Survivability of a Place Brand

Politics of Place in Downtown Scottsdale, in the 1950s and the 1960s

by

Mawan G. Elmubarak

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

Approved November 2014 by the Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Katherine Crewe, Chair Emily Talen David Pijawka

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2014

ABSTRACT

Place branding by its very nature is a highly selective endeavor. Typically, place branding focuses on highlighting positive aspects of place while discounting others that are deemed less appealing. Whether it pertains to attracting tourism, investment or people, or whether it concerns achieving a level of cultural significance, ultimately place branding impacts physical planning decisions and consequently the built environment. The selectivity entailed in projecting a sellable place image, together with the presence of different interests among the particular place stakeholders, may lead to a divergent dialectic of assertion and resistance over which brand ought to be projected and how it ultimately should be represented. This dynamic, I argue, will have impact on equity, on the issue of authenticity and on representation. Through a historical analysis approach and a case study, this dissertation examines how such a dynamic plays out in the built environment and how it evolves and shapes it over time. Downtown Scottsdale is chosen as a case because it offers an example of a small city downtown in the US West that experienced significant place branding activity in the 1950s and the 1960s. In the 1950s, the City of Scottsdale branded itself as a Western town and the built environment of the downtown area was themed to reflect this image; in the 1960s, the Western brand was challenged and calls for change emerged. Stakeholders and supporters of the Western image and those of the call for change are identified, and the dialectic that ensued is examined and discussed in relation to its impact on the built environment.

DEDICATION

To the spirit of my Mother, and the spirit of her sister who raised us after her, to my Father, to my dear wife Sulafa and our precious children; our beloved daughter Noor and our bloved son Ahmed, to all my brothers and sisters (Sana, Safa, Saud, Mamoun and Mohamed) and to each and everyone in my immediate and extended family: may the blessing of the Most Generous, the Most Benevolent be with you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would never have been written if not for the help of God almightily to whom everything returns. Through his blessings, many offered their help and support which gave me the courage and wisdom to bring this work to fruition. Indeed, I am grateful for all the support I received at the Ph.D. Program, starting from the beginning with Professor David Pijawka and the Ph.D. Program Coordinator Cindy Fernandez. Others whom I have valued and benefited from their wisdom along the way include Dr. Nan Ellin, Dr. Nabil Kamel and Dr. Carlos Balsas. My thanks also go to the previous director of the Architecture Library at ASU, Ms Deborah Koshinsky for her valuable help. While I may not be able to mention every single person who helped throughout this process, I am grateful to all, especially those with whom I worked closely in the last two years. I will always recall with great respect and admiration the support, professionalism and attention to detail qualities exhibited by both Chantel Powers first, then Wendy Johnson, currently, as the Ph.D. Program Coordinators. Further, I extend my gratitude to my research committee, especially to Dr. Emily Talen, Dr. Nabil Kamel, Dr. William Heywood, Dr. Pijawka and Dr. Katherine Crewe who extended valuable help and support especially during the last few months. Professor Katherine Crewe, the Chair of my committee, consistently shared time, generously offered advice, and was always encouraging, positive and patient - all special qualities that helped me tremendously throughout this insightful journey. My gratitude also goes to my immediate family, my dear wife Sulafa and my beloved children Noor and Ahmed. They were consistently kind, loving and supportive. To you all, I send my gratitude, love and respect.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page	
.IST OF FIGURESix	LIST OF FIC
CHAPTER	CHAPTER
1. INTRODUCTION1	1. INTR
Overview1	
Definition of Place Branding4	
Place Branding and Urban Design5	
Selectivity of Place Branding7	
Background on Scottsdale8	
Why the 1950s and the 1950s?	
Significance of the Study11	
The Study Focus13	
Research Methods16	
Overview of Research Chapters17	

2.	LITERATURE REVIEW
	Overview22
	Place Branding Research24
	Research Origins of Place Branding27
	Issues of Representation in Place Branding29
	A Culture of Place Branding in the US West
	Issues of Representation in Place Branding
	Conception of Place in Urban Design
	Authentic vs. Invented Places
	Theories of Space Production
	Production of Space According to Lefebvre41
	Place Image and the Potential for Change
	Literature on Small Cities Downtowns

Page

3.	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	48
	Overview	48
	Scottsdale's Context in the 1950s and the 1960s	51
	Methodology	52
	Data Sources	53
	Primary Data Sources	53
	Secondary Data Sources	58
	Conceptual Framework	59
	Issues of Place Branding	60
	Downtown Scottsdale Stakeholders	61
	Generalization from a Single Case Study	62
4.	SCOTTSDALE: A CULTURE OF PLACE PROMOTION	63
	Overview	63
	Scottsdale's Founder as the First Place Booster	66
	Artists Role in Boosting Scottsdale	68

Page

IAPTER Page
Tourism and Place Promotion in Scottsdale70
Chamber of Commerce and Place Promotion72
Politics of Place at the Decision of Incorporation74
The 1950s Place Brand77
Scottsdale Mexican Barrio81
5. THE AVANT-GARDE VISION: ASSERTING A NEW PLACE BRAND84
Overview
Early 1960s: Emergence of an Avant-garde Vision85
Challenging the Western Brand90
Features of the Avant-garde Agenda92
An Expert-Based Approach94
Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP)96
Recommendations by the STEP Committees
The City's First Master Plan 102
The Civic Center Project104

CHAPTER Page
6. PRESERVING THE WESTERN BRAND: RESISTING CHANGE
Overview107
The Chamber of Commerce Role108
1960s Chamber of Commerce: Protecting the Western Brand 110
Design Control in the 1960s and the Western Image110
High Rise: A Threat to the Western Brand?112
Saving the Western Zone in the Downtown Area
Forming an Architectural Review Board117
Signage, Street Renaming and Street Beautification
Renaming Downtown Streets
7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS124
Politics of Place in the 1960s125
A Dynamic of Assertion and Resistance
Salient Features of the Assertion and Resistance Dynamic
REFERENCES

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Relph's Basic Model of Components of Place	35
2. Punter and Montgomery's Conception of Place	37
3. 1920s Cattle Drive at Scottsdale Road and Indian School Road	71
4. Aerial View of Scottsdale In 1936	73
5. Cavalliere Building	74
6. City of Scottsdale Official Seal	78
7. A Store Front with a Board-and-Batten Look	78
8. The Front of First National Bank	79
9. Downtown Area near the Intersection of Scottsdale Road and Main St	t 80
10. Parada del Sol Procession	81
11. Scottsdale's Cowboy Welcome Sign	86
12. Board-and-Batten Look	87
13. A Building Slightly Modified to Reflect a Western Theme	87
14. Another Building with Board-and-Batten Look	88

Figure	
Inguic	

15.	A Rendering of the Civic Center	106
-----	---------------------------------	-----

Page

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The deliberate effort of cities to form specifically designed place identity and to promote it to a target audience, particularly tourists and visitors, whether external or internal, is not a new phenomenon (Anholt, 2010; Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2005; Ward, 1998). Referred to as place branding, these practices typically aim at staging a place to enable it to gain advantage over other places as they all compete over investment, tourism and in some cases new residents (Anholt, 2010; Gold & Ward, 1994; Griffith, 1998; Kotler, 2004; Ward, 1998).

While such practices are not new, research on place branding particularly when it is used to stimulate tourism is rather new (Anholt, 2010; Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2005; Kotler, 2004), originating for the most part, from schools of marketing and business. As such, the focus is often placed on the creation, marketing and management of place brands, but less on the implications of these practices on the place itself; i.e., its physical infrastructure and its place politics (Hankinson, 2004; Anholt 2002; Rainisto, 2003). This is despite the growing interest in place branding, and its increasing application to cities and downtowns (Hankinson, 2001). How does a place brand evolve over time? And, how does it shape the built environment and the local politics of a place? This study explores these questions through a case study of place branding practices in downtown Scottsdale during the decades of the 1950s and the 1960s. With time and recognition, place brands lead to the creation of new contexts as they continue to attract attention, investment and people. With such new contexts, challenges to prevailing place images may be introduced. New ideas, whether advanced by the citizens, civic and business leaders, city officials or professionals, often challenge the existing dominant place narrative. In other words, successful brands, over time, lead to the creation of a dynamic of place politics that shapes both the physical infrastructure of a place and any policy decisions related to the built environment. Research on such a dynamic has for the most part encompassed large cities and their downtowns, as evident by the work of Fogelson (2001); Banerjee et al. (1998); Gothum, (2007); Gottdeiner, (1999); Ford, (2003); Bell & Jayne, (2006); Robertson, (1999), and others.

The paucity of research devoted to small-cities downtowns has been noted as regrettable by many researchers, arguing that experiences of small cities can provide a means to understand political and spatial transitions, economic shifts and issues of development (Robertson, 2004; Bell & Jayne, 2006). Thus, small cities can reveal subtle evolutions in public self-image and can also reveal how place branding can be scripted and promoted and how such processes evolve with time. In general, little research has been done in these areas.

Scottsdale's experience with place branding in the 1950s and the 1960s is worthy of study for a number of reasons. It was a small city then in that it only became incorporated in 1951 with a population of 2,000 living within 1 square mile (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). Yet, its aggressive application of place branding, and its adoption of a 'Wild West' place narrative and a corresponding architectural motif and persona had set the stage for an influx of tourism. The recognition gained by place branding and other events, which attracted more tourism to the area, and the increase in population due to emigration or the population increase caused by the annexation of land from adjacent Phoenix, all had contributed to the creation of conditions and challenges to the Western theme. The 1960s witnessed the emergence of this dynamic and consequently, the surfacing of conflicts over whether the Western place image should stay or whether it should be abandoned. Also, the debate involved attempts at articulating an alternative place brand that would, it was hoped, replace the Western brand.

Thus, as a small city then, Scottsdale had experienced rapid changes in a relatively short time. This study examines these changes in relation to place branding and its implication on the place politics and on the built environment of the downtown area. Specifically, it examines how the city of Scottsdale chose to theme its downtown area with a Western motif in the 1950s and began to promote itself as 'The West's Most Western Town' (Fudala, 2001), how this representation based on the Western appeal was sustained or challenged over time, and how contest over place image played out in the 1960s when mainstream pressures challenged the town's Western theme.

The research suggests that place branding is a key driver in terms of how the built environment is developed and managed, and it highlights the need to better understand the place branding concept and its inter-relationship within the development process. More particularly, this study explores how place politics related to place branding interact with issues of development, heritage, and architecture. Further, it explores how conflict over the issue of representation in the projected place narrative ultimately plays out in the

3

built environment. In addition, the study also examines the role of private initiatives in shaping what is primarily a public space to represent a specific image or theme - in this case, the Western Image and how such initiatives evolved over time.

Definition of Place Branding

City promotion, place marketing and place branding are terms commonly used in the study of place promotion and marketing (Anholt, 2010; Florian, 2002; Kotler, 2004; Kearns & Philo eds., 1993; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2008). While there is a growing literature on the theoretical underpinnings of place-branding, and likewise on indicators for best practices (Aaker, 1996; Anholt, 2009; Ashworth, 1990; Hankinson, 2010; Hanna & Rowley, 2008; Kotler, 2004;) most of such research seems to focus on the processes of place-branding itself, with less emphasis on the impacts on the built environment and on the local contexts.

Moreover, while the term place branding has often been used to suggest parallels with product marketing, there is still less consensus on its definition (Anholt, 2010; Hanna & Rowley, 2008). Having reviewed various attempts at defining place branding as offered by the place branding literature, or as published in articles in the newly published journal *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, and since this study is the focused on the impact of place branding on the built environment, I offer the following definition:

I define place branding as the process of developing a distinctive place image from an existing or non-existent place narrative, the translation and representation of the

4

espoused image onto the built environment, and the support and management of such image through controls put on the built environment.

Place Branding in Urban Design Literature

Place theming and branding share some of the features that characterize product marketing (Anholt, 2010). These include control of the physical appearance of a space (Carmona, 2010) and the formal communication and representation of an espoused script onto the built environment to support the projected message (For example, see Ward, 1998). However, despite the increasing application of marketing and business concepts by cities and municipalities, one fact remains evident: places are not products (Anholt, 2010; Ashworth, 1990; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). First, there is the multiplicity and diversity of stakeholders. Second, there is the very concept of place and its physicality represented by the built environment. Thus, there continues to be a gap in research literature about how place branding and place marketing shape the built environment and the decision making structure in terms of meaning and development over time and in terms of how different interests compete to assert a particular place narrative.

Nonetheless, place branding remains a persistent reality, as it is increasingly used as an instrument of urban planning, urban revitalization (Anholt, 2004; Robertson, 2001; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005), as well as a sphere of influence for urban designers, (Carmona, 2010).

It is worth noting that theories tackling the concept and meaning of place have been central in urban design literature. Martin Heidegger's writings on phenomenology regarding the essence and subjective nature of experiencing place have influenced subsequent writings about how places are constructed. The concept of "sense of place," or genius loci (which is typically considered a positive value of successful places) is thoroughly discussed in the work of Montgomery (1998), Relph (1976), Canter, (1977), Punter, (1998), Arefi, (1999) Carmona, (2010) and others. These works and other similar ones have informed the practice of urban design and in some ways place branding, often with terms such as sense of place used loosely or merely for marketing purposes (Dovey, 2009).

Another strand of urban design literature laments the growing disconnect between the ideals developed in urban design studies on form and on concepts of successful places with the realities of practice. Arefi (1999) refers to this theme common in this strand of writings as the "narrative of loss." This strand of urban design literature also includes studies that tackle the notion of authenticity in places and that critique the idea that places and sense of place can be constructed or 'invented' (Carmona, 2010; Sircus, 2001). Specifically, despite the efforts of urban designers in creating memorable places, the 'inventiveness' in them is perceived negatively by a number of scholars. For example, Crang (1998) laments the 'facadism' or pastiche architecture often applied onto otherwise standardized structures. Dovey (1999) viewed invented places as a reflection of the 'detachment of form from social life,' in itself an indication of the commodification of meaning. According to Dovey, (1999, pp. 51-2) invented places can be explained as a reaction to the outside whereby " places of everyday life become increasingly subject to the system imperatives of the market and its distorted communications, advertising and construction of meaning" (quoted in Carmona, 2003, p. 104).

While the issue of lack of authenticity is often identified when discussing invented places in urban design literature, a number of scholars did not see it as a serious problem. Relph (1976) pointed to the possibility that sense of place can be experienced in either an authentic or invented places. Carmona, (2010) cautioned that using the term authentic or non-authentic can be subjective depending on the opinion and interpretation of the beholder.

Selectivity of Place Branding

One salient aspect of place branding is that it tends to be highly selective, where city leaders highlight or boost the advantages of the promoted image while discounting other aspects to the place. This can pose a problem, particularly if the place existed partly or in its entirety before it was themed, as it creates tension or conflict between those that support a projected image and those that object to it. Differences over which place image to promote can be shaped by the expected outcome or reaction these images may generate. Ultimately, this selectivity aspect of place branding impacts the equity of representation (Harvey, 1989; Zukin, 2011; Crawford, 1992; Boyer, 1992, 1993; Huxtable, 1997). This is particularly the case when the selected image is chosen at the expense of marginalized population (Harvey, 1989; Zukin, 2011).

7

Background on Scottsdale

Boosterism (or place branding) has always played a key role in city development in many US cities, particularly in cites of the US West (See Luckingham, 1989; and VanderMeer, 2010; Quay, 2002). Scottsdale is no exception. Beginning with its establishment as a town-site in 1894, Scottsdale relied heavily on place promotion and boosterism to lure emigrants and settlement (Lynch, 1978).

One of the first contributors to Scottsdale's place boosting efforts was the town founder, Chaplain Winfield Scott whose main interest in the area was farming (Lynch, 1978). The place narrative he often presented to would-be settlers in the US East and Midwest mainly concerned the riches of the land, i.e., the exceptionally fertile and cheap land and the abundance of water (Lynch, 1978; Quay, 2002). As agriculture and cattle became major industries, a number of cattle ranches were established in the outskirts of the city. Occasionally, visitors to the area would encounter cattle drives as they were herded south on Scottsdale Road on their way to Phoenix Railway station to be shipped to different US markets (McElfresh, 1984).

With time Scottsdale benefited from its proximity to Phoenix, particularly as tourism grew and became a major industry in the area starting with the 1920s (Fudala, 2010). Tourists visiting Phoenix would also occasionally visit downtown Scottsdale to shop for crafts and artifacts brought by the Native American who would ride into the downtown area from nearby reservations (McElfresh, 1984). Also around this time, more artists began to move into Scottsdale and eventually an 'Arts and Crafts' place image began to be associated with the town (Fudala, 2001; Fudala, 2010; McElfresh, 1984; Syndor, 2010). Still up to the 1940s, the association with a Western culture was not as strong. Visitors mainly perceived the town as a small sleepy village with the occasional cattle drives herded by cowboys riding horses (Fudala, 2001). Yet, whenever the occasional cattle drive occurred, the town would look and feel as a Western town. Such were the comments of the tourists experiencing the drives (recalls a town resident in a letter to the *Scottsdale Daily Progress*, Jan 12, 1955). Beginning with the 1940s, the Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce began to adopt a place narrative that highlighted the distinctive qualities of the area: the beautiful Sonoran desert and its healthy weather, in order to attract more tourism (Fudala, 2001).

While Scottsdale often succeeded in attracting would-be settlers to the area, the realities of its economy in terms of its experiences with episodes of boom-and-bust characteristics of Western towns made it difficult for the settlers to continue to stay (Fudala, 2001). Almost sixty years since its establishment as a town site, at the time of its incorporation as an independent city in 1951, Scottsdale's population grew to only 2,000 residents living in approximately one square mile (Fudala, 2001).

Upon its incorporation in 1951 and with the aggressive campaign of place branding that adopted a Western theme, the city began to exhibit a steady growth (McElfresh, 1984). This growth was also aided by the annexation of land - often already developed and inhabited sections of land from neighboring Phoenix (VanderMeer, 2010; Luckingham, 1989; McElfresh, 1984).

When the town became incorporated in 1951, Maricopa County decided to task the same leadership that ran the Chamber of Commerce with running the newly incorporated town. The appointed city council promptly decided to capitalize on the growing Western image perception that seemed to lure visitors to the area (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). Downtown area merchants and property owners were encouraged to convert their storefronts with a Western motif of a 'board-and-batten' style of architecture (Syndor, 2010). This move to brand the town with an 'Old West' character was further reinforced by certain behaviors. Town civic and business leaders began to dress in cowboy attire in accordance with the projected theme and the town officially adopted a promotional slogan that asserted it as the 'The West's Most Western Town' (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). This singular brand dominated the town for the first decade of its life as an incorporated city. Promoted heavily, this Western brand played a central role in winning the budding city a national and perhaps an international recognition. It helped spur tourism into the area further and provided a needed sense of distinctiveness in an increasingly competitive economy. Thus, despite generally understood to be a constructed image, the Western theming became the face of the downtown area in the 1950s. The success in promoting the city as a Western town brought more people into the area and lead to a changed context of place politics in the 1960s. With the influx of new residents, a vision for a new place narrative beyond the Western image of the 1950s began to develop.

Why study the 1950s and the 1960s? Together, the decades of the 1950s and the 1960s represent a critical moment in the history of the then small city of Scottsdale that is worthy of studying. In the 1950s, downtown Scottsdale was themed with a Western motif and the city began to assert itself as a Western town using a crafty slogan 'The West's Most Western Town.' The new place image of a Western town was viewed positively throughout the 1950s because of its ability to attract more tourism and because of its success in raising the city profile.

The 1960s, however, presented a different context and thus challenges to this image arose. With a significant increase in land and population due to annexation of Phoenix land, and influx from California and the Midwest, criticism toward the Western image that it had exhausted its time began to be voiced. These calls did find expressions in the city politics and consequently shaped the built environment of the downtown area from the 1960s onward.

Thus, two salient, yet disparate, visions for branding the downtown area and thus the city emerged and contested over space, i.e., over expressing their symbols onto the built environment.

Significance of the Study

This study adds to the body of knowledge that explores the relationship between place branding and the built environment. It contributes simultaneously to both the field of urban design and to the discipline of place branding by illustrating how place branding and theming shape the decision making environment on issues of development and place representation, and ultimately the type of built form that would develop in a particular locale. With the increasing use of urban design and architecture and theming of the built environment as vehicles for achieving distinctiveness, this study offers an account of how theming and the use of image-making practices impacted local socio-spatial relationships. Further, it examines how different visions for place image were expressed both in planning and development decisions and on the built environment within the downtown of the then small city of Scottsdale in the 1950s and 1960s.

Additionally, since urban design is often employed as a tool in place branding practices, this study adds to the body of knowledge that addresses the contested nature of place representation practices. Specifically, this study contributes to the debate about a number of place branding issues, such as: 1) equitable representation and image expression, 2) the selectivity and narrow focus of powerful place brands and whether they apply to cities and public spaces the same way they apply to privately owned spaces, 3) the role and tactics of the powerful elites in developing and implementing a particular place brand, 4) the issue of invented places and the debate about authenticity when constructed place images are produced and applied onto public or semi-public places, and 4) the tensions between the old and the new that would emerge as a recognized and dominant place brand contributes to changing the local context by attracting more residents and development and ultimately the presence of a diversity of civic ideas.

In addition, research on US downtowns has often tended to focus upon the downtowns of large cities. Hence, for example, the variant evolution of the conditions of small downtowns and how image making in the US West has been integral into development (Quay, 2000) have not been fully addressed by the literature. This research contributes to the studies of the significance of small city downtowns and how they have developed over time. The study also illustrates that the politics of place of small cities can be active, animated and integral to the development of small cities as they are in large cities. The study examines the pathways available to a small city with regard to presenting and staging the built environment, examines the engagement of the public in such processes, and surveys both the negative and positive impacts of image making on the built environment.

The Study Focus

From the preceding background account on Scottsdale, it follows that this study examines how the processes of projecting, promoting and translating these two different place narratives onto the built environment play out over time and how a place adjusts to, or resists, change once a recognizable place image is established. This research adopts a single, case study approach that considers the practices of image making in downtown Scottsdale in two chronologically related periods in the history of its downtown area, namely the 1950s and the 1960s. As stated above, the study examines the impact of place branding on the politics of place and ultimately on the built environment of a small city. I argue here that success in achieving a competitive brand, and/or in bringing new population and investment to a place will in turn create a new context and a need for revisions in the projected place narrative. The study examines how the casually constructed place image of an Old West Town inspired by the heritage of frontier towns in the US West evolved into a dominant place narrative in the 1950s, prompting its supporters to consider seriously applying the Western theme to developments in the entire city.

The Western theme evidently was primarily used to capitalize on the growing tourism industry in the valley, particularly in the neighboring city of Phoenix. Initially, individual storeowners led the move to 'Westernize' the downtown area but later were supported by the Chamber of Commerce in 1947. Upon the town's incorporation in 1951, the Western brand together with the slogan 'The West's Most Western Town' was officially adopted by the newly appointed city council (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). This theming of the built environment of most of the downtown area into a Western style through the additions of board-and-batten façade architecture, prevalent in the old frontier towns (See Quay, 2002) to the already existing building stock, and the accessorizing of street landscape with symbols and themed signs of a 'Wild Wild West,' was accomplished in a very short time. The speed of this process was aided by the relatively small size of the town at the time - both in terms of population and size (Fudala, 2001).

In addition, this study examines two assumptions that seem to be generally accepted in research literature about small cities. The first deals with how small places evolve over time. As noted by David and Jayne (2006), there is a generally held belief that small cities can be characterized as being slow-paced, conservative, resistant to change, and generally lacking in creativity. I argue here that perhaps this is not the case with small cities that have actively employed place promotion and place-image marketing

14

in their day-to-day practices of development. Meaning, places that experienced active efforts of place promotion do exhibit creativity; do grow faster; and they do not necessarily have a monolithic mindset that renders them as being primarily conservative.

The second assumption pertains to the view that sees the building stock of small city downtowns as an aggregate resultant of an organic piece-by-piece development over time. Here I argue that this is not always the case, especially where place promotion activity is/was present. The deliberate acts of place promotion ultimately impact not only the way the built environment evolves, but also how it is managed or controlled to assert and protect a particular place narrative. Moreover, the acts of place promotion over time are likely to create different visions and some resistance to the espoused place narratives. Those differences will likely be reflected in the character and pattern of development present in a particular place. Place promotion and theming of the built environment are not likely to lead to conformity in the built environment when property ownership and stakeholders' interests are varied and fluid. And, because the mindset in such places is not seamless, the built environment will tend to reflect the salient place narratives advanced by the powerful elites.

Research Methods

The study draws from research on place and the built environment, place branding, and the social production of place in order to explore how the application of theming shapes politics of place and the built environment over time.

The study employs a single case study in a historical analysis, qualitative research approach using content analysis of archived documents. The single case study approach is considered suitable for this research as it is generally suggested as a method appropriate for studies providing historical analysis and comparisons of two or more periods in the history of a phenomenon, i.e. for examining the chronological progression of a unit of analysis (Yin, 2009; Marshal & Rosman, 2006).

The data sources consulted consist of primary and secondary data sources. The primary data sources include historical reference material and government documents in addition to daily newspapers from the periods of the 1950s and the 1960s. Such sources reflect the nature and tone of the debate about place image, and the activities taken by the different stakeholders relevant to the interaction of place branding with the built environment.

A number of stakeholders were identified who were involved in such debates including the business community as represented by Chamber of Commerce, civic leaders including prominent bankers or realtors, the City Council and city staff, and the citizen participation effort represented by the committees that formed the Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP).

Overview of Research Chapters

In Chapter Two of this study, I present a literature review of the topic of place branding, its origin and its theoretical underpinnings. I then relate this topic to the debate on urban design about place, place identity, and the role of the urban designer. I next discuss and review the gap between the practice of place branding and the discussion focus in urban design literature particularly the critical view held by many scholars toward the place value of invented places. I relate this apparent gap to its origin represented by the ideas of Martin Heidegger on Phenomenology and the construction of place on the one hand, and the theories developed by Lefebvre on the construction of space on the other. Also in this chapter, I discuss the nature of development issues often experienced in downtowns as related to small city downtowns and their use of place and sense of place as a developmental strategy. Issues of place branding are identified and developed for further elaboration in the research methods chapter.

In Chapter Three I discuss and detail the research methods and data sources employed for this study. Qualitative research methods are discussed and the rationale for selecting a single case study approach is presented. The unit of analysis for this study (the place brand, and its representation and expression in the 1950s and the 1960s) is further elaborated. Issues of place branding identified in the literature review are further operationalized. This chapter also identifies the stakeholders involved in the practices of place branding and their roles in shaping the built environment.

Further, data sources are detailed with emphasis on the historical interpretation nature of the study. References for the study include government archives, government documents, historical documents, and accounts pertaining to the development of the downtown area in the 1950s and the 1960s. These include the daily newspapers published in these two periods and in particular city council coverage of the city council plans with regard to the downtown area, Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce involvement in the promotion of the downtown area, the citizen group, and the work of the committee involved with Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP) in particular. Newspapers editorials and published citizen letters to the newspapers commenting on issues affecting the downtown area image are also consulted.

This chapter also reports on a number of interviews with a total of five persons who are highly familiar with the history of Scottsdale in general and the development of the downtown area in particular. These included the director of Scottsdale History Museum located in the downtown Scottsdale; an old-timer from the Hostess Program who resided in the area since the 1940s; a prominent administrator in the Scottsdale Galleries Association; a long time business owner who was born in the Mexican barrio portion of the downtown area; and a writer who writes extensively about the history of Scottsdale.

In Chapter Four, I present a historical account of how Scottsdale emerged as a town site, and I describe the nature of early boosting efforts that later lead to the establishment of a culture of boosterism. This chapter also examines the relationship of Scottsdale to the larger Phoenix area. The influence of this relationship on the development of the downtown area is explored. I also discuss the development and demolition of the Mexican Barrio in the eastern edges of the current downtown area. This was the selected site for the flagship project; Scottsdale Civic Center, supported by the City Council and intended to function as a flagship project inspiring other forwardlooking development. The land of the Mexican Barrio was acquired through condemnation procedures in which Urban Renewal funds were used both to compensate property owners and to prepare the site.

In this chapter, I further outline the emerging politics of place that led to the city becoming incorporated. Events such as the privately owned Water Company being considered for purchase by City of Phoenix, lead to mobilizing the residents of the town to begin a campaign for city incorporation and to the city becoming incorporated in 1951. This chapter also discusses the context that led to the application of a Western theme onto the fronts of the existing building stock downtown in order to spur tourism.

Both Chapter Five and Chapter Six treat the politics of place branding in the 1960s and examine the conflicts over place branding as a competing vision emerged. Together they present the main groups involved, their opposing visions and their tactics for asserting and realizing their desired place brand, and for resisting the opposing vision. In Chapter Five, I address the progressive vision as initiated by the City Councils of the 1960s. In Chapter Six, I address the attempts spearheaded by Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce to preserve the Western theme and to counter the City Council and the citizen participation committee's progressive initiatives.

Chapter Five discusses the emergence of a new vision in the 1960s and contrasts it with the Western image that dominated the politics of place in the 1950s. I discuss the context that led to the emergence of this progressive vision, identify its main supporters and promoters and outline the tactics they employed to assert it. This vision primarily presented itself as a vision for growth and boasted itself is being scientifically developed by professionals and experts.

Chapter Six discusses the role of the Chamber of Commerce in decisions related to the built environment and its attempts to preserve the Western theme. I discuss this disparate dialectical relationship between the two visions; the professionalization asserted by the progressive vision and the locally rootedness asserted by those who supported the Western place image. I argue here that while the progressive vision seemed to dominate the 1960s and eventually lead to the development of the Civic Center, Fashion Square Mall, and the development of the city first master plan, the Western image supporters made attempts at appearing pro-progress while still supporting the adhering to the Western image. This is evident by their attempt to develop an architectural guideline for high-rise development in the downtown area that conformed to the Western Architectural style.

I further present a discussion of the tactics employed by the progressive vision supporters such as Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP), particularly its role in developing the Civic Center. I discuss the initiation of the citizen participation program and whether it represented all the constituencies in the downtown area. I also discuss the decision to remove the Mexican barrio from the downtown area to make room for the civic center site downtown and the reaction from the both the Western Image supporters and the Mexicans themselves. I also discuss how the Civic Center was intended to become a flagship project and how its architectural style was hoped to inspire a progressive southwestern place identity that is not necessarily tied to the then dominant Western image.

In Chapter Seven, the research conclusions, I present my reflections on the case of downtown Scottsdale contending with place politics and place branding in the 1950s and the 1960s. I argue that, with time, the application of place branding onto public and semipublic places is likely to lead to a dynamic of an assertion and resistance focusing on the narrative of the place image being projected. I also argue that, despite the city of Scottsdale being a small city at the time, its politics of place were dynamic and animated. I describe some characteristics inherent in this dynamic. These include the selective nature of place branding and the pragmatic stance of the decision-makers, which reveal little (if any) concern with some of the ideas considered valuable in urban design literature – as seen, for example, in the debate about invented places and manufactured or constructed sense of place. In the case of Scottsdale, I argue that despite the omission of the Mexican presence from the place narrative of the two powerful and competing camps in the place politics of the city, this is perhaps more of a pragmatic response to the expectation of the tourism market. It is of course still an issue of representation equity, but I support this argument by pointing to the preservation of some of the old structures once used by the Mexican Community that existed prior to the 1960s such as the Mexican Restaurant 'Los Olivos,' the 'Mexican Imports,' store and the adobe built Mission Church, all on the west edge of the existing Civic Center. While the church is now a museum, the two stores are still owned and operated by families of the original owners.

21

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

In situating the study focus, I have deemed it necessary to develop a conception of place branding in relation to the concept of place in general and as it is treated in the literature that corresponds with urban planning and the built environment. In the process of developing such understanding, I have identified three specific strands of scholarly work that relate to place and place branding, with each informing certain aspects of the relationship between place and the built environment. In this chapter I present a review of these three areas as follows:

First, I present a review of the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of place branding and its relationship to the disciplines of marketing, management, and destination branding. This is followed by a presentation of the main writings on place and place identity - particularly in their relation to urban design and the built environment. This review then is linked to a discussion highlighting the salient views from writings in urban design relating to the concept of place identity.

Second, since the initial need for place branding is often framed in terms of its economic value; I present a review of the literature on the political economy perspective on space production. Generally, this area is lightly treated in contemporary place branding literature despite its importance in providing a broader understanding of the processes that lead to or shape practices of place branding and boosterism. Here, I also devote particular attention to the conceptions of space production developed by Lefebvre. Lefebvre's work is especially important as it provides a broader view of the processes of space and place production and accounts for both social and economic factors as well as the different roles played by the government, the professionals, and the public. As such, it provides the impetus for a socio-spatial analytical framework suitable for understanding the dynamic processes shaping and being shaped by place branding.

Third, I present a review of the literature on US downtowns with an emphasis on the differences between small- and large-city downtowns. This section also includes a presentation of the strategies of urban development often found in small-city downtowns with an emphasis on the history of town development in the US West.

The chapter concludes with a summary consisting of an identification of gaps in the literature, together with a synthesized presentation of the issues often associated with place branding culled from the literature review.

Most of the attempts at defining place branding have evolved from disciplines that are directly related to business and product manufacturing, product marketing, and media and communications. So it is natural that many scholars have attempted drawing a direct parallel between product branding and place branding.

Place Branding Research

While place branding and place promotion as practiced are not new, there is certainly an accelerated trend of cities adopting these practices as a result of the new realities of a post-industrial era, chief among them is the impact of globalization (Anholt, 2010). Anholt (2005) contends that globalization processes have contributed in a major way to provoking the competition among cities of the world in order to gain a competitive advantage on ideas, culture, reputation, products, services, and capital. Hanna & Rowley (2008) cited a number of conditions that contributed to place branding becoming a necessary tool of development, growth and management for many cities around the world. Among these are the advances in mass media that enhance their global reach, an increasingly more affordable international travel, the increase in consumer spending power (Hanna & Rowley, 2008). With the world appearing to become more and more of a single global community, Kotler (2004) stresses that place branding is not only becoming a necessity but it is likely to continue into the foreseeable future. Today, people have more choice to work and live almost anywhere, deserting deteriorating and weakend places for ones presenting better opportunities (Kotler, 2004). The freedom of mobilityespecially in the US and Europe for example- has prompted cities to engage in place branding activities so as to have an advantage and some control over cycles of boom and bust (Kotler et al., 1993). Thus place branding is increasingly becoming integral to the practices of developmental policies in many cities around the world (Anholt, 2007).

Research on place branding and place promotion has been covered from a number of perspectives. Tourism, destination marketing, history, marketing, and management are among the main disciplines that treated the topic. As the focus of my research is on the implication of place branding on the built environment and on place politics related to urban development overtime, I will only touch upon research from these disciplines that references the built environment. I will however present a brief review of a growing body of research on place branding that is increasingly viewed as melding into a new discipline of knowledge (although still evolving). Termed Place Branding, this new discipline thus far has attracted interest from the disciplines of business and marketing (Anholt, 2004). My rationale for reviewing it here is to illustrate how it has been inspired by practices of place marketing and branding, even though its theoretical underpinnings lie in the fields of management, business, and marketing.

Research Origins of Place Branding

While the practice of place branding is perhaps as old as the history of human settlements, scholarly work on the topic has only begun to surface in the last thirty years. As such, the field is still in its infancy (Anholt, 2010). One can observe that the topic has been treated largely by researchers in the fields of management and marketing. Thus, it has been the tendency for most researchers to draw parallels between place marketing and product marketing or at a minimum use research on product marketing and management as the base for research work on place branding. According to Kotler (1993), this association is justifiable and inevitable due to a number of reasons. Places, cities, and towns are operating under constantly changing conditions, and the need to

respond is made urgent by the accelerated effects of globalization, technological advances, and urban decay. With the increased competition among places, towns, and countries over resources, investment and settlers, a management and marketing perspective has been validated. This is further made evident, as cities and places continue to use slogans and logos as signs of their brand in an ever competitive arena (Kotler, 2007). Thus, product marketing and management are seen by both the practice and research on place branding as providing for more precise and measurable strategies, while allowing for the development of less fussy concepts, as is often the case with the concept of place. To date, this focus seems to dominate research work under the umbrella name place branding (Anholt, 2010). And, as such, the focus tends to be on analyzing and developing efficiencies and effectiveness of the process in terms of the creation, management and marketing of the brand (Anholt, 2010).

Yet, the association of place branding with product branding is not without critics. Anholt (2010), for example has pointed to the fallacy in doing so as the diversity of stakeholders inherent in places is likely to present one major and fundamental difference between products and places. Places typically have history and heritage, conflicting views about which place brand should be promoted and projected, and the cost and time frame associated with building a place brand. Still, Anholt's opinion here relates to the need for understanding the place portion in place branding so as to achieve better results at place branding practice.

Issues inherent in the construct of place (such as representation of constituencies or the survivability of a brand over time) are rarely explored in depth by this strand of literature. For example the wide range of stakeholders with interests in a particular destination / place may therefore find it difficult, if not impossible, to agree on a place brand, representative symbol idea, or slogan. Perhaps the emphasis on the business and management aspects of place branding is a deliberate attempt by researchers coming from the disciplines of business marketing and management to avoid the analysis of place and sense of place and the vagueness of the concept. Nonetheless, any attempt to understand place branding in its broader scope has to tackle this issue. In the following section, I present a review of the literature on place, sense of place, and place production.

Place Branding and the Issue of Authenticity

According to Ward (1998), place branding and marketing are about developing and presenting an idealized representation. In other words, it is quite acceptable, maybe even desirable to overstate or in other ways distort a place image in order to articulate sought-after themes and prompt favorable associations or feelings (Ward, 1998).

Image making and branding are often treated in urban design literature with a critical stance toward the issue of authenticity. Constructed place images are often viewed in negative terms. Yet, the practice of place branding tends to employ design and architecture in ways that are not necessarily upholding the value of authenticity. In other words, despite the continuous calls for creating authentic places often pronounced in urban design literature, there continues to be a disconnect, maybe even a disregard, to the idea in actual practices of place branding.

The increasing competition between cities and places led to the development of different forms of place branding. For example, branding and distinctiveness can be achieved through association. According to Morgan (2004), many cities and towns translate place branding onto the built environment in ways that would create an emotional appeal to would-be users, even if the creation is completely novel to its location. This is the case when flagship projects are commissioned to star architects known for specific signature style associated with their name. This may also involve the implementation of controversial art projects. In this case, the celebrity status of wellrenowned artists or star-architects is also employed whether directly or indirectly in the place marketing campaigns. Often the intended message from such practices is to situate the place being promoted in a pedestal equal or similar to other locations where celebrity status architecture and art are employed and thus communicate specific development and investment messages to would-be investors (Nigel Morgan, 2004). In a way, this explains why there continues to be a market for star-architects, signature design monumental architecture, and controversial public art projects.

Theming has been one of the key tools often used to translate place brands onto the built environment. In his book titled, *The Theming of America*, Gottdeiner (2001) offers a detailed account of how theming has shaped and continued to shape many aspects of life in America. This includes the built environment and the way it can often be themed, packaged, and staged to afford its users the opportunity of experiencing different environments than often experienced at home. In this sense, theming is pursued primarily to entertain and to provide visitors with enjoyable contrast to their daily routines (Gottdeiner, 2001).

Moreover, theming aims to reinforce place branding even further, not just through architecture but also by creating overall experiences advocated by the adopted place narrative. It does so by adding detail, accessories, physical, symbolic or experiential activities that further elaborate the brand being projected.

Gottdeiner (2001) argues that while theming in general is increasingly becoming part of US culture, some issues still persist. Central among them are the issues of commodification and consumerism. He also argues that theming, which is a ploy often used by the private market of products and entertainment, is also beginning to be adopted in publicly owned and operated places. He cites the cases of Las Vegas and New Orleans (Gottdeiner, 2001). Gotham (2007), who wrote about the New Orleans experience with place branding for tourism, argues that the issues of authenticity and representation still represent points of contention for all involved stakeholders. He also notes that, despite the seemingly strong image a particular place may project, a closer look often reveals equally strong variations in the way the different constituencies identify as 'authentic' representation of the particular place (Gotham, 2007).

Issues of Representation in Place Branding

One of the basic issues that are of concern in place branding is the issue of representation. Because place branding is selective and because it is often the arena for

the actions of the powerful and the elite, not all elements or realities of places get promoted as part of the place narrative (Dovey, 2009).

Another issue is the accuracy of the promoted place image. According to Ward (1998), place branding and marketing is about developing and presenting an idealized representation. It is quite acceptable (maybe even desirable) to overstate or in other ways distort a place image in order to articulate sought-after themes and prompt favorable associations or feelings (Ward, 1998).

A Culture of Place Boosting in the US and the US West:

According to Ward (1998), place promotion has played a major part in propelling people movement to and settlement in the US West. In describing the US expansion into the West, Quay (2002) states that the place-boosters role was key as it created a boom mentality and a fascination with the vast opportunities to be found in the new lands. Two primary triggers for expanding into the US West were the discovery of gold and the prospect of easy acquisition of land (Gold and Ward, 1994). The discovery of gold in California in 1849 and the stories that began to spread about how easily it can be mined without the need for excessive labor led to a wave of massive immigration to the West generally referred to as the Gold Rush (Ward, 1998; Quay, 2002). At the same time, news about the unique qualities of the fertile land, tales of oversized vegetable and fruits, albeit exaggerated, reached Eastern and Midwestern US, thus painting an image about life in the West that is of abundance (Quay, 2002). In addition, the Homestead Act of 1862, which gave free land to settlers who would live on it for at least five years, contributed to another wave of migration often referred to as the land run (2002). According to this Act, it was permissible for any US citizens to set foot on a surveyed and unclaimed plot of land of up to 160 acres in size. When the government opens a tract of land for homesteaders, people would 'run' to the land and stake claims. For example, on April 22, 1889 when President Benjamin Harrison opened unsettled land to white immigrants, massive movement of 50,000 emigrants took place in a single day (Quay, 2002).

Similar to gold and silver rushes, land rushes also lead to creation of makeshift towns overnight. Mining towns would be set up over night and deserted as quickly once the mines dried. Boosterism was a main driver in these processes. Whether organized through the work of the railroad companies' advertisements and campaigns or simply through the stories of the new settlers, boosterism managed to promote the West as a land of abundance (Quay,2002 ; Ward, 1998). Later, and in reaction to episodes of boom and bust commonly experienced in most of the US West towns, boosterism became embedded in the culture of this part of the US, particularly motivated by a competition over population and resources needed to help develop the land (Quay, 2002).

Conception of Place in Urban Design Research

With regard to the focus of this study and in reviewing the literature, I have identified two main threads of urban design writings that view the notion of place identity and place image in two contrasting ways. Each of these two main threads suggests a certain position toward place branding and promotion, defined here as the deliberate construction and maintenance of a particular place image. Both attempt to benefit from the body of literature on place albeit in different ways. These two threads can be described as one that considers place identity as the product of organic processes that take place overtime and another that does not view place branding and the maintenance and promotion of place identity (even if deliberately constructed) in any negative way.

The first thread of writings regards place identity as a product of the processes that transpires naturally overtime, thus creating an organic, naturally evolving place image. Supporters of this view often refer to the work of Schultz (1991) on sense of place and on genius loci. They also refer to the work of Relph (1976) on the components of the place identity as a means to studying the unique character of places, even as a means to determine the authenticity of the character of certain places. In other words, the unique blend of the three components - of meaning, activities and physical environment - that shape place identity as identified by Relph (1976) are seen here as interacting naturally overtime to produce a specific and distinct place character. Others contributing to this thread of writings would use the basic theories presented by Relph (1976), Schultz (1991), and Kevin Lynch (1960) on place and place identity, as evidence to lament the loss of place distinctiveness in contemporary landscape,(also see Carmona et al., 2010). Arefi (1999) referred to the narrative found in writings of this nature as the 'narrative of loss.'

The second thread references examples from the practice of place branding and place boosting where specific place images are promoted deliberately and constructed in order to achieve specific goals ultimately aimed at improving the economic competitive advantage of a particular place. While the issue of authenticity is assigned a high degree of importance in most of the Urban Design literature (Carmona et al., 2010), this is not necessarily the case with writings on place branding coming from the marketing and management perspective. There the focus is primarily on the presentation of a powerful image that will help in promoting and selling the place (Kotler, 1993).

Authentic vs. Invented Places

Place, sense of place and a place brand. Many contributions on what exactly the concept of 'place' would mean have been advanced by various disciplines. These span philosophy, sociology, urban and human geography, political economy, literature, architecture, planning, urban design, and a myriad of other social disciplines. The emphasis in such contributions has also varied relative to their ideological perspectives including phenomenology, political economy, postmodern, feminism, and others that are variations or hybridization among these perspectives (Madanipour, 1996). While in everyday life, humans may have a knowledge of what place and space may mean, even if they do not experience the particular places in the same way, translating such awareness to a critical and analytical understanding both at the conceptual and practical levels has been a challenge (Dovey, 2009; Arefi, 2005; Madanipour et al., 2001). Nonetheless, some attempts have been made to find mechanisms allowing for such seemingly disparate or contradictory positions to be reconciled, including searching for ways to apply such knowledge in both urban planning and urban design.

Martin Heidegger presents one of the first contributions to the study of place in

(Dovey, 2009). Heidegger's work has proved instrumental in shaping what is commonly known as the phenomenological perspective, particularly its call for more appreciation of the "existential qualities of space and place" (Davison, 2008). Heidegger developed his main concepts about place as a critique of the rational objective mode of analysis that requires the researcher to be detached from the phenomenon being investigated (Shultz, 1991). He declared, "The world could only be understood through human experience." Dovey (2008), asserting that lived experience will be the mode for attaining such knowledge. Thus, for Heidegger, place is a phenomenon that needed to be experienced in order to be understood (Dovey, 2008). Merleau-Ponty (1962), (who further elaborated on the phenomenological perspective) declared, "Phenomenology is the study of essences" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). As a mode of enquiry, phenomenology requires the observer to provide an account of the experience as it is lived. In this sense, phenomenology is primarily descriptive focusing on the nature of a phenomenon and not on generating empirical or hypothetical observations.

A general awareness has existed in the urban design and townscape fields regarding place issues such as the significance of sense of place. Perhaps dealt with narrowly from a visual, aesthetics perspective, as in the work of Gordon Cullen (1995), phenomenology has played a significant role in focusing the debate about place in the fields of architecture and urban design- particularly about the notions of place meaning and, more importantly, the significance of an experiential and contextual mode of analysis. Two key contributions to the phenomenological perspective that made direct attempts at relating the notion of place and its meaning to the fields of architecture and urban planning are those conducted by Shultz and Relph (Carmona et al., 2010). Relph's work on place identity is of particular importance. For Relph (1976), places and their identities can be understood through the interaction of three fundamental components: those of physical settings, meanings, and activities. (See Figure 1.)



Figure 1. Relph's Basic Components of Place.

Relph writes, "...these component parts are experienced in the fullness of their combinations", (1976). While a strictly objective observer is capable of perceiving a town

as comprised only of buildings and physical objects, and another may focus only on the activities of people in their context, a person "experiencing" these buildings and activities may see them as far more- "they are beautiful or ugly, useful or hindrances, home, factory, enjoyable, alienating; in short, they are meaningful" (Relph, 1976). Also clear about the 'unfixity' of meanings, Relph notes that, while the meanings of places may be embedded in their physical setting and objects activities, "they are primarily property of human intentions and experiences" (Relph, 1976). As such, they are subject to change, can be transferred, and they possess their qualities of complexity, obscurity, and clarity. Relph's conception of place then is not rooted in fixity, and it is clear here that he did not see places as having a 'timeless' value. Nonetheless, his writings have influenced many of the works that followed his work that emphasized the need for devising methods to study or be able to define the genius loci of places - that is to be able to identify in clear terms the specific elements of a sense of place in a given locale. These mainly referred to his observations about the proliferation of 'placelessness'- in both its manifestations; the eradication of distinctive landscapes, and the proliferation of similar landscapes; where 'everywhere looks like everywhere.'

Nonetheless, his conception of place as the interaction of activities, settings, and meanings has generally played a key role in urban design and in the development of the concept of place making and the notion of successful places. For example, Canter (1977) pointed to the importance of understanding the physical attributes of settings - natural or built that facilitate better interactions of these components. In this sense, place is a function of 'activities' plus 'physical attributes' plus 'conceptions.' Others, including

Punter et al. (1998), have made further attempts to locate these components of Relph's conception of place within urban design. The diagram by Punter et al., for example (see Fig. 2, below), illustrates how urban design can contribute to and enhance sense of place.

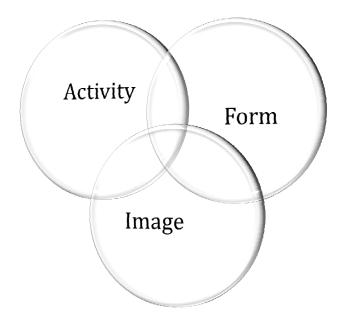


Figure 2. Punter (1991) and John Montgomery (1998)- (See Carmona et. 2003 p. 99)

These elaborations, and many others related to the concept of successful places, are often based on observations, later collaborated in case studies, or the direct result of actual research work as in the work of Jane Jacobs (1961) and William Whyte (1980) on the streets and plazas of New York. Jacobs (1961) argued that successful places possess attributes that bring people onto the street, creating 'animation and vitality.' She writes, "we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to dance- not to a simple-

minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off en masse, but to an intricate ballet in which individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce one another and compose an orderly whole" (Jacobs, 19961). If a common thread is to be traced in these attributes, it will actually be the focus on people and their use of the physical environment.

While the phenomenological approach has been received favorably especially in the design fields, primarily due to its position and call for accommodating the existential qualities, many authors have questioned its main characteristic stance in terms of being overly subjective. Some of the pointed criticism dealt with the type of knowledge it seeks to develop, suggesting that the description of place it pursues would ultimately lead to conceiving of place as a "form of mythology," Barthes (1973); "a form of constructed subjectivity" Foucault (1979); or a form of "text" Derrida (1974)- (quoted in Dovey, 2010).

Others have questioned its essentialist position. According to Dovey (2010), the Heideggerian approach sees place as possessing basic essential characteristics that are firm and founded on "rootedness," "authenticity," and the assumption of a fixed and permanent connection between person and site (Dovey, 2009; Davison, 2008)

This essentialist nature of phenomenology is more evident in its attempt to conceptualize sense of place and 'genius loci' as offered by Shultz (1980). According to Dovey (2010), what is often referred to as a 'spirit' of place or 'genius loci' is developed in the Heideggerian view of place as a "primordial ground of being" (Dovey, 2010). For

Dovey (2010), conceiving of "sense of place as deeply rooted in stabilized modes of dwelling "homeland and history" that cannot be altered, is highly problematic. Such a view often conflates the sense and meaning of place into one unspoiled whole, a reduction to essence that ignores the social constructions of place identity.

Both the essentialist (the suggestion that there is a timeless sense of place that needs to be uncovered) tendencies in the phenomenological perspective and its underestimation of the social construction of place and space, has been the subject of criticism mainly from the political economy perspective. Chief among them are the works of Henry Lefebvre (1991) and later David Harvey (1989). Lefebvre however has developed his ideas further to include a somewhat phenomenological perspective as will be discussed later.

Theories of Space Production

In very general terms, the political economy perspective traces most of the transformation and processes of space production as the ultimate outcome of the basic operation of capital. Using this economic rationale, Harvey (1989) interprets place and space as the function of continually transformative modes of capitalism. Central to Harvey's arguments is the increased influence of global forces. Such forces, he contends, are involved not only in the economic transformation from Fordism-a mode of production characterized by standardization, mass production, and labor stability- to Post-Fordism-an economy of diversity and flexible accumulation-, but also in the cultural evolution from modernism to postmodernism (Harvey, 1989).

For Harvey, globalization and space-time compression are continually transforming spaces, changing the sense of 'global space' and thus contributing to the erosion of the significance of a specific place. He further argues that as the speeds of travel increased, the sense of global space changed leading to a correlative transformation in the sense of time (Harvey, 1989).

Based on his analysis of the processes of capital and the space-time compression, Harvey (1989) argued against the claim that there is an-ever lasting essence of place that can be culled and represented either through selective study of history or from the internal social processes of a specific location. Historicism or the notion of assigning specificity through history is a 'fallacy,' he declares; it's regressive, reactionary and nostalgic (Harvey, 1989), as they are conceived of as idealized notion of an era when places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogenous societies." He described such tendencies as merely forms of local resistance in the face of the forces of globalization, and its ultimate consequence is the commodification of place (Harvey, 1989).

Production of Space according to Lefebvre

According to Madanipour (1998), much of the political economy analysis gives relatively little weight to human agency and where humans are given agency, it is often as 'class actors' or as 'wage workers' (Madanipour, 1998). This leads to dichotomous views of the world, based around struggle over wage relations and the distribution of wealth (Jessop 1990). It also means that culture and its role in the everyday life is given little emphasis. This is where Lefebvre's contribution comes in. In his book The Production of Space, (1971) he sought to examine the role of space and the importance of everyday life in the proliferation and expanded reproduction of the capitalist mode of production. According to Madanipour (1998), Lefebvre was seeking a unitary theory, a reconciliation of previous perspectives. Although he accepted phenomenology as a necessary mode of enquiry, he saw its main shortcoming in explaining the phenomenon of space and place as the downplaying of the effects of social structure and ideology. Thus, neither the phenomenological approach alone, nor the political economy perspective, is sufficient when taken singularly for the development of a well-rounded understanding of space and place. Thus, he called for a view that considers the production of space and place as function of both the experiential and the socio-structural forces (Madanipour, 1998). In this viewpoint, spaces are produced through the dialectics of three dimensions of space: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived or representational (Madanipour, 1998). These three dimensions in the dialectical relationship between the everyday life and the socio-economic forces are further elaborated by Lefebvre (1971), as follows:

41

- 1. A *perceived* space is made up of the everyday practices that produce and reproduce societal space.
- 2. A *conceived* space is that which has been conceptualized and intellectualized by technocrats the space of representation and image.
- 3. A *lived* space is the space of direct sensual experience, and is lived rather being perceived or conceived. Within such thinking, space is both a social product and a means of social reproduction; spaces and places are the product of relations between human experience and social structure we make places but are also made by them.

Entrikin (1981), a geographer, offered similar views to Lefebvre's conception of space. According to Entrikin, geographers throughout the twentieth century have sought to reconcile the dualism between science and art, and between explanation and description. In developing his ideas about place, Entrikin argued that place is best viewed with appreciation of value- even if partial- of these different perspectives. His evident starting point is human experience and the meaning given to place by conscious individuals (1991).

Place Image and the Potential for Change

Another significant scholar on the theory of place, coming from urban geography, is Doreen Massey, whose theoretical contributions on the role of globalization and on

rejecting the 'fixed' notion of place have been widely cited (Madanipour, 1998). Massey's work centers on the notion of an open, global, and progressive sense of place, (Massey, 1998). For Massey, all notions of place derived from Heidegger, particularly those of single timeless identity, are problematic and regressive (Dovey, 2010). And, while agreeing with Harvey on the premise that places are 'not fixed,' and while assigning to the argument that historicism and attempts to "fix meanings, to enclose space and to give places, single fixed identities" are regressive and nostalgic, she takes issue with the implied notion in Harvey's arguments that places have lost their significance, (Massey, 1994). She declares, "Places still matter" and their specificity is a function of the particular ways in which the global and local networks 'meet' together at an individuated locale (Massey, 2005).

For Massey, specificity is "not some long-internalized history characterized by differentiation from the outside" (Massey, 2005). Rather, it is constructed *over time* out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (Massey, 1993). According to Massey, "if places can be conceptualized in terms of the social interactions which they tie together, then it is also the case that these interactions themselves are not motionless things, frozen in time. They are processes." (Massey, 2005).

Massey's progressive conception of place is characterized by open, 'unfixed,' and provisional place identity. In this view, sense of place is outward-looking, defined by multiple identities and histories. Rather than projecting a place identity derived from original sources and enclosed boundaries, a place history and character derives from connections and interaction between multiple sources. Despite this higher degree of openness in this conception, Massey (2005) contends none of it should diminish the significance of place and its specificity. She offers the following commentary on the specific case she studied of Kilburn Street in London:

"While Kilburn may have a character of its own, it is absolutely not a seamless, coherent identity, a single sense of place which everyone shares...if it is now recognized that people have multiple identities, then the same point can be made in relation to places."

Moreover, Massey (2005) viewed globalization positively, considering it as a component of the evolution of the natural forces operating in the production processes of place. Accordingly, she argues that "instead of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a larger proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent. And this in turn allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local" (Massey, 1993). She argues that a broader framework for developing place and identity may rely on the interaction between global and local; a view that considers place as neither global nor local but as both global and local (1993).

As progressive and unfixed as Massey's notion of place appears to be, it managed to draw some negative critiques. According to Dovey (2010) an over emphasis on the social construction of place "implicitly generates the illusion that with enough deconstruction we might all live a free life in meaningless field of decentered space" (Dovey, 2010). In this view, globalization does signal the end of location-based differentiation, as it broadens the scale and network of actors and influence that affect local identity and place. It does not, for instance, address the homogenizing global influence of large-scale globally financed developments and its tendencies to commoditize and privatize place through targeting an "elite, affluent, and international audience of transient citizens that are not grounded in a specific locality" (Dovey, 2010). Through putting more weight on its exchange value, such globalizing forces are reducing 'place' "to a marketing tool of choreographed images and disassociated meanings" (Dovey, 2010). 'Local' identity, in this condition, is not necessarily autochthonous, but instead is invented and commodified to generate interest, tourism, residence and commerce (Dovey, 2010).

Larco (2009) echoed this stance, arguing that, in the debate about globalization accelerating forces constantly shifting labor and capital, the realization that physical development is grounded in location is often missed. Further, he calls for a more collaborative interaction between the local and the global, one of "coexistence" mediating "between competing interests and creating conditions where notions of place are strengthened" (Larco, 2009).

Literature on Small Cities

In relation to large urban centers, small cities and their downtowns have not been given similar attention in academic research. This perhaps results from a general perception that considers them as less significant, or perhaps because of the perception they possess insufficient complexity to warrant substantial examination (Bell & Jay, 2010; Robertson, 2004; Robertson, 2000). Cultural factors such as staunch localism, risk aversion, conventionality, and lack of aspiration are often cited as symptoms or causes of this apparent lack of complexity (Bell & Jayne, 2006).

Moreover, such a view is strong enough that small cities showing signs of activity are often perceived as trying to adopt and translate big cities ideas and policies to their contexts in a process of re-scaling (see Bell & Jayne, 2006). Nonetheless, small cities can be seen as urban areas in transition (Bell & Jayne, 2006). Often, successfully run small cities are continually in a process of either trading-up or an inter-urban competition with other cities in its region. Thus, as argued by Bell & Jayne (2006), research on small cities, despite their position in the urban hierarchy, may still well inform the debate about contemporary urban change.

Recent research in a variety of fields has shown that the substance of small cities demonstrates enough significance making them equally worthy of study. For instance, this difference in the character and composition of small city downtowns has been researched by Robertson, (2004) who studied small-cities downtowns in fifty US cities. From this research, he has drawn specific aspects to small cities downtowns that differentiate them from big-city downtowns, particularly in their built form. These he numerated as follows: 1) small cities downtowns for the most part still maintain qualities of human-scale and walkability, and they are generally less busy; 2) they are not dominated by corporate presence; 3) they lack large scale flagship or signature projects; 4) do not suffer from problems of big cities, such as congestion and crime; 5) are not subdivided into mono-functional districts; 6) retail activity is not dominated by chain or big box companies; 7) they possess a higher number of intact historic buildings; and 8) they are closely linked to residential areas. From these differences that Robertson (2004) viewed in positive light, he drew some principles of success that small cities downtowns can employ with effectiveness. These he listed as: 1) public-private partnership; 2) clear visioning; 3) multi-functionality; 4) walkable, design aesthetics; 5) urban design and planning regulations; 6) parking (calling for less emphasis on it).

However, the study of the interaction of the social aspects of life and the built environment, as discussed by Lefebvre in his theory of production of space is still lacking for small cities. That continues to be the case despite the importance of image and sense of place to small towns and its key position in any revitalization effort (See Robertson, 2004; Isenberg, 2005; Bell & Jayne, 2006).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Overview

As indicated in the introduction chapter, the focus of this study is to examine how place branding and theming of the built environment shaped the built environment and the politics of place in downtown Scottsdale in the 1950s and the 1960s. As places gain recognition, new contexts are created and challenges to prevailing place images may be put forward. New ideas, whether advanced by the citizens, civic and business leaders, city officials, or professionals, often tend to challenge the dominant place narrative for which the place is known. This often leads to a dynamic of place politics that shapes both the physical infrastructure of a place and any policy decisions about the built environment. Research on such a dynamic has, for the most part, pertained to large cities and their downtowns, as evident by the work of Fogelson (2001), Banarjee et al. (1998), Gotham (2007).

Specifically this study explores how this dynamic impacts the built environment and the planning and zoning decisions. It examines how the city of Scottsdale chose to theme its downtown area with a Western motif in the 1950s, and began to promote itself as 'The West's Most Western Town'; how this representation based on the Western appeal was sustained or challenged over time, and how such a dynamic evolved in the 1960s when calls for change away from the Western theme began to emerge. The study also examines the role of the private initiatives in shaping what is primarily a public space to represent a specific image or theme, in this case the Western Image, and how such initiatives evolved over time.

This chapter discusses the research methodology adopted for conducting this study and develops a conceptual framework based on the issues identified in the literature review chapter. Stakeholders are also identified and data sources detailed. As stated in the introduction, this study considers the politics of place with regard to the implications of place branding on the built environment in downtown Scottsdale in the 1950s and the 1960s. The 1950s and the 1960s were selected as the focus for this study because together they represent a critical moment in the history of Scottsdale. Scottsdale became incorporated as a city for the first time in the 1950s and adopted a Western image and theme and applied it onto most of the existing building stock. It is in the 1960s that Scottsdale's dominant Western image faced vocal resistance and a new avant-garde vision emerged. Research is conducted through a historical and archival analysis approach aiming to develop an account of how place promotion influenced politics of place during these two periods.

Thus, the objective of this study is twofold: 1) To delineate each of the two place visions that shaped the politics of place and place branding in the 1960s, and the context in which they operated, their supporters and the tactics they used in order to express and represent their visions onto the built environment 2) To describe the transition and reaction to change. The manifestation of the two competing visions in both the decision

making and ultimately the built environment are explored further in order to provide an understanding of the nature of the conflict.

The research employs a number of qualitative research methods. The methods are outlined and discussed in the next section. However, the main method adopted is a single case study of downtown Scottsdale in the 1950s and 1960s.

According to Yin (2008), case study research is an "empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." In other words, the main characteristic of a case study enquiry is, first, the condition in which the contextual conditions are pertinent to the phenomenon being studied (Yin, 1994). Second, the phenomenon and context are not easily distinguishable in real-life situations (Yin, 1994). Accordingly, the case study enquiry will have specific data collection and data analysis characteristics. Yin (1994) summarizes those as follows: first, there will be many more variables of interest than data points. Second, multiple sources of evidence, with data *may* converge in a triangulating fashion. Third, both data collection and data analysis need to be guided by the prior development of theoretical propositions.

A single case study methodology is adopted here because it has been used previously to study evolution of a single place or impact of a particular unit of analysis on the evolution of a single place. The key phrase here is progression through time, as it can provide sufficient coverage of the unit of analysis both in depth and complexity (Yin, 1994; Yin, 2010). The case study analysis examines two consecutive yet critical periods in which place image was developed and promoted in downtown Scottsdale in order to understand how the politics of place and image promotion shifted with time and how such shift became manifested in the built environment. The study adopts a socio-spatial analysis approach as advanced by Budd & Gottdeiner (2005). Such an approach acknowledges the primacy of place as a social construct and thus seeks to understand the roles the different players in forming visions about place and how such visions in turn shape the decision making context and ultimately the built environment. The study follows similar approaches of a single case study design as those conducted by Collins & Gottdiener (1999), Gottdiener (1994), Gottdiener & Hutchinson (2006), Gotham (2007) and others. It also draws from methods developed by Gotham (2007), Fogelson (2001), and Collins & Gottdiener, (1999), and, in particular, from the portions of their work discussing downtown development.

Scottsdale's Context in the 1950s and the 1960s

Both the 1950s and the 1960s signified important periods for a number of reasons. The 1950s represented a transitional period for the city of Scottsdale in which the active civic and business leadership dominated the show, and in which the idea and practice of promoting the city as 'The West's Most Western Town' began to take hold. The 1960s, on the other hand, witnessed an increased emphasis on growth and on the need for a more professional city management. This shift in the style of city management along with other accompanying factors such as the steady increase in population and growth in land through annexation represented the first serious challenge to the city's established image of 'The West's Most Western Town.' In other words, these periods also represented two conflicting visions for how the city should be represented and this contrast became manifest in planning decisions and ultimately the built form. This idea that there were two visions - a tale of two cities - was expressed often in letters to the editors of the local newspapers and was also reflected in the city's managers and councilmen views.

The study traces and contrasts the socio-economic developments of the 1950s and the 1960s and their impact on the experiences and strategies of place branding and image building, as well as on the way the downtown built area was developed, packaged, and promoted. For this research I have developed an analytical framework from which place branding and its impact on the built environment can be explored and its interaction with the processes of city management and citizen participation can better be understood.

Methodology

This study employs a historical case study with the aim of describing the set of events that took place in the 1950s and the 1960s in downtown Scottsdale with regard to place branding impact on the built environment and the decision making environment. The study utilizes research methods common in historiography including the critical and selective reading of sources, as well as the synthesizing of particular bits of information into a coherent narrative. Chronologically inclined, this study transcends that approach by offering an account of the context in which place promotion was introduced, how it evolved, and how it impacted the institutions, people, and the built environment. As indicated in the introduction, the objective of this study is to develop a coherent account of the relationship between place branding and the built environment of downtown Scottsdale in the 1950s and the 1960s. The case of downtown Scottsdale is used to illustrate how a particular adopted place brand survives changes over time, and how conflicts over reaction to change play out in the built environment. As such, the study examines the survivability of the representation of a place brand over time. Further, it studies the conflicting views over which place brand narrative to promote by considering the case of downtown Scottsdale in the period starting from the adoption of the Western image in the 1950s, and when it was seriously challenged in the 1960s. The idea that there were two visions - a tale of two cities (frequently expressed in letters to the editors of the local newspapers) - was also reflected by the city managers and councilmen views.

Data Sources

Because of the historical nature of this research, the study consulted two main sets of data sources; primary and secondary sources. Both sets were targeted because they offered specific information about place branding in Scottsdale in the selected study time that is relevant to the built environment.

Primary data sources. Primary data sources typically are represented by actual and immediate accounts, reflections, and positions made at the time of the event or the phenomenon being studied (Yin, 2009; Marshal & Rossman, 2006; Rossman & Rallis,

2006; Willis, 2007), and daily reports at the time of the events. In the case of Scottsdale, the primary sources examined for this study consisted of the following:

- Opinions and reports published in local newspapers current in the periods of the 1950s and the 1960s. Newspapers published at the time include *Scottsdale Daily Progress, The Arizonian, Phoenix Gazette* and *Arizona Republic*.
- 2. Data sought included letters to the editors from citizens and civic leaders concerned with the issue of place identity, particularly those debating the issue of whether to abolish the western image, or to preserve it. The idea that there are actually two Scottsdale(s) competing was often debated, while other leaders tried to strike a balance by suggesting the town can develop as a cosmopolitan town.
- 3. Newspaper coverage of the City Council and the Chamber of Commerce activities with regard to the built environment in downtown Scottsdale in the 1950s and the 1960s. These are significant as they allow for the construction of an unfiltered chronology of events.
- Newspapers coverage of the downtown place image, particularly those concerning the staging of the built environment to promote one particular place image or another.
- 5. Newspaper coverage of planning and zoning meetings, issues and discussion agendas relating to expanding or limiting the boundaries of the Western theme, or as related to exploring new visions for the downtown area.
- 6. Original newspaper articles that also included topics on planning and zoning guidelines with regard to building heights, the possibility of introducing high-rise

development into the downtown area, street development, streets signage - all of which were viewed either critical and positive or as detracting from the quality of the proposed place brand.

- Advertisements and activities, including program goals and agendas relating to the promotion of the downtown area published by the Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce.
- 8. Reports and coverage that chronicled the development of Scottsdale Civic Center since its inception as an idea. These included the selection of the site, the selection of an architect, the development of the plans, and the implementation process.
- 9. Reports on the Mexican Barrio that was to be relocated since its site was slated to be taken by the proposed Civic Center. The Mexican worker community, which lived in the downtown area since the 1930s, mainly occupied the Barrio.
- 10. Report on the application for the Urban Renewal fund and the involvement of the California based planning firm Eisner-Stewart and Associates in its preparation. This fund was used in the relocation of the Mexicans, and the preparation of the land for the civic center project.
- 11. Reports on the Architectural Review Board that was created to rule on compliance of all new development downtown with the Western architectural style. This includes the debate about what precisely a 'Western' style did entail.
- 12. Reports on the utilization of art and culture to entice tourism downtown while using the Western motif as a backdrop or a stage.

- 13. Reports on the work of the citizen participation committees created through Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP), with particular focus on the committees tackling issues of development and progress for the downtown area. Reports on the thinking behind introducing high-rise building to the downtown area. This includes coverage of supporting and opposing views and concerns. For example, property owners seemed to support the idea, while old-timers were concerned that the town may lose its distinctiveness and begin to mirror other cities and towns in the US.
- 14. Ways in which the Western image was expressed and represented. The building stock and the changes made to the public realm were visibly Western. Beyond that, there was a constant push to present a certain persona by behaving a certain way, dressing, by emphasizing ties to Western culture, for example signage located at streets intersection would state: "Horses have right-of-way".
- 15. The expressive activities utilizing the Art and Crafts, and in particular those aimed at asserting a certain place narrative over the other. This thread of data also involves the place boosting activities of artists and celebrities–either local embracing a Western style, or those who were internationally or nationally renowned aiming to assert an image of modernity - a message that the town, although small, is capable of attracting prestigious and celebrated artists and architects the same way successful and rich cities around world do. It also involves the composition and work of the Scottsdale Art Commission in promoting public art throughout the city, particularly in the 1960s.

- 16. Reports and data on specialty shops, motels, and restaurants deemed unique or distinctive by the locals and as such ought to be preserved.
- 17. Views expressed reflecting concerns about the existing problems of traffic and congestion in the downtown area and whether high-rise building would amplify their impact. These also include concerns about which solutions would alleviate the problem without impacting the quality and distinctive character of the downtown area.
- 18. Discussions about expressing the town images in the street names and signs.
- 19. Scottsdale *Step Forward*, a publication of the city council that provided a platform for city officials to present and share ideas, plans, and reflections on the town successes and opportunities. It also provided a platform to share progress on ongoing projects such as the civic center, and the work of the STEP committees.
- 20. Reports on events and festivals that emphasized one place image or the other. These include the Parada del Sol (Parade of the Sun), a Western-styled parade held in the winter since the 1950s, and others include the Scottsdale Art Festival.
- 21. Photos obtained from photos archives of the Arizona Republic, the History
 Room at the Scottsdale Public Library, Scottsdale Historical Society, and Arizona
 State University document archives.
- 22. Government documents including the *United States Census Bureau*, the city's first master plan, and the city's first comprehensive economic study prepared by the California planning office of Eiesner-Stewart & Associates.

23. Documents reviewed at Scottsdale History Museum, including parts of the recorded oral history of the town.

Secondary data sources. These included:

- 1. Books about the history of Scottsdale.
- 2. Fudala's books on Scottsdale. (2001, 2008).
- 3. McElfresh book on Scottsdale called: Scottsdale, Jewel of the Desert (1984).
- 4. Douglas B. Syndor's historical book, *Scottsdale Architecture* (2010).
- 5. Richard Lynch book on Scottsdale's founder: Chaplain Winfield Scott (1978).
- 6. Interviews with notable persons familiar with Scottsdale's development and history.
- 7. Chamber of Commerce marketing material, including history briefs on the town evolution from a farming town to a tourism magnet.
- Annexation battles and the pressures of growth, as discussed in VanderMere (2010) and Luckingham (1989).
- 9. Documents, interviews with, or reports on Bennie Gonzales the architect for the Civic Center, and his ideas and design criteria for the civic center project.
- 10. In addition, interviews were conducted with five key figures knowledgeable about the history of Scottsdale and its downtown area. Interviews employed an unstructured approach but primarily sought to corroborate or to further elaborate on information found in the archival research. As such, they provide a means of triangulation.

Conceptual Framework:

In conceptualizing a framework for this study, and in light of the literature review, I argue that the topic of place branding and its application onto the built environment can be discussed in relation to three main components. These include: 1) visions and place narratives: consisting of the very basic ideas, messages or scripts that the place brand will convey; 2) policies: consisting of decisions, plans and zoning criteria instituted so as to establish and promote a particular brand; and 3) practices: consisting of activities of both the official city personnel and the public in supporting, promoting, and expressing a particular brand - or, their efforts to suppress, control, or eliminate a particular brand. Thus, from an application of this conceptual framework as a guide in examining the relevance of information when reviewing the data sources listed above a number of recurring themes and topics of debates were recognized and considered for further review. These included:

- The overall feel and character of the built form, whether by supporting the Western appeal or deviating from it.
- 2) Maximum building height and its articulation of the place brand.
- 3) Signage and its relevance to the advocated place brand.
- Other zoning topics including designation of a 'Western zone' district in the downtown area.
- Public art and its use to project either a Western place brand or a progressive modern image.

- The development of the first city-wide master plan in the 1960s and its recommendation for the downtown area.
- Any discussion about street improvements or street re-naming that is seen by supporters or opponents as critical to articulating or abstracting a particular place brand.
- 8) Civic pride versus business interests, and the involvement of the citizens through Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP), particularly the work of the STEP committee assigned the issue of development in the downtown area.

Issues of place branding. From the review of place branding literature discussed in chapter two, the following include the issues of place branding in terms of its relationship with the built environment: (a) The issue of representation. Which image is being promoted and on whose account? (b) The selectivity and narrow focus of powerful place brands and whether they apply to cities and public spaces the same way they apply to privately owned spaces. The idea that public spaces are not Disney parks, owned by a single entity, but publicly and collectively owned. (c) The role of the powerful elite, and the competing interests involved in the processes of place branding. One assumption often associated with small cities is that the powerful elite(s) are likely to be monolithic and less diverse in composition and therefore will act as one unit. This study examines this assumption in terms of the make-up and stance of the powerful elite(s) toward the projected place narrative in the case of downtown Scottsdale. (d) Another issue relevant to place branding is related to the pragmatic attitude of place promoters toward the notion of authenticity of the projected place narrative.

Downtown Scottsdale Stakeholders

Stakeholders for this study refer to the main players who engaged in place branding visioning, policy, and practice. They can be considered in terms of three different periods in the history of Scottsdale.

During the *pre-incorporation* period they included:

- 1) the business community
- 2) The Chamber of the Commerce
- 3) the artists and the tourism industry

During the *incorporation* period they included:

- 1) the City Council
- 2) the Chamber of Commerce
- 3) the business community
- 4) the tourism industry
- 5) the galleries and store owners

And during the 1960s, a period that I dubbed the avant-garde period

- The City Council and the City Manager and the city committees.
- The citizen participation program referred to at the time as "Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program" or STEP.
- 3) Chamber of Commerce.

- 4) The art council and art commission,
- 5) The Planning and Zoning,
- 6) The Business community,
- Civic leaders. These include banks presidents, resort managers, or newspapers editors. Also included in this group are figures involved with religious or educational institutions.

Generalization from a Case Study

According to Yin, (2009), there is a common concern among many researchers about the generalizability of case study research. "How can you generalize from a single case?" (Yin,1994). For Yin (2009) the problem of "generalizing from case studies lies in the very notion of generalizing to other case studies." He calls instead, for the analyst to aim to generalize findings to 'theory,' "analogous to the way a scientist generalizes from experimental results to theory." With regard to generalization, the focus of the case study enquiry should be on "analytic generalization" and not statistical generalization. Yin cites the work of Jane Jacobs in her book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* (1961) as an illustration of this rationale. He notes that the book is based mostly on experiences from New York City, but the chapter topics span broader theoretical issues in planning, for example the role of neighborhoods parks, sidewalks, the need for primary mixed uses, the need for small blocks, and the processes of slumming and unslumming" (Yin, 1994). Thus, case studies can be based on single or multiple-case designs, and where a multiple design is used, it should follow a replication rather than a sampling logic (Yin, 2009; Marshal & Rossman, 2006). When no other cases are available for replication, the researcher is limited to single-case designs. To this question, Yin (1994) offers the following answer: "Case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes." In this case, the investigator's goal is to "expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (Yin, 1994).

CHAPTER 4

Scottsdale: A Culture of Place Promotion

Overview

This chapter provides background on the town of Scottsdale and the early phases of place promotion and boosterism leading to the 1950s. While the next two chapters examine the impact of place branding on place politics in the 1960s in downtown Scottsdale, this chapter's objective is to, first, provide an account of the context in which Scottsdale evolved from a farming town supervised by Maricopa County Board of Governments to an incorporated city in 1951; and second, to describe the context in which place branding and place-image politics emerged and evolved as a culture leading up to the city's incorporation. The chapter consists of three main sections as follows:

- The first section discusses the nature of early boosterism efforts in the Scottsdale area and establishes their link to the history of place promotion in the US West. A key leader in promoting Scottsdale throughout this time was Chaplain Winfield Scott, who also founded the city. This section also includes a brief history of the downtown area in the periods preceding the city's incorporation in 1951.
- 2. The second section presents an account of the socio-economic conditions that paved the way for tourism to become a major industry. It also includes discussion of the role of artists and the arts in establishing a cultured community and in generating cultural activities that became part of the place promotion effort.

3. The third section considers the role of the Chamber of Commerce prior to the city's incorporation in 1951 and continuing throughout the 1950s. This section also examines the nature of place politics that preceded and followed incorporation, and explores how the first City Council and the Chamber of Commerce viewed the relationship between place promotion and the built environment in the downtown area.

Scottsdale's early settlement and growth shares many similarities with emerging southwestern towns at the time. According to Ward (1999), the American West would probably not have been settled as quickly and as thoroughly had it not been for the rise of modern advertising and place promotion. Because of its location, Scottsdale's early theming is not totally isolated from the history of US West.

Scottsdale as a site existed since 1894, when Chaplain Winfield Scott purchased the first section of land in the area east of Phoenix. Other settlers followed. Of course they did not come to the area looking for gold or silver, as the gold rush period had already ended by the time Scottsdale land was being subdivided and offered to would-be investors. Yet, the lure of cheap fertile land in the beginning provided a similar attraction to entice the first emigrants into in the area. Soon after, and through the boosting efforts of the first pioneers, other qualities of the area became evident particularly those of the climate and beauty of the desert.

Scottsdale's Founder as the First Place Booster

As in similar desert settlements in the Southwest, the presence of water was the first indicator of a propensity for settlement. In the case of Scottsdale, the Arizona Canal or the Salt River Valley Project provided the impetus. In February of 1888, U.S. Army Chaplain Winfield Scott arrived in Phoenix, Arizona responding to an invitation from a group of civic and business leaders (Lynch, 1978). The group, having heard of Chaplain Winfield Scott's reputation in boosting places; a reputation he gained during his involvement with the Baptist church in Kansas and California, was hopeful that he might be impressed with the area and could be enlisted to boost Phoenix and the valley (Lynch, 1978). After been given a tour of the valley and particularly the area near the newly constructed Arizona Canal, near today's downtown Scottsdale, Scott was not only impressed by the irrigated desert location, the beautiful scenery and pleasant climate, but he also saw the potential for the place to become a settlement (Fudala, 2001; Lynch, 1978; McElfresh, 1984; Syndor, 2010).

Upon the conclusion of his first visit to the area, Chaplain Winfield Scott decided to purchase a section of land: 640 acres, near the newly constructed Arizona Canal with the goal of starting a farming enterprise (Lynch, 1978). Scott's land became the first section to be purchased in the area. It was bounded by today's Chaparral on the north, Indian School road on the south, Hayden Road on the East and Scottsdale Road on the west (Lynch, 1978). The purchase and location of Scott's land, being close to today's Downtown Scottsdale, became the first event in a series of developments that culminated in the area becoming the city bearing his name. He subsequently began a tireless effort of recruiting settlers from the East and Midwest luring them with the promise of richness that lies ahead (Lynch, 1978; Fudala, 2001). These included bankers, real estate investors, farmers, and citizens looking for better opportunities elsewhere (Lynch, 1978).

Chaplain Scott was the town's main booster. Often working as a one-man Chamber of Commerce he would journey to many Eastern and Midwestern cities, promoting the area's potential (Lynch, 1978). He would stress the selling point the climate of the Salt River Valley which would be perfect for growing fruits, especially raisins - one of the most profitable in all fruit industries at the time (Lynch, 1978). He would also point out that fruit would ripen a month earlier than California (Lynch, 1978). This clear advantage, coupled with the fact that Phoenix was then two days closer to Eastern markets would give the Salt River Valley a clear fruit production edge over California (Lynch, 1978). While the promotion of Scottsdale as a farming site followed a pattern that was occurring in other Arizona towns (see Crewe, 2004), Scott's experimentation with citrus and raisins has been notable.

These promotional efforts began to be noticed. Soon, other investors began buying land near or adjacent to the section of land owned by Scott. Other types of settlers moved in as well. Health seekers and artists who wanted to be surrounded by the beauty of the desert began to filter into the area. Other settlers included those who preferred Scottsdale to Phoenix because of its open space, pristine desert, and quietness (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984).

As stated earlier, the area first developed as an agricultural site. However, not all purchases of land following Scott's purchase were for the purpose of agriculture and farming. The large and empty areas of what would later become Scottsdale made it possible that developers would also consider opening town sites.

Several land speculators and investors began to arrive within a few years of Scott's arrival in the area (Lynch, 1978). One of them is a Rhode Island banker by the name Albert Utley who made the announcement that he would be subdividing a 40–acre town site south of Scott's ranch and adjoining to his property. Because of Scott's successes with growing citrus, Utley would initially name the town site Orangedale (Lynch, 1978). However, shortly after, this name was changed to Scottsdale in honor of its town first settler and place booster, Chaplain Winfield Scott, (Lynch, 1978). Within barely the second decade of the settlement in 1910, a public school board was established which helped entice more people to decide to settle near the area (Lynch, 1978). The schoolhouse building still stands today and is considered one of Scottsdale's oldest structures. It is also referred to as the Red Brick House and currently houses the Scottsdale History Museum, in the heart of the downtown area on Main Street.

Artists Role in Boosting Scottsdale

Prior to the city's incorporation in 1951, the promotion of Scottsdale in general and its downtown area as an art Mecca was encouraged by at least three factors:

1) The presence of notable artists and the boosting of the area through visits from celebrities and film stars. 2) The growing number of art galleries and arts and crafts stores and shops in the downtown area. 3) The growing tourism industry marked by the increase in number and quality of resorts (VanderMeer, 2010), and thus the increase in the number of visitors that Scottsdale began to share.

As artists began to move into the area, a distinct quality about the community emerged. A place boosterism through name association began to take place. As if handpicked, the original settlers were educated and cultured (Lynch, 1974; McElfresh, 1984). Two kinds of population began to be noticed in the city: 1) the visitors and tourists, 2) upper class residents that preferred a quiet living in the expanding city (McElfresh, 1984).

This community of artists, of upscale residents and of tourists' associations with the first area resorts such as the Ingleside Inn (built in 1909) and the Jokake Inn (built in 1922) further contributed to shaping a distinct character about Scottsdale. This was particularly the case as film stars and celebrities began to frequent the area, giving it an additional boost. Photos of Scottsdale circulated by Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce included figures such as US senators, famous actors and actresses, and famous artists, all enjoying the resorts life of Scottsdale or nearby Phoenix (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984).

Another significant event that helped boost the town name to national audience is represented by the arrival of renowned architect Frank Lloyd Wright, who first came to the area when he visited Chandler in 1927 to work on a desert resort project (see Crewe, 2011). In his second visit to the area in 1937, he set up his winter office at the foot of the McDowell Mountains, which then became the architecture school associated with his business: the Taliesin West (Syndor, 2010; Fudala, 2001). Wright's arrival helped boost the area in a significant way, as it inspired other artists to join thus attracting attention to the desert (McElfresh, 1984). Among the notable figures that made Scottsdale their home in the 1930s is Philip Curtis, an internationally renowned artist. Later he would become a leading booster of arts in the area especially through his work with city of Scottsdale Fine Arts Commission formed in the 1960s (McElfresh, 1984).

The presence of other renowned artists also helped boost the town further. Famous among them is Lew Davis, one of the original artists involved in the Arizona Crafts Center that brought many artists and art activity to the downtown area, later leading to the establishment of Scottsdale's reputation for arts (McElfresh, 1984). Notable sculptors also moved into the area. In 1936, Mathilde Schaefer of New York, a nationally known sculptress arrived in Scottsdale to join an already viable 'art colony' (McElfresh, 1984). Others who actually set-up shops in the downtown area include Lloyd Kiva, a leather craftsman, who was a key figure in the Arizona Craftsmen Council and, later, the development of Fifth Avenue as a center for arts and crafts and specialty shops (Sydnor, 2010; Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984).

Tourism and Place Promotion in Scottsdale, Prior to the 1950s

The 1940s witnessed an increase in tourism activity in the Scottsdale downtown area. This was due to reputation the place was gaining through the presence of talented and renowned artists and sculptors (Fudala, 2007). Up to this point, the area's primary economy was based on agriculture. Yet other aspects of the place, i.e., climate, the presence of a cultured community and the beauty of the desert were beginning to receive notice, leading to a steady growth in tourism. Western heritage or Western architecture was not yet in display, as the town as whole did not have roots in a frontier Western culture past other than few cattle ranches in the outskirts of the city. This small presence of ranches, however, created some interest in a 'Wild Wild West' theming and a place narrative (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984).

One of the main ranches operating at the time was located in North Scottsdale in the same location as today's location of DC Ranch. It was owned by one of the town's prominent businessmen, Mr. Brown [Brown Road in the downtown area was named after him]. Brown's cattle business, which operated throughout the 1950s, would contribute to creating an occasional feel of a Western culture. From time to time, tourists would encounter and recall with excitement the cattle drives: cowboys herding cattle through town, and then through McDowell road to Phoenix Railroad station (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984;). This perhaps was what fed the decision to promote a Western place narrative, and later inspired the slogan, 'The West's Most Western Town.' DC Ranch operation continued throughout the 1950s complete with cattle drives and cowboys.



Figure 3. 1920s Cattle Drive at what is now Scottsdale road and Indian School. Scottsdale Historical Society.

As Scottsdale's development coincided with that of Phoenix and other towns in the area, tourism presented a major opportunity. Phoenix was quickly becoming a tourist destination, most especially in the winter months and the number of resorts being built and golf courses developed grew (VanderMeer, 2010). This helps explain why Scottsdale's business leaders in the downtown area decided to take the initiative and begin to promote their place to stir a tourist economy. The old Western town or village place narrative drew from all this history.

Although all would agree that Scottsdale is not a true or authentic product of the Old West, theming the downtown area as an old Western town was supported by almost all the businesses along Main Street, the heart of the downtown area in the 1950s. The transformation that took place and the extent of the application of the Western theme will be detailed in the next section.

Chamber of Commerce and its Efforts at Place Branding

In 1947, the Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce, resumed work after having stopped during the depression era and the years that followed. Through its brochure production, or commissioning of travel writers who wrote about the unique qualities of Scottsdale to a targeted audience in the East and Midwest, the area gained further recognition. This time it is one of sophistication as well due to the notable figures that lived in the area or the celebrities who visited it in the cooler months of the year. Vice President Marshal for example whose winter residence was on Marshal Street and Indian School Road, literally on the edge of the downtown area, helped boost the city to a national audience, especially when he would arrive to vacation during winter (McElfresh, 1984). The arrival of Frank Lloyd Wright, the now famously known architect, who built a winter residence in the rugged desert in north Scottsdale in 1937, and later established the Taliesin West architectural school also added to this aura of sophistication (Fudala, 2001). Wright's infatuation with the desert inspired other creative artists to move to the area, as indicated earlier.

In 1951, the year Scottsdale was incorporated as a city, Scottsdale leaders made a deliberate move of adopting a special identity, linked to the Old West, as a reflection of a portion of the city's roots and as a draw for tourists. The Chamber of Commerce established a Western design theme for the downtown and adopted 'The West's Most Western Town' slogan. How they went about applying this theme onto the downtown area will be detailed in the next chapter.



Figure 4. Aerial view of Scottsdale in 1936. Scottsdale Historical Society.

At the same time Scottsdale was growing its tourism industry, it was also attracting business. In 1950, Motorola opened a plant near Scottsdale's western border, signaling the beginning of an advanced technology industry that has continued to grow. The company in 1956 opened another plant within the city on McDowell Road (Fudala, 2001).

Although the Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce was first established in the 1920s, the years of economic depressions brought its activities to a halt. In 1947, it was reactivated and began promoting the city as a fine resort destination. Up to that time, the city seemed to be more focused on attracting tourism (McElfresh, 1984). In the early 1950s, however, the Chamber of Commerce was also involved in bringing light industry to the area. Motorola opened its first plan in the area in the 1950s. These activities had planted the seed for the need to establish civic amenities.



Figure 5. Cavalliere Hardware & Plumbing business in 1946. Directly north of this building (left of the photo) is the Mission church, one of the oldest adobe buildings in downtown Scottsdale. Scottsdale Historical Society.

Politics of Place at the Decision of Incorporation

At the time of incorporation, the city of Scottsdale already had a reputation for

Western ambience. Quality resorts, golf courses, and downtown area with specialty art

shops made Scottsdale more than just a suburb of Phoenix (Fudala, 2007; McElfresh,

1984). An image of sophistication was already being associated with the small town as it

continued to gain world recognition (Fudala, 2001). All of this contributed to a prosperous and growing tourism industry that found ways to capitalize on the place image. The Western image was conceived in this context as it will be discussed later in this chapter.

Thus, for the small Western town that relies on tourism as its main economic engine, enhancing the projected image became an important concern for business and civic leaders. In this context, the politics behind the decision to incorporate were fundamentally driven by a call to action to save the city's identity. As indicated earlier, the Brown family's decision to sell its water company to City of Phoenix created uncertainties about the fate and the future of the city (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). Many residents wondered what would happen if the City of Phoenix owned the town's only water company. Would Phoenix annex Scottsdale? Would Scottsdale then lose its unique identity? These were the type of fears with which the town grappled.

The concern grew stronger aided by the fact that Tempe had incorporated around the same time in order to thwart similar threats. Although the prospect of selling the water company was the trigger, other factors gave the idea a needed push. Residents feared that if the city became part of Phoenix, Scottsdale would lose its distinctiveness. They feared that they would lose the rural lifestyle they had become accustomed to and would soon be swallowed up by Phoenix, eventually paving the way for new zoning laws and property taxes. (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). Thus, a growing sentiment began to take root in favor of incorporation.

75

Many leaders became convinced that incorporation would not only spare them of the fate of becoming like Phoenix, but it might provide the place with its own opportunities. For example, the new city may get a share of State vehicle and gasoline taxes (Fudala, 2001). The quality of services that were being offered at the time was also another factor. Many residents had complained about the inadequate services of police and fire protection (Fudala, 2001). In terms of the physical environment of the budding town, some residents always believed that the town would benefit from improving its infrastructure and, at minimum, provide better street lighting or paved streets (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984).

Early in 1951, a petition campaign was initiated by the Chamber of Commerce. It was a door-to-door campaign that aimed at collecting signatures of more than two-thirds of 400 tax-paying property owners from among some 1,200 persons residing in the area to be incorporated (McElfresh, 1984). The petition was presented to Maricopa County Board of Advisors which ratified the incorporation request. Thus Scottsdale was declared a city with its own government on June 25, 1951 (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984).

At the time of incorporation, the size of the town was roughly four-block of the downtown area. It was bounded by Camelback road from the north, Thomas Road from the south, Miller Road from the east, and the Arizona Canal from the west, (McElfresh, 1984).

76

The 1950s Place Brand

'The West's Most Western Town'

When the first Mayor and new City Council took office, one of the first action items involved selecting an official seal and slogan for the city. The decision to officially adopt the Western image seemed natural, since it was already in use in many places but particularly in the downtown area (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). As noted by Ward (1998), the culture of place branding and slogans in the US has its roots in the experiences developed in the US West early settlements. The "Wild Wild West" phrase, for example, was the product of tourism marketing capitalizing on the tales and legends of the US West frontier towns culturally engrained since the 1800s (Quay, 2002). Scottsdale was no exception to this culture.

In 1947, a group of businessmen decided to adopt a Western theme and a slogan for the town, calling it 'The West's Most Western Town,' and encouraged businesses and storeowners to give their storefronts an ersatz Western, board-and-batten look (See Fig. 7 & 8). Many had already done so voluntarily (Fudala, 2001). Soon after the incorporation, the new Council decided to use the Western theming as the city's official image, and adopted the slogan, 'The West's Most Western Town,' which became part of the city's official place narrative, especially in marketing for tourism (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). The following figures show references to such claim either on the city's official promotional material or as reflected by scenes from the built environment. The first figure (Fig. 6) shows the city's official seal with the Western image slogan inscribed.



Figure 6. City of Scottsdale's official seal showing inscription of the City's adopted slogan. City of Scottsdale, official website.



Figure 7. Lulu Belle, one of the first businesses to adopt a slef-interpreted Western image. Scottsdale Historical Society.



Figure 8. Showing the front of First National Bank of Arizona, with some features of the espoused Western image- Downtown Scottsdale, 1955. Scottsdale Historical Society.

It should be noted that the Western Image, though historically artificial, was not the creation of the city officials and politicians alone. Part of it is the fact that there was no city government or institutions at the time of introducing the Western image. Instead, the initiative came primarily from businesses and business leaders, in particular the storeowners, whose ideas were then embraced by the Chamber of Commerce, which managed and promoted the town prior to incorporation.

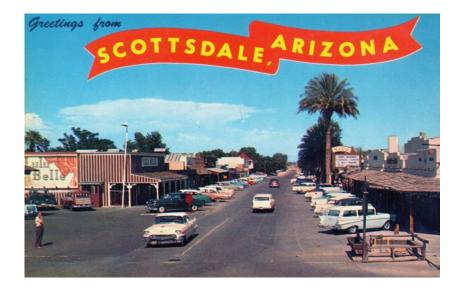


Figure 9. Scottsdale Road near Main Street, downtown Scottsdale in the 1950s. Note that all buildings are kept at a maximum height of 35 ft. Scottsdale Historical Society.

Branding Scottsdale, and in particular its downtown area, and building an image based on a Western theme and an art culture was meant to appeal to visitors in the first place, to present them with a quaint atmosphere so that they would experience going back in time and to provide a feel of what the West looked like, or was lived in (McElfresh). Both the locals and the Chamber of Commerce worked diligently in creating events that would further establish a Western-rooted distinctiveness. The following figure shows one such event, the procession of the Sun Parade, an annual event started in the 1950s. The timing of its occurrence, February of each year, was intended to appeal to winter visitors and tourists coming to town from all parts of the US.



Figure 10. Parada del Sol (or the Sun Parade). A tradition held every February since the 1950s. Scottsdale Historical Society.

Not only is the brand itself manufactured, inauthentic, and highly selective, it was also sterile in the sense that it romanticized a past that in large measure was not necessarily charming or calm. The true story of struggle and slow beginnings of the farm town and the art shops were often masked by the boosting practices that touted the town's Western association, and were obscured by the glamour stories of a growing upscale class that lived north of the canal. That focus on glamour articles did not sit well with Mayor Kimsey, who expressed his disdain for such limited perspective on Scottsdale. (*Arizona Republic*, Dec. 4, 1960).

Scottsdale's Mexican Barrio

While such place branding activities were occurring in the downtown area, one group conspicuously omitted from the espoused place narrative was the Mexican community that lived in a Mexican Barrio in the downtown area. Their presence there was as old as Scottsdale itself, since they were encouraged to come to the area to work in agriculture tending to the cotton fields (Burruel, 2007). Part of the reason why the Mexican community of the downtown area was not included in place marketing was socio-economic in nature. First, their community did not necessarily fit with the projected image of a Western, frontier town that was being promoted to mostly Anglo-White emigrants in the East and Midwest. Second, the Mexican Barrio was seen by some as a blighted area and as such should not be highlighted as part of the promoted place narrative. Originally, the Mexicans lived in the farms and did everything the farm owners wanted done. Their community however was disrupted by the down turn in cotton demand following World War II (Burruel, 2007).

The Barrio, which means the neighborhood, was actually established later, when businessman E. O. Brown decided to start a cotton gin business (Burruel, 2007). Brown, who also owned D.C. ranch, was familiar with Mexican border towns where he purchased his Mexican range cattle. Recognizing that many 'Mexicanos' in these border towns needed work Brown recruited them to work in his cotton gin, the Scottsdale Cotton Gin Company. As the Mexicans moved into the area, they first lived on ranches and farms, even make-shift huts or tents. The Barrio, where the civic center is now located, developed when real estate investor Lloyd George began selling vacant lots on the east edge of the current downtown site near Main and Brown roads (Burruel, 2007). According to Burruel, (2007), the Mexican immigrants would find unoccupied woodframed homes they could move onto their lots. These were the homes that would be available when their occupants - tuberculosis patients - died, and thus they become abandoned (Burruel, 2007). The 'unscrupulous immigrants' would consider them available and transport them to their empty lots. This seemingly negative attitude toward the Mexicans perhaps stemmed from a lingering and rooted distrust following the Mexican War of 1848 (Burruel, 2007). The memories and stories of that war perhaps were still fresh in the minds of the early farmers and ranchers of the area. Many of the first Anglos who immigrated to Scottsdale were cattlemen from Texas or cotton farmers from the South, (Burruel, 2007).

CHAPTER 5

The 1960s: New Place Brand for Scottsdale?

Overview

In this chapter, I discuss the factors that contributed to changing the context for place politics in the city of Scottsdale in the 1960s, and consequently led to the emergence of calls for adopting a new city image beyond that of the Western brand. I call this new vision the Avant-garde vision, which was progressive in nature as itsprimary motive was to prepare the city for a future of growth and diversity - beyond the limitations of the Western dominant place brand. In addition, I describe the main characteristics of this vision, the groups supporting it, and their tactics for asserting and implementing their ideas.

As the ultimate focus of this chapter is to explain how this shift in place politics had changed or attempted to change the built environment in downtown Scottsdale, I devote particular attention to one principal achievement of this group represented by the development of the Civic Center project. This is the project that in effect resulted in bringing open space to downtown Scottsdale and allowed for the introduction of a different architectural style represented in the new buildings of the City Hall and the Public library - which were hoped to function as catalyst for change. The Civic Center project is particularly significant since it resulted in the relocation of the Mexican Barrio from downtown Scottsdale to South Scottsdale. To achieve that end, a number of steps were taken; chief among them is the use of urban renewal funds from the US Federal Housing Agency. Once again, the presence of Mexicans and the Mexican Barrio were discounted from the city's place narrative, as it was the case when the presence of the Mexican Barrio was discounted from the Western place narrative dominant in the 1950s.

I note here, that despite the changing context of the 1960s, and the calls for change, the Western brand continued to exist. The efforts of its supporters - discussed later in this chapter - to introduce change to downtown Scottsdale and to shape a new place brand different from the Western brand are contrasted with efforts of those who supported protecting and retaining the Western image. I defer treatment of the Western brand's supporters group and their activities to the next chapter, Chapter Six, where I examine their attempts at asserting it and the issues on which they focused.

Early 1960s: Emergence of an Avant-garde Vision

Throughout the 1950s, the Western image became the officially espoused place brand. It was reflected not only on the way existing storefront façades were converted to look 'Western' but also, in the attempts by the city leadership to present a rugged, undeveloped "feel" for the downtown area. These included the provision of hitching posts; minimum street paving; less elaborate street lighting; signage that emphasized the presence of a Western culture - for example, stating that 'Horses have Right-of-Way' at street intersections; or the recognizable 'Welcome to Scottsdale" sign that features a cowboy figure, placed at key entry points to the downtown- see Fig. 11.



Figure 11. Scottsdale's cowboy sign. The original version of this sign was first installed in the early 1950s, near Scottsdale Road and Main Street. Scottsdale Historical Soceity.

Mainly, however, the Western character was represented by the additions applied to the façades of the existing building stock. These included adding the wooden boardand-batten façades, while maintaining some of the architectural features commonly found in frontier towns of the old west, i.e., flat roofs with stepped parapet walls, symmetrical design allowing for stylized sign to be placed on the upper corral part of the parapet (See Fig. 12), and shade canopies constructed of log columns and beams. See Fig. 12, 13 & 14 below.



Figure 12. A building at the corner of Main Street and Brown Road modified to reflect a Western image. Date of Modification 1948. Scottsdale Historical Society. (This building was modified further in the 1990s)



Figure 13. Another building near the intersection of Main Street and Brown Road in downtown Scottsdale, slightly modified to reflect a Western theme. Scottsdale Historical Society.



Figure 14. Another building in downtown Scottsdale, with add-on Board-and-Batten modification to reflect a Western theme. (recent photo)

These simple changes had given the town a charming, village-like Western persona revered by tourists - as evident by the annual reports of the Chamber of Commerce (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). These successes had encouraged some from the city leadership to consider applying the Western motif to all of Scottsdale. However, the changes of the 1960s had brought such an endeavor to a halt.

Beginning with the 1960s, the town began to exhibit fatigue toward the Western image due to a number of factors. First, the town had grown exponentially both in terms of area and population. While the 1950s exhibited slow growth in terms of area and population, the pace of growth in the 1960s was remarkably different. Starting with a population size of 2,035 living in one square mile at the time of incorporation in 1951, in 1960 the town's population reached 10,025 living in 3.8 square miles (US Bureau of Census,1960). By the end of the 1960s, the population of Scottsdale had increased to nearly 68,000, while its land area increased to 62 square miles (See VanderMeer, 2010; Scottsdale Economic Study of 1966, by Eisner-Stewart & Associates). This resulted partly from the town winning a number of annexation battles over already developed and inhabited land previously owned by city of Phoenix (See VanderMeer, 2010). It was also due to emigration and settlement from other states or from within the state (Fudala, 2010; Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984).

Second, the opening of the first major industrial site in the town in 1957 brought with it diversity in interests and concerns. Motorola had opened its South Scottsdale site in 1957 at a time when the town's economy was no longer exclusively dependent on tourism.

Third, the semi-conductor manufacturer Motorola moving into Scottsdale had created interest by other light industries in locating plants in Scottsdale, prompting the city leadership to consider developing a master plan with the specific goal of setting the stage for the expected growth. Further, Motorola with its employment contributed to the discussion about meeting a growing demand for quality services, schools, and other civic and cultural amenities (Fudala, 2001). In this context, calls for the need for a master plan to be prepared to meet growth pressures, accompanied with voices questioning the efficacy and relevance of the Western brand began to be heard (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). Thus began a campaign, often tacit, yet carefully planned and implemented to move away from a reliance on the Western image.

The City Council elections of 1962 and 1964 were of particular importance as they reflected these new concerns and pointed to a divide in the political landscape between mainly two groups; one promising change and progress; another vowing to protect the persona and traditions of Scottsdale. It is in this context that an avant-garde vision was formed. The City Council that took office in 1964 happened to be representative of this progressive vision, mainly consisting of members who recently moved to Scottsdale, either from the US East, but mostly from California.

In the following sections, I review the make-up of the new City Council. In addition, I examine the main steps and tactics devised and employed either by the Council or through the work of the citizen participation program- also known as Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP). I also consider the development of the Civic Center and its contribution to asserting this avant-garde vision, as was advanced by the public-private partnership of the Council and STEP committees.

Challenging the Western Brand

As indicated earlier, the 1964 City Council's election involved two main factions competing with agendas aimed to addressing the issue of progress and change. On the one side was the progressive vision proclaiming Scottsdale's potential lies ahead and that the city should not be constricted by the Western brand. This is the vision of the newcomers as it were, as most of those running for office on this ticket were new to the area, coming here mostly from California (See Scottsdale Official Site). In a way, being an outsider was seen as an advantage. Mr. Woudenberg, Scottsdale's new Mayor in 1964, described his running mates as top administration professionals. Responding to a question on whether his Council consisted of 'newcomers,' Woudenberg insisted these are individuals who are not completely foreign to the politics of place in Scottsdale as they were involved in managing the city in one capacity or another since the early sixties (Scottsdale Daily Progress, Interview with Woudenberg).

On the other side was the 'Citizen for Progress' campaign that consisted of mostly long-time residents, proudly referring to themselves as 'old-timers'. Theirs was the contrasting vision that acknowledged Scottsdale's potential for progress, but did not necessarily see a need for doing away with the Western image or with the Western theming that gave downtown Scottsdale its distinctive character (see Keepers of Scottsdale Image, *Arizona Republic*, April 9, 1962). In other words, while one was open to ideas of change and progress, the other was more cautious and leaned more toward preservation and conservatism.

Though winning the election of 1964 City Council with a low margin, the avantgarde camp immediately began to set the course for change. The issue of the Western motif came in the first interview given by Mayor Woudenberg to the newspaper, *Phoenix Gazette* (September 26, 1964). In this interview, Mayor Woudenberg asked rhetorically: "Is the image of the small city with a Western Motif and flavor telling our story?" While crediting the Western image with making Scottsdale a successful community, Mayor Woudenberg did not find the community wedded to the image. In the same interview, Mayor Woudenberg also noted that an evolution beyond the Western theme was already taking place, whether in the downtown area or in the area resorts. He pointed out that "some of the area's resorts will only let a horse approach if it's painted on canvas; or that the shops on Fifth Avenue (in the downtown area) and Fashion Square Mall have already changed and cannot convincingly claim to be more western than 'Buddhist temples'' (*Phoenix Gazette*, September 26, 1964). Also, he pointed at the food offered at local restaurants which seemed to "offer food for all tastes except for cowboy fare".

Features of the Avant-garde Agenda

There are specific features that characterized the work of the group in support of the progressive agenda. While the main support of these visions emanated from the new City Council, other contributors include the STEP committees (as will be addressed later in this chapter) part of downtown businesses, and the City appointed Public Art Commission. All of these groups will be addressed in the discussion of the features and events of the progressive vision that follows this summary.

Below, I summarize key steps and tactics employed by this camp before treating them separately in the sections following this summary. In the process of discussing these events, I also address the question of who was involved and in what capacity, in order to give a description of the political landscape in which they operated:

 First, a pledge to change the style of governance: The City Council of 1964 announced that it is committed to changing the style of city governing so that it is more reliant and respectful of professional and expert opinions (Woudenberg comments to *Phoenix Gazette*, September, 26, 1964). This commitment was expressed in a number of ways, one being the hiring of a city manager from the state California who later played a key role in advancing the progressive agenda. It was also represented by the City's reaching out to School of Architecture at Arizona State University for assistance with articulating a future vision for Scottsdale.

- 2. Second, the initiation of citizens participation program, named 'Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program' (STEP). The work of the STEP committees functioned as a partnership between the City Council and the public and helped advance clear goals for the entire city, but most importantly for the downtown area.
- 3. Third, the hiring of a master planner, also from California, who, over two years, contributed to the development of an all-city master plan that included specific recommendations for the downtown area. The master planner also helped the City navigate the application process of the Federal Urban Renewal Funds in order to help the City with clearing a downtown site for the Civic Center. This is the site that was occupied by the Mexican Barrio at the time.
- 4. Fourth, the planning, design and construction of the Civic Center project, which was inspired by a quest for vibrancy but primarily was intended to function as a flagship project to spur further development, and to present possibilities of a new southwestern architectural style beyond the Western motif (Douglas, 2010; Fudala, 2010; McElfresh, 1984; *Step Forward*, Mayor Tims statement titled *As I See it*). The Civic Center also provided open space; a plaza, which the City's Public Art Commission utilized heavily as a sculpture garden featuring the work of commissioned

nationally renowned modern and abstract-style artists and sculptors. In a sense, this was intended to further reinforce a modern, progressive brand. But, most importantly, the Civic Center project was significant because of its site selection. The chosen site was the same site of the then Mexican Barrio. Acquisition of the site and relocating of the Barrio together with the work of the master planner in helping with application for federal funds, and the work of the architect and his design approach are key events that accompanied the development of the Civic Center project as will be discussed later.

An Expert-Based Approach

As indicated earlier, the new City Council's decision to form an administration different from its predecessors was often presented in contrast to the city management styles of the 1950s. In describing how different this new administration would be, council members would imply to the media that no longer would the city be run in the ad-hoc, casual style of small towns as was done in the 1950s. Thus, the idea that the city would need to be run by professionals, or that the City Council would need to consult with expert opinion and with the public, gained momentum. Moving on with implementation, the Council determined that the most significant position in the administration to be filled first would be that of the city manager. The Council and the Mayor immediately began a search for a new city manager.

Candidates were carefully scrutinized for the position. The Mayor and a small committee visited cities where potential candidates had had prior experience to assess

achievements and experiences of the different candidates. The Council has sought someone with expertise in turning around small cities, and also someone familiar with Western cities. Thus, when an agreement was reached with Mr. Richard Malcolm, great expectations already awaited him. In a way, Mr. Malcolm represented to the new Council exactly the caliber of professional and expert help the city needed. Before coming to Scottsdale, Malcolm served as city manager for seven years in Claremont, California. He had also served as assistant to the city manager of Riverside, California, for four years and held government posts at San Bernardino, California; San Antonio, Texas; and Detroit Michigan. With many successes with more than one small town in California, and high education marked by his credential as a Ph.D. holder, a rarity in city administration at the time, Mr. Malcolm would become the front face that would relay the new progressive agenda to the citizens (See *The Arizonian* report on Richard Malcolm). Upon his appointment as a city manager, Mr. Malcolm requested written statements from Council members detailing Scottsdale's challenges (. Most agreed that the city needed: a boosted community pride, a better looking business district, better city planning with future projections, more industry, and "high quality" commercial undertakings (See The Arizonian, Jan 21, 1965- STEP Program Called Biggest Story of our Time). For the immediate future, they wanted better streets, more parks, a local water system, and a "better looking business district"—all bringing jobs.

Not long after taking office, Mr. Malcolm recognized that there seemed to be a degree of cynicism on the part of the public toward city agenda and policies (See *The Arizonian*, Jan 21, 1965- STEP Program Called Biggest Story of our Time). He stated in

an interview to the local media that in order for the city to gear up for change, the seeming aloofness of the public toward city issues must be overcome. This constituted a recognition by the then newly hired City Manager that, while the Council is questioning the suitability of the Western brand for the next phases of Scottsdale's progress, the alternative place narrative must be envisioned with real involvement by the public. The idea for citizen participation then became one of Mr. Malcolm's proposals.

Scottsdale Town Enrichment Program (STEP)

The new City Council of 1964 intent in instituting a different form of city governing - stated earlier - is also evident in the initiation of the first citizen participation program. According to Mr. Malcolm, the city manager's aim was to provide city citizens the opportunity to be partners in articulating and implementing a progressive agenda. This tactic was pursued with diligence.

A civic leader from the community, Mr. Guy Stillman, was appointed to head the program and at least 100 members from the civic, business, and community spheres were nominated and invited to participate in the STEP meetings. The program's 100 members were assigned to seven task forces, commencing their work on November, 1964. Each task force handled a specific set of city problems.

Areas of focus consisted of:

1) The Central Business District (the downtown area)

2) Civic & Cultural building

3) Resorts, Residences and Multi-family

4) Commercial and Industrial (including Airport Facilities)

5) Parks and Beautification

7) Streets & Highways.

Each of these seven task groups would be assisted by a City Council member who would also function as a consultant to the group and a liaison with the Council. At the group's first meeting at Valley Ho hotel, the city planning director Mr. George Fritz addressed the meeting indicating that each group would help the city's planning staff and consultants in putting together information and progressive ideas on Scottsdale's total planning program. The STEP subcommittees were also empowered to monitor the implementation of their recommendations through liaison with the designated council member.

While designed as a partnership between private and public sectors, the STEP program was not open to all public. As such, it was a controlled involvement giving the City Council access to progress-leaning city leaders and individuals. The forums became a platform for sharing ideas.

One of the STEP's recommendations involved the introduction of parking meters. These would not only generate revenue but also an element of modernity associated with progressive downtowns elsewhere. However, this move drew immediate reaction from those that held the Western image dear to their hearts. An editorial published on *Scottsdale Daily Progress*, (1-29-1965) bearing the title: "Parking Meters Here?" demonstrated the move was widely objected to, as offering no solution to the parking problem and presenting a direct threat to the image of 'The West's Most Western Town.' The problem of parking "should be solved and not accommodated via bandages," argued the writer. This idea was since abandoned. Around the same time, there was talk of introducing freeway system into Scottsdale to spur development in the undeveloped parts of town. Like the parking meters, this was also objected to strongly for fear of losing the image of the town.

Nonetheless, many observers applauded the STEP committee efforts for challenging the status quo. One of the main achievements of the STEP program relates to their contribution to the development of a Civic Center project downtown.

Upon completion of the Civic Center project and the city first master plan, the STEP activities were put on hold briefly. The program was resumed again toward the end of the 1966. Mayor Tims declared that it would be called 'STEP 66.' In announcing the move, Mayor Tims stressed that the primary objective of the program this second time would be to involve a larger number of citizens in planning for the community's future. However, the process followed a similar track as its successor from the year before. Members were selected and invited to join the city sponsored activities. Sensing that this may bring criticism, Mayor Tims pointed out in a written statement to the media that the STEP program should not be thought of as merely a means of getting votes or support. Rather, it should be thought of as an originator of ideas and as a channel for better communication with the public. He stressed that ideas developed through public participation are helping Scottsdale to thrive as "a distinct oasis in the 'Metropolitans Sprawl' which is engulfing America". The groups considering the place brand of the downtown area were the Central Business District and the Civic & Cultural buildings.

Interestingly, the Central Business District task group recommended preserving the Western motif of the downtown area. However, the Parks and Beautification task force recommended a massive scale tree planting of Scottsdale Road and the downtown area, even suggesting changing the name of Scottsdale Road to Scottsdale Boulevard. These seemingly conflicting recommendations were resolved in the final report shared with a planning consultant tasked with developing the city's master plan.

Nonetheless, the program was considered a success as it articulated specific goals and helped rally citizen support for voting on bonds to support some of the recommendations.

The first STEP meetings were concluded in 1965. In 1966, new STEP groups were formed by then Mayor Budd Tims (Fudala, 2001; McElfresh, 1984). These he coined STEP 66. While the first STEP committees approved the Civic Center Project and participated in discussions with the planning firm assigned the task of developing the city's master plan, STEP 66 approved the second phase of the Civic Center project, which comprised of expanding the open plaza in front the new City Hall and acquiring land once occupied by the Mexican Barrio. Thus, in terms of representation the Mexican community was excluded from these discussions, and therefore their resistance to such move, if any, was never heard.

STEP 66 involved around 300 citizens who were again nominated by the invited to participate. Mayor Tims declared that STEP 66 focus would be on community and on developing a second five-year plan for Scottsdale. Despite all the touted successes of the STEP initiative, there was criticism. For example, some civic leaders were hoping that the City Council would still make its own policies, even if for short term, in order to address issues of progress and development that may impact the city's character while waiting for the STEP committees recommendations. In the absence of a clear guidance from the city, some feared that the results could be disastrous in the period it will take to generate a master plan. These critics, mostly civic leaders in favor of protecting the Western brand, would ask: Who will undo the mistakes made during the years when the master plan is in preparation?

Recommendations by the STEP's committees. One STEP committee that made recommendation on the downtown area is the City Parks and City Beautification Committee. In a statement to the media made on January 1965, George Anast, the chairman of this committee, stressed the need for enhancing the appearance of the city in order to promote a sense of physical and economic well-being. Anast argued that an "orderly image" would be a community asset and would benefit the local citizens and visitors.

Despite being carefully selected to participate in the STEP program, this group's recommendations came out in favor of maintaining the Western image, at least in the downtown area. The group recommended that the City Council proceed with establishing a "Western Heritage Zone," as proposed by the City Architectural Committee, formed primarily by the Chamber of Commerce. Their recommendations also called for the enforcement of appropriate ordinances to support the Architectural Committee on its Western Zone proposal. To support the idea of a Western Zone further, this committee

proposed a city excellence awards program to confer annual recognition for the best efforts made to maintain the "Western Heritage," theme. The committee's report showed frequent reference to a "Western theme as a Heritage" and called for the careful preservation of the "serene beauty and quaint simplicity of the Western theme" so as to pass it on to future generations.

These recommendations however, contrasted with the call to create an oasis-like atmosphere. For example, the Chairman urged the city that the downtown area should bring charm and beauty where barrenness and drabness exist today. This meant an implementation of broad-gauged landscaping, esthetic enhancement, and street and sidewalk improvement. However, the involvement of this group through its work with the City Beautification Commission, particularly with landscaping and planting trees downtown, was later seriously questioned. Criticism was pointed specifically at the planting of palm trees on Main Street, the heart of the Old Town section of the downtown area. Staunch supporters of the Western brand considered this move as undermining of the Western image that this STEP group pledged to protect and promote in the first place

Other recommendations of this STEP group included its call for broad greening of the city and for utilizing the canal, especially the parts that edge the downtown area as a green outlet. For example, it recommended that the city should actively seek the cooperation of SRP for an extensive program of landscaping and development of parks and lagoon systems along the edges of the canals within the city limits. In addition, the idea also called for creating a variety of recreational activities that can benefit the locals. The recommendation listed examples of these as fishing, boating, horseback riding, cycling, and other facilities for outdoor family activities.

The STEP final recommendation report called for the creation of an adequate civic center and for the preservation of Scottsdale image as a Southwest tourist center. The extent of representing the western image onto the built environment was left to the Architectural Committee managed primarily by the Chamber of Commerce.

The final recommendation report also listed facilities that the different STEP committees thought are not only desirable but are also needed. These included a library, an art gallery, a museum, arts and crafts center, performing arts theatre, and city government office and meeting chambers.

The City's First Master Plan

As indicated earlier, the need for a master plan had a degree of urgency given the rapid rate of growth the city experienced in the 1960s. Also, with the on-going debate about place image and character, city leaders hoped the master plan would impart a sense of direction if not help unify the city toward an objectively agreed upon place narrative, and consequently a pattern of development. That the city would continue to grow was seen as inevitable. However, Scottsdale seemed bent on avoiding the continual expanding of its boundaries and development, without any particular distinction, similar to what was transpiring in neighboring cities such as Phoenix (See *Phoenix Gazette* article: Western or not It's Scottsdale, published on Jan 1, 1963) (Also see *Phoenix Gazette* article: Scottsdale Hopes to Stay Western, published April 13, 1965).

As for the downtown area, it was hoped that the issue of preserving the Western image, for example, would be weighed against the goal of maintaining a viable business district. Thus, the need for professional help and for an experienced planner became vital.

As mentioned earlier, the STEP forums provided the City Council and administration with a platform from which ideas and plans can be shared with the public, albeit a selected few. Thus city planning director Mr. George Fretz reported to a STEP meeting that a highly regarded planning office from California was to begin the work of developing the first master plan for Scottsdale.

In the first quarter of 1964, the City Council approved the hiring of the California based planning firm Eisener-Stuart and Associates to start work on a city master plan. Relating successful experiences he had elsewhere, Mr. Eisner discussed with the City Council the city's eligibility for public and federal funds and the scope of master plan.

The City Council authorized Mr. Eisener to proceed with preparing the application for the Federal Planning Grant, usually granted to small cities considering master planning for the first time.

The California firm of Eisner and Associates proved instrumental in providing resources and assistance beyond the exercise of only developing the master plan. Their successes in helping 18 such applications and in consulting on master plans for more than 30 California cities (including Beverly Hills, Palm Springs, Claremont, Santa Monica, Santa Barbara, and San Bernardino) further boosted the City Council's confidence in employing their service.

While the STEP committees of 1965 provided input to the master planner to include in his study, it was the STEP 66 that gave more specific recommendations on how to maintain the character of the city and its downtown. After convening in town hall meetings format for two months, the group presented a recommendation report to the master planner and asked that the recommendations become incorporated in the master plan which would be ready by the end of the year. Specifically, they asked that development in the downtown area should have a character of its own reflective of its invaluable status as a tourism magnet. They also warned that any dispersal or dilution of the downtown area, i.e., by relocating the city offices away from the business center, would likely lead to undermining the downtown status as the commercial and civic hub of the city. Their recommendation also included urging the city to do more to attract resorts and more specialty shops to the downtown area and generally support them with quality parking. Also included in their report was an insistence on retaining the city's slogan of 'The West's Most Western Town,' demanding that areas such as 'Old Town' and '5th Avenue' downtown district be preserved. All of these recommendations were heeded in the city's master plan as the planner and his staff members were involved in most of the meetings and discussions that addressed them.

The Civic Center Project

As mentioned earlier, the Civic Center was intended to function as a flagship project in Scottsdale. In addition to providing quality new architecture and open space downtown, it was also expected to provide the downtown area with much needed civic and commercial amenities. These amenities included a new city hall, a new public library, a performing arts center, and a master plan that would allow for the addition of a hotel, restaurants, and galleries.

Intended as a deliberate challenge to the established 'Old Town' Western image, the Civic Center design also reflected the need to attract the attention of a more settled and 'cultured' audience. The scale, form, layout, and design of the buildings and the plaza were carefully considered to direct the city image in a new direction. The architect for the civic center project was selected through a deliberate selection process that involved participation from the STEP committees. Out of 33 architects, the shortlist comprised of four architects. Eventually, a local architect of Mexican descent, Bennie Gonzales' work stood out (Fudala, 2001, Sydnor, 2010). (See Fig. 15).

In a guest editorial that appeared on SDP, 6 - 18 - 1966, a Scottsdale architect; Bob Lawton, described the merit of the recently completed project:

"... The idea developed by Gonzalez was an indigenous style of architecture, with such simplicity and beauty that it was without a label. It was a timeless design that would blend with the existing architecture of the community and still have a message of its own; a sculptural concept that embodied Spanish characteristics with contemporary design and detailing. The scheme was indeed marvelous, providing for a civic center that would be the pride of the Southwest. It had the feeling of an oasis within the heart of the city that would be a focal point for residents and tourists alike. The overall plan, with its many planting areas and walkways, was a refreshing change from usual block upon block of blank faced buildings, asphalt and sidewalks. This was to be a place where people of all ages could enjoy the tranquility that can be found in a park-like environment. Of the three sites proposed by the council, the one downtown site chosen was by far the best. This was an area that had been originally residential, but in trying to make the transition to commercial had for the most part fallen into disrepair. With one bold stroke, this potential slum was to be turned into a thing of beauty. Unfortunately, that wonderful thing did not take place as the bond issue was defeated. There have been many guesses as to why that portion of the bond issue

did not carry when the bond issue for park development posed. Somehow, enough people were convinced that the proposal plan had not been adequately justified, but the vote was close. There was misunderstanding on the part of some people because the plans appeared to include more than the city Hall and library which were to be voted on. The model and drawing showed an auditorium, theatre, museum, band shell, and other structures. These were not part of the bond issue, but were considered as things for the future. They are still in the future; hopefully someday they will become reality. Perhaps this year (1966) we may be given another chance – if the people who feel that the civic center is needed will work as hard to pass a bond issue as those did who were opposed, we may yet be able to point with pride and hope to downtown Scottsdale." End. (Article published on *Scottsdale Daily Progress* on June 18, 1966)

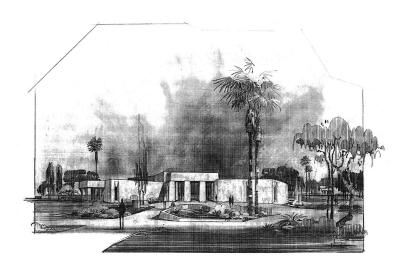


Figure 15. A rendering of the Civic Center designed by architect Bennie Gonzales in 1965. Scottsdale Historical Society.

CHAPTER 6

PRESERVING THE WESTERN BRAND

Overview

This chapter examines the 1960s efforts to preserve the Western brand and to resist any changes that may impact the Western image of the downtown area as was implied by the ideas advanced by the new city leadership, discussed in the last chapter. These efforts were primarily spearheaded by the Chamber of Commerce acting as the representative of downtown merchants. Specifically, this chapter examines Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce's involvement in issues of architecture and design, including the discussion about introducing high-rise buildings into the downtown area. The supporters of the Western place brand consisted of - in addition to the Chamber of Commerce, - a number of citizen groups, including old-timers, members of the press, and members from the art community. The Chamber of Commerce saw its involvement in shaping the outcome of any downtown development and in preserving the Western image as part of its mission to attract investment, support local businesses, and promote tourism.

In the 1960s, and at the same time a progressive agenda and a more contemporary place narrative were being promoted and implemented by the City Council and its supporters, Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce was still trying to maintain the Western image, perhaps even expand it. Not only did it want to define the boundaries of the Western zone downtown, it also offered to aid in the formulation of an architectural committee to decide on a Western architectural style appropriate for the downtown area. In a way, the Chamber of Commerce acted as the guardian of the Western image and continued to do so throughout the 1960s. Thus, as representative of the business community, the Chamber of Commerce saw its responsibility to engage in the efforts of reviving the downtown area but at least initially saw no need to do away with the Western motif (McElfresh, 1984). Although aware of the new challenges the city was facing, it continued to call for a measured change and a balanced approach to a future that would still preserve the Western brand.

The Chamber of Commerce Role

As indicated in the previous chapter, beginning with the 1960s the increasing growth pressures facing the city, led to a stronger public debate on whether to maintain or relinquish the Western image in the downtown area (See *Arizona Republic* article: Keepers of Scottsdale Image Face Tough Problems, published April 9, 1962; also see *Phoenix Gazette* staff report: Tale of Two Cities- Both Scottsdale, published October 5, 1964). The town, now a decade old since its incorporation, seemed considerably different at least in terms of size. In 1951, the year of incorporation, Scottsdale had a population of 2,000. By the end of the 1960s, the population had grown to 56,000 (McElfresh, 1984). Some of this growth of course can be attributed to the annexation of adjacent, already developed land from the city of Phoenix. But, emigration had been equally strong. The continuous place promotion efforts by the Chamber of Commerce had garnered the town recognition both nationally and, to some extent, internationally. This attracted considerable interest from investors and real estate developers. And, while tourism

continued to be the main driver of the city's economy (Fudala, 2001), clean light industry began to be introduced - which in turn created a need for better city amenities and civic life. For the first time, two high rise buildings; an office and hotel buildings of 10-story high were considered for downtown sites. Indeed, the Chamber of Commerce faced a changing context while it continued its efforts to protect the Western image, even though it was among the most successful selling points in drawing tourism to the area.

The community was also getting diverse, and the question of whether the Western image had expired started to be debated publicly. A number of civic and business leaders began voicing concerns about the future of the downtown area; pointing out that the look and appeal of 'The West's Most Western Town' grew increasingly weaker. The 1960s then introduced an interest in civic life and urban improvement beyond what can be met with the existing urban structures downtown. It also brought pressures of growth and in particular the need to open up the downtown area in order to attract investment and development. In an interview given to the daily newspaper Scottsdale Daily Progress published in mid-1964, the newly elected Mayor John Woudenberg, hinted at the changes to come. He described the western motif as no longer telling the story of Scottsdale. "Scottsdale is no longer the small sleepy village it once was," he added. He further argued that the western motif itself is being challenged already as its application is rather sporadic and noted that some of the businesses in the downtown area cannot be associated with Western culture. Woudenberg also hinted at the inevitability of introducing high-rise development downtown:

"I see nothing wrong with a few widely scattered high rise buildings; say condominiums or a hotel with a golf course around it. There will never be canyons of tall buildings, as in Eastern cities. We have six story telephone poles. Why not six story buildings. There is also this to be said for high-rise; one tall building adds a lot to the tax rolls without putting more children in schools." (Phoenix Gazette, September 26, 1964)

1960s, Chamber of Commerce: Protecting the Western Brand

In this context, from 1961 onward, the Chamber of Commerce found itself in a position of having to negotiate the outcome of the debate on three main issues or areas of concern. These involved: 1) saving the Western Architectural Style, even if it meant relaxing the Western architectural design guidelines and defining, perhaps even shrinking the boundaries of the Western zone in the downtown area, 2) controlling the introduction of high-rise so that it does not pose a threat to the Western Image, and 3) having input on issues that affect the brand and persona of the downtown area. In addition, the Chamber of Commerce also was involved in bridging the gap between property owners and businesses on the one hand, and the city administration on the other, on issues of development such as street-naming, landscaping and beautification, street lighting, and signage. The following sections examine the nature of the debate and the role of the Chamber on each of these three areas of influence.

Design control in the 1960s and the Western image. The interest expressed by investors to introduce high-rise structures in the downtown area received mixed reactions. The City Council and the STEP committees saw it as a natural expression of growth and

progress, and suggested the debate ought to be on how best to adapt high-rise building to the existing character of the downtown area. The Chamber of Commerce and supporters of the Western brand on the other hand did not welcome the idea at first, but later shifted their position to negotiating a carefully designed high rise ordinance for the downtown area. This position was expressed in an opinion published as an editorial in the *Scottsdale Daily Progress* in 1964. It acknowledged that the Chamber of Commerce, (while preferring to keep the Western image because of its successes as a tourist lure) did not see inconsistency in also supporting industrial growth, high rises, and a new ordinance that would allow large size commercial signs.

Additionally, the editorial noted that City offices occupied a modern, glassfronted building – (at the time, the City was renting offices on Indian School Road, west of Scottsdale Road). It pointed out that the city's heavily advertised beautification program avoided the Western look, referring to the more than 400 trees that were being planted along Scottsdale Road within the Western zone, yet they were for the most part palm trees.

The Chamber of Commerce concurred with this seemingly conflicting position. "Nothing inconsistent here," declared A. J. Collin, manager of the Chamber. "One can still discuss industrial potential while wearing cowboy boots and bolo tie," he declared. Realizing that the position of the Chamber of Commerce toward a strict Western architectural style had shifted, supporters of the progressive agenda welcomed the possibility for agreeing on an architectural style that can be interpreted as both avantgarde and Western. A particular proposal by a Chamber committee member held that promise. His proposal described a possible progression from the Western image, calling it: "Western Desert Resort Living," a phrase received positively by some supporters on the progress camp as evident by editorials in the daily newspapers. This significant shift showed that for the first time there is willingness on the part of the Chamber to accept a relaxed interpretation of the Western style that was not necessarily comprised of a boardand-batten type. This also revealed the persistent attachment to the Western theme by the Chamber of Commerce. In other words, the Chamber of Commerce still considered the Western appeal a pivotal selling point in the place narrative of Scottsdale, particularly for its tourism audience.

Defining what exactly is a "Western desert resort living" style proved to be a daunting task, despite the catchy phrase that received wide praise by City Council members and by proponents of avant-garde alternative image. I will detail the discussion on this aspect of the Chamber's effort later, but for now I will turn to their involvement with the discussion on introducing the high rise to Scottsdale's built environment.

High Rise: a Threat to the Western Place Brand?

The debate on the high-rise ordinance and limits of the Western zone in particular prompted the city and those in favor of protecting the Western image to propose a design review ordinance. While not new in the scope a managing cities, a design review process did seem very new for Scottsdale, still a relatively small and young US western town. As the ordinance was being considered in 1965, the town was only 15 years old. As typical with most design review ordinances, the general intent involved protecting the character of existing development and to control the outcome of new development activities. Supporters of this ordinance pointed to examples in cities in California and Florida, or to the city of New Orleans. But, those instances were mainly applications for protecting built environments where there is a stock of historically-significant properties. Nonetheless, the Chamber of Commerce and the supporters of a design review ordinance mainly advanced this based on the significance of the promoted character for tourism. The preamble of the ordinance articulated this point further. It read:

"The Design Review is intended to protect and enhance the distinctive character and natural attractiveness of the City of Scottsdale for it is a well-recognized fact that Scottsdale's economic well-being depends a great deal upon its being a resort area and this city's attractiveness contributes measurably to its potential as a recreational resort area. It is also the intent of this district to protect the unique architecture and items of historical significance from the effects of inharmonious, bizarre and out-of-scale development. Enrichment of civic beauty is also a significant factor contributing to the social welfare of its inhabitants and the creation of this district is therefore considered to be in furtherance of health, safety and general welfare." (Noted in an article in *The Arizonian*, titled Problems in Pioneering a Design Law, published on p.3 on Dec. 1965)

Despite the Chamber of Commerce's willingness to consider a design scheme derivative of the Western image, relaxing the limitation on the maximum allowable building height for structures in the downtown area remained a challenge. One of the reasons behind the city's growing acceptance of the idea of allowing high rise building in the downtown area was to bring more density and an intensive use in the downtown area (See Mayor Woudenberg comments to *Phoenix Gazette* staff, published on September 26, 1964). It was seen as a strategy to bring residential density in the more commercial area and thus act as an additional stimulant to business. Ultimately, however, the goal was to revive the economy and help the downtown area begin to project a more contemporary outlook. The City Council, as indicated earlier, supported this idea. But noting the potential for conflict with supporters of the Western brand, it elected to employ an agreeable approach (See Western Vs. High Rise article by Welch, A. published on *The Arizonian* on Jan 21, 1965)

In December of 1963, Mayor William Schrader named a seven-member study group to provide a report on the viability and feasibility of introducing high rise buildings in the downtown area (See report on *Scottsdale Daily Progress (SDP)*-published December 12, 1963). According to Mayor Schrader, the special committee needed to establish a new set of recommendations to the City Council on the proposed high-rise amendments to the Scottsdale zoning ordinance. Interestingly, the group was given just one week to develop such recommendations as the Mayor indicated that he would expect to receive the committee's report by Dec 16, 1963 in order to be presented to the Council's meeting on December 17.

Appointed to the study group are: Tilton Keefe, from the Scottsdale Real Estate Board; Lute Wasbotten and James Stanzel from the City of Scottsdale Citizens Advisory Board; Jennings Morse from City of Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce; William Arthur, from City of Scottsdale Planning and Zoning Commission; and Jack Olsen and Winton Smith; downtown Scottsdale property owners (See report on *Scottsdale Daily Progress* (*SDP*)-published December 12, 1963). Part of the study group's task was to meet with appropriate city officials to address questions regarding the possibility of permitting buildings of up to 10 stories high in the downtown business district. The debate on high-rise building, however, continued as opponents and supporters skillfully used the daily newspapers as a platform to have their points introduced to a wider audience. The major proponents of a change from the existing 35-foot height limit consisted of: property owners, real estate developers and a few of the larger merchants. Opponents of high-rise buildings downtown included individuals from different segments of the city including active members in the Chamber of Commerce board, some store owners and old-time residents. The opposition was not only about the potential loss of the Western image, but also about the potential impact on traffic and congestion – which was already a problem. In addition, some within this group also believed that the existing 35-foot building height limit must be preserved if the city is to retain the desert atmosphere that gave Scottsdale its momentum for growth. Nonetheless, others saw that high-rise development would soon be inevitable and as such the city ought to be prepared for it. To the latter group, the focus ought to be on finding out whether high-rise building can be compatible with Western architecture.

The high-rise recommendations put forward by the Chamber of Commerce also asked their approval of any high-rise application to be subject to the review of a Design Review Board that should include at least three architects and four commercial property owners, with two of the latter being owners of properties in the Old Town Scottsdale section of the Downtown area. This condition was deemed acceptable by the City Council as it proceeded with plans to approve a high-rise ordinance.

However, the first attempt at applying the approved ordinance immediately revealed vulnerabilities. The idea that a high-rise building can be made compatible with a Western architectural style was seen extreme by applicants. This was the case with the first high rise reviewed by the Architectural Review Board on January 1965. The application was for a nine story hotel-office building on the northeast corner of Scottsdale road and Shoeman Lane, right on the periphery of the Western Zone, also known as Old Town Scottsdale. The question presented to the project's architect was predictably on style. "How does this high rise fit with the architecture of the Western zone?" The architect, countered: "Does Scottsdale want this kind of development, or not?".

Fearing a backlash from the City Council and the groups in support of high-rise, development in February, 1965, President Dale Anderson of the Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to review the issue of the Western Zone boundaries and the high-rise building ordinance for Scottsdale, suggesting that the Architectural Board's guidelines were not conclusive. The committee was then tasked with soliciting comment from property owners and businesses before presenting recommendation to the City.

The effort of the new committee resulted in an amended ordinance that the City Council approved. The amended ordinance called for the maximum building height for high rise buildings to be set at 120' or 10 stories- whichever is achieved first. It also gave more specific parameters as to how and where to situate high rise buildings downtown based on the type of use. For example, if the high rise is for residential use, the allowed building area will be limited to 50 percent of the site with minimum 25-foot setback on all sides. For commercial uses, the amendment allowed construction of 80 percent of the site with a 20-foot setback in front and 15 in the back. There are no setbacks required for the sides. Despite all this effort by the Chamber, and the approval of high rise ordinance amendment by the City Council, the issue of high rise continued to be problematic for the city throughout the 1960s.

Saving the Western Zone in the Downtown Area

The Western Zone or the area bounded by Brown Street on the east, Marshal Street on the west, Indian School Road on the north and 2nd Avenue on the south, had been the focus of the debate about the downtown area image for quite some time. As stated earlier, this area began to show signs of weakness by the onset of the 1960s, including the closing of few businesses. Those concerned about reviving this area's uniqueness put forward ideas that included conserving the architectural style together with creating a shoppers mall in which all auto traffic would be routed around the perimeter of the downtown area. Congestion and heavy traffic were seen as a threat to the quaint Western appeal. However, this particular idea did not garner much support from any of the civic group and as a result was put aside.

Forming an Architectural Review Board

Toward the mid 1960s, with the development of the Civic Center underway, there was a tacit concern that the Western image would no longer be considered for new development. After all, it was not hidden that the avant-garde movement intended for the Civic Center to act as a flagship project. Thus, decisions on architectural style and on urban development in the downtown area, or at its periphery, became a growing concern

for the Chamber of Commerce. A commentary that appeared on the *Arizonian* on April 15, 1965, praised Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce for its efforts to save the downtown area from dying. The editor commented that the Chamber should be applauded for its latest proposal to keep downtown Scottsdale from dying while trying to live with its 'The West's Most Western Town' image. Also, he commended it on stressing the importance of maintaining the city's resort atmosphere.

The highlight of the Chamber's work in this regard is its involvement in setting new criteria for Scottsdale building designs. Readily evident in the new criteria was the substantial shrinking of the Western zone for the old board-and-batten type of Western architecture which the Chamber accepted and presented as a recommendation to the City Council in April, 1965. In this proposal, the area known as the Western zone would be renamed to Old Town Scottsdale. Although substantially smaller than the original western zone, Old Town Scottsdale in the Chamber's proposal would also include the 5th Avenue district, a major area near the Arizona Canal and west of Scottsdale Road.

The Chamber of Commerce's recommendations also included the development of a design review ordinance to cover the area of Old Town Scottsdale. The recommendation also called for broadened design criteria for the balance of the downtown area - in particular those parts that were not within the Old Town Scottsdale section. The Chamber of Commerce's recommendation for the desired architectural style for this area was given the phrase name: "Western desert resort living." However, no specifics were provided on what such a style might consist of. The Chamber of Commerce's proposal received wide acceptance. A group of architects named 'Associated Scottsdale Architects' wrote to the City Council urging extending the Chamber's recommendation of initiating design review process for all commercial areas of the city. This group of architects also suggested that the design review process be administered by qualified advisory board guiding the Council on all proposed future commercial construction.

In the proposal advanced by the Chamber, the Western zone, also known as "Old Town Scottsdale" would apply Western architectural style restrictions on about eight square blocks that represent the core of the area. The zone for design review according to the new criteria would encompass most of the remaining downtown area including Fifth Avenue district.

This move by the Chamber of Commerce to accept shrinking the area for the Western Zone also meant that other areas in the vicinity of the downtown area would be less restrictive toward high-rise buildings. At the time, at least two high-rise building projects were being prepared and the new Chamber of Commerce recommendations to the City Council, if adopted, would make it possible for the two projects to proceed. One of these was a large motel on the west side of Indian School and to the east of Marshall Road. Both projects had been held up before because of the stricter Western requirements.

The Chamber of Commerce proposed architectural style termed "Western Desert Resort Living" was praised for being somewhat compatible with the existing heritage of the board-and-batten style had received praise. Many had considered it a natural progression from the board-and- batten style that is likely to maintain the appeal of the downtown's area quaint western accent. Yet the specifics of what would be consistent with this style remained vague. This left only two style options; the traditional or Western, also known as the board-and-batten style, and the avant-garde, modern-oriented which followers would entertain using contemporary styles even experimenting with combination of different styles. However, suggestions on an alternative style continued to be offered. Jack Stewart, manager of the Camelback Inn, and a leader in the tourism industry at the time, claimed that a new image for the city ought to be one that is more in tune with the times, and in particular the 'wide reputation for courteous treatment of visitors'. He offered the following slogan 'The West's Most Friendly Town' as an alternative to the then widely used slogan of the 'The West's Most Western Town,' and recommended that the city adopt it.

As a means to help negotiate such confusion, a design review process was passed by Scottsdale City Council on July of 1966. A supplemental zoning ordinance called Design Review would require future downtown buildings to be architecturally compatible with their neighbors. The ordinance was approved unanimously and without objections. Called Design Review, but shortened to DR, this ordinance would require that all new commercial buildings be built in downtown Scottsdale harmonize with the architecture of nearby existing structures, including Fifth Avenue. The Design Review Board would decide whether the planned buildings were blending with others in its vicinity. The City ordinance providing for retaining a Western image was adopted in 1965. The ordinance approved the appointment of a Design Review board to decide on the compatibility of architecture of proposed buildings.

Signage, Street Renaming and Street Beautification

Signage became another area of contention with regard to Scottsdale's place brand. As the city grew busier, signage became a source of nuisance. Businesses were competing for tourists and visitors, and this competition for attention resulted in a visually cluttered urban scene. As a result, the quaint appeal of the downtown area began to be impacted. The city and the Chamber of Commerce thought it necessary that they intervene to stop the city from becoming a 'sign jungle'. The ordinance had undergone revisions by private and official groups for over 18 months. A number of store owners argued that large and highly visible signs were needed to draw customers into their business establishments which, with smaller signs, might be overlooked. Others maintained that big signs could be countered only by bigger signs, and pointed to signblighted areas in Phoenix and even on South Scottsdale Road to illustrate the damage done to community appearance. After multiple study sessions and public hearings on the issue of signage, a sign ordinance was proposed.

To stress the importance of signage to the character of the downtown area and the overall attractiveness of the city, the City Council wrote into the purpose of the ordinance three provisions which have been repeatedly stated as essential considerations for signage in a community which depends on attracting visitors and tourism for a major share of its economy. In general, the new provisions reduced somewhat the size and number of permitted signs that have been proposed in previous drafts. It also limited the type of freestanding signs, considered a major compromise, as many preferred that they be abolished altogether. The most important provision of the ordinance, however, was the limiting of business identification signs to square foot of signage per front linear foot of building. None needed to be less than 20 square feet, nor can any be more than 200 square feet. Additionally, none of the signage may extend above the roof or parapet wall of a building.

The debate over the issue of signage not only served as an indication of the growth of tourism activity in the area, but it also reflected the differing positions with regard to the projected place appearance and the need for instituting a sense of order. Eventually, an acceptable signage plan was agreed upon and the sign ordinance as outlined above was ratified.

Re-naming Downtown Streets

Debates on street name changes mainly focused upon what could be achieved by the change and who would benefit. For supporters of progress, the change was seen as a step in the right direction. Their rationale concerned the fact that the existing street naming system did not relate well to other cities in the valley and thus it was deemed confusing. The change would make it easier to establish how the town related to adjacent cities and thus ultimately how it would help draw investment, which, they believed, favored coherence and order. Part of the distinctive character of downtown Scottsdale that was equally important to many residents and visitors alike is the different streets names that it possessed. Most of the street names, except for Main Street and 5th Avenue, had association with the names of notable figures throughout the history of the area. Some, such as Brown Road, and Marshal were named after pioneer families that put their stamp on the area. Nonetheless, with the pressures of progress, concerns began to be voiced about how different Scottsdale street names were that they may be confusing. The alternative offered was to rename the streets so that they would relate to street names in neighboring cities. Chief among the supporters of this view is the US Postmaster office, the fire chief, and (as described in a newspaper article) 'bureaucrats'. A metropolitan street naming system was thus seen as a boost for the progressive agenda and the council was poised to ratify the move.

However, the whole idea of street renaming received strong opposition mainly from old time residents. Prominent among them is Mort Kimsey the second mayor of the city since incorporation. Mr. Kimsey, who was also a property owner, deemed the exercise as "silly." "Why would the city part with an essential element of its uniqueness?" Needless to say, the proposal to rename the streets so as to correspond to street naming in neighboring Phoenix and Tempe drew fierce criticism.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to explore how the phenomenon of place theming achieved local identity, shaped development and dominated local politics within a growing city small city. As I mentioned in the literature review, theming is for the most part a product of free market enterprise, and many of the best–known examples are found in places such as Disneyland. However, theming can also play an important role in the design and promotion of cities. I was interested in studying a small city downtown such as Scottsdale. Small cities can clearly demonstrate many issues around theming: the control of the powerful elites, conservative attitudes toward change and development, and conflicting pressures to embrace mainstream development. This, being a study of a small city over time, also included a comparative historical analysis of two formative periods of the history of Scottsdale, namely the 1950s and the 1960s.

Each of these two formative periods represented critical stages in the development of Scottsdale. It was in the 1950s that local leaders chose to adopt a Scottsdale "theme" based on Western motif. In the 1960s, only ten years after the incorporation of Scottsdale as an independent city, a different place image began to be pursued by city officials and selected citizens who participated in a citizen participation program, namely the STEP initiative. While the 1950s was mainly a time to establish a 'Wile Wild West' image onto the built environment of the downtown area, the 1960s brought a desire to move away from the Western motif to pursue an avant-garde outlook.

124

The differences between these two visions played out more visibly in the 1960s, as supporters of each approach attempted to dominate the outcome of decisions that shape the built environment. Thus, the focus of this research has been on this highly contested episode of place politics that took place in the 1960s.

Politics of Place in 1960s

In conducting this study I identified three main arguments that dominated politics of places in the downtown area, particularly in the period of the 1960s. These three arguments can be summarized as follows:

- 1. The first argument was adopted by a few members of the real estate industry, who were keen in saving and protecting the Western image. They acknowledged that the downtown area may be showing signs of weakness, but suggested that this could be stopped by introducing simple measures of improvement; i.e., creating improvement districts, adding sidewalks on both sides of business streets, widening streets where possible, introducing street lights, and curbing the out-of-control signage competition among the different stores. The focus of this argument thus was on embellishment and maintenance of the built environment without unnecessarily having to sacrifice the Western appeal.
- The second argument, the place narrative of a more avant-garde agenda, called for change either drastic or gradual from the Western image by suggesting that ultimately a new vision for the area would have to be developed. Among its main

supporters were the City Council and the work of the STEP committees. This argument also stressed that, going forward, the city needed to 1) employ the services of professional experts in all manner of business and 2) involve the public through citizen participation program that is not paralleled anywhere in the state of Arizona. Examples of work advanced by this group included the development of a whole city master plan with recommendations for all areas including the downtown area; the creation of a citizen participation program and the creation of open space downtown that would also be the site for a Civic Center plaza and thus would improve the civic amenities of the city.

Proponents of this argument also pointed to the seemingly constrictive Western image of the board-and-batten architectural style and, more particularly, the strict limit on building height, as obstacles to growth. Moreover, they contended that the downtown area was increasingly competing with the outlying shopping centers. In effect, the supporters of this opinion believed that the downtown area needed an upgrade. According to one supporter of this view coming from the tourism industry, a new image that is more in tune with the times, and in particular the city's reputation for courteous treatment of visitors should be adopted. He offered the following slogan to go with such image: 'The West's Most Friendly Town.' This group was also more open in listening to expert opinion even when offered by students of architecture. On August 26, 1969 – the City Council was briefed on the work of a group of architecture students from Arizona State University who developed a film on the downtown area that was critical of the Western image. The film also suggested ideas on what Scottsdale should and should not do to change its appearance. The film took two years to prepare (started in 1967, as a project of fifth year architectural students under the supervision of ASU professor Jack Peterson. It was intended to provide: "a look at community identity: what makes people think Scottsdale and know about Scottsdale."

3. The third opinion, which seemed to be the view advanced by the Chamber of Commerce, was based on the belief that "Scottsdale has no other claim to distinction than being Western." However, acknowledging that change is inevitable, supporters of this view believed that perhaps there is a balanced way toward progress; one that can still maintain the Western character which still seemed to draw tourism to the region. The balanced way would allow for measured changes compatible with the qualities of the existing built environment. The focus here was to build on what succeeded before, while becoming flexible and receptive toward a new place narrative for the downtown area. However, what was introduced as new, according to this view, it needed not be on the account of the Western image.

Supporters of this view also acknowledged that being Western does not have to be equated with stagnation. They were aware that preserving the Western character may mean sacrificing some investments in the short run, i.e., high-rise office buildings, specially the type developed by speculators. However, they believed their balanced approach would certainly pay off in the long term. One supporter of this opinion, a retired Scottsdale's Convention Director, stated that the logic of this belief was informed by feedback from conversations with many guests to the community and by travel writers; adding,, "These conversations crystallize to one thing: that is "Scottsdale is unique- a delight to visit and they hope we don't make the Florida mistake and forsake our original image."

Although each of the three views listed above pointed to a different direction, each was geared toward maintaining the distinctiveness of the city of Scottsdale by presenting a particular place image that would ensure continuation and preservation of a competitive advantage.

A Dynamic of Assertion and Resistance

This study also illustrated that the politics of place of small cities can be active, animated, and integral to the development of small cities, as they are in large cities. Each of the two main visions identified in this research: the 1950s vision of the Western appeal and the avant-garde vision of the 1960s, aimed to project dominance over the built environment. I call this process in which the two visions engaged: "a dynamic of assertion and resistance." As such, each asserted expressions of a desired place narrative as framed in its particular place vision, while attempting to resist and limit the presence (or extent) of the opposing place narrative. Engaging in this dynamic of assertion and resistance, each of the two prominent visions: i.e. the Western versus the Avant-garde, employed and experimented with different tactics. For example, proponents of the progressive vision of the 1960s, thought it more plausible to introduce their vision as recommendations of "respected professionals" (Forester, 1989). The idea here was to offer an image of progressive management and professionalization, in contrast to the more casual and nostalgic tendencies of the old-timers from the 1950s.

This dynamic of resistance and assertion can be attributed to a broader tension related to the debate over continuity and change often associated with cities in transition (Jayne, 2005). This study pointed to the possibility that this tension can be thought of as inherent in the place branding process - especially when place branding succeeds in bringing population and investment, as both will translate to diversity in interests and new visions for the particular place. The selective nature of place branding thus becomes problematic, as the distinctive message often sought by the process, may not be representative of all the constituencies of a place.

A number of factors have contributed to this dynamic of assertion and resistance as I outlined them in Chapter Six. These pertain to changes in demographics and the push to position the city to accommodate growth. The town demographics changed, not only due to in-migration from other states, but also as a result of the annexation of alreadydeveloped and inhabited sections of lands from city of Phoenix. By the mid-1960s, the city population had begun to experience visible diversity. This presented the impetus for a shift in focus from staging the whole city for tourists and visitors, to development of civic amenities in order to meet the ongoing and growing needs of its city residents.

Looked at a different way, this dynamic of assertion and resistance is also reflection of tensions inherent in the planning process over continuity and change. As such, it helps explain the built environment and its evolution, revealing in this case the coexistence of two seemingly conflicting visions of place. Nonetheless, Scottsdale's decade of conflict, namely the 1960s, led to the development of the city's first flagship endeavor in the downtown area as represented by the Civic Center Project, and eventually the shrinking of the Western Zone which later became known as Old Town, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

130

Salient Features of the Assertion and Resistance Dynamic

In comparing the two periods in the history of downtown Scottsdale, the 1950s and the 1960s, I identified certain aspects to this dynamic of 'assertion and resistance' as related to the nature of place politics over place branding. As concluded earlier, place marketing and place branding are highly selective practices in which desirable aspects of a place are highlighted while less desirable aspects are discounted or ignored. This selectivity was practiced simultaneously by the two main visions, particularly in their omission of any reference to Mexican presence, from their espoused place narratives.

A common characteristic relating to this selectivity aspect of image-making is the abundant pragmatism among those engaged in this dynamic of assertion and resistance. This pragmatism can be identified in a number of ways. Salient among them is the commitment to a constructed place image even if recognized as fake. Rarely was authenticity mentioned as a value in public and City officials' debates about the 'right' place image to promote whether in the 1950s or the 1960s.

Another evidence of this pragmatism is represented by the manner in which stakeholders and city leaders changed their positions toward certain aspects of the place image being promoted. As the two main visions of place were being debated and contested, loyalty to a particular place image largely depended on how it benefited other goals. Maintaining a vital tourism business downtown, which was the main reason behind the adoption of the Western theme, was often weighed against the potential for growth and the future outlook of the city. In cases where the Western appeal was considered an impediment to growth and development, supporters willingly changed positions. A third manifestation of this pragmatism is represented by the decision to relocate the Mexican barrio from downtown Scottsdale and use the area for the development of the Civic Center project. While the Civic Center project was the product of the 1960s progressive group, its location was not opposed in this case by supporters of the Western place vision as it paved the way to relocating the Barrio and thus physically remove a portion of the downtown considered non-conforming to either of the two competing place visions.

Another aspect to the 'assertion and resistance' dynamic I observed is the tendency of a constructed image, such as the Western motif, to develop overtime into a guarded heritage. This is particularly evident in the case of Scottsdale's Old Town. 'Old timers' recollection of the downtown area documented in the local newspapers of the 1950s and the 1960s reveal this tendency to develop a sense of attachment, even nostalgia to an otherwise constructed or fake place image. Whether a constructed place narrative is becomes part of the historical fabric and heritage of a particular place is a question that warrants further investigation.

It is also reflected in the tendencies of some of the locals to resist change, perhaps out of fear of losing the security that comes with identifying with a known character. The fact this may be inconsistent with the idea that the call for change to a different place image is typically motivated by the same economic and progress factors that prompted the construction and implementation of the Western place image in the first place, does not seem to be a problem. This lesser concern toward the idea of authenticity exhibited by the activities of the different stakeholders is in sharp contrast to what is often regarded as a sought-after ideal in the literature of urban design.

The study also confirmed that when a small city engages in place branding, the powerful elites are likely to engage heavily in the processes of assertion and resistance identified above. In other words, they cannot be seen as a monolithic group interacting in acts of monolithic urban development. In fact, their reaction toward the ideas presented by the assertion and resistance acts initiated by the different groups in the city do vary, sometimes converging, others not. The study also showed the role of government represented by the City Council of a small city in shaping the downtown use of space.

This study illustrates that the processes of promoting place and of assigning a specific place image to a particular place are fraught with difficulties that urban designers must confront. A deeper understanding of the issues involved with place branding such as representation and the selective nature of its processes, is essential for any meaningful intervention. For one thing, it will prepare the urban designer for deeper understanding of the different visions presented through community participation. Thus, the study suggests developing an appreciation of the contested nature of place by studying the prevailing place narrative, the place identity being espoused, and the equity among the different constituencies of a place.

The experience of place branding in downtown Scottsdale continues to impact the city. Old Scottsdale and new Scottsdale managed to co-exist and their visions still continue to shape both the politics of place and the built environment to this day. This co-

existence helps to partly explain the old and new building stock currently existing in the downtown area. It also helps explain the two strikingly contrasting styles of public art one may encounter in the downtown area; one being ultra modern and one expressing of the city's historic Western ties.

Overall, the city has managed to adhere to its basic commitment toward presenting a memorable brand. Whether this is reflected in the maintenance of a low height profile so as to maintain visual access to the surrounding mountain vistas or whether it is reflected by the constant upkeep of the downtown area, the city's focus on image is unmistakable. The study of Scottsdale's history revealed a thread of commitment to something special; manifested in certain places such as Old Downtown and the Civic Center. Ironically and tellingly, as if recognizing the tension in visions the two adjacent areas - Old Town and the Civic Center - have always experienced, at a corner of Brown Street and Main Street there is now a sign that reads: "Scottsdale: Where the New West Meets the Old West."

REFERENCES

- Abbott, C. (1993). Five downtown strategies: Policy discourse and downtown planning since 1945. Journal of Policy History, 5, 5-27.
- Abbott, C. (1993). The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West. Tucson: The University of Tucson Arizona.
- Abbott, C. (1981). Boosters and Businessmen: Popular Economic Thought and Urban Growth in the Antebellum Middle West, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Agnew, J. & Duncan, J. (Eds) (1989) The Power of Place: Bringing together Geographical and Sociological Imagination. (Boston, MA, Unwin Hyman).
- Alison Isenberg (2005) Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It. University Of Chicago Press.
- All-Western Party- Wins Primary Elections. (1952, April, 27). *Scottsdale Daily Progress*. p. 10.
- Analyzing Scottsdale's 1965 Census Figures. (1966, May 12). The Arizonian. p.
- Anholt, S. (2006a). Is place branding a capitalist tool? *Place Branding*, 2(1), 1–4.
- Anholt, S. (2006b). Public diplomacy and place branding: Where's the link? *Place Branding*, 2(4), 271–275.
- Anholt, S. (2007). Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Anholt, S., (2004) 'Editors foreword to the first edition', Place Branding, 1(1), 4–11.
- Anholt, S. (2010), "Definitions of place branding working towards a resolution" Editorial, Place Branding and Public Democracy, 6 (1), 1-10
- Arefi, M. (1999). Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking theNotion of Place. Journal of Urban Design, 4(2), 179
- Aravot, I. (2002). Back to Phenomenological Placemaking. Journal of Urban Design, 7(2),201-212.

- Ashworth, G. J. (1994) From history to heritage: from heritage to identity: in search of concepts and models. In Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture, and Identity, GJ Ashworth and PJ Larkham (eds.). Routledge, London.
- Ashworth, G.J., (2001) 'The communication of the brand images of cities' In the Construction and Communication of the Brand Images of Cities. Valencia.
- Ashworth, G. and Voogd, H. (1990) Selling the City. London, UK: Belhaven.
- A View from the 10th Floor. (1964, July 10). *The Arizonian*. [Letter to the editor]
- Banerjee, T. (2001): The future of public space beyond invented streets and reinvented places, APA Journal, 67(1), pp. 9–24
- Bell, D. and Jayne, M. (2006) Conceptualising small cities, in: D. Bell and M. Jayne (Eds) Small Cities: Urban Experience beyond the Metropolis, pp. 1–18. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Bentley, I. (1999) Urban Transformations: Power, People and Urban Design (London: Routledge).
- Bingham, D. A. (1966, October). The City's Image. Western City Magazine. Vol XLII, No. 10
- Boisen, M., Terlouw, K. and van Gorp, B. (2011) 'The Selective Nature of Place Branding and the Layering of Spatial Identities, Journal of Place Management and Development 4(2): 135–47.
- Boyer, M. (1994) The City of Collective Memory (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- Boyle, M. (1997) 'Civic Boosterism and the Politics of Local Economic Development: 'Institutional Positions' and 'Strategic Orientations' in the Consumption of Hallmark Events', Environment and Planning A 29: 1975–97.
- Budd, L & Gottdiener, M. (2005). Key Concepts in Urban Studies. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Burruel, J.M. (2007). *Mexicans in Scottsdale*. Charleston; Chicago; Portsmouth; San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing.
- Brill, M. (1989b) Transformation, nostalgia and illusion in public life and public place, in: I. Altman &E. Zube (Eds) Public Places and Spaces, Vol. 10 in Human Behavior and Environment series, pp. 7–30. New York: Plenum.

- Brooks, J. S., & Young, A. H. (1993). Revitalizing the central business district in the face of decline. Town Planning Review, 64, 251-271.
- Brown, J. R., & Lauber, M. (1995). Comeback cities. Urban Land, 54(8), 46-51, 83.
- Canter, D. (1977) The Psychology of Place. London: Architectural Press.
- Carmona, M., Tiesdell, S., Heath, T. & Oc, T. (2010) Public Places-Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design (2nd ed.). London: Architectural Press).
- Carmona, M., Tiesdell, S., Heath, T. & Oc, T. (2003) Public Places-Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design (2nd ed.). London: Architectural Press).
- Collins, C.C.; Dickens, D.R. & Gottdiener, M. (1999). Las Vegas: The Social Production of All-American City. Malden, MA : Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Civic Center Site Selection Criteria-Recommended. (1965, December 1). The Arizonian

Cullen, G. (1995). The Concise Townscape. London: The Architectural Press.

- Creswell, J. W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J.W., (2003) Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches 2nd ed., California: Sage Publications Inc.
- Cresswell, T. (2004) Place: A Short: Introduction. Oxford Blackwell.
- Crewe, K. & Forsyth, A. & (2006) Research in Environmental Design: Definitions and Limits. Journal of Architectural and Planning Research 23, 2: 160-175
- Crewe, K. (2011) Chandler's Hotel San Marcos: The Resort Impact on a Rural Town. Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 16. No. 1, 87–104
- Dane, S. G. (1997). Main Street success stories. Washington, DC: National Main Street Center.

Danto, E. (2008) Historical Research. Oxford University Press

Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (1999) The Tourist City Yale University Press

- Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y. (Eds.) (1998) Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry. Thousand Oaks, CA: age.
- Dinnie, K., (2004) 'Place branding: Overview of an emerging literature', Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 1(1), 106–110. Document Gives Scottsdale First Priority Plan on City Needs. (1964, July 31). *The Arizonian*. p.9
- Donald, S. H., Kofman, E., & Kevin, C. (Eds.). (2009). *Branding cities: Cosmopolitanism, parochialism, and social change*. New York: Routledge
- Dovey, K. (2010). Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power. New York: Routledge.
- Dovey, K. (2008) Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form, 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Dubinsky, L. and Garrett-Petts, E. F. (2002) 'Working well, together': arts-based research and the cultural future of small cities, AI and Society, 16, pp. 332–349.
- Economic Base Study, City of Scottsdale, Arizona.(1966). By Eisener-Stewart and Associates.
- Eisner Tells League of Arizona Cities: First Step is Identity. (1965, May 13). *The Arizonian*.
- Ellin, N. (1998) Postmodern Urbanism (New York, Princeton Architectural Press).
- Entrikin, J.N. (1991) The Betweenness of Place: Towards a Geography of Modernity (Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Escobar, A. (2001) Culture sits in places: reflections on globalism and subaltern strategies of localization, Political Geography, 20, pp. 139
- First STEP Committees' Recommendations. (1965, January, 21). Scottsdale Daily Progress.
- Fogelson, R. (2001) Downtown: Its Rise and Fall 1880-1950, Yale University Press.
- Ford, L. (2003) America's New Downtowns Revitalization or Reinvention? Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Forsyth, A. (2007) Innovation in Urban Design: Does Research Help? Journal of Urban Design 12, 3: 461-473.
- Forester, J. (1989). *Planning in the face of Power*. Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press.
- Fudala, J. (2008). Scottsdale (Postcards of America: Arizona). San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing Company
- Fudala, J. (2001). Historic Scottsdale: A Life of the Land. Historic Publishing Nework.
- Francaviglia, R. V. (1996). Main Street Revisited. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Frieden, B. J., & Sagalyn, L. B. (1989). Downtown, Inc. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Garrett-Petts, W. F. (2005) *The Small Cities Book: On the Cultural Future of Small Cities*. Vancouver: New Star.
- Gerring, J. (2006) Case Study Research: Principles and Practices. Cambridge University Press.
- Gertner, D., (2007) 'Place branding: Dilemma or reconciliation between political ideology and economic pragmatism?, Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 3(1), 3–7.
- Gertner, D. (2011a) 'A (tentative) Meta-Analysis of the 'Place Marketing' and 'Place Branding' Literature', Journal of Brand Management 19: 112–31.
- Gold, J.R. & Ward, S.V. (1994). Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions. London: Belhaven Press.
- Gotham, K. F. (2007). Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture and Race in the Big Easy. New York: New York Press.
- Gottdiener, M. (2001). *The Theming of America: American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments.* Boulder, CO : Westview Press.
- Gottdiener, M. (1994). *The Social Production of Urban Space*. , University of Texas Press.
- Gottdiener, M.& Hutchinson, R. (2006). *The New Urban Sociology*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- Groat, L. & Wang, D. (2002) Architectural Research Methods. John Wiley and Sons, USA
- Hankinson, G.(2010) 'Place Branding Research: A Cross-Disciplinary Agenda and the Views of Practitioners', Place Branding and Public Diplomacy 6(4): 300–15.
- Hankinson, G., (2005) 'Destination brand images: a business tourism perspective', Journal of Services Marketing, 19(1), 24 - 32.
- Hankinson, G. (2010), "Place branding research: a cross-disciplinary agenda and the views of practitioners" Place Branding and Public Democracy, 6 (4), 300-315
- Hanna, S. & Rowley, J. (2008), "An Analysis of terminology use in place branding", Place branding and public diplomacy, 4(1), 61 - 75
- Hanna, S. and Rowley, J. (2008) 'An Analysis of Terminology use in Place Branding', Place Branding and Public Diplomacy 4(1): 61–75.
- Harvey, D. (2001). *Spaces of capital: Towards a critical geography*. New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2006). Spaces of Global Capital: A Theory of Uneven Geographical Development. London:Verso.
- Harvey, D. 1989. The Condition of Post Modernity. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Herzog, Lawrence A. (2006) *Return to the Center: Culture, Public Space, and City Building in a Global Era.* Austin: University of Texas Press,
- Holt, N. D. (1998). Remaking Downtown Denver. Urban Land, 57(4), 54-58, 113.

Hudson, R. (2001). Producing Places. New York: The Guilford Press.

Hutchinson, R. (2000). Construction of Urban Space. Stanford, CT: Jai Press, Inc.

Jacobs, J. (1961) The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York, Vintage).

Jansson, A. (2003) The Negotiated City Image: Symbolic Reproduction and Change through Urban Consumption, Urban Studies, 40, pp. 463–479.

- Jones, P. (2011) The Sociology of Architecture: Constructing Identities. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press.
- Kalandides, A. (2011) 'The Problem with Spatial Identity: Revisiting the 'Sense of Place', Journal of Place Management and Development 4(1): 28–39.
- Kavaratzis, M. (2004) 'From City Marketing to City Branding: Towards a Theoretical Framework for Developing City Brands' Place Branding 1(1): 58–73.
- Kavaratzis, M. (2007) 'City Marketing: The Past, the Present and Some Unresolved Issues', Geography Compass 1(3): 695–712.
- Kavaratzis, M. (2009) 'Cities and Their Brands: Lessons From Corporate Branding', Place Branding and Public Diplomacy 5(1): 26–37.
- Kavaratzis, M. (2005), Place branding: A review of trends and conceptual models. The Marketing Review 5 (4): 329-342.
- Kavaratzis, M. and Ashworth, G. (2005) 'City Branding: An Effective Assertion of Identity or a Transitory Marketing Trick?', Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 96(5): 506–14.
- Kavaratzis, M. and Ashworth, G. (2008) 'Place Marketing: How did we get Here and Where are we Going?', Journal of Place Management and Development 1(2): 150–67.
- Keefe, T. (1964, June 5). Leading Realtor Advocates Hi-Rise. Scottsdale Daily Progress
- Kotler, P., Haider, D.H. and Rein, I., (1993) Marketing places: attracting investment,

industry, and tourism to cities, states, and nations, New York: Free Press.

- Kenyon, J. B. (1989). From central business district to central social district: The revitalization of the small Georgia city. Small Town, 20(2), 4-17.
- Larco, N. (2009). Hybridizing Place: Global and Local Identity in Puerto Madera, Buenos Aires. International Planning Studies, Vol. 14, No. 3, 275-292.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The Production of Space. (Oxford, Blackwell).

- "Let's keep it Western and Friendly", Urges Oscar Strobel, Noted Artist, Town Resident. (1956, June 13). Scottsdale Daily Progress.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, A. & Banerjee, T. (1998) Urban Design Downtown: Poetics and Politics of Form. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- Luckingham, B. (1989). *Phoenix: The History of Southwestern Metropolis*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Lynch, R. (1978). *Winfield Scott: Biography of Scottsdale Founder*. Published by the City of Scottsdale.
- Lynch, K. (1960) The Image of the City. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Lynch, K. (1972) What Time is this Place? Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Madanipour, A. 2001. Multiple Meanings of Space and the Need for a Dynamic Perspective. In The Governance of Place: Space and Planning Processes, eds. A. Madanipour, A. Hull, and P. Healey. Sydney: Ashgate: 155-68.
- Madanipour, A. (1996) *Design of Urban Space—An Inquiry into a Socio-Spatial Process* (London, John Wiley).
- Mahoney, R. (1954, November 14). "The Scottsdale Story". Scottsdale Daily Progress
- Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. (2006) Designing Qualitative Research 4th Edition. Sage Publications, London
- Massey, D. (2005). For Space. London: Sage.
- Massey, D. (1994). Space, Place and Gender. Minneapolis, MN: University of

Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. 1993. Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place. In Mapping the Future: Local Culture, Global Change, ed. J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G Robertson, and L. Tickner. London: Routledge: 59-69.

McElfresh, P. (1984). Scottsdale Jewel in the Desert. Windsor Publications.

- Means, A. C. (1997). Downtown Revitalization in Small Cities. Urban Land, 56(1), 26-31, 56.
- Merrilees, B., Miller, D. and Herington, C. (2012) 'Multiple Stakeholders and Multiple City Meanings', European Journal of Marketing 46(7/8): 1032–47.
- Miles, M. 1998. A game of appearance: Public art and urban development—Complicity or sustainability? In The entrepreneurial city, edited by T. Hall and P. Hubbbard, 203- Chichester, UK: Wiley.
- Montgomery, J. (2007). The New Wealth of Cities: City Dynamics and the Fifth Wave. Burlington, VT : Ashgate Publishing Limited. Ontology
- Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., & Pride, R. (2004) *Destination branding: Creating the unique destination proposition* (2nd ed.). Boston: Elsevier.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980) Genius Loci. New York: Rizzoli.

Norkunas, M. (1993). The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in

Monterey, California. New York: State University of New York Press.

- Paasi, A. (2002) 'Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing Regional Identity', Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 93: 137–48.
- Pratt, T. (1965, October 9). Scottsdale: Arizona's Booming Vacationland *Chicago Tribune*.
- Pryor, S. and Grossbart, S., (2007) Creating meaning on main street: Towards a model of place branding. Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, 3(4), 291–304.

Quay, S. E. (2002). Westward Expansion. Westport: Greenwood Press.

- Urry, John. 1995. Consuming Places. London: Routledge.
- Relph, E. (1976) Place and Placelessness. London: Pion.

- Robertson, K. (2004) The main street approach to downtown development: An examination of the four-point program; Journal of the Architectural and Planning Research; Vol. 21 Issue Spring, p55-73, 19p
- Robertson, K. (2001). Downtown development principles for small cities. In M. Burayidi (ed.), Downtowns: Revitalising the centres of small urban communities (pp 9-22). London: Routledge.
- Robertson, K. (1999) Can Small-City Downtowns Remain Viable? A National Study of Development Issues and Strategies, American Planning Association, Vol. 65, No. 3, Chicago, IL.
- Robertson, K. A. (1995). Downtown redevelopment strategies in the United States: An end-of-the-century assessment. Journal of the American Planning Association, 61, 429-437.
- Robertson, S. (1966, July 11). 300 Citizens Form Second STEP Forum. Scottsdale Daily Progress
- Rosentraub, M. S., Swindell, D., Przybylski, M., & Mullins, D. R. (1994). Sport and downtown development. Journal of Urban Affairs, 14, 221-239.
- Rossman, G. & Rallis, S. (2006) Learning in the Field: An Introduction to Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Russo, AP (2002). The 'vicious circle' of tourism development in heritage cities. Annals of Tourism Research 29(1), 165–182.
- Rypkema, D. (2003). The Importance of Downtown in the 21st Century. Journal of the American Planning Association, Winter, Vol.
- Saldana, J., (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*, London: Sage Publications.
- Scottsdale: A Western Oasis. (1956, November). People and Places
- Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce Urges Hiring a Zoning Expert from Santa Barbara, California. (1953, January 16). "Scottsdale Daily Progress

Scottsdale's Community Center. (1952, May 23). Scottsdale Daily Progress.

Scottsdale Group Recommends Extending the Western Zone. (1966, May 12). *The Arizonian*.

Scottsdale "Skyscrapers". (1963, October 28). Scottsdale Daily Progress Historic

- Schulz, C. N. (1991). Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture. London: Rizzoli.
- Seachord, D. (1997). Bringing investment back downtown: A case study of Puyallop, Washington. Small Town, 28(2), 22-29.
- Skinner, H. (2008). The emergence and development of place marketing's confused identity, Journal of Marketing Management, 24, (9-10), 915-928
- Smyth, H. (1994) Marketing the city: The role of flagship developments in urban regeneration, London: Routledge.
- Snepenger, D. J., Reiman, S., Johnson, J., & Snepenger, M. (1998). Is downtown mainly for tourists? Journal of Travel Research, 36, 5-12.
- Sorkin, M. (Ed.) (1992) Variations on a Theme Park (New York, Hill & Wang).
- STEP Recommendation Reports. (1965, January 12). The Arizonian.
- Syndor, D. B. (2010). Scottsdale Architecture. San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing.
- Taylor, A. G. (1965, Jan). Property Owner Fear For Future of Downtown Scottsdale. *The Arizonian*. [Letter to the editor]
- Tranick, R. (1986). Finding Lost Space. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.
- Turner, R. (2002) The Politics of Design and Development in the Postmodern Downtown. Journal of Urban Affairs, Vol. 24 Issue 5, p533-548
- Tyler, N. (2000) Historic Preservation (chapter 9: Downtown Revitalization) W.W. Norton & Company, New York.

- Tunbridge, J. E. & Ashworth, G. J. (2000) The Tourist- Historic City: Retrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City. New York: Pergamon.
- Ward, S. V. (1998) Selling Places. The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities 1850–2000 (London, E & FN Spon).
- Welch, A. (1965, January 21). Western Vs. High Rise. The Arizonian. p. 2.

Western Architecture Gets the Vote. (1958, August 22). Scottsdale Daily Progress

- Whyte, William, (1980) *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation.
- Willis, J. (2007) Foundations of Qualitative Research: Interpretation and Critical Approaches. Thusand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- VanderMere, P. (2010). Desert Visions and making of Phoenix, 1860-2009. University of New Mexico Press.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Zukin, S. (2009) Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places, Oxford University Press, USA