001) as a result of military pressure and diseases from the Old World (Wennersten, 2008). In 1791, a military post, Fort McNair, was positioned where the Anacostia empties into the Potomac. In 1799, the Washington Navy Yard was founded on the river's west bank as a shipbuilding facility. In the following decades, more industrial activity and population growth caused further stress to the river (Williams, 2001). By the middle of the eighteenth century, the animal and marine riches that characterized the area had all but disappeared. With the construction of Washington's sewage system in the 1880s, the river received significant volumes of raw sewage from the rapidly urbanizing city.

In 1901, due to malaria outbursts, the McMillan Plan advanced the construction of wetlands as a means of sanitation. It also envisioned a grandiose, connected park system, which was never realized. During the early 20th century (1902-1926), the Army Corps of Engineers performed extensive public works in the watershed: constructing levees, deepening the riverbed,

filling in the flats to reclaim land, and building seawalls along the river's banks. Two artificial islands—Kingman and Heritage—were formed from the silt dug up from the river bottom. These reclamation activities had devastating environmental effects, such as floods and silt deposits, and the river turned to a "shallow, muddy canal" (Haynes, 2013). The river's wetlands had shrunk by 96 percent, to only 150 acres, as a result of these harmful interventions (ibid.). The reclamation project was also costly, and already in 1914, the Anacostia lost its prominence as a main commerce route. Therefore, it was decided to develop the reclaimed lands as a public park instead. The Anacostia Park was declared in 1919 (Anacostia Framework Plan, 2003). "With so many obstacles in the way of the river's reclamation", writes Hynes (2013: 54), "the Corps turned its attention elsewhere, and the Anacostia was once again abandoned."

In the remaining course of the 20th century, the Anacostia was treated as the District's backyard, vital for military use and industrial plants but otherwise neglected: "piece by piece, the Anacostia waterfront became the location for unwanted land use and neglectful land management practices" (Framework Plan, 2003: 14). It has served as a dumping site for thousands of tons of litter annually, and has been heavily polluted by sewage and toxic waste. On the west side, the river banks became home to warehouses and polluting factories. During the 1950s-1960s, notorious urban renewal projects were executed on both sides of the river, including the largest one in the nation in the Southwest neighbourhood. These projects displaced a predominantly Black population to housing projects further east, concentrating public housing on the river. New highways "demolished poor neighborhoods, quarantining poor people from trendy Capitol Hill on the west and from the Anacostia River on the east" (Williams, 2001:420). The construction of freeways, new neighbourhoods and industrial uses further disrupted the Anacostia's tributaries, and contaminated runoff to the river increased. The Anacostia was declared dangerous for swimming and fishing, and the whole area became a symbol of neglect. Table 6 (below) summarizes key trends in the degradation of the river.

In 1997, the National Capital Planning Commission published its Legacy Plan, which proposed some opportunities for development along the Anacostia and suggested to reclaim Washington's historic waterfront for public enjoyment (AWI Framework Plan, 2003). The Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, the focus of the next chapter, builds on these ideas and creates a framework "of planning for the Anacostia River and its environs that will prove as useful,

powerful, and enduring as the visionary planning endeavors of the city's past" (ibid., p.13). The next chapter will outline this initiative in detail.

Table 6: A History of Environmental Degradation

1600s – 1700s	Deforestation of the watershed for single-crop tobacco cultivation by colonial farms
1800s	Soil erosion and sedimentation from agriculture begin to fill the river
Late 1800s – early 1900s	Increased pollution from storm water runoff due to growth in population; dumping of toxic waste and discharge of sewage into the river result in destruction of wetlands
1920s	Construction of a seawall along the river the Army Corp of Engineers, effectively eliminating most of the 2,500 acres of tidal freshwater wetlands.
1970s	Rise in industrial waste and illegal dumping. The riverbed is poisoned with toxins. By this time, 96% of the Anacostia tidal wetlands are destroyed, the health of wildlife is severely impacted.

Source: Based on Anacostia Watershed Society, 2014.

7. The Anacostia Waterfront Initiative: Recapturing the Forgotten River

Two major rivers flow through Washington, D.C., the Anacostia and the Potomac, and the contrast between them is sharp. Whereas the Potomac is home to famous landmarks and is cherished by locals and tourists alike, the Anacostia has served as the working waterfront for government facilities (Urban Land Institute, 2004). For many years, it has suffered from environmental degradation, severe contamination and disinvestment. The 2003-2007 Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI henceforth), one of the biggest waterfront redevelopment plans executed in the US to date, has emerged as a response to the Anacostia's overall neglect.[13] Led by an ambitious mayor and guided by a unique partnership between the District of Columbia and the Federal Government, the AWI sought to transform the Anacostia from a forgotten river to a hub of urban development in a socially-equitable way (Brandes, 2005). According to the AWI Framework Plan (2003:16), "The AWI is not just about building a spectacular waterfront; it is also about environmental justice and bridging the physical and social divide that isolates east-of-the-river neighbourhoods." This initiative and its outcomes are the subject of this chapter.

This case study builds on an analysis of documents and fifteen interviews with key informants including planners, NGOs representatives, community organization representatives and residents. The main documents examined here include the District's "Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan" (2003) and its subsequent report "Anacostia Waterfront Initiative: 10 Years of Progress" (2013); reports on the river complied by environmental NGOs; policy documents by organizations such as Urban Land Institute and the World Bank; and newspaper articles on the Anacostia revitalization. Interviewees include senior planners who worked for the AWI and/or for developments that fall within the area of the framework plan, representatives of community organizations and environmental NGOs who were involved with plans to revitalize the Anacostia in some capacity, and academics (with some overlap in those categories). Since the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative is comprehensive in scale and scope, it was not possible to review every project executed within the framework of the plan in this chapter. Therefore, this chapter adopts a 'bird's-eye' view in the analysis of the AWI: particular projects, when applicable, are

[13] The Anacostia Waterfront Initiative existed under Mayor Anthony Williams's two terms as mayor, from 1998-2007. Mayor Williams's administration also created the Anacostia Waterfront Trust. The following Mayor, Adrian Fenty, abolished the corporation and put the AWI under the Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development, where it remains today.

specified. One project that resulted from the AWI—the 11th Street Bridge Park—will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

The main purpose of this chapter is to analyze the redevelopment of the Anacostia from a social justice perspective. Building on the Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan (2003) and the findings from the interviews, this chapter is divided into two main parts with subsections. Part A provides background on the Anacostia River as a 'divider' of the city; presents the context for the redevelopment; introduces the Framework Plan, its vision and planning principles; and briefly discusses the planning process. Part B is centered on the outcomes of the AWI and is divided into three sections: a) economic development, b) social inclusion and community engagement, and c) environment.

The Anacostia Waterfront Initiative: Context, Principles and Planning Process

At the end of the twentieth century, when work on the Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan commenced, Washington, D.C. suffered major stagnation. Many residents moved to the neighbouring suburbs, crime and poverty levels hit a record high, and in 1995-2001 the District government was put under the control of a federal Financial Control Board due to the District's fiscal and management crisis (Brandes, 2007). The city, in short, was in decline. My interviewees compared Washington of 1999 to Detroit of 2013.

In 1998, Anthony Williams was elected to serve as D.C.'s new mayor. His personal interest in ecology and the Anacostia River and his commitment to social justice led to the establishment of the AWI (Brandes, 2005). In his following two terms as mayor, Mayor Williams led the redevelopment of the Anacostia and made it a high priority both for D.C. and the Federal Government. The redevelopment of the Anacostia riverfront was one way to claim ownership over the future of the District. A main goal of the Anacostia revitalization was to transform the image of the river and by extension, the image of the city. The Anacostia waterfront was not only a physical barrier between the different wards of Washington but also a symbolic dividing line between wealthy and poor, Whites and Blacks. In this section I will discuss the perceptions of the river prior to the redevelopment and how the city leadership sought to transform these mostly negative views. The next section will introduce the Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan.

A Tale of Two Cities: The Anacostia River as a Symbolic Divider of Washington, D.C.

The area targeted by the AWI can be broadly described as the four wards (5, 6, 7, and 8) that border the Anacostia River. As described in the previous chapter, this area was characterized by a concentration of poverty, public housing, deteriorated housing conditions, and a majority African American population. It stands in contrast to the other four wards (the west of the city) where most of the White and better-educated population lives (Brandes, 2005). The prominent status of the river as a borderline was a central theme in all of the interviews that I conducted and also appeared in policy documents and newspaper articles. This status was also what drove Mayor Anthony Williams to start the revitalization process after he took office, as the former director of planning explained:

> I was appointed [Mayor Williams'] planning director in 1999 and when we first met, in fact in my interview with him, he took me to this place called Saint Elisabeth, which overlooks the Anacostia river, and he took me there at night to look at the city and to look at the river, and he said: this is what I really want to do; I think the Anacostia river has always been a divide for the city physically and symbolically, it's about race in the city, it's about class, it's a polluted river, it's the second river, the Potomac river gets all the attention with the monuments and memorials. (Interview, September 2016)

While the Potomac was associated with the beauty and identity of Washington as the capital of the US, the Anacostia represented the city's industrial heritage. It was also the area where notorious urban renewal projects were executed and poverty was concentrated. As one of the poorest areas in the US, the Anacostia waterfront reflected the abrupt racial and socioeconomic division of the city (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016).

The former deputy planning director of D.C. echoed a similar opinion:

> The river became an incredible symbol of racial division in the city. As you talk to people you'll hear them say 'east of the river', it has become a term and when you say east of the river that's a proxy for saying poor African American neighbourhoods. What is amazing about that is that it's a quarter of the city! So two of the wards of the city, now it's about 150,000 people, and it is quite remarkable because it's right there but it's a world away. That's where the symbolism of the river became really important.

By the year 2000, when work on the Framework Plan commenced, the contamination of the river and the rundown situation of the neighbourhoods east of it were already deeply entrenched in public discourse and influenced the perception of the city. The rationale behind the Framework Plan was to turn this detriment—the polluted river—into an opportunity. The Executive Director

of the Anacostia Waterfront Trust nonprofit, who has worked closely with Mayor Williams ever since that time, explained:

> When Mayor Williams was elected in 1998 he believed that the Anacostia was a pivotal place in Washington DC, it was the divider between east and west. People still talk to this day about two Washingtons: the Washington west of the Anacostia and the Washington east of the Anacostia. His idea was that this corridor was a divider but could also be a uniter, if we could create a process which would be inclusive and oriented towards defining what this area could be … so that was sort of key big idea at the time.

The challenge of implementing this "big idea" was immense: financially, administratively, environmentally and socially. To start with, most of the riverfront land belonged to the federal government, and any redevelopment would require complex collaboration between the District and the federal agencies. Moreover, the financial resources of the District were limited, and thus innovative finance mechanisms had to be put in place. The federal government had largely been doing the planning for the District and the Office of Planning employed only about ten people at the time. Yet Mayor Williams, said the former director of the Office of Planning, understood the value of urban planning in creating a vision for the city. To him, planning was not just about regulations, but it played a role in constructing civic pride and identity. Under Mayor Williams's terms, the Office of Planning grew to about 50 employees and his signature project, the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, was launched. The following section will introduce the vision for the Anacostia Framework Plan and briefly summarize its main goals.

The Anacostia Waterfront Framework plan: Vision, goals and main issues

> "The Anacostia River Corridor will unite the city economically, physically, and socially as the center of 21st century Washington and a cornerstone of the National Capital Region." (The Anacostia Waterfront Plan, 2003, P. 8).

The vision of the Framework Plan

The vision behind the AWI was to use the river corridor as a new organizing logic for the city: one that would reinvigorate the underinvested waterfront area with new and diverse uses, and ultimately bring economic development and social equity to the city's deprived areas. According to this logic, the neighbourhoods that were historically detached from the river, despite their proximity to it, would finally benefit from the new economic, social and cultural opportunities that were embedded in the riverfront's revitalization. The resulting policy

document—the Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan (2003) (henceforth the Framework Plan)—lays the foundation for the development of the riverfront through five main chapters and multiple guiding principles (see Table 7 for a summary of planning goals).[14]

Table 7: Goals of the AWI.

The AWI goals: these goals provide the guiding principles for planning decisions
Create a lively urban waterfront for an international capital city
Produce a coordinated plan for the waterfront that can be implemented over time
Restore the Anacostia River's water quality and enhance its natural beauty
Develop a network of distinctive green parks, varied maritime activities, and unique public spaces
Connect neighbourhoods along the river to each other and link surrounding communities directly to the water
Promote sustainable and low-impact development in waterfront neighbourhoods
Stimulate economic development in neighbourhoods through job creation and commercial activity
Engage all segments of the community as stewards of the river and its banks
Address community concerns, including those of residents, property and business owners, and visitors
Promote excellence in design in all aspects of the endeavor

Source: The Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan (District of Columbia, Office of Planning, November 2003).

Essentially, the Framework Plan pictures the neglected Anacostia waterfront as the future growth corridor of Washington D.C. and the "hallmark of a new civic identity" (p.8). With Downtown D.C. almost built out, the Anacostia area was identified as the natural continuation to the city's growth patterns. The development strategy rests on economic, physical and social connections that will bring east and west closer together. The plan states that while Washington D.C. enjoys prosperity, the Anacostia River symbolizes a social and physical divide that should

[14] All quotations in the following section, unless specified otherwise, are from the Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan (District of Columbia, Office of Planning, November 2003).

be overcome. The riverfront is imagined as a source of economic opportunity that will catalyze growth via creating jobs, enhancing the tax base and stimulating businesses. The benefits will supposedly accrue to the neighbourhoods along the river's shores and thus mitigate the gaps between wealth and poverty on the two sides of the river. The plan specifically mentions that market-driven development on the western side of the river will generate resources that would allow more investment on the east, where such conditions do not yet exist. The Anacostia will serve as a "great civic space and common ground" (p.9) for a diversity of crowds, and stronger connections between east and west will be formed and enhanced. Similarly to the National Mall, the waterfront space will include cultural venues, museums and monuments.

The Framework Plan is composed of five chapters, each responding to a planning theme. The next section introduces them briefly.

Environment: A clean and active river

> This section charts the path toward vastly improved water quality for the Anacostia. Achieving that goal entails acknowledging the region's role in restoring the watershed, re-establishing natural systems and habitats, and enhancing shoreline and water-based activities. Also vital will be the improvement of river stewardship and the promotion of responsible, low-impact, new development through smart-growth policies and sustainable design. (Framework Plan, 2003, p.23)

The Anacostia River suffers from a combination of a non-point-source pollution, sewage outflows and toxins that have settled in the river's sediment. The Anacostia's ecology must be restored. Improved water quality and restored natural habitats will attract more people to the river. The goal of the District is to eliminate pollution, control run-off, restore streams and wetlands and promote water activities. Sustainable design practices and outreach and education activities are also included in the environmental chapter. The goals of the AWI are to provide a swimmable river by 2025, restore riparian function, implement sustainable development guidelines, increase maritime activities, and enhance environmental education.

Transportation: Gaining Access to the River

> Transportation is a dominant force in the shaping of cities, and for the Anacostia waterfront it has been a negative force. (Framework Plan, 2003, p.37)

Access to the Anacostia River has been severely hindered by the regional highway system, which was designed to get people over the river and further away from it. As a result, the

riverfront area was cut off from its surrounding neighbourhoods and public transportation was inadequate. The goals of the Framework Plan are to overcome these barriers by an approach that favours connectivity and access "to, along, and across the river" (p.37) with the following principles in mind:

1. Provide continuous pedestrian and bicycle access along the entire waterfront with the Anacostia Riverwalk and Trail: a multi-use trail system creating safe network of paths and open spaces along the river.
2. Enhance public transportation, including a light rail line, and promotion of alternative transportation modes.
3. Redesign of the bridges with emphasis on bicycle and pedestrian access.
4. Transform the highways to become less of a physical barrier.
5. Extend neighbourhood streets to the waterfront: streets and boulevards that lead to the Anacostia should be mixed-use, dense and scaled to become great civic spaces.

Parks: a Great Riverfront Park System

> The Anacostia RiverParks can collectively form Washington's third outstanding stretch of public open space and, along with the Potomac River and Rock Creek Park, become one of our city's most treasured places. This Framework Plan . . . will bring long deserved investment in public parks to serve communities in desperate need of open space and cultural resources. The Anacostia RiverParks will do no less than shift the center of public space in 21st century Washington eastward, anchoring it around the Anacostia River. (Framework Plan, 2003, p. 59)

A large amount of open space (1,800 acres) is found along the river, making it potentially the greatest park environment in D.C. Yet, while several parks are already in place, the area suffers from discontinuity, impeded access and limited facilities. The Framework Plan aims to enhance the natural qualities of the area by creating a system of waterfront parks joined by the Anacostia Riverwalk Trail, upgrading underutilized parks, increasing recreational opportunities (e.g. rowing, fishing, hiking) and creating new urban parks, with an emphasis on culture, heritage and nature conservation.

Destinations: A Riverfront of Distinct Places and Cultural Destinations

> The Anacostia waterfront presents an unparalleled opportunity to attract Washington's 20 million annual visitors "off the Mall and to the water." (p.79)

The cultural value of the waterfront area and its distinct heritage is recognized in the Framework Plan. It aims to capitalize on existing assets—such as museums and historic sites—to create a cultural corridor that will serve as a place for recreation, local gatherings, entertainment and education. Currently, the Anacostia is not attractive enough for residents and visitors alike, yet the area has great potential to become part of the urban core while still providing spaces for natural habitat. The plan divides the river into schematic basins from its upper to lower reaches, following a rural-to-urban progression: Habitat Basin, Recreation Basin, Anacostia Basin, Heritage Basin, Tidal Basin, Maritime Basin and Gateway Basin. Each basin is assigned different characteristics and type and scale of development. For example, Habitat Basin is a wildlife habitat, distant from the city, and allows for relaxation. The Maritime Basin, on the other hand, is a more lively section where the additional development of housing and retail is envisioned. The plan also features new civic and cultural sites at various locations, including public open spaces.

Neighbourhoods: Building and Sustaining Strong Waterfront Neighbourhoods

> The revitalization of the Anacostia waterfront represents a bridging of the city's physical, racial, and income divide and an improvement for the quality of life in neighbourhoods on both sides of the river. (p.95)

The beginning of the 21st century marks a period of growth for the District of Columbia, following 30 years of population decline. New residents are vital to the city's tax base, since the District cannot raise revenues from the federal government (53 percent of D.C.'s land is tax-exempt: Acosta et al., 2015). The Anacostia River Corridor, according to the Framework Plan, will accommodate most of Washington D.C.'s future growth. Developing new residential neighbourhoods along the Anacostia will be accompanied by improvements to existing ones, some of which are highly distressed. The Framework Plan states a "Neighbourhoods First!" policy, where most of the transitioned waterfront land will be composed primarily of mixed-use neighbourhoods. The revitalization of the waterfront is predicted to add 15,000-20,000 new mixed-income households without any displacement. The plan seeks to rebuild the connection

between the river and the city through sustainable economic development, housing, and better links throughout the area: along the river and across from it.

The Framework Plan ends with target area plans. Figure 16 presents a summary of the projects planned along the Anacostia.

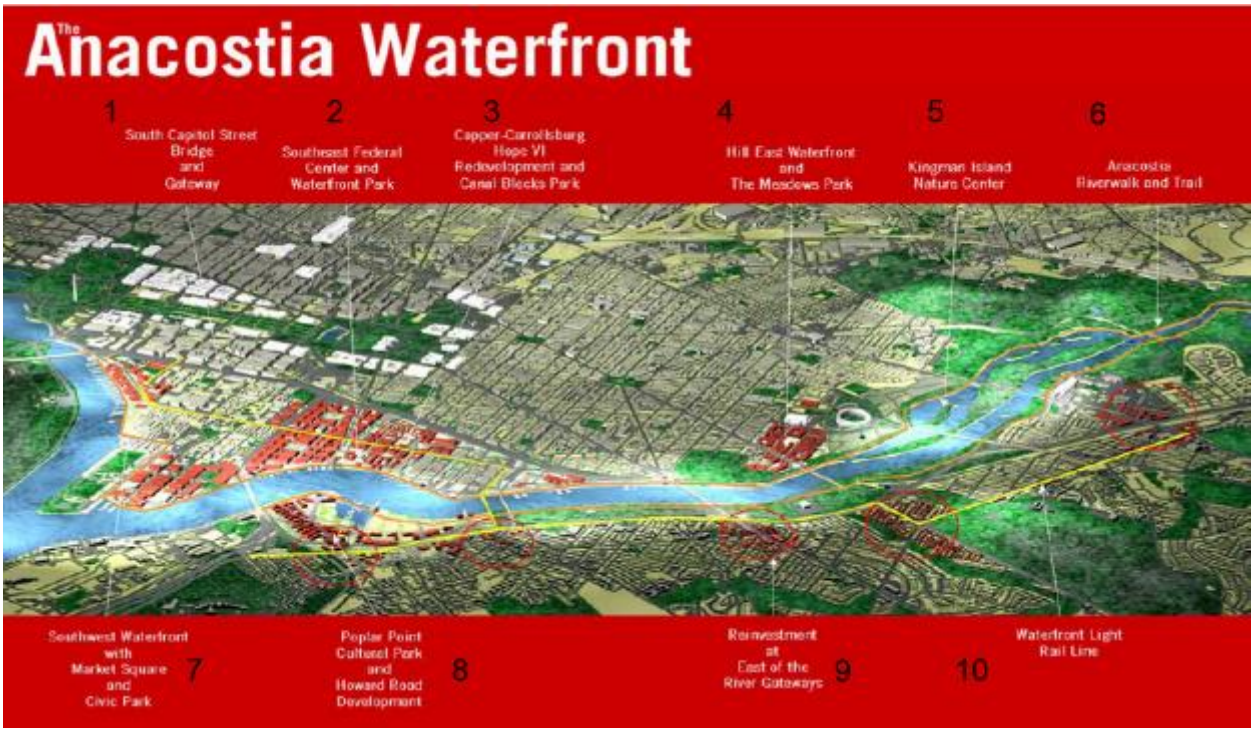


Figure 16: The Anacostia Waterfront Initiative: planned projects: 1. South Capitol Street Bridge and Gateway2. Southeast Federal Center and Waterfront Park. 3. Capper-Carrollsburg Hope VI Redevelopment and Canal Blocks Park. 4. Hill East Waterfront and The Meadows Park. 5. Kingman Island Nature Center. 6. Anacostia Riverwalk and Trail.7. Southwest Waterfront with Market Square and Civic Park. 8. Poplar Point Cultural Park and Howard Road Development. 9. Reinvestment at East of the River Gateways. 10. Waterfront Light Rail Line.
Source: Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan (District of Columbia, Office of Planning, November 2003).

Following this brief summary of the comprehensive framework plan, the next section will discuss the planning process that accompanied the execution and implementation of the AWI.

Exercising Leadership and Forging Collaborations: Implementing the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative

From early on, Mayor Williams's ambitious vision for the Anacostia faced skepticism by various stakeholders, which was understandable in light of Washington D.C.'s fragile financial

and political position at the time. Revitalizing the disinvested Anacostia riverfront seemed idealistic but also impractical. The former director of the Office of Planning recounted:

> One of the major skepticisms at the time was that a lot of the land was owned by the federal government. So people said, "Well it's nice that you have a vision or that you want to have a vision for a city but they don't own the land, how could you affect change"? But the mayor believed and I believed that if you had a powerful vision you could coalesce people, and if you worked and collaborated with them and made them a part of your vision, then change was possible.

Soon enough, Mayor Williams and his staff began to show that change was effectively taking place. One of the first steps that Mayor Williams took was to bring over twenty parties that owned land or had an interest in the waterfront to create a partnership, which was formalized in signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in March 2000. The MOU had several important implications: first, the District of Columbia Office of Planning was identified as the leading authority to oversee the implementation of the AWI, including the federal lands. Second, it established a steering committee composed of the Office of Planning, the National Park Service and the General Services Administration (GSA). Third, it laid the foundation for the public engagement process, which included a committee of 150 citizens representing neighbourhoods, advocacy groups and the business sector. The Office of Planning conducted over 30 community engagement workshops and meetings, and in total about 5,000 people attended these and other public presentations (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016).

Another critical step was the formation of the Anacostia Waterfront Corporation (AWC) in 2004, a corporation dedicated to the implementation of the Framework Plan. This model was based on other successful waterfront redevelopment cases, namely in Barcelona, Pittsburgh, London and San Francisco. The purpose of the AWC was to coordinate with the multiple agencies that own land parcels along the river and to augment resources for putting the plan into action. The AWC would also serve developers interested in undertaking projects along the Anacostia (Urban Land Institute, 2004).

With this new partnership and a dedicated institutional framework for the revitalization of the river, Mayor Williams was able to push for change and start delivering outcomes. One example is a special finance mechanism created by the AWC. As mentioned earlier, tax revenue are a major issue in DC, since the city's economy is based on the federal government, which does not pay taxes. The fact that most of the land designated for redevelopment was federal

created a challenge in terms of future revenues. The headquarters of the US Department of Transportation were to be relocated to a new complex adjacent to the Navy Yard in Ward 6. With the Department's over 6,000 employees, this was supposed to be an early win that would catalyze development in the area. However, in order to develop this federal land and still gain tax revenues for the city, a special real-estate transaction had to be arranged. The city and the federal government therefore initiated a 'sale-and-leaseback' deal: the federal government sold some of the land to a private developer (Forest City), which in turn worked with the city to develop the formerly industrial land. When the site was ready, the federal government leased the complex from the private developer. This project created a steady stream of new taxes, which were invested in company stocks traded on the New York Stock Exchange. The revenue was directed to a special fund that enabled the financing of new projects along the waterfront.

The leadership that Mayor Williams exercised, together with the expertise of his senior staff—particularly the director of planning and his vice director, who later became the director of the AWC—were commented on by many interviewees: "they were the magnificent threesome, they were the trinity," noted one interviewee. "Great things happen when you have vision set by your political leaders and it's backed up by political will and public financing," said another senior planner. To this day, Mayor Williams is credited for bringing forward a great vision at a time when the city still struggled on many fronts. A senior planner who worked at the AWI when it just began said:

> I give Mayor Williams a ton of credit for setting his sights pretty early on, that the river should become part of our conversation, because it has taken a long time to get all of the federal and local agencies to have some role in the [redevelopment of the] river, to kind of work together to deal with environmental cleanups and land use issues and disposing of land so it could be actively developed.

The skepticism caused by the AWI earlier began to fade as more and more projects broke ground. The Mayor involved the highest levels of government needed to get the planning going: the Office of the President of the United States; Congress; and myriad federal agencies (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016). "Everyone knew the Anacostia waterfront was his priority", said the former director of the Office of Planning:

> There was no question that when the Mayor went to the president of the US or the Congress, the Anacostia had to be up there. If there was going to be infrastructure money we were going to get it for the Anacostia River. If there was a housing grant, we would get it for the Anacostia, anything that came up, we were relentless.

From administrative and leadership standpoints, the AWI proved to be a highly concerted effort with notable achievements. Between 2003 and 2017, numerous projects came about as part of the AWI, including new neighbourhoods, a ballpark, a river trail, cleanups of the river, and more. The majority of them were initiated by the AWC before it was dissolved by the following mayor in 2007; however, most projects are still at different levels of progress at the time of writing. The remaining part of this chapter will outline some of these milestones and analyze their contribution to social equity and justice in Washington D.C. with the following sections: a) Economic Development, b) Social inclusion and community engagement and c) Environment. This division reflects the author's analysis and is based on the coding of the interviews as well as secondary sources.

Economic Development

In 1999, at the beginning of Mayor Williams's term, Washington D.C. was virtually bankrupt. Residents fled the city, and economic development was stagnant. Consequently, the economic revitalization of the Anacostia was a major part of the agenda for the District as a whole. While social and environmental goals were also important, the economic revitalization was perceived as the 'backbone' of the redevelopment. Economic growth would open opportunities for new jobs and enhance the tax base of the city, which would, in turn, enable investment in social and environmental priorities. According to Brandes (2007), "a series of broadly discussed papers (written by Alice Rivlin) [argued] that the fiscal health of the District of Columbia was dependent on an economic development strategy that increased the city's population by at least 100,000 people" (Brandes, 2007 :55). Accordingly, the Framework Plan recommended adding 15,000 new housing units along the river, which were justified by the opportunity "to grow mixed-income neighbourhoods without displacing existing residents" (ibid.). Some of the notable projects undertaken through the AWI include:

The Wharf (scheduled to open October 2017): a public-private, mixed-use development located at the Southwest waterfront, along the Washington Channel. The Wharf stretches across 24 acres of land and more than 50 acres of water from the Municipal Fish Market to Fort McNair. The Wharf offer a mix of condominiums and luxury apartments, office space, restaurants, retail and public spaces.

Capitol Riverfront: a 500-acre mixed-use neighbourhood situated between the I-395 and the Anacostia River, five blocks south of the US Capitol. The neighbourhood has about two miles of river frontage on the north side of the Anacostia River (Stevens, 2012). Capitol Riverfront is managed by a Business Improvement District (BID) that provides management services to the neighbourhood and supports its development. These services include, for example: Clean Teams and Hospitality Ambassadors; marketing, branding and economic development initiatives; organization of community events; park maintenance; and real-estate research and analysis (Capitol Riverfront, 2016). As of 2016, about 4,700 people live in the neighbourhood and 32,000 are employed within the boundaries of the BID (Wiener, 2016). By 2018, 10,000 residents are expected to live there (Capitol Riverfront, 2016). In addition to 9,000 housing units, the neighbourhood has 16.5 million square feet of office space, 1 million square feet of restaurants, retail and entertainment use and about 1,500 hotel rooms (Stevens, 2011).

The Yards (2004): a 42-acre site of former Navy Yard property on the Anacostia River waterfront, transformed into a residential, office and retail space, including the 5.5 acre Yards Park.

The Waterfront Station: a mixed-use development in the Southwest of 1.2 million square feet of offices, 1.2 million square feet of residential space, and 100,000 square feet of retail, restaurants and government buildings. (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016)

The Nationals Park Stadium (2008): one of the biggest and most controversial landmarks of the AWI, the $693 million USD[15] ballpark was opened in 2008 after a long and contentious process. Mayor Williams promoted the initiative to bring a major league baseball team to Washington D.C. as an economic development tool but also as a means to "to increase the city's sense of community and people's shared experience of Washington" (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016: 327). The stadium was highly contested due to the high public spending that it required and the environmental consequences of building on the banks of the river; opponents argued that the ballpark is not the appropriate use for the reclaimed land. In retrospect, most of these concerns have been addressed as no general funding from the city's budget was used for

[15] All figures henceforth refer to $US, unless mentioned otherwise.

construction and the revenues are being paid to the city.[16] Moreover, from an environmental standpoint, the stadium received a Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification. Today the stadium is generally perceived positively because it attracts millions of visitors to the area annually and has spurred further economic activity in the surrounding area, in the form of restaurants and shops that generate revenue.

New US Department of Transportation Headquarters (2007): developed by Forest City, the headquarters of the District Department of Transportation (DDOT) concentrate 6,750 employees on a site that formerly belonged to Navy Yard (Stevens, 2012). The headquarters generated $100 million in tax increment financing to help fund public infrastructure and parks (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016).

Employment, education and job training

In addition to creating tax revenues and spurring investment, the AWI would potentially generate job opportunities on a large scale. Job opportunities are especially important east of the river, where unemployment rates have been consistently high (Hendey and Tatian, 2016). References to employment opportunities are made throughout the plan in general terms, for example: "Bringing population back to Washington will generate commerce, create jobs, and expand the District's tax base" (p.8); improving access to transportation will facilitate better access to jobs, and mixed-use neighbourhoods will enable a range of employment opportunities for residents within a short distance.

A more specific reference to education and job training is made towards the end of the Framework Plan, in the concluding chapter about neighbourhoods. There, numbers of employment opportunities are estimated according to office and retail employment (Table 8). It is further stated that education and job training programs are key to revitalize areas deprived of commercial activities, since they will serve as means for residents to find new jobs and earn higher incomes. Moreover, "All new public and commercial development projects should be tied, wherever possible, to job training programs (p.100)." The Wharf Project, for example, creates 1,000 new permanent service jobs and 650-1,000 construction jobs: of which, 51 percent

[16] The ballpark was financed by sale of municipal bonds, however, the money is repaid by stadium-generated revenues from purchasing tickets, parking and food, a majority of which are being consumed by non-D.C. residents. The 3000 largest businesses in the city were also taxed (interview with the executive director of Riverfront Capitol BID).

are to be filled by District residents and 30 percent of construction apprenticeship opportunities are designated for D.C. residents residing east of the Anacostia River (Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development, 2016). Personal communication with a lawyer from the nonprofit *DC Appleseed Center for Law and Justice* has confirmed that all the community benefits requirements have been met and even exceeded by the developer, and the number of permanent jobs is even higher than mentioned by the District (5,900 overall). According to data provided by *DC Appleseed*, 50 percent of new construction employees to date have been filled by DC residents, 25 percent of which are Ward 8 residents.

Table 8: Employment opportunities in office and retail

Target Area	Gross Office Capacity (sq. ft.)	Office Employment (number of jobs)	Retail Employment (number of jobs)
Southwest Waterfront	25,000	250	1,500
South Capitol Street	4-5 million	40,000	500
M Street Corridor SE	3-4 million	35,000	500
Poplar Point	500,000	500	200
Hill East	3-4 million	30,000	200
Total	14 million	100,000	2500

Source: Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan (District of Columbia, Office of Planning, November 2003), p.100.

At the same time, retail service jobs and construction jobs are problematic as indicators of positive socio-economic impact. Retail jobs are characterized by low security and low pay. Construction jobs are temporary and often pit employment objectives against environmental objectives. Therefore, a truly sustainable economic development plan would not only create new job opportunities but would prioritize durable, well-paid jobs that align with social sustainability goals.

The AWI partly contributed to, and coincided with, an economic boom in the District. Since the 2000 census, the District has seen a positive increase in population for the first time since the 1950s, adding almost 30,000 residents between 2000 and 2010 (Hendey and Tatian, 2016). Between the late 1990s and the recession of 2008, the largest building boom in the city's history took place. Growing pressures for more residential and office spaces resulted in 'new

growth' areas, the Capitol Riverfront neighbourhood on the Anacostia being one of them (Stevens, 2012). From an economic development standpoint, the AWI was transformative in creating new growth areas, enhancing the tax base of the city and attracting investors. A recent report by the World Bank (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016) states that the AWI, when complete, will have required an estimated $25 billion in private and public investment, and is projected to generate $1.5 billion in additional tax revenue for the District per year. However, whether or not these resources are leveraged towards greater social equity is a different question. The next sections and the concluding discussion will revisit this point.

Social Inclusion and Community Engagement

Although social equity and equitable development are mentioned in the overall vision of the AWI, they are not clearly defined, with the exception of a general rationale that states that economic development resulting from the AWI will benefit Washington's disadvantaged areas. In other words, the initiative adopts a 'trickle down' logic that assumes that gains from the development will spread to other areas. In this section, I touch upon three topics that I identified as social aspects of equitable development: accessibility, civic spaces, and affordable housing, based on the findings from the interviews and the academic literature.

Accessibility

At the time of drafting the Framework Plan, only two out of the 15 communities that line the Anacostia River had a direct access to the waterfront (Southwest Urban Renewal Area and the River Terrace community in the Northeast). Other neighbourhoods were cut off from the water by highways, fences and contaminated land. Moreover, very few existing bridges allowed for crossing the river from east to west or vice versa, even less so if crossing by foot or bicycle. As a result, the river on both sides was 'out of sight, out of mind' for the majority of its neighbouring communities.

My interviews have revealed that the troubled relationship between the river and the city has slowly been shifting for the better. The cleanup of the river and the community engagement led by NGOs, and to a lesser extent the government, which has accompanied these efforts, have yielded a more positive relationship and a greater embrace of the river by the community. The President of Anacostia Watershed Society, an environmental NGO, explained:

> Most rivers don't have this [negative frame of reference], you know: it's the "forgotten" river, "the river is dirty don't go there", "I only drive through there with a gun on my chair" kind of thing. Most rivers are embraced by the community a lot more. So we still have a way to go to overcome that but every day it gets better. One of the things is just reconnecting people to the river . . . for two generations we have told people don't come to the river because it's dirty and so they are very good about not coming to the river, we made it very hard to get to the river and separated the communities from it.

While this quotation emphasizes the challenging relationship between the river and the communities on its shores, it also shows that this troubled relationship can be reversed through policy changes and community engagement. A number of nonprofit organizations (e.g. Living Classrooms, Earth Conservation Corps, and Anacostia Watershed Society) do provide environmental and educational programs, some targeted at disadvantaged youths, to enhance the connections between the river and its communities. They offer, for example, boat tours, cleanups, wetland restorations, hikes and environmental education lessons. These programs have a special role in making the Anacostia more visible to the nearby communities and in encouraging stewardship of the river.

Simply being able to access the river, then, is instrumental in building stronger community connections to it. The Anacostia Riverwalk Trail is an example of a project that enhanced the access to the river by creating a continuous, well-marked path along the river. Neighbourhoods such as Capitol Hill on the west side of the river, which have previously not perceived themselves as waterfront neighbourhoods, today enjoy the proximity to the waterfront and its new amenities. The physical geography of the river and the fact that it flows through different neighbourhoods mean that it is accessible, in theory, to a variety of communities. However, even with the above mentioned improvements, accessing the Anacostia in some areas is still challenging in general, let alone to people who cannot easily access a car or a bicycle. A lack of adequate public transportation and the highway that surrounds Anacostia Park are still significant deterrents to enjoy the waterfront.

Civic spaces

> A scenic, vibrant, waterfront scape: The Yards Park, a premier waterfront destination, provides green space and water features for all to enjoy the outdoors along the Anacostia River. This award-winning park is an ideal place for recreation, special events, and festivals throughout the year. (Capitol Riverfront, 2016)

Washington, D.C. is known for its impressive government structures, museums and monuments. The city's grand avenues host millions of tourists each year who visit the historic and symbolic setting of the National Mall and other sites. Yet even for a city whose downtown is lined with spacious parks, memorials and museums, open to all, in planning the Anacostia waterfront city planners identified a lack of civic spaces that cater to the local population. "You know", said D.C.'s former president of the Anacostia Waterfront Corporation (AWC), "the Mall is specifically for ideas. It's not about people, it's about posterity. It's about civic pride. But here [on the waterfront], this is really about the people of Washington" (interview, September 2016). Therefore, new civic spaces, mostly in the form of public open spaces, were viewed as a necessary component of the revitalized waterfront.

Along with this rationale, the Framework Plan has placed much emphasis on the design of parks and open spaces not only thanks to their environmental and health benefits, but also due to their role in creating vibrant, diverse civic spaces. The Yards Park, adjacent to the Navy Yard complex on the west side of the river, is an example of a new public space that was created following the plan (Figure 17).

Figure 17: The Yards Park area: before (left) and after (right).
Source: Jacqueline Dupree, JDLand.com.

Following the Southeast Federal Center public-private development act of 2000, the General Service Administration (GSA) awarded a 42-acre riverfront land to Forest Hill in 2003 to build a mixed-use development. Over five acres of that area were dedicated to a waterfront park, which was completed in 2011 and is maintained by the Capitol Riverfront BID since (Capitol

Riverfront, 2016).[17] The executive director of the BID, the former director of planning and a senior planner at the AWC all emphasized the importance of the Yards Park in providing immediate benefits to the communities along the Anacostia. The senior planner at the AWC said:

> We had a 100,000 million dollars to work with and one of our first investments was in this park because we wanted to make sure that a), that this was about the river, that this beautiful river is in the middle of Washington, D.C. and you know, everyone thinks about the Potomac but nobody knows about the Anacostia. That was one. But two, we wanted to do something that was at the center of this racial division. This park has a whole central organization that was set up to just run the park, the BID. The BID has essentially a dedicated program to welcome people from across the city to this park through special agreement with the city. There are concerts here and food festivals. Everyone is creating kind of a new civic sense to the city and a new sense of common ground, which in the District of Washington has been really missing (interview, September 2016).

Indeed, *programming* of the parks came up as a central principle in the new developments around the river. The Yards Park, as well as other new parks such as in The Wharf and Canal Park, offer a variety of complimentary programs such as music concerts, festivals of all sorts, movie screenings, recreation (e.g. skating and fishing) and culinary events. These activities—in addition to the well-taken-care of surroundings, beautiful river views and family-friendly elements such as water features—attract growing number of users to these spaces: on weekends and special events, the parks are packed with people. As noted by Wesselles (2014), even spaces that are publicly open and accessible may still be intimidating to someone who is not familiar with the established social practices. In this case, however, attendance of low-income residents does not seem to be an issue. The Executive Director of the BID affirmed that the Yards Park provides a "sense of community and sense of place and opportunity for social interaction" and the park "[attracts] a very diverse crowd", including families from the nearby Hope VI public housing project, residents of Wards 7 and 8 and the southwest (interview, September 2016). When referring to the 11th Street Bridge Park, which the next chapter will examine, the Executive Director of the BID said:

> So [the 11th Street Bridge Park] really did introduce this idea that we are connected riverfront communities. And then I think our parks have done the same thing, the programming, we have very diverse crowds, racially, very diverse crowds from an age standpoint, from an economic standpoint, and it shows that this this river and the parks along it are common grounds and open to everybody, and everybody can come and celebrate this riverfront heritage (ibid.).

[17] Source: Capitol Riverfront website, the Yards Park section: http://www.capitolriverfront.org/yards-park/history

The connections between the two sides of the river are strengthened, then, when residents of Wards 7 and 8 cross to the other side of the river to enjoy the offered facilities. So far, however, this movement is mostly unidirectional, from east to west, as the east side does not offer the equivalent first-class park settings.

Public spaces and programming were also considered instrumental in my interview with a senior planner at The Wharf, a new development project at the Southwest waterfront. Similarly to the Capitol Riverfront neighbourhood, The Wharf is a mixed-use development composed of housing, retail and parks. When asked about the principles that are implemented in the project, the planner responded:

> I think the public space is absolutely key, I mean high-quality public spaces that will draw people to the river and allow them to feel like it's theirs, that it's not just about apartments that people may or may not be able to rent or restaurants that they may or may not like or what have you, but the public space is really for them to enjoy in whatever way they want to, right? Whether they want to bring a picnic with their family, whether they want to enjoy a free concert and so forth, but that it becomes, that they take ownership of it…

When I asked more specifically about whether and how public space can foster social equity, the planner stressed that The Wharf will house a diverse population in terms of age and income, and that the programing will be accordingly diverse. Moreover, she said, the management of The Wharf sees the hospitality side as important: the staff who work there, such as security guards and gardeners, are seen as "ambassadors" of the project, whose responsibility is to make visitors feel welcome. "Our goal is that this will be a very welcoming place", the planner said. "Some new developments . . . are very high end that even when I go to some of them, I don't necessarily feel relaxed because it's so posh and almost cold. That is absolutely not what we want" (interview, September 2016). High-quality public space is certainly perceived as an integral part of the new neighbourhoods developing along the Anacostia.

While glitzy developments such as The Wharf and Capitol Riverfront are often critiqued in public and academic discourse for tailoring to high-end clientele and fostering social exclusion, it is important still to consider the public benefits that may derive from them. Surely, the Yards Park is steps away from restaurants, high-end condos and the Nationals Park Stadium, which are unaffordable to the city's poorer residents. In a similar vein, The Wharf creates a shiny "world class" façade in a formerly gritty, working class area. But at the same time, the Yards

Park has transformed industrial, virtually inaccessible wasteland land into a beautiful public park that serves a diversity of residents (Figure 17). (The Wharf is still under construction at the time of writing.) Moreover, importantly, no residents were displaced in the redevelopment process since the area was not residential previously. More discussion on displacement and gentrification east of the river will follow in the next chapter on the 11th Street Bridge Park.

The Anacostia Park

The Anacostia Park stretches over 1,200 acres and is one of the largest and most significant open spaces in Washington, D.C. The park, operated by the United States National Park Service, is situated between the Anacostia River on its west and Wards 7 and 8 on its east: yet is separated from its surrounding neighbourhoods (Fairlawn, Southeast and Historic Anacostia) by the Anacostia highway (see Figure 18).

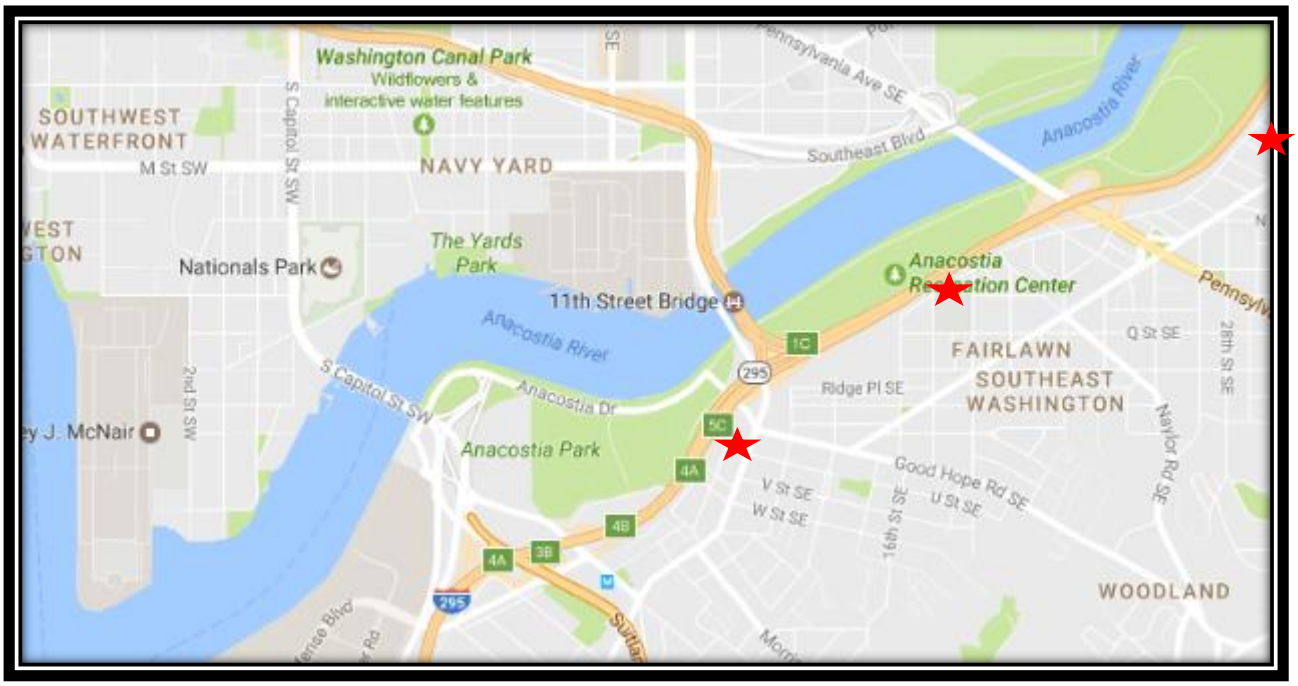


Figure 18: The Anacostia Park (coloured green, marked with red stars).
Source: Google Maps.

The Anacostia Park is emblematic of the east/west divide of the city. While it is much larger in size and different in function than the smaller parks on the west side of the city discussed earlier (e.g. The Yards), it suffers from disinvestment and is severely underfunded.

In a recent opinion piece for the *Washington Post*, former Mayor Anthony Williams called the park "the most wasted space in D.C." (Williams, 2016). "This National Park Service property is sadly underinvested, almost entirely unprogrammed, toxic in several places and simply barren in others", wrote Williams; yet he sees great potential in it if proper investment were to be made. Williams is currently the Chairman of the Anacostia Waterfront Trust (AWT), a nonprofit whose mission is to "support the creation of a world-class waterfront along the Anacostia River" (AWT, 2016). To a large extent, this organization continues the work on the Framework Plan east of the Anacostia, where the plan has not yet reached. AWT is currently working on a comprehensive plan to engage communities east of the river in revitalization efforts, with emphasis on environmental sustainability, inclusiveness and cultural diversity. The Anacostia Park is seen as the anchor for such revitalization.

However, not everyone shares the vision of a "world class waterfront" for the Anacostia Park. A scholar from a local university who has been studying the Anacostia for the last 30 years believes that while the park does suffer from underinvestment, and accessibility could be improved, it should not be further developed. She believes that accelerated development, such as the development taking place on the west side of the river, would ultimately lead to the exclusion of working-class communities who have been using the park intensively (interview, September 2016). An environmental expert who works for another organization also expressed concern about the implications of the "development" suggested for the park:

> What I hear is nobody comes here, but does that mean no White people come here? Because I see a lot of African-Americans there on weekends, the place is mobbed, if you haven't been there go on a Saturday or Sunday. You can't, I mean it's crazy, people walking, fishing, playing soccer, picnicking, the kids are at the playground, the place is flooded (interview, September 2016).

The park needs more maintenance, he said, and there is work to be done to further connect the park to its surrounding neighbourhoods. But to him, the most important priority is to restore the river and in the process take the minimum action required to improve the connections between the park and its neighbourhoods. He worries that initiatives to turn the park into a "world class waterfront" will marginalize current users of the park.

Anthropologist Brett Williams (2016a), who was hired by the National Park services in the 1990s to study whether the park meets the resident's needs, also found the Anacostia Park to be full of life. She writes:

> We were amazed at what we learned. This underdeveloped park with no amenities was precious to nearby residents, who did many important things there . . . almost every weekend the park bustled with family, class, and church reunions…. all in all it was an anthropologists' dream: marginalized people doing interesting things to make their lives more meaningful (ibid., 231).

These are important reminders that a just development of the Anacostia should take into account the uses and practices that already exist in that space. This also applies to the west side of the river, which although largely considered "empty" was home to informal marginalized activities, such as gay clubs (ibid.). The tension over the development of the park is representative of other tensions that arose during the redevelopment of the Anacostia entirely: questions of who benefits from which type of development, who is included or excluded, and at what cost, do not have simple answers.

Affordable housing

One of the landmarks of the AWI in the area of housing was the redevelopment of Arthur Capper Carrollsburg Public Housing project, known as the 'Capers', a 707 units complex built in 1958 as part of the urban renewal of Washington's Southwest neighbourhood. In 2001, the District received a $35 million grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) HOPE VI program to redevelop the complex as a mixed-use housing project with a 1:1 replacement ratio of all public housing. As part of the plan, 400 subsidized units and 400 market-rate units—including rental and home ownership units—were to be built in addition to the former 707 units by increasing the density on site. With additional funding from the public and private sector, the Capers has become one of the largest redevelopment projects in the country (Amirtahmasebi et al., 2016).

While the Arthur Capper Carrollsburg Hope VI project is touted in reports as a successful and "innovative" example of the AWI's efforts to reduce gentrification (ibid., 325), my interviews and other secondary sources have revealed that the success of the project is contested. The old complex was demolished already in 2004, yet at the time of writing, the new project is incomplete and information on the number and type of new units is vague. One hundred and sixty two units for seniors were opened in 2008, but it is not clear when the rest of the units will be ready. According to an online local press release, the former 707 very low-income units will

be in fact replaced by 417 low-income units, the remaining subsidized units are designated for moderate-income housing. Furthermore:

> Only 340 low-income units will actually be at the current site, while another 77 units will be relocated off-site, 65 of them to a former garbage transfer station, a site that the application acknowledges may have contaminated soil. Further diluting the availability of subsidized housing to truly needy families, the application states that so-called "low-income" units will be subject to a rent ceiling applicable to families with an income as high as $51,360, while average annual income for current residents is $7,942. Families with incomes as high as $68,480 will qualify for subsidized homeownership (Fletcher, 2016, no page).

The one-for-one replacement principle, is, according to a Washington CityPaper publication, not being followed:

> In the current development, there are 707 total units, of which 297 are reserved for senior citizens. Through HOPE VI, 300 units will be built for seniors close to where they are now, and all of the seniors currently on site are guaranteed a spot without even having to move during construction. But only a fraction of the 580 public-housing units in the new development are targeted for the people now living in the 410 walk-ups and town houses on the demolition list. Most of the new units will be reserved for households that earn 30 percent to 80 percent of the metro area's $91,500 median income. These are working poor and middle-class families who make more than roughly $27,000 a year and as much as about $73,000.

For the low-income people who make $10,000 annually at best, only 140 units will be available compared to the previous 410 (Lang and Morton, 2002).

An interview with a community organizer who works for an affordable housing nonprofit confirmed that the prolonged construction schedule and the lost community ties (caused by redevelopment) challenge the return of long-term residents to the project. Moreover, she added, although tenants are offered the possibility to own apartments in the new complex, they are not necessarily prepared to commit to such responsibility without proper training, or they may not have sufficient credit to do so (interview, September 2016). In the meantime, HOPE VI was replaced by a new program in 2010. According to official figures, only 7,335 of the 43,135 relocated public-housing residents (17 percent) across the country have returned to a refurbished house (Lang and Morton, 2002). In the case of Arthur Capper Carrollsburg Hope VI project, the figures are not yet final but the overall picture does not look promising.

Other affordable housing initiatives within the AWI mostly concern new developments, such as The Wharf and The Yards, which comply with District policies for affordable housing

such as inclusionary zoning. This policy requires a given percentage of new construction to be affordable to people with low to moderate incomes. In Washington, D.C., this means that 20-30 percent of new units must be set aside for people who make 50-80 percent of the Area Median Income (AMI). However, the AMI in Washington is very high ($109,200 as of 2015 according to the US Department of Housing and Urban Development[18]) and so inclusionary zoning does not target people with very low incomes (interview with an employee of an affordable housing nonprofit, September 2016). Thus, new residential units that were built as part of the AWI target mostly middle and upper income residents, although some exceptions may be found. In the Capitol Riverfront neighbourhood, for instance, most affordable housing units (707) consist of the Arthur Capper Carrollsburg Hope VI project, which is included in the boundaries of the neighbourhood. The Yards project will include, when completed, 20 percent of affordable housing units: 560 of 2800 units in total. At The Wharf, 30 percent of all units will be affordable housing units: of which, 50 percent allocated to households of 60 percent median income or less and 50 percent to households of 30 percent median income or less (Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development, 2017).

In summary, this section addressed issues of accessibility, civic spaces and affordable housing. It showed that on the one hand, the AWI contributed to new, high-quality public spaces and improved access to the river. On the other hand, the plan's contribution to affordable housing has so far been negligible and the new upscale developments might further intensify gentrification processes. The next section will discuss the AWI's significant environmental component.

Environment: a Fishable and Swimmable River

"Forty years ago", states a recent report by the Anacostia Watershed Society, "a swimmable and fishable Anacostia River would have been unimaginable. By 1972, when the Clean Water Act was signed, the Anacostia River had been all but destroyed" (Anacostia Watershed Society, 2014). Centuries of exploiting the delicate ecosystem—including unsustainable tobacco farming and industrial contamination—turned the river into a wasteland,

[18] http://dhcd.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/dhcd/publication/attachments/Inclusionary%20Zoning%20Income%20Limits%20-%202015.pdf

littered with immense amounts of garbage and poisoned with toxics from industrial byproducts. While the issue of development around the river may be controversial, there is no debate over the importance of the river as a natural resource that provides ample opportunities for recreation, education, close interaction with nature and simply enjoyment of its beauty. In this section, I will focus on the environmental aspects of the revitalization of the river and their relation to environmental and social justice. The first section discusses the remediation of the river. The second explores the role of the river as a natural resource more broadly.

Environmental Remediation

> A primary goal of the AWI is to restore the environmental conditions of the Anacostia River, reestablish its natural ecosystems, provide a safe and clean shoreline, and promote sustainable development. (Anacostia Waterfront Initiative: 10 Years of Progress (2010), p.8)

In the last few decades, remarkable strides have been made in the environmental remediation of the river. The Anacostia is not yet "fishable and swimmable", but it is heading in that direction slowly but surely. Considering the river's deterioration over time, its recovery should not be taken for granted. My conversations with Washingtonians revealed countless stories about the pollution of the watershed and its environmental degradation. People recounted the terrible smells that came from the river's brown waters, recalled class trips to clean it up and emphasized the amount and size of trash that was tossed in, such as cars and refrigerators. Nonetheless, at present, although much work remains, the Anacostia River has improved significantly from an environmental standpoint. The river is no longer considered one of America's most polluted and there is a growing appreciation of the benefits that its ecosystem provides for all. How was this change enabled, by which actors, and what did it entail? This sub-section will provide some answers.

Cleaning up the river

The Framework Plan prioritized the environment as a core category for action. "A Clean and Active River" is the first section that opens the plan, following the introduction. The plan lists several issues that require intervention, and highlights the urgent need to restore the ecosystem (see Table 9).

Table 9: A Clean and Active River, Framework Plan Goals for the Environment Section.

Planning issues	**Challenge**	**Goals**
Environmental Healing	Charting the course for environmental healing and the rejuvenation of water-dependent activities. Pollution must be eliminated, runoff controlled, streams and wetlands restored, and water activities must be promoted.	Provide a river suitable for swimming in by 2025
Improving water quality		Restore riparian function in the watershed in both urban and natural environments
Eliminating sources of pollution		
Restoring natural systems		Implement "green" guidelines and standards to require sustainable development
Completing landscape networks and continuity		Increase all types of maritime activity
Defining various park boundaries		Enhance environmental education on the river's watershed

Source: Framework Plan, p.21.

This environmental mission requires collaboration with multiple partners such as the three jurisdictions along the watershed (the District of Columbia, Montgomery County and Prince George's County), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the District Department of Environment (DDOE), DC Water, and others. The District of Columbia is an important player that has invested substantial resources in the recovery of the Anacostia. For example, DC Water, the District of Columbia Water and Sewer Authority, has budgeted over $2.6 billion in the Long-Term Control Plan (LTCP) mega-project, a 20-year implementation plan to replace 17 combined sewer outflows. D.C.'s combined sewer and storm water system means that after every heavy rainfall a mix of sewage and storm water runoff is discharged directly to Anacostia. The plan will reduce the number of combined sewer overflow events that occur during storms by constructing a complex of underground tunnels to capture and treat sewer overflows. This is expected to prevent 98% of future pollution, and should be fully operational by 2022. The tunnels are already at various stages of implementation and the expected environmental implications are significant (Anacostia Watershed Society, 2014; DC Water).

Other remediation acts include the publication of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' Anacostia Watershed Restoration Plan (AWRP 2010), President Obama's Executive Order to restore and protect the Chesapeake Bay (2009), and the Anacostia 2032 Plan, which outlines

strategies for reducing pollutants and toxins in the river (Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, DDOT, 2010). In 2009, the District passed the Anacostia River Clean Up and Protection Act, the "Bag Law", which placed a 5 cent fee on disposable plastic bags, one of the largest sources of trash found in the river. The act proved to be highly successful in reducing the number of bags used in the District, and environmental organizations have reported a significant reduction in plastic bags observed in the river. Additionally, four cents of the fee go to The Anacostia River Clean Up and Protection Fund.

The environmental restoration of the river began, however, much earlier than the execution of the AWI. Already in the 1960s and 1970s, Black residents protested against air pollution caused by contaminating plants along the river. In 1985, residents of River Terrace neighbourhood successfully campaigned against the addition of generators near the existing Pepco plant (Boorboor, 2011). In 1989, one of the most influential NGOs protecting the river today—The Anacostia Watershed Society (AWS)—was founded. Initially a one-person-operation with an insignificant budget (donated by a retired developer), the organization grew over time to its current capacity of 13 employees and a proven record of successful campaigns. The goal of the organization from the start was to make the Anacostia "fishable and swimmable". The founder of AWS, whom I interviewed, began cleaning up the river with small groups of local volunteers and together they also planted trees, restored the wetlands, raised public awareness and developed educational activities (interview, September 2016).

Yet community engagement was only one aspect of the organization's role. In 1996, AWS sued the US Navy for dumping toxic waste near and into the river in the Navy Yard area, a violation of the Clean Water Act. To the surprise of many, including AWS, the small organization won the suit, although it took some time until the Navy Yard complied with the verdict. In 1998, a new Navy Yard commander began collaboration with AWS and has taken considerable efforts to clean up the land. The LTCP sewer system mentioned earlier was also a result of a court settlement that was reached following a suit that AWS filed together with EarthJustice, the largest nonprofit environmental law organization in the US.

The environmental organizations in Washington, D.C. instituted calls for environmental justice for the Anacostia long before the government turned its attention to the river, and they have remained key partners in its revitalization to date. While there is not enough space here to delineate all of the legal, educational and public achievements of AWS and other environmental

organizations such as Earthjustic, Earth Conservation Corps, Living classrooms, the Anacostia Riverkeeper and others, it is evident that many of the milestones that have been accomplished with regards to the environmental restoration of the Anacostia can be credited to the nonprofit sector. Since the founder of the AWS started working almost solo in 1989 to rehabilitate the river, the reality has considerably changed for the better: "Trash and raging storm volumes still course through the Anacostia, and the removal of dumped toxics has barely begun. But progress to restore the river is visible and real", states a recent report (Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, DDOT, 2010:8). The changing attitude towards the river, both from the government and community side, was evident in my interview with the current President of the AWS:

> Fifty years ago that was the way we did stuff, we just trashed the river, we trashed the communities. Now we recognize that we are minutes to Capitol Hill and this is the center of the city, this little river runs through the city and it should be a destination, it should be woven back to the fabric of the communities, it makes a lot of sense.

This process, it seems, is heading in the right direction.

"Green cities, Growing cities, Just Cities?"

The Anacostia case also shows that environmental policy and economic development—although often discussed separately—are interconnected (Campbell, 1996). Cleaning up the river was the motor of, and the necessary precondition for, the ensuing economic development around the waterfront. If it were not for the cleanup efforts of the Navy Yard, the development of the Capitol Riverfront neighbourhood may not have been possible. Perhaps ironically, the restoration of the ecosystem brought with it new threats, as more housing, roads and infrastructure are being built along the river. While economic development and a "fishable and swimmable river" are not mutually exclusive, and despite the overall successful partnerships formed between the government and environmental organizations, these sectors do not always share the same development vision.

For example, the site of Poplar Point, originally part of the Anacostia National Park and one of the development projects listed on the Framework Plan, has been a subject of debate. In 2006, Congress passed legislation that enabled a land swap between the District government and the federal government. Consequently, 200 acres of federal waterfront land, including the 130-acre Poplar Point site on the eastern side of the river, were transferred to the District to become a

mixed-use development, including a large park.[19] This act did not resonate with the viewpoint of AWS, although the president of the organization clarified that their position is not against development per se:

> I am the hugest fan of *re-development* because we've already grown the land up. This is an urban river, it's always going to be an urban river. How can we repurpose some of the land to allow the *re-development*, allowing higher economic use for it so we can fix the critical infrastructure that was never put in place to begin with to manage the storm water and the trash? Why is that land [Poplar Point], which is open space and is national park land that belongs to everybody in this country the target of development?. . . Why wouldn't you grab that land and redevelop all of that? Why do you have to take open space from the park service? That land belongs to all of us. Why do we look at the national park land? Well that's [not] where the development should be, that's the open space . . . Open space is something that once it's gone, it's gone. . . Why couldn't we take *that* land [military land] because it's already been built on, they are not using it for its original purpose, and give that to the city instead of Poplar Point, a 110 acres.[20] That should stay with the park service.

The president's argument emphasizes the sensitivity of the riverfront as a natural resource. He also refers to the military uses along the river (e.g. Fort McNair, a military college that belongs to the US Department of Defense), which in his opinion should be redeveloped in lieu of open spaces.

Overall, however, the cleanup of the Anacostia is a successful example of environmental remediation. A recent article in the *Washington Post*, written by the sport columnist Thomas Boswell, captures the transformation of the Anacostia riverfront: "Nationals Park has become an urban development triumph. Who knew?" (Boswell, 2016). The writer wandered around the ballpark, convinced by past visits to the area over a decade ago that "no matter how well the overall project went, you could never get near the Anacostia without holding your nose" (referring to the polluted river's smell). To his surprise, he was wrong:

> In reality, after hundreds of millions of dollars spent by D.C. Water on its clean rivers project, the walk by the Anacostia is pretty, panoramic, breezy and odorless. And it's lovely at sundown. I looked for something ugly — anything. I spotted a floating stick. The wide, wooden Riverwalk is broader than the concourses in Nationals Park. It's so spacious you don't even notice passing bicyclists.

[19] To date, the transfer is still incomplete. (National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/nace/learn/management/poplarpoint1.htm)

[20] Different sources state different sizes of Poplar point, however, the area of the site is around 110 acres.

The transformation of the Anacostia—though incomplete—shows how effective leadership and dedicated personnel, both on the nonprofit and government sector, can make substantial changes even in a case considered almost lost. The next section will discuss the contribution of urban nature to justice.

Urban Nature and Justice

The waterfront, the area where water and land meet, is a special place in terms of urban nature. The riverfront and its banks allow for unmediated interaction with flora and fauna and encourage one to enjoy open views, which are particularly precious in an intense urban environment. The attraction of people to nature, and the special connection to water more specifically, is today well-recognized by planners of waterfront redevelopment projects around the world, including Washington, D.C.:

> Water has this magical quality, people like to be near water, it's good for the human spirit, it's restorative, people love to go to the waterfront, it's a place of great recreation, it's a place where people feel connected to nature in some way, water just has this magical effect and many people just want to go and walk along the water. (Interview with former Director of planning, Washington, D.C., September 2016)

The classic environmental justice approach stresses the tendency for toxic and polluting industries to be disproportionately located next to poor and minority neighbourhoods (Wessells, 2014; Anguelovski, 2013). The Anacostia River is certainly a case in point to demonstrate environmental injustices in the form of pollution, contamination, and overall disinvestment in Washington's poor wards; these aspects have been discussed in previous sections. Yet the Anacostia is also illustrative of the positive attributes emblematic of a riverfront environment, namely beauty, open spaces, and possible grounds for social interaction. A planner who works for PN Hoffman, the developer of The Wharf on the Southwest waterfront, emphasized the beauty of the river as key to attracting people to the area:

> And for us I think what is really key is that this is a view of the city that most people haven't had. . . I've worked on the waterfront for years, but I still get struck by what an incredible view it is . . . When you're going home and the sun is setting and you are in the middle of downtown Washington and you just get this feeling like, you know, you're looking over the boats in the river and the sun is setting and this calm and peacefulness and beauty that I think people that live in the city don't get every day, depending on where they live. And so I think people will be blown away by just that, just the extraordinary beauty of the city and of

> the experience of having that kind of openness, both with nature and the monuments and all the things that they know about Washington, but adding to that sort of beautiful open view of the water and of nature. (Interview, September 2016)

The walks I took along the Anacostia revealed the beauty and calm that the above mentioned planner pointed at (Figure 19). In fact, being able to walk close to the river is not trivial: many areas that were previously blocked or poorly accessed are now reachable to the public as a result of The Anacostia Riverwalk Trail, another initiative driven by the Framework Plan and currently managed by the District Department of Transportation. The 28-miles trail runs on both sides of the river along its entire corridor and serves pedestrians and cyclists. It connects between, and provides access to, various attractions and points of interest such as Nationals Park, the National Arboretum and Kenilworth Gardens. Almost completed at the time of writing, the trail already shows signs of success as it is packed with pedestrians and cyclists on some sections.

Figure 19: A peaceful scenery on the Anacostia RiverwalkTrail.
Source: Author.

As an urban river, the Anacostia presents opportunities to engage with nature through sports and recreation. Its nine miles provide more than one destination point: one can wander around its shores and experience the changing ecosystem. A senior employee at a nonprofit that specializes in environmental restoration and community engagement, born and raised east of the river, shared her own first positive interaction with the river in our conversation about the new developments taking place there:

> I don't think that everything should be developed, there has to be some space to breathe, there has to be space for people to go and meditate and heal. That was the other thing

> that—I don't swim, I'm afraid of the water—but the first time I went on the river 30 years ago was the most spiritual experience that I have ever had. I was in a canoe and I was petrified, but once I was down the river and I knew I couldn't go out it was very healing for my spirit. As we saw the birds and the fish, you could just see the ecosystem and how everything connected, we don't want to destroy that because once it's gone it's not coming back. (Interview, September 2016)

Her words emphasize that the human aspect of unmediated interaction with the river should be valorized. Anthropologist Brett Williams (2001:424) found evidence that even at its worst stage of pollution and neglect, the river "is almost inexplicably precious to people who live along its shores." People went there to have picnics, gather or spend time alone, relax or cool down in the summer heat.

With the gradual cleanup of the river and growing conservation efforts, opportunities for such healing experiences become more available. In a similar vein, another interviewee from a nonprofit active predominantly east of the river, argued that the waterfront provides means for unique, life-changing experiences:

> I don't want to get all fuzzy about this but just the notion of being able to put some people in a boat with some people that don't look like them in an environment where they can interact and they can look at the wildlife together and talk about it and enjoy the natural space … and people are amazed, it doesn't matter who they are, they go out there and they see eagles and they see deer and they see beaver and they see wild herons, beautiful huge blue herons and they can't believe that they are in the middle of the capital of the United States, and that's an experience that ought to be accessible to everybody and I would wager that even if you don't do anything else, giving people that kind of experience can change their perspective. I've heard lots of case studies, lots of stories where young African American kids are given the opportunity to be outdoors somewhere and it just changes the way they view the world and in many cases it changes . . . their professional trajectory. . . . A lot of the African American people I work with on these projects are doing it because somebody gave them the opportunity to get outside once upon a time. That in itself is a place where the uniqueness of the water and the riverfront becomes really important. (Interview, September 2016)

This interviewee's organization, and others, invest resources in order to strengthen the connections between the human and natural environments of the Anacostia.

Since 2010, the Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum has been leading a project focusing on the Anacostia River and its relations to the community. In October 2012, the museum launched an exhibition titled *Reclaiming the Edge: Urban Waterways and Civic Engagement*, which led to a collaborative projects with other municipalities. The exhibition "looks at densely populated watersheds and at rivers as barriers to racial and ethnic integration"

(Smithsonian Anacostia Community Museum, 2017, n.p.), documenting the history, public use, and perceptions of the Anacostia River, as well as "civic attempts to recover, clean up, re-imagine, or engineer urban rivers for community access and use" (ibid). This project also prompted the establishment of community forums in various neighbourhoods along the Anacostia. Commenting on residents' civic involvement, the deputy director of the museum said:

> There is a growing awareness [to the river], so awareness brings [involvement], but there has to be awareness. When we started in 2010 we actually did a couple of surveys, we surveyed churches and we also did a random survey in the metro. There was not a huge awareness of the Anacostia River other than it is a dangerous, dirty place, which is historically the way it was treated. We also did some interviews of longtime residents who actually remembered the river as an asset: they used to go there to swim: the [public] pools were segregated so you couldn't swim in a pool.

This dual depiction of the Anacostia—at the same time valued by some residents and foreign to others—was also noted by Boorboor (2011), who studied the perceptions of the Anacostia River by residents and activists, focusing on aspects of environmental justice. She mentions the first African American boating club on the river, the Seafarers Yacht Club, which opened in 1945, the only place where Black seamen could dock their boats. But at the same time, she shows how many residents are indifferent to the river. Summarizing these contradictory viewpoints, she concludes that the "Anacostia is a paradoxical river, both neglected and polluted and loved as an asset to the community" (ibid.: 32). Indeed, despite serving as a dumping ground for toxins and waste for many years, the Anacostia River is an important resource. Educational, environmental and social engagement with the river open up opportunities for environmental and social justice by benefitting from the river's advantages while remedying past injustices to its ecosystem.

Discussion: From a 'Forgotten River' to a Hub of Urban Development

With the principle of "reuniting" Washington as one of the major rationales for the redevelopment of the Anacostia, today, more than a decade after the publication of the Framework Plan, it still remains to be seen whether that goal had been achieved. Responding to that question, most of my interviewees acknowledged that positive strides have been made in that direction, and yet, the mission is far from being complete. At the time of writing, most of the development is concentrated on the west side of the river: the Nationals Ballpark, the Yards Park and Capitol Riverfront neighbourhood are examples of projects that transformed this formerly industrial part of the river. The east bank of the river, by contrast, has changed very little. Large

parcels of the land east of the river belong to the National Park Services and the military, and therefore are under development constrains. That is not to argue that 'development' means success and its lack thereof is indicative of failure; in fact, some would argue quite the opposite. However, the Anacostia Framework Plan to date has mostly touched on the river's west side. Moreover, the development that did take place on the east side increasingly militarizes that space. For example, in 2013, the Coast Guard moved into the former Saint Elizabeth Hospital and the area around it is designated to become the Homeland Security Regional Innovation Center (Williams, 2016a).

In response to my question about the retrospective success of the AWI in uniting east and west of the city, the former Director of planning divided his answer into two parts. In the sense of transforming the image of Washington, he said, the AWI was a remarkable success: Washington, D.C. is now perceived as a waterfront city. The AWI "has changed the cognitive map of the city" and transformed the waterfront area to a cherished civic space: people now go to the waterfront and enjoy it. The Capitol Riverfront neighbourhood, he said, is a success "beyond our wildest imaginations", which is studied by people in the urban development field who recognize it as one of the US's most successful waterfront redevelopment cases. Importantly, however, this success has not yet traveled east of the river:

> From the sense of has it brought the city together, and do people feel that somehow the division has been healed?-–that's a tougher one because you're dealing with a very concentrated poverty east of the river that a riverfront alone can't on its own change. I do think if you go to the Yards Park and you go to those places down there you do see a lot of diversity. You see people using the park with different racial and socio-economic [profiles] and I think it has opened up the waterfront to people but I don't know if you could say really that east of the river people feel about the Anacostia riverfront . . . They probably look across and see the shiny stadium and all the development so that's, you know, is it still a divide? Because that side of the river hasn't—although some people try to do, the 11th Street Bridge is trying to do that—I think that's the next [phase] and in some ways if you go back, if you step back, these [things take] decades, no one ever wants to think that, people want to evaluate it today. I think if you were to say is the job done? I would say absolutely not done. That the social equity piece east of the river, to continue try to bring the city together, it takes a whole new generation of activities to do that. (Interview, September 2016)

As the former Director notes above, processes of change may take a while and they require a long-term commitment to planning outcomes. With the abolishment of the AWC in 2007, who is currently in charge of ensuring that the vision of the AWI is implemented? While the city has not

abandoned the Anacostia revitalization altogether, the responsibilities for the different projects are diffused across different municipal departments, and there is no concerted effort to promote the AWI.

In the meantime, other organizations have stepped in: The Anacostia Waterfront Trust (AWT), for example, is entrusted with the mission of revitalizing the east side of the river, thus continuing the vision of the Framework Plan. The AWT is supported by former Mayor Anthony Williams, who serves as the Chair of the Board of Directors, and the Trust works under Federal City Council, an influential nonprofit that supports large-scale projects in the District of Columbia. Recently, the executive director of the AWT addressed a roundtable on a "Strategy for Economic Development along the Anacostia River" hosted by the District of Columbia in 2015. There, he argued that while the Framework Plan delivered many positive outcomes, the abolishment of the AWC led to a loss of a "unifying vision" for the river and its surrounding communities and parks (Anacostia Waterfront Statement, October 2015).

A similar notion appeared in another *Washington Post* opinion piece by two longtime residents and activists in Ward 8. In this article, titled "Fixing the District- a plan for east of the river" (Chestnut and Richardson, 2014), they write:

> More than a decade ago, Mayor Anthony Williams created a comprehensive plan for both sides of the Anacostia and a public private partnership to implement it. But the next mayor killed it, and little has happened since. A children's education center planned for Kingman Island was scratched. The National Park Service, which is in charge of most of the east riverbank, never receives the budget it needs to significantly improve the park. Yet on the west side, a glitzy new neighbourhood has sprouted north and west of the Washington Navy Yard, driven by a federal law allowing private development of the Southeast Federal Center, the largest federal Hope VI public housing project in history and the District's investment in Nationals Park.

The authors go on to argue that it is not too late to "fix the District". They call the next mayor to create an eco-park on the east side of the river, which will serve as an education, training and cultural center. "Restoring the Anacostia and creating a great eco-park won't fix all our issues", they note, but will make residents on the east side feel equal and included.

Wessells (2014) argues that in adopting an environmental justice perspective one should examine the relationship between the site under development and other equivalent public investments in the area. According to this approach, the underinvestment in the Anacostia Park is unjust compared to the parks on the river's west bank. However, these parks are incomparable due to different ownership and managements structures: the Anacostia Park is operated by the

National Park Service while the Yards Park is operated by Capitol Riverfront BID. Surely, these differences are symptomatic of political differences that affect the power to create positive change. Moreover, the District and the Federal Government have invested massively in a technological solution to reduce pollution flowing into the river by 98 percent. Therefore, while significant discrepancies still remain between both sides of the river, at least from an environmental justice approach, the overall change is positive. That is not to say that "the job is done", to quote the former director of planning. The environmental remediation of the river is still in progress, and it is yet unknown how to resolve the problem of toxins buried deep in the river's soil.

Much work remains to be done also on the social equity aspect. When Mayor Williams took office in 1998, the planning department had a vision of adding 100,000 new residents to the city. At the time, that idea seemed overly ambitious, even absurd. The waterfront was part of that growth trajectory: it could accommodate plenty of new developments without displacing people, leading to growth in an equitable way. According to senior planners I interviewed, gentrification was not a concern: lack of growth was. Today, the goal of bringing 100,000 new people to the city does not seem ridiculous at all. Washington, D.C. is booming, and gentrification has emerged as a key policy concern. Although the AWI did not lead to direct displacement, it did create mostly upscale neighbourhoods with high land values on the west, while not delivering much employment, housing, facilities or job opportunities east of the river.

Even to this day, the Anacostia River still forms a division between the prosperous west and poor east, albeit with cleaner water and greatly improved access to its shores. Nonetheless, the fact that the AWI spurred development mostly on the west side does not mean that east of the river neighbourhoods have remained still. Affected by general trends in the District, housing prices in the Historic Anacostia neighbourhood have been on the rise as middle-class families increasingly move to the area. Somewhat ironically, accelerated gentrification might bring the two sides of the city closer together than the Framework Plan has. Alas, this could happen at the expense of east of the river's long-term residents, contrary to the intension of the Framework Plan. In the next chapter, the discussion on equity issues in waterfront redevelopment will continue through the case study of the 11th Street Bridge Park, an elevated park planned to get built over the Anacostia River.

8. Transform. Connect. Engage: The 11th Street Bridge Park in Washington, D.C.

The 11th Street Bridge Park (or Bridge Park) in Washington, D.C. is a project of Building Bridges Across the River (BBAR), a non-for-profit organization based in Ward 8. This proposed elevated park is intended to be constructed on the remaining piers of the former 11th Street Bridge on the Anacostia River, physically connecting the District's poorest and most prosperous wards (Figure 21). At the time of writing, the bridge is in early stages of preconstruction work, yet has already attracted widespread attention, nationally and internationally (Graber, 2014; Kolson Hurley, 2016; Giambrone, 2016). Often mentioned in reference to New York's High Line, D.C.'s own elevated park will feature outdoor performance space, urban agriculture, coffee shops and food kiosks, environmental education classrooms, boat and kayak launches, public art, bike paths and more. At the same time, Bridge Park is more than a physical bridge and/or a park. It is also a symbolic connector of D.C.'s wealthiest and poorest communities, and a generator of extensive efforts to create an exemplary model of equitable and inclusive planning.

Although not a direct consequence of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI)[21], the Bridge Park project builds on the revitalization of the Anacostia River and in many ways resurfaces the unresolved tensions between west and east D.C., described in the previous chapter.[22] Although the recently rebuilt 11th Street Bridge Highway already connects the two parts of the river, it mostly serves vehicular movement to cross from one side of the District to the other. Bridge Park, however, is expected to attract substantial numbers of locals and visitors to spend time in the park and enjoy its amenities, thus creating a more meaningful and accessible connection between Ward 6 west of the Anacostia River and Ward 7 and 8 on the east. In this chapter, I turn to the bridge project, with a particular focus on the project's leaders' attempts to promote socially equitable development through the execution of an Equitable Development Plan, created especially for this project. I will critically discuss this ambitious endeavor, pointing

[21] The reconstruction of the 11th street Bridge highway is part of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (see http://ddot.dc.gov/page/11th-street-bridge-project). However, the 11th Street Bridge Park started out as an independent initiative of the director of office of planning at the time.

[22] Readers of this chapter should first read the preceding chapter on the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative ("The Forgotten River") to familiarize themselves with the study area and the history of development along the Anacostia River.

to its potential promise but also to its challenges and limitations. Although the Bridge Park is still in early pre-construction stage, preliminary lessons about the Equitable Development Plan can already be drawn.

This chapter builds on the analysis of a number of documents: the Equitable Development Plan (2016); a research report, first of a series, published by the Urban Institute, which analyzes the implementation of the Equitable Development Plan (Bogle et al., 2016); media coverage of the bridge project between 2014 and 2016 in local and international newspapers and radio shows; posts published by the Bridge Park team on their blog, website and newsletter; and videos of community meetings available online, courtesy of *We Act Radio*, a community radio based in Ward 8. To complement this information, I conducted interviews with eight key stakeholders: the present director of Bridge Park; the Equitable Development Plan manager at Bridge Park; the project manager of the Elevating Equity Initiative at LISC, a partner of Bridge Park; a community organizer working for a nonprofit collaborating with Bridge Park; two community organizers working for nonprofits based at Ward 8, and the president of environmental organization partnering with Bridge Park.

The chapter starts with an introduction to the Bridge Park and how it came about. Next, I present a brief summary of the Equitable Development Plan and the planning process that produced it. The remaining part of the chapter is devoted to the preliminary planning outcomes of the bridge, to aspects of trust and community engagement, and to issues of gentrification and displacement. The chapter ends with a discussion that ties these elements together with relation to equitable planning. The argument raised here is that although Bridge Park project includes extensive efforts to engage the community, it is still questionable whether these efforts are inclusive of the community's most vulnerable members. Moreover, skepticism about the real intensions behind the project is still present. The case of the Bridge Park shows that institutional attempts of equity planning and grassroots perceptions of equity may not be compatible in this case.

Planning the 11th Street Bridge Park

> In 2019 the 11th Street Bridge Park . . . will become the District of Columbia's first elevated park, connecting the historic Anacostia and Capitol Hill neighborhoods that are geographically divided by the Anacostia River . . . with the goal of creating an

> innovative, new public space for recreation, arts and environmental education. (Equitable Development Plan, p. 4)

In 2009, the District Department of Transportation (DDOT) oversaw the replacement of the former 11th Street Bridge—composed of two rickety freeways crossing over the Anacostia River—by new ones, a $390 million mega-project that was executed as part of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI). This project also inspired the creation of the Bridge Park. The District's director of planning at the time, Harriett Tregoning, envisioned that the piers of the old bridge could be repurposed to create a park connecting the two sides of the river. In 2011, she ran into the vice president of education at the National Building Museum in D.C. He asked about the construction project—the bridge—that progressed close to his home, and Tregoning offered him to get involved with the retrofit of the old piers. Responding positively, the vice president began to voluntarily test the water for this idea in the nearby communities (Grabar, 2014). Two years and 200 community meetings later, when the initiative gained support and prospects for the Bridge Park seemed serious, he resigned from his previous position at the museum and became the director of the Bridge Park project, a position that he still holds to this day.

Since then, work on the future Bridge Park has gained considerable momentum. Hundreds of community meetings have taken place and BBAR has hired three additional full-time employees to manage the project. Funding efforts are well underway. The District has already committed $11.45 million to the project, and in total over $15 million out of the estimated budget of $45 million has been raised at the time of writing (Courtney, 2016; Matuszekski, 2016). In 2014, a design competition for the bridge was held and in 2015, Bridge Park published its Equitable Development Plan (EDP henceforth) and began implementing parts of it immediately after. Preconstruction instigated in late 2016, and the park is planned to be opened in 2019, assuming funding is obtained.

Bridge Park Project's four key goals are (Kent and Kratz, 2017: n.p.):

- Improve public health by providing safe places to play and access to fresh food
- Re-engage residents with the Anacostia River, an incredible but hidden natural resource
- Stitch together neighborhoods that have long been divided by the river
- Serve as an anchor for equitable and inclusive economic growth

Figure 20 shows the location of the future Bridge Park between Fairlawn and Anacostia in the Southeast and Capitol Riverfront, Navy Yard and Capitol Hill on the Southwest. Figure 21 is a rendering of the future park, and Figure 22 displays its main elements and designated uses.

Figure 20: The Location of the 11th Street Bridge Park in Washington, D.C., to be located next to the 11th Street Bridge Highway.
Source: Google Maps.

Figure 21: Simulation of the overall design of the Bridge.
Source: OMA+OLIN in: Bogle et al., 2016.

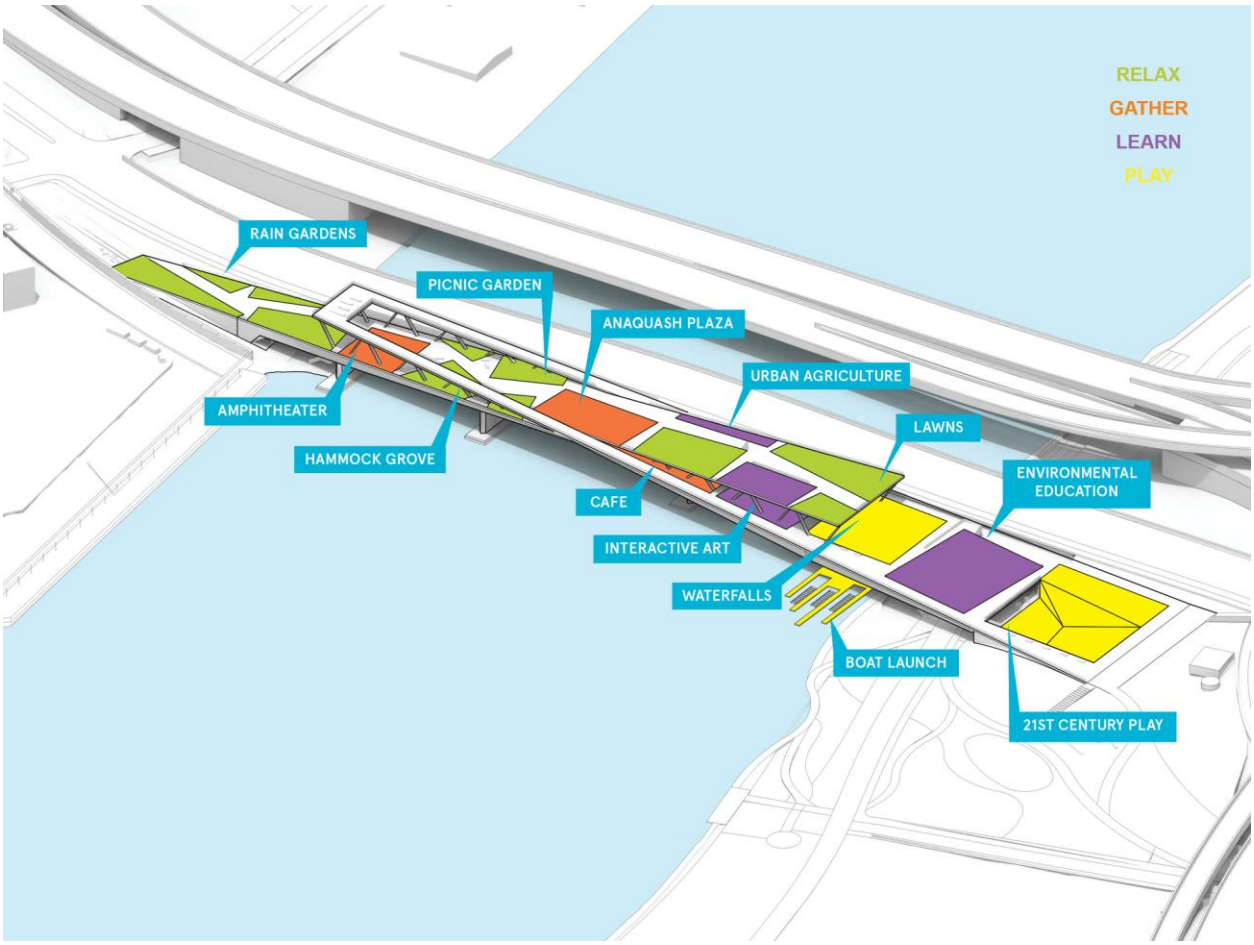


Figure 22: A rendering of the park's uses and activities
Source: OMA+OLIN in: Bogle et al., 2016.

The early stages of equity planning for the 11th Street Bridge Park

Bridge Park began as a voluntary project by two people with a vision. As the idea for the Park gained momentum, it was time to consider how to operationalize it. While it took some time for the concept of an Equitable Development Plan to materialize, thinking about the socio-economic impacts of the project and its influence on the community was already evident in the very beginning. For example, the director of Bridge Park, during the early stages of the initiative, met with various individuals and community organizations and sought for the community's permission to execute the project (interview with the director, September 2016). Furthermore, Bridge Park's administration is located in Ward 8, which is most vulnerable to the changes the bridge might bring about due to the ward's low socio-economic ranking. Although the initiator of the park was the director of planning of D.C., the park is not a District-led project. Instead, it

is run by the local D.C. nonprofit BBAR that manages the ward 8-based Town Hall Education Arts Recreation Campus (THEARC), a highly regarded community center that provides cultural and social services to underserved residents east of the river (THEARC, 2016). In practice, Bridge Park forms its own mini-organization within the administrative framework of BBAR.

As a report by the Urban Institute elucidates, BBAR was chosen as the platform for executing Bridge Park project for several reasons (Bogle et al., 2016). First, THEARC is physically located east of the river in Ward 8, which is important for a community-led effort focusing on the District's vulnerable communities. Second, BBAR shares a similar vision to Bridge Park as both aim to revitalize disinvested communities east of the river. Third, BBAR has a proven record of serving its surrounding communities while creating opportunities for interaction with other, wealthier communities. Finally, BBAR was able to offer Bridge Park a credible fiscal infrastructure to fundraise for the project. For all of these reasons, in December 2013 Bridge Park became officially part of BBAR (ibid.).

One of the first steps taken by Bridge Park, once formalized, was to hold a design competition for the future park. By then, the director of Bridge Park had conducted hundreds of meetings with residents, community representatives, churches and other organizations in Wards 6, 7 and 8. Building on this community engagement, it was important to Bridge Park managers that decisions on the design and layout of the future park be inclusive and reflect the needs of its nearby residents (Bogle et al., 2016). To that end, in December 2013, Bridge Park organized charrettes with residents from both sides of the river, and created an oversight committee with representatives from the District, community organizations and NGOs as well as the Navy Yard and the National Park Service. Together, the participants decided on the desired features and facilities to be included in the park. These requirements were passed on to the competing design firms, which also met with the oversight committee and community stakeholders throughout the competition. Finally, the oversight committee and a selection jury chose the winning team in October 2014 (OMA+OLIN, a joint team of an urban design firm and a landscape architecture firm) (Bogle et al., 2016).

The next section will discuss the planning process that led to the EDP, the policy document that outlines the goals and strategies of planning the bridge through community engagement and inclusive planning. The main components of the EDP will also be presented.

Planning the 11th Street Bridge Park Equitable Development Plan

The Equitable Development Plan is a unique policy document created by Bridge Park and its partnering organizations in a year-long participatory process. The overarching goal of the plan is to promote inclusive planning that will protect vulnerable residents from the potentially negative consequences of the Bridge Park, such as displacement. The plan proposes strategies for job creation, local entrepreneurship and preservation of affordable housing. In this section, I introduce the process that led to the plan and briefly summarize the plan's main components.

The planning process

The idea of developing an EDP emerged through the early stages of the bridge project. While the principle of equitable development has been perceived as important from the start, Bridge Park's staff were not sure of how to approach the subject. The director of Bridge Park was experienced with programing and education, but planning the Bridge Park required additional expertise. To that end, they formed a partnership with a leading community development nonprofit called Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), a national organization with a branch in D.C. One of the program officers at LISC (the project manager henceforth) was assigned to assist Bridge Park, devoting half of his position for an entire year to work with them on what soon became the EDP initiative. In my interview with him, he described the work process on the EDP. The first step, he said, was to "get grounded in reality", meaning to collect "data and objective statistics that aren't biased by somebody's opinion or agenda" (interview, September 2016), in order to make informed decisions.

Next, in the fall of 2014, Bridge Park and LISC formed a Task Force to serve as an oversight board, which would contribute ideas and shepherd the planning process. The Task Force was composed of senior scholars from local research institutes such as the Urban Institute and the DC Fiscal Policy Institute, representatives of the Office of Planning, and the staff of Bridge Park and LISC. This group of experts served as an advisory board throughout the entire process. Over the next year, five large meetings were held. The first step was to collect data on the geographic area, including economic and housing data. The Task Force drew a one mile radius around the bridge and defined the area that falls within that as the impact area (Figure 23).

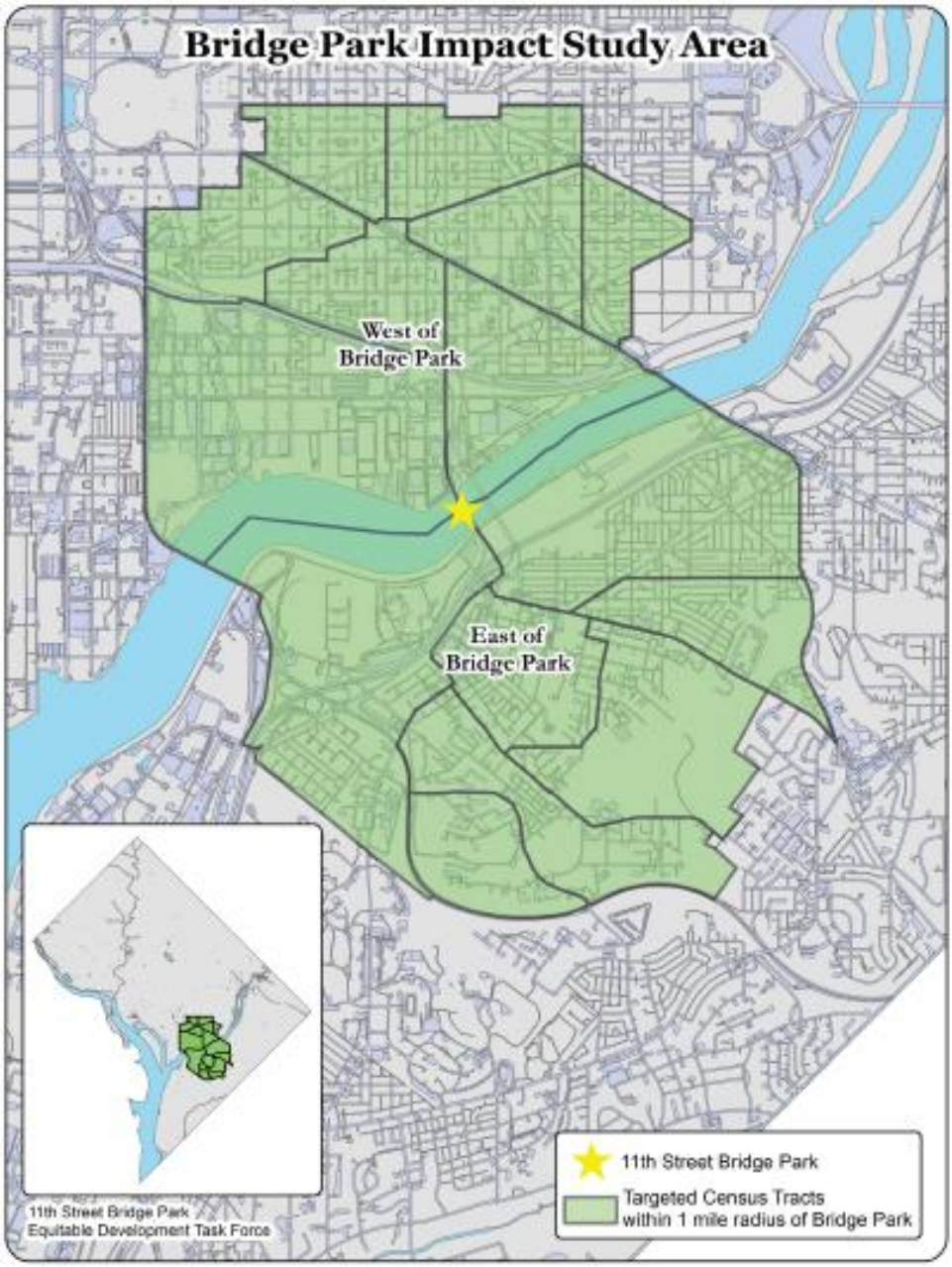


Figure 23: Bridge Park Impact Study Area in relation to D.C.
Source: EDP, p.6. The census tracts east of the river correspond to Ward 8, whereas the census tracts west of the river correspond to Ward 6.

They looked at data drawn from census tracks, surveys and plans to get a snapshot of neighbourhoods on both sides of the river that fall within the impact area (Table 10).

Table 10: Snapshot of the Bridge Park Impact Area.

	East of the Bridge Park Census Tracts	West of the Bridge Park Census Tracts
Population	21,007	22,194
Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing	$255,553	$648,259
Renter Occupied Units	73.09%	50.24%
Unemployment	20.71%	6.63%
Child Poverty	53.18%	20.46%

Source: EDP, p.7

The data collection phase was followed by more brainstorming sessions through an iterative process. At this point, the Task Force was expanded to include representatives of numerous NGOs that are active in different areas of D.C. and in different fields (see Table 11 for a detailed list of the participant organizations). For example, MANNA, an affordable housing developer that has been active in Washington D.C. for over two decades, became an important player in the Task Force in the area of housing. The topics for brainstorming—affordable housing, workforce development and small businesses—were pre-selected based on the available data and the input from the community meetings that had taken place informally, before starting a formal consultation process. Participants were asked to set aside their personal beliefs about whether the bridge will get built or not. Rather, they were faced with the following scenario: "assuming the bridge will get built and it will increase land values around the park, what do you do"? While the original intention was to focus on housing, other important topics emerged in the meetings and as a result, were also included in the discussions. For example, high unemployment rates made it critical to address employment issues.

Table 11: List of organizations that participated in the task force. Numbers in parenthesis refer to number of representatives, in cases where more than representative.

Government Agencies	**Organizations Based East of the River**
D.C. Department of Housing and Community Development (2)	11th Street Bridge park (2)
D.C. Housing Authority	Ward 8 Workforce Development Council
D.C. Department of Small and Local Business Development	Anacostia Economic Development Corporation (2)
Deputy Mayor's Office for Planning and Economic Development (2)	Historic Anacostia Block Association
National Park Service	Far Southeast Strengthening Collaborative
Office of the Tenant Advocate	ARCH Development Corporation
D.C. Department of Employment Services	Fairlawn Citizens Association (2)
Office of the Chief Technology Office	
D.C. Office of Planning (6)	
Other Local Organizations (west of the river and citywide)	**Nationwide Organizations**
Washington Area Community Investment	Corporation for Enterprise Development
Coalition for Non-profit Housing and Economic Development Near Southeast Community Partners	LISC DC (3)
Urban Institute (4)	SKANSKA (international)
Union Kitchen	MANNA (2)
Anacostia Watershed Society	Enterprise Community Partners
University of the District of Columbia (2)	Community Land Trust Network
Academy of Hope	Emerald Cities
The Pearl Coalition	Center for the Creative Economy
DC Works: Workforce Investment Council	
DC Fiscal Policy Institute	
City First Homes (2)	
City First Bank of DC	
Forest City Washington	
ONE DC	
Washington Area Community Investment Fund	

Table 11, cont.

Other Local Organizations (west of the river and citywide)	
Capitol Hill ANC	
Jubilee Jobs	
DC Central Kitchen	
ArtoMatic	
Skyland Workforce Center	
The Community Foundation	

Source: Equitable Development Plan.

After these expert-led brainstorming sessions, LISC and Bridge Park further distilled the input, and as the project manager from LISC explained, they then presented the ideas to representatives of community organizations:

> [We] then had another meeting with more local community stakeholders that work on the ground and basically went through the same process: here's the bridge park, here's what the data show, and assume the park is going to get built, we've met with some folks and heard their ideas, what do you think? What's missing, what don't you agree with, what do you agree with? Let's refine these ideas and we can drill down into more specifics.

The last step of the process was conducting five community meetings with residents on both sides of the river, with similar questions posed to them, only this time with a draft set of recommendations presented to them. Residents were invited to participate through flyers, online postings and word-of-mouth communication. The draft of the plan was also posted online and at the end of this year-long process, which included revisions to the draft based on the feedback received from residents, the EDP was published. Creating the plan, then, was a joint effort of many organizations and individuals (participants are acknowledged on the last page of the EDP). Next is a brief summary of the EDP.

11th Street Bridge Park Equitable Development Plan

The resulting 19 page document, available online on Bridge Park's website, is divided into three main sections: workforce development, small businesses and housing. The plan is relatively short in order to make it more accessible and widely read by the public.

Workforce development

The 11th Street Bridge impact area is characterized by a high unemployment rate. The EDP thus prioritizes the hiring of local residents for job opportunities on the Bridge Park, with an emphasis on "harder-to-employ residents".

Main strategies: Ensure that neighbouring residents in Wards 6, 7 and 8, as well as harder-to-employ District residents, are prioritized in the application process and hired for construction and post-construction jobs on the Bridge Park.

This will be achieved through the creation of a Community Workforce Agreement (CWA), ensuring local hiring in collaboration with the District Government, workforce development organizations, contractors and workers. The CWA "would specify local hiring goals and requirements of the construction of the Bridge Park that include labor monitoring and reporting systems so that contractors and local businesses are held responsible for goals and requirements (p.8)." Employees are guaranteed to receive a living wage for their work. Bridge Park will work on developing recruitment strategies, job training and other needs that may arise, with the goal of maximizing opportunities for local residents. Employers will comply with Ban the Box Legislation and other workforce legislation[23] (e.g. paid sick leave). Bridge Park and its partners will ensure that, whenever possible, temporary job opportunities during the construction stage will lead to long-term employment.

Small business enterprises

Small businesses create opportunities for wealth creation, jobs and an enhanced neighbourhood vibrancy. Bridge Park advocates the establishment of new and existing local small business in the bridge area through partnerships with economic development organizations and others.

Strategy #1: Support and nurture a thriving network of locally-owned small businesses that operate on the Bridge Park following construction: specifically, a kiosk-based food service and pop-up retail opportunities. Furthermore, local businesses will be identified for specific contracting opportunities with Bridge Park in order to provide supporting services such as maintenance and landscaping.

[23] Legislation passed by the D.C. Council that prohibits "employers from making inquiries into an applicant's arrests, criminal convictions, or accusations during the initial phases of the hiring process." *Source: D.C. Office of Human Rights. In EDP p.9.*

Strategy #2: Leverage the 11th Street Bridge Park to build and sustain small businesses in the surrounding community through mentorship, training and partnerships with other businesses, nonprofits or financial institutions.

Strategy #3: Ensure the Bridge Park is deeply connected to business corridors on both sides of the Anacostia River through enhanced walkability.

Housing

The need for affordable housing is one of the most pressing needs in Washington, D.C., especially east of the river. The EDP seeks to preserve and create affordable housing stock in Wards 7 and 8, in light of the changes to the real estate market that are expected as a result of the new park:

> Recognizing that signature parks can increase surrounding property values, the 11th Street Bridge Park is committed to working with partners and stakeholders to ensure that existing residents surrounding the Bridge Park can continue to afford to live in their neighborhood once the park is built, and that affordable homeownership and rental opportunities exist nearby. (EDP p. 12)

Strategy #1: Collect, organize and disseminate information regarding housing opportunities to residents in the Bridge Park Impact Area. Educate and inform local residents about housing legislation and available financing resources. Connect with other homeownership initiatives to increase home ownership in Wards 7 and 8.

Strategy #2: Work with District agencies and non-profits on strategies to preserve existing affordable housing (rental and ownership) and leverage public and private resources to build new affordable housing near the Bridge Park. Coordinate initiatives with the Mayor's annual commitment of $100 million in the Housing Production Trust Fund to increase and preserve affordable housing in the District. Secure funding for a down payment assistance program; a chapter of MANNA's Home Buyers Club; and a Community Land Trust.

Strategy #3: Engage in partnerships with stakeholders in the housing community to advocate for policies that preserve existing affordable housing and spur the creation of new affordable units within the Bridge Park Impact Area.

The EDP includes a timeline for implementation, from winter 2015 to the expected opening of the park in summer 2019. In line with their commitment to deliver outcomes, Bridge

Park contracted with the Urban Institute to develop a set of monitoring measures to test their progress on each front, as well as to document the process of implementation (see Table 12). The model developed at Bridge Park, if successful, will enable other municipalities and organizations to follow their steps.

Table 12: Excerpts from Logic Model of Performance Measures Prepared by the Urban Institute

	Goals	**Inputs**	**Outputs**	**Intermediate outcomes**	**Long-term outcomes**
Workforce development	Collect, organize, and disseminate resources regarding housing opportunities	Educate residents about DC legislation and tenant rights Promote participation in a five-year consolidated plan update	Partnerships with local agencies involved in tenant rights Language in a five-year consolidated plan update includes vacant and blighted properties in Bridge Park impact area	Tenants can access financing to purchase property Residents can access financial and homeownership services	Homeownership in the Bridge Park impact area increases Residents in the Bridge Park impact area have more access to wealth

Source: Bogle et al., 2016, p.16.

Preliminary Planning Outcomes

While the project is still ongoing and there is no guarantee that the bridge will eventually get built, Bridge Park has already started implementing recommendations from the EDP. In the area of housing, Bridge Park collaborates with MANNA, an affordable housing developer. The partnership between the two organizations yielded a Home Buyers Club in Ward 8, a project designed to assist low-income residents in purchasing a home through assistance with loans and down payments, financial planning and information about their rights. At the time of writing, over 70 residents are participating, some of whom are ready to buy their first home. Additionally, MANNA located a development of 46 townhomes that are to be converted into affordable housing units: 40 members of the homeowners club are ready to purchase these homes and stay in their neighbourhood as a result. MANNA is currently working to develop more affordable housing in the area.

Urban agriculture is another area where Bridge Park is working with the community, in order to produce local, healthy food. The Bridge Park Plots project collaborates with the University of the District of Columbia's College of Agriculture, churches and nonprofits to create urban farms on both sides of the river. In summer 2016, 750 pounds of produce were harvested (Bridge Park, 2016). Other areas of engagement include arts and culture, such as collaborating with students from Capitol Hill's Cesar Chavez Public Charter School to develop art installations, and partnering with Ward 8 schools and the Ward 8 Arts and Culture Council to create a mural along Anacostia Park's flood wall. Bridge Park also co-organizes the Anacostia River Festival with the National Park services, an annual event that was launched in 2014 and features activities such as kayaking, boating, fishing workshops, hands-on art projects, musical performances, and more (Kratz, 2016).

Perhaps one telling example of the type of festivals and activities that Bridge Park supports was the Lantern Walk, held in September 2016 at the riverfront (Figure 24). Celebrating local black heritage, the walk was inspired by the builders of Historic Anacostia neighbourhood, who laboured at the Navy Yard during the day and built their homes in the hours after work, using lanterns as their source of lighting. Residents from all over Washington, D.C. were invited to make their own lanterns and cross the highway bridge at dark, from the Yards Park west of the river to Anacostia Arts Center, located in Ward 8 on the eastern bank. Bridge Park supplied the equipment needed for the lanterns, including stickers of prominent African-American leaders in Washington, and participants could make their lanterns before the walk or during other community events in the preceding month. This event, attended by hundreds of residents from Wards 6, 7 and 8, and others (including the author), featured music played by a local Ward 8 high school band; African song and dance; a blessing of the river given by a local priest; and songs sung by a local charity A cappella group. Ending with presentations and a party at Anacostia Arts Center, the Lantern Walk bridged the past and future, west and east, and brought together members of the community of different ages, religions, cultures and colours.

One of the most notable outcomes to date is Elevating Equity, a $50 million dollar initiative led by LISC D.C. In May 2016, LISC announced this major contribution, aimed to support implementation of the EDP in the 1-mile radius of the bridge. Over five million dollars have already been invested in helping renters purchase their apartment buildings, performing home repairs for seniors and creating cultural programming, and much more will be invested

through grants, loans, tax credits, technical services and other services (LISC 2016). Finally, Bridge Park recently hired an Equitable Development Manager, whose responsibility is to ensure the implementation of the EDP. For example, the manager is examining potential collaborations with NGOs who specialize in workforce development in order to contract with them in the future, working on a Community Land Trust and overseeing the progress of the Home Buyers Club (Interview with the Equitable Development Plan manager, April 2017). The Community Land Trust was not part of the plan initially; however, following feedback from grassroots organizations east of the river, Bridge Park has begun to advance the trust as part of its efforts to secure housing for the low-income residents of the area.

Figure 24: The Lantern Walk: Marching towards the 11th Street Bridge.
Source: Jai Williams.

All of the preliminary steps described here originate from a planning approach that emphasizes outcomes. Even though the bridge is a long-term project that still faces feasibility challenges in terms of financing, Bridge Park and its partnering organizations place critical importance on securing benefits for the residents along the way. To a large extent, the driving factor behind these actions is a sense of urgency. "Especially in the housing sphere", the project manager from LISC emphasized, "because every single day that goes by, the opportunity to preserve affordable housing east of Bridge Park gets harder and harder because land values are going up every day." One of the unique characteristics of the EDP was the timing in which it was

composed: before construction of the bridge hit the ground. The intention behind coming up with a plan so early in the process was to be able to offer strategies to mitigate the potential negative aspects of the bridge. However, the housing market is not within the control of Bridge Park. Rising property values east of the river—partly related to speculation resulting from the bridge and partly unrelated—mean that time is of the essence. Solutions, ideally, should be promoted before the bridge is built and this is what the EDP stands for.

Who Is This For? Trust and Community Engagement

Securing benefits for residents immediately after the publication of the EDP is important not only because of the rapidly changing real estate market of D.C., but also in order to foster a sense of trust among residents and Bride Park. Bridge Park has come a long way since it started as a "crazy" idea (a word that appeared in several interviews) to its current stage as evident, for example, in the following interview with a community activist who works at an environmental educational organization:

> So I was there at the beginning...the Office of Planning Director, that was like her giving birth to that baby. I was working for council member XX at the time and I'll never forget, Harriett came into a meeting, there must have been 80 of us in the room, and she's like, "I want to raise 40 million dollars to build the 11th street Bridge as a recreational park". And we all looked at her like she was crazy. Do you know what we could do with 40 million dollars in a poor neighborhood? We could improve our streets, there is a whole bunch of stuff that we could do.

The Bridge Park Project has caused, and still causes, controversy precisely due to this point. The idea of investing over $40 million in a park seemed almost preposterous considering the area's disinvestment and poverty. Yet over time, some of the initial resistance and skepticism were replaced by support for the project. For example, when I asked the aforementioned interviewee whether residents still think that the money be better spent elsewhere, she replied: "No, no. To [the director's credit], there is a groundswell of support for that bridge" (ibid.). To be sure, the bridge still triggers objection among some residents who see it as a catalyst for gentrification and displacement, as well as some public figures who think the bridge is not a priority for D.C. For example, a community organizer from Ward 8 was cited in Washington City Paper opposing the project:

> Saying that the bridge park is going to be an amenity, to me that goes hand in hand with gentrification. I feel like any public land anywhere now in Southeast should not be

> handed over to any more outside developers . . . . The thing is, it wasn't a concept of the community. (Giambrone, 2016, n.p.)

An interview with a community organizer at a radical grassroots organization that works to advance neighbourhood equity in the District, revealed many of these tensions (interview, April 2017). The interviewee argued that the organization, in addition to other grassroots organizations based in Ward 8, were not included in the public engagement process because Bridge Park staff knows that their opinions are not in favour of the project. According to the community organizer, the park is targeted at middle-class residents of the Anacostia whereas the poor population is excluded from the process and is not likely to benefit from the park. To him, the fact that the project is led by a white, Ward 6 resident, and not by a Black resident of the Anacostia, is indicative of the racial inequalities that still dominate DC. However, he said that his organization is considering becoming involved with the Community Land Trust if the trust would target very low income residents of the area.

Another interview with a community organizer from a nonprofit east of the river who wished to remain anonymous disclosed similar views. The interviewee had said that while Bridge Park claims to enjoy wide support by the community, in fact, many people east of the river are not even aware of the existence of the project. The interviewee said that promoters of Bridge Park tend to overlook the socio-economic differences between the diverse communities east of the river, not fully realizing that the support of middle-class residents east of the river does not entail that the project targets the very poor, in other words, those who might be more deeply affected by the outcomes of the bridge. He cautioned that just because events organized by Bridge Park are well-attended does not in itself prove the popularity of the project since attendees may come from different parts of the District. Both interviewees raised two important issues: first, the question of the Bridge Park itself and whether it should be built at all. In their views, the answer is negative. Second, the question of whether the community participation process is as engaging and inclusive as portrayed by Bridge Park's staff. They see the Bridge Park as an intentional effort to bring development and gentrification to the area east of the river, in a way that supports the District's goals of economic development but overlooks the marginalized and the poor. One of them specifically said that the project fits within the District's goal of displacing Black residents in a city that was once dominated by their presence.

A conversation with a researcher and former resident of Ward 6 who studied the project's placemaking process revealed some limitations in the community engagement process. As a Bridge Park volunteer, a resident of the impact area and a researcher, she was surprised to discover that many residents of the impact area, especially east of the river, were not aware of the project. She noted the Bridge Park's community engagement process relies heavily on social media and email. However, the illiteracy rate east of the river is quite high and many residents do not have a high-speed internet connection. Moreover, the residents who struggle to make a living or do not have jobs, are not prioritizing participation in this project. The researcher explained that Bridge Park staff initially focused their outreach efforts through civic associations in Ward 8, which tend to represent the educated and already-involved residents rather than the area's marginalized communities. In order to include other audiences, she said, Bridge Park would need to change their outreach strategies and implement inclusive engagement strategies that are intentional about meeting the community where they are.

These interviews have demonstrated that while Bridge Park enjoys support by many stakeholders, including many Ward 8 residents, there are still significant pockets of resistance to the project. Not surprisingly, many of the opposing voices belong to residents and communities who have been experiencing marginalization, including, for example, residents of a former public housing project at Barry Farm neighbourhood, which is designated for redevelopment despite residents' objection to the plan. As another interviewee, a community activist and a resident of Ward 7, pointed out, dissent over the park comes especially from these affected communities due to the historical distrust of the government. While some skeptical residents have changed their minds about the park over time, now embracing the project—including the EDP manager himself, a resident of Ward 8 who confessed to have major doubts at first (Interview, April 2017)—this process does not apply to all residents. Moreover, it appears that that a significant number of Ward 8 residents are not even aware of the project.

Trust

In the interview with the director of Bridge Park, the issue of trust came up several times in the context of community engagement. The preliminary process of trust-building started before Bridge Park was an official project run by BBAR, in those hundreds of community

meetings that served to gauge interest and test whether the bridge was a viable idea. In the director's words:

> We went out to the community and asked the community in essence for permission, do the communities want this project? . . . It was critically important I think, particularly for the communities east of the river, where there is just an enormous trust deficit, right? Because typically planning happens *to* this community and not really *with* this community and I think if there is any community engagement it's at the tail end of that process: "hey, we have a great project, do you want this?" And that's not completely fair, so I think going and in essence asking for permission is critically important. (Interview, September 2016, emphases added)

The input of the community, however, did not stop there: "Every single programming idea built into the design competition came from the community, this wasn't a bunch of planners just sitting in a room somewhere", the director said. The community was continuously involved in the design competition and in conceptualizing the EDP.

Importantly, residents were not only informed but granted decision-making authority to configure these elements. The following quotations are the director's response to my question about the importance of building trust for the success of Bridge Park (the quotations are broken down due to the lengthy reply, yet they all form part of one section). The director identified a number of different factors at play in building trust. First, he referred to the importance of recognizing the history of the area and its legacy:

> [Trust is] so critical, so important. I think it takes a lot of time and I think particularly in disenfranchised communities, where there is this huge trust deficit—that is a very justifiable trust deficit, because people came in and made a lot of promises and then none of it gets built—and so there is a huge [skeptic] approach that "this is [not] going to be for me". We have residents east of the river whose parents and grandparents were forcefully evicted from Federal Center southwest during the last big urban renewal project, so people are right to be super skeptical.

The director continued by emphasizing that it is important to invest time in building personal relationships and showing commitment:

> And the only way we [have] really gotten around [to] that, I think—or to try to tackle that as we head on—is that trust is about shared experiences over time, so doing those 200 meetings before we engaged with any other [missing word], asking for permission with some of the leaders and resident associations and everyone else, was critically important. But it's also building those personal relationships. And having people know that we are all in, and that we are constantly trying to loudly answer that question of who this is for? That this is for the local residents. And [from] shaping the programming to selecting the design team, to doing the programming before the park opens, to helping to build the

> bridge and [to] do workforce training to get there, to employing people up when the park opens. There is always going to be skeptics that are out there and think like, "really, is this for real"? but trust is something that when built is extraordinarily fragile and has to be cared for and nourished. So we are out 3-4 times a week still, to this day, we are helping the community and showing them that they are on the agenda [and] showing up in all the local community meetings.

Next, the director pointed to the fact that Bridge Park is based in the community and is partnering with local organizations:

> I think the fact [that] we are a nonprofit that's leading this effort—THEARCH that's based east of the river—and isn't some separate nonprofit that was created just for this, it's huge, it's enormous. Because THEARCH has been here for over 10 years, over a decade, serving the local community, and it's well thought off, so I think having this as a project that is based east of the river and working with the city builds some legitimacy. And when the park opens it will be run by THEARCH, so it will be run by an east of the river nonprofit, I think that helps too.

Finally, the director talked about the significance of listening, showing flexibility and accommodating community input to trust building:

> But I think the big lesson is that it takes a lot of time, and you need to keep up at it and you need to be genuine, you need to be honest. I mean, I got yelled at a lot at the beginning, it had nothing to do with the park, just people haven't been heard and they were taking it out on somebody. I didn't take it personally but it was building, taking the time…I'll give one example. We're now working with communities of faith on both sides of the river to create these urban gardens and urban farms, and we've grown over a quarter ton of food just this summer alone, it's really amazing. And now we are layering all of these art elements on top [of] working with congregations developing the art, and we are scheduled to do a big art workshop this Saturday, and we are working with east of the river nonprofit to help manage it . . .and several congregation members came in after we got sort of approval for—I mean, all of the ideas come from the congregation—"ho I have another idea", and we've been really easy to say like "no, no, we're set, we're moving forward, you already signed off on this", but it's not building trust, right? So we stopped, we paused, we said "let's get everyone together", we incorporated some of their ideas, adjusted accordingly and made sure their voices were heard: not only heard but acted upon. By doing hundreds of those through deep listening, that's how you build trust.

The director's response indicates that to him, including the community in the process, however diverse and broad it may be, is not simply paying lip service but following a guiding principle in all stages of the project. The director points to several elements that are critical in building trust: showing sensitivity to the community's history; taking the time to nurture personal relationships and ensuring that voices are heard; being physically present and acting in

collaboration with established community institutions; being mindful of feedback; and making sure that the power-relations are symmetrical and not unidirectional. Importantly, building trust is not only about a strong vision and an inclusive process: it is also about providing intermediate gains. However, as the two community organizers and researcher I spoke with emphasized, the promoters of the project are not necessarily in a position to lead a truly inclusive process. Despite the director's detailed response and his awareness of the importance of trust, the process of trust-building seems to be limited to specific members of the community. Follow-up work will determine whether resistance to the park has been overcome with time.

Gentrification and displacement

The 11th street Bridge Park must be understood in the context of Washington as a 'divided city': Table 10 provides a glimpse of the stark differences between east and west of the river in terms of land values, land ownership, employment and poverty. Therefore, the implications of building a topnotch park bridging Washington, D.C.'s poorest and most prosperous neighbourhoods have been predictable from the start. Similar projects, such as New York's High Line and Atlanta's BeltLine, have shown that in addition to the advantages associated with high-quality public spaces, these parks also affect the real-estate market and typically generate a sharp rise in land values. In the 11th Street Bridge Park case, these changes are likely to affect Wards 7 and 8 more than they would affect the already affluent areas of Ward 6.

Bearing in mind this context, the Bridge Park project brings forward interesting questions about the value of redevelopment projects for the community. On the one hand, the park will offer amenities that are lacking in Ward 8. The park also creates opportunities for social interaction between D.C's east and west, as well as improved access to the river for all. Moreover, the EDP and the planning process of Bridge Park aim at inclusiveness and trigger a sense of agency in Ward 8 communities. However, such large-scale investment certainly has the potential to increase land values in Ward 8, which could speed up gentrification and even cause displacement of residents. Changes in Ward 8's housing market are already evident: home prices in Historic Anacostia neighbourhood soared by 27 percent in 2015 as "developers and middleclass homebuyers have 'discovered' east of the river" (Kolson Hurley, 2016, n.p.). While the neighborhood is still affordable relative to other wealthier neighbourhoods in D.C, it is

becoming increasingly unaffordable to its low-income residents. Moreover, one of my interviewees, a senior government official in the District's Department of Energy and Environment and a resident of Ward 6, questioned the need for more green spaces in this area.

The Bridge Park is not the only cause for the increasing real-estate prices, yet even advocates of the bridge recognize its impact on the area. This understanding is what led to the EDP in the first place. Bridge Park and its partnering organizations work hard to counter potentially negative consequences, but can they succeed? A community organizer who is involved with the housing section of the EDP reflected the contradictions that the project brings throughout our interview. On the one hand, she said, there is a group of stakeholders who is prepared to take action and leverage the bridge project to fight off displacement:

> There is a lot of promise for investment because of this bridge park project, and also a lot of need to make sure that what happens so quickly in other parts of the city—without adequate resources [or] policies in place—that now that we are in a better place, and there is this group that is together forming some sort of Equitable Development Plan before something gets built, that we can save off a lot of the displacement that happened so quickly in other parts of the city when we weren't as prepared. We are more prepared now than we were in the past.

On the other hand, she is skeptical that displacement can be altogether avoided. Still, she is hopeful that the project will generate civic action that will eventually bring benefits to the community:

> I am more hopeful that we can save off a lot of the displacement, but I don't think we'll be able to save off all of it.
> I think [displacement] will be because of both [the bridge and the influx of wealthy people to the city], but when the bridge is done it will accelerate it, yeah, it will accelerate it. But those changes are already happening now. And so that's why I'm really glad that number one, the city has more resources than it did five years ago, we've got better policies in place. But also that we have this huge project, this Equitable Development Plan, that the bridge park is moving on because that will help us deal with our current issues better than we have in the past, and then be better poised to deal with them when the bridge is done. And hopefully [we will be able to] use all this energy of people working together to advocate for more.

As the community organizer emphasizes, it might not be possible to prevent displacement altogether but she does recognize a positive pattern in the preparedness of organizations and residents to take a stand against displacement. Moreover, she identifies a growth in city resources and policies dedicated to affordable housing, which coalesce with more civic action. At the same

time, it is important to note that some voices explicitly view Bridge Park as a generator of displacement and are unconvinced that the EDP will change that reality.

Another initiative that has recently begun to shape in order to address displacement is a Community Land Trust. The idea came up in formal and informal meetings with residents about Bridge Park and in November 2016, Bridge Park sponsored the first community event titled "Power to the People: Community Land Trust & Anacostia" to test the idea.[24] Since fieldwork on this case had been completed, work on the Community Land Trust has picked up and several more community meetings on the subject were held. Recently, Bridge Park successfully secured $550,000 for the trust, and fundraising efforts continue. According to City First Enterprises, a nonprofit community development loan fund, a budget of $10 million would be needed to create about 70 rental units affordable to people making 50 percent or less of the area median income. (Hui, 2017). Further work on the land trust is scheduled in the work plan for 2017.

Discussion: Who is this for?

Indeed, the Bridge Park is still in preliminary stages and it is too early to evaluate whether it will keep true to its vision and 'equity first approach' in the future. On the one hand, there are indicators that this project has positive prospects to succeed in implementing its EDP. On the other hand, critical voices question the idea of the bridge to begin with, as well as the ability of the EDP to deliver positive benefits for the community.

In terms of the positive indicators, a number of things can be said about the progress of the project so far. First, Bridge Park is rooted in wide community support and as the director of the park critically mentioned, it is not managed by "a bunch of planners just sitting in a room somewhere" (interview, September 2016). While it is true that the idea for the bridge was originated by D.C.'s former director of planning, the initiative really began to take off once the idea was tested through hundreds of community meetings and public discussions. "[The director] would attend the opening of an envelope", said a member of the Anacostia Coordinating Council to emphasize the director's ceaseless outreach efforts (Courtney, 2016, n.p.). Based in the framework of a well-established local organization, Bridge Park is less likely to be perceived as a top-down project, and is able to utilize existing community mobilization channels. In light of the

[24] A video of this community meeting is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2wKNVmLepLE&feature=youtu.be

history of notorious 'top down' urban renewal projects along the Anacostia in the 1950s and 1960s, Bridge Park partners place critical importance on local agency and capacity, and in doing so they try to set the project apart from that legacy .

The community engagement model that Bridge Park has adopted goes beyond typical participatory processes, where the public is generally informed and heard by planners and policy makers, but not necessarily engaged in meaningful ways. Even in cases where the pubic takes part in the planning process, participation is often limited to the first planning stages and input is not always incorporated into the plans (Arnstein, 1969). In the Bridge Park case, efforts are made to make the community an active player in the process of building the park. Interviews with stakeholders that are involved in the project in some capacity have highlighted the commitment to the cause that is evident in the actions of Bridge Park's team. The president of an environmental NGO that is collaborating with Bridge Park shared his impression:

> When [the director] first came to me I thought he was crazy, and then it took me a year and then all of a sudden I realized he was a genius and I've been a huge fan ever since. . . . I think that [he] has done a masterful job at doing his Equitable Development Plan, I think it's fabulous. I think that the model—have you been to THEARCH? —The model of THEARCH is basically the model that will be at the Bridge Park, because it will be a kind of consortium of nonprofits around art, environment, civics, to use that space. It's not like we are building it to put an Old Navy store there, you know. So I think it's really emblematic of how do you connect the two sides of the river, how do you bring people to a common space to do things that they want to do. So [the director] has spent so much time in the community talking with them and working with them and understanding what they felt was important, and now he is implementing that, he is making that happen.

Again, time investment, listening and acting up upon promises appear to be important ingredients of bringing the EDP into fruition. Partnering with other strong nonprofits, with proven track records, ensures that Bridge Park is perceived as a serious project by many stakeholders. Moreover, these partnerships allow Bridge Park to capitalize on resources in areas where more expertise is needed, such as housing and workforce development.

Bridge Park not only committed to an Equitable Development Plan, which was an entirely voluntary exercise, but went the extra mile to ensure that the goals of the EDP are being monitored through a partnership with the Urban Institute. The Bridge Park team seems to take the implementation part seriously, as evident by a recent addition of an EDP manager to the staff. The emphasis on planning outcomes and early wins for the community stands out in the Bridge Park. Regardless of whether the bridge park will get built or not, the community has already

benefited—and continues to benefit—from the EDP. The $50 million USD Elevating Equity initiative is an example of a profound commitment to residents of Ward 8, as is the Home Buyers club, tenant rights workshops and countless community events. These gains allows Bridge Park to build trust with residents and raise more support for the project. They also mean that even if the bridge is significantly delayed or even abolished, the community will have benefitted regardless.

"I want to be clear", said the project manager from LISC, "we don't think we did everything right, but we see this as the next generation of a public-private investment in open space, and how we should be considerate about the surrounding neighborhoods and what can we learn from this (Interview, September 2016)." To a certain extent, this "next generation of a public-private investment" has taken over some of the mandate of the District under the AWI. On the one hand, the fact that the project is run by a nonprofit organization is possibly one explanation for its wide acceptance within the community. But on the other hand, this success can also be viewed as a double-edged sword: if Bridge Park fills a vacuum for the District, then it casts doubts on the ability of the government to promote its own equitable planning.

While the overarching goal of the project is, ultimately, to build a park, the 11th Street Bridge Park Project has, as the director noted:

> [Bridge Park project has] become so much more than a park … you know, there is a larger movement that I'm sure you read about, called the green enough movement that thinks that—these are their words not my words—that neighborhoods of need can't have nice things. Like "don't make it too nice", and I understand where they are coming from, but I categorically reject that. How do you say to the residents of Anacostia that they don't deserve the exact same quality as the residents of Georgetown, Georgetown's waterfront? That's focusing on the wrong thing. What we need to do is focusing on these larger housing strategies, workforce development strategies, and small business enterprise strategies that you can get ahead of this and ensure this park and other amenities and other investments can benefit the local residents … if this works for a tourist from Chicago but not the local resident, then we haven't done a good job of building this EDP (interview, Sep 2016).

The argument for "just green enough" (Curran and Hamilton, 2012) is a case in point to highlight the tensions over the park features. While advocates of the "just green enough" approach do not argue that "neighborhoods of need can't have nice things" per se, they do raise the point that greening projects may lead to increased property values. Therefore, they suggest to pursue more modest interventions to challenge the presumed inevitability of gentrification. The elaborate nature of the proposed Bridge Park certainly attracted criticism that the design is

too “flashy”. However, the director of Bridge Park suggests that residents of Ward 8 are deserving of such state-of-the-art environment, and attempts to counter gentrification should be achieved by other policy means, such as the EDP.

At the same time, it is important not to dismiss voices in the community that raise suspicions about the project and are weary of its consequences. While it is true that some of these suspicions can be attributed to past injustices that may not be related to Bridge Park directly, these concerns should be recognized and addressed. If grassroots organizations east of the river feel that they are not included in the process, then the public engagement process is not as inclusive as it is being portrayed. While in theory everyone is welcome to take part in the process and voice their concerns, one must acknowledge that not everyone feels that they have a voice in the current structuring of the project. Moreover, it appears that many residents are not even aware of it. The community organizers I interviewed raised significant concerns about the project’s outreach and inclusivity. They did mention that they are in the process of collaborating with Bridge Park on the Community Land Trust, which they perceive as a worthwhile undertaking that aligns with their organizations’ values and modes of action. While they are cautiously optimistic about this specific endeavor, they still resist the idea of the Bridge Park altogether and question its supposed benefits for the area’s disadvantaged population. With the project’s persuasive rhetoric and positive coverage in the media, it is critical to express these opposing voices.

In summary, what started as a “crazy” idea now slowly moves towards implementation. Assuming the remaining funding will be raised, in just a few years D.C. will own its own elevated park. This park will not only become known for its innovative design and facilities, but also as a testing ground for equity-led planning. Follow-up work will examine the success of this vision.

9. Discussion: 'Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed and Something Blue'

This research examines a particular and desired form of urban development. Waterfront redevelopments in Jaffa and Washington, D.C. serve as test cases to observe planning policies through a socio-spatial justice lens. The findings reveal various insights with regard to waterfront redevelopments, social justice, and urban planning. In my analysis, I wish to move away from the artificial dichotomy that depicts development as either 'good' or 'bad' by suggesting a more nuanced view. On the one hand, ample evidence from around the world has indeed shown that neoliberal regimes often do constrain struggles for social equity and challenge the notion of justice as a leading value in policy-making (Zapata and Bates, 2015). However, as Susan Fainstein and others have pointed out (Campbell et al., 2014; Fainstein, 2010), even under these conditions, there is still a possibility for planning to create procedural justice and to result in just outcomes. In light of the literature on the Just City, I have posed the following as guiding questions for this research:

1. How is social justice addressed in waterfront redevelopment plans?
    a) How is social justice conceptualized in waterfront redevelopments plans?
    b) How is social justice operationalized in waterfront redevelopments plans?
    c) How is social justice prioritized relative to environmental, economic and other objectives?
    d) In what ways are the plans responding to local demands for social justice?
2. What processes and factors enable planners to achieve social justice goals in their waterfront redevelopment projects?
    a) What contextual and institutional factors contribute to more just redevelopments?
    b) What actions and approaches by the various stakeholders contribute to more just redevelopments?
3. How might social justice considerations be more effectively integrated into and operationalized in waterfront redevelopments

The following sections address these questions with examples from the three cases. The chapter ends with the implications of the findings for theory building of the Just City.

Vision and outcomes

While all three projects included social equity as a goal in the vision and policy documents, the ways in which this goal was conceptualized and the degree to which it was implemented is subject to variations in all three cases.

In the Jaffa case, the commitment to justice was manifested in the stated vision for the redevelopment and throughout the public participation process. The CEO of the redevelopment and his staff made frequent references to the port's function as a working port and its multi-cultural identity, and promised to retain these qualities in the port's future state. The slogan 'fixing without breaking' conveyed an understanding that despite the port's state of disinvestment, the place functioned well and served as an island of coexistence in a sea of political and ethnic tensions. Some meaningful steps were taken, for example the replacement of all Hebrew signposts by trilingual ones. Another positive step was bringing in the legal clinic of Tel-Aviv University to assist in the establishment of the fish market, but this process was short-lived. When the former CEO left and a new administration came in, economic considerations took precedence over social ones. Ultimately, the commitment to justice turned out to be provisional and discursive, and the fishers and local community members nowadays feel excluded from the revitalized space.

In the Anacostia case, commitments to justice were made by Mayor Williams who launched the initiative and were somewhat integrated into the plan. The plan includes few specific references to social and environmental justice, but it does include indirect references through goals such as improved quality of life, affordability, access, and better services. Comparing to findings in Jaffa, the findings are more ambivalent. On the one hand, the Anacostia Framework Plan led to high-end developments in the area of the city that was already affluent, and only few benefits, if any, trickled down to the impoverished area east of the river. On the other hand, access to the river has greatly improved, and cleanup efforts have resulted in substantial progress towards a fishable and swimmable river. Moreover, developments along the river created job opportunities, although it is unclear for whom: residents east of the river or residents of other wards and/or states? Thus, from environmental and social justice perspectives, there has been an improvement but at a certain cost.

It is too soon yet to evaluate the Bridge Park project in this respect. On the one hand, reading the Equitable Development Plan (EDP) reveals that equity is proclaimed as a

fundamental guiding principle, and policies in the areas of housing, workforce development, and small businesses are being put in place to ensure equitable outcomes. Moreover, the Elevating Equity Initiative is already committed to investing $50 million through various projects in the bridge's impact area. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, the project is still at an early stage of implementation, and significant concerns have been raised with regards to the outcomes of the project, particularly gentrification and displacement of residents. Moreover, preliminary findings challenge the allegedly participatory and inclusive nature of the public engagement process.

These varying outcomes show that a socially just vision is of course not sufficient in and of itself. In Jaffa, an inclusive and sensitive vision was not followed up by concrete actions once the key person who was in charge of that vision left his position. In the case of the Anacostia Framework Plan, although the Anacostia Waterfront Corporation was abolished by the following mayor, sections of the plan continued to be implemented by various government agencies. The analysis of the project shows that the achievement of social equity goals is contested; still, key landmarks of the plan such as mixed-use developments, the cleanup of the river, and the Anacostia Riverwalk Trail have been pursued even after Mayor Williams stepped down from his position. These projects lived on since Mayor Williams created mechanisms that ensured their perpetuation. In both cases, however, while plans for the waterfront were sound, logical and inclusive, they got watered down and compromised in a variety of ways in the implementation process. The success of urban leaders in delivering socially just developments should certainly be evaluated not only based on the vision but also based on planning outcomes. In the next section, we look more closely at the role of planners in translating visions into concrete actions.

Good Intensions: The role of planners and professionals in delivering socially just planning

In my analysis of the Jaffa, Anacostia and Bridge Park cases, I paid attention to the role of planners and urban leaders in promoting socially just planning. Analyzing a waterfront flagship project in Oslo, Andersen & Røe (2016) have similarly raised questions on the role of architects in designing a social vision through plans and design. Although their focus was on architects rather than planners, they too question the capacity and responsibility of 'professionals' to deliver end products. In Oslo, the waterfront project was supposed to improve the area "in terms of accessibility, equity, social sustainability or the improvement of living conditions" (ibid: 11). Nevertheless, the authors claim that the architects were more interested in

aspects of urban design and image than they were in translating the social vision of the plan into the design process, which eventually resulted in a "socially insensitive and decontextualized project" (ibid.).

A similar example can be found in Jaffa, namely the renovation of Warehouse 1. The modern façade of Warehouse I clashes with the environment of the old port even though the plan speaks of heritage preservation and architectural integration. Beyond this single building, however, I also identified in Jaffa a significant gap between the vision and its implementation yet in this case, the reasons go beyond the role of the architects themselves. Planners, politicians, and administrators are also responsible for the outcomes. Still, I agree with Andersen and Røe (2016) that the discrepancy between planning visions and their implementation is concerning, and that more attention should be paid to a) how social visions inform the planning process in practice, and b) how visions are articulated in detailed plans and designs, and are carried out in the implementation process.

At the same time, architects and planners are not the only agents that shape urban space. In both Jaffa and in Washington, D.C., the history of political neglect and institutional distrust almost guarantees that the solutions to these problems extend beyond planning policies. For example in Jaffa, my interviews with past and present planners—including planners who work in the Jaffa planning team, the strategic planning unit, and the Jaffa administration—painted a complicated picture. On the one hand, I met planners with good intentions, who understand the complexity of Jaffa and sincerely wish to contribute to the wellbeing of the residents and the quality of the built environment (see also Zafrir, 2001). On the other hand, these planners operate in a system that does not place justice or fairness at the center of its core values, at least not explicitly. A similar argument can be made about Washington. Planners are aware of the history of dispossession in the District, but plans are still neutral for the most part and thus they perpetuate the existing inequalities. The 11th Street Bridge Park is perhaps an exception in that planners try to compensate for historical distrust; however, some might argue that building the park continues, rather than counteracts, past trends of injustice.

Moreover, planners' good intentions are insufficient in and of themselves; planners do not necessarily have the appropriate training to understand and resolve historical injustices. Nor do they necessarily have the tools to help resolve historical injustices. As one of my interviewees pointed out, individual planners, as capable and understanding as they may be on an individual

basis, are only one factor in a system that involves other planners, engineers, architects and other officials. The change has to come from a city-management level, as the Arab politician in Jaffa explained:

> The mayor has to come and say, the National Planning Administration should be brought over and told, 'I am social person and I want social planning'. [The mayor] needs to back them up, so those who believe in this discourse would feel they belong to the system. (Interview, March 2016)

And yet, while the planning profession has gone through changes over the years and planners in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa have become more aware of the importance of building trust and working with residents (Zafrir, 2001), to a large extent planning is still perceived by residents as a technical profession that does not take their needs into account. In Jaffa specifically, despite statements to the contrary, issues of fairness and justice have not been thoroughly addressed. Indeed, some actions have worked against these values.

The role and influence of urban leaders is notable in all three cases. In Jaffa, the first CEO played an important role in initiating action and shaping the planning process. In the Anacostia Framework Plan, Mayor Williams and two of his senior planners—the former director of planning and the head of the Anacostia Waterfront Corporation—had a decisive role in bringing the 'forgotten river' to the center of public attention and in creating a unique and complex partnership between the Federal and District governments. In the Bridge Park project, the director has almost single-handedly led the public participation process for two years: it is clear that the project is strongly influenced by his approach to planning. Importantly, the ability of individual players to shape urban development may be thought of as a double-edged sword: it gives opportunities for change even when the system is constraining, but it also means that the effects are dependent on the continued commitment and influence of particular individuals (Krumholz and Forester, 1990). At the same time, while public officials may push for the implementation of a socially just vision and planning process, in order to ensure just planning outcomes, planning goals must be anchored in binding policies. Otherwise, there is a risk of deviating from the intent and modes of action of individuals—as powerful as the may be— once they are no longer in a position of power.

What do the three cases tell us about the ability of professional planners to create just waterfront redevelopment? In all cases, planners had a good grasp of the main issues at stake. In Jaffa, planners realized that the fishers' livelihood was a critical issue and they recognized that

the port and Jaffa in general have been subjects of neglect and disinvestment. In a similar vein, planners in Washington acknowledged that the Anacostia area had suffered long-term oversight and marginalized communities had been systematically ignored. Some of the more successful policies to counteract injustice included round-table discussions, collaboration with a legal clinic, trilingual signs, inclusionary zoning, environmental legislation (although not executed by planners), consultation with the community, and construction of new parks and civic spaces. These tools, which are not unique to waterfront planning, can be applied in waterfront redevelopments and in other projects to promote more just projects.

As the preceding chapters have shown, however, there were differences in the extent to which planners promoted just planning policies. Some of these differences could be attributed to personal qualities and to circumstantial factors, for example the personalities of the people involved, their charisma and commitment to the cause, whereas others can be attributed to different political structures. I have already mentioned that in the Anacostia case, Mayor Williams created a robust organizational framework that allowed for the initiative to proceed. In the Bridge Park case, creating an EDP has reinforced the continuous discussion about justice. Still, these actions do not guarantee that the implementation of plans would prioritize social justice goals. In all three cases, the discursive commitment to social justice is not grounded powerfully enough in the planning system. While some policies to secure fairness are in place, such as inclusionary zoning and workforce training in Washington, these policies are still sporadic and not comprehensive. Even though there is a growing awareness to social justice in planning, unfortunately even today many cities lack firm and progressive policies to ensure equitable development.

Urban Waterfronts and Social Justice

The case studies presented in this dissertation strengthen the notion that urban waterfronts are key sites in conflicts over economic and cultural transformations. Urban leaders mobilize waterfront redevelopment projects in urban regeneration processes due to their economic value and potential to increase competitiveness in a globalizing economy (Ramsey, 2011), as well as to contribute to a new or improved city image (Atkinson et al., 2002). However, despite striking similarities between waterfront redevelopments across different locales, waterfronts are products of historic processes and are not “blank slates” (Ramsey, 2011: 1). Hence, waterfront

revitalization plans "must always negotiate the patterns of urban social and economic life that have developed around the legacy of infrastructure that already connects and traverses waterfront spaces" (ibid.). The politics of waterfront redevelopments concern not only patterns of land-use but also require residents, businesses and other stakeholders—such as fishers, in the Jaffa case—to adopt new patterns of social and economic conduct while giving up old ones.

Analyzing the debate on the Alaskan Way Viaduct in the redevelopment of Seattle's waterfront, Kevin Ramsey (2011) argues that three different 'storylines' emerged in the public debate, each conveying a different rationale for the waterfront and representing common narratives, which he titled: 'class warfare', 'an open waterfront for all', and 'social progress'. These storylines did not sit comfortably with each other. For example, the narrative of the 'open waterfront for all' did not acknowledge that there might be more pressing public needs than investing massively in a revitalized waterfront, an argument made by Seattle's working class representatives. The debate over the highway illustrated that the conflict was not simply over land-use but more broadly about defining which kinds of social and economic activities are to be encouraged or excluded from the revitalized space. In other words, who is the waterfront for? The waterfront—representing ecological, economic, social, and cultural interests—is a focal point for such debates. In a similar vein, such 'storylines' can be identified in the Jaffa and Washington cases.

In Jaffa, the public campaign led by fishers and residents represented a storyline of a working port. Efforts to use the redevelopment project to spur waterfront revitalization were perceived as a threat to the practices and heritage of the working port. While fishers and residents did not oppose the redevelopment altogether, they were concerned about being excluded from the revitalized space. At the same time, the port's administration and the City mobilized an 'an open waterfront for all' storyline that conveyed the potential of the port to become an attraction for residents and tourists. In the Anacostia case, both 'an open waterfront to all' and 'social progress' storylines were dominant. The notion of 'openness' was an important rationale for the development of the waterfront, implying also a sense of inclusion. Similarly, ideas of 'progress' were evident in the transformation of the waterfront from a manufacturing center to a site of economic revitalization, recreation, cultural heritage, and the new face of the city. In the Bridge Park case, the proponents of the project employed an 'inclusivity and equity' storyline, which highlighted the potential of the project to promote development fairly. However,

a ‘class warfare’ storyline—or even a ‘racial warfare' in this case—is evident in the rhetoric of those opposing the park. The class and racial warfare storyline brings to the forefront issues of affordability, jobs, gentrification, and the distribution of benefits between Whites and Blacks, rich and poor. Who benefits from the project and who pays the cost are important questions in this context. Is Jaffa port a working port or a cultural district? Is the Anacostia River a playground for new accumulated capital or a waterfront that serves its local residents? Is the 11th Street Bridge Park a desired amenity for long-time residents or an inducer of gentrification? Each storyline provides a distinct logic, and while in theory they are not mutually exclusive, in practice they often compete with one another.

In their analysis of Singapore’s riverfront development, Chang and Huang (2011) draw attention to the users of the waterfront and notions of access and reclamation. Drawing on the work of Paddison and Sharp (2007) on public space, Chang and Huang (2011: 2088) encourage consideration of ‘ordinary’ spaces:

> The notion of a ‘defunct’ or ‘ordinary’ space that must be filled with new activities is a disingenuous one. With repeated emphases on the ‘new’, there is a danger we may forget the flipside—the loss of ‘old worlds’ for some people.
> Reclaiming ordinary spaces for ordinary people and interest-groups to project their socio-spatial intentions is necessary. Accommodating fringe artists, sexual minorities, informal-sector workers and vernacular users (skateboarders, flea markets, even the homeless) allows cities to be truly accessible environments.

This rationale is particularly relevant to cases of waterfront redevelopment across the globe, and to their common depiction as de-politicized spaces. As the literature review has shown, the typical story presents the waterfront as a ‘leftover’ of deindustrialization and technological changes, which have left the waterfront in strong need of redevelopment in order to accomplish its great potential. Waterfront redevelopment projects are thus praised for linking cities back to their waters; they open up connections that have been blocked by railroads and highways, and they presumably contribute to the public good by creating spaces of nature and recreation. However, this narrative often leaves out the communities that have continued to feel attachment to the waterfront as a site of identity and livelihood, and compromises their ability to benefit from the waterfront as an ordinary space.

As highlighted in the empirical chapters, the notion that the waterfront is not an ‘empty’ space has been fundamental to the Jaffa and Anacostia cases. Both the port and the river were valued by the communities who have used them, even in their derelict and disinvested state. The

Jaffa port was used by fishers and fishing-related workers, business-owners, residents, and to a lesser extent, tourists. While the meaning of the port for different groups has been recognized in the 'fixing without breaking' goal, which acknowledged the functionality of the port's space, in reality that goal had not been met. Even though fishers were granted formal usage rights in the new plan, many promises made to them were unfulfilled: the fishers lack storage and work spaces, and their use of space is heavily monitored and restricted by the port's administration. Interviews with longtime residents and observations confirmed that the port in its present form is used mainly by tourists, whereas many locals avoid going there. In the Anacostia case, the redevelopment resulted in substantially larger volumes of (mostly local) visitors frequenting the river's new parks and Riverwalk, areas that were largely inaccessible previously. At the same time, the new neighbourhoods that have been built along the river's shores are costly and east of the river, the Anacostia Park is still underinvested. Thus, while tangible benefits are delivered to the community in the form of a cleaner river and improved access to its shores, there is a risk that the new landscape caters to wealthy residents instead of the poor and marginalized communities that still live by the river today.

Public waterfronts, public benefits?

Boland, Bronte, and Muir (2017) examine the *public benefits* in the regeneration of Belfast's waterfront. Based on their findings, they propose five categories of public benefit that may be delivered as outcomes of the project: 1) 'trickle down' logic of economics and tourism, 2) housing, 3) civic pride, 4) beautification and reuse of the river, and 5) inclusivity. The authors question these perceptions of the public good, noting that some of these categories are untested, unjustified or do not pertain to the public as a whole. "Our input to the literature", they write, "is that in one sense public benefit captures a range of positives for the city and its people; however, when it is unpacked and applied to different demographic groups, it becomes deeply problematic" (p.9). The questioning of public benefit is key to waterfront redevelopments, especially from a justice perspective, since the need for additional public resources and the ability of waterfront redevelopment projects to generate public benefits are key elements in the reasoning used to justify these projects. Whether benefits are indeed delivered, to whom, and in what forms are questions worthy of empirical examination.

In line with Boland et al.'s (2017) research, I have asked similar questions about the public benefits in my cases: how is public benefit constructed and understood? What types of public benefit exist, and who is the waterfront ultimately for? In Jaffa, the dominant logics were those of economics and tourism, recreation, and inclusivity. The redevelopment was supposed to rebrand the port and bring it back to its heyday when many locals and visitors frequented it. In its disinvested state, the port was imagined as an urban jewel that would serve both locals and outsiders. The redeveloped port was supposed to serve its previous users, but at the same time attract new users, businesses, and capital. However, as mentioned earlier, the redevelopment was unsuccessful on both counts.

In Washington, all five elements proposed by Boland et al. (2017) were present. The 'trickle down' logic of economics and tourism was especially present, but housing, civic pride, beautification of the river and reuse, and inclusivity all formed important rationales for the plan. The renewed waterfront was planned to lure investors and attract new residents, from the District and elsewhere, as well as to beautify the environment for current ones. These objectives have materialized, however, as discussed in chapter seven, the public benefits are not distributed equally. The river is certainly beautified and 'reused'; however, the success of the 'trickle down' logic is limited. In the Bridge Park case, the development is supposedly aimed at local residents on both sides of the river, with equitable development policies targeted at east of the river residents. The public benefits would result from having a revamped public space in an area lacking in amenities. Potentially, the park would bridge areas that are currently disconnected and lead to local economic development through job creation and opportunities for small businesses. However, despite statements to the contrary, it seems that the project also targets outside visitors and tourists. Moreover, the impacts of the EDP and their scope is still undetermined. In all three cases, then, there are discrepancies between the imagined and actual public benefits. Table 13 on the next three pages presents a summarized synthesis of the findings of this research.

Table 13: Synthesis of Findings

Research Question	Jaffa port	Anacostia Waterfront Initiative	11th Street Bridge Park
How is social justice conceptualized in plans?	Reviving a place following prolonged disinvestment, while being conscious of its local users and uses ('fixing without breaking'): • Cultural and ethnic diversity • Social inclusion • Affordability • Accessibility	Investing in the 'forgotten river' that symbolizes D.C's deep socio-economic and racial gaps after decades of neglect. **Social justice**: • Overcoming D.C's social and economic divide • Job creation, especially east of the river • Creation of new civic spaces • Honouring cultural heritage • Social inclusion • 'Trickle down' logic of economic growth **Environmental justice**: • Rehabilitating the Anacostia River	Building a new civic space that will connect east and west of the city while giving special consideration to the potential negative effects of development **Equity and fairness**: • Social inclusion • Economic inclusion • Affordability • Job creation
How is social justice prioritized in plans?	Somewhat prioritized: diversity and authenticity are mentioned throughout the documents and some measures are offered to generate development that would take these principles into account; however, they are suggestive rather than binding.	Somewhat prioritized: the five areas of the plan address unequal distribution of resources and offer various measures to spur revitalization. However, very few policies are targeted specifically at social equity. Many policies are targeted at economic growth, which will presumably 'trickle down' to all residents. Environmental policies offer concrete solutions to past neglect.	Highly prioritized: An Equitable Development Plan has been developed to address aspects of equitable development.

Table 13 Cont.			
Research Question	**Jaffa port**	**Anacostia Waterfront Initiative**	**11th Street Bridge Park**
How is social justice operationalized in plans?	Trilingual signs Representation of various historical narratives (not executed) Preference for local businesses Social contract for businesses operating at the port: commitment to local hiring, community involvement, etc. (not executed) Mix of commercial and non-commercial uses	Affordable housing Civic spaces and parks Increased access to the river and along the river Restoration of the ecosystem Employment opportunities	Support for small businesses Workforce development Affordable housing
How responsive are plans to local demands?	Somewhat responsive: the plans address the needs of the local users (fishers, business-owners, community members). At the same time, developing the port brings new tensions to this area, and not all commitments have been met.	Somewhat responsive: the deep divide between east and west of the river is acknowledged; however, issues of gentrification and displacement east of the river are sidelined and racial justice is not a significant part of the plan. Moreover, resources are mostly targeted west of the river.	Somewhat responsive: the socio-economic challenges east of the river are recognized and policies are offered to provide concrete solutions. However, it is questionable whether the full scope of the project and its implications for gentrification and displacement are adequately dealt with. Moreover, it is not clear if the community outreach efforts are truly inclusive.

Research Question **What contextual and institutional factors favoured just planning?**	**Jaffa Port** Contextual: after decades of underinvestment, Jaffa was placed at the center of municipal investment and rehabilitation. Institutional: Strong mayor, relative autonomy of the CEO (planning was 'outsourced' to Tel-Aviv's Economic Developing Authority that was in charge of the port).	**Anacostia Waterfront Initiative** Contextual: a new mayor who was driven to turn around D.C's disinvested state. The federal Financial Control Board was dismissed and therefore the District's authority over planning was restored. Institutional: Inclusionary zoning policies and environmental legislation were already in place and could be readily used.	**11th Street Bridge Park** Contextual: Two dominant actors initiated the project and decided to place emphasis on equitable development. The initiative was in line with the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative to revitalize the area. Institutional factors: greater awareness in policy circles of the needs for social, economic and environmental sustainability.
What actions and approaches favoured just planning?	Two individuals played a dominant role in the port's transformation: the mayor who initiated the real-estate exchange and the revitalization of the port; and the first CEO of the port who led the revitalization. A public effort to 'save the port' influenced the decision not to privatize the port. A round-table hosted by the municipality, which induced a new master plan that guaranteed the fishers' usage rights. A public participation process led by the new CEO. The involvement of a legal clinic to test the fish market initiative.	Bringing the Anacostia to the center of attention after decades of neglect. A public participation process. A new corporation devoted to the Anacostia.	An informal community engagement process before the project officially started. A year-long process of building the Equitable Development Plan with various stakeholders. Continuous outreach activities including arts and culture, festivals, and recreation.

How might social justice be more effectively integrated into and operationalized in waterfront redevelopments?

Frank Fischer (2009) argues that in order to identify the Just City, we must establish the characteristics of social justice; however, the concept has no clear meaning. Fischer (2009 :106) usefully reminds us:

> …There is no objective standard of social justice. For many, it is a term of moral relativism… One can offer a theory of the Just City, but it cannot be more than one of numerous other contested positions and will be treated as such by those with different perceptions. This is to say, it cannot be established once and for all by accepted criteria.

Indeed, a universal idea of social justice might not apply. Yet while not everyone is likely to agree on one overarching conceptualization of the Just City, the very discussion of its form opens up pathways for new realizations about its nature.

In addition to the theoretical challenge of attempting to define the Just City, this attempt may be perceived as a utopian endeavor. However, it does not have to be the case. Social justice can be thought of as a spectrum, stretching from injustice to justice; the end of the spectrum may not be achievable in practice, but one might still attempt to move in that direction .Surely, one can refrain from utopian thinking but also move beyond pure critique. Bearing this in mind, in the following section I briefly outline key dimensions of justice from each case study. This exercise will serve to produce some generalizations about justice, while at the same time viewing these principles as situated and contextualized. The arguments that I make here concern both procedural and substantive issues of justice.

Jaffa: Two major themes are apparent in the Jaffa case. The first is the contestation of labour and leisure. The second is the tension between ethnic identity and the neutrality of planning. While the vision for the redevelopment included elements of social justice—e.g. equity, recognition, inclusion, tolerance—the outcomes are debatable. Thus, the Jaffa case is an example of how a participatory process can still lead to unjust outcomes. While the attempt to redevelop the port in a socially just way may has failed, some lessons can still be drawn from this case:

- Involving the legal clinic of Tel-Aviv University in the development process was a promising initiative, which could have led to better outcomes if it had continued. The legal clinic is experienced in working with disadvantaged groups and the efforts to launch a fish market did require legal assistance. However, the

clinic lacked in some resources, such as social workers, and as mentioned in chapter five, the clinic's involvement was terminated before the project was completed.

- The Jaffa case also highlights the need to involve social workers and other professionals (other than planners) in order to navigate between conflicting interests in deeply contested environments.
- Civic and grassroots struggles have the potential to succeed; however, it can be hard to sustain them over time, especially in marginalized communities. The civic campaign led by fishers and other activists had been successful. However, the fishers are a poor and disadvantaged group overall, which made it hard for them to continue to campaign while they were concerned with their livelihood.
- Trust is a key component in just planning. Especially in environments characterized by conflict and distrust, but not only, it is important to build trust in order to engage the community and make them an integral part of the process. However, trust is also fragile and even the smallest crisis can undermine long-term efforts to establish it. While the first CEO managed to build trust with the fishers and business owners, his departure signaled the end of constructive communication between the fishers and the administration.

Anacostia: the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative powerfully illustrates the tensions between environmental and social justice. While tradeoffs between the social and the environmental are not inevitable, planners struggle to successfully achieve the two. This case also highlights the problems associated with a utilitarian perception of justice ("the greatest good for the greatest number") as it was translated into a trickle-down logic of economic growth. Indeed, the District benefited greatly from the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative in terms of accumulated revenues, but it is questionable whether these benefits actually serve the low-income and marginalized communities east of the river. In this case too, some lessons can be drawn:

- Integrating equity goals in a large-scale redevelopment is important. However, the goals should also be translated into policies and indicators. While the AWI was

conceived in light of significant gaps between east and west of the river, social equity goals were not prioritized compared to economic development goals.

- Attending to the historically overlooked river and resolving its environmental contamination are worthy undertakings, especially from an environmental justice perspective. The large-scale effort to tackle contamination issues led to a significant cleanup of the river. Cleaning up the river not only allowed the ecosystem to slowly rehabilitate, but also enabled the residents of the District to enjoy the river and its shores. Environmental action has implications for social justice, since the residents who live in marginalized communities are finally able to enjoy the natural assets close to their homes.
- Justice cannot be reduced to environmental remediation and/or the provision of new jobs and improved facilities. Affordability issues must be taken into account. The AWI led to paradoxical results since, on the one hand, new neighbourhoods were built in a previously underinvested area but, on the other hand, these new residential areas are not affordable to low and middle-income residents. The use of public housing and inclusionary zoning policies can promote affordability, but these tools are limited in their scope.
- The history of racism and marginalization in the District should also have been addressed through the planning process. A colour-blind policy will perpetuate inequalities in the long-term. "Celebrating diversity and cultural heritage" (AWI: 19) is mentioned in the plan, but this is done in reference to the history of the African-American experience in the area and in Washington. The plan does not refer to or engage with deeper racial issues beyond symbolic commemoration of heritage.

The 11th street Bridge Park: The Bridge Park is a telling case of how social equity goals are unpacked and translated into workable policies that will be monitored and evaluated periodically. At the same time, this project raises interesting questions about a) the possible contradiction between a (supposedly) equitable process and the overarching goal–building an elevated park—which is perceived as contradictory to equity in the District generally, and east of

the river particularly; and b) the extent to which the process is indeed participatory and inclusive or whether is aimed at the more established residents of the area. Some key lessons include:

- The inclusivity of the public engagement process is measured not only according to the number of participants and their involvement in the process, but also according to the voices that are absent. As portrayed by the interviews conducted with grassroots organizations in D.C., many residents are not even aware of the project. Interviewees also note that events organized by Bridge Park are well-attended, but not necessarily by residents of Anacostia. The process of developing the EDP cannot be described as truly inclusive if large swaths of the community are not aware of the project and/or are contesting it.
- At the same time, setting aside the question of public participation in this specific case, the EDP shows that planners and community representatives can develop concrete and creative policies to advocate for social equity. Surely, the implementation of an EDP with policies in the areas of workforce development, small business, housing, and/or other relevant issues can be an asset to many projects worldwide. It remains to be seen how these policies will be implemented.
- Similarly to the AWI, this case also demonstrates the dilemma between not developing—thus perpetuating the injustices that exist in the area in the form of neglect and poor facilities—and developing—thus exposing the area to potential gentrification, displacement and further injustices. While there are other options to repair past injustices than building the park, the very act of development—even an equitable one—brings up considerable tensions. The Bridge Park case also highlights that while the intensions of planners and developers may be honorable, they are not in complete control of the housing and development dynamic in the area. Thus, an equitable development is hard to implement even when the intensions are good.

By comparing and contrasting these cases, I wish to show that the particular manifestations of justice might differ pending on circumstances; however, the concept of justice is not entirely relative. Concerns with equity, diversity, participation and fair representation, to name a few examples, are ubiquitous. Despite the significant differences between Tel-Aviv-Jaffa and Washington, D.C., injustices and justices in the two cities are, in fact, similar. Nonetheless, a

list or a 'manual' of how to deliver just planning will be of little use without fully knowing the context of a place. Andy Merrifield (1996) suggests that social justice may be used as an activist concept rather than an ideal type. He views justice as a product of struggles in the city. These struggles shape justice through a dialectic process. This is a helpful approach that links theory with practice and places with practices.

Social Justice: Opportunities and Challenges

Much of the planning literature still focuses on *justice and planning* rather than *justice in planning*. Yet, as Heather Campbell (2006: 93) notes, "[the] debate about justice in planning is about more than merely summarizing the ideas of the great justice philosophers." In this research, I have been informed by the significant theoretical contributions of philosophers and planning scholars. At the same time, I agree with Campbell that the horizons of these theories are sometimes broader than planning, and they do not always directly translate into planning principles. In this section, I reflect on the value of the term social justice in examining planning policies and I suggest a framework for future research.

I have applied the term *social justice* to frame the questions of this research and analyze the case studies in this light. However, as my analysis progressed, I found the expression—with its ambiguous and broad nature—to be of limited usefulness in the context of urban redevelopment more broadly and waterfront redevelopments specifically (which effect environmental and economic changes as well as social ones). While the *social* aspect of justice is still a compelling one, following Wessells (2014), I propose to adopt a fourfold perspective of justice that includes social, economic, environmental, and identity aspects for future analyses. These terms are clearly inter-connected, but at the same time they allow one to accentuate distinct features of planning policies and distinct dimensions of justice.

A *social justice* perspective traditionally highlights issues of fairness in the planning process—i.e., fair representation of various groups—and outcomes—i.e. fair provision of services, facilities, and amenities. A social justice approach pays attention to the distribution of resources among individuals and groups based on various criteria such as need, merit, rights, contribution to the common good, and others.

An *economic justice* perspective focuses the analysis on aspects of economic growth and its (un)just distribution: workforce training and hiring policies are examples of tools that can be

used to positively affect social equity, or, in their absence, to increase economic gaps. To a large extent, this perspective is one of the oldest approaches to evaluate justice. However, as Fainstein (2000: 468) notes, "the characteristic weakness of socialist analysis has been its dismissal of economic growth as simply capital accumulation that benefits only capitalists." She continues by arguing that:

> A persuasive vision of the just city needs to incorporate an entrepreneurial state that not only provides welfare but also generates increased wealth; moreover, it needs to project a future embodying a middle-class society rather than only empowering the poor and disfranchised (ibid.).

In other words, justice and economic growth are not mutually exclusive by definition, but policies must be put in place to ensure a just redistribution of the potential growth. In Jaffa, an economic justice lens would bring up questions about who gets to enjoy the economic benefits accruing from the port's redevelopment. While the port's marketing relies heavily on its alleged authenticity and romantic image as a fishing port, the fishers receive very little material support from the port's administration. This support could be manifested in improved facilities and/or workspaces, and/or financial support. For example, the port's administration could support the fish market rather than expect the fishers to find an investor on their own. Moreover, more investment could be directed towards nearby residents in the form of community spaces, services and/or facilities.

In Washington D.C., an economic justice approach would question how much of the revenues were directed towards the marginalized communities surrounding the Anacostia and in what forms. Beyond new parks and expensive condos, were revenues invested in schools, clinics, public transportation, and training programs? Were the workforce initiatives effective in brining employment to the area? Are the new businesses in the area local and/or are investing in the communities, or do the revenues mostly skip the Anacostia area? In the Bridge Park case, some of these questions are addressed through the three-tiered EDP (workforce development, small businesses, and housing), but it is debatable whether these policies are effective and comprehensive enough. Future research on justice in planning would benefit from a balanced approach that critically examines policies but also takes into account the need for economic growth. The 'economic justice' lens may be applied to examine the tensions that characterize this area.

The *environmental justice* perspective is also pertinent to some development cases, such as the Anacostia River, where racial minorities were historically the ones to pay the price for the river's contamination. While in Jaffa the environmental aspect did not come up as a prominent element, in the Anacostia case environmental remediation has been a key policy intervention and one that has direct influence on environmental justice. While scholars have begun to unpack the issue of environmental justice in waterfront redevelopments, mainly through a political ecology approach, this body of research is still small. Moreover, as Wessells (2014) underlines, and as I have shown in my analysis, environmental justice relates not only to contamination of resources and unfair distribution of pollutants, but to the freedom to enjoy natural resources and benefit from the opportunities associated with them.

The *Identify justice* perspective is perhaps more elusive and complex. Building on Susan Fainstein's conceptualization of the Just City, which defines justice as equity, democracy and diversity, I find that these are important elements yet insufficient in and of themselves to analyze justice in the context of planning. In particular, drawing on the works of Nancy Fraser, Iris Marion Young, Leonie Sandercock, Oren Yiftachel and others, I wish to broaden the meaning of the diversity element to include a deeper engagement with concepts of recognition and identity. Diversity, or the coexistence of heterogeneous cultural, racial and/or ethnic groups in urban space, is certainly an important guiding principle and is generally conceived as a positive quality in cities (Jacobs, 1961; Fainstein, 2005). However, as Yiftachel et al. (2009) have shown, the formal recognition of groups that share space in a city does not guarantee that these groups exercise their right to the city since recognition can take hostile forms. The concepts of agency and power also become important when considering not just the existence of groups in space but their ability to express their demands and be fully included in city life.

Scott Bollens's (2000; 2007a; 1998; 2006) research on urban planning and intergroup conflict produced four models of planning interventions in contested settings. A *neutral* tactic addresses urban symptoms of ethnic conflict at the individual level. In other words, it does not address the existence of minority groups and distances itself from issues of ethnic identity. A *partisan* tactic, in contrast, maintains and/or increases differences. The *equity* approach addresses urban symptoms of ethnic conflict at the ethnic group level in order to decrease intergroup inequalities. Finally, the *resolver* model seeks to attend to root causes/sovereignty issues in an effort to transform power imbalances (Bollens, 2007b). Despite what it may seem, argues

Bollens (2002: 36), "neutral, 'color-blind' planning, although seen as safe, is both inadequate and difficult to implement in urban circumstances of different group values and trajectories." Naturally, neutral planning applied in conflicted environments does not lead to equitable outcomes.

Both in Jaffa and Washington, D.C., racial and ethnic injustices are key to understanding the cities' past, present and future. However, in both cities plans are still colour-blind for the most part. In Jaffa, while a 'fisher' is supposedly an occupational category, nevertheless it is in most cases affiliated with an Arab ethnic identity. Thus the incomplete accommodation to maintain fishing activities effectively excludes an ethnic identity, in addition to an occupational one. The redevelopment of the port therefore corresponds with the planning history of Jaffa since 1948 and the difficulty of planners to come to terms with the Arab identity of the city, even though the redevelopment did not target the Arab fishers specifically. Moreover, while initially some efforts were made to acknowledge and resolve ethnic tensions, these attempts were incomplete and later discarded. In D.C., while some social-economic differences are expressed in the riverfront development plans, the issue of race is not highlighted, even though the development trajectory of neighbourhoods east of the river has been strongly influenced by a history of racial dispossession and unequal power relations between Whites and Blacks in the District. Indeed, it is proposed in the plan to "[Celebrate] diversity and cultural heritage" (p.19), African-American heritage specifically; however, the measures that are proposed are mainly symbolic, such as signage and displays in parks. The plan does not speak about racial issues more profoundly. In the Bridge Park case, while differences in poverty and unemployment between "west of the river park" and "east of the river park" are showcased, there is no mention of race in the entire EDP document.

Examining waterfront redevelopment plans from a justice perspective must take into account these cultural, ethnic and/or racial issues. However, analyzing plans with reference to either social, economic or environmental justice might omit this critical lens. Table 1 suggests questions that can be used as guidelines to examine justice from a fourfold perspective. The list is suggestive rather than exhaustive. I use the word "plan" for convenience, but I do not mean to imply that only the goals and objectives should be examined. On the contrary, these questions should be applied to the outcomes of the plans, too. These questions pertain to both procedural and substantive issues.

Table 14: Guiding questions in the examination of a fourfold perspective of justice

Social justice
➢ To what extent was the decision-making process participatory and inclusive? ➢ In what ways does the plan pay special consideration to how marginalized groups would be affected? ➢ Does the plan include reference to affordable housing? If so, at what scope and through which policies? ➢ In what ways are social mix and diversity consideration taken into account? ➢ To what extent gentrification and potential displacement of residents are addressed? ➢ To what extent does the plan offer a mix of uses, including affordable and/or free ones (e.g. restaurants, recreation, entertainment)?
Economic justice
➢ To what extent does the plan create job opportunities for residents in need, including for the long erm? ➢ Are there efforts to include harder to employ residents? In what ways? ➢ To what extent does the plan outline how revenues will be captured? ➢ Are there mechanisms in place to secure benefits to local residents, including the poor?
Environmental justice
➢ How does the plan address sustainability concerns? ➢ How does the plan work towards resolving environmental risks, both present and future? ➢ In what ways does the plan ensure that all residents, regardless of class, ethnicity, and gender, have access to green space? ➢ Does the plan consider the social and economic implications of environmental improvement? (I.e. increased land-values)
Identity justice
➢ To what extent is the plan sensitive to historical processes of dispossession or marginalization of residents based on their cultural, racial or ethnic identity? ➢ Is the plan "colour -blind" or does it seek to resolve ethnic or racial conflicts? In what ways? ➢ To what extent and in what ways does the plan give special consideration to ethnic and/or racial minorities that would be affected? ➢ How does the plan consider cultural heritage aspects?

Indeed, from methodological and conceptual perspectives, justice is a challenging concept to work with. It is abstract, subject to interpretations and conflicting views, and is not readily measured and evaluated. Here, I do not wish to suggest a uniform checklist that can be

applied in and of itself to any development case anywhere. Rather, I suggest these questions in order to develop a situated and relational approach to justice, one that is shaped by the particularities of the case in question but at the same time informed by other cases.

10. Conclusion

Waterfront redevelopments have been around for over fifty years now. They are no longer a new phenomenon; the transformation of these unique areas—which included many initial challenges—has been mainstreamed and applied in multiple settings. Waterfronts are once again desired areas of the city, charged with economic, political, and social values. Increasingly, the environmental aspect of their transformation is considered, due to the growing risks of climate change and sea-level rise. However, as evident in this research and others, the success of this trend brings new challenges. These challenges extend beyond physical and/or administrative ones, which were typical of the first wave of redevelopment. The current challenges pertain to the social implications of these projects. The examples provided in the introduction chapter spoke of the potential of waterfronts to contribute to social equity and wellbeing. Still, as I showed in this research, the opening up of these areas to the public, and the growing investment in environmental remediation, public spaces, and facilities, may counteract the perceived benefits as the revitalized landscapes become new areas of exclusion.

Are redeveloped waterfronts essentially "Trojan Horses of Gentrification?" (Betsky, 2017 n.p.). The answer to this question is not clear-cut; it would depend on the urban policy that is being implemented. As shown in this research, waterfront plans can lead to gentrification but planning policies can be implemented to support affordable housing, home ownership, and high-quality spaces for existing residents. Economic considerations are often the drivers of developments. However, there is no inherent contradiction between economic development and social benefits, and economic development may in some cases contribute to social equity if profits are harnessed towards or captured for the benefit of city residents. In Washington, D.C., the riverfront development triggered major revenues that contributed to the almost nonexistent tax base of the District and allowed the city to invest in schools, housing, and amenities. Also, the waterfront is an important natural and public resource and as such, its development often takes into consideration, and is driven by, public interest concerns such as beautification and civic pride.

Contextualizing justice

Influenced by the calls made by scholars of the 'global south' to contextualize planning theory (Yiftachel, 2006a; Watson, 2006; Roy, 2008) and by a growing understanding that justice

is value-laden and context-dependent (Campbell, 2006; Young, 1990; Harvey, 2002), I recognize the challenges associated with attempting to prescribe a universal theory of social justice. I therefore wish to engender an understanding of social justice that emerges from my empirical case studies and corresponds to them. This does not mean that general lessons cannot be drawn, or that there are no similarities between the geographically and culturally distinct cases. It means that one must be careful not to over-generalize and/or assume that these lessons can be applied indiscriminately. As David Harvey points out (2002), concepts of justice are not only influenced by time and space, but are also expressions of social power. At the same time, one should avoid configuring justice as a simply relative concept, which has no bearing but in a specific place and time. Comparing a value-laden concept across geographically and culturally distinct cases, then, requires a fine balance between over-generalizing and avoiding generalizations altogether.

The search for a Just City is a dialectic process. It is highly unlikely that we will ever reach a phase where resources are distributed equitably and fairly, and each person and group can fully exercise their right to the city. However, justice is nonetheless a significant value and an aspiration. Everyday decisions in planning are essentially about justice: who gets to live where, which areas will be revived, what transportation means will be available to whom, what housing forms are offered—the list goes on and on. In a recent paper, Robert Lake (2017 :2) suggests that planning theory and practice should make justice "the subject rather than the object of planning." This formulation, he argues, "makes an explicit consideration of justice a central element within the planning process, rather than assessing the outcome of practice against an exogenous, a priori standard" (p.2). Lake's approach to justice makes it the foundation of planning rather than a "variable" that is considered among others, typically in the assessment of planning outcomes. Lake wishes to break the dualism that exists, in his view, between justice as a normative value and the process of planning. Instead of debating the criteria that compose justice, he proposes to put this debate on hold while advancing a practice-oriented approach "that confers responsibility for justice on a planning process that adopts justice as its subject" (ibid.). Indeed, placing justice as a core value throughout the planning process and within the planning system might lead to more just outcomes.

Thus, it is important to bring the concept of justice to the forefront and discuss it in explicit terms. In a world full of injustices, an academic discussion about justice has the potential to suggest alternatives visions and offer pathways for action. In this research, I examined the

concept of social justice in planning. I asked whether and in what ways the idea of social justice guides urban development and tried to answer that question through cases of waterfront redevelopment. While initially I sought to understand how justice may be better integrated into development practices through positive examples, findings from my case studies indicated that in practice, demands for justice are not prioritized in the development process even in cases where questions of equity are clearly relevant. At the same time, they are not entirely absent from it.

The vast literature on neoliberalism in public policy across the globe has painted a dark picture of urban development. It has been argued time and time again that the privatization of government services and the shift in priorities towards profitability has stripped planning of its social mandate (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Campbell et al., 2014; Broudehoux, 2013). Indeed, many examples illustrate how developers and entrepreneurs gain power in this context, and planning is increasingly adjusted towards their preferences. Waterfront developments, as I have delineated in the literature review, have often been depicted at the center of such processes. Cases from various places show how the waterfront's visibility, central location, and symbolic significance play into the hands of entrepreneurs and government officials in their quest for city branding and marketing. However, more recent literature has pointed to the fact that waterfront redevelopments should not be simply understood as driven by market forces alone. The findings from this research support a more nuanced reading of the waterfront, which acknowledges both profitability and public benefit considerations.

Prioritizing justice as a core value in planning is the first step towards more just planning. Even though many planners might agree that justice is an important value and an ultimate planning goal, a discourse of justice is still absent from many plans. While waterfront development plans typically speak in terms of improved quality of life, economic development, opportunities for recreation or accessibility, to name a few examples, very few plans explicitly place social and/or environmental justice on their agenda. That is despite the fact that these plans have an important influence on large and usually centrally-located areas in the city. This research has shown that justice considerations should not be limited to 'traditional' topics associated with justice such as affordable housing or provision of schools or health clinics, even though they are still significant. Planning from a justice perspective is just as pertinent in redevelopment projects, even if they do not seem to be oriented towards justice in the first place. This is because these high-profile projects are largely funded by public resources and they reshape prominent spaces

of the city with consequences for all city residents. Moreover, redevelopment projects often take place in spaces of conflict, whether ethnic, racial, economic, ecological, or other, and in places where historic wrongs and unequal treatment have occurred.

As the cases in this research demonstrate, however, prioritizing justice in the plans is an important but insufficient first step. Even when injustices were identified and plans were put in place to overcome them, the plans did not resolve deep injustices for the most part. The gap between intentions and outcomes brings up questions about the role of planners in the process of just planning. Planners are sometimes caught between a wish to improve the living environment, on the one hand, and structural constrains that limit their ability to act on their intensions, on the other hand. Or, planners may lack an understanding of how to promote equity and fairness in environments that are shaped by deep conflicts. In other cases, however, planners and policy makers advance plans that clearly work against the benefits of the affected individuals.

The Jaffa and Washington cases show that planners have substantial power in promoting social justice. Surely, planners are not the only stakeholders who shape space, and the role of other professionals and politicians, such as mayors, has been discussed in previous chapters. Planning for justice surely necessitates commitment to justice by planners but also an overall institutional framework that prioritizes justice, encourages planners and other professionals to engage with justice, and provides tools and frameworks to counter injustices. Involving social workers, educators and other relevant professionals and departments at the municipality is critical since injustices are manifested in areas that extend beyond urban planning.

The path to more just planning also concerns planning education. While some planning departments offer lectures or courses on social justice and planning, these courses are not always a primary part of the curriculum and are not offered everywhere. While a core class on urban justice would be beneficial for future planners, building on what Robert Lake (2017) suggests, justice should be a central element not only in one dedicated class but throughout the curriculum. The question of who benefits and who loses from planning interventions should be a guiding question both in class and in practice. Making justice a more integral part of planning education would help future planners to become more aware of injustices and hopefully more inclined towards resolving them.

Despite the long history of the term justice and its unabated importance, the meaning of the term in urban life remains contested (Connolly and Steil, 2009). Perhaps because (in)justice

is intuitively understood by everyone—it is one of these concepts where 'you know it when you see it'—or because justice is highly subjective, it is hard to come to an agreement about its exact meaning. Therefore, this research supports the claims made by other scholars that justice is a relational concept, defined in a dialectic process and shaped through continuous struggles. However, it does not mean that justice is a purely relative concept, since many principles do translate across time and space. But it does mean that the specific manifestations of justice in different contexts have to be understood in relation to places and communities.

The path towards greater justice is convoluted but achieving greater justice is not impossible. Cities are not completely helpless against growing injustices and there are policies and measures that they can introduce to facilitate more equity. Indeed, urban redevelopment processes present us with many tradeoffs. It is a challenge and responsibility for planners and policy makers to address them carefully. While justice is an ideal notion, it nonetheless presents a powerful framework to consider these tradeoffs from a holistic and balanced perspective. Even in our neoliberal world that is increasingly shaped by competitiveness and growth coalitions, the struggle for social justice is not doomed to fail.

Research Contribution

This research makes a contribution to theory and practice on several aspects and in two related (sub)fields: just planning and urban waterfronts. First, it adds to the small body of empirical research that examines justice in contemporary planning practice. While a large body of work has examined urban *injustices* through various conceptual frameworks (e.g. neoliberalism, gentrification, the revanchist city, and more) considerably less work has employed the theoretical framework of justice in documenting urban processes. Second, this research takes a grounded approach to theorizing justice. Despite a growing body of theories of social justice in planning, many works still center on interpreting theories of social justice—often from outside the fields of planning and geography—through theoretical principles and examples rather than in-depth case studies. This dissertation, however, is informed by theory but places an emphasis on how justice is interpreted and acted upon by various stakeholders in real-life cases.

Third, in contrast to research that examines social justice and equity in plans—most notably through discourse analysis—this research moves beyond the statement of planning objectives to account for actual policies and outcomes that have unfolded in subsequent years.

Fourth, this research emphasizes the integration of the social, the cultural, the economic, and the environmental in the analysis of justice, thus encouraging a more holistic understanding of justice (see Table 13 in the previous chapter).

Future Directions

The discussion about justice in planning is far from being exhausted. In this brief section, I offer a few directions for future research. First, the case studies analyzed in this research are from developed countries. It would be interesting to see whether and in what ways the values that shape justice, as well as planning approaches, shift in diverse environments, including the global south. What are the similarities and differences in conceptions of urban justice between different geographic, cultural, and economic areas? What other factors play a role? In 2002, Vanessa Watson examined the relevance of normative planning theories to cities in sub-Saharan Africa. Continuing this line of research could be promising.

Second, waterfront redevelopments are a specific type of urban redevelopment and as a result, some of the findings are limited to development projects. There is still need for research on the Just City on a broader scale, such as cities and regions. Yiftachel and his students (Yiftachel and Mandelbaum, 2014) developed indicators to evaluate policies in light of Susan Fainstein's three values of the Just City (democracy, equity and diversity), which they applied in the city of Beersheba, Israel. More work that examines the implementation of social justice principles in planning can enrich our understanding of the institutional contexts that allow or prohibit just policies.

Third, it has already been established that social and environmental justice are often analyzed separately despite their interdependence. While in recent years we saw more research on environmental justice, green gentrification, and climate-change adaptation, much less research has examined the effects of environmental policies on social equity, and vice versa. The effects do not have to be negative; while the focus in the literature has been on injustices, there are also cases of communities that have successfully revitalized in both social and environmental terms. While I have not engaged theories of environmental justice much in this research, inquiries on this form of justice are a promising direction for future research, in particular examining the interaction of economic, social, and environmental justice in development cases,

and extending the lens of environmental justice to include positive models of rehabilitation of the natural environment. We need more research on the outcomes of such processes and policies.

Finally, more research is needed on the confluence of the different 'logics' that produce just urban space. What is the role of different logics such as capital, gender, and ethnicity in creating injustices or overcoming them? How do these logics produce and affect social relations? Which ones are more dominant? Do these dynamics change over time? A more profound theorization of the just city in light of these categories is timely, and would be helpful in comparing and contrasting different cases around the world.

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Appendix A: List of interviews

Jaffa

Role/organization	Date
Researcher, Columbia University	20.12.16
Business owner at the port	01.01.16
Activist, resident and journalist, former business owner at the port	04.01.16
Former manager at the port	06.01.16
Activist and resident	07.01.16
Manager at The Council for Conservation of Heritage Sites in Israel	10.01.16
Lawyer, Tel-Aviv University legal clinic	11.01.16
Former CEO of the port	18.01.16
Architect, in charge of the 1970's plan for the port	19.01.16
Fisher (Jewish), leader of the campaign to save the port	19.01
Current CEO of the port	25.01.16
Marketing director of the port	25.01.16
Fisher and shop-owner (Arab)	27.01.16
Urban planner, formerly at the Strategic Planning Unit at Tel-Aviv Municipality	31.01.16
Project manager, Jaffa Borough of the Tel-Aviv Municipality	01.02.16
Fishers (two Arab, one Jewish)	02.01.16
Resident of old Jaffa, activist	03.02.16
Resident, yacht owner	08.02.16
Former marketing director, Tel-Aviv Municipality	18.02.16
Activist, resident, Sea-Scouts volunteer and a freelance with the Jaffa Borough of Tel-Aviv Municipality	23.02.16
Planner, Jaffa team, Tel-Aviv Municipality	24.02.16
Researcher, Tel-Aviv university	28.02

Role/organization	Date
Politician (Arab),former city council member	01.03.16
Architect, one of the designers of the new plan for the port	03.03.16

Washington, D.C.: The interviews are organized according to the two D.C. cases, however, some overlaps exist between the two lists. For example, some community nonprofits are associated with both projects, and so the interviewed representatives were asked about both.

Anacostia Waterfront Initiative

Role/organization	Date
Chair of the Board of Directors, Anacostia Watershed Society, Ward 6 resident	12.09.16
Founder, Anacostia Watershed Society	12.09.16
Director of an environmental-educational NGO, Ward 8 resident	13.09.16
Director of the Anacostia Waterfront Trust	14.09.16
Researcher of the Anacostia revitalization , Ward 6 resident	15.09.16
Urban planner, worked on the Anacostia Riverwalk Trail	15.09.16
Urban planner, former director of the Anacostia Waterfront Corporation	16.09.16
Director of the Capitol Riverfront BID	16.09.16
Urban planner, The Wharf	19.09.16
Former director of planning, D.C.	22.09.16
Researcher of the Anacostia, American University	29.09.16
Director of the Anacostia Watershed Society	23.09.16
Anacostia Smithsonian museum employee, in charge of environmental-educational programs	16.09.16
Director of the Department of Energy & Environment	10.04.17
Former director of Groundwork Anacostia, Ward 7 resident	11.04.17

11th Street Bridge Park

Role/organization	Date
Community organizer, affordable housing nonprofit	20.09.16
Senior program officer, LISC DC	21.09.16
Director, 11th Street Bridge Park	22.09.16
Equitable Development Manager, 11th Street Bridge Park	12.04.17
Community organizer, One DC	11.04.17
Community organizer, DC nonprofit	19.04.17
Researcher of the 11th Street bridge Park	24.04.17

Appendix B: Jaffa Manuscript: "So long and thanks for all the fish"?

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'So long, and thanks for all the fish?'* Examining the built and cultural heritage of the Jaffa port redevelopment

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ABSTRACT

'Heritage' is a term that is ambiguous in the best of circumstances; however, it becomes even more so in urban environments where conflicts of identity and culture are pivotal, as in Israel's mixed Israeli-Palestinian cities. In this paper, I examine the recent redevelopment of the Jaffa port, Israel. Jaffa's ancient port has had a significant role in facilitating industry, commerce and social ties in the area, and it has recently been remodelled by the city as a cultural and entertainment hub. Through interviews with key stakeholders and observations, I examine the role of heritage in the redevelopment using two broad categories: heritage of the built environment and cultural heritage, including the practice of fishing. I argue that while efforts have been made to conserve the waterfront's heritage, the redevelopment has resulted in an artificial space that does not speak to the local culture of Jaffa as it is interpreted by the port community, including the fishermen. The Jaffa case study suggests that more attention should be paid to the delicate role of urban planners in facilitating change in a politically and culturally contested environment.

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Introduction

In the last two decades, the ancient Jaffa port has transformed from a neglected site on the urban coast to a hub of urban development (Ben-Yehoyada forthcoming). Joining a global trend of waterfront redevelopments (Fisher and Benson 2004; Desfor et al. 2011; Rubin 2011) – where 'obsolete' deindustrialized harbours are repurposed for public use – the Jaffa port has been reimagined by the city as a space of spectacle, 'culture' and entertainment. At the same time, viewing the port's redevelopment as part of a global phenomenon may obscure its unique identity and historical context (see Brownill 2013). Jaffa is a former Palestinian city that was incorporated into the Tel-Aviv municipality in 1949 following the 1948 Israeli-Arab war. As such, any redevelopment in Jaffa, including the port, is charged with the city's own political, cultural and ethnic tensions.

In this paper, I discuss the role of heritage in the port's recent transformation (2007-present) in order to ground the global phenomenon of waterfront redevelopment in the local context and to question the politics of heritage in a mixed Jewish-Arab city. Specifically, I focus on two elements of heritage: (a) the articulation of heritage in the built environment, and (b) the cultural and living aspects of heritage. Special attention as to whose heritage is being presented is also considered – particularly

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the fishing sector that has long been a part of the city's economy. Although the redevelopment vision for the port was composed of principles of social inclusion, diversity and minimal interference with the existing place, my research shows that the fulfilment of this vision is at best contested. I argue that while the redevelopment is inspired by the site's local history, and some symbolic measures have been taken to respect the built and living heritage of the place, in retrospect, most of them have not been grounded in meaningful and abiding policies. Moreover, some aspects of the existing place that do not fit neatly into 'heritage', especially with regards to the fishermen's lives, were simultaneously contained or excluded from the redevelopment project, depending on their overall convergence with the development goals. For instance, the presence of fishermen is celebrated as an authentic feature that adds an exotic flavour to the port, yet the fishermen's requirements for storage and work spaces are not prioritised.

The paper is composed of five main sections. First, I contextualise the Jaffa case in the international literature on waterfront redevelopments. Next, I introduce the background for the case study, which is the 'mixed city' of Jaffa. I briefly discuss what the concept of the mixed city means and highlight recent trends in its urban development. I then turn to a discussion of the port's redevelopment and analyse the representation of heritage in the built environment and the cultural aspects of heritage at the port. The next section presents the outcomes of the redevelopment under the framework of heritage-making in the mixed city, followed by a concluding discussion.

Waterfront redevelopments, heritage and change

In the last four decades, waterfront redevelopment projects have become a global phenomenon (Fisher and Benson 2004). From the inner harbour in Baltimore to the docklands of London, from the Bund in Shanghai to Toronto, Vancouver and Barcelona, virtually every city with a body of water has undertaken a revitalization project centred on its waterfront. While not all projects are alike, global trends such as de-industrialisation have opened up waterfronts for new uses, including tourism, housing and recreation in many post-industrial cities (Smith and Ferrari Soledad Garcia 2012). In the field of urban planning, waterfronts have received significant scholarly attention focusing on aspects such as neo-liberal planning (Rubin 2011); public space (Sandercock and Dovey 2002; Stevens and Dovey 2004); and urban political ecology (Bunce and Desfor 2007; Hagerman 2007). From a heritage perspective, scholars have examined the transformation of the waterfront from an industrial hub to a tourist attraction, examining both physical and cultural aspects (Worden 1996; Oakley 2005; Chang and Huang 2011; Marshall 2011).

Steinberg (1999) notes that the 'postmodern urban waterfront' tends to treat the ocean as a nostalgic source of spectacle and folk culture for capital accumulation purposes, but fails to represent its role in contemporary marine activity including labour, production, or transportation. This trend is particularly evident in the 'festival marketplace' type developments, which tend to locate in former warehouses and use fishing nets and anchors as decoration. Indeed, waterfront redevelopment projects across the world have shown that the treatment of heritage may be confined to the reuse of old buildings and/or museums: the maritime heritage is typically highlighted through a conversion of obsolete industrial structures to new spaces of retail and recreation, while keeping their industrial facades. Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner (2002, 28) observe that 'former mills or warehouses, although stripped of their industrial functions and sanitised as clean, modern spaces, nevertheless serve as symbolic reminders of the original industrial functions of the locality and, consequently, of the distinctive history and identity of their city'. They continue by arguing that these buildings serve not only to celebrate the maritime past but also 'to mobilise this history and commodify memories for contemporary economic development' (ibid.).

However, maritime heritage extends beyond the symbolic role of the built environment and the nostalgic past, especially in places where the waterfront is still an active space of livelihood and community. Thus, the shift from the waterfront as a site of production to a site of consumption can be a source of contention as well as a 'misuse' of heritage values (Porfyriou and Sepe 2017, 6). Examining

the waterfront from a heritage perspective means that special attention must be paid to the traditional 'users' of this space. In Jaffa, as in other port cities, the fishermen constitute such group. As fishermen all over the urban and rural world face economic pressures, Nadel-Klein (2003) shows that their 'salvation' ironically may lie in embracing a new identity as symbolic 'showcases' of heritage – without catching or selling fish – thus becoming subjects of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990 cited in Nadel-Klein 2003). However, such transformation threatens their core identity as 'primary producers of food' (Martindale 2014, 283) and as such, causes resentment and resistance in some cases (Nadel-Klein 2003). Fishermen, thus, experience environmental, economic and social transformations as their livelihood becomes subject of heritage tourism. These tensions will be explored in the Jaffa context.

Finally, examining waterfronts from a heritage perspective highlights the need to understand both the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage. The waterfront is a physical place, but also a site where cultural practices take place. It is therefore useful to conceptualise heritage as 'a process in which identity and social and cultural meaning, memories and experiences are mediated, evaluated and worked out' (Smith 2007, 165). The capacity to control this negotiation becomes critical in cases concerned with the self-determination of identity construction (ibid.), and even more so when the group and/or culture is question is a marginalised one, such as in the case of fishermen. Indeed, intangible aspects of heritage often do not sit comfortably within the Western authorised heritage discourse (ibid.). A more inclusive approach would broaden and challenge traditional definitions of 'heritage' and 'conservation' out of strictly past-oriented and archival preservation. The Jaffa case will illuminate these tensions.

Jaffa: a mixed Arab-Israeli city

The Jaffa port redevelopment should be understood in the geo-political context of Jaffa as a mixed city. In Israel, the term 'mixed city' describes an urban situation in which Jewish and Arab communities share the same space. The term emerged for the first time in the Peel Commission Report in 1937 in the context of efforts to divide the land of Palestine between Jews and Arabs.[1] Whereas the term originally referred to the plight of Jewish neighbourhoods that were under Arab authority, since the foundation of Israel in 1948 it describes the reversed situation (Monterescu 2007). In practice, many mixed cities have been profoundly Judaized through an ethno-spatial logic since the foundation of the state of Israel (Yacobi 2002; Yiftachel 2006). Formally, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa is considered to be a mixed city, but only Jaffa is characterised by a mixed population.

The ethnic composition of Jaffa has gone through many changes over time; of the 80,000 Arabs residing in Jaffa during the British Mandate, only 5% remained after the 1948 war (Abu-Schada and Sheveita 2010). Following the war, and especially in the 1960s–1980s, the historic neighbourhoods of Jaffa suffered large-scale destruction disguised as 'urban renewal'. The damage to Jaffa's Arab neighbourhood was immense: about 70% of the buildings were damaged and very little new building took place. In the mid-1980s, this policy was replaced by a more rehabilitative approach that aimed to attract private investment to the city (Monterescu and Fabian 2003; Monterescu and Rabinowitz 2007).

Today, mixed cities such as Jaffa experience the legacy of ethnocratic national policies (Yiftachel 2006) in tandem with multiple structural and hybrid trends such as gentrification, civic engagement and capital-led development (Yiftachel and Yacobi 2004; Avni and Yiftachel 2014; Monterescu 2015; Yiftachel 2016). Continuous gentrification and rising property prices threaten the future presence of Jaffa's long-term residents. Whereas these processes occur in other Israeli cities, in Jaffa and in other mixed cities they carry unique consequences for the Arab minority of Israel and its ability to meet its social, political and cultural needs.

At present, the Arabs of Jaffa represent only about 4% of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa's population (Tel-Aviv Municipality 2016); however, they are about a third of Jaffa's population, of which about three-quarters are Muslim and one quarter Christian (Monterescu 2007). The Arab population is a majority in the old neighbourhoods of Jaffa (where the Jaffa port is located), constituting about 60% of the population (ibid.). In the last forty years, however, the proportion of Jaffa's Arab population in the city has

been declining. Still, Jaffa's significant Arab population makes it an important political, cultural and economic centre for the Arab population of Israel.

Transformations at the Jaffa port: from a fishing port to an urban waterfront

The Jaffa port, one of the most ancient in the world, is nestled at the foot of old Jaffa, on the south-western coastal strip of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa (Figure 1). While small in size and difficult to access from sea due to shallow waters and dangerous boulders, as the gateway to the city and the country, the port played a significant role in providing livelihood and facilitating economic development in Jaffa and the region for hundreds of years.

Despite its significant role, the port closed down for commercial activity in 1965 following the construction of more modern ports on the Israeli coast that were better suited for large-scale industrial activity. Nonetheless, the port continued to function as a fishing port and even enjoyed a period of revival following substantial upgrade of its physical infrastructure in the 1980s (Avramovitz 2015). The governmental support abruptly ceased, however, in 1993 with the decision to implement an ambitious development plan (The Yaa'r Plan) that included a large marina, hotels and housing. While the development plan allocated some space for fishing, it would ultimately result in the privatisation

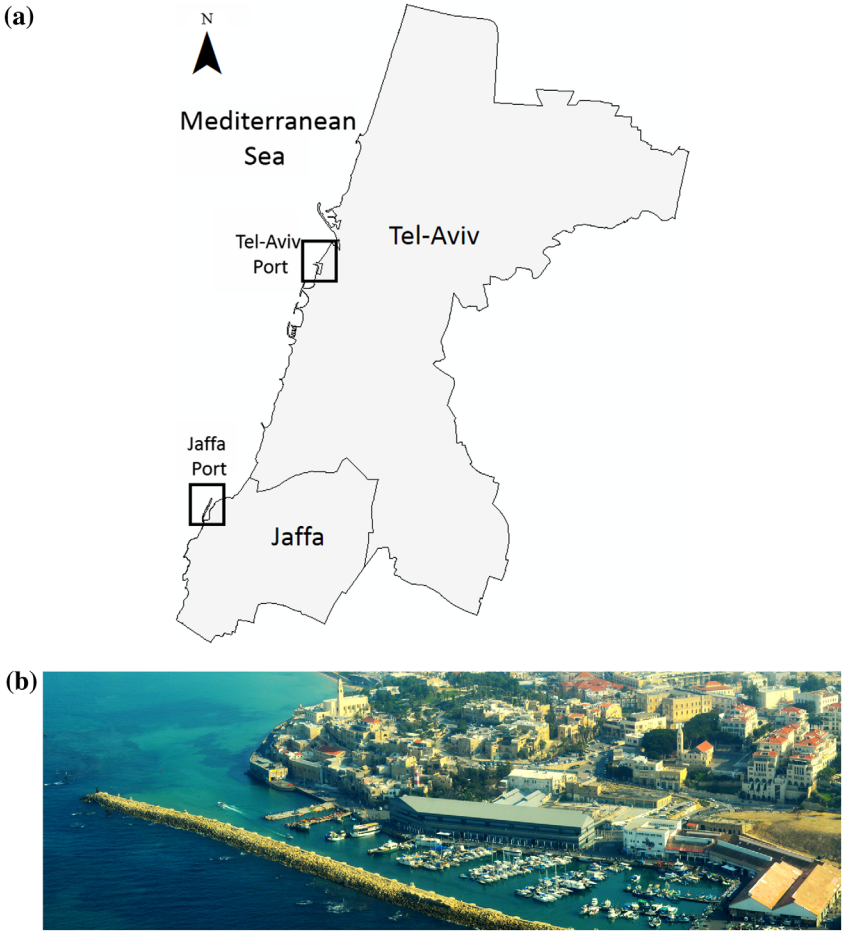

Figure 1. (a) The location of the Jaffa port, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, Israel. Source: based on Tel-Aviv Municipality's GIS, adapted by the author. (b) An aerial view of the port. Photo credit: Amos Meron, CC BY-SA 3.0.

of the port and in an upscale waterfront neighbourhood. In parallel, the government deliberately neglected its responsibility for the port and left it to decay; businesses and shops closed down and the port was almost deserted. The privatisation attempts sparked a public campaign led by Jewish and Arab fishermen, community activists, environmentalists, and heritage experts who were concerned about the future of the port.

This vibrant anti-privatisation coalition, guided by the slogan 'a port is not for sale', finally succeeded in 2001, when the mayor of Tel-Aviv accepted ownership over the port. The municipality and Israel Land Authority, the owner of the port at the time, embarked on a real-estate transaction, which transferred the port into the hands of the municipality in 2007. The city then launched a new plan for the port. The plan maintained the area as a fishing port and guaranteed the fishermen usage rights over some spaces and facilities. At the same time, the city decided to redevelop the port as a cultural, recreational, and leisure hub in addition to its existing maritime functions. The redevelopment vision promised to balance the different uses with sensitivity to the port's unique multi-cultural nature and rich history, building on the outcomes of long-term civic struggle to 'save the port'. The city appointed a new CEO for the port, an urban planner and a project manager, who was to oversee the redevelopment process with his staff. The majority of the renovation took place from 2007 to 2010. The main flagship of the redevelopment was the renovation of Warehouses 1 and 2, large structures built by the British in the 1930s. These were filled with new businesses: mainly restaurants, galleries, a theatre and a few shops. At the time of writing, Warehouse 3 has not yet been renovated and the city is considering a new plan for this remaining part.

Symbolic heritage: representing heritage in the built environment

The redevelopment of the Jaffa Port was led by a vision that wished to honour the port's existing maritime functions while opening up the space for new touristic, cultural and recreational uses.[2] One of the main principles that guided the development was 'fixing without breaking', which meant 'to preserve the unique ambience of the port and its mix of uses, and users, while opening it up for new audiences' (Vision statement 2009). Reflecting back on the starting point for the redevelopment, the first CEO emphasised that point:

> I always say that when you arrive at a place in the beginning of the project, this is the most beautiful it will ever be: from now on we begin to destroy. Now the question is how much we destroy, and whether we are being mindful about it or we go wild and do something irreversible. As the port was in 2007 – ruined and rusty and not accessible in many places – it was a magical place – it is impossible to plan anything like that, only time knows how to do it. [presentation at a public planning forum, July 2014][3]

In line with this rationale, the redevelopment was initially relatively modest in scale and in the changes it brought to the physical landscape. The landscape architect that was hired for the project conducted thorough research on the port's history and thus, while old infrastructure was replaced and new lights and pavements were introduced, these were in accordance with the port's historic features [interview with the landscape architect, February 2016]. The redevelopment vision emphasised the wish to preserve the port's 'authentic' character. While authenticity is a highly contested and flexible term, in this case it referred to honouring the port's existing maritime functions as well as its symbolic role as an 'ancient', 'romantic' and 'local' place (Vision Statement 2009).

One important exception to this rule, however, was the renovation of Warehouse 1, a remaining British structure from the early 1930s that was designated as the flagship project of the renewed port. The Warehouse was meticulously restored and brought to new life as an indoor culinary and shopping centre following a costly renovation. The modern façade of the building, however, which stands in contradiction to the old stone buildings of old Jaffa, attracted fierce criticism from many interviewees, who described the new building as an 'eyesore' or a 'scar'. In retrospect, despite high expectations by the port's management, shortly after its completion, the flagship project turned into a 'white elephant': the food market that was supposed to be a major attraction closed down and at the time of writing a substantial part of the Warehouse is deserted. In contrast, Warehouse 2, which was renovated with

Figure 2. The built environment of the port. (a) Entering the port from the north. Warehouse 1 is in the far end. (b) A view to Warehouse 2 (on the left) from the marina.

a small budget and maintained its rustic maritime look (Figure 2), is considered a modest success. Therefore, the CEO's intuition about 'fixing without breaking' was right, only the actions taken with regards to Warehouse 1 did not match this principle.

Historical representation

The rich history of the port and its multicultural heritage presented challenges in terms of *historical representation*. In my interview with the previous CEO of the port I inquired how the symbolism of the port and its significance for different groups was addressed. The CEO responded:

> It's something that we realized was very sensitive … the history is very complex: you have the Zionist story, where me and my family immigrated through the Jaffa port, like most of us … it's definitely a beautiful Zionist story, the gateway to the country. You also have the Christian story of pilgrims who passed through the port for hundreds or thousands of years. And you have the Muslim story, which is more contemporary and relates to the Nakba[4] and to the port as the center of their lives and activities … Many families in Jaffa made a living from fishing or jobs related to the port in the last 100 and 200 years. And the solution that we came up with was a very good one but it was not implemented. [interview, January 2016]

The solution that the CEO refers to was to create three different audio stories – Jewish (Zionist), Christian and Muslim (Palestinian) – told by prominent respective figures, one of whom was a Palestinian poet who fled during the 1948 War. This was a rather innovative concept, given that Palestinian narratives tend to be left out of Israeli history books. The controversial nature of the idea was probably the reason it never materialised, as the interview with the former CEO indicated.

The new administration did, however, introduce a new trilingual logo and signs. The logo was composed of words only, so not to exclude any religious or cultural groups by using specific symbols (Figure 3). While these steps are important, and should not be taken for granted, the redevelopment vision stopped short of creating more radical means of representation. Today, the historical significance of the port – for all religious and ethnic groups – is barely evident, despite the fact that the Council for Conservation of Heritage Sites in Israel, an NGO, was one of the main stakeholders in the campaign to save the port and despite the documentation of the port's history that was required for the renovation. With the exception of a few historic signs and brief audio explanations available through a mobile phone application, visitors to the port are not offered any information about this historically rich site and its contribution to the development of Israel and Palestine. The requests of community activists to open a maritime museum have been turned down as well.

Some interviewees, for example a representative of the Council for Conservation of Heritage Sites in Israel and residents of the old Jaffa district that neighbours the port, were frustrated that the historical importance of the site and its maritime heritage are barely represented. One long-term resident who had been involved for many years shared her disappointment:

> Jaffa port is one of the pearls of the State of Israel, from all aspects. If we look historically, this is the oldest port in the Middle East to the best of my knowledge. Culturally there is a coexistence of generations, there's a history. All the first immigration waves passed through the Jaffa port. This is a port: ports, in any normal country, are very important places historically because [they were] the place of entry and exit from the state throughout historical times. And here we have a historic port that is not treated like a historical site, a national monument, a cultural site ….[Personal communication, January 2016]

Rosenberg (2016, 81) supports this view by arguing that 'despite the port's unique historic setting, the sense of locality has become … more symbolic than structural'.

Interestingly, the main threat to the built heritage of the port today is directed towards a building that symbolises Zionist heritage and has been used by the local Sea Scouts chapter – part of the global Scouts Movement that specialises in maritime education. The building was built in 1931 and served as the Customs building during the Jewish immigration to Palestine in the 1930s. While the Council for Conservation of Heritage Sites in Israel and other supporters view this building as extremely important and advocate its conservation, the mayor of Tel-Aviv is determined to demolish it in the pretext that the building is 'ugly' and blocks the view to the sea. At the time of writing, advocates of the building are fighting the decision to demolish the building.

A lost sense of place

Understandably, the redevelopment of the port triggered concerns about losing the port's unique character, especially among the port's community that includes business-owners, fishermen, sailors and residents; many of whom took an active part in the aforementioned civic campaign and felt a deep connection to the port even in its neglected and derelict phase. Concerns were also triggered by the recently redeveloped Tel-Aviv Port, which became a major shopping centre. In an attempt to alleviate

Figure 3. All signage is in three languages: Hebrew, Arabic and English. The logo is printed on the upper left of the photo.

some of these fears, the CEO of the Jaffa Bureau clarified in a discussion at the Israeli Parliament in 2007:

> In our opinion, there is a very big difference between the Jaffa port and Tel-Aviv port … [The Jaffa port] will not be like Tel-Aviv's, certainly not. It's a port with a completely different character. The Tel-Aviv port is a very touristy port, very commercial. The Jaffa port has a soul, and this soul is the fishermen … this is what makes this port very attractive.[5]

However, despite this reassuring statement, some of the community members' concerns, in fact, materialised. On the one hand, the shopping opportunities at the Jaffa port are very limited, in contrast to Tel-Aviv's port, and there are also notable differences between the Tel-Aviv and Jaffa ports in the character of businesses present. In Jaffa, at least some of the businesses combine social and cultural elements, such as a Jewish-Arab theatre for children and a boutique that trains disadvantaged female youths in the fashion industry. In this sense, the redevelopment remained loyal to the original vision that aimed to achieve a 'diverse', 'modest' and 'inclusive' development. On the other hand, most of

the businesses are oriented towards tourists and no substantial gains have been offered to the local community, such as spaces of recreation and congregation. Some interviewees pointed out that the management originally neglected to place benches and shade, which they interpreted as a sign of overlooking the needs of the locals and tailoring space to paying customers only.

Living and cultural heritage

Notwithstanding the notion that the representation of heritage in the built environment is significant, the built environment in and of itself is restricted in its ability to secure the existence of cultural practices. As the redevelopment sought to create a cultural and recreational hub at the port, 'culture' was interpreted – not unlike many culture-led redevelopments around the world (Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris 2007; Markusen and Gadwa 2010; Gunay and Dokmeci 2012) – as 'arts and culture', for example, contemporary art, theatre, cinema and music, which would serve as an engine for economic growth. Yet, culture, in the broad sense of the term, also refers to traditions, heritage and practices (Cardinal 2002) and is intrinsically valuable. One can argue that fishing, one of the oldest and most traditional modes of livelihood – and a vulnerable one – is an equally significant manifestation of the local culture of Jaffa and as such should be prioritised. However, my findings reveal that despite continuous statements from the developers about maintaining the port as a fishing port in addition to being a cultural hub, many fishermen – Jewish and Arab alike – were concerned about their future at the port, due to various limitations that they have experienced since the redevelopment started.

A fishing port?

The maritime heritage of Jaffa as a fishing centre is slowly disappearing. Today, the number of people who make a living from fishing is relatively small: estimates vary between 50 and 100 professional fishermen, with 20–40 additional occasional fishermen and about 40 others who are employed in professions directly related to fishing (drivers, cleaners, sewers, etc.). Types of fishing boats, ownership structures, fish catch and marketing techniques vary considerably among fishermen. Historical and political circumstances have resulted in deep inequalities between Jewish and Arab fishermen, the latter being the majority.

While the history of the fishing sector is beyond the scope of this research (see: Ben-Yehoyada 2008, forthcoming, for further reading), it is important to recognise that the state has imposed policies that created a different hierarchy of Jewish and Arab fishermen. After the 1948 war, and until the early 1960s, the government created a hegemony of Jewish fishermen by restricting Arab fishermen's access to fishing equipment and excluding them from the national fishing project (ibid.). The consequences are still visible today; most of the Arab fishermen use more traditional, and less profitable, fishing techniques compared to the Jewish fishermen (ibid.). Therefore, the Arab fishermen are in a more disadvantaged position with less bargaining power to change their current situation, although they are more reliant on fishing.

Despite the hopeful vision of the redevelopment, which guaranteed the fishermen a prominent position in the redeveloped port, the fishermen discovered over time that many promises were unfulfilled. In interviews, they have continuously voiced their concerns about what they perceive to be their gradual displacement from the port. One informant said:

> They built Jaffa and renovated the port and did everything on our shoulders, on the attraction called fishermen and Sea Scouts and kayaking and the special people who lived here. This is what the port is built on. This is what drew the people here. This is what is special about it. And once they finished: [they said] you are in the way, remove the nets from here, you are in the way, get the boat out of here ….[Interview, February 2016]

In the new life of the port as a leisure and recreation centre, the fishermen feel that they have become secondary to the 'real' goal of redevelopment: profit-making. Other fishermen whom I interviewed have also described themselves as mere decoration, contributing to the 'authentic' experience of the port's visitors while their own needs are being neglected.

Yet the outcomes of the port's transformation extend beyond mere feelings of exclusion. For instance, some fishermen were 'temporarily' evacuated from their storage spaces during renovations and promised they would receive alternative storage space, which to this day they never did. Other interviewees have pointed out that they are prohibited from accessing their boats when events are held, due to the volume of visitors at the port. More concerns have been raised with regards to the distance from the parking lot, which hinders the fishermen's ability to transport products such as fish and gas tanks, and various limitations on where they are permitted to spread their fishing nets or repair their equipment. In a similar vein, interviewees argued that the port's administration has been slow to care for the maritime functions of the port through renovation of docks, sand removal, and general maintenance procedures.

The reasons for the failure of the original vision and the resulting discontent are complex, and there is not enough space here to delineate them in full. However, two important factors contributed to these outcomes. First, the initial CEO who championed the inclusive vision left after five years, before the transformation of the port was completed, which led to a crisis of trust with the fishermen. Second, the port administration has not been willing to fully invest in a process that would recreate trust and bring tangible benefits to the fishermen, many of whom are disenfranchised individuals who struggle to make a living. Thus, for example, a fishermen-led initiative to launch a fish market at the port did not come into fruition since it required a long-term strategic, social and financial support that the administration was not able or willing to provide. While the initial CEO contacted the legal clinic of Tel-Aviv University in order to work with the fishermen on the fish market initiative, that process ended two years later with the CEO's departure, and with no tangible outcomes as of yet [interview with the lawyer who led this effort, January 2016].

The sense of a lost space was conveyed not only by the fishermen. A long-term resident lamented:

> I see the port as a failure from all aspects: first they excluded the fishermen from their place. Every port city in the world preserves the nature [of the port], especially in such an old city, you walk around and you see fishermen mend fishing nets, you see a fish market at the center of the port. You smell the place, you live the place. What they did here is a sterile, clean place … I grew up in this port and today I barely go there. [Interview, February 2016]

This excerpt reveals the different layers of meaning that the port symbolises. It is not only a historical site of national significance, as a previous interviewee had commented on, but also a place that has a 'soul', that belongs to the public as well as to the fishermen, and that serves different needs. The port in the past was once perhaps less physically maintained, yet lively and inclusive nonetheless.

In practice, neither the livelihood aspect of the port, nor its cultural role as a place of community-making and even coexistence, have been successfully engaged with. A heritage professional that has been involved with the port's conservation since the late 1990s said:

> Today the fishermen's spirits are already broken as a result of all that's been going on there … everything is managed by the mayor's officials that do what he says, not by people with a soul … and it's a problem because when you deal with heritage sites you need to understand that part of [their] economic mechanism is authenticity, to preserve the spirit of the place … the port, with all of its difficulties, is still a charming place that is joyful to visit. But if [one] won't care for the fishermen there, and if you turn it into something pretentious where you can't smell the fish, and you won't see fishermen fix their nets and everything will be very sterile, you will lose the port. [interview, February 2016]

The original goal of 'fixing without breaking', it seems, did not prove successful in the end. It seems that much of the failure to retain the 'authentic' character of the port stems from its transition from predominantly a place of work and livelihood to a cultural district. Furthermore, the object of transforming the port to a hub of 'high culture' (Herzfeld 2015) is not identical to the subject of livelihood in the previous phase. As a result, the people who make their livelihood at the port – fishermen and business owners – cannot claim ownership over the project of cultural heritage.

It is important to note that the redevelopment of the port is not the only reason for the diminishing fishing sector in Jaffa. The fishing industry in the country as a whole suffers from degrading fishery and lack of governmental support (ibid.).[6] Nevertheless, the fishermen in Jaffa feel that under these already difficult conditions, the port's administration should do everything in its power to support

them. The management is not blind to the fishermen's precarious situation, as interviews with the former and current CEO of the port have confirmed. Yet, despite formal statements about cooperating with the fishermen and being considerate of their needs, strong disagreements still exist between the fishermen and the port's management. Although the fishermen were key to the civic campaign in the 1990s that prevented the privatisation of the port, in retrospect, they do not perceive the outcomes as successful. Weakened by continuous struggles to secure their livelihoods and negotiate their space at the port, many fishermen no longer feel optimistic about the port's transformation.

Heritage-making in the mixed city

To a certain extent, the port redevelopment is part of a global trend of waterfront transformation and as such, is subject to 'global' forces and influences (Chang, Huang, and Savage 2004). In a similar vein, the heritage of waterfronts is usually discussed with regards to maritime aspects and reclaiming public space (Sandercock and Dovey 2002; Stevens and Dovey 2004; Al Ansari 2009; Chang and Huang 2011) rather than with regards to ethnic identity. The Jaffa case, however, shows that it is impossible to disconnect the port's redevelopment from the politicised planning history of the city altogether, and specifically, its disputed identity as a 'mixed city'. The port of Jaffa, then, is a contested space on more than one level.

While the port is not exclusively 'Arab space', since Jaffa is a mixed city, its location at the heart of old Arab Jaffa and its critical role in providing livelihood for hundreds of Arab families for centuries means that the 'Arab identity' of the port is integral to its development both past and future. Indeed, some of the fishermen are Jewish and they suffer consequences too, but they are a minority within the fishermen of Jaffa and are generally better-off than the Arab fishermen. And yet, the politics of identity have often been neglected by official planning discourse and practice. Initially, the redevelopment vision seemed to stand out as it recognised the historical injustice in Jaffa and stated that it would take action to 'repair and amend' it (Vision statement 2009). Almost a decade later, however, the redevelopment has resulted in an artificial space that does not speak to the local heritage and culture of Jaffa.

Traditionally, the Jaffa port has been a special place in terms of Jewish-Arab coexistence. Even during times of political tension, Jews and Arabs have worked jointly in fishing and related activities. While one should be careful not to idealise the Jewish-Arab relationships at the port – there are certainly differences, and even tensions, between some groups – it does seem that the joint labour practices and space-sharing have resulted in tolerance and mutual respect. As some of the interviewees mentioned, the port was somewhat immune to the political tensions that were present outside the port's gates. One interviewee explained:

> I have always said that the real world ceased to exist at the two gates of the port … life there was different. If it's in terms of both Jews and Arabs who fish, on the same boat Jews and Arabs partner. If it's in the shared lives, even in the warehouse at the end … there were all kinds of warehouses of fishermen and they were all together. If it's fishing nets and boat technicians, Sea Scouts, everything was authentic, real, not something synthetic and tacky. [interview, February 2016]

Another interviewee, a yacht owner who lives in the port similarly observed:

> What struck me when I arrived here in 1990 was that I arrived to a place of peace, where Arabs and Jews and Christians and Philippinos and Sudanese all work, make a living, and these are people of a low socio-economic background … So at the port too, there were drug dealers and criminals of all types, and they all agreed to live together and make a living; and you know, there are little mishaps between people but it's never been on a racial or discriminatory background. The place was a place of peace, that's what charmed me at first. [interview, February 2016]

As these words reflect, the port was not a perfect place, and people dealt with various problems, and yet, in terms of coexistence of various cultural groups, it functioned well. While Jaffa as a whole is a shared space for Jews and Arabs, the port created opportunities for intense interactions that were based on daily work practices. In other words, it produced a 'bottom up coexistence', which resulted from sharing a space of work, and not necessarily due to shared ideology or a sense of brotherhood. This

coexistence, however, is valuable regardless of whether or not it evolved out of necessity. Notably, the Sea Scouts' local chapter, located at the northern tip of the port, has become a symbol of coexistence as it consists of both Jewish and Arab youths, and is perhaps one of the most successful examples of Jewish-Arab education in the area. With the transition of the port to an increasingly 'artificial' space, the opportunities for this type of interaction are lost.

Finally, questions of Jewish-Arab heritage also relate to the agency of the Arab population of Jaffa to make its own choices and claim its presence in the urban space. For instance, opinions varied on whether the port should host a marketplace or a shopping complex, or whether the design standards should follow traditional or modern influences. Yet this discourse also obscures the reality that reshaping the port as a 'cultural district' is only one possible path among others, and it reinforces the view that a waterfront must serve as a place of entertainment. According to a local Arab politician and former member of city council, the choice between a market and a mall is a false one:

> Why should there be a mall or a market at the port? Why is it not possible to support the fishermen? The budgets they allocated [to the redevelopment] are huge. Wouldn't it have been possible to save the fishery in Jaffa and build a fishing port of the highest standard? You could save the fishery in the country. Many millions were poured over there. [interview, March 2016]

In other words, an alternative vision could be to utilise public investment towards support of the fishermen and the local community, instead of reconstructing the port as a space of consumption and recreation. The aforementioned interviewee emphasised that the problem is not specifically with the port, but with planning in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa as a whole. The Arab population of Jaffa, according to him, is 'not even in the [political] game, not even in the margins', and this reflects on the port. When I asked him about his vision for the port, he emphasised strengthening the maritime functions of the port, including fishing, so that the fishermen would 'feel that the port is theirs', and opening a fish market, a museum and a multi-cultural shopping and recreation centre. But overall, he stated that what needs to be changed is not one project or another, but the current political structure that does not give a voice to the Arab population of Jaffa.

Discussion

In this paper, I discussed the heritage of the Jaffa port with respect to the built environment and cultural aspects. Given the sensitive context of Jaffa's multicultural character, there has been an attempt to address the complex history that shaped this space. On the one hand, the redevelopment did not cause substantial physical changes to the maritime heritage of the port, but on the other, it did not carry through with its vision to create more inclusive and participatory outcomes. In practice, the port has transformed to an artificial space that is alienated from the port's long-term community and only somewhat attractive to new users in their stead. The redeveloped port failed to bring the anticipated 'traffic' of visitors and many businesses closed down. Consequently, the city decided to revise its strategy and hired new architecture and planning firms to propose a new development policy.

Despite official statements and legal obligations, the fishing sector at the port is under threat as the fishermen are being effectively displaced. Indeed, the scope of the redevelopment is limited and one cannot necessarily hold the port administration accountable for national policies that extend beyond the administration's responsibilities. Yet, while a sleek new logo and bold ideas about historical narratives and local businesses are well-intended, they are insufficient to fully repair '[the] historical injustice of neglect and abandonment' that has characterised planning in Jaffa since 1948 (Vision Statement 2009). Regardless of the limitation and challenges, some actions taken by the port administration directly contradicted the vision statement and compromised the social outcomes.

The story of the Jaffa port offers insights into the contested meaning of heritage in urban redevelopment and in urban space. First, it reiterates the notion that heritage is a product of political construction and power-relations that reproduces tensions with regards to what – and who – gets to be included, valorized and redeveloped as heritage. The image of the Jaffa port as a fishing port defined

its 'authenticity' and distinctiveness. Nonetheless, the narrow interpretation of cultural heritage did not fully contain the fishing lifestyle with all of its characteristics. It excluded those elements that are gritty and harder to accommodate within the overall romantic image of fishing but are integral to the continued functioning of the port as a port. Admittedly, the production of heritage is always a result of socially-constructed, relational and negotiated process (Lowenthal 1998; Harvey 2001; Martindale 2014) and as such, the Jaffa port is no exception.

However, the Jaffa case is unique in some respect. Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner (2002, 27) show that in the city of Hull, England, 'the fishing industry has been largely excised from the new civic image'. The Jaffa case, by comparison, is more ambivalent. Fishing has not been ignored, it was even romanticised and celebrated as a selling point: billboards across Tel-Aviv-Jaffa market the port under the slogan 'Jaffa Port: Fishing, Food and Culture for 4000 years'. However, it seems that fishing was used selectively as a place-marketing tool rather than fully embraced by the port's new administration. While some aspects of the fishermen's lifestyle were cherry-picked to be included in the heritage of the port, a more inclusive approach to heritage would entail solving those tensions that were left unresolved.

Ben-Yehoyada (forthcoming) argues that from the city's perspective, the fishermen of Jaffa were supposed to embody live 'Zorbe the Greek' characters as symbols of a fabricated authenticity, presenting it to visitors in a controlled and insulated way. Yet even if one accepts the original vision, according to which the port's developers were truly interested in including the fishermen in the redevelopment project, in reality the inclusive vision did not work. Indeed, the port is not completely sanitised: visitors can see the fishing nets and boats, and occasionally witness fishermen at work. However, the feelings of exclusion by the fishermen and local residents, combined with the economic failure of the project, have resulted in a 'no-win' situation. While aiming at authenticity, the developers of the port were unsuccessful in their goal to 'fix without break'. Ironically, the port in its pre-developed form was more attractive to a wide group of users despite its neglect.

Not only in Jaffa but all around the world, fishermen often constitute a marginalised and stigmatised occupational identity (Nadel-Klein 2003). However, while a 'fisherman' is supposedly a profession-based category, in the Jaffa case, as suggested by many of the participants in this case study, it is in most cases affiliated with an Arab ethnic identity. Therefore, that incomplete accommodation to maintain fishing activities effectively excludes an ethnic identity, in addition to an occupational one. The redevelopment of the port thus corresponds with the planning history of Jaffa since 1948 and its difficulty to come to terms with the Arab identity of the city, even though the redevelopment did not target the Arab fishermen specifically. The ethnic identity of the fishermen may be another reason for the only-partial containment of fishing in the heritage 'canon' of Jaffa, although, this conjecture, which was suggested by some interviewees, requires further research. As Smith (2007) argues, conflicts over the control of cultural heritage must be understood within the wider framework of political negotiations between the state and other interests – and stakeholders – over the validity of claims to identity. The opportunity to apply a different logic in Jaffa, one that counteracts the hegemony of the state and its ethnocratic legacy (Yiftachel 2006), was sadly missed.

At the same time, it is important to note that the heritigazation of fishing in Jaffa and the country as a whole is still a preliminary and anecdotal process, partly because the fishing industry is small and not quite comparable to countries such as Canada and Scotland, where fishing is a significant part of heritage tourism and traditional narrative. The Jaffa case also calls to examine the agency of fishermen to shape the ways in which their heritage is being framed. On the one hand, as Nadel-Klein (2003) reminds us, heritage-making is a negotiation and fishermen are not passive players in the process, but on the other hand, some fisher communities may possess more power than others. In Jaffa, the fishermen compose a vulnerable group and fishing is culturally, politically and economically important for the continued presence of a cultural and ethnic group. Subsequently, having the fishermen's traditions included physically and symbolically should be prioritised and protected.

Concluding notes

Ultimately, the redeveloped Jaffa port did not escape from the all too common fate of becoming an artificial, spectacle waterfront space. Rosenberg (2016, 81) argues that the postmodern waterfront is characterised by a basic paradox: it 'draws upon local history and unique architecture to create place identity, while adhering to a generic globalised pattern common to waterfront redevelopment worldwide'. At the same time, drawing on what Atkinson, Cooke, and Spooner (2002) concluded from their study on the place-marketing of the port city of Hull, England, it would be too simplistic to read the Jaffa case as a 'straightforward struggle between developers' attempts to erase local memory and the resistance of an embattled 'local community'. Rather, the port is embedded with various identities and histories – including ethnic, cultural and occupational ones – and so there is more than one logic that operates in this complex space.

As waterfronts around the world continue to transform and are given new lives as centres of culture and recreation, it is important to consider that even within this so-called 'global phenomenon' not all waterfronts are alike. The port of Jaffa has been replaced by more modern ports but it has continued to serve as a centre of fishing, sailing and maritime education. In contrast to many 'post-modern' urban waterfronts (Steinberg 1999) that have already completed a transformation into spaces of leisure and consumption, the Jaffa port still functions as a space of labour. As such, its heritagization produces inherent tensions. Engaging with places that are still very much alive requires caution and respect for their living heritage. Further emphasis should be placed on the role of urban planners and professionals in the 'heritagization' process both in scholarships and practice. Good intensions are noble, but should be followed by concrete actions as well as accountability for the outcomes. Moreover, one should be wary of treating the waterfront as a 'neutral' or 'vacant' space since waterfronts are products of historic processes (see Ramsey 2011). Unfortunately, it seems that it will not be long before the saying 'so long, and thanks for all the fish' (Adams 1984) becomes representative of the Jaffa port.

Notes

1. The report brought up the partition of the land as a compromise to the conflict, and highlighted that it was impossible to create clear division in the 'mixed towns': Tiberius, Safed, Haifa and Accra. The report recommended to leave these cities under the British Mandate in order to protect minorities (Monterescu 2007, 2015).
2. Since there is no official policy document outlining the redevelopment, I rely on an unpublished power point presentation that outlines the vision, principles and suggested uses, which I refer to as the Vision Statement (2009).
3. All translations are the author's own.
4. Nakaba is the Palestinian term that literally translates as 'disaster' or 'catastrophe' and is employed to describe the outcomes of the 1948 War that were devastating for the Palestinians.
5. Source: Minute # 109, Interior and Environment Committee, February 06, 2007. www.knesset.gov.il/protocols/data/rtf/pnim/2013-10-30.rtf.
6. The degrading fishery in the Mediterranean along the Israeli shore is attributed to multiple factors, including (a) environmental: the environmental implications of the Suez Canal in Egypt, which changed the local ecosystem; invasive species; climate change and rising sea temperatures and (b) anthropogenic: lack of regulation; overfishing; and physical infrastructures such as seawalls and marinas (Adelist and Rilov 2014).

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