CITY PLANNING, URBAN IMAGINARY, AND THE BRANDED SPACE: UNFOLDING THE ROLE OF CITY PLANS AND PLACEMAKING IN SHAPING DALLAS EMERGING URBAN IMAGINARY

By

AHMAD BONAKDAR, Ph.D.

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Urban Planning and Public Policy
at the University of Texas at Arlington

May 2020

Arlington, Texas

Supervising Committee:

Ivonne Audirac, Ph.D. Supervising Professor
Ard Anjomani, Ph.D.
Kathryn Holliday, Ph.D.

Copyright © By
AHMAD BONAKDAR
2020

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation has been in the making for quite a long time. I wish to express my gratitude to those who have selflessly offered their help, time, and support in the past five years of my Ph.D. journey. I am greatly indebted to my advisor, Dr. Ivonne Audirac, for her generous, unreserved mentoring. She kept nudging me in the right direction, constantly challenged my ideas, nurtured my academic growth, and taught me to be a reflective, self-critical, and patient researcher. I wish to thank Dr. Ard Anjomani whose kindness, advice, and longtime support have contributed to my personal and academic growth. I would like to thank Dr. Kathryn Holliday for her astute observations, critiques, and constructive comments. I should also thank my interviewees for providing me with their insightful narratives. Finally, my memory is fallible; I cannot place those who have inspired me, argued with me, and debated with me, but I would like to thank them as they made me a better thinker.

During my Ph.D. studies, I have been fortunate to be with my true companion, colleague, and confidant: my lovely wife, Tahereh. As a fellow Ph.D. student, she kept challenging my methodology, exposed its shortcomings, offered me her insights, and above all, endured the hardship of being with her fellow Ph.D. husband. I could not have asked for a better company all along.

My pursuit of episteme owes a great deal to seminal works by philosophers, sociologists, and urban scholars that go beyond the confines of this dissertation. This epic, amazing ride involves many visionaries from Charles Taylor, Jürgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu, Sharon Zukin, and Manuel Castells to John Rawls, Harvey Molotch, tJohn Friedmann, Susan Fainstein, and Bent Flyvbjerg, among others. With this, as Samuel Beckett wrote in *Endgame,* it seems that *“The end is in the beginning and yet you go on.”*

ABSTRACT

This research addresses the gap in the literature that intersects city planning and city branding by examining how "urban imaginaries" through placemaking projects are constructed, in particular regarding cities with a legacy of stigma. This inquiry has wide-ranging economic implications for municipal governments since the way a city is being represented or branded could either attract or repel capital, tourists, and future residents, which could, in turn, affect economic growth.

I draw upon two key concepts that drive this research. First, based on the symbolic economy, I refer to *urban imaginaries* as the ways that a city can be imagined and represented through images, symbols, and narratives. The city's physical structures such as art museums, public parks, and cultural districts produce visual images that shape urban imaginaries. The second concept is "*urban imagineers,"* which I define as representative of those professionals who engage in the social construction of urban imaginaries and branding the city through their practice. Municipal planners by co-developing the city's alternative visions, architects by designing iconic landmarks, and city boosters (e.g., real estate developers) by promoting pro-growth civic agendas constitute urban imagineers.

This research argues that city plans play an important role in shaping urban imaginaries and the city's brand through visions that legitimize a physical determinism often heavily advocated by city boosters. By proposing large-scale placemaking projects—urban design interventions in the city's landscape—municipal planners, architects, and city boosters, inadvertently or not, promote urban imaginaries that are consistent with growth narratives publicized by civic leaders.

I select a single-case study research design, focusing on the City of Dallas as a unique case; since the early 1900s, Dallas has become a booster city and turned to entrepreneurialism. Despite the city's struggle with legacies of stigma linked to the JFK assassination in 1963, Dallas has sustained its entrepreneurial spirit with increasing investment in both symbolic and material cultural flagship projects. The main sources of data include existing literature on Dallas, city plans prepared for Dallas over the past century, D-Magazine archival issues since 1974, and semi-structured interviews with key informants as representative of urban imagineers (i.e., municipal planners, architects, and city boosters). Architecture critics and historians are also recruited to uncover the nature of placemaking projects and the historical context behind city plans, accordingly.

Using a content analysis of city plans and the extant literature on Dallas, research findings first identify three eras as influential in the historical lineage of Dallas's city planning: 1900—1963, 1963—1990, and 1990 onward, each with a prevalent political discourse. Next, by consulting key informants, I validate my findings of key placemaking projects that have shaped Dallas's urban imaginaries: *Fair Park, DFW Airport, Reunion Tower, The Arts Districts, Klyde Warren Park, and The Trinity River Corridor.* I argue that city plans have largely tended to serve the power elites and legitimized their ambition of constructing these placemaking projects. Finally, I find that Dallas's branded space has expanded, both symbolically and geographically, over those three eras. The city's branded space shaped by urban imagineers has shifted from the oil industry represented by "Pegasus" and limited to city's physical boundary to the narrative of "world-class" in the new millennium, transcending the city and even the metroplex. This research concludes by drawing some lessons and discussing policy implications for municipal planners and policymakers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ii
ABSTRACT iii

CHAPTER 1 — Introduction 1

1.1. Research Problem 1
1.2. Research Purpose and Questions 4
1.3. Context: The City of Dallas 4

CHAPTER 2 — Literature Review 9

2.1. Understanding Place Branding 9
2.2. The Symbolic Economy and Urban Imaginary 16
2.3. City Plans: Envisioning the City's Future 19
2.4. Placemaking and Place Branding 20
2.5. Toward a Theoretical Framework 22
2.6. Summary 25

CHAPTER 3 — Methodology 26

3.1. Research Design 26
3.2. Data Sources and Data Collection Procedures 31
3.3. Analysis and Interpretation of the Data 35
3.4. Ethical Considerations and Methodological Limitations 36
3.5. Summary 37

CHAPTER 4 — City Plans and the Rise of Big D 38

4.1. Background 38
4.2. City Plans: 1900 —1963 40
4.3. City Plans: 1963 —1990 45
4.4. City Plans: 1990 —present 51
4.5. Placemaking and City Plans 60
4.6. Summary 63

CHAPTER 5 — Urban Imaginaries and the Branded Space 64

5.1. Unfolding the Major Themes of Dallas's Evolution of City Plans and Placemaking 65
5.2. Planning Ethos: The Role of City Plans in Urban Imaginaries 78
5.3. The Branded Space: The Communication of Urban Imaginaries 86
5.4. Summary 97

CHAPTER 6 — Conclusions and Policy Implications 99

6.1. Policy Implications for City Officials and Municipal Planners 99
6.2. Towards Dallas 2030: Some Reflections on the City's Recent Turn to Policymaking 110
6.3. Conclusions and Future Research 112

BIBLIOGRAPHY 117
APPENDIX 132
AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY 133

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1. Dallas city boundary within the Dallas County and the DFW region.. 5
Figure 1-2. Population density in the 12-County MPA, 2017 and 2040 6
Figure 1-3. Employment density in the 12-County MPA, 2017 and 2040 6
Figure 1-4. The economic weight and the GDP growth of the top US cities from 1978 to 2010 8
Figure 2-1. A conceptual framework for place branding.. 13
Figure 2-2. The link between city plan, placemaking, urban imaginary, and the branded space............... 22
Figure 3-1. The research's analytic framework 27
Figure 4-1. Physical expansion and population growth of Dallas (1850—1950)....................................... 39
Figure 4-2. The Texas Hall of State at Fair Park 42
Figure 4-3. Dealey Plaza in 1963, Dallas, Texas 43
Figure 4-4. The Dallas City Hall, Dallas, Texas.. 48
Figure 4-5. DFW Airport during construction in 1973... 49
Figure 4-6. Reunion Tower, a 561-foot-high observation tower 49
Figure 4-7. The Dallas Arts District existing and proposed buildings... 50
Figure 4-8. The Future of Trinity River Corridor designed by Michael Van Valkenburgh 54
Figure 4-9. The Margaret Hunt bridge designed by Santiago Calatrava 55
Figure 4-10. Woodall Rodgers Freeway (before) – Klyde Warren Park (after), Dallas, Texas 57
Figure 5-1. Forward Dallas vision for the future of the Trinity River Corridor 85
Figure 5-2. The old city logo for tourism (left) vs the new one (right) 87
Figure 5-3. The Magnolia Building with the Flying Red Horse (Pegasus) on the top 90
Figure 5-4. Dallas's urban imaginaries as in D-Magazine front covers throughout the years 92

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1-1. The status and rank of Dallas in major economic development indices 7
Table 3-1. Interview questions and the rationale for asking... 33
Table 3-2. Data sources, data collection procedures, and analytic methods 34
Table 4-1. Visions, goals, and policies focusing on placemaking in Dallas's city plans (1900—2019).... 61

CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

1.1. Research Problem

In light of the global quest to attract human and financial capital, cities largely depend on their image and reputation to boost their economic development. While cities with physical and natural resources (e.g., London, San Francisco) have built an impressive reputation, shrinking, post-industrial cities with a stigma or lack of natural assets have to resort to branding campaigns to create seductive “urban imaginaries” to draw in foreign capital. Based on the symbolic economy, urban imaginaries are the ways that a city can be imagined by representations of the urban landscape through symbolic images, meanings, and narratives (Zukin 1996; Greenberg 2000). Predicated on *possibilities* rather than *realities*, urban imaginaries manifest predominately in the city’s physical landscape such as art museums, parks, cultural districts, entertainment venues, and sports arenas.

In this research, I examine the development of such urban imaginaries that have the ability to shape the city’s brand over time. In particular, when a city carries a stigma, I investigate the link between city plans and placemaking projects while exploring the role of “urban imagineers”—those who are representative of disciplines engaged in branding and representation of cities (Short 1999), thus contributing to the social construction of urban imaginaries through their writings, media communications, or professional practice (i.e., architects, planners, city boosters) (Zukin 1996; Zukin et al. 1998; Greenberg 2000).

This inquiry has far-reaching social and economic implications for municipal governments (Bridge and Watson 2003); remaining competitive is a source of increasing concern for city leaders and therefore the ways that cities are branded could alternatively attract or repel tourists, investors, skilled workers, and future residents, which could, in turn, impede or facilitate economic growth.

This research posits the thesis that city plans play an important role in shaping urban imaginaries and the city's brand through visions that legitimize a physical determinism often heavily advocated by urban imagineers such as city boosters. Looking at the role of municipal planners and architects as indirect branding agents, this research argues that visioning exercises are often consistent with civic leaders' pro-growth agendas. Large-scale placemaking projects are the physical manifestation of these agendas that shape a branded space within the public sphere. The branded space is a socially constructed space wherein the dominant urban imaginary gains greater presence with visual or textual narratives such as "business-friendly" or "world-class."

Informed by the power elites, city plans are most often led by municipal planners and architects, consisting of visions that outline the city's desired future based on possibilities (e.g., green resilient city). These visions then translate into goals and policies centering on placemaking projects—urban design interventions (e.g., public spaces, cultural centers). Regarded as a means to serve the economic interests of post-industrial cities (Aravot 2002), these large-scale interventions could shape urban imaginaries and contribute to the city's brand—though they are often at odds with small-scale placemaking projects led by citizens and grassroots (Sweeney et al. 2018, 571).

Within the planning literature, an essential element of city plans is the vision statement defined as "a system of interrelated goals." (Brooks 2002, 199) These goals are expressed in words that depict the desired future and guide ensuing actions to achieve it (Shipley 2002; Albrechts 2006). Visioning processes in essence advance planning values such as sustainable development (Berke and Conroy 2000) and social justice (Fainstein 2000). Despite its premise expressed in the present tense, visioning deals with the future and is grounded in "the space of imagination" (Bridge and Watson 2003, 7) in "the founding document of the [planning] profession – the city plan." (Neuman 2007, 155)

This research chooses the City of Dallas as a "unique case." (Yin 2009, 47) While Dallas has long been identified as a booster city since the early 1900s, its image was tarnished because of the JFK's assassination. Dallas's leaders have thus mobilized their efforts to shift this stigma, a not-so-transient image that has long haunted them (Hanson 2003). Official branding taglines such as "Big Things Happen Here" officiated by Visit Dallas are symbolic representations of Dallas as a destination for business and entertainment. Furthermore, Dallas's branded space involves intentional efforts that focus on placemaking projects (e.g., the Arts District), often funded through public-private partnerships mobilized by civic leaders and business establishments.

The main sources of data include city plans prepared for Dallas, scholarly and archival literature, and media outlets such as D-Magazine. Many of those city plans have been developed by private consultants where private planners and architects assumed the lead role. Therefore, to avoid bias, ensure analytical rigor, and validate findings from the secondary sources, I conduct interviews with key informants as representative of "urban

imagineers" including municipal planners in the public domain, architects (in private sector or nonprofits), and city boosters (e.g., members of the Dallas Citizens Council). Architecture critics and historians are also recruited to uncover the nature of placemaking projects and the historical context behind city plans, accordingly.

1.2. Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this research is to explore the role of city plans, and the way municipal planners and architects through placemaking projects, have contributed to shaping Dallas's urban imaginary and the city's brand over time. To achieve this purpose, first, the related extant literature will be reviewed to contextualize city branding and highlight its role in aiding cities' ongoing efforts at economic growth. Next, this study discusses urban imaginaries and develops an analytic framework whereby Dallas's urban imaginaries and branded space can be examined. With this, the research questions are:

- *How have city plans developed for Dallas contributed to shaping the city's imaginaries and branding the city?*
- *What are the specific placemaking projects that have aided in shaping Dallas's urban imaginaries and branding the city?*
- *What lessons can be learned and what policy implications in particular for municipal planners can be gleaned?*

1.3. Context: The City of Dallas

With a population of 1,197,816 as of 2010 (U.S. Census, 2011), the City of Dallas is the largest city in Dallas County situated in the Dallas-Fort Worth (DFW) region, the fourth largest metropolitan area in the US (Figure 1-1).

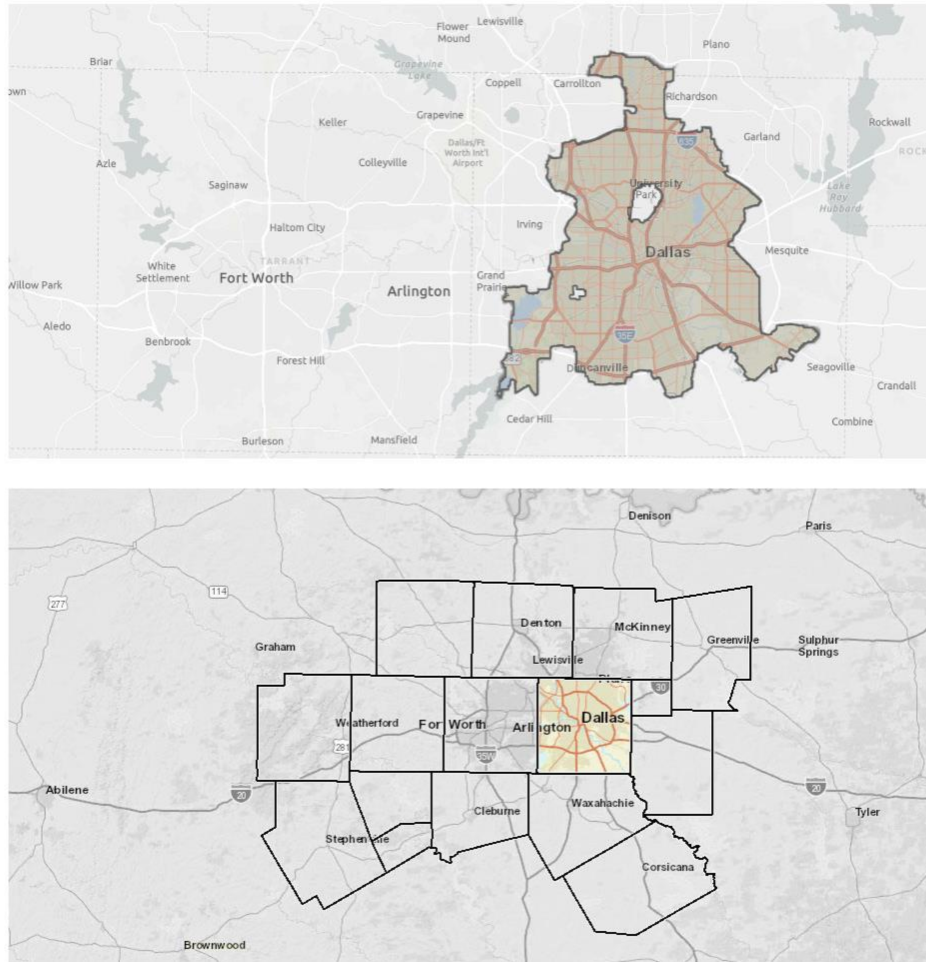


Figure 1-1. Dallas city boundary within the Dallas County and the DFW region
Source: (NCTCOG 2019)

According to NCTCOG (2016), the population density of Dallas is projected to increase from 1,848 to 2,681 people per square mile between the years 2017 and 2040. Similarly, Dallas County is expected to have the highest increase in the number of jobs with 1,050,448 new jobs for a growth rate of 49 percent. Figures 1-2 and 1-3 show population and employment change forecasts in the Metropolitan Planning Area (MPA) from 2017 to 2040, accordingly.

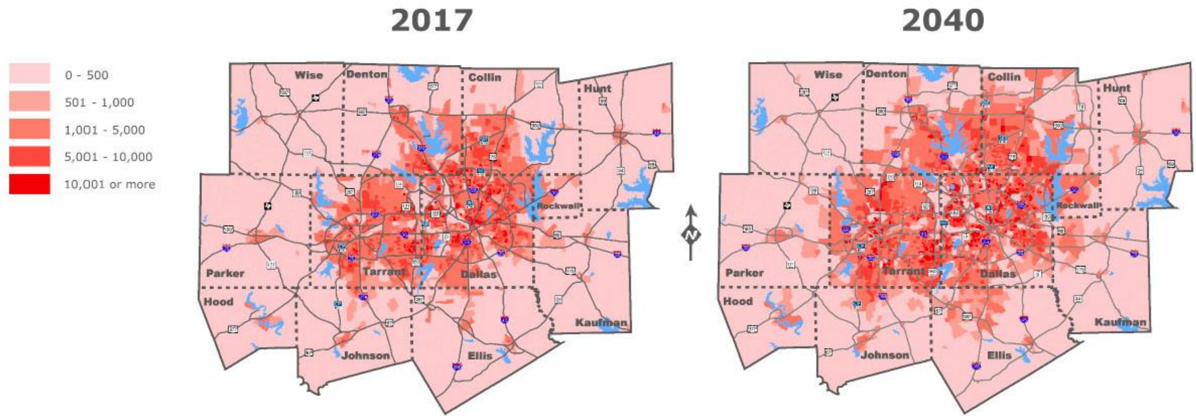


Figure 1-2. Population density in the 12-County MPA, 2017 and 2040
Source: (NCTCOG 2016, 3–4)

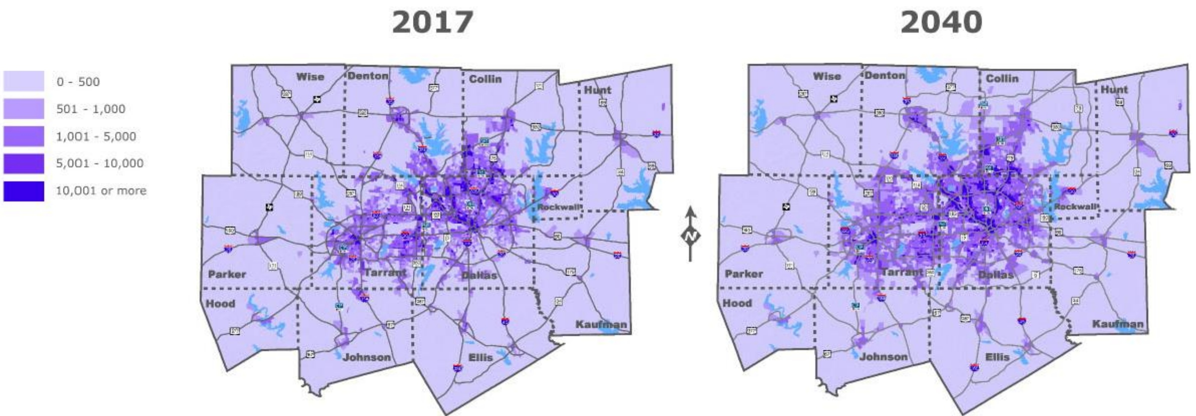


Figure 1-3. Employment density in the 12-County MPA, 2017 and 2040
Source: (NCTCOG 2016, 3–5)

The Dallas economy has shown consistent growth in conventional rankings across the past four decades. In light of neoliberal economic policies, Dallas has taken a number of steps to boost its position in the global economy. Table 1-1 demonstrates the status and rank of Dallas in major economic development reports. Similarly, Figure 1-4 shows that Dallas ranked sixth among the top cities with 325 billion dollars real GDP as of 2010, only after New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington D.C., and Houston.

Table 1-1. The status and rank of Dallas in major economic development indices

Institution/Report	Status and Rank
A.T. Kearney (2017) Global Cities 2017: Leaders in a World of Disruptive Innovation	– 48 in Global Cities index – 26 in Global Cities Outlook – Among the top 15 global cities in North America
Martin Prosperity Institute (2013) Creative and Diverse: Ranking Global Cities	– 38 among the 61 global cities in terms of Talent, Technology, Tolerance, Amenities, and Quality of life
The Brookings Institution (2016) Redefining Global Cities: The Seven Types of Global Metro Economies	– Ranked 3rd in Knowledge Capitals (mid-sized, highly productive innovation centers with talented workforces, entrepreneurs, and elite research universities), only after Chicago and Houston
The Economist (2013) Hot Spots 2025: Benchmarking the future competitiveness of cities	– Ranked among the top five American cities in institutional character including Seattle, New York, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. – Among the top 15 most populous, economically important and regionally diverse cities in North America – 32 in Overall 2025 city Competitiveness rankings

Source: (A.T. Kearney 2017; Martin Prosperity Institute 2013; The Brookings Institution 2016; The Economist Intelligence Unit 2013)

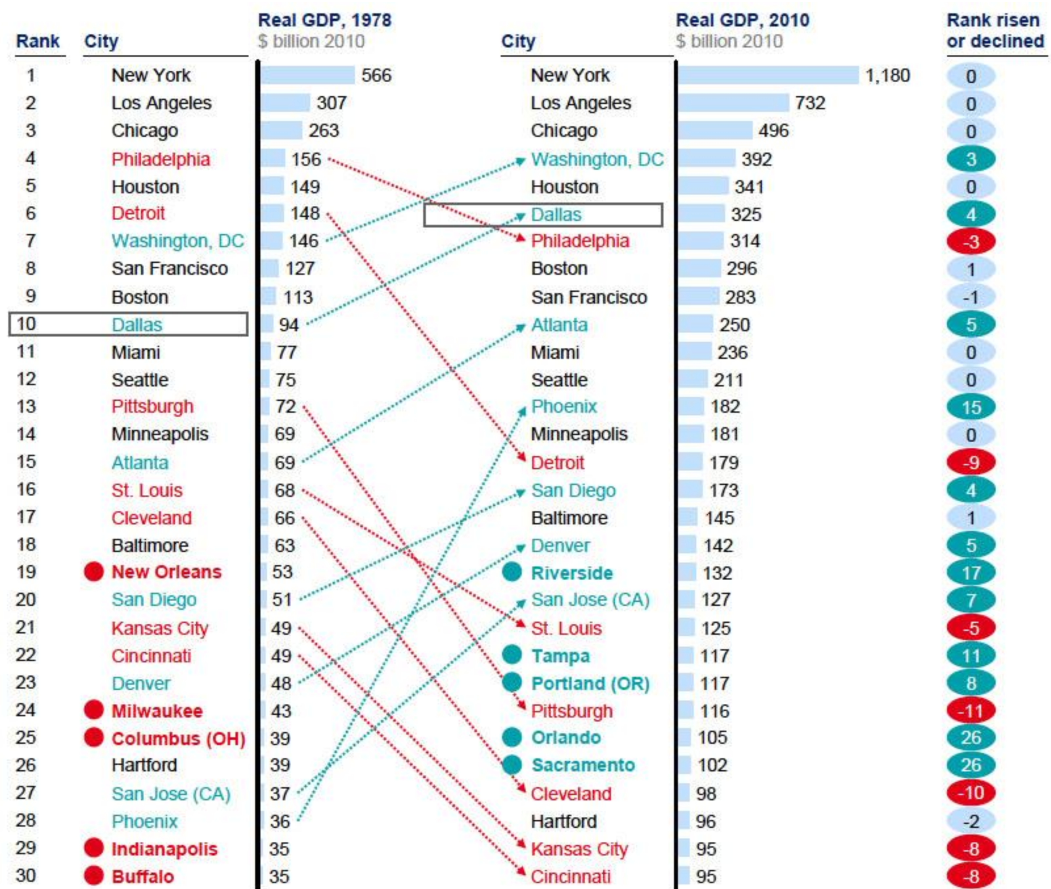


Figure 1-4. The economic weight and the GDP growth of the top US cities from 1978 to 2010
Source: (Mckinsey Global Institute 2012, 19)

In the next chapter, the relevant literature is reviewed to provide a theoretical framework for the research. First, the rise of image production and place branding within the broader concept of neoliberalism is discussed. Next, conceptualizing both hard and soft dimensions of urban policy schemes, this research defines urban imaginaries and links place branding and city planning through placemaking. Relying on a case study research design (Yin 2009), this research develops an analytic framework and discusses the methodological approaches to achieve its purpose.

CHAPTER 2

2. Literature Review

2.1. Understanding Place Branding

It is essential to understand “place” and “branding” before delving into the notion of place branding. “Place” is a particularly complex concept that does not lend itself to a simple definition. Partly because place is interpreted at different scales (e.g., cities, neighborhoods) and has shifted from a geographical specificity to an amorphous concept (Arefi 1999). Studies have approached place from different disciplines, particularly from architecture and urban studies (e.g., Norberg-Schultz 1980; Alexander 1979), geography, (e.g., Agnew 1987; Tuan 1977; Relph 1976; Massey 1994; Cresswell 2004), sociology (e.g., Castells 2010, 2002), and environmental psychology (e.g., Canter 1977; Low and Altman 1992). Existing literature on place illustrates that, in a broad sense, place retains a spatial form imbued with meaning and function within “... the boundaries of physical contiguity’ (Castells 2010, 453). Yet, not only does place carry physical characteristics (Relph 1976; Agnew 1987), but also it embodies economic and social values (Cresswell 2004) as well as emotional dimensions mediated by the individuals’ perceptions (Canter 1977; Low and Altman 1992).

Unlike the concept of place, “brand” seems to be a more straightforward concept. Brand, according to the American Marketing Association, is “a name, term, sign, symbol or design, or a combination of these intended to identify the goods and services of one

seller or a group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors." (Cited in Kotler and Gertner 2002, 249) Brands shape individuals' experience of products and "incite beliefs, evoke emotions and prompt behaviors." (Kotler and Gertner 2002, 249)

While "brands" have a function of differentiating products from one another, "branding" is the process of "designing, planning and communicating the name and the identity [of a product], in order to build or manage [its] reputation." (Anholt 2007, 4) The application of "branding" to "place", however, does not culminate in "place branding." Existing literature has characterized place branding as a complex, long-term process that seeks to achieve a competitive advantage in light of neoliberal economic policies (Paganoni 2012; Pasquinelli 2012; Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2009, 2010). Place branding uses place promotion and marketing strategies, relying on the place identity (Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013; Anholt 2007). Drawing on communication to project a positive image, place branding underscores the importance of image in experiencing places (Aitken and Campelo 2011; Govers and Go 2009; Medway and Warnaby 2008).

The significance of image stems largely from the principal role of media communication as instrumental to restructuring urban geography and gaining political and economic leverage (see Castells 2010, 2013). The construction of images in the human mind shapes power relations since a major outlet of politics in the network society is media communication, where "the media constitute the space where power relationships are decided between competing political and social actors." (Castells 2013, 194)

Place Branding, Place Marketing, or Place Promotion?

Differentiating between place promotion, place marketing, and place branding even among academics seems intractable (Anholt 2008; Govers 2011; Boisen et al. 2018). A survey of existing literature on place branding demonstrates that these terms are often used interchangeably, at least among practitioners whereas academics bring attention to their conceptual nuances as well as their outcomes and potential benefits. Govers (2011) argues that place brands have to be earned over time and cannot be staged as a result of intensive marketing campaigns through communication and other media strategies. Similarly, Anohlt (2008) points out that places cannot be branded but that they can have branded images. A place brand is a strong, positive (or negative) image that is produced in particular by residents and perceived by external visitors (Govers 2011).

In line with these arguments, “place promotion” comes to be construed as any activity that intends to increase awareness and bring attention to a place (Boisen et al. 2018). For example, “Denver” has received national popularity as a destination for skiing because of intentional place marketing efforts that have spread the words about it.

Although “place marketing” shares typical characteristics of place promotion, it is referred to as any purposeful activity that aims to attract the intended audience; in other words, place marketing encompasses techniques to offer the intended audience an impetus to visit a specific place rather than its competitors (Govers 2011). Driven by economic motives, place marketing targets specific planning and urban design activities that help develop a marketable image of places, often conducted by the business elites in a top-

down fashion (Sager 2011, 156–57). The professional practice of “marketers” is thus intentional, deliberate, and yet detached from historical and cultural discourses.

“Place branding”, on the other hand, comes to be understood as representing the place identity formed in the individuals’ minds through images (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2009; Kavaratzis and Kalandides 2015). In contrast to place marketing, place branding emphasizes individuals’ attitudes towards place, requiring substantially longer periods of time for a place to achieve a positive reputation (Boisen et al. 2018). That is not to say that place marketing and place branding are visibly at great odds; communication, for instance, retains the basic structure of both place marketing and place branding, as a vehicle for transmitting the place image. However, cumulative cultural legacies over time shape the place brand while place marketing activities occurs in a relatively short amount of time.

The Political Economy of Place Branding

It is necessary to examine the broader political economy in which place branding lies. While place branding has primary antecedents such as *corporate branding and marketing,* (see Balmer and Gray 2003; Balmer 2001; Harris and Chernatony 2001)*,* it has its roots in the development of urban policies that followed competitive advantages best exemplified in *civic boosterism* (Boyle 1997) and *selling the city* (Ashworth and Voogd 1990).

In the 1970s and 1980s, cities were shrinking, facing the “urban crisis.” More precisely, while suburbs were growing in the US, crisis of shrinking economic and tax bases in American cities represented the decline of central cities (Audirac 2018). This era coincided with the laissez-faire doctrine of classical liberalism, which was heavily politicized under Reaganism and Thatcherism. These incidents gave impetus to global,

neoliberal ideology, advocating open and unregulated markets devoid of any state intervention, as a necessary condition for economic development (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 2005; Peck and Tickell 2002). In parallel, the institutional shift in the economy from *urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism* (see Harvey 1989) paved the way for a new form of post-industrial cities relying on new urban policy formulations (Judd and Ready 1996; Hall and Hubbard 1996, 1998). These policy formulations favored private-public partnerships or what was increasingly referred to as “contractual agreements” between a private entity and the public sector (Sager 2011). Local governments increasingly relied on growth coalitions (Logan and Molotch 1987) to unleash a competition between real-estate or place entrepreneurs for catering to the needs of interlocal investors, while linking the future of local places to global fortunes (Figure 2-1).

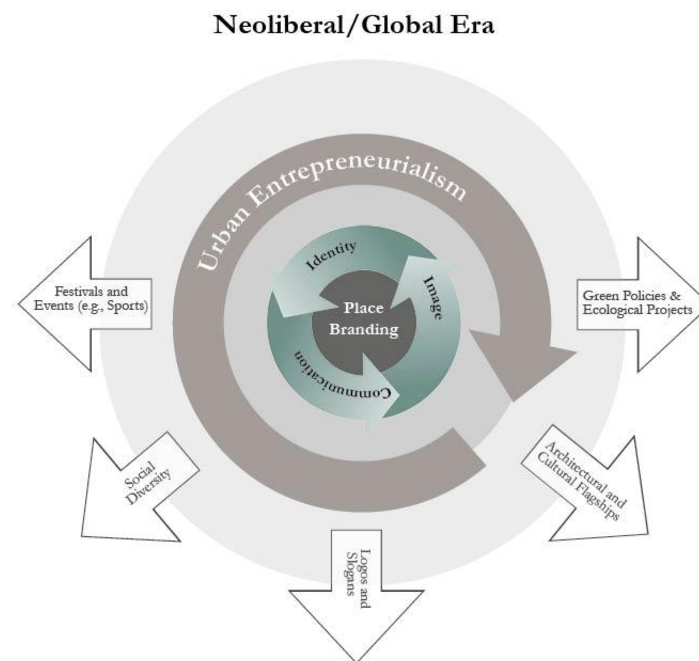


Figure 2-1. A conceptual framework for place branding

These trends in the globalized economy and in ways local governments ran their jurisdictions caused place marketing and branding to emerge and manifest in many policy variants, predominantly as remaking, revitalizing, and reinvesting in places. These reinvestments were largely in response to a global intercity competition (Anttiroiko 2015), aiming to attract the creative class (Okano and Samson 2010; Zenker 2009) as magnets of growth following Richard Florida (2002, 2005). These policies increasingly relied on public-private partnerships (Zhao 2015; Iveson 2012) to create urban spectacles such as Disneyization (Bryman 2004) or Dubaization (Elsheshtawy 2010).

Application and Practice

Istanbul, Paris, Rome are but a few cases where marketing efforts essentially focus on communicating their historical legacies. In contrast, cities with less historical and cultural significance or struggling with their stigma (e.g., Detroit, Dallas, Memphis) often rely on deliberate attempts to create a distinctive and competitive image.

Over the past decade, place branding efforts capitalize on the fact that cultural projects and arts industries often serve as potential catalysts for economic growth (Grodach 2008, 2010; Scott 2000). Therefore, cultural flagship developments (Vivant 2011; Ulldemolins 2014; Jensen 2007) and architectural marvels (Holliday 2009), regardless of their success or failure, have pervaded intentional place branding activities. Other strategies receiving popularity include sports events such as Olympic games (Makarychev and Yatsyk 2015; Zhang and Zhao 2009), and sustainable city profiles as green place branding (Chan 2017; Andersson 2016; Shing, Peters, and Marafa 2015). For instance, Amsterdam has developed a long-standing mission to achieve sustainability by

reducing CO_2 emissions (Goess, De Jong, and Meijers 2016). Some other cities, such as Buenos Aires, have resorted to profit-making by attracting tourism and the commodification of culture (Dinardi 2017). Communicating the city's image with labels such as modernity and diversity are only a few tokens of place branding strategies cities have adopted. In cases such as Dubai, place branding has created an image of modernization albeit the cost of social disintegration (see Elsheshtawy 2010).

All these practices, however, have faced criticisms. Some critics have raised doubts about place branding, as an overly ambitious, unpromising economic development policy (Cleave et al. 2017); others argue that place branding leads to commodified urban space (Dinardi 2017; Zukin 1996), gentrification (Gibson 2005) and tends to misrepresent the reality of cities such as poverty (Gotham 2007; Boland 2013). In addition, place branding seems to favor certain groups and ethnicities, while avoiding the social inclusion of minorities (Wong and Liu 2017). Critical studies on place branding also stressed its distorted political process, rendering "decisions regarding what and who can be re-imagined ..." (Johansson 2012, 3625) as suggestive of politics at play. Furthermore, criticisms underscore the top-down branding approaches that often culminate in a parochial form of participation (Eshuis and Edwards 2013). In other words, the top-down approach to place branding is often at odds with lay knowledge and residents' wants (Zhang and Zhao 2009; Lui 2008). The realm of professional place marketers is thus safeguarded against the laity's influence. For example, Eshuis and Edwards (2013) have examined the democratic legitimacy of place branding in two communities in Rotterdam, Netherlands, finding that civic engagement remains limited and vulnerable to tokenism.

2.2. The Symbolic Economy and Urban Imaginary

Sharon Zukin (1996) in *The Culture of Cities* makes references to cities that attempt to attach their culture, as a source of images and symbols, to activities that best represent their competitive advantage—through architectural heritage, art museums, ethnic restaurants, public spaces, and so on. City boosters, as Zukin (1996, 2–3) puts it, rely on cultural consumption (of food, fashion, music, tourism) to create urban spectacles. These new forms of representation of cities are fueled by the power of culture that suggests "what –and who—should be visible and what should not, on concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power." (Zukin 1996, 7)

These activities reflect the development of what Zukin calls "the symbolic economy," with media corporations, financial institutions, tourism agencies, and the entertainment industry (such as the Disney Company) being characterized as its main drivers. In her treatment of cities, Zukin conceptualizes the symbolic economy as the way cultural materials—restaurants, museums, fashion, food—are becoming symbolic products that agents with economic and political power use to promote cities. Related to the symbolic economy, are entrepreneurial activities by civic boosters and the power elites who, by virtue of having access to capital and media, shape the city's future vision by advocating the construction of art museums, flagship buildings, and cultural projects. Zukin exemplifies (1996, 59) Disneyland and Disney World as "imagineers," those that shape the production of space with "a fictive narrative of social identity." These boosters of space redefine and reimagine cities to shape a collective identity communicated to external audiences.

In light of the symbolic economy and the role place branding plays in it, lies an important premise on which place branding operates. This premise is based on the concept of "Modern Social Imaginaries" propounded by Charles Taylor (2004), which signifies the seemingly thin line between the *imaginary* as *possibilities* and *realities* of social understanding. Taylor (2004, 23–25) refers to the term "social imaginary" as the ways ordinary people imagine their social environment, through images, stories, and memories. Despite its formation in human imagination, this socially constructed imaginary is "an essential constituent of the real." (Taylor 2004, 183)

In essence, place brands have hard (physical, material) and soft (symbolic image) dimensions since place implies a spatial concept (Pike 2015), whereas brands are associated with images (Kavaratzis 2004). The hard aspect of place brands often manifests in physical structures such as art museums, while the soft aspect represents "urban imaginaries," referred to as the ways a city can be imagined through representations of the urban landscape and symbolic narratives, rendering possibilities rather than realities (Greenberg 2003; Zukin et al. 1998; Short 1999). Along the lines of the "real" built city, there exist urban imaginaries, characterized by "*projection*—that is, the active production of realities." (Johansson 2012, 3613) Urban imaginaries do not only serve to produce fictions, but they could also effect change in the public perception of the reality:

> *"... a coherent, historically based ensemble of representations drawn from the architecture and street plans of the city, the art produced by its residents, and the images of and discourse on the city as seen, heard, or read in movies, on television, in magazines, and other forms of mass media." (Greenberg 2000, 228)*

The platform that helps disseminate such urban imaginaries most often includes *the media* (Zukin et al. 1998) within the public sphere where public opinion forms. The public sphere comes to be understood as the breeding ground for communicating collectively held meanings through print media (e.g., newspapers, booklets, pamphlets) as well as digital and social media (Habermas 1989). The media, albeit being seemingly “invisible”, produces “visible” realities and has the ability to influence individuals’ behavior toward the urban environment (Zukin et al. 1998). Cases abound where media has penetrated the public perception to the extent that cities have become stigmatized—Detroit is an example of a shrinking city with stigma as a collective, negative urban imaginary (see Audirac 2018).

The heavy reliance of place branding on media and image creation is deeply ingrained in the power of mass media, to the extent that “messages, organizations, and leaders who do not have a presence in the media do not exist in the public mind.” (Castells 2013, 194) While media alone does not rule out the possibility of using other sources of information by the public (e.g., face-to-face contacts), it has nevertheless remained “the space where power relationships are decided between competing political and social actors.” (Castells 2013, 194) Using media, place branding “produces, reproduces, circulates and, perhaps, imposes place imaginaries that affect the lives of real people.” (Lichrou, Kavaratzis, and Giovanardi 2017, 1)

2.3. City Plans: Envisioning the City's Future

Within the planning practice, city plans are regarded as "the founding document of the profession." (Neuman 2007, 155) By nature, city plans represent formally and legally the process of linking knowledge to action by planning practitioners (Tett and Wolfe 1991). City plans guide the future spatial and physical development of the city, often using land use maps and visual representations (Talen 1996; Neuman 1998). However, city plans not only delineate the future physical structure of the city, but they also depict "intentions, expectations, actions, and their relationships." (Hopkins 2007, 283)

What defines city plans is the articulation of visions and goals (Brooks 2002; Grant 2007) that describe the desired future, compellingly expressed in words to engender decisive actions (Shipley 2002; Albrechts 2006). Visioning is an all-inclusive process that encompasses the direct involvement of all groups affected by it, and therefore, vision statements address the quality of life in its entirety, not just economic development per se. Through participatory, democratic decision-making processes, such visions involve "a system of interrelated goals," (Brooks 2002, 199) lodged primarily in normative, and perhaps conflicting, planning ideals such as "protecting the green city, promoting the economically growing city, and advocating social justice." (Campbell 1996, 296) In theory, these goals have quintessentially characterized the core planning principles.

Despite its premise expressed in words and couched in present tense, vision is grounded in the realm of possibilities, creating "the space of imagination." (Bridge and Watson 2003, 7) The conceptualization of the city in this space has the power to pervade "the mentalities and identities of city-dwellers as they imagine who they are, where they

are and what they might do.” (Healey 2002, 1789) Therefore, municipal planners by the professional practice of making city plans engage in the construction of urban imaginaries, dealing with both social and physical aspects of the city, embody a better future, either as textual narratives or visual representations.

2.4. Placemaking and Place Branding

Much of the existing literature on place branding conveys a close relationship between place branding and placemaking (Farhat 2019; Listerborn 2017; Yigitcanlar et al. 2016; Evans 2015). Here the relationship between placemaking and place branding is unpacked.

Early approaches to placemaking was merely a physicalist design inspired by CIAM’s dictums such as order, efficiency, and the separation of the city’s functions from each other as enamored in the works Le Corbusier and his proponents. This approach, however, was later contested to produce a sterile and unsafe urban environment (Jacobs 1961, 1969) where cities were reduced to artificial objects rather than naturally organic entities (Alexander 1965). Therefore, placemaking grounded in modernist’s ideals failed to bring forth a sense of place associated with community-driven places.

Representing almost opposite ends of the spectrum, New Urbanists saw modernist placemaking as one-size-fits-all design processes typical of form-follows-function ideology (see Fishman 2000). New Urbanists, inspired by Jacobs (1961, 1969), Whyte (1980), and Lynch (1960, 1981) sought to deliver high quality places by refining the by-products of Modernism such as placelessness (Kunstler 1993; Arefi 1999). Informed by the postmodern era, this later approach to placemaking was conceived as the practice of urban designers and architects to link public places with meaningful social interactions.

Theoretical contributions to placemaking mostly characterize it as an "unaccomplished project," (Aravot 2002) "works-in-progress," (Arefi 2014) or as an "open-ended achievement," (Sweeney et al. 2018) underpinning the observation that placemaking follows a general progression achieved over time. Placemaking, therefore, informed by an explicitly normative turn in shaping the built environment, is seen as a social process in a constant state of manifestation, transformation, and contestation. Imbued with meaning, authenticity, and identity, placemaking in an ideal situation is led by grassroots and local communities based on their own assets (Silbergerg et al. 2013). This theoretically informed discourse on placemaking does not privilege the top-down, physicalist design approaches; rather it presents the opposite thesis, according to which priority is given to citizens to make places "small, inhabited, cherished, ... and centered." (Friedmann 2010, 159)

While in theory placemaking has thrived, in practice it has remained as a means for serving the economic interests of post-industrial cities through public or private large-scale interventions (Aravot 2002; Fincher, Pardy, and Shaw 2016). Placemaking therefore comes to be understood as a predominantly practice-oriented activity that helps governments and the business elites to create a commercialized, competitive, and distinctive image to attract external capital investments and visitors, while seemingly benefitting local residents. Given that a powerful image is a key element that informs individuals' perceptions of the city (Lynch 1960), governments have employed placemaking to project their jurisdictions, for example, as knowledge-intensive (Yigitcanlar et al. 2016) or innovation-friendly (Listerborn 2017).

2.5. Toward a Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework presented here intends to link city plans and place branding through placemaking within the public sphere (Figure 2-2). The four components of the theoretical framework are as follows:

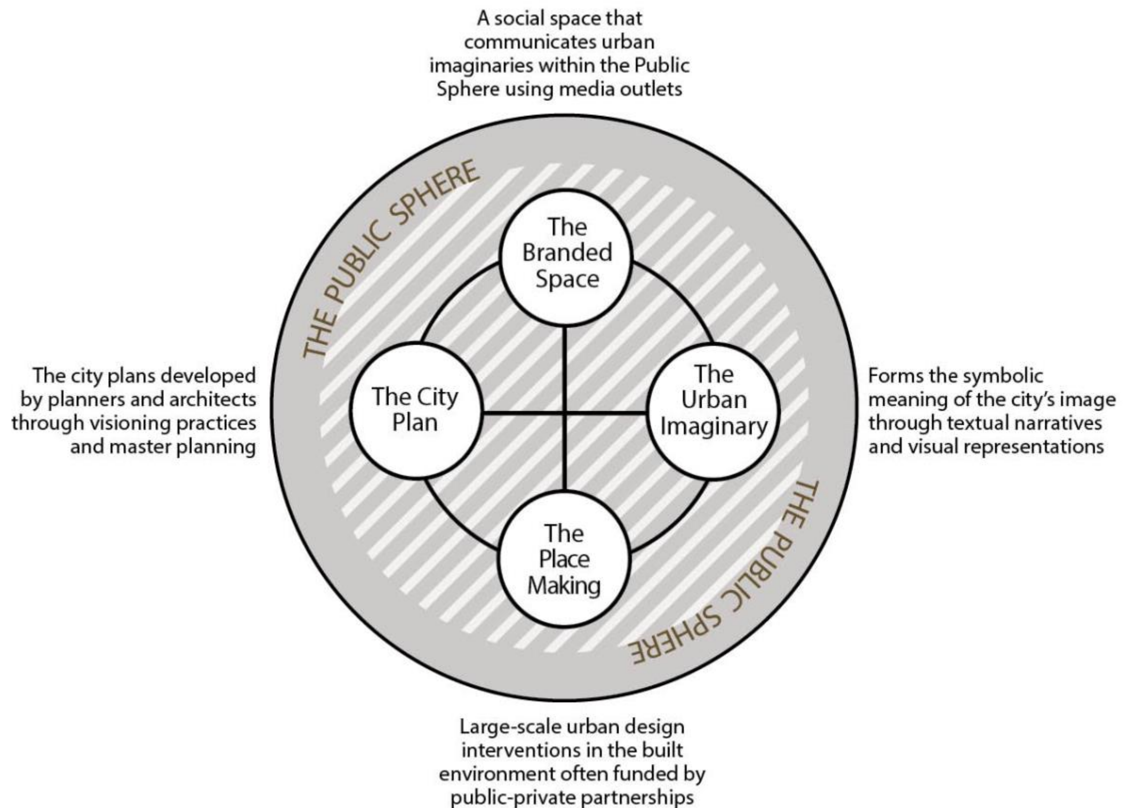


Figure 2-2. The link between city plan, placemaking, urban imaginary, and the branded space

- *The City Plan*

  Regarded as the end product of municipal planners, city plans are overarching, comprehensive documents that deal with both social and physical aspects of the city. By making long-range comprehensive plans, municipal planners engage in futures thinking and, in the co-creation with planning constituencies, develop alternative visions of the city. These visions are socially constructed urban imaginaries that are expressed either in textual narratives or visual representations. Policy interventions are then drafted to translate these visions into concrete action plans.

- *The Placemaking*

  In practice, placemaking is conceived as an activity in the realm of professional architects, urban designers, and planners that carry forth the intention of local governments, the business elites, and developers. The process of placemaking starts when municipalities, according to an approved plan with policies regarding the future needs, permit new developments (e.g., public buildings, roads, libraries, parks) or support physical interventions in the built environment. Placemaking processes tend to be malleable to the deliberate efforts of the expert with reliance on the universal principles of scientific rationality.

- *The Urban Imaginary*

  Over time, historical legacies and cultural discourses lead cities to cultivate an image commonly held by "... by large numbers of city's inhabitants." (Lynch 1960, 7) However, this image is soft and vulnerable to intentional marketing practices but also malleable by the writings and practices of educators, planners, architects, historians, journalists and other actors involved in the production of urban imaginaries aimed at influencing their audiences. Urban imaginaries consist of urban representations, visualization, symbolic meanings, memories, and narratives that are communicated by word of mouth, the media or the Internet (Zukin et al. 1998; Short 1999; Greenberg 2000). These urban imaginaries, however, reflect the possibilities, and not necessarily the realities, by which cities are portrayed.

- *The Branded Space*

  Unlike "brand" that is seen largely as the province of other disciplines (e.g., business, marketing), "the branded space" denotes a space wherein the more dominant urban imaginary pervades the public sphere. The branded space thus carries a dyadic relationship with the urban imaginary and serves to influence and render possibilities of the future, realities of the present, and legacies of the past. Such a branded space is firmly embedded as a commitment to either material consumption (Miles 2010), cultural consumption (Zukin 1993), or cultural experience and thus critical to an understanding of the city.

2.6. Summary

This chapter examined the theory of place branding and its application to cities to untangle the role of image and communication in branding places. While the literature on place branding shows a sign of growing maturity, it remains fragmented and lacks a normative theoretical foundation. The neoliberal growth paradigm has informed the substantive underpinnings of place branding, leading to strategies aligned with elites and politicians' aspirations. Criticisms of place branding focus on its top-down approach that inhibits genuine public participation and commodifies the physical and cultural space, a consequence of growth and redevelopment policies promoted by place branders.

This chapter also identified how place branding aims to create an image of the city to attract human and financial capital drawing primarily on placemaking. The extant literature has explored specific place branding projects such as art museums, sports events, and architectural monuments; however, it has rarely focused on the relationship between city plans and city branding. This limitation has much to do with the focus in the literature on business and marketing approaches to place branding; therefore, place branding remains an unexplored area in the planning literature.

This gap in the literature offers an opportunity to examine the connection between place branding and urban planning within the wider context of strategic plan-making; in particular, when tourism, finance, and communication media have become the main drivers of the symbolic economy. The proposed theoretical framework identifies the nexus between city plans, placemaking, urban imaginary, and branding space within the public sphere, forming the basis to examine the case study adopted for this research discussed next.

CHAPTER 3

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design

This research employs case study research following the principles developed by Robert Yin (2009). It deals mainly with "how" questions and has selected the City of Dallas as a single-case design; Dallas is a "unique case" (Yin 2009, 47) due to legacies of stigma associated with the JFK assassination. Dallas is also a "representative case" (Yin 2009, 48) of many growth-oriented, neoliberal cities that has directed its concerted efforts to rebrand itself through flagship placemaking projects led by branding agents (e.g., civic leaders, business groups, planners, architects). While studies have examined the city's history (Hazel 1997; Fairbanks 1998; Graff 2008), political economy (Hanson 2003; Payne 2000), and recently the city's architecture (Holliday 2019), Dallas has not been explored within the planning literature.

This research's main thesis is that city plans play an important role in shaping urban imaginaries and the city's brand through visions that legitimize a physical determinism often heavily advocated by city boosters. This thesis guides what source of evidence needs to be collected within the study's scope and informs a logic for analyzing the evidence (Yin 2009, 126). The theoretical framework developed in Chapter two is used here as the basis for this research. Figure 3-1 demonstrates the main components of the analytic framework.

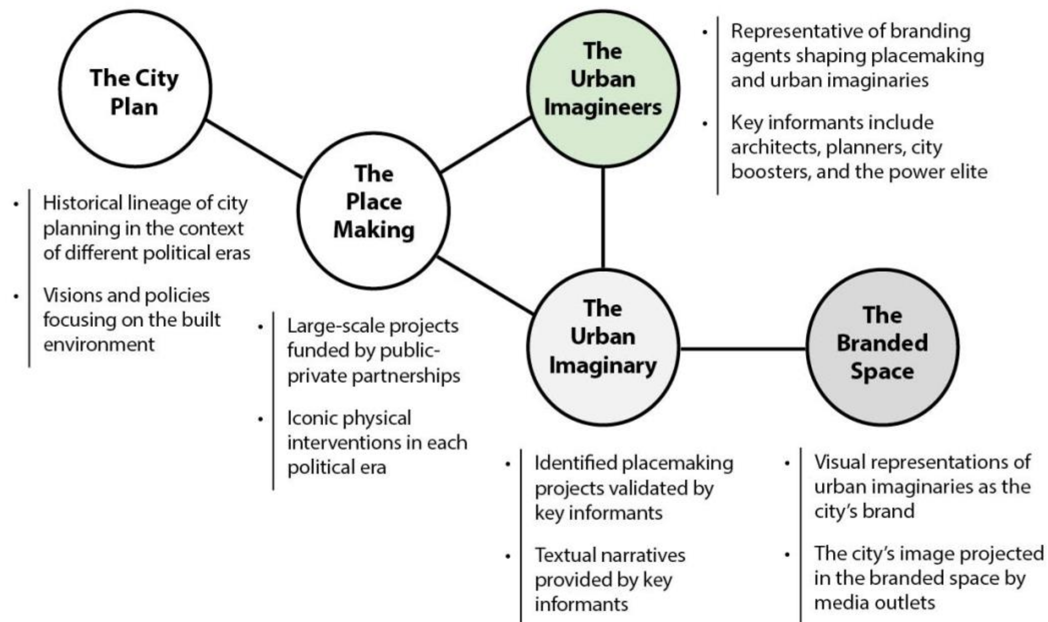


Figure 3-1. The research's analytic framework

- *The City Plan*

In city plans, I look for specific vision statements and goals that deal with the future of Dallas. Examples include sketching a vivid mental image of the city; conceiving a social space in people's imagination; or perhaps emphasizing what ought to be done. I also identify political eras in which city planning has taken place to help describe how city plans in each era were informed by the political ideology of the time. In addition, I glean certain goals and policies that focus on "placemaking" projects. As discussed, vision statements include an interrelated set of goals that break down and interpret the statements to achieve the desired state. For instance, a vision could state "Dallas is a green city with resilient communities," with a corresponding goal of "increasing

equity in access to parks and public amenities." Yet, this goal needs a policy framework to guide decisions over time to achieve what the vision promises. Therefore, a policy that helps translate the vision into action could be "developing parks and open spaces in South Dallas accessible to and within a 5-minute walk of all residents." Accordingly, I look for policy agendas that prioritize issues of importance in vision statements and that propose physical interventions in the built environment.

I should note that the concept of city plan and professionalization of urban planners did not happen in the US until after 1917 with the establishment of the American City Planning Institute (Cullingworth and Caves 2014). More specifically, in the state of Texas, municipal planners did not have authority over zoning regulations until 1927, following the adoption of the Standard City Planning Enabling Act in 1926; comprehensive planning was also enacted into the Texas Legislature in 1997 (Texas Local Government Code 2005, §211—§ 213). My analysis, therefore, focuses on city plans in the broad sense of the term across time from their early inception in the 1900s onward, as a way of systematic thinking about the city's future, conceived and endorsed by planners and architects.

- *The Placemaking*

  Ideal placemaking develops organically over time based on communities' assets (Sweeney et al. 2018). However, cities create large-scale, and often, overwhelmingly imposing structures in the built environment to attract visitors and sustain commercial activities (Fincher, Pardy, and Shaw 2016; Listerborn 2017). In this way, placemaking is treated as a tool intended to enhance the city's image against rival cities.

I define placemaking as any large-scale, citywide urban design interventions in the built environment that are funded often by public-private partnerships. Therefore, I look for specific projects that enjoy these criteria, aiming to identify significant flagship projects. However, these projects are not always specifically proposed in city plans; rather some projects are put forward by the power elites and local business groups, while being broadly conceived and legitimized in city plans. As a result, in addition to identifying potential projects that have appeared in the city's landscape, I look at the extant literature focusing on Dallas's history to further locate major projects in the city that might otherwise be absent from city plans.

- *The Urban Imagineers*

  Within the confines of Dallas's political economy, I refer to the urban imagineers as representative of a larger group of professionals who engage in branding and representation of cities (Short 1999), dealing with the future and the social construction of urban imaginaries by making plans, crafting images, and writing narratives using media communications and the Internet (Zukin 1996; Zukin et al. 1998; Greenberg 2000). City boosters or the power elites (e.g., CEOs of major firms, real estate developers) by influencing citywide decision making processes and promoting pro-business agendas, architects by designing iconic landmarks, and planners by visioning exercises and developing city plans are representative of those urban imagineers, each with a unique institutional voice that shapes the public discourse. For analytic purposes, I refer to these groups as "key informants."

- *The Urban Imaginary*

  I refer to urban imaginaries as the ways that a city can be imagined through symbolic images and narratives, often communicated by word of mouth, the media or the Internet (Zukin 1996; Short 1999; Greenberg 2000). Dallas's key placemaking projects identified previously exemplify elements of urban imaginaries associated with the city. I reach out to key informants to validate my initial findings of placemaking projects. For example, based on the extant literature, I have identified Fair Park as a major project in the city's landscape. Key informants have also underscored Fair Park as an exemplary project belonging to an era where the City Beautiful movement gained much currency. Therefore, Fair Park can be taken as one element that along with other projects makes up Dallas's urban imaginaries, influencing people's perception of the city through constructing visual images in mind.

- *The Branded Space*

  Dallas's urban imaginaries lead to creating a "branded space," which I define as a social space within the public sphere where dominant urban imaginaries (i.e., key placemaking projects) gain a greater presence. Dallas's branded space is no longer seen as a semiotic space, but rather as a malleable, spatial one that represents the city's possibilities to draw in foreign capital, prospective residents, and highly creative workforce. In my analysis, I focus on narratives and visual representations in the media to uncover the link between urban imaginaries and the branded space. Given that textual narratives and images are promulgated by the media, I examine one major media outlet to find out how the branded space has projected Dallas's urban imaginaries.

3.2. Data Sources and Data Collection Procedures

This research utilizes multiple sources of data. First, following the research's main proposition, I use secondary data, i.e., city plans prepared for Dallas. I have initially identified 32 city plans since 1900, of which 10 documents are selected for further analysis based on scope, the spatial scale, and importance.

I chose "scope" because some plans have received limited institutional support while their scopes are restricted to a particular subject. For example, *From Blight to Light: Assessing Blight in the City of Dallas: Final Report (2013)* is an effort initiated by Dallas Area Habitat for Humanity (DAHFH) to determine the impact of Dallas's blighted neighborhoods on the city. Its scope falls within neighborhood revitalization programs and thus is limited to interventions targeted at vacant and blighted structures. Therefore, because of its limited scope, it was not included in the analysis. The second criterion is "the spatial scale." I do not include in my analysis those plans whose geographical scale is at the neighborhood level; for example, *Jubilee Park Neighborhood Development Strategy (2004)* is subsumed under urban design redevelopment strategies in line with the broader growth plans of South Dallas. Finally, my analysis focuses on plans with high-priority status; Goals for Dallas (1965) is a case in point that shifted the city's administrative priorities to improve its image and destigmatize it. The plan was Erik Jonsson's effort—the then Mayor of Dallas—to reposition the city within the global flows of commerce and elite circuits of cultural consumption. In sum, I employ these criteria to identify plans that their scopes signify the city as a whole, their spatial scales are citywide, and their high-priority status is reflected on local action plans implemented in the city.

I validate the specific placemaking projects identified previously in city plans or gleaned from the extant literature by reaching out to my key informants. In total, I conduct 12 semi-structured interviews with four key groups: First group is representative of municipal planners practicing in the public domain with the ability to make plans and develop visions. Second group consists of professional architects who are responsible for designing signature landmarks. Third group includes the power elites and civic boosters who are often members of powerful organizations—such as the Dallas Chamber of Commerce or the Dallas Citizens Council (DCC). Fourth group comprises historians and architecture critics that bring their unique perspective to this research. While historians unfold the historical events that the extant literature might have overlooked, architecture critics could assist with uncovering how placemaking projects are perceived within the wider community of architects as a design-oriented profession. These four groups constitute my key informants with relevant knowledge and expertise.

Through triangulation, I ensure that my initial findings of placemaking projects are consistent with key informants' expert opinions. I use their narratives to substantiate my assertions about emerging themes from the analysis of city plans and the existing literature, in particular about Dallas's urban imaginaries. The selection of informants is purposive and based on a "snowball sampling," (Babbie 2016, 129) meaning that initial interviewees are asked to refer the interviewer to other potential informants with relevant knowledge about the subject matter. The interview questions are drafted in Table 3-1. The Informed Consent Agreement is also provided in the appendix.

Table 3-1. Interview questions and the rationale for asking

Interview Questions	Rationale
• What do you think is Dallas famous for? What image of Dallas do you have in mind?	*Identifying the image of the city from the informant's perspective.*
• What are the city's greatest assets? (natural, physical, social assets)	*Probing into the city's natural, physical, and social assets.*
• Does Dallas have a brand? What do you think of Dallas's brand?	*Inquiring how the informant thinks of Dallas's brand.*
• What are the main signature placemaking projects in the history of Dallas?	*Uncovering Dallas's placemaking projects that have contributed to the city's imaginary.*
• How do visions laid out in city plans contribute to the city's image? In what ways?	*Investigating the role city plans play in shaping the urban imaginary.*
• What are specific strategies that Dallas currently use to promote itself?	*Probing whether Dallas has changed its strategies to promote itself.*
• What are the city's pressing social and economic issues?	*Investigating whether branding efforts are along the line of addressing the city's issues.*

Finally, to analyze how urban imaginaries have created a branded space for the city, I choose a major print and digital media outlet related to Dallas, namely D-Magazine to identify how placemaking projects as the physical manifestation of urban imaginaries have pervaded the media. The reason I have selected D-Magazine is twofold. First, D-Magazine is a monthly magazine and hence a limited number of issues. This allows me to search more efficiently and systematically; since 1974, D-magazine has published 535 issues up until March 2020, whereas other media outlets such as the Dallas Morning News—arguably the oldest and perhaps the most popular media outlet in the city—is published on a daily basis with millions of records. A simple search for "Fair Park" on Google produces 71,000 records in the Dallas Morning News, while this number is 6,600 for D-Magazine. Searching those records retrieved from the Dallas Morning News for themes related to placemaking is an untenable task within a limited time frame of this research. Second, the

monthly publication of D-Magazine allows the editors and contributors to have the luxury of giving substantial thought to each issue's cover and content in terms of textual narratives, images, and so forth. Therefore, the visual representation of matters of great interest and significance is much better reflected in the D-Magazine rather than its rival daily newspaper outlets. Table 3-2 demonstrates a summary of data sources, data collection procedures, and analytic methods.

Table 3-2. Data sources, data collection procedures, and analytic methods

Data Sources	Data Selection	Data Collection	Analytic Method
City plans			
Kessler Plan (1911); Bartholomew Plan (1943); Goals for Dallas (1965); The Sasaki Plan (1982); The Dallas Plan (1994); Trinity River Corridor Comprehensive Land Use Plan (2005, revised 2009); Forward Dallas (2006, revised 2013); Downtown Dallas 360 (2011, revised 2017); Dallas Cultural Plan (2018); Dallas Resiliency Plan (2018)	Judgmental and purposive; the author initially consulted essential city plans, leading to identifying more sources.	Historical and retrospective. 32 city plans initially identified. 10 plans selected based on importance, scope and spatial scale.	Content analysis; unfolding themes; triangulation
Scholarly texts			
Archival and scholarly literature on Dallas (Rumbley 1991; Hill 1996; Hazel 1997; Fairbanks 1998; Payne 2000; Hanson 2003; Morgan 2004; Phillips 2006; Graff 2008; Miller 2016; Holliday 2019)	Judgmental and purposive; major literature consulted on Dallas.	Historical and retrospective, confined to the history of Dallas.	Content analysis; unfolding themes; narrative analysis; triangulation
Urban imagineers as key informants			
Municipal public planners, professional architects/urban designers working privately or in nonprofits, architecture critics, historians, civic boosters (e.g., the Dallas Citizens Council members)	Judgmental and purposive; snowball sampling	Semi-structured interviews	Descriptive coding; narrative analysis; unfolding themes and meanings
Major media outlets			
D magazine –A monthly magazine with a wide readership stationed in Downtown Dallas that covers Dallas-Fort Worth.	Judgmental and purposive; 535 issues consulted since 1974	Historical and retrospective	Content analysis; unfolding themes

3.3. Analysis and Interpretation of the Data

For the secondary data, this study uses "the content analysis" (Babbie 2016, 295–302) of city plans collected as well as instances of Dallas's urban imaginaries in D-Magazine based on the analytical framework developed previously. Content analysis "permits the study of processes occurring over a long time," (Babbie 2016, 307) which is not otherwise possible as the research scope spans over 100 years.

This study employs NVivo qualitative software tool to analyze the secondary and primary data and bring them together in a meaningful way that serves to classify themes and build theories. NVivo allows the researcher to work with qualitative data more intuitively such as unfolding themes and creating analytic nodes. NVivo is thus recruited to code open-ended questions that help uncover the similarities and differences in responses provided by my key informants. Finally, this study utilizes the triangulation of both primary and secondary data to ensure the consistency and validity of the findings.

Using "descriptive" coding (Saldaña 2013), I analyze the primary data, i.e., the interviews. Within NVivo, I am then able to classify the interview data into matrices, with defined rows and columns to help analyze the emerging themes (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña 2014). Some of these matrices help organize the data and unfold emerging themes regarding placemaking projects, whereas some other matrices will be conceptually clustered to allow meaningful comparison between informants' opinions on a similar subject. Finally, the chronological order of city plans is examined to identify influential time periods and corresponding policy agendas.

3.4. Ethical Considerations and Methodological Limitations

This study ensures the reliability of data sources as well as observing overall honesty and fairness in reporting the findings. This study acknowledges a few limitations associated with the research data as well as the researcher.

First, generalizations coming from qualitative case study research are limited to what Yin (2009, 15) calls "theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes." In other words, the findings reported in this research do not seek to be construed as a theory that explains beyond the political economy of Dallas; however, because Dallas is a unique case and yet representative of many cities that pursue growth, other cities with somewhat similar political economy to that of Dallas could perhaps learn some lessons discussed in the conclusion. Nevertheless, as Creswell (2014) and Flyvbjerg (2006) argue, the value of qualitative research lies in its context-dependent knowledge.

The secondary data, while saving time and costs, may have been collected with different purposes or might have been interspersed with bias; their quality should also be taken for granted. Similarly, because primary data is collected by the researcher, there is a chance that findings are reported with bias associated with the researcher's value system and broader ideological preference (Creswell 2014). To minimize such unintended outcomes, I attempt to take a "reflective partner" as well as a "mediator of languages" stance (Blaikie 2010, 51) to reduce the researcher's bias by providing an interpretive account of events as narrated by my key informants. I also bring discrepant voices to my research to ensure that conflictual opinions are expressed as well (Creswell 2014).

3.5. Summary

This study uses case study research design following Robert Yin (2009) to examine the role of city plans in shaping Dallas's brand. Dallas is a "unique case" (Yin 2009, 47) still being identified with the legacies of stigma associated with the JFK assassination; the city also reflects a "representative case," (Yin 2009, 48) exhibiting the same preoccupations with growth that are shared between many rising growth-oriented cities.

The analytic framework developed in this chapter lays the foundation for the research's main thesis analysis. Using a content analysis of "city plans" (secondary data), I look for vision statements, goals, and policies focusing on placemaking projects. Having identified large-scale physical interventions funded by public-private partnerships—either directly descending from city plans or proposed by the civic elites—I reach out to key informants (primary data) as representative of urban imagineers to validate these findings and grasp a deeper understanding of Dallas's urban imaginaries and the way they shape the city's branded space. Such informants include municipal public planners, architects and urban designers practicing professionally or in nonprofits, architecture critics, historians, as well as the civic elites with power to shape the city's brand (e.g., the members of the Dallas Citizens Council).

With this, I conduct a content analysis of D-Magazine, as a major print and digital media outlet to identify the main narratives of Dallas's urban imaginaries associated with those placemaking projects identified previously. Confined to the archival issues since 1974, this content analysis ultimately leads me to uncover how the city's urban imaginaries have contributed to shaping the branded space within the public sphere.

CHAPTER 4

4. City Plans and the Rise of Big D

4.1. Background

In 1997, Dallas's Mayor, Ron Kirk, pointed to the three images of Dallas that many Dallasites, as well as outsiders, would have most likely acknowledged: the Dallas Cowboys, the Kennedy Assassination, and the Dallas TV Show (Graff 2008). Although not rooted in the city's historical origins, these images have long pervaded the public perception and at times have loomed large in the city' economic and political affairs.

However, given the city's uncertain image, Dallas leaders and business elites continued to look for emblems beyond the Dallas Cowboys or the Dallas TV Show. Adopting entrepreneurial efforts, place promotion, and branding strategies, civic leaders have started to iconize Dallas a new 'Sunbelt' city with a rapidly growing economy.

Kirk's declaration implicitly signifies Dallas's longstanding preoccupation with overhauling the past to reposition itself as a 'world-class' city. This insistence on rebuilding a growth-oriented image dates back to the progressive era in 1886 when a series of efforts by business leaders helped secure Dallas as the site for the State Fair of Texas (Hazel 1997). Due to apparent lack of geographical prominence and the desire to shake off the image of being identified with cotton (Fairbanks 1998), Dallas started its prominent trajectory of economic and population growth (Figure 4-1).

By the turn of the century, uncoordinated growth, occasional flooding of the Trinity River, and more importantly, the need to gain momentum in competing with such rival cities as St. Louis or Kansas City prompted the city leaders to resort to comprehensive planning (Wilson 1983). Dallas's business elites believed that city planning could be a promising path to city growth and modernization (Wood 1944). City planning in fact was a fledgling concept before 1900 in the US (Peterson 2009), but the notion became more widespread afterwards.

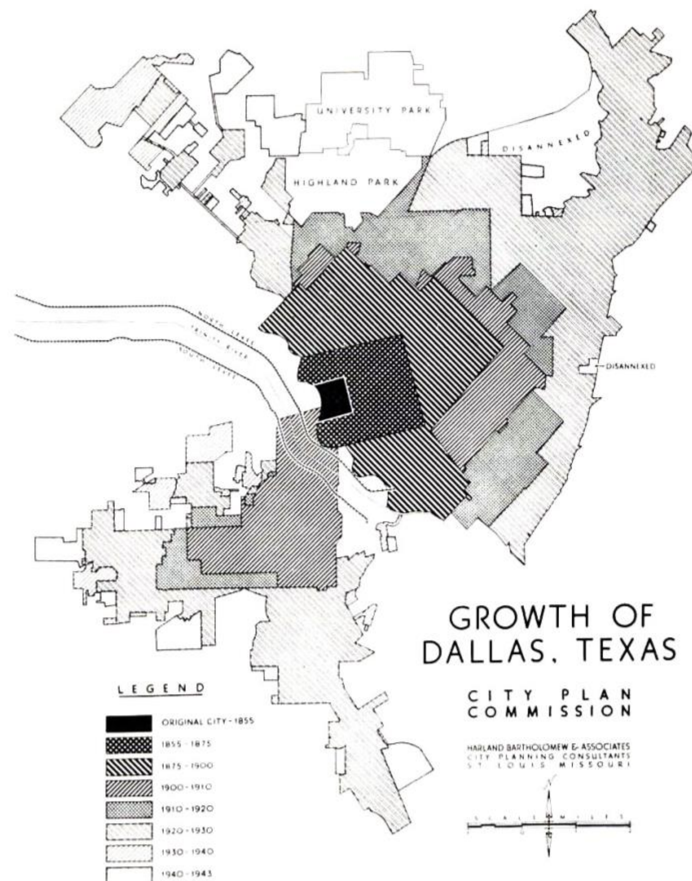


Figure 4-1. Physical expansion and population growth of Dallas (1850—1950)
Source: (Bartholomew and Associates 1943, 39)

In general, Dallas's historical lineage of city planning can be classified in three distinct yet interrelated periods: The first period spanned almost 60 years, from the early 1900s to 1963. This period was characterized by the city's physical expansion while establishing Dallas as a booster city in the South. The second period started amidst the aftermath of the JFK assassination that stigmatized the city. The hallmark of this period was Mayor's Erik Jonsson's effort to rekindle the city's economy in what became the "Goals for Dallas" plan. This period ended in the early 1990s when the population reached 1 million; the city leaders realized the need to diversify the economy as an alternative approach to the oil industry. The third period paralleled the neoliberal era starting from the early 1990s. Dallas's vocabulary of growth became synonymous with increasing entrepreneurial efforts that sought to reinforce the city's 'BIG' mentality (Hazel 1997; Payne 2000). The creation of single-member districts in 1991 was also a turning point in the city local governance system. This period has found its way into the contemporary city planning efforts, laying the belief that "a new image can create a new reality." (Graff 2008, 16) In the following, key city plans associated with each period are examined.

4.2. City Plans: 1900 —1963

To date, Dallas has had many plans to confront its problems and spur growth. The very first of these plans originated back in the early 1900s when the City Beautiful movement took center stage. Early city plans focused heavily on the physical appearance of the city, whereas later city plans centered largely on social and economic issues. The first official comprehensive plan for the city was what later known as "The Kessler Plan," developed by George Kessler, a noted landscape architect and city planner.

The Kessler Plan —1911

The need for comprehensive planning arose out of concerns posed by the mounting problems facing the city. A survey of extant literature on Dallas's early history of city planning indicates that the city had historically been flooded by the occasional overflowing of the Trinity River, which was at times seen as a menace rather than an asset (Rumbley 1991, 123–24). Dallas had also lagged behind major cities in terms of city planning and feared to lose the economic ground to its counterparts such as Cincinnati or St. Louis (Wilson 1983). The progressive era had led the business elites to turn to comprehensive planning to confront urban problems. By virtue of being all-inclusive, comprehensive planning aimed to harness the sheer force of the Trinity River and to promote civic life following the City Beautiful ideology. These efforts were spearheaded by Dallas's Chamber of Commerce, particularly the businessman George B. Dealey, the publisher of the Dallas Morning News (Hill 1996, 110–11), who recruited George Kessler to develop a city plan for the future.

Kessler initiated a series of physical reforms by proposing new commercial developments, a network of parks and boulevards, a levee system for the Trinity River, and a new look for the city's otherwise attractive appearance (Kessler 1911). The Kessler Plan was essentially a response to adapting to growth and what basically Kessler (1911, 7) himself saw as a challenge of "harmonizing the old and the new." While some of Kessler's recommendations were later implemented, the plan was not fully realized due to financial constraints and infeasibility of some of his design solutions. The Kessler Plan,

nevertheless, left its mark on the city's landscape and has hitherto remained a key, influential plan that informed its successors.

The hallmark of this early era of planning manifested in the national historic site of Fair Park that housed many events, most notably the Texas Centennial Exposition in 1936—a celebration of the 100th anniversary of Texas's independence (Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2. The Texas Hall of State at Fair Park
Source: (Library of Congress Online Catalogue: https://www.loc.gov/item/2015630304
Photo Credit: Carol M. Highsmith)

Fair Park reflected a festival of large-scale, international style of architecture (National Register of Historic Places 1986). Kessler laid out the initial groundwork for design and conception of Fair Park in 1904 (Maxwell 2018), followed by George Dahl who was known for his work on designing Texas Centennial Exposition buildings at Fair Park in 1936 (Long 2018).

The other notable placemaking project in this era was the development of Dealey Plaza, which was originally built in the mid 1800s by John Neely Bryan (Figure 4-3). Due to its historical significance as the original birthplace of Dallas, the plaza was later expanded to an open park setting and named after George B. Dealey, a long-time civic leader (Organ 2000). The plaza was also the site of the JFK assassination and was designated a national historic landmark in 1993 (National Register of Historic Places 1991). Since 1963, the plaza has become the locus of the Kennedy legacy, social activism, and community dialogues.

Figure 4-3. Dealey Plaza in 1963, Dallas, Texas
Source: (https://www.jfk.org/the-assassination/history-of-dealey-plaza)

The Bartholomew Plan —1943

James W. Rodgers was elected mayor of Dallas in 1939 and played a central role in the city's growth over the next 20 years (Perez 2019). During his tenure, St. Louis-based city planner Harland Bartholomew was hired to develop a new master plan for Dallas to

facilitate a postwar transition to economic growth (Fairbanks 1987). In a series of reports produced between 1943 and 1945, Bartholomew and his associates (1943) examined the city's social, economic, and demographic characteristics and proposed many recommendations including street plans, a transit system, zoning regulations, civic buildings, housing, schools, and so on. Their initial assessment of the past planning efforts revealed that lack of an orderly development plan has exacerbated the social and economic divide (Fairbanks 1998, 126–35). They also criticized the city's tendency to delay implementing Kessler's recommendations regarding developing civic buildings and relocating railroad tracks.

The Bartholomew plan was intended not only to solve the city's more immediate problems—such as job provision and safety hazards related to the flooding of the Trinity River—but also to envision and direct the future growth. The plan attempted to address the glaring deficiency of most prewar master plans or what Bartholomew and his associates (1943, 35) viewed as "failure to control the total urbanization process." Many city plans prepared in the early 1900s drew inspiration from the City Beautiful ideology and thus were deemed overly ambitious and too concerned with the city's appearance at the expense of subordinating social issues (Peterson 2009). By and large, Bartholomew focused attention on the greater metropolitan area in which Dallas was an important city with multi-jurisdictional boundaries. The master plan shifted administrative priorities to investing more in an inviting city with a unique character that catered to all of its residents. Essential urban services such as sanitation, sewage, fire protection as well as the need for decent housing were also addressed in the plan. It was expected that the plan

would "increase the working efficiency of the city, improve living conditions, develop a more attractive city, stabilize the central business district, eliminate slums, and make provisions for future expansion and other contingencies." (Wood 1944, 311) These concerns were along the lines of the city council; in other words, the city leaders wanted Bartholomew to represent Dallas as a business-friendly city with a commercial vibe devoid of slums and impoverished neighborhoods.

4.3. City Plans: 1963 —1990

Dallas's postwar era was characterized as flourishing in manufacturing, aviation and electronics following the long-standing presence of the oil and finance industries (Kellogg and Zigman 1985). Particularly, federal-government defense contracts stimulated growth in Dallas and many other cities in Texas (Miller 2016, 17). As a result, Dallas population and employment experienced massive growth in the postwar period.

In 1963, there emerged a new political landscape. While Dallas attempted to turn to seemingly non-violent actions against the peaceful demonstrations of the African American, the JFK assassination drew unprecedented attention to Dallas (Behnken 2007). Coincided with the Civil Rights movement, this era was in fact embedded in the racial tension over desegregation that gained momentum in the early 1960s. Amidst such a political background, Dallas's appeal to the right conservatism was evident in making racial demagoguery the dominant political discourse (Miller 2016). However, 1963 was a turning point; Dallas's civic leaders started to transition to desegregating private establishments—although school systems were "slow to respond to changes, especially ones as radical and unwelcome as desegregation." (Hanson 2003, 83)

City planning was in particular susceptible to the changing political context. Historically, Dallas's political leadership and real estate developers have worked with urban planners to develop neighborhoods using "exclusionary and illegal practices that sustained ethnic and class-based patterns of residential and education segregation." (Kemper 2005, 127) The perpetuating residential segregation in the most part led to the emergence of slums whose ill-looking conditions became the target of mass revitalization programs. The Housing Act of 1949 paved the ground for federal funds to be channeled into local development agencies to "assemble, clear, and prepare land for sale or lease to private developers below actual acquisition costs." (Fairbanks 2006, 309) However, the changing political discourse that favored the rights of the individual delayed the adoption of the slum clearance programs under the Housing Act of 1949, at least not until the late 1950s (Fairbanks 2006). In large measure, slum clearance was seen as a threat to the city's image and became an unfettered tool for displacing the poor (Collins and Shester 2013).

Shortly after the JFK assassination, Erik Jonsson became the mayor of Dallas in 1964 with an agenda to restore the city's confidence and to create a new image to sustain economic growth (Hanson 2003, 16). While racial disenfranchisement of the African American based on Jim Crow laws had long been enforced to limit their involvement in political and economic discussions, Jonsson focused on doing away with any past practices that impeded the efforts to transform the city's image. Dallas needed to conceive a plan urgently to shake off its stigma and reinvent itself as an entrepreneurial city with a progressive outlook (Fairbanks 1998). As ambitious as it sounded, Jonsson's first effort was to appeal to the public and mobilize major business stakeholders, organizations, and

civic leaders to craft a new charter for the future; "Goals for Dallas" was therefore created to address the city's long-established tradition of racial segregation while restructuring the city's image, one that could stave off the legacy of stigma.

Goals for Dallas —1967

Erik Jonsson's Goals for Dallas (1967) contained more than 100 goals developed specifically for the city's future with a range of topics including health, welfare, transportation, safety, education, cultural activities, recreation, and economy. The document reflected goals that required the city to forge a close alliance with the private sector rooted in the belief that "partnerships between private industry and public service would transform Dallas into a model postwar city." (Holliday 2019, 2) The plan was not a master plan per se; rather it was based on what was regarded as a corporate planning system of Texas Instruments (TI) that Erik Jonsson had built; strategic in nature and modelled after TI, such a system favored a "minimalist government" (Hanson 2003, 22) whose primary focus was to facilitate private development.

Despite the involvement of the public in the process, business community and civic leaders wielded considerable influence on Goals for Dallas (Kellogg and Zigman 1985). The plan was approved in 1967, proposing broad interventions in the city's landscape including a regional airport, universities, medical research centers, civic buildings such as public libraries, stadiums, a new city hall as well as new business centers in the CBD (Figure 4-4). As Hanson (2003, 42) puts it "Dallas had become a polycentric city, … an exemplar of the Sunbelt conurbation—sprawling, low density, with widely dispersed economic activity." In general, Goals for Dallas aimed to represent Dallas as a

fast-growing city with an exceptionally strong economy; albeit with heavy reliance on the private sector (Graff 2008, 224). Despite an atmosphere of uncertainty after the JFK tragedy, the plan set the stage for unprecedented growth for years to come.

Figure 4-4. The Dallas City Hall, Dallas, Texas
Source: (Library of Congress Online Catalogue: https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.tx0564.photos/?sp=4
Photo Credit: Historic American Buildings Survey)

Goals for Dallas engendered a prolific trajectory of civic development, of which several significant placemaking projects stand out. Focusing on promoting Dallas as a world-class city, those projects manifested in the design of the City Hall, the construction of Reunion Tower, the development of the Dallas Arts District, and finally the development of a regional airport that later became known as the Dallas/Fort Worth International airport (Figures 4-5 & 4-6).

Figure 4-5. DFW Airport during construction in 1973
Source: (Flashback Dallas: https://flashbackdallas.com/2016/07/13/dfw-airport-under-construction-1973
Photo Credit: Paula Bosse)

Figure 4-6. Reunion Tower, a 561-foot-high observation tower
Source: (https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/2018/april/52-things-to-do-dallas/)

Despite its growing popularity as a business-friendly region, Dallas's past history rendered the city as uncultured with lack of civilized discourse on intellectual assets and cultural excellence (Di Mambro 2001). In part, because of violence against the African American, "attacks on civil rights; … illegal conduct by police…" (Graff 2008, 138), civic leaders had long become concerned to change the city's image.

Plans to move forward with the recommendations gained momentum as the city in collaboration with arts institutions and property owners recruited Hideo Sasaki and Associates to advance the concept of an arts district. Sasaki Associates were asked to design an exemplary urban setting with mixed uses including retail and residential spaces, featuring "Flora Street as a physical and visual link within the district." (Sasaki Associates 1982, 2) The Sasaki plan envisioned to accommodate sufficient outdoor/indoor spaces for arts groups and create a lively, walkable neighborhood that would connect the arts district to the downtown area (Figure 4-7).

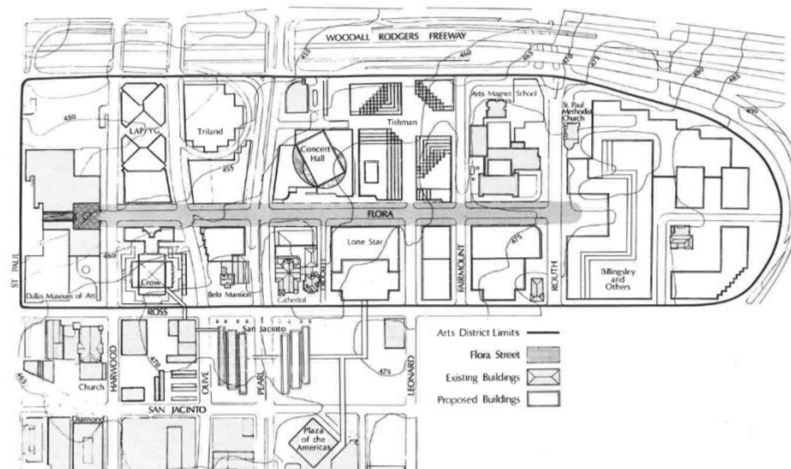


Figure 4-7. The Dallas Arts District existing and proposed buildings
Source: (Sasaki Associates 1982, 32)

4.4. City Plans: 1990 —present

In this time period, the pervasive use of city planning coincided with the dawn of the post-war Keynesian era and the resurgence of what was increasingly characterized as the laissez-faire doctrine of classical liberalism. The neoliberal ideology caused city planning to lean towards entrepreneurial approaches to the city management. In Dallas, the long-standing partnership between the business community and the local government found its way into political structures, influencing policy outcomes and key decisions (Morgan 2004). Favorable business-friendly atmosphere was conducive to Dallas's unrestrained growth in the early 1990s. As a result, given the fact that city planning in Dallas had often been "in reaction to problems created by lack of planning," (Morgan 2004, 231) the city needed a new mode of city planning that could respond to such growth.

The early 1990s also witnessed a series of changes in the structure of local governance that made a significant impact on the way Dallas was governed. Until 1991, Dallas African American community concentrated in South Dallas did not have any seats in the eight single-member districts nor in the three at-large council positions (Hanson 2003, 286); while pro-white campaigns had historically opposed political and racial equality in voting, the alliance of African Americans with Hispanics, which together accounted for more than half the city's population by 1990, became a forceful cause that challenged the political system. They demanded that the eight-three system be replaced with fourteen single-member districts—and the mayor as an at-large council member. Despite the lengthy litigatory process, the new proposed system was approved in 1991 and has hitherto remained in effect (see Hanson 2003, 286–319).

The new form of local governance seemed to have served the disadvantaged neighborhoods in the Southern sector; the representative democracy was no longer limited to Anglo voters; private developments increased in South Dallas as did proactive involvement by the minority in the prevalent political discourse. The new system also helped to diversify the multiplicity of voices within the local government and in part paved the way for Ron Kirk to become the first African American mayor of Dallas.

The Dallas Plan —1994

Erik Jonsson's Goals for Dallas shaped many policy directions and gave legitimacy to large-scale placemaking projects that Dallas had long pursued such as an international airport to boost a progressive image of the city. However, despite its footprint, as with many city plans, the plan was shelved shortly after Jonsson left office in 1971.

The Dallas Plan of 1994 was yet another attempt to reenergize the city led by the Dallas Citizens Council and the then mayor, Steve Bartlett. Funded by businesses and endowed institutions, like its predecessors, the plan was a public-private partnership initiated by the "business-government interlocking interests." (Morgan 2004, 237) Recognizing environmental and economic challenges facing the city, the Dallas Plan focused its attention on economic opportunities, tax revenues, and quality of life to make the city a prime choice "for living, playing, working, visiting, and investing." (City of Dallas 1994, 1–1) Through strategic initiatives, the plan aimed to shape future developments centering on "core assets" including Fair Park, the Arts District, and the water system. Each strategic initiative was accompanied by several policy directions and specific recommendations that sought to implement the initiatives with tangible outcomes.

The Dallas Plan set forth the "the basis for continuing community discussion and resolution of the issues that will shape the Dallas of 2025." (City of Dallas 1994, 11–1)

One major initiative that took roots in this plan was the future of the Trinity River, envisioning a network of floodways, levees, public spaces and recreational facilities. Connecting the Trinity River to the Gulf of Mexico had long been an obsession of the civic leaders, although it never happened due to environmental concerns and tax oppositions. The Dallas Plan of 1994 gave fresh impetus to this obsession.

The Trinity River Corridor Plan —2005

The importance of the Trinity River as the city's natural asset was first realized in the Kessler's plan. While the river had caused serious flooding and was at times seen as a barrier to the city's future direction of growth (Kessler 1911), it had the potential to become a source of revenue. However, it was not until 1963 that the river appeared as a part of larger goals set down by the city. Goals for Dallas called for mobilizing "all appropriate means to expedite the canalization of the Trinity River for transportation, flood control, water supply, recreation and conservation." (1967, 27) The plan envisioned a range of recreational activities suitable for the riverbanks such as camping and cycling (Figure 4-8).

The Trinity River was also the subject of the Dallas Plan of 1994. Following its adoption, a major portion of the city's capital investment was funneled into the development of the River. Despite a flurry of criticisms leveled at the project for its feasibility issues and costly implementation (Hanson 2003, 237), the project's scope was broad enough to gain the public's support.

Figure 4-8. The Future of Trinity River Corridor designed by Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates
Source: (Garfield 2016)

The Trinity River Corridor project received staunch support from mayor Ron Kirk who assumed office in 1995. Due to the assumption that "world class cities had vital and development-attractive waterfronts," (Hanson 2003, 181) Kirk believed that the city would succeed if it celebrated competitiveness in the global era. He specifically appealed to African American voters and pro-development coalitions whose endorsements were necessary to support the bond programs needed to initiate the project. Featured as the city's new brand, the project was promoted as an exemplary model for urban and regional economic growth; if it was fleshed out in its entirety, the project would promise to provide mixed land use, urban amenities, open spaces, wildlife habitat, and recreational facilities (City of Dallas 2005b). Encompassing almost 20 square miles, the project would be the nation's largest urban park bejeweled with three monumental bridges. The flagship bridges—two of which were later designed by the famed Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava—would reinforce the idea of being a world-class city (Figure 4-9).

The Trinity River Corridor project was believed to weave the more well-off area of North and the low-income communities of South. While redefining Dallas' image and recreating a new brand for the city, it would aim to redress the multiyear legacy of social and economic divide between South and North Dallas, drawing inspiration from the material and symbolic construction of a "public space" uniting the two sides.

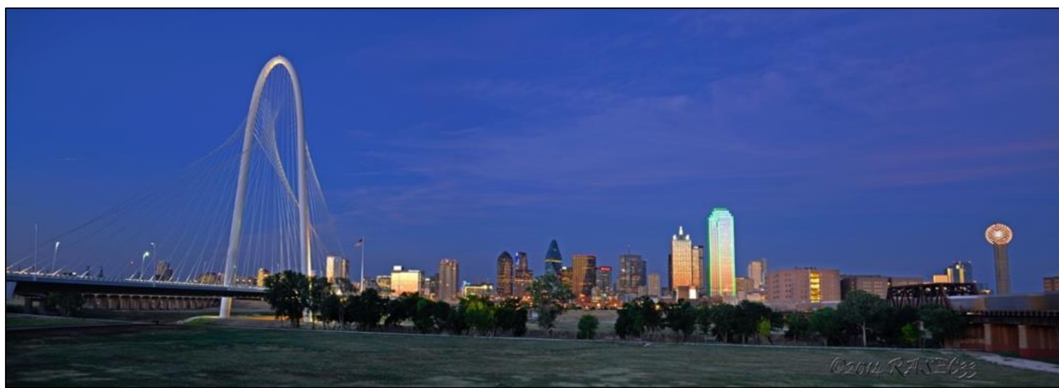


Figure 4-9. The Margaret Hunt bridge designed by Santiago Calatrava
Source: (Becerra 2018)

Forward Dallas —2006

The next comprehensive plan for Dallas prepared by the city, Forward Dallas, was officially introduced in 2006 as a result of an intensive communitywide outreach over 100 meetings and 11 public workshops. Building on previous plans, such as the Dallas Plan (1994), Forward Dallas envisioned Dallas's future with the help of "the people of Dallas, who spoke with a strong voice about what they value in their community and what they want for its future." (City of Dallas 2005a, I–4) Long-range in nature, the plan focused specifically on six "core values" that underpinned recommendations for the city's future: education, public safety, healthy environment, job growth, convenient transportation, and

quality of life. The plan sought to achieve a relatively dense city around mixed use developments, while promoting mobility and transit-friendly developments, as well as equitable distribution of resources.

A common thread throughout the history of city planning is that virtually every city plan for Dallas was drafted by consulting firms based outside of the city. Forward Dallas was not an exception and was entrusted to Fregonese Calthorpe Associates as the lead consultant, which heavily promoted principles of New Urbanism. While the plan called for a denser city with a multitude of mixed-used developments, which in theory sounded beneficial, the plan did not recognize the city's culture of car-dependency and commute-to-work model (Graff 2008, 241). As architecture critic David Dillon wrote, "Dallas is also a quintessential freeway city, where the car is king and the interstate a surrogate public space. Ninety percent of Dallas residents commute to work." (quoted in Holliday 2019, 100)

Overall, Forward Dallas demonstrated the city's growing concern over traffic congestion, social inequity, and sustainable development. The city therefore looked to other forward-looking cities with similar urban issues (e.g., Portland, Denver, Seattle) to examine how they had approached them. Dallas was hopeful to adopt and implement policies that had worked for those cities (Marsden et al. 2010). The plan was revised in 2009, with a focus on South Dallas to balance the economic development in the historically disadvantaged neighborhoods.

In 2006, one particular placemaking project in the downtown area bordering on the Arts District began to circulate among the city leaders. Originated in the 1960s, the idea of building park over Woodall Rodgers Freeway garnered public support (Nielsen 2012).

The park's initial scheme was drafted by the Office of James Burnett headquartered in Houston (Figure 4-10). The project received a major boost from various partnerships between the state and local governments along with private donations. TxDOT contributed to the project with a 20-million-dollar highway fund, while the city issued bonds worth of $20 million. Private donations accounted for $50 million with the remaining $16.7 million coming from the federal government through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (Nielsen 2012). With this major capital support, the construction of Klyde Warren Park started in 2009 and it opened to the public in 2012.

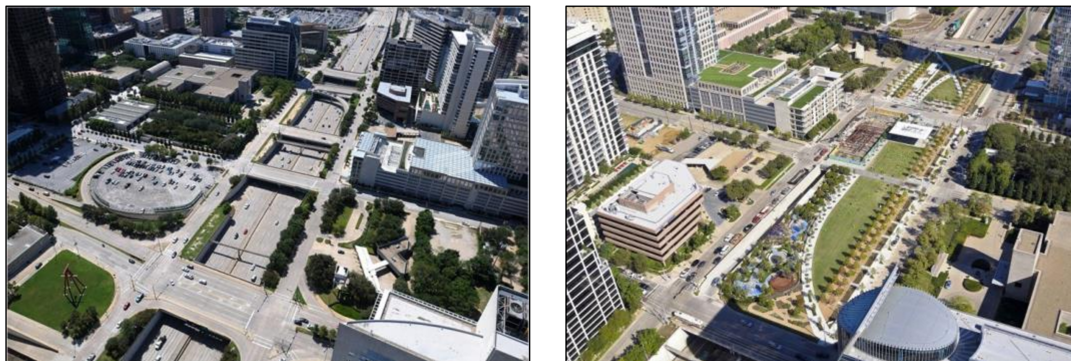


Figure 4-10. Woodall Rodgers Freeway (before) – Klyde Warren Park (after), Dallas, Texas
Source: (https://www.landscapeperformance.org/case-study-briefs/klyde-warren-park)

Downtown Dallas 360 —2011

The renewed interest in revitalizing downtowns in North American cities prompted Dallas to capitalize on the opportunity to "bolster and support development and investment in the core city." (City of Dallas 2011, 6) Over an 18-month period starting June 2009, the planning process involved extensive community input and stakeholder outreach. Downtown Dallas 360 aimed to draw in local investment building on the Arts District

seeming success. Identifying many assets in the downtown area including the Trinity River, the plan's vision reinforced what Forward Dallas had already established as the building block of the city's growth: a vibrant urban center linked by a transit network with retail stores, place amenities, and street activities. The plan proposed the connection between the Arts District and the Uptown area, as well as major investments in a network of parks, plazas and open spaces for residents and visitors alike (City of Dallas 2011).

Downtown Dallas 360 encompassed the CBD with core districts surrounded by I-30, I-35E, Highway 366, and Highway 75. The plan was revised in 2017 under "The 360 Plan" around the idea of developing a complete and connected city center that focused on three key strategies: enhancing mobility, improving neighborhoods, and enriching urban experience through placemaking. These objectives were coalesced into the revised plan's core vision. MIG consulting firm headquartered in Berkeley, CA was recruited to lead the process in collaboration with Fehr & Peers consulting firm, city staff, Downtown Dallas, Inc. staff, stakeholders, neighborhood associations, and the local communities.

Dallas Cultural Plan —2018

In late 2017, the city initiated a citywide effort led by the Office of Cultural Affairs (OCA) to develop a long-range plan that would bring together local arts and cultural institutions to tap into the city's cultural assets (City of Dallas 2018a). This in part was due to the fact that entrepreneurial approaches to arts and culture including the Dallas Arts Districts seemed to have failed to address "the city's endemic challenges with diversity, equitable funding, and access space." (Simek 2018, para. 1) Dallas Cultural Plan (2018a) was launched to put meaningful change in what the city leaders viewed as an uneven

distribution of resources: “over two thirds of OCA funding is allocated to city-owned cultural venues, while the remaining funds go to cultural organizations and to support public art.” (City of Dallas 2018a, 9) The economic statistics demonstrated that Dallas’s creative economy lagged that of the city by 22%, with a disproportionate concentration of employment growth across neighborhoods.

The Dallas Cultural plan in an effort to address issues of equity, diversity as well as access to cultural opportunities focused on six key priorities over a year-long planning process and extensive community outreach. The top priorities included improving equity in the distribution of resources to artists and organizations as well as enhancing diversity in arts groups and cultural leadership. Additionally, the plan called for addressing parallel concerns over providing funding and space for artists to create a sustainable ecosystem for them, which was seldom appreciated in previous city plans. These key strategies were complemented by an emphasis on “communication”; the plan followed an active policy by the civic leaders to promote certain spaces by “the interaction of historically and geographically specific institutions, social relations of production and reproduction, practices of government, forms and media of communication, and so forth.” (Donald 1999, 8)

Resilient Dallas —2018

The latest initiative Dallas has taken is Resilient Dallas, as part of alliance with 100 Resilient Cities pioneered by the Rockefeller Foundation. The growing concern over climate change, urbanization, and globalization have long been the subject of universal discussion and have led to the proliferation of planning approaches to make cities and

communities resilient against the backdrop of economic and environmental distresses. Although Dallas's favorable policies to attract external corporate sectors in part have led to economic growth (see Mckinsey Global Institute 2012; The Economist Intelligence Unit 2013), the disturbing economic disparity between North and South Dallas (City of Dallas 2018b), social inequity in access to place amenities including public transit (O'Donnell and Hamidi 2017; Heilmann 2018), housing unaffordability (Hamidi et al. 2017), as well as the emergence of food deserts (City of Dallas 2018b) have revealed problematic trends that could undermine Dallas's resiliency.

With these underlying urban issues that have rendered the city's social and economic structures fragile and vulnerable to neoliberal forces, civic leaders partnered with academic institutions, business sectors, non-profit organizations, philanthropic foundations, as well as neighborhood residents to prepare against such forces. Resilient Dallas plan identified four areas that needed immediate attention including economy, health, infrastructure, and transportation with an emphasis on equity, diversity, and mobility. Aiming to address the root causes of economic disparity, poverty, and social inequity, the plan mostly focused on soft policies (e.g., identification, assessment, partnerships) rather than hard, physical interventions.

4.5. Placemaking and City Plans

Table 4-1 summaries visions and goals, strategies, and policies, as well as general placemaking activities that appeared in the city plans discussed above. Some of these placemaking projects reflect Dallas's skyline, whereas some others are related to the built environment such as civic buildings, art museums, or plazas.

Table 4-1: Visions, goals, and policies focusing on placemaking in Dallas's city plans (1900—2019)

City Plans	Visions & Goals	Strategies & Policies	Placemaking Projects
1900—1963			
Kessler Plan—1911	Promoting civic life following the City Beautiful ideology; controlling the flooding of the Trinity River; governing the growth	Creating network of parks and boulevards; designing a levee system for the Trinity River; ordering railway tracks; crafting a new look for the city; developing commercial buildings	Parks, levees, a union station, boulevards, a civic center, plazas, commercial buildings.
Bartholomew Plan—1943	Regulating the regional growth; controlling the urbanization process; creating an attractive and inviting environment; boosting the economy of land and quality of life; providing housing	Developing a transit system, street plans, highways, and airports; improving parks and schools, investing in public buildings, a civic center, a central boulevard; providing housing and residential neighborhoods	Parks, schools, a central boulevard, a transit system, airports, public buildings (e.g., library), housing, canals **Key Projects: Fair Park, Dealey Plaza**
1963—1990			
Goals for Dallas—1967	Dallas as a beautiful, clean, safe, efficient, vital, growing city with excellence and an attractive, renewed image	Enhancing aesthetics, supporting the transportation network and communication; providing hospitals and medical research facilities; initiating public housing programs; promoting cultural activities and venues; improving educational facilities (e.g., universities, schools); providing recreational facilities; boosting economic competitiveness	The CBD commercial and residential buildings, public transit, a regional airport, museums, opera houses, arts districts, public buildings, (canalizing) the Trinity River, (redeveloping) Fair Park, sports facilities
Sasaki Plan—1982	The Arts Districts as a multinational environment containing mixed uses—arts facilities, offices, retails, residential spaces—with cultural events as well as physical and visual links within the district	Providing public spaces; designing arts venues; developing commercial buildings and retail stores; creating monumental structures	Pedestrian walks, plazas, public spaces, commercial buildings, retail stores, arts museums, opera houses, architectural flagship structures, subway stations **Key Projects: City Hall, DFW Airport, Reunion Tower, the Dallas Arts District**
1990—present			
The Dallas Plan—1994	Dallas as the city of choice for living, playing, working, visiting, and investing with economic opportunities, tax revenues, and a decent quality of life	Investing in the city's core assets; promoting safe and attractive neighborhoods with a sense of community; fostering economic growth opportunities; creating a unique character for the Center city; improving the infrastructure and economic opportunities in the Southern sector; developing and linking the Trinity River to Dallas's key areas	Fair Park, library systems, White Rock Lake, the Arts Districts, the CBD, the Zoo, airports, historic areas, housing, medical research facilities, high-tech complexes, public spaces, parks, boulevards, the Trinity River recreational facilities, office buildings, commercial developments, multi-modal transportation systems, high density developments, industrial parks, manufacturing districts, flood control structures

City Plans	Visions & Goals	Strategies & Policies	Placemaking Projects
The Trinity River Corridor Comprehensive plan—2005	The Trinity River as a corridor that contains diverse neighborhoods and business centers linked through the River and green spaces; the corridor as a catalyst to unify the social and economic divide between North and South Dallas	Reconnecting South and North Dallas; creating a vibrant central city; establishing the floodplain of the Trinity River; promoting urban design and aesthetics of the Trinity River Corridor	Pedestrian crossings, signature landmarks and bridges, levee gates, floodplains, place amenities, recreational facilities, office buildings, amphitheaters, eco parks, urban parks, open spaces, urban vistas, trails, urban villages, RV parks, mixed used developments, infrastructure, TODs, commercial centers, residential neighborhoods, riverside promenades
Forward Dallas—2006	An inviting and attractive city that enjoys diverse neighborhoods, safe parks, dynamic transit centers, and a vibrant downtown; that provides quality education, safe and healthy environment, employment opportunities, accessible transportation, diverse housing, and excellent arts and cultural activities	Designing streetscapes; promoting the sense of place by preserving historic areas; providing affordable housing; enriching downtown Dallas experience; connecting communities with the Trinity River Corridor; proposing new transit corridors and stations	Streetscapes, pedestrian walks, historic districts, housing projects (multi-family, single-family, apartment complexes, condominiums), transit stations, mixed use developments (office, commercial, residential buildings), the Trinity River Corridor developments (parks, trails, shopping centers, etc.)
Downtown Dallas 360—2011	The CBD as a vibrant, dynamic urban center with distinct districts interconnected by an accessible transit network; downtown Dallas as a unique commercial, office, retail, and office urban core that supports inclusive and diverse environment filled with creativity, innovation, and social interaction	Expanding TODs; designing streets, pedestrian walks, and public realms; redesigning parking spaces; promoting diversified and affordable housing; improving the Farmers Market; investing on mixed used developments (office, residential) with emphasis on connecting to the Trinity River Corridor	Transit corridors, streetcar lines, public spaces, pedestrian walks, streetscapes, affordable housing projects, retail stores, office buildings, commercial developments, off-street parking, promenades, pocket parks, play areas, day care facilities, public arts, plazas (Arts District), the Trinity River Corridor development (parks, plazas, amenities, etc.)
Dallas Cultural Plan—2018	Dallas as a city with diverse neighborhoods that celebrates cultural experiences and arts activities in an equitable manner	Supporting arts activities and creative works; promoting diversity and equity in distributing resources to arts groups, creative individuals, and cultural sectors; providing space for arts and cultural venues and activities	Arts and cultural places, public arts, the Arts District, cultural projects, commercial spaces, murals, public arts, affordable housing, shared production spaces, cultural incubators
Resilient Dallas—2018	Dallas as a welcoming, diverse, and equitable city with healthy, safe, and environmentally sustainable communities that thrive on the city's residents	Advancing equity, promoting mobility, providing a healthy and safe environment in the city, improving the infrastructure	Infrastructure (transportation, medical facilities, etc.), affordable housing **Key Projects: Klyde Warren Park, The Trinity River Corridor Including the Signature Bridges**

4.6. Summary

This chapter intended to unfold Dallas's century-long history of city planning that was chiefly exemplified in city plans since the 1900s. Three time periods were identified as influential: 1900—1963, 1963—1990, and 1990 up until the present.

The Kessler plan of 1911 and the Bartholomew plan of 1943 made substantive recommendations for the city's economic and physical growth. Fair Park and Dealey Plaza were among the significant placemaking projects of this era. The JFK assassination in 1963 left the city with a universal stigma, while prompting the civic leaders to initiate strategic planning efforts to rebuild Dallas's image. The most notable attempt is the Goals for Dallas in 1967 spearheaded by mayor Erik Jonsson that put Dallas on a grander scale in comparison to its rival cities such as St. Louis and Kansas City. The plan laid the ground for realizing the Art District, the DFW airport, and many civic buildings such as the City Hall. In this era, came about the influx of bohemian artists to the Bishop Arts District and the Deep Ellum that thrived with the help of local entrepreneurship.

A new way of thinking about urban growth transpired around the 1990s, which in essence intensified the preexisting Dallas's entrepreneurial exceptionalism. Coincided with the rise of the global, neoliberal era, the Dallas Plan of 1994 prioritized the city's core assets including Fair Park, the Arts District, and the Trinity River. It laid the foundation for successive plans most notably the 2006 Forward Dallas plan, with shifting concerns to congestion, social inequity, and sustainable development. One major project generating widespread interest was Klyde Warren Park, funded by federal monies, TxDOT highway funds, the city's bond issues, and philanthropic donations.

CHAPTER 5

5. Urban Imaginaries and the Branded Space

Chapter four examined the historical lineage of city planning within the confines of Dallas's political economy during three eras: 1900—1963, 1963—1990, and 1990—onward. It identified major iconic placemaking projects in the urban landscape that were representative of each era. These projects were in essence the physical expression of concerted efforts by civic leaders and the business elites to create a progressive image.

This chapter looks first at the previous chapter's initial findings from the analysis of city plans and extant literature on the history of Dallas, focusing on the following major themes: the city's assets and defining characteristics; the duality of conservatism and progressivism in relation to urban development; and the visual construction of urban imaginaries through large-scale placemaking projects. I start with the city's physical and natural assets and the way they have influenced the Dallas's myth, claiming that the city's formation was coincidental. Unraveling the city's political economy, I connect pro-growth developments after the JFK assassination to the era before 1963 when right conservatism was the dominant public discourse. I validate my assertions by using narratives provided by key informants. As discussed in chapter three, key informants are representative of urban imagineers as a group of professionals that, inadvertently or not, engage in constructing urban imaginaries and branding the city. City boosters (e.g., CEOs of major firms) by promoting pro-growth pro-civic agendas, architects by designing flagship structures, and municipal planners by co-developing the city's alternative visions

constitute urban imagineers, Next, out of eight large-scale placemaking projects identified in chapter four, six specific ones are consistently ranked by key informants among the highly ambitious projects that shape Dallas's urban imaginaries: *Fair Park, DFW Airport, Reunion Tower, The Dallas Arts Districts, Klyde Warren Park, and the Trinity River Corridor*. In particular, those flagship projects that have been constructed after 1963 share a common thread, seeking to brand Dallas beyond the city's boundary, and even the metroplex by extension, as a "world-class" city.

Having discussed these major themes, I expand my narrative to examine the role city plans have played in shaping Dallas's urban imaginaries and the way they have unfolded for each era mentioned earlier. Key informants' role is indispensable in this analysis, as they provide evidence for my findings. My examination indicates that not all placemaking projects were envisioned in city plans; it also brings attention to the fact that a physical determinism was heavily advocated by the power elites while it was often legitimized through visions in city plans led by municipal planners and architects. Finally, I uncover Dallas's branded space that has shifted from the "Big D" mentality limited to the city's territorial boundary to that of the metroplex and beyond.

5.1. Unfolding the Major Themes of Dallas's Evolution of City Plans and Placemaking

Dallas at the Crossroads: What Defines Dallas?

A survey of existing literature conveys the assumption that Dallas lacks a prominent natural landscape and that the city's almost flat topography in and of itself was not seen as an appealing factor to capital investments (Hill 1996; Hazel 1997; Payne 2000). Yet,

Dallas's central location in the US was seldom appreciated as a deciding element in attracting major business corporations and headquarters. In fact, the city's location "on a north-south axis between Canada and Mexico, and midway between the East and West Coasts in the central time zone" (Morgan 2004, 68) has been an important asset in an increasingly expanding transportation network in the US (Hazel 1997, 64).

The other major natural asset of the city is the Trinity River, although, for much of the past century, it was seen more as a menace because of its occasional flooding. The River both symbolically and geographically divides the city between the more well-off in the North and the less advantaged population in the South who has historically been subjected to the river's flooding during spring rains (Fairbanks 1998). Alterations to the river's path to secure the city from flooding were first proposed in the Kessler plan (1911). However, the levees were not completed until after the 1930s. While the river has only recently been realized as a potential asset, it has aroused mixed feelings:

> *…I know there's a huge push to think about the Trinity River, but it's not the kind of natural asset as a river that a lot of other cities have. It's not kind of small and intimate like the San Antonio River. It's not big and mighty like the Mississippi. It is a kind of intermittent. Sometimes it's flooding, sometimes you can't see it… (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

> *… [Dallas] got relatively flat topography. We do have a river, but the river is not that accessible, not like many other cities that can pride themselves on natural assets. I don't think we're that strong in that regard. If you're going to Denver, you can go to the mountains and enjoy some skiing and so forth. On the East coast or West coast, there's beaches and so forth and mountains, or both. So, we don't really enjoy those kinds of features… (Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

A lack of prominent natural landscape or access to navigable waterways partly contributed to the assumption that Dallas "is an *accidental* city, one with no obvious reason

for being [emphasis in original].” (Hazel 1997, 64) Despite Dallas’s origin myth that renders its formation moot (Miller 2016, 14), the city has thrived mostly because of local business elites’ dominance and their staunch determination to make the city a prime place for trade, finance, and commerce (Fairbanks 1987; Hanson 2003). In fact, Dallas’s myth rooted in bigness in many ways reflects the financial origin of the city. According to Hazel (1997), Dallas was a major industrialized city in Texas in the late 1800s, with a growing business because of its prime location at trade routes and strong base for the cotton market. The emergence of the oil-related industries in the 1930 along with the aviation industry thrived in Dallas, leading to the increasing wealth accumulated over time:

> *... From my perspective, [Dallas’s] history and origin is basically out of finance. Not that they haven’t diversified their economy and pursued other things, but it still seems at the heart of it, it is heavily finance... (Informant 1, public practicing planner)*

> *... I can say the first thing that comes to people's minds... is big hair, Dallas cowboys, shopping, and a kind of glitzy commercialism ... and their kind of competition amongst cities, I think that people from Houston and Austin find Dallas also would be shallow... (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

> *... Dallas was always a booster city as I suppose most up and coming cities were in the 19th century. But they did of course how to promote themselves outside in order to encourage people to move here and to do business here... (Informant 11, historian)*

> *... Dallas is most known for being a place that is business friendly. Sometimes that can be the opposite of planning. Because this being Texas, people often associate planning with regulation and slowing things down. And Dallas has generally always prided itself on the city that gets things done, that's business friendly, that's responsive to private investment... (Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

These narratives in good part share a common assumption that Dallas is business friendly, which has made the city a frontier city—at least in the public’s perception. What supported these narratives was the presence of a can-do attitude by the business elites who

have historically possessed significant authority over local affairs. While business elites were for the most part loyal to the civic good, their actions did not seem to address urban ills, including poverty and crime. Rather, they more invested to boost the city's cultural excellence and intellectual assets, in addition to being business-friendly, to become a frontier city at the global scale:

> *… [Dallas] has an association with Texas and I think that in and of itself creates a connotation that it is a frontier place. I think it is less known for kind of sophistication and the arts and those kinds of things. [The city] is stereotyped as a result of a whole myriad of commercial of television. Even the slogan like "Big Things Happen Here" goes to this notion of frontier and bigness… (Informant 7, nonprofits architect and urban designer)*
>
> *… [Dallas] seems to have a sense of inferiority towards the great legacy cities, basically the Northeast and even the West coast… We often hear Dallasites wanting to be wo`rld-class and have the achieved the status of other cities. Dallas is a very status-obsessed place. And I think it believes it has a very high status on the one hand, but on the other hand, always feels like it needs to have more... (Informant 6, architecture critic)*

Dallas's preoccupation with image has often manifested in monumental architecture such as Fair Park, the Arts District, Calatrava's bridges, and the like. These placemaking projects are situated within the broader political context wherein the power elites have exerted their influence to promote an entrepreneurial regime to legitimize pro-growth civic agendas.

The Duality of Conservatism and Progressivism in Relation to Urban Development

In pursuit of becoming a frontier city, Dallas's leaders endorsed the idea of territorial expansion to gain size and influence (Fairbanks 1998). In the early 1900s, receptive city officials and business leadership turned to city planning by recruiting George Kessler, a

noted urban planner and architect, to imitate urban development schemes preeminently from rival midwestern cities such as St. Louis, Cincinnati, or Kansas City:

> *... George Kessler had already done city plans for other cities such as Kansas City, Cincinnati, and St Louis. Dallas liked to compare itself to these cities. It didn't so much compare itself to other Texas cities than look to these Midwestern cities. So, they were "if they can have George Kessler, we need to have George Kessler." ... They recognized genuine problems in Dallas; rapid growth was creating problem. ... In those days, I think it is sort of typical of Dallas. Its aspirations to be a major city, you had to have a city plan... (Informant 11, historian)*

Royce Hanson (2003) in *Civic Culture and Urban Change: Governing Dallas* points out that Dallas's first major city planning effort, i.e., Kessler plan, set against a backdrop of racial tension and limited African American involvement in political and economic affairs. Yet, during the late 1920s, an entrepreneurial spirit was emerged by business-dominated organizations such as the Citizens Charter Association (CCA). As such, the business ruling body controlled the civic agendas and tolerated reactionary and right-wing actions as long as they did not impede the business affairs. The climate of business was further advanced when the business community led by George B. Dealey, the publisher of the Dallas Morning News, proposed to supersede the aldermanic commission form of city government by a council-manager plan. As Hanson (2003, 50) notes:

> *... Dealey and his allies found the doctrines of the council-manager plan reflective of their experience as heads of large corporations. The business of the city should be conducted as a business. Its board, the city council, should be composed of men of widely recognized business judgment and broad experience...*

By the establishment of CCA, the business community exerted its influence on civic politics. Along with CCA and the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, emerged even a more influential circle of business elites, the Dallas Citizens Council (DCC) whose membership was only the prerogative of powerful CEOs of major firms in Dallas. DCC strengthened the leverage of the business elites over civic agendas, in particular during the post-Kennedy era:

> *... the Dallas Citizens Council is still well and alive and the Dallas Citizens Council has always been not wanting a lot of publicity for obvious reasons. Generally, [they are] the bankers, big merchants, the entrepreneurs, and the CEOs of the big companies. The irony is a lot of the leaders of Dallas don't live in Dallas by the way, such as people in the high-tech areas... (Informant 4, historian)*

Before the JFK assassination in 1963, Hanson (2003, 55) argues that the climate of conservatism backed by right-wing politics had pervaded the public discourse. However, after 1963, civic discourse became amenable to progressive ideas, ones that DCC framed within a broader context in which the city urgently needed to reconstruct its tarnished image. What gives this claim a central position is the fact that Erik Jonsson became the mayor of Dallas in 1964, outmaneuvering the far-right political opposition. With this, came a powerful business-oriented rhetoric and organizational mindset rooted in the Texas Instruments (TI) that Jonsson had built:

> *...Certainly, government is more pluralistic, but still it's the power elites who have the money and the prestigious positions. They still are going to get to have a larger audience and have more say in the city's growth and development than somebody who may be a councilman, but who runs a small shop and doesn't have much power except the powers that he was elected to office... (Informant 4, historian)*

In the early 1960s, the political discourse turned to the Civil Rights movement where racial integration began to take effect in public and private facilities. Along with the shift to citywide election by districts rather than by city at-large, desegregation policies paved the way to the flight of white people to the suburbs (Hazel 1997, 61). Therefore, the post-Kennedy era witnessed the decline of the business oligarchy whose authority once rested on racial segregation and the city's far-right politics.

While political conservatism was curbed after the JFK assassination, the atmosphere of entrepreneurialism, nevertheless, continued; by receiving a groundswell of support from the business elites and civic leaders, Dallas based its identity on sustaining an entrepreneurial spirit of "can-do" that worked to bring dramatic changes in the city's political economy and physical landscape. Dallas's financial status backed by wealthy families and established business leaders was great an asset on which the city seized to promote its longstanding tradition of creating urban spectacles.

Although the private sector leadership was not uncommon occurrences, what seemed to be a striking difference between Dallas and other major contemporary American cities was the perennial governance system that made the city unique. Graff (2008) calls this governance ideology "the Dallas way", a combination of the dominance of business leaders and tokenistic practices that led to almost unilateral decision making processes by the power elites—although their actions were largely philanthropic and loyal to the civic good.

Placemaking: The Visual Construction of Urban Imaginaries

1900—1963

The content analysis of city plans as well as a survey of existing literature on the city's history demonstrates that Dallas's placemaking projects started from the early 1900s. Citywide attempts to secure the Texas Centennial Exposition in 1936 by outbidding more historic locations such as Houston and San Antonio marked the beginning of a long trajectory of urban extravaganzas (Hazel 1997). The exposition was housed within "*Fair Park"*, the city's historical legacy of the City Beautiful era:

> *... Dallas was always a booster city as I suppose most up and coming cities were in the 19th century. ... And the State Fair was very effective way of attracting people to the city. ... I think there's an interesting question about why the State Fair of Texas should be in Dallas instead of in the State Capital, for instance, which is Austin or one with a more history, but it's really because Dallas businessman made sure that the State Fair has a functioning operation. They had a business plan that was very successful, particularly with the 1936 Texas Centennial exposition, they made sure that it was held here, not in Houston or San Antonio... (Informant 11, historian)*

"*Dealey Plaza*" was another placemaking project that has carried a historical significance; because it was not only the birthplace of Dallas, but it was also the site of the JFK assassination. The plaza was designated a national historic landmark in 1993:

> *... I think probably for the external audience… Dealey Plaza, because that's more so than say quite more in part people go to Dealey Plaza. Always filled with people trying to understand... (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

> *... We can only speculate about what Dallas wants other people to think of us. I mean there's still tourists at Dealey Plaza, the location of the assassination every day. It's probably the most visited spot in downtown Dallas. And they're drawn by the fascination, I guess, of the tragedy there. There was some speculation about what would happen when the generation who had a memory of the event was passing or aging. But younger people who were not even alive at that time, still seem pretty fascinated by that... (Informant 11, historian)*

1963—1990

The Dallas TV show and the promotion of the Dallas Cowboys have partly been successful to rekindle the city's fragmented image after 1963. However, the most exemplary efforts that created Dallas's modern urban imaginaries were intentional, programed large-scale placemaking projects in the built environment. With this, what Dallas lacked during the post-Kennedy era was the shiny image of Las Vegas that a western image of the Dallas Cowboys could not have generated (Kemper 2005).

While Fair Park was paradigmatic of the early 1900s design philosophy that was popularized by Daniel Burnham, placemaking projects in the post-Kennedy era signified the civic priorities that aimed to efface the legacy of stigma imprinted in the city's landscape. Spearheaded by the then mayor of Dallas, Erik Jonsson, placemaking gained massive physical expression in such projects as Dallas City Hall designed by the noted architect, I. M. Pei. One key project was the development of what later became known as the "*Dallas-Fort Worth (DFW) International Airport*." Jonsson led the efforts to present a united front against divergent agendas on municipal airports in Dallas and Fort Worth (Hanson 2003). He brought Fort Worth into discussion about building a regional airport:

> *… One plan that happened during the Erik Jonsson period was DFW airport, which had a tremendous [impact], in terms of space. It was a defining moment in the city because it did result in the marriage of Dallas and Fort Worth in ways that would have been inconceivable 10 years earlier, I think. And in terms of transformative moments of Dallas history, I think DFW is clearly at the top of the list… (Informant 4, historian)*

> *… I think actually for an external audience, and this is going to sound a little bit strange because it may be not quite what you're looking for, but DFW Airport, everybody goes through it and people have distinctive experiences there. So, while certainly the city doesn't use it that way, I think it's actually pretty important... (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

In an attempt to make Dallas uniquely identifiable, civic leaders and wealthy business families conceived a plan to iconize the city. Reunion Tower was thus born as the star of Dallas's skyline that was named after "La Reunion", a French colony whose settlers wanted to make it a utopian community in the 1850s (Rumbley 1991, 50):

> *... I think the Reunion Tower is kind of iconic. I think that it's just the entire skyline. The fact that it's such a colorful skyline and it's so identifiable and that it's intentional that developers or building owners want to light up their buildings to kind of add to that skyline. I think that's what my mental construct is coming home. And you know, when I'm flying back or driving in I-30 and you can start seeing the [skyline] and the Bank of America tower… (Informant 10, architect and former city employee)*

Dallas's urban imaginaries were also identified with what has increasingly become an inseparable part of the city in recent years: "*the Dallas Arts District.*" It is by far one of the most important contemporary placemaking projects that has left a visible footprint on downtown Dallas:

> *... I think the Arts District is … a reaction to the perception from outside that Dallas was not cultured. So, Dallas responded in Dallas fashion by building a massive cultural center for better or for worse... (Informant 6, architecture critic)*

> *... There's always a can-do attitude, that the city has the will to get something done, which is how big projects like the Arts District happened. The planning for the Dallas Arts District started late eighties ... and it's still ongoing, but now the Hall Arts Hotel kind of completed the Flora Street. The city sees itself as a big city, as a player in the global market and it needs to stay vibrant and attract people and be the best city in the State... (Informant 10, architect and former city employee)*

> *... There was a sort of a cultural ambition among the elite in Dallas. Many of the people who moved here in the 1800 and 1900 were from the East coast or upper Midwest who were accustomed to those kinds of amenities and felt they were important amenities for a growing city... (Informant 11, historian)*

1990—present

Civic leaders' preoccupation with visible projects on the city's landscape has continued in force to present. Of more recent nature, there has been a resurgence of interest in nature, in particular among philanthropists and the city officials alike. "*Klyde Warren Park*" was one of the key placemaking initiatives that aimed to provide a public space, serving both symbolically and physically to connect the divide between Uptown Dallas and the Arts District (Ozdil, Modi, and Stewart 2014). The park was built over Woodall Rogers Highway, spanning 5 acres of land in downtown Dallas. Planners, architects, and business community supported the initiative and since its opening in 2012 the park has been hailed a success (Houston and Zuñiga 2019):

> *… Klyde Warren Park was a big deal, submerging the highway and building a park on top. And honestly, Houston had the same idea but they didn't have any money to pull it off, but Dallas did. I think that was the most transformative project in recent years, although it only really benefitted the well-to-dos, but still… (Informant 1, public practicing planner)*

> *… [Klyde Warren Park] has been instrumental in reshaping the way the city thinks about itself and helping to knit the city together, creating a new public lawn, a front lawn for the city, a place where the entire city and all of its diversity gathers happily in the center of the city. … Klyde Warren park especially has been a signature project that has been a model in other cities. I think the idea of decking over a highway to build a park is a very, a progressive idea. I think in some ways these changed some of the perception of Dallas... (Informant 6, architecture critic)*

Klyde Warren Park was funded by federal monies, TxDOT highway funds, the city's bond issues, and major private donations (Garvin 2019, 183).

> *… There are a lot of very strong donors that are interested in a lot of these big projects. So, Klyde Warren Park is named after a 17-year-old … All the Calatrava bridges, every building in the Arts District, are almost all named after a big family, like Perot Museum, Wyly Theater, Winspear Opera House. So, that's kind of interesting to me when they're always strong philanthropy forces in these bigger city projects… (Informant 9, private practicing planner and designer)*

Despite skepticisms, the park overhauled the downtown and seemed to have received favorable reactions from the public and critics:

> *... I think Klyde Warren Park has been a surprising success. I was rather skeptical when they first planned it, but it has become a destination. I think most of the people who visited don't live nearby. They have to come there from someplace. But it's almost like our own little miniature Central Park from New York. They're always people there, and not only concerts, but just people walking dogs and playing games and eating from the food trucks. Dallas is beginning to have an urban feel at least to this central area that it did not have for a long time… (Informant 11, historian)*

Finally, the Trinity River Corridor Project is perhaps the most ambitious placemaking project whose purpose is as grandiose as its scope: the transformation of the River from an urban waterway with intermittent flooding into one of the largest public parks in the nation, one whose size is purportedly 11 times as large as Central Park in New York City (Garfield 2016). The project is set to be completed by 2021 with major capital investments coming from private foundations and donors.

Despite the project's initial conception dating back to the late 1960s, it was not on the top-priority civic agendas until the 1990s, where the narrative of a "world-class" city began to circulate in the public discourse. Hanson's observations (2003, 181–82) suggest that the desire to define Dallas as a preeminent city in the global system of finance and trade has implicitly led to disregarding the projects that were not supportive of the world-class status. In his words:

> *... Ross Perot temporarily withdrew a donation of $7 million from the Dallas Arboretum, reportedly because it was not conforming to his view of what was needed to make it "world class." Perot later reinstated the gift, when assured that the funds would be spent as he wished...*

Civic leaders, in particular Ron Kirk, along with business champions supported the Dallas Plan and made significant efforts to rally public support around the Trinity River Corridor project that they believed would help create a new vision for the city. The project, whose future tended to be profoundly contingent on large capital investments, was seen as a potential opportunity to advance the green urbanism with which citizens and external audience would identify the city:

> *… I think with the Trinity Park Conservancy and Fair Park and the trails, I think you're starting to see a reconnectivity to nature. I mean obviously we don't have a river as wide as a Mississippi, and we don't have the oceans, but I think there's somethings here that people are recognizing … (Informant 5, the Dallas Citizens Council member)*

> *… The Trinity Trust and the Trinity Conservancy are looking at the Trinity as a park, although it's still in the work. But I think that's a really important transformational project that has made that difference in how the city looks at the Trinity area. In terms of placemaking, I think just the Trinity River corridor is a really important one for the city… (Informant 10, architect and former city employee)*

After almost two decades after its inception as a public park, the Trinity River Corridor Project is still in the work; while the project's vision is set to spur economic development, create a vibrant central city, establish floodplain, and above all, to reconnect North and South Dallas (City of Dallas 2005b), its implications for local communities as well as benefits for the city as a whole have remained to be seen.

5.2. Planning Ethos: The Role of City Plans in Urban Imaginaries

Visioning and Legitimizing the City's Image

1900—1963

Dalla's turn to city planning in the 1900s was virtually a reactive response to urban malaise primarily by the far-right politicians and the white business community, not necessarily a proactive initiative by the city (Morgan 2004). In other words, historically, city planning in Dallas was subservient to the wants of the political conservatives and the business sector—although it has evolved and become a conduit for greater democratic practices over time. What seems an emerging theme in the historical lineage of city planning in Dallas is a consistent concern that civic leaders had about modernizing the city in ways that would make it a world-class city (Wood 1944). However, modernization of the city asserted by the power elites "through their control of urban planning" (Phillips 2006, 64) in part led to disenfranchising the poor neighborhoods including the people of color. While realizing the need to plan for the city's unbridled growth, city staff and municipal planners found their decisions often at odds "with the interests of powerful business leaders." (Morgan 2004, 231) This at times created tension, conflict, and disinvestment rather than targeted efforts to solve urban issues.

The discourse on "the city as a whole" (Fairbanks 1998) appears to have greatly benefitted civic leaders. They used it as a tool to legitimize urban development agendas that needed public support. Civic leaders therefore appealed to the logic that what they believe would be suitable for the city should be included in city plans. Visioning the city's

future, therefore, was viewed as a necessary component to reflect the public discourse in ways that are consistent with the business leadership's agendas:

> *… The extent to which they're [plans] reflecting the conversation that civic elites are already having versus shaping. And I would guess that those vision statements reflect the conversations of civic elites rather than shaping them… (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

As an example, while the first city plan for Dallas drafted by George Kessler aimed to protect the city from flooding by the Trinity River and to remove railroad tracks to make the city more accessible, it was a response to what the Chamber of Commerce and other business groups viewed as the city's failure to keep up with rival cities such as St. Louis or Kansas City (Fairbanks 1998, 25). Furthermore, promoting civic life, as defined by the business leaders, meant a network of beautiful boulevards, grand plazas, a civic center, and so on. Although the Kessler plan left an imprint on the city, some of its proposals were never implemented or at best shelved for the future:

> *… I think one [plan] that's most influential is the Kessler Plan still, which is the first one and it's never implemented, but people keep talking about it all the time. Like every plan refers back to the Kessler Plan as this like a defining critical moment that provides for the idea of green parkways, provides for the idea of neighborhood parks, provides for the idea of using the river as a part of the city's landscape. So, … I think it's probably in a way the most important just because of its continued influence… (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

> *… Well, singular, I would say that the Kessler did the relocation of the river and the relocation of railroad, those two things that I mentioned are fundamental to the form of the city… (Informant 7, nonprofits architect and urban designer)*

The Kessler plan also reflected the ideology of the City Beautiful movement that was later translated into the national historic site of Fair Park, including the exemplary Hall of State and many grand buildings that reshaped the fairground into an Art Deco

landmark. Unlike the Kessler plan (1911, 7) that adopted a sensitive approach to "harmonizing the old and the new," the next comprehensive plan—what was later known as the Bartholomew plan—aimed to adapt the city to rethink the future growth that had gone beyond the city's official boundary:

> *... Here, as elsewhere, much development has been placed outside the official city limits with the deliberate purpose of avoiding municipal regulations and control. (Bartholomew and Associates 1943, 40)*

Meanwhile, the goals drafted in this plan were used only when those were "in accord with economic priorities and political possibilities." (Graff 2008, 224) Therefore, the plan did not achieve much, specifically regarding subdivision proposals. Nor did the plan receive major support by the power elites, exacerbating the longstanding tradition of residential segregation:

> *... There weren't as many achievements with [the Bartholomew plan], in large part because the city had grown so rapidly. The plans were for the next 30 years of Dallas, but the city had developed much more quickly than that. And that created problems. They often talk about how the Bartholomew plan got buried basically in the City Hall for a while. It was ignored just because it had, I think, failed to do what folks wanted it to do... (Informant 4, historian)*

1963—1990

City plans in the post-Kennedy era contributed to Dallas's urban imaginaries in ways that were unprecedented. In particular, city planning after 1963 was along the line of "the city's soul-searching" (Greg 2013) that aimed to set goals on a much larger scale than had previously been the case. First, the city needed to rebuild a new civic image for itself in a

relatively short period of time to be able to sustain economic growth. The business-oriented approach of Erik Jonsson permeated Goals for Dallas. In Jonsson's words:

> *… We visualize the Dallas of tomorrow as beautiful, clean, safe, efficient—a great, vital, growing area, always striving for excellence and renewing itself...*
>
> *(City of Dallas 1967, vi)*

Second, unlike its predecessors that focused on the physicality of space by architects and city planning experts, Goals for Dallas was guided by a seemingly democratic practice that "expanded both the objects and the means of planning." (Fairbanks 1998, 241) In other words, the plan adopted an unorthodox approach at the time to engage widespread civic engagement to set down goals that would later be translated into measurable and concrete strategic actions. Third, Goal for Dallas was the first of its kind in considering individuals' needs rather than the city needs; many goals were specifically written to realize what residents and neighborhoods needed to thrive:

> *… We demand a city of beauty and functional fitness that enhances the quality of life for all its people… (City of Dallas 1967, 6)*
>
> *… The physical and mental well-being of its citizens is a major Dallas goal. Without health the individual cannot attain fully his [sic] potentials for his [sic] own benefits or the benefit of the community… (City of Dallas 1967, 8)*
>
> *... To assure a heightened sense of the drama, beauty and spiritual values of life, and a deeper appreciation for them, Dallas should provide a lively cultural environment for its citizens ... (City of Dallas 1967, 22)*

What Jonsson contrived to achieve grew out of a rising concern about reconstructing the city's image as a vehicle for safeguarding Dallas from the legacy of stigma. By appealing to "civic exceptionalism" (Hanson 2003, 16) and with the support of

the Dallas Citizens Council (DCC), Goals for Dallas, therefore, served the dual purpose of creating a new "urban imaginary" for the city; one that is business-friendly and progressive, on the one hand, and acting as a psychological facilitator that united civic leaders, business community, and residents in their optimism about the possibilities of creating new frontiers, on the other:

> *... Goals for Dallas of course accelerated the auto centric nature of the city. It was much more than an urban design. That was a plan for the entire government and governance of the city. There was a lot of positive that came out of that ... (Informant 6, architecture critic)*
>
> *... Goals for Dallas was heralded ... as much as of a physical form generator as it was the psychological kind of unifier and it had a whole system to it. It had committees and there were people, hundreds and hundreds of people involved. And so, I think it was very democratic… (Informant 7, nonprofits architect and urban designer)*

In many respects, a new city hall, library systems, and a new regional airport were largely manifestations of the city's subliminal preoccupation with large-scale, visible projects that together appeared to shift the broader focus of planning activities to flagship structures. Although the plan's accomplishments cannot be overstated, as architecture critic *David Dillon* wrote in *Dallas Morning News*, Dallas's new urban imaginary was meant to be in keeping with the notion of a world-class city:

> *... Jonsson's first and most controversial undertaking was building the new City Hall. It wasn't that Dallas didn't need one… But Jonsson had another model in mind—the city hall in Stockholm, Sweden... He also impressed upon them the importance of having a building, like Stockholm's, that was at once administrative and ceremonial and that created a symbolic center for the city, like the cathedrals in medieval times.*
>
> *A citizens' committee was appointed to select an architect, with advice from the dean of the school of architecture at MIT. No Dallas architects were considered, a decision that still rankles local designers. After working through a list ... the committee chose I. M. Pei.*

> *... [I. M.] Pei's design clearly met Jonsson's criterion that the new building be "a monument to the city's pride, a symbol of a first-class city that is reaching for greatness." [emphasis original]*
>
> *(quoted in Holliday 2019, 46–47)*

While Goals for Dallas made many bold statements, general goals were open to various interpretation, which at times made them difficult to be implemented. Many of those goals came to be understood as representing Dallas's unrecognized potentialities, in particular in areas such as culture and recreational activities:

> 2. *Maintain an outstanding symphony orchestra as the foundation upon which other cultural activities can build and gain support.*
> 3. *Develop museums of excellent quality for art, natural history and science and industry.*
> 4. *Provide for each art form beautiful and functional physical facilities which are appropriately and conveniently located…*
>
> *(City of Dallas 1967, 23)*
>
> 1. *Redevelop Fair Park as a great regional entertainment recreational and cultural center for year-round use. The park and its environs must be clean and safe. In addition to The State Fair of Texas, many conventions, trade shows and major community functions can be staged here. State Fair Park should have significant visitor attraction.*
> 2. *Urge the city to acquire the Trinity River and other bottom lands to become part of a green belt to use for playgrounds, horseback riding, cycling, archery and rifle ranges, camping, municipal golf courses and other public needs, including lakesites…*
>
> *(City of Dallas 1967, 25)*

1990—present

Dallas's urban imaginaries in the 1990s were informed by the world-class narrative adopted by civic leaders amid the cutthroat global city competition. City planning in this era was informed by the accomplishments of Goals for Dallas, which had sketched the

city's future for the next 20 years with many developments to come—the Dallas Arts District was inspired by its policy agendas.

Development of the next major city plan by the then mayor of Dallas, Steve Bartlett, started in 1992. Funded by private organizations, "The Dallas Plan" was approved by the city in 1994 with business establishments agreeing to "loan staff specialists to undertake key responsibilities." (Hanson 2003, 203) Large investments were proposed to funnel through the economic development of the CBD, South Dallas, Fair Park, and the Trinity River. In particular, while the plan was broad, it made a strong and compelling case in favor of developing what was once seen as a barrier rather than a facilitator; the Trinity River was endorsed as an asset, which was rarely spoken aloud to outsiders. Despite a series of oppositions regarding the Trinity River Corridor project's "lack of specificity, questionable feasibility, and debatable claims of benefits," (Hanson 2003, 237) the project received major support by Bartlett successor, Ron Kirk. He argued that the project would protect the low-lying neighborhoods with a high concentration of minorities from the river flooding, and that the development would bring significant job opportunities to South Dallas (Hanson 2003, 238).

The latest iteration of the city's comprehensive plan was Forward Dallas (2006), which articulated goals and policies for the future through extensive community outreach. While the plan responded to economic growth in theory, its premises remained highly abstract and failed to advance concrete implementation programs. The plan, nonetheless, was viewed as a progressive plan that aimed to diversify the city' economic base with many local action plans (Figure 5-1):

… Dallas Forward plan was like the first real effort to kind of blend economic development with the city planning. … the idea was to move forward and diversify their economy and … that the economy should be shared across the metroplex… So, to me that plan is a modern plan… (Informant 1, public practicing planner)

… How do we know that the results came from the plan? The ideas were in the plan, but were they implemented because of the plan or where are we headed in that direction? I know from 2006 onward, the Forward Dallas plan contained a lot of big ideas and goals and directions, and then you can say, did we do that or not? did we create economic vibrancy? … Is it because of the plan? so I think part of that is taking it down to the granular implementation level, which is difficult… (Informant 12, public practicing planner)

The aerial imaging and rendering shows potential transportation and pedestrian linkages over the Trinity River.

Healthy Environment: A beautiful city with healthy air, water, trees and parks
Residents strongly value the area's natural assets and want to protect air quality, water quality and trees. Access to nearby parks is important for public health and livability of neighborhoods.
Ideal: The city's natural resources are conserved and protected for current and future generations.

Connect communities with the Trinity River and nature.
Parks and natural areas are highly valued in Dallas. From White Rock Lake to the Trinity River, and even in areas that participants declared "stable," people want additional parks and trail connections as fundamental ingredients of a high quality of life.

Development along the Trinity River will transform the area into a vibrant district for urban living, recreation and employment.

Figure 5-1. Forward Dallas vision for the future of the Trinity River Corridor
Source: (City of Dallas 2006, 2005a)

The latter posed important questions that seem intractable to answer. However, what this statement indicates is that generally every city plan retains a basic structure of proposing goals and policies and that such policies are brought into physical reality. As a case in point, Forward Dallas Policy Plan (2005a, II-i–25) puts forth:

> *… Improvements to the natural and recreational features, water quality and flood conveyance of the Trinity River will knit together an extensive urban park system covering more than 6,000 acres. The December 2003 "Balanced Vision Plan for the Trinity River Corridor" also outlines a system of roads and trails that includes the Trinity River Parkway, levee-top roads, signature bridges, trails, pedestrian overpasses and plazas in order to reconnect Dallas' neighborhoods to this recreational and natural area at the heart of the city.*

Therefore, the way city plans impact Dallas's urban imaginaries is represented by the interpretation of such policies in the built environment. In the next section, I examine how such urban imaginaries have manifested in the branded space.

5.3. The Branded Space: The Communication of Urban Imaginaries

The Big D Mentality

There appears to exist two kinds of branding activities in Dallas that run often in parallel. First, the official branding campaigns conducted mostly by marketing agencies as branding agents; slogans such as "*Dallas: The City of Splendid Realities*" (Hazel 1997, 32), "*the city that works*" (Hill 1996, xiii), "*Say Yes! To Dallas*" (Hanson 2003, 284), or "*city with no limits*." (Graff 2008, 265) These mentalities have always been part of a larger strategy that prioritizes "the needs of the city as a whole over the wants of particular populations, neighborhoods, or other special interest groups." (Fairbanks 1998, 3)

One major branding campaign in Dallas has been conducted by Visit Dallas—the former Dallas Convention & Visitors Bureau—that launched a branding slogan, aiming to entice visitors and spur tourism (Robinson-Jacobs 2012). The tag line "*Big Things Happen Here*" has replaced "*Live Large. Think big*" that had been around since 2004 (Figure 5-2).

Figure 5-2. The old city logo for tourism (left) vs the new one (right)
Source: (Robinson-Jacobs 2012)

This rendition of Dallas, while disconnected from the city's historical lineage, promotes a highly business-oriented image seemingly designed to make Dallas a world destination for capital and visitors:

> *… "Big Things Happen Here." That's been the sort of conscious branding that we've been trying to do, and it's sort of consistent with Dallas as a general image; we generally have a penchant for doing big ticket projects, Klyde Warren Park, the Trinity River Corridor, projects that take longtime and lots of investment. We wanted to have not just one Calatrava bridge but two. Originally, we wanted to do three! … So, this idea of thinking big with a combination of public and private investment is definitely part of Dallas's character … (Informant 8, public practicing planner)*
>
> *… [Dallas] worked hard to sell that brand of ... Big D. Detroit also thinks of itself as big D, which is somewhat ironic. Big D, a city of broad ambition and possibility, where there's financial riches available and energetic, optimistic place of possibility… (Informant 6, architecture critic)*

This branding campaign has become part of the general stock of Dallas bumper-sticker mottos where the city sees itself, either deliberately or inadvertently, as an extension of its "Texasness" with the Big D persona:

> *… Dallas's brand is "Big Things Happen Here." Like Big D, everything's bigger in Dallas: projects, cars, houses ... There are phrases that will describe Dallas such as "Oh, you go all out", so you expect bigger things, more elaborate things. Compared to Fort Worth, San Antonio or even Austin, Dallas definitely even in Texas has its own personality… (Informant 9, private practicing planner and designer)*

The second mainstream branding effort is rooted in the city's desire to promote urban imaginaries that serve to contextualize "places" as destinations; some historians have brought to light a sensitive understanding of such city branding efforts that have intended to permeate into Dallas's historical narratives. Harvey Graff (2008, 78), for example, mentions that Dallas in response to twin forces of globalization and image-making has adopted a politically conscious approach to incorporate man-made landmarks such as Pioneer Plaza into the built environment. Although in large part such insistence on creating the past does not appear to recognize nor reflect the city's true identity, on the surface, it has gained strength as the now common practice of place branding.

What seems however to be a larger picture at play, is a kind of physical determinism that has long been part of the city's mentality from the early 1900s. While monumental architecture was used as a means to shape the physicality of places with a monolithic function, it was utilized to attach a carefully crafted identity to the city, deeply embedded in the "Big D" mindset:

> *… The [Calatrava] bridges are clear attempts to give Dallas identifiable landmarks… up until that time, the only thing that really identified Dallas was the Ball [Reunion Tower] and the [Ray]Hunt's development of that area. …but … [the bridges] was clearly a distinctive attempt that we wanted something to make Dallas landscape really more distinctive than it had been. …[T]hose bridges are the things that really visually engage you. And in some ways, they're also symbolic just because they're creating connections… (Informant 4, historian)*

Such projects have informed Dallas's urban imaginaries to the extent that a "branded space" was created wherein lies arts and culture as the city's powerful narratives, among others:

> *… So, ironically, I would tell you one of the most important spaces is North Park as a mall. … Then I think everybody would expect to say the Arts District just because it's such an amalgamation of beautiful buildings and expensive buildings and cultural activity that are there. So, you can't miss that… (Informant 7, nonprofits architect and urban designer)*

These narratives have often been visualized by organizations and agencies to connect recent developments in the city's landscape to the larger external audience. The growing presence of media in promoting the city's imaginaries tends to perpetuate the idea that Dallas is a place for business, fun, and experience:

> *… [T]here's an organization called Visit Dallas. It's a private nonprofit that has a relationship with the city and its role is playing that kind of marketing role, promotional role for the city. … And that's a lot of brand ideas associated with that. It also extends to things like our Arts District and our cultural facilities. And then … you also have the Greater Dallas Chamber of Commerce, which plays a similar role for the region… (Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

> *… They've historically wanted to promote Dallas as an attractive place to do business and to live. I mean, that's what has always been the goal here. That's why we have Visit Dallas, an economic development program and booster organizations; and we spend a lot of money to try and recruit businesses to come here… (Informant 6, architecture critic)*

The Branded Space: Towards a World-Class City

1900—1963

Dallas's urban imaginaries in the early 1900s created a public sphere that was identified with political conservatism, racial segregation, and white business leadership. Civic leaders were seeking to promote Dallas as a center of trade and commerce when the oil industry was

beginning to take off in the 1920s and 1930s. The growth of the oil industry manifested in the "Pegasus"—the flying red horse—at the top of the twenty-nine-story Magnolia Oil Corporation Building (Hazel 1997, 42)—see Figure 5-3. The Pegasus was intended to create a visual brand for the city (Graff 2008, 36). For quite some time, the Pegasus icon created a branded space representative of right-conservatism and oil politics. The presence of the flying red horse was endorsed when "A $4 million proposal for eight hundred tourism signs included the winged horse as a recurring icon." (Graff 2008, 38)

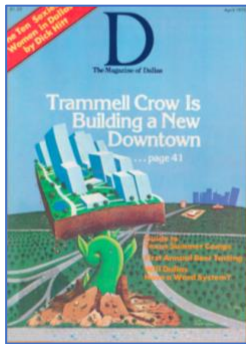
Figure 5-3. The Magnolia Building with the Flying Red Horse (Pegasus) on the top
Source: (https://www.pinterest.com/pin/530439662352572910/ Photo provided by: Susan Cook)

While Dallas in the early 1900s aimed to position itself competitively in par with rival cities such as St. Louis, the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition changed the narrative of Dallas to the one that introduced the city to the nation.

1963—1990

In the aftermath of the JFK assassination, the public discourse changed to that of "soul-searching" (Greg 2013) for the city. Dallas was growing geographically with changing demographics. In large part because of racial desegregation policies, the white flight went on an alarming rate and hence the growth of the suburbs to which Dallas seemed to lose economic tax base (Hazel 1997, 61); Dallas needed to compete with the suburbs and that shifted civic agendas to creating a branded space wherein the city would be identified as a core magnet of the "metroplex."

Looking at D-Magazine, one of the major digital and print media outlets that covers the city and promotes it, one may appreciate the significance of communicating Dallas's urban imaginaries as in visual and textual narratives published after 1963. As of February 2020, D-magazine has published 535 issues with the first one in October 1974. Since then, several issues have focused in particular on placemaking projects. These issues have the ability to shape individuals' perception of the city by reflecting images that exert formidable influence on the reader (Figure 5-4):

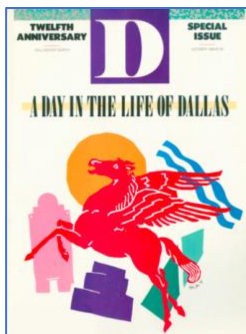


April 1975

D-Magazine published "*Trammell Crow is Building a New Downtown*" as the new vision for Dallas.

July 1979

The city can-do attitude was manifested in its effort to bring American Airlines to the DFW metropolitan area.



October 1986

The city was positioned competitively among other rival cities such as Kansas City.

October 1996

The Pegasus is reborn. A symbolic invitation of the external audience to experience the new Dallas as an arts destination.

November 2007

The locus of public discourse shifted to the Trinity River as the city's major asset that could help the city thrive.

January 2010

Among the key accomplishments in the city's history include the establishment of the Dallas Arts District and the Trinity River Corridor project.

December 2012

Kylde Warren Park is perhaps the most successful placemaking project in Dallas's modern historical lineage.

January 2015

The Trinity River Corridor led to the emergence of many organic developments including the Design Disrict.

Figure 5-4. Dallas's urban imaginaries as in D-Magazine front covers throughout the years
Source: (D-Magazine 2020)

April 1975 D-Magazine published "*Trammell Crow is Building a New Downtown*" with a front cover dedicated to what perhaps was a new vision for the city. The article contained architectural renderings of the city's future with high towers that would be developed by Trammell Crow, a major real estate developer with a longstanding legacy of development in the city.

July 1979 This issue featured a special story that chronicled the events leading up to the establishment of American Airlines's headquarters in the DFW metropolitan area. The front cover depicted Dallas's new skyline in the background with the foreground illustrating the symbolic power of the city that, in collaboration with the City of Fort Worth, left American Airlines little likelihood to escape from enticing offers they had made.

October 1986 Following the emerging economic boom in the city, D-Magazine illustrated some iconic images of Dallas in its October 1986 issue, such as "Pegasus", where an urban flaneur narrates her story of the city in "*A Day in the Life of Dallas.*" Dallas's "Big D" mentality appeared to be on the rise:

> *… The city is an endless, fantastic content without a plot, all natural and expected in America's seventh largest metropolitan area.*
>
> *Downtown. The city's heart and money pump quietly awaits the 115,000 workers who will soon fill its streets and offices, its 29,907 parking spaces and 2,507 parking meters. The skyline is no longer bland-box, nor does it look as if it were rented from Kansas City for the day… (D-Magazine 1986)*

1990—present

The economic downturn of the late 1980s had caused the inner city to deteriorate. Experiencing a massive flight of the white population, Dallas was losing economic grounds to the suburbs and therefore needed a new narrative that would help the city to become competitive again. Dallas's new branded space in the 1990s was inspired by the legacy of Erik Jonsson; the city was preoccupied with being identified as the largest city in the metroplex—and Texas by extension. However, Dallas's obsession with image had left the city with no choice other than with pursuing greatness. As Hanson (2003, 180) writes, Dallas did not want to subscribe to what public planning would decide for the city's future, nor to the vision of *the Dallas Institute of Humanities and Culture* drafted by a local architect, James Pratt; rather it pursued after its ambition of being a world-class:

> *"World class" became the cliché of choice in describing the aspirations of Dallas leaders for its facilities and institutions, or justifying public support of major projects, whether provided by public or private funding, or some combination of the two...* (*Hanson 2003, 181)*

Dallas was therefore viewed as a city destined for exceptional qualities that would not settle for mediocrity nor for narratives that render it subpar in comparison to other global cities such as New York City. The world-class city narratives have been exemplified in D-Magazine, with changing public discourse over time:

October 1996 The Pegasus is reborn as an analogy to the rebirth of downtown. "*ART Downtown Is a Feast for the Eye*" was an article wherein the Arts District and the downtown area were promoted as accomplishments still in the works after a decade-long progression of arts-related developments:

> *MORE THAN THREE-QUARTERS of Dallas' art on public view is downtown, and in the last three years, a spate of new works has augmented the approximately 150 statues, murals, outdoor sculptures, pieces in corporate lobbies and decorative markers already in existence.*
>
> *... The architect Philip Johnson, who has already designed a half-dozen buildings in Dallas, continues to add to the city. In die new Western Point of Thanks-Giving Square, Johnson has just completed a golden ring sculpture measuring six feet in diameter. The small triangular park, surrounded by Pacific Avenue and Ervay and Bryan streets, is already home to the architect's spiral-shaped Thanks-Giving Chapel...*
>
> *(D-Magazine 1996)*

November 2007 The public sphere's discourse shifted largely to concerns regarding the Trinity River whose vision is central to the city's future economic success. The issuance of 246 million-dollar bond program was a testament to what Ron Kirk and his successors resolved to make the project happen: The Trinity River Corridor promised floodways, levees, waterways, open space, and recreational facilities. The front cover made a compellingly sound narrative on the River as "*the Soul of Dallas,*" where it has become a battleground for civic leaders.

January 2010 The narratives of growth during the past three decades were couched in the language of civic grandiosity. D-magazine identified "*The 35 Biggest Moments in Modern Dallas History*" accompanied by appealing images of placemaking projects and related articles: "*The Dallas Arts District is Funded,*" "*The Meyerson Symphony Center Is Built,*" "*Dallas Museum of Art Moves Downtown,*" "*Birth of the Trinity*

River Corridor Project," and "*The Birth of Uptown*" were manifestation of Dallas can-do attitude and of the way such herculean efforts by civic leaders and business elites marked significant milestones in the city's historical lineage.

December 2012 A whole issue was dedicated to Klyde Warren Park, "*A Green Jewel for Dallas.*" The issue contained many articles from columnists to architecture historians that documented the development of the park and promoted its features, but very rarely critiqued it. For D-magazine, the project was hailed a success with a challenging engineering feat that defied mainstream norms and conventions. In addition, the construction of the park was made possible by federal monies, highway funds by TxDOT, the city's bond issues, and private donations.

January 2015 The Trinity River Corridor opened up many new possibilities for the city and thus was born a great push towards rebranding many surrounding neighborhoods such as "*The Design District,*" which was once seen only as a collection of warehouses. D-Magazine front cover provided a glimpse inside the Design District, just north of the River, which was increasingly becoming a destination to live, work, and play with an organic vibe—unlike stereotypical developments commonly found in newer communities in the city.

5.4. Summary

Apart from Dallas's more contemporary images—the Dallas Cowboys, the JFK assassination, and the Dallas TV show—Dallas has adopted "placemaking" to reinforce its "BIG" ambition to urban growth. However, the concept of placemaking has evolved over the years, from focusing predominantly on an oversimplified notion of building monumental civic centers, inspired by the City Beautiful movement, to a recent shift to participatory approaches to placemaking as in the Trinity River Corridor project.

The power elites and civic leaders over time have had tremendous impact on Dallas and the way it has been projected to outsiders. Dallas Chamber of Commerce, the Citizens Charter Association (CCA), the Dallas Citizens Council (DCC), City Council members, mayors, philanthropists, and major corporations such as real estate developers together constitute these power elites that have exerted their political leverage on city development outcomes using their economic capital—although often putting Dallas's interests ahead of their personal gains.

City plans in particular have tended to be subservient to the needs of the power elites and often reflected their priorities for the city; George Kessler was recruited because Dallas was falling behind the race for economic resources; similarly, what Erik Jonsson and the DCC envisioned for the city' future arose out of deep concerns over rebuilding the city's image after the JFK assassination. Through visioning and formulating goals, city plans have in large part legitimized and contributed to the development of placemaking projects consistent with civic leaders' overarching agendas.

Key flagship projects such as Fair Park, Reunion Tower, the Arts District, the DFW airport, as well as Kylde Warren Park have gained entry to Dallas's urban imaginaries over time, with the latest ambition to make the Trinity River "the Soul of Dallas" mustering much strength. Such large-scale projects funded most often by the private capital have become deeply ingrained into the city's branding narratives and visual representations communicated by the media outlets such as Visit Dallas or D-Magazine, which have been central to shaping the branded space wherein the city is projected.

Dallas's branded space has once been dominated by the political conservatism. The iconic Pegasus represented an era where the oil industry was tied to the city's growth. The 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition intensified the intercity competition, securing Dallas's image as a city of unlimited opportunities. This narrative has remained alive and prospered, even after 1963. The city's image in the post-Kennedy era coincided with the rise of the Civil Rights movement, desegregation policies, and the white flight. Therefore, civic leaders were forced to compete with the suburbs to sustain economic growth. With that came a series of urban design interventions in the built environment that aimed to bring back the city's soul while repositioning the city in the metroplex and beyond.

The rise of global, neoliberal policies in the 1990s, once again, changed the narrative of growth to the one that would make Dallas a world-class city. The new branded space of Dallas has since generated widespread active discussions in the public sphere; however, it appeared to have marginalized efforts to resolve urban ills that have long saddled the minority in South Dallas.

CHAPTER 6

6. Conclusions and Policy Implications

6.1. Policy Implications for City Officials and Municipal Planners

As the previous chapter demonstrated, city planning in Dallas has widely been reactive to what was perceived as a lack of planning. Moreover, planning practice was in good part informed by efforts often made by the power elites. Therefore, while over time the city has made significant public investment in city planning, the hegemonic political discourse did not seem to favor independent decision-making processes at the city level. The same sentiment was reflected in implementing city plans where the endless number of plans did not garner major support from the power elites and were often discarded or replaced.

This chapter aims to provide some lessons for local governments and municipal planners and the ways they could play a much more meaningful and proactive role in shaping the city's brand, if the latter activity is to occur amid the cut-throat global competition. These lessons become more relevant when city planning efforts as well as Dallas's branding activities are put in context.

Insourcing Planning Expertise Not Outsourcing

Reliance on outsourced consulting agencies has been an endemic issue not just with the city's planning efforts, but also with design-related practices such as architecture. The history of urban planning in Dallas is replete with instances where civic leaders and business groups have placed obvious faith in interdisciplinary firms contracted outside the

city. The first comprehensive plan was drafted by George Kessler, an urban planner and landscape architect that was practicing in New York, Kansas City and St. Louis. Bartholomew and Associates that drafted the city's second comprehensive plan was also based in St. Louis; the design of City Hall, the Kennedy Memorial, the Arts District, and many more placemaking projects in the city was entrusted with architects (i.e., I. M. Pei, Philip Johnson, Hideo Sasaki) that were not local practitioners; and even the latest visioning process as in Forward Dallas was contracted out to Fregonese Calthorpe Associates as the lead consultant:

> *…The kind of larger issue is that … master planning is done with a range of consultants that all come to the city from the outside. I think every single plan has an external consultant rather than one that is from the city. ...[I]t emphasizes kind of private industry over the public sector, and so private expertise is the kind of commercial civic model for self-governance. The Dallas Citizens Council or the business leader is the one who is valued as somebody who can create a civic policy more than someone who is a public policy or city employee or a planning expert that's within the city government… (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

Placing authority on outside expertise in and of itself is not considered as counterproductive and at times can be an asset; outsiders could engage in visioning exercises, shaping the future based on impartial evaluations and design alternatives that are objectively drafted. They could also provide a certain degree of expertise that is not locally available. However, relying on other than local consulting services could somewhat limit involving grassroots that can otherwise be influential in shaping future visions and by extension brands. Within the confines of the planning context in Dallas, therefore, training and recruiting local expertise would underscore the possibility of true civic engagement that serves and adapts to the city's needs. On the other hand, one far-

reaching and inherently pernicious danger of bringing outsiders to do planning, visioning, and branding for the city is that they might be vulnerable to the demands of the power elites—as has been the case with many planning initiatives in Dallas's history. Although locally based firms could also face amenability to power relations, they at least have a working knowledge of addressing larger social concerns about social equity. Furthermore, the continuing act of "consulting" with an outsider as the expert on local affairs tends to perpetuate the discouraging idea that civic leaders cannot bring themselves to seek assurance from inside of the city, which leaves residents and local practitioners with a feeling of distrust and self-deprecation.

Emphasizing local assets could also be a lesson replicable to other growth-oriented cities. It seems that the rampant adoption of highly recognized consultancies has pervaded the mentality of cities that pursue investment, tourism, and cultural opportunities to brand themselves. Yet, it is important to reiterate that investing in wide-ranging physical interventions often by outsiders could potentially impede local culture to reflect in city plan contents. Therefore, insourcing planning expertise could benefit local governments pursuing growth in ways that contribute to the local authenticity and uniqueness.

Branding for Whom? The External Audience or the City's Inhabitants

One of this research's emerging theme indicates that the city's efforts to introduce magnified and costly placemaking projects do not align with the residents' dire needs. Affordable housing has been a debilitating issue in Dallas as have been racial segregation, safety, social mobility, and public education. Gauged by the extent to which these issues have appeared on public discourse represents the fact that the city has somewhat failed to

adopt concrete strategies to tackle them. Deep-seated problems such as social inequity, crime, and racial tension have permeated urban fabrics:

> *…Dallas, in my view, is extremely segregated, and the segregation line is the Trinity River and the highway [I-30] that cuts the city into North Dallas and South Dallas. If you and I go down to South Dallas on any given day, we will only see black people in that area. … when we go to Highland Park, the more affluent area … the majority will be the white population. So that physical separation between South Dallas and North Dallas is still very apparent. People don't like to acknowledge it, but it is reflected in crime, on infrastructure investment, and in household income and property values... (Informant 9, private practicing planner and designer)*

The pervasive social divide between South and North Dallas keeps sustaining negative economic consequences such as racial wealth gap. But segregation and racial tension are not the only problems facing the city; public education has historically come to dominate the public discourse with not so promising outlooks:

> *…We have great private schools here. So, if … you can afford a private school, you could find a private school to fit anything… but when it comes to public schools, … you just can't move into any neighborhood in Dallas. You really got to do some research on these schools to see what is viable… (Informant 3, nonprofit public administrator)*

Much efforts have also gone in so far to provide affordable housing for neighborhoods with a higher concentration of low-income families, yet successfully implemented programs have been limited. One may argue that in comparison with other large cities such as San Francisco Dallas seems relatively affordable. However, income equality has particularly been a growing concern among residents, with a disproportionate share of economic burden on the less advantaged:

> *…Growing awareness of affordability as a concern, in the context of the State that doesn't support a lot of public actions related to promoting affordability: …*

> *we can't do inclusionary zoning in Texas. If you compare us to San Francisco and New York City, it would seem you don't have a problem, but you've got a very predictable problem. The rate of increase in real estate values, rents, and property tax bills is vastly faster than the rate at which incomes are rising... (Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

With all these unresolved issues, the question that was practically absent from Dallas's branding policies through placemaking projects is that *"have they benefited the residents?"* While the answer to this question demands a thorough investigation, it appears to be fairly evident that such projects have proceeded without much concern about their social equity outcomes. One recent example would be the design of two costly bridges over the Trinity River by Santiago Calatrava, the Spanish architect known for his unorthodox approaches to designing bridges with a complex structural support. as Jim Schutze (2019) in Dallas Observer wrote:

> *…The Margaret McDermott bridge always takes some explaining, because it's not actually a bridge… It's actually four bridges. Two are … built by the highway department and opened to car and truck traffic in 2013. Then two more bridges, sort of tacked on to the outsides of the freeway bridges but supposedly self-supporting, are elaborate hike and bike bridges hanging from two enormous arches designed by Calatrava. The hike and bike bridges cost almost as much as the freeway bridges... (para. 7)*

Moreover, the cost of bridges surpassed 200 million dollars, remaining one of the most controversial projects funded by a public-private partnership involving various public entities and private donors. In response to "branding for whom?" one may recognize that these projects were not in accord with the production of equity or justice, in particular with regards to more pressing issues with which the city needed to grapple. While seductive in their visual appeals, those bridges represent merely a symbolic gateway that connects the downtown to West Dallas, albeit costing taxpayers money:

> *… There seems to be a desire to please outside … we need to make decisions that are beneficial to our residents and the people we are trying to track. Not to the detriment of what our public external perception is. But our external perception does not dictate where we need to go… (Informant 5, the Dallas Citizens Council member)*

Dallas needs to recognize people as co-owners of places, as the city's true assets, and as a target group to be involved in decisions that impact the economy. The huge cost of their absence, otherwise, leads to neighborhood opposition, less community buy-in, poor project implementation, and above all to deepening political divide.

Plan Implementation Should Follow Plan Making

Dallas's tendency to making plans has remained a central theme to many decisions that have involved the city at large. Being an exemplary case, Dallas has never ceased to develop plans that were either reactive to issues such as flooding or economic stagnation—which has often been the case—or proactive with regards to areas of strength—which has only recently emerged. Such planning efforts were geared to branding the city through flagship placemaking projects based on an "elite-driven politics of reform." (Graff 2008, 119) Similarly, many growth-oriented agendas behind urban development schemes were legitimized through an ideology of "the city as a whole." (Fairbanks 1998, 5) While compelling in its vision to direct the future growth, Dallas's ideology of plan making has not faced great success when it comes to "implementation:"

> *… I think there's just been a series of plans that have been poorly implemented or not implemented over time. And now I think Dallas has a habit of making plan after plan after plan because if you are making a plan, that always gives the impression that you're making some kind of progress. But… if you're constantly making new plans, you're never actually doing anything. Dallas seems to make a plan, let it sit around for a few years and decides it needs a new plan. So …it's a way of not actually doing anything… (Informant 6, architecture critic)*

Poor implementation mechanisms tended to be a corollary of the mismatch between the elites' political agendas exercised in a top-down fashion and citizen's aspirations and values; when a plan is based on what residents want, it is more likely to be implemented. Yet, Dallas's experience demonstrates that implementing plans has been a chronic issue. As a case in point, Forward Dallas (2006) set down several core values that were based on extensive community outreach, envisioning the city's future economic policies in ways that reflected the desire to the diversification of the economy:

> *… Dallas Forward plan was like the first real effort to kind of blend economic development with the city planning. … [T]he idea was to move forward and diversify their economy and at least there was some idea that the economy should be shared across the metroplex… (Informant 1, public practicing planner)*

Nevertheless, despite being prescriptive in maintaining the need to diversify the economy, Forward Dallas barely provided any means to implement it other than relying on somewhat vague formulations that created more confusion than help. Therefore, what Dallas needs in future planning efforts that shape the city's brand is a solid implementation plan supported by concrete strategies. Royce Hanson (2003, 205) suggests that:

> *... If the city could see itself in the context of the region and as using its capital expenditures to influence and guide the much larger investments of federal and state agencies, the recommendations for downtown or the Trinity River Corridor would be more readily understood and gain broad support. The Dallas Plan, in Hoffman's view, became a guide to a new active role for local government.*

Empowering Planners While Curbing Political Leverage

One major barrier to implementing plans is the politics and private interests behind developing plans and shaping the city's brand through placemaking. Public planning in

Dallas has responded to urban development differently from what real estate developers have often engaged in parallel. Even though large-scale placemaking projects are often inspired by what city plans have envisioned for the city, they are often driven by private initiatives. This is where public planning tends to fail to shape the city's physical space, whereas private developers have proceeded to conceive placemaking projects without much concern for their wide-ranging social and economic implications.

For much of the past century, one plausible explanation that plans were either poorly implemented or shelved was that most plan-making efforts in Dallas reflected political necessity rather than the considering the city's true social and economic needs. City plans developed by municipal planners and architects have historically received very limited support by the power elites, which has undermined public planning effectiveness. In response to "*Did placemaking projects come out of a public planning effort? or were they not attached to planning and were mostly a private investment initiative?"* one public practicing planner put it:

> *… For example, the Klyde Warren Park is named after a major private donor. That's not a coincidence. I mean, the park would never have happened if there weren't for people who had resources, with philanthropic intentions or not … And, by virtue of the fact that they are willing to write checks, they have an inordinate influence on the process and that's part of the reality of projects like that to succeed. Whether you like them or not, but the two Calatrava bridges are named after people who wrote big checks to make those projects happen...*
>
> *… [W]ith those kinds of projects, it usually starts with a big idea that comes more often than not from some private interest. In some cases, it's more than one private interest coming together and that sort of gives them the political impetus. Then it marshals not just the planning department but multiple departments that have to work together to make them happen…(Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

The fact that numerous city plans have been developed for Dallas but rarely been implemented indicates that the planning community was in part powerless to push their agendas. Even when they were proactive to advance their normative goals, formidable resistance from civic leaders and business groups thwarted their efforts. In which case, planners found themselves on a financial and political limb since implementing city plans simply needs huge investments, financial resources, and political championship. Some informants pointed out that civic leaders much like politicians adopted plan-making as a “branding campaign,” but with a caveat that such plans have been highly contingent on the support of the successive political leadership. In cases such as “Grow South,” Mike Rawlings’s initiative to invest in the historically underserved areas in South Dallas, one may see the issue that has plagued the city for years:

> *... They are highly political. For example, “Grow South” is mayor Rawlings plan. So, in his eight years of mayorship, it's all about Grow South. As soon as his mayorship ended, then you have a new mayor comes in and you have a new city manager comes in. And it was hard for them to cheer other people's plan because it is not your legacy. It's mayor Rawlings legacy… (Informant 9, private practicing planner and designer)*
>
> *… When it comes to branding of course, five to six years ago Mayor Rawlings led an initiative trying to basically rebrand South Dallas into something else and that basically has failed as a branding image idea that didn’t get anywhere. It seems like again the next closest thing in business terms to finance is “marketing” and “selling” and it seems like Rawlings’s pitch basically was a marketing pitch and it rang hollow. ... So, it was going to take a whole lot more than a branding image to fix all those generational challenges that have been in the South Dallas area or obviously prior to Jim Crow... (Informant 1, public practicing planner)*

Empowering municipal planners by extending the scope of public policies as communicative practices needs to be actively advocated by the civic leaders as a commonsensical approach to foster discussion, dialogue, and debate. While lending

legitimacy to what planners communicate as visions and goals for the city's future, this way, planners could also exercise their "negative" power to "to refuse permission for development which does not conform to the plan." (Taylor 1998, 103) This is not intended to retard economic growth nor to impede urban development; rather it brings into harmony the nexus between plan-making and placemaking.

Focusing on Small-scale Neighborhood Projects than Large-scale Placemaking

Recognizing small, cherished neighborhoods, which together make up Dallas, represents a move away from all-inclusive, grandiose placemaking projects that render the city world-class; rather it provides a more sensitive understanding of Dallas's subcultures. The Deep Ellum and the Bishop Arts Districts often appear in discussions about successful organic placemaking with a neighborhood-scale partnership between the private sector, grassroots, and the public planning. Despite being gentrified, these two neighborhoods epitomize Dallas as a city that has found a new way of thinking about investments in small-scale placemaking projects. Such a growing acknowledgment of Dallas as the city of neighborhoods with distinct identities has come to be a common thread among some key informants:

> *… [T]he neighborhoods of Dallas have some really rich, incredible histories and there is a lot of interesting neighborhood culture that I think doesn't percolate all the way to the surface. I think that kind of more local view is really what the potential strength of the city is. And if [Dallas] could capitalize on that and the localness—what actually makes it distinct—I think it would actually go a long way towards countering some of the stereotypes about Dallas… (Informant 2, architecture historian)*

> *… In a city the size of Dallas, you have to be cognizant of the idea that there are many neighborhoods in Dallas. When you talk to people who live and work in Dallas, more often than not, they associate with a neighborhood or an area much more so than they necessarily associate with the city.… One has to be really sensitive to the idea that many people are much more protective and associate*

> *their identity more with a neighborhood in a smaller scale. And there is some degree of pushback if the identity of a neighborhood you're familiar with is somehow lost in the identity of a larger city. In some respects, you could say that a big part of what should be more successful in terms of our branding is the idea that we are the city of neighborhoods. … Oak Cliff or Oak Lawn, Pleasant Grove or South Dallas or Preston Hollow...*
>
> *(Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

Dallas as a large, complex city suggests an implicit but key assumption that it cannot be reduced to one unitary identity with which all residents would identify themselves. Fueled by business ethos and the "Big D" mentality, the historical lineage of the city demonstrates that large-scale placemaking projects were recruited to fill the wider lacunae of identity with a singular image; this approach would treat places as single-faceted, physical entities created directly as a result of urban design interventions, leaving out both social and spatial processes tied to place:

> *… I certainly see Dallas as a city of neighborhoods. Dallas is quite large and there is no one monolithic Dallas. … [The city] is positioned in a way that there is no one thing that you could reduce Dallas to. The reasons for being in Dallas are myriad. While we don't have mountains, but at its core, I think there's family here. I want to be here because there is a strong culture here… (Informant 12, public practicing planner)*

Branding efforts, therefore, should fit into the larger view of treating the city as an amalgamation of neighborhoods with the multiplicity of distinct identities. These efforts need to be cognizant of what makes each neighborhood unique, prioritizing neighborhood planning as essential, which poses a new angle to branding neighborhoods:

> *…[Y]ou will see that Kleberg Rylie in Southeast Dallas is very different from the parts in our Northern counties.… We're concerned with outreach to our communities to empower them through access to tools, which help their neighborhoods better. I can understand, that may be a type of marketing, but we are marketing the services of the city to them, not the city's brand... (Informant 12, public practicing planner)*

Dallas's growing realization of its people as true assets could mark the beginning of coproducing neighborhoods' images. On a hopeful note, the diversity of voices and plurality of interests have recently started to weigh heavily in what seems to be a more democratic process of civic engagement.

6.2. Towards Dallas 2030: Some Reflections on the City's Recent Turn to Policymaking

Dallas's recent turn to policymaking represents a more insightful approach to what has long been considered as unilateral decision-making processes. Despite an atmosphere of political conservatism in the first half of the twentieth century, Dallas's leaders seem to have recently taken a substantive shift in managing local affairs with new receptive policies. As a case in point, not long ago, Dallas's efforts to integrate immigrants and promote the culture of inclusiveness have earned the city the Certified Welcoming status (CBS DFW 2019)—Dallas was the first city in the State of Texas to have achieved such a status. Back in 2017, Dallas's Office of Welcoming Communities and Welcoming Affairs was established to advocate for the successful integration of immigrants to the city's social and cultural fabric. Such strategic pro-immigrant and pro-diversity policies have learned from past failures, giving emphasis to social equity, housing, education, transit accessibility, and so forth.

South Dallas has also become the subject of citywide public discourse. While incremental interventions, in part, have not been successful, the city has started to realize Fair Park as an untapped potential resource that could play a role in revitalizing South Dallas. Major developments have gone towards the North with a greater concentration of well-off groups; without investment in public transit, Dallas will remain highly sprawled

with perpetuating patterns of racial inequality because of poor accessibility that has saddled the underserved areas in the Southern sector.

One initiative that the city has adopted to remedy the existing deficiencies associated with comprehensive planning is strategic planning focusing on land use and resources over which the city has a greater degree of control. The city has long struggled with one overarching master plan that could solve all the urban ills facing the city. In particular, when it comes to private real estate, the city basically retreats to reactive planning approaches dealing with zoning changes requests. Instead, being proactive requires strategic thinking that prioritizes scarce resources and leveraging assets. Furthermore, adopting strategic planning not only attends to the "visioning" process itself, but also pay due attention to implementation mechanisms (Shipley 2000; Shipley and Michela 2006). As one public practicing planner put:

> *…There's this idea [of] … using 2030 as a horizon for … having a 10-year-citywide strategic plan. To be successful, it needs to be more of a discipline than a product, because it's the idea that every year you go through that cycle of revisiting your priorities, checking back with all the divisions that exist related to different themes, whether it's mobility or land use… (Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

A much larger planning effort has characterized Dallas as a "green city." While Dallas has often viewed its lack of natural specificity as an impediment to attracting investment, it has turned such stricture to its advantage, starting to unlock the values of underutilized lands and focus on open space planning. The recent renewed appreciation for parks and public placemaking suggests that the city has awakened to its natural assets, but perhaps with a more sensitive approach to the culture of neighborhoods. Grounded in

the normative planning practice, reconnecting with nature is a harbinger of recognizing how incremental interventions in the urban landscape can bring about positive outcomes for local communities:

> *…The thing that really sticks out is our open space planning… like the Klyde Warren Park. Carpenter Park is now in progress and we are getting started on the Harwood Park and there is a new park coming up in the West End.… I think by and large they have been huge successes in terms of placemaking because they have really transformed an area, … becoming a poster child for how open space can be an economic development incentive or a trigger… (Informant 8, public practicing planner)*

To this, one may add environmentally conscious planning efforts such as Resilient Dallas or the development of the Climate Action plan that were absent from the public discourse just a decade ago. Dallas's flexibility to adapt to changing and highly uncertain circumstances offers a promising future not just for the city, but for all communities.

6.3. Conclusions and Future Research

Within the confines of Dallas's political economy, the nexus between city planning and place branding manifests in large-scale placemaking projects mostly funded by private-public partnerships. The history of Dallas is replete with those projects that have reflected the ambition of the civic leaders. Iconic landmarks have shaped Dallas's urban imaginaries and created a branded space in which the city has been projected as an inviting place to do business, live, and engage in recreational activities.

Three time periods, namely 1900—1963, 1963—1990, and 1990 up until the present, were identified as influential in shaping public policies. The early 1900s were increasingly characterized by the dominance of the far-right political conservatism along with racial segregation policies against the African American. The Kessler plan of 1911,

to a greater extent, and the Bartholomew plan of 1943, to a lesser extent, have impacted the city's form. Specifically, the Kessler plan proposed recommendations to protect the city from the Trinity River flooding by installing levees and to alleviate congestion in the city center by relocating the problematic railroads. Key placemaking project in this area were the establishment of Fair Park, among others.

The assassination of JFK in 1963 caused the city to mobilize its efforts to rebuild its image and shake off the negative stigma. Coincided with the Civil Rights movements and racial desegregation policies, Erik Jonsson's Goals for Dallas plan set down more than 100 goals, including those that focused on the construction of City Hall, the DFW Airport, Reunion Tower, and the Arts District. To date, the legacy of Jonsson in the city's landscape is still visibly present.

With the emergence of a neoliberal, market-oriented approach to urban government in the 1990s, came a shift to an entrepreneurial mode of city management. This era was also characterized by the social and economic divide between South and North Dallas. The Dallas Plan of 1994 is the product of this era that laid the ground for the development of the Trinity River Corridor project. Dallas's first comprehensive plan of the twenty-first century was Forward Dallas that focused on issues that were largely absent from the city's planning agendas: social equity, mobility, and sustainable development. Although the vision crafted in Forward Dallas was forward-looking, the plan did not lay out concrete policies that could translate vision into actionable plans. The citywide effort to building the Trinity River Corridor, which could be the largest urban

park in America, as well as the construction of Klyde Warren Park, have remained by and large significant projects in the new millennium.

What informs the role that city plans play in developing such flagship projects is the long-standing dominance of the power elites. These groups include philanthropists, private business owners, as well as influential organizations such as the Dallas Citizens Council (DCC) or the Dallas Chamber of Commerce. With private capital provided by those powerful groups, came forth many major urban development schemes that were pushed to the city's growth agendas and legitimized through city plans. In this way, the public discourse tended to be subservient to the power elites' wants and often reflected their economic growth priorities. Even if city plans were developed proactively to guide city developments, they were often dismissed and replaced with their successors to be consistent with the civic leaders' growth agendas.

This research indicated that the professional practice of "urban imagineers" typically involves two distinct yet interrelated activities. First, by engaging in producing future visions and proposing urban design interventions, professional planners, architects, and private developers construct urban imaginaries that portray the city's image. Second, local media outlets build urban imaginaries at the behest of economic growth interests in response to the competitive need to market the city as a world destination for capital and tourism; these branding agents, in the traditional sense, forge continuously an image of the city that panders to elites' tastes and external audiences. Therefore, municipal planners and architects, either deliberately or inadvertently, have contributed to shaping Dallas's urban imaginaries and branded space. Urban planning, in this way, was relegated to a

marketing practice that communicated what the power elites envisioned for the city. Visual representations of Dallas's skyline, the Trinity River, and Klyde Warren Park are among the narratives that have shaped a branded space within the public sphere in which the city is perceived by its *possibilities*—not necessarily by its realities such as social inequity, poverty, racial tension, housing crisis, or gentrification.

This research provided some lessons for practice and proposed policies that could guide future urban development and citywide branding practices. Professionalization of in-house planning expertise, recognizing local communities as co-owners of place, treating implementation programs as important as developing visions, empowering municipal planners to be more proactive with independent decision-making power, and focusing on small-scale, grassroots placemaking projects—as opposed to being "world-class"—that dovetail closely with communities' aspirations should be given precedence.

Instead of employing marketing rhetoric, branding efforts could reposition along the lines of what Dallas has come to celebrate as its unique assets. Envisioning the city's future should involve subcultures and racially diverse neighborhoods, focusing on long-term investments in transit-friendly developments, as well as providing small-scale open spaces such as pocket parks for communities. With a resurgence of interest in strengthening the core areas, arises new opportunities to retrospect and revisit outward growth strategies that have produced either disconnected neighborhoods or at best fragmented communities devoid of any identifiable characters. Perhaps, Dallas is beginning to realize that "promotion" is not only about awe-inspiring urban frontiers, but also about providing

access to city services, building capacity in neighborhoods, and empowering residents; to that degree, one can say the city is being "promoted."

This research opens new opportunities for future studies on the intersection between city branding and urban planning. One area of research could look at social media and the way it has shaped the digital public discourse. Given its tendency to shape power (Zukin 2009) and contribute to participatory democracy (Fuchs 2017), social media has the ability to influence planning processes (Schweitzer 2014; Schweitzer and Stephenson 2016). Social media also offers policymakers and planners an innovative methodological approach to reach out to the public and identify critical issues facing communities. Such a study could inspire community-based actions because social media opens the possibility of forming new digitally produced public spheres wherein grassroots can reinforce their identity and claim their rights. Future research on social media can shed light on whether Dallas has achieved what it has recently shown as a willingness to change.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A.T. Kearney. 2017. "Global Cities 2017: Leaders in a World of Disruptive Innovation." Chicago.

Agnew, John A. 1987. *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Aitken, Robert, and Adriana Campelo. 2011. "The Four Rs of Place Branding." *Journal of Marketing Management* 27 (9–10):913–33.

Albrechts, Louis. 2006. "Shifts in Strategic Spatial Planning? Some Evidence from Europe and Australia." *Environment and Planning A* 38 (6):1149–70.

Alexander, Christopher. 1965. "A City Is Not a Tree." *Architectural Forum* 122:58–62, 58–61. http://www.rudi.net/pages/8755 http://www.rudi.net/books/201.

———. 1979. *A Timeless Way of Building*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Andersson, Ida. 2016. "'Green Cities' Going Greener? Local Environmental Policy-Making and Place Branding in the 'Greenest City in Europe.'" *European Planning Studies* 24 (6):1197–1215.

Anholt, Simon. 2007. *Competitive Identity: Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*. *Cities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2008. "Place Branding: Is It Marketing, or Isn't It ?" *Place Branding* 4 (1):1–6.

Anttiroiko, Ari-veikko. 2015. "City Branding as a Response to Global Intercity Competition." *Growth and Change* 46 (2):233–52.

Aravot, Iris. 2002. "Back to Phenomenological Placemaking." *Journal of Urban Design* 7 (2):201–12.

Arefi, Mahyar. 1999. "Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place." *Journal of Urban Design* 4 (2):179–93.

———. 2014. *Deconstructing Placemaking: Needs, Opportunities, and Assets*. New York: Routledge.

Ashworth, Gregory, and Mihalis Kavaratzis. 2009. "Beyond the Logo: Brand Management for Cities." *Journal of Brand Management* 16 (8):520–31.

———. 2010. “Place Branding: Where Do We Stand?” In *Towards Effective Place Brand Management: Branding European Cities and Regions*, edited by Gregory Ashworth and Mihalis Kavaratzis. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Ashworth, Gregory, and Henk Voogd. 1990. *Selling the City: Marketing Approaches in Public Sector Urban Planning*. London: Belhaven Press.

Audirac, Ivonne. 2018. “Shrinking Cities: An Unfit Term for American Urban Policy?” *Cities* 75 (January 2017):12–19.

Babbie, Earl. 2016. *The Practice of Social Research*. 14th ed. Boston: Cengage Learning.

Balmer, John M.T. 2001. “Corporate Identity, Corporate Branding and Corporate Marketing - Seeing through the Fog.” *European Journal of Marketing* 35 (3/4):248–91.

Balmer, John M.T., and Edmund R. Gray. 2003. “Corporate Brands: What Are They? What of Them?” *European Journal of Marketing* 37 (7/8):972–97.

Bartholomew, Harland, and Associates. 1943. “Your Dallas of Tomorrow: A Master Plan for Dallas.” Saint Louis.

Becerra, Marco. 2018. “Margaret Hunt Hill Bridge.” 2018. https://www.arch2o.com/margaret-hunt-hill-bridge-snatiago-clatrava/.

Behnken, Brian D. 2007. “The ‘Dallas Way’: Protest, Response, and the Civil Rights Experience in Big D and Beyond.” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 111 (1):1–29.

Berke, Philip R., and Maria Manta Conroy. 2000. “Are We Planning for Sustainable Development? An Evaluation of 30 Comprehensive Plans.” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 66 (1):21–33.

Blaikie, Norman. 2010. *Designing Social Research*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boisen, Martin, Kees Terlouw, Peter Groote, and Oscar Couwenberg. 2018. “Reframing Place Promotion, Place Marketing, and Place Branding - Moving beyond Conceptual Confusion.” *Cities* 80 (November 2017):4–11.

Boland, Philip. 2013. “Sexing up the City in the International Beauty Contest: The Performative Nature of Spatial Planning and the Fictive Spectacle of Place Branding.” *Town Planning Review* 84 (2):251–74.

Boyle, M. 1997. “Civic Boosterism in the Politics of Local Economic Development—‘Institutional Positions’; and ‘Strategic Orientations’ in the Consumption of Hallmark Events.” *Environment and Planning A* 29 (11):1975–1997.

Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore. 2002. “Cities and the Geographies of ‘Actually Existing Neoliberalism.’” *Antipode* 34 (3):349–79.

———. 2005. “Neoliberalism and the Urban Condition.” *City* 9 (1):101–7.

Bridge, Gary, and Sophie Watson. 2003. “City Imaginaries.” In *A Companion to the City*, edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 7–17. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Brooks, Michael P. 2002. *Planning Theory for Practitioners*. New York: Routledge.

Bryman, Alan. 2004. *The Disneyization of Society*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Campbell, Scott. 1996. “Green Cities, Growing Cities, Just Cities?: Urban Planning and the Contradictions of Sustainable Development.” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 62 (3):296–312.

Canter, David V. 1977. *Psychology of Place*. London: Architectural Press.

Castells, Manuel. 2002. “Local and Global: Cities in the Network Society.” *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 93 (5):548–58.

———. 2010. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Vol. 1: The Rise of the Network Society*. 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

———. 2013. *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CBS DFW. 2019. “Dallas Becomes First Texas City To Earn ‘Certified Welcoming Status’ Regarding Immigrants,” December 2019. https://dfw.cbslocal.com/2019/12/10/dallas-first-texas-city-certified-welcoming-status-immigrants/.

Chan, Chung-shing. 2017. “Health-Related Elements in Green Space Branding in Hong Kong.” *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening* 21:192–202.

City of Dallas. 1967. “Goals for Dallas.” Dallas, Texas.

———. 1994. “The Dallas Plan.” Dallas, Texas.

———. 2005a. “ForwardDallas! Policy Plan.” Dallas, Texas. Policy Plan Introduction.

———. 2005b. “Trinity River Corridor Comprehensive Land Use Plan.”

———. 2006. “Forward Dallas! Comprehensive Plan.” Dallas, Texas. http://dallascityhall.com/departments/pnv/strategic-planning/Pages/comprehensive-plan.aspx.

———. 2011. “Downtown Dallas 360.” Dallas, Texas. http://downtowndallas360.com.

———. 2018a. “Dallas Cultural Plan.” Dallas, Texas. http://dallasculturalplan.com/.

———. 2018b. “Resilient Dallas.” Dallas, Texas. http://www.100resilientcities.org/strategies/dallas/.

Cleave, Evan, Godwin Arku, Richard Sadler, and Jason Gilliland. 2017. “Is It Sound Policy or Fast Policy? Practitioners’ Perspectives on the Role of Place Branding in Local Economic Development.” *Urban Geography* 38 (8):1133–57.

Collins, By William J, and Katharine L Shester. 2013. “Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in the United States.” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 5 (1):239–73.

Cresswell, Tim. 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Creswell, John. 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Cullingworth, Barry, and Roger W. Caves. 2014. *Planning in the USA: Policies, Issues, and Processes*. 4th ed. New York: Routledge.

D-Magazine. 1986. “A Day in the Life of Dallas,” October 1986. https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/1986/october/a-day-in-the-life-of-dallas/.

———. 1996. “ART Downtown Is a Feast for the Eye,” October 1996.

———. 2020. “D Magazine Publication Archive.” 2020. https://www.dmagazine.com/publications/d-magazine/.

Dinardi, Cecilia. 2017. “Cities for Sale: Contesting City Branding and Cultural Policies in Buenos Aires.” *Urban Studies* 54 (1):85–101.

Donald, James. 1999. *Imagining The Modern City*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Elsheshtawy, Yasser. 2010. *Dubai: Behind an Urban Spectacle*. London: Routledge.

Eshuis, Jasper, and Arthur Edwards. 2013. "Branding the City: The Democratic Legitimacy of a New Mode of Governance." *Urban Studies* 50 (5):1066–82.

Evans, Graeme. 2015. "Rethinking Place Branding and Place Making Through Creative and Cultural Quarters." In *Rethinking Place Branding: Comprehensive Brand Development for Cities and Regions*, edited by Mihalis Kavaratzis, Gary Warnaby, and Gregory Ashworth, 135–58. New York: Springer.

Fainstein, Susan S. 2000. "New Directions in Planning Theory." *Urban Affairs Review* 35:451–78.

Fairbanks, Robert B. 1987. "Metropolitan Planning and Downtown Redevelopment: The Cincinnati and Dallas Experiences, 1940-60." *Planning Perspectives* 2 (3):237–53.

———. 1998. *For the City as a Whole: Politics, Planning and the Public Interest in Dallas, 1900-1965*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

———. 2006. "The Failure of Urban Renewal in the Southwest: From City Needs to Individual Rights." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 37 (3):303–25.

Farhat, Ramzi R. 2019. "What Brand Is This Place? Place-Making and the Cultural Politics of Downtown Revitalization." *Space and Culture* 22 (1):34–49.

Fincher, Ruth, Maree Pardy, and Kate Shaw. 2016. "Place-Making or Place-Masking? The Everyday Political Economy of 'Making Place.'" *Planning Theory and Practice* 17 (4):516–36.

Fishman, Robert, ed. 2000. *The American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class, and How It Is Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

———. 2005. *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent*. New York: Harper Business.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2006. "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 12 (2):219–45.

Friedmann, John. 2010. “Place and Place-Making in Cities: A Global Perspective.” *Planning Theory & Practice* 11 (2):149–65.

Fuchs, Christian. 2017. *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed. London and New York: SAGE.

Garfield, Leanna. 2016. “Dallas Is Getting a $600 Million Urban Park That’s More than 11 Times as Large as Central Park.” Business Insider. 2016. https://www.businessinsider.com/dallas-trinity-river-park-project-2016-12.

Garvin, Alexander. 2019. *The Heart of the City Creating Vibrant Downtowns for a New Century*. Washington D.C.: Island Press.

Gibson, Timothy A. 2005. “Selling City Living: Urban Branding Campaigns, Class Power and the Civic Good.” *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8 (3):259–80.

Goess, Simon, Martin De Jong, and Evert Meijers. 2016. “City Branding in Polycentric Urban Regions: Identification, Profiling and Transformation in the Randstad and Rhine-Ruhr.” *European Planning Studies* 24 (11). Taylor & Francis:2036–56.

Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2007. “(Re) Branding the Big Easy Tourism Rebuilding in Post-Katrina New Orleans.” *Urban Affairs Review* 42 (6):823–50.

Govers, Robert. 2011. “From Place Marketing to Place Branding and Back.” *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 7 (4):227–31.

Govers, Robert, and Frank Go. 2009. *Place Branding Glocal, Virtual and Physical Identities, Constructed, Imagined and Experienced*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Graff, Harvey J. 2008. *The Dallas Myth: The Making and Unmaking of an American City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Grant, Jill. 2007. “Vision, Planning, and Democracy.” In *Engaging the Future: Forecasts, Scenarios, Plans, and Projects.*, edited by Lewis D. Hopkins and Marisa A. Zapata, 39–57. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute Press.

Greenberg, Miriam. 2000. “Branding Cities: A Social History of the Urban Lifestyle Magazine.” *Urban Affairs Review* 36 (2):228–63.

———. 2003. “The Limits of Branding: The World Trade Center, Fiscal Crisis and the Marketing of Recovery*.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (2):386–416.

Greg, Brown. 2013. “Forever Changed: The Architecture of Dallas: Reframed by the Kennedy Assassination.” American Institute of Architects: Dallas. 2013. http://www.aiadallas.org/v/columns-detail/Forever-Changed-The-Architecture-of-Dallas-Reframed-by-the-Kennedy-Assassination/92/.

Grodach, Carl. 2008. “Museums as Urban Catalysts: The Role of Urban Design in Flagship Cultural Development.” *Journal of Urban Design* 13 (2):195–212.

———. 2010. “Beyond Bilbao: Rethinking Flagship Cultural Development and Planning in Three California Cities.” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 29 (3):353–66.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, Trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.

Hall, Tim, and Phil Hubbard. 1996. “The Entrepreneurial City: New Urban Politics, New Urban Geographies?” *Progress in Human Geography* 20 (2):153–74.

———. , eds. 1998. *The Entrepreneurial City: Geographies of Politics, Regime and Representation*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Hamidi, Shima, Somayeh Moazzeni, Jinat Jahan, Reza Sardari, and David Weinreich. 2017. “Does Location Matter? Performance Analysis of the Affordable Housing Programs in Dallas-Fort Worth.”

Hanson, Royce. 2003. *Civic Culture and Urban Change: Governing Dallas*.

Harris, Fiona, and Leslie De Chernatony. 2001. “Corporate Branding and Corporate Brand Performance.” *European Journal of Marketing* 35 (3/4):441–56.

Harvey, David. 1989. “From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism.” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 71 (1):3–17.

Hazel, Michael V. 1997. *Dallas: A History of “Big D.”* Texas State Historical Association.

Healey, Patsy. 2002. “On Creating the ‘ City ’ as a Collective Resource.” *Urban Studies* 39 (10):1777–92.

Heilmann, Kilian. 2018. “Transit Access and Neighborhood Segregation. Evidence from the Dallas Light Rail System.” *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 73. Elsevier B.V.:237–50.

Hill, Patricia E. 1996. *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Holliday, Kate. 2009. “Whose City Hall Is It? Architecture and Identity in New Orleans.” *Journal of Urban Design* 14 (3):279–308.

———. , ed. 2019. *The Open-Ended City: David Dillon on Texas Architecture*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Hopkins, Lewis D. 2007. “Using Plans and Plan Making Processes.” In *Engaging the Future: Forecasts, Scenarios, Plans, and Projects.*, edited by Lewis D. Hopkins and Marisa A. Zapata, 283–313. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute Press.

Houston, Douglas, and Michelle E. Zuñiga. 2019. “Put a Park on It: How Freeway Caps Are Reconnecting and Greening Divided Cities.” *Cities* 85 (August). Elsevier:98–109.

Iveson, Kurt. 2012. “Branded Cities: Outdoor Advertising, Urban Governance, and the Outdoor Media Landscape.” *Antipode* 44 (1):151–74.

Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.

———. 1969. *The Economy of Cities*. London: Jonathan Cape.

Jensen, Ole B. 2007. “Culture Stories: Understanding Cultural Urban Branding.” *Planning Theory* 6 (3):211–36.

Johansson, Marjana. 2012. “Place Branding and the Imaginary: The Politics of Re-Imagining a Garden City.” *Urban Studies* 49 (16):3611–26.

Judd, D., and R.L. Ready. 1996. “Entrepreneurial Cities and the New Politics of Economic Development.” In *Reagan and the Cities*, edited by G.E. Peterson and C.W. Lewis, 209–47. Washington D.C.: Urban Institute Press.

Kavaratzis, Mihalis. 2004. “From City Marketing to City Branding: Towards a Theoretical Framework for Developing City Brands.” *Place Branding* 1 (1):58–73.

Kavaratzis, Mihalis, and Mary Jo Hatch. 2013. "The Dynamics of Place Brands: An Identity-Based Approach to Place Branding Theory." *Marketing Theory* 13 (1):69–86.

Kavaratzis, Mihalis, and Ares Kalandides. 2015. "Rethinking the Place Brand: The Interactive Formation of Place Brands and the Role of Participatory Place Branding." *Environment and Planning A* 47 (6):1368–82.

Kellogg, John, and Paul Zigman. 1985. "Goals for Dallas: Case Program."

Kemper, Robert V. 2005. "Dallas-Fort Worth: Toward New Models of Urbanization, Transformation, Community and Immigration." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic* 34 (2):125–49.

Kessler, George E. 1911. "A City Plan for Dallas." Dallas, Texas.

Kotler, Philip, and David Gertner. 2002. "Country as Brand, Product, and beyond: A Place Marketing and Brand Management Perspective." *Journal of Brand Management* 9 (4–5):249–61.

Kunstler, James H. 1993. *Geography Of Nowhere: The Rise And Declineof America'S Man-Made Landscape*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Lichrou, Maria, Mihalis Kavaratzis, and Massimo Giovanardi. 2017. "Introduction." In *Inclusive Place Branding Critical Perspectives on Theory and Practice*, edited by Mihalis Kavaratzis, Massimo Giovanardi, and Maria Lichrou, 1st ed., 1–10. London and New York: Routledge.

Listerborn, Carina. 2017. "The Flagship Concept of the '4th Urban Environment'. Branding and Visioning in Malmö, Sweden." *Planning Theory & Practice* 18 (1). Routledge:1–22.

Logan, John, and Harvey Molotch. 1987. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Long, Christopher. 2018. "Dahl, George L." Handbook of Texas Online. Texas State Historical Association. 2018. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fda86.

Low, Setha M., and Irwin Altman. 1992. "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry." In *Place Attachment*, edited by Setha M. Low and Irwin Altman. New York: Plenum Press.

Lui, Tai-lok. 2008. "City-Branding without Content Hong Kong's Aborted West Kowloon Mega-Project, 1998–2006." *International Development Planning Review* 30 (3):215–26.

Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

———. 1981. *Good City Form*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Makarychev, Andrey, and Alexandra Yatsyk. 2015. "Brands, Cities and (Post-)Politics: A Comparative Analysis of Urban Strategies for the Universiade 2013 and the World Football Cup 2018 in Russia." *European Urban and Regional Studies* 22 (2):143–60.

Mambro, Antonio Di. 2001. "'The Global City: The Road Ahead for the Dallas-Forth Worth Metropolis in the 21st Century,' with David Rusk, 'Halfway Down the Road-to Decline,' Dallas." *Dallas Morning News*, March 4, 2001.

Marsden, Greg, Karen Trapenberg Frick, Anthony D. May, and Elizabeth Deakin. 2010. "Transfer of Innovative Policies between Cities to Promote Sustainability: Case Study Evidence." *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board*, no. 2163:89–96.

Martin Prosperity Institute. 2013. "Creative and Diverse: Ranking Global Cities." Toronto. http://martinprosperity.org/media/Global Cities Insight_v01.pdf.

Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Maxwell, Lisa C. 2018. "Kessler, George E." Handbook of Texas Online. Texas State Historical Association. 2018. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fke44.

Mckinsey Global Institute. 2012. "Urban America: US Cities in the Global Economy." New York. https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/McKinsey/Global Themes/Urbanization/US cities in the global economy/MGI_Urban_America_Full_Report.ashx.

Medway, Dominic, and Gary Warnaby. 2008. "Alternative Perspectives on Marketing and the Place Brand." *European Journal of Marketing* 42 (5/6):641–53.

Miles, Matthew B., A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE.

Miles, Steven. 2010. *Spaces for Consumption: Pleasure and Placelessness in the Post-Industrial City*. London: Sage Publications.

Miller, Edward H. 2016. *Nut Country: Right-Wing Dallas and the Birth of the Southern Strategy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Morgan, Ruth P. 2004. *Governance by Decree: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act in Dallas*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

National Register of Historic Places. 1986. "Texas Centennial Exposition Buildings (1936-37)." Vol. 900.

———. 1991. "Dealey Plaza Historic District."

NCTCOG. 2016. "Mobility 2040: The Metropolitan Transportation Plan for North Central Texas." Dallas, Texas. https://resources.nctcog.org/trans/mtp/2040/.

———. 2019. "DFWmaps." 2019.

Neuman, Michael. 1998. "Planning, Governing, and the Image of the City." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 18 (1):61–71.

———. 2007. "How We Use Planning: Planning Cultures and Images of Future." In *Engaging the Future: Forecasts, Scenarios, Plans, and Projects.*, edited by Lewis D. Hopkins and Marisa A. Zapata, 155–74. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute Press.

Nielsen, Karen. 2012. "How Klyde Warren Park Was Built." 2012.

Norberg-Schultz, Christian. 1980. *Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc.

O'Donnell, Theresa, and Shima Hamidi. 2017. "Transportation Equity and Access to Opportunity for Transit-Dependent Population in Dallas."

Okano, Hiroshi, and Danny Samson. 2010. "Cultural Urban Branding and Creative Cities: A Theoretical Framework for Promoting Creativity in the Public Spaces." *Cities* 27 (SUPPL. 1):S10–15.

Organ, Jerry. 2000. "Dallas to Dealey." 2000.

Ozdil, Taner, Sameepa Modi, and Dylan Stewart. 2014. "A 'Texas Three-Step' Landscape Performance Research: Learning from Buffalo Bayou Promenade, Klyde Warren Park, and UT Dallas Campus Plan." In *Landscape Research Record*, edited by Ming-Han Li, 117–31. Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture.

Paganoni, Maria Cristina. 2012. “City Branding and Social Inclusion in the Glocal City.” *Mobilities* 7 (1):13–31.

Pasquinelli, Cecilia. 2012. “Competition, Cooperation and Co-Opetition: Unfolding the Process of Inter-Territorial Branding.” *Urban Research & Practice* 6 (1):1–18.

Payne, Darwin. 2000. *Big D: Triumphs and Troubles of an American Supercity in the 20th Century*. Revised. Dallas: Three Forks Press.

Peck, Jamie, and Adam Tickell. 2002. “Neoliberalizing Space.” *Antipode* 34 (3):380–404.

Perez, Joan J. 2019. “Rodgers, James Woodall.” Handbook of Texas Online. 2019. https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fro46.

Peterson, Jon A. 2009. “The Birth of Organized City Planning in the United States, 1909-1910.” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75 (2):123–33.

Phillips, Michael. 2006. *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001*. First ed. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Pike, Andy. 2015. *Origination: The Geographies of Brands and Branding*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Relph, Edward. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited.

Robinson-Jacobs, Karen. 2012. “Dallas Launches New Branding Campaign in Bid to Boost Tourism.” *Dallas Morning News*, October 2012. https://www.dallasnews.com/business/business/2012/10/25/dallas-launches-new-branding-campaign-in-bid-to-boost-tourism.

Rumbley, Rose-Mary. 1991. *The Unauthorized History of Dallas: The Scenic Route Through 150 Years in “Big D.”* Austin: Eakin Press.

Sager, Tore. 2011. “Neo-Liberal Urban Planning Policies: A Literature Survey 1990-2010.” *Progress in Planning* 76 (4). Elsevier Ltd:147–99.

Saldaña, Johnny. 2013. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications.

Sasaki Associates. 1982. “Dallas Arts District Urban Design Plan.” Dallas, Texas.

Schutze, Jim. 2019. "Seven Million Bucks and Three More Years To Open New Bridge. Maybe." *Dallas Observer*, April 2019. https://www.dallasobserver.com/news/dallas-second-calatrava-bridge-needs-7-million-3-years-to-open-11631456.

Schweitzer, Lisa. 2014. "Planning and Social Media: A Case Study of Public Transit and Stigma on Twitter." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 80 (3):218–38.

Schweitzer, Lisa, and Max Stephenson. 2016. "Planning, Development, and Media: A Case Study of the Woodrow Wilson Bridge." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 36 (2):239–54.

Scott, Allen. 2000. *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries*. London and New York: Sage Publications.

Shing, Chung, Mike Peters, and Lawal M Marafa. 2015. "Public Parks in City Branding: Perceptions of Visitors Vis-à-Vis Residents in Hong Kong." *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening* 14 (4):1157–65.

Shipley, Robert. 2000. "The Origin and Development of Vision and Visioning in Planning." *International Planning Studies* 5 (2):225–36.

———. 2002. "Visioning in Planning: Is the Practice Based on Sound Theory?" *Environment and Planning A* 34 (1):7–22.

Shipley, Robert, and John L. Michela. 2006. "Can Vision Motivate Planning Action?" *Planning Practice and Research* 21 (2):223–44.

Short, John R. 1999. "Urban Imagineers: Boosterism and the Representation of Cities." In *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*, edited by Andrew D. Jonas and David Wilson, 37–54. New York: State University of New York Press.

Silbergerg, Susan, Katie Lorah, Rebecca Disbrow, and Anna Muessig. 2013. "Places in the Making: How Placemaking Builds Places and Communities." Cambridge, MA. http://dusp.mit.edu/sites/all/files/attachments/project/mit-dusp-places-in-the-making.pdf.

Simek, Peter. 2018. "Dallas Finally Has a Strong Cultural Policy. But Will It Be Implemented?" Dmagazine. Dallas. 2018. https://www.dmagazine.com/frontburner/2018/12/dallas-finally-has-a-strong-cultural-policy-but-will-it-be-implemented/.

Sweeney, Jill, Kathy Mee, Pauline McGuirk, and Kristian Ruming. 2018. "Assembling Placemaking: Making and Remaking Place in a Regenerating City." *Cultural Geographies* 25 (4):571–87.

Talen, Emily. 1996. "Do Plans Get Implemented? A Review of Evaluation in Planning." *Journal of Planning Literature* 10 (3):248–59.

Taylor, Charles. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Taylor, Nigel. 1998. *Urban Planning Theory since 1945*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Tett, Alison, and Jeanne M. Wolfe. 1991. "Discourse Analysis and City Plans." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 10 (3):195–200.

Texas Local Government Code. 2005. *Texas Local Government Code*. https://law.justia.com/codes/texas/2005/lg/007.00.000211.00.html.

The Brookings Institution. 2016. "Redefining Global Cities: The Seven Types of Global Metro Economies." Washington D.C. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/metro_20160928_gcitypes.pdf.

The Economist Intelligence Unit. 2013. "Hot Spots 2025: Benchmarking the Future Competitiveness of Cities." London. http://www.citigroup.com/citi/citiforcities/pdfs/hotspots2025.pdf.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

U.S. Census. 2011. "Population Distribution and Change : 2000 to 2010."

Ulldemolins, Joaquim R. 2014. "Culture and Authenticity in Urban Regeneration Processes: Place Branding in Central Barcelona." *Urban Studies* 51 (14):3026–45.

Vivant, Elsa. 2011. "Who Brands Whom? The Role of Local Authorities in the Branching of Art Museums." *Town Planning Review* 82 (1):99–115.

Whyte, William H. 1980. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. Washington D.C.: The Conservation Foundation.

Wilson, William H. 1983. "Adapting to Growth: Dallas, Texas, and the Kessler Plan, 1908-1933." *Journal of the Southwest* 25 (3):245–60.

Wong, Tai-chee, and Ran Liu. 2017. “Developmental Urbanism, City Image Branding and the ‘Right to the City’ in Transitional China.” *Urban Policy and Research* 35 (2):210–23.

Wood, E.A. 1944. “A City Looks to the Future: Dallas Believes in City Planning.” *Southwest Review* 29 (3):301–11.

Yigitcanlar, Tan, Mirko Guaralda, Manuela Taboada, and Surabhi Pancholi. 2016. “Place Making for Knowledge Generation and Innovation: Planning and Branding Brisbane’s Knowledge Community Precincts.” *Journal of Urban Technology* 23 (1):115–46.

Yin, Robert. 2009. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Zenker, Sebastian. 2009. “Who’s Your Target? The Creative Class as a Target Group for Place Branding.” *Journal of Place Management and Development* 2 (1):23–32.

Zhang, Li, and Simon Xiaobin Zhao. 2009. “City Branding and the Olympic Effect: A Case Study of Beijing.” *Cities* 26 (5):245–54.

Zhao, Yawei. 2015. “‘China’s Leading Historical and Cultural City’: Branding Dali City through Public-Private Partnerships in Bai Architecture Revitalization.” *Cities* 49:106–12.

Zukin, Sharon. 1993. *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1996. *The Cultures of Cities*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

———. 2009. “Changing Landscapes of Power: Opulence and the Urge for Authenticity.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33 (2):543–53.

Zukin, Sharon, Robert Baskerville, Miriam Greenberg, Courtney Guthreau, Jean Halley, Mark Halling, Kristin Lawler, et al. 1998. “From Coney Island to Las Vegas in the Urban Imaginary: Discursive Practices of Growth and Decline.” *Urban Affairs Review* 33 (5):627–54.

APPENDIX

INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT

Principal Investigator
Ahmad Bonakdar, Ph.D. Candidate in Urban Planning and Public Policy
College of Architecture, Planning, and Public Affairs
University of Texas at Arlington
ahmad.bonakdar@mavs.uta.edu | +1 (469) 740 2445

Faculty Advisor
Ivonne Audirac, Associate Professor of Planning
Interim Director of the Ph.D. Program in Urban Planning and Public Policy
University of Texas at Arlington
audirac@uta.edu | +1 (352) 246 5805

Dear Prospective Participant,

I am requesting your kind participation in a University of Texas at Arlington (UTA) research study titled, "**city planning, urban imaginary, and the branded space: unfolding the role of city plans and placemaking in shaping Dallas emerging urban imaginary."** The purpose of this study is to explore and describe the role of city plans in shaping Dallas's urban imaginary and the City's brand over time. The research outcomes will help local governments to make informed decisions about how to brand the city and will improve planners' role in contributing to the city's brand based on lessons learned from this study.

The procedure that you will follow as a research subject is "**a personal interview in a time and place of your choosing about the study's topic.**" The interview will be tape recorded for transcription purposes only. There are no perceived risks or direct monetary benefits (compensation) for participating in this study. There are no alternatives to this research project, but you may quit at any time. You must be at least 18 years old to participate.

Any identifiable information will be removed and will be kept confidential with access limited to the research team. We may publish, present, or share the results, but your name will not be used, unless allowed by you. If you have questions about the study, you can contact me at ahmad.bonakdar@mavs.uta.edu and/or 469 740-2445. For questions or concerns, contact the UTA Research Office at 817 272-3723 or regulatoryservices@uta.edu.

This study has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board (IRB), an ethics committee that reviews research with the goal of protecting the rights and welfare of human research subjects. You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate in this study by reviewing this consent form.

Many thanks in advance for your time.

Kind regards,
Ahmad Bonakdar

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Ahmad Bonakdar is an urban planning scholar whose research focuses on social equity, city branding, and urban planning (2020a), placemaking and physical design (2020b), arts and creative industries (2019a), and innovation (2019b). Informed by a critical view of the dominant neoliberal paradigm, his primary research interest addresses how city branding intersects with planning practice and public policy, calling for intervention by municipal planners and policymakers.

Ahmad has received a Ph.D. in Urban Planning and Public Policy from the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA). He also holds a Bachelor of Arts in Urban Planning as well as a Master of Arts in Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Arts, Tehran. Ahmad's most recent teaching experience includes instructing in the Urban Planning and Public Affairs Minor Program in the College of Architecture, Planning, and Public Affairs (CAPPA) at UTA. Serving as a lecturer at the University of Arts, he has also co-taught undergraduate-level urban design studio courses and has supervised undergraduate students majoring in urban planning.