

**TOWARDS A RHETORIC OF ARCHITECTURE:  
A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING CITIES**

by

C2008

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**ABSTRACT**

In order to articulate meaning in cities and architecture, I propose a framework of enacted architecture that considers the built environment in everyday spatial practices. Building on Henri Lefebvre's work, we know architecture in terms of conceptual space, perceived space, and lived-in space, which supplies multiple levels of meaning. As we use a city, we enact spatial narratives, myths, and metaphors that weave our lives and experiences into a place. Through spatial practices, we gain a sense of identity, a sense of power, and a sense of publicness, which are analyzed in three extended examples: the new town of Seaside, Florida, the redevelopment of the World Trade Center site at Ground Zero, and the National Mall in Washington D.C., respectively. While a city reflects society as a deeply cultivated symbol system, we are constituted by and reciprocally shape the city and architecture.

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I acknowledge the work of others in the following illustrations and thank them for supplying these drawings and photographs. The page number where the image appears in the dissertation is in parenthesis following the illustration. All other illustrations are the property of the author.

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Roth, Jim. “Fig. 3. Washington Monument” (151); “Fig. 4. World War II Memorial” (153); “Fig. 5. Jefferson Memorial” (154); “Fig. 7. Lincoln Memorial” (157). Tuscan, 2006. Permission granted by Jim Roth, 15 Nov. 2008.

Completing a major transition and a project of this scope brings a tremendous sense of accomplishment, no small bit of relief, and also an intense desire to use it well, by building and sharing knowledge, by continual learning, and by living life fully. I deeply appreciate my truly amazing colleagues, friends, and family who inspire and teach me about life, ideas, practice, and scholarship. A part of each of you is in this work, and I am blessed that you are in my life. Greater goals are still ahead. Thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

## **BIOGRAPHY**

Cynthia Frewen Wuellner, FAIA, founded and operated an architecture firm in Kansas City, Missouri for 20 years before merging it with another design firm in order to study the future of cities. Her numerous public projects garnered recognition and awards and concentrated on community development, master planning, and sustainability in civic, education, housing, and recreational facilities. Example projects are Kansas City Downtown Civic Mall Master Plan for 60 blocks of the central business district; Civic Council's Downtown Corridor Development Strategies which involved urban planning and economic development for 4,000 acres; Kansas City, Missouri Police Department Facilities Master Plan for headquarters, training facilities, and police stations; Charles E. Whittaker United States Courthouse Interiors; and the Ilus W. Davis Park, a two-block downtown civic commons that links the Whittaker Courthouse and Kansas City's City Hall.

Frewen Wuellner is a Fellow in the American Institute of Architects and a Distinguished Alumna for the University of Kansas School of Architecture and Urban Design. Her design work was included in the AIA national traveling exhibit "That Exceptional One" and her firm was recognized as the first Kansas City Woman-Owned Business of the year. As an Adjunct Professor at the University of Kansas School of Architecture and Urban Planning for two decades, Frewen Wuellner has taught design, ethics, marketing, professional practice, and the future of architecture and given numerous lectures and design juries at KU

and other universities. She also teaches in the Futures Studies Graduate Program at the University of Houston. She holds professional architecture licenses in multiple states and professional certificates from the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards (NCARB) and the U.S. Green Building Council (USGBC) as a LEED-accredited design professional.

Frewen Wuellner holds a Master of Science in Futures Studies with honors (Phi Kappa Phi '04) from the University of Houston-Clear Lake and a Bachelor of Environmental Design from the University of Kansas School of Architecture and Urban Design ('77). She sits on the Executive Committee and Advisory Board of the University of Kansas School of Architecture, is Vice President and Board Member of the Kansas City Design Center, co-founded the Kansas City Architectural Foundation's Scholarship Fund, has served on over thirty boards and committees, and is a member of numerous architectural, planning, communication, business, and forecasting organizations. In addition to academic teaching, Frewen Wuellner presents to groups on creativity, innovation, strategic planning, public participation, entrepreneurship, ethics, and leadership, including organizations such as Hallmark Cards, Herman Miller, and Edison Electric Institute. She continues to teach and consult with public and private organizations while writing on cities and architecture.

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### **Key terms:**

1. How we know architecture: perceived, conceived, lived-in space
2. Enacted architecture: experienced space, spatial practices, symbolic action, everydayness
3. Functions (the work that architecture does): constitutive and instrumental rhetoric
4. Themes (what we learn): a sense of identity, power, and publicness

## **Chapter One**

### **A Theory of Enacted Architecture**

Architecture serves as a reflection and expression of society and the human spirit, and reciprocally, constitutes and influences who we are and our understanding of reality. In our knowledge of a place, we invest a significant portion of our lives and in some cases, become attached and even identify with a childhood home, a college campus, or a particular fountain or statue. Like a native language, the places we know shape us and define who we are. In effect, architecture sets us in place and time, reminds us of history, and provides scenes for everyday living. At the same time, we influence these places through our daily use, for instance, where we cross the street, a place where we meet friends, and how we arrange our office space. Because we were there, the place is changed minutely or substantially and in exchange so are we. “To use a building is to make it, either by physical transformations, such as moving walls or furniture, by inhabiting it in ways not previously imaged, or by conceiving it anew” (J. Hill 351). As a reflection, framer, and condition of society, architecture functions rhetorically to persuade and constitute us. Architecture as rhetoric is a form of spatial rhetoric, which we know through perceived, conceived, and lived-in forms. Furthermore, a rhetoric of architecture considers the ways we enact architecture as participants and draw themes from that enactment that provide us direction for living.

Architecture is not a neutral form; our attitudes frame our responses. Aristotle noted, “It is not difficult to praise Athenians in Athens but at Sparta” (*Rhetoric* 1415b30). Our place of residence forms our views, acting as a terministic screen, in effect, a lens that colors perspective and conditions us to accept or reject an idea. To delineate the consequences of a terministic screen, a personal lens through which we see the world, Kenneth Burke states, “Even if any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a *deflection* of reality” (*Language* 45, italics in original). Similar to language, the built environment serves as a context that frames our sense of reality and privileges certain forms and omits others. In addition, architecture defines our expectations of normal in buildings and cities as our personal baseline scenario of reality. We evaluate, categorize, and understand the world from this vantage point which deepens and gains complexity as we develop and experience new places and attitudes.

Narratives that frame our understanding of architecture change over time. For example, at the turn of the twentieth century, city images frequently glorified the simple country life and vilified the strange, polluted city. An 1894 article proclaimed that Kansas was more American than New York because it exemplified a wholesome family ideal, not the dangers of European cosmopolitan attitudes represented by New York (Strauss 120). By the mid-1900s, the roles reversed as urban life was seen as progressive and sophisticated while rural towns

were denigrated as home to rubes and hayseeds (178). These oppositional perspectives represent changes in the roles cities play in society, their reflection of mainstream views, and furthermore, how they build a platform to constitute identities and ideologies, including dominant, alternative, and marginalized images. As we build, we shape attitudes and induce people to act, resulting in consequences that may be expected and many that are not. Just as Michel Foucault's Panopticon served as a watchful eye whether or not the guards were present (*Discipline* 195), we learn proper social behavior and attitudes from the physical patterns of cities. Furthermore, narratives of cities change over time to suit the needs of society, certain groups, or individuals. Identities embedded in the stories influence both future buildings and the people who use them.

Recognizing the symbolic dimension of architecture, rhetorical scholars have grappled with its complex nature and our relationship with built form during the past few decades using a variety of approaches.<sup>1</sup> Each avenue of study leads to valuable yet fundamentally limited insights regarding the rhetorical force of space. Some scholars consider places as vessels of memory, and while this work has tended to be limited to artifacts to commemorative monuments and museums, the knowledge and approach can be appropriated more broadly to other types of architecture. Other studies contribute to the burgeoning scholarship on visual rhetoric that has bridged many gaps between discursive and presentational forms. However, methods for exploring visual rhetoric when applied to architectural artifacts tend to privilege vision that flattens spatial forms into visual pictures and

ignores dynamic movement. Each approach has developed clusters of knowledge that inform research and analysis and simultaneously does not fully address the breadth of cities and architecture.

A third path of spatial rhetoric shows great promise because the dynamics of movement are recognized in combination with phenomenology, memory, and imagination. As an early proponent of this approach, Michel de Certeau introduced a detailed walk through the city and contrasted it with the concept city of abstract representations. In effect, he saw space as articulated holistically in our minds and actions (92-95). The concept of understanding architecture as lived-in space beyond visual representations and commemorative monuments introduces new directions for scholarship. In fact, research that considers the dynamics of spatial rhetoric in diverse contexts is escalating.<sup>2</sup> I argue that omitting perceived experience from rhetorical studies in favor of abstract representations impoverishes the body of knowledge. Critical tools and mechanisms for conducting this type of analysis are in the developmental stages. This study seeks to contribute to that effort.

I propose a theory of enacted architecture that builds on these approaches. By recognizing the interwoven nature of words and actions, we give attention to cities as symbols in use as well as abstract concepts. The questions I address in this study are concerned with the intersection of theory and practice. In particular, I explore how theory connects to everyday uses, to our actions in terms of architectural works, and to daily patterns that influence those forms. Hannah



Arendt referred to this type of approach as “What we are doing,” which focuses on actions and activities rather than conceptions and abstractions (Arendt 5). We enact cities through participating in making and using them as a way of life, rather than by taking a perspective that privileges contemplation, philosophy, aesthetics, or science. According to Henri Lefebvre, we produce space, which places cities in the domain of production, a distinctly materialistic approach (26). While this view offers a great deal in terms of how we know cities – and I will use his triad of perceived, conceived, and lived-in space to organize ways we know space (Lefebvre, “Production” 40) – it does not explain how cities influence and constitute us. If we conceive of architecture as we do language as an immersive, mutually interactive symbol system, then we can test the functional work that cities do.

To recognize and work with the complexities of architectural rhetoric, I argue that architecture functions instrumentally and constitutively to both persuade us and shape who we are. Through our use of architecture, we produce and reproduce identities and social practices, continuously generating links between people and places. I propose a theory of enacted architecture as a method of explaining symbols in use that recognizes the dynamics of spatial interaction, layered ways of knowing space, and production of identities. In the following section of this chapter, I develop a framework in architectural rhetoric that recognizes abstract representations, spatial practices, and representational space in architectural rhetoric (Lefebvre, “Production” 31). This triad of conceived,

perceived, and lived-in space characterizes our ways of knowing the built environment. Second, I analyze the constitutive and instrumental functions of architecture whereby experiences are interpreted and through reflexivity produce meaning. Although many meanings are produced through architecture, I focus on three topics. We gain a sense of identity, a sense of power, and a sense of the public realm from architecture. In other words, architecture as a symbolic form tells us who we are, how power shapes us, and what we do publicly versus privately.

I use the term “enacted architecture” to recognize the complex way that we produce identities and develop our sense of reality through our interaction with architecture. My purpose is to examine the work that architecture does and its substantial rhetorical force. While, of course, buildings and cities are inanimate objects of utility, technology, and economics, they also shape the world and embody our sense of meaning. Similar to the lens of language, the lens of architecture profoundly affects our views of reality and our place in it. Instead of a direct object/subject or message/receiver relationship, we interweave our identities with built environments. To ignore this reciprocity reduces the richness and possibilities of rhetorical analysis. While architectural forms appear largely static, they continually change through our vision and use. A framework of enacted architecture seeks to identify, explain, and understand the interactivity of people and built form as an approach towards a rhetoric of architecture.

## Symbols in Use and Symbolic Action

A rhetoric of architecture uses key terms of symbols and symbolic action.

Symbols are generally defined by Burke as any form of representation or substitution, one thing used to refer to another in order to give the signified greater value. For example, a symbol is the word or idea of tree and “is categorically distinguishable from the thing ‘tree’” (“Dramatism” 445).<sup>3</sup> Burke states that the meaning and purpose of symbols are situated or contextual, not from some “symbolist dictionary” (*Philosophy* 89). Therefore, when the emphasis of society changes, new symbols are necessary to formulate new complexities and “the symbols of the past become less appealing of themselves” (*Counter-Statement* 59). Susanne Langer concurs with this broad definition of symbols. “All genuine thinking is symbolic, and the limits of the expressive medium are, therefore, really the limits of our conceptual powers. Symbols in order to be thought must be verbalized” (*Philosophy* 87).

Furthermore, Langer conceives language as discursive, a linear form, versus visual images or objects, which are presentational forms experienced all at once. “The laws of presentation are not laws of optics but of visual interpretation, beginning with the act of looking” (Langer, *Mind* 42).<sup>4</sup> To move into the spatial realm, John Berger says, “We explain the world with words, . . . words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it” (Berger 7). Burke, Langer, and Berger write about symbols as abstract knowledge and also as symbols in use, the everyday functions of symbols, perhaps best encapsulated by Burke’s concept of

“equipment for living,” referring to the social value of works of art (*Philosophy* 304). Symbols can be in the abstract form of language and also in the built form of cities; meaning is ascribed through our cultural knowledge and individual experience. We know cities as a continual interplay between discursive and presentational forms, abstract symbolism and symbols in use.

Burke relates symbols and practices through the notion of symbolic action to ground the conceived world in the social world.<sup>5</sup> *Symbolic* references abstract unreality and *action* implies physical reality, “theories of *action* rather than theories of knowledge” (*Permanence* 274). In contrast, *non-symbolic motion* refers to automatic behavior that is without agency or choice. Furthermore, when Burke defines humans as “Bodies That Learn Language” including symbol-making, symbol-using, and symbol-misusing, he also says that language can be substituted by any conventional symbol-system including architecture (*Permanence* 295, 299). In other words, a paraphrased definition of humans might be: “bodies that learn architecture.” In sum, by employing terms of persuasion and identification, he recognizes both instrumental and constitutive functions of symbolic action and simultaneously links abstract concepts and physical realities.

Notably, the terms *signs* and *symbols* cannot be interchanged. They both function rhetorically but differently in cities and architecture. Burke notes that signs are not symbolic but literal and therefore represent non-symbolic motion that can confuse meaning (*On Human* 383). Langer agrees, “A signal is comprehended if it serves to make us notice the object or situation it bespeaks. A

symbol is understood when we conceive the idea it presents” (*Feeling* 26). Signs enable us to read and oriented ourselves to the city without deeper knowledge of the symbolism or personal relationship in the environment. In their influential critique of modern architecture, *Learning from Las Vegas*, Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour perhaps unintentionally conflate the terms signs and symbols. While this transformative writing opened the door to reading buildings as persuasive communication, the authors promoted applied surface ornamentation and blatant historical references, later labeled postmodern design. In the late 1980s, the style of postmodern design was discredited and along with it, symbolism fell out of favor as a consideration in architectural design. In retrospect, the long-term value from the book lay in the idea that architects can use form or ornamentation to communicate meaning. Eventually, excellent architects began to employ more abstract, expressive forms, eliminating the direct historical references and flat facades of postmodernism and experimenting even more dramatically with whole shapes. However, since symbolism remains taboo, the communicative element is hesitantly discussed. Furthermore, the field fractured into those who moved into a more flamboyant phase of design, those who returned to the minimalist forms of Modernism, others who continued with the permissiveness of applied decoration or themes, essentially “shelter with symbols on it” (Venturi et al. 90), and still others, the vast majority, who simply moved to utilitarian buildings where meaning was unexamined. As a counter-measure to the loss of dialogue about the symbolic dimension of architecture, this

thesis proposes a framework whereby symbolic meaning can be examined and analyzed openly and usefully.

Symbols occupy the arena where we produce identities and shared discourses. It is in the territory of symbolic meaning that fiercely contested battles are waged and understandings of the city are composed. In their most powerful forms, signs and symbols of the city weave a finely tuned narrative. In the case of theme parks, such as the Las Vegas strip and some commercial districts, signs feed identities. Buildings for franchise restaurants and stores serve as signs, signaling a corporate brand. This study explores identities and meaning that we produce in architecture, which includes signage and literal readings. However, the idea of buildings as signage occupies a side space rather than a main room in this study. Instead, I consider how we produce and reflect identities through architecture as a presentational symbol system based on patterns and shared understandings.

### **Values, Ideologies, and Terministic Screens**

We embed our values in architecture. Rather than merely places where we live, which of course they are, cities are matters of concern where we invest our hearts, minds, and lives. Furthermore, as contested space, we argue about property, appropriate land uses, aesthetic preferences, and so on. Our ideologies are evident in these choices. Ideology constitutes the way a person sees the world and “describes the society and our role within it” (Rowland and Frank 28). According to Burke, ideologies create identification and division, as “an

aggregate of beliefs sufficiently at odds with one another to justify opposite kinds of conduct" (*Counter-Statement* 163). Furthermore, in what Louis Althusser calls the "imaginary representation of the subject's relationship to his or her real conditions of existence" (162), ideology links our inner ideas with the outer world. In other words, ideologies can signify an individual's as well as a collective set of values. Values and ideologies are represented in all architecture and cities, and furthermore, some collective sets of beliefs are more apparent than others.

Ideologies are perhaps most clearly represented in commemorative architecture such as war memorials, which serve as symbols of national patriotism (Bodnar 14). Notably, the ideological message of a building changes along with society, situations, and uses; it is read differently based on various perspectives. For instance, the World Trade Center towers were built as symbols of global economics. After their destruction, they became symbols of freedom and patriotism for Americans and symbols of a victorious battle for Al Qaeda. The ideological message of a particular form can also change by use. For example, the ancient Pyramids at Giza represent the power of pharaohs while the entrance pyramid at the Musee du Louvre represents the power of beauty. In other words, a single form such as the pyramid can signify a political regime or aesthetics based on the context and interpretation. Ideological symbolism is often explicit in government, corporate, and religious buildings. Civic buildings such as city halls and courthouses commonly represent governmental power, pride, security, and

permanence. Corporate buildings such as skyscrapers manifest economic power and competition. The white steepled vernacular church points to the sky as a reminder of higher spiritual values. In these examples, ideologies are enacted in architecture as lived experience. When the design draws upon a myth system such as the American Dream at the Statue of Liberty, the symbol transcends ideology and taps into cultural myths.

Burke's concept of a terministic screen usefully ties ideologies and values into a person's total perspective. He envisioned the idea based on many different photographs depicting the same object (*Language* 45). Using the phrase as a visual metaphor, he says, "Much that we take as observations about "reality" may be but the spinning out of possibilities implicit in our particular choice of terms" (*Language* 46). In other words, we select terms based on our terministic screens which "necessarily directs the attention to one field or another. . . . All terminologies must implicitly or explicitly embody choices between the principle of continuity and the principle of discontinuity (*Language* 50). Essentially, we bundle ideologies and values into our unique perspective as a terministic screen, which influences how we perceive architecture.

To summarize symbolism and values in architecture, buildings often represent ideologies, some more apparently than others. Through symbols in use and symbolic action, we bring meaning to our lives through our daily practices in cities and architecture. Signs are a literal type of symbol where messages are read directly and may be interpreted to symbolize meaning but should not be conflated



with symbols which may not be literal. Ideologies reflect our subjective views of reality based on what we value and are wrapped into our perspectives, or terministic screens. In the next section, I discuss ways of knowing and encountering architecture as perceived, conceived, and lived-in space that distinguishes architecture from other forms of rhetoric.

### **Ways of Knowing Architecture**

In order to study how architecture functions rhetorically, it is important to consider how humans know and experience cities and architecture. In the influential *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre said, “Space is first of all my body, then it is my body counterpart of ‘other’” (184). Space is our first encounter with difference or otherness, which is a fundamental condition of cities, where otherness and strangeness prevail. Furthermore, space exists both as part of us in the form of a body and then outside of us in the form of other space. In other words, I can imagine space as me and not me. Unlike other forms of rhetoric, environments surround us physically, and in a literal way, contain and situate us. Lefebvre created a framework of addressing this immersion and defining various ways of knowing places, which he referred to as spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces (40). In short, these three types are simply the physical, mental, and social realms.

First, regarding the physical world, spatial practices are spaces in use or what Burke would call “equipment for living” (*Philosophy* 293). We use space as a tool and in turn, it instructs us how to behave. For example, kitchens are for

cooking and dining tables are for eating; each triggers a complex set of responses and expectations. Spatial practices “ensure continuity and some degree of cohesion” as well as competence and levels of performativity in society (33). Lefebvre theorized that seeing space as a product shifts attention from “*things in space* to the actual *production of space*” where product and process are virtually inseparable (37). “A spatial practice of a society secretes a society’s space” in a dialectic interaction (38). He states that while a spatial practice may be cohesive, it need not be coherent and gives the example of public housing in high rises where daily life is fraught with crime. In this case, what was intended to be a public benefit becomes a public crime. Our everyday life and patterns of existence can be seen in our spatial practices, which in turn reinforce the production of space.

The second type is abstract or conceived space, which Lefebvre references as representations of space, including maps, blueprints, names, and any representation that removes us from outside the place. In other words, architects, developers, planners, and other experts who devise cities work in conceptual or mental space. Rather than being in the space, or using space, experts and officials remove themselves from physical or lived-in reality in order to simplify and simultaneously reduce the complexities of the city. De Certeau admonished experts who design cities from the perspective of an aerial photo or atop tall buildings, which is an approach he considers an exercise of panopticon power. Thus, the undecipherable city becomes legible in paper space but also

dehumanized because it is separate from daily practices (93). Similarly, street and building names are marks of authority that mask the experience of the city and organize the contradictions and complexities of daily life. Lefebvre and de Certeau, among others, believe that the misconceptions of experts about cities and architecture are due to the remote distance between physical reality and representations in drawings and statistics.

Third, lived-in space combines the sensory experience with the cultural images that we carry with us: our prejudices and expectations, fantasies and visual images, which Lefebvre calls representational spaces. “Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people” (41). In other words, when we see the Empire State Building, we draw from societal knowledge and visualize a giant ape clinging to its side or bustling office workers inside. Our judgment about the tower is shaped not only by the physical but by the imagined; the two cannot be separated. Our own experience becomes a very small slice of a larger symbol system that includes cultural, historic knowledge transmitted internationally. Lived-in space supplies a common language that connects physical and represented realities across time and space. However, because the immediate experience and the cultural symbolism combine so deeply, representational space loses all force when removed from the physical world, for instance, through films. As a qualitative, fluid, and dynamic space, claims

Lefebvre, lived-in space is the most alive, tied to our sense of who we are and to entire symbol systems.

In sum, architectural representations take three forms: our perceptions, our conceptions, and our lived-in experience (Lefebvre 31). We incorporate the perceived and conceived spaces into lived-in spaces as social practices. First, regarding perceptions, we arrive at a building or city with many pre-conceptions of what to expect and how to behave appropriately. Mediated representations from films, news, books, photos, word of mouth, virtual, and imagined spaces shape our initial impressions. Our experience and history with other places build a comparative analysis. We have an elaborated code of behavior, cued by the buildings and streets. These spatial practices inform our daily use. Second, experts conceive cities in the abstract, a concept city so to speak. These imagined places precede construction and use via plans and models. In fact, road maps of cities are a highly simplified form of conceptual representation. Finally, lived-in rhetoric, the embodiment of place, becomes the centerpiece of our daily use. In this third form, we own the city. Rather than following norms or abstractions, we know familiar landmarks, particular street intersections, our blue roofed home, and the creak of the bathroom door. Our navigation and intimacy flourish when we are oriented by a place we know well. Our mental images and history with a place merge with the immediate experience. The first spring bloom is compared with numerous other first blooms. The new shopping center holds the memory of the former soybean field. The place represents us, whether we choose to relate to or

disown it as “not my side of town.” These three types of representation, perceived, conceived, and lived-in, in effect are merged in the lived experience. However, if we have not been in a place in body, we only know the space conceptually, not through perceptual or lived-in spatial knowledge.

In order to understand cities as lived-in space, I propose a framework for a rhetoric of architecture called “enacted architecture” in the next section. I introduce this theory, set it in the context of everydayness, and explain the work that it does instrumentally and constitutively.

### **A Framework of Enacted Architecture**

The concept of “enacted architecture” helps explain how people experience and understand cities. Concentrating on the interactive functions of shaping and being shaped by architecture emphasizes everyday practices. Matters of concern, both particular as in our individual sense of who we are and collectively, in terms of what we do as groups, are examined through the lens of enactment. Enactment recognizes the way we find meaning in cities and the consequences of our actions. We consider not what a city or building *is* but what it *does*. What does a place say about us? Who does a city or neighborhood invite us to be? What do we demand from and of a city? The challenge is to re-imagine the city based on actions, expectations, and aspirations; the city as it exists through use as contrasted with the city in abstract terms.

Cities are places where strangers co-exist, and consequently, interpretations of architecture are different from various perspectives representing

different terministic screens. The Washington Monument may engender a spirit of national pride for Americans but serves as an image of rage or offense for enemies. The place provides a discourse, a physical form for interpretation and experience, but it does not dictate the path of meaning. According to Richard Vatz, a situation is not discovered or constrained; it is an act of creativity, an interpretive act (157). The meaning of my hometown combines my unique personal experiences with shared knowledge. As noted previously, Aristotle said Athenians were more easily persuaded about the benefits of Athens than people from neighboring cities. In other words, a resident city becomes a form of a terministic screen, a preference that creates a selective identity and unity based on diversity, that is shared and individual knowledge. While arguing that reality is “built up for us through nothing but our symbol systems” which includes cities and buildings, Burke cautions us to recognize the role of the symbology versus our individual experiences.

However important to us is the tiny sliver of reality each of us has experienced firsthand, the whole overall “picture” is but a construct of our symbol systems. To meditate on this fact until one sees its full implications is much like peering over the edge of things into an ultimate abyss. (*Language 5*)

As much as we believe reality is shaped only by our own insights, we exist within a larger society and symbology including cities that shapes our thoughts and actions. Therefore, cities reflect both idiosyncratic and collective acts.

To account for the issues of scale which are critical in spatial texts, I use terms that define boundaries from the level of specific rooms or buildings to entire cities. *Architecture* concerns itself with buildings, monuments, cities, towns, infrastructure, and places that comprise the *built environment*. In contrast, *environment* includes both natural and built forms. The terms of architecture, cities (including the urban situations of towns, downtowns, and suburbs), and built environment will be used throughout this study as part of “a rhetoric of architecture,” the umbrella concept. Furthermore, *space* refers to the general idea of three-dimensional form, and although it frequently refers to an idea of space unrelated to architecture, in this study, I use the term to denote physical space.

In sum, enacted architecture considers cities in everyday use instead of from a perspective of distance. The city reflects and shapes us although we may be unaware of its influence or our effect on urban patterns. Consequently, we need to consider how we produce identities as we use cities and how we are persuaded by architecture.

### **Constitutive and Instrumental Functions**

In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke recognized the constitutive and instrumental functions of rhetoric by defining identification and persuasion as key terms. “[If] in the opinion of a given audience, a certain kind of conduct is admirable, then a speaker might persuade the audience by using ideas and images that identify his cause with a kind of conduct” (*Rhetoric* 5). Identification is treated as either a pre-condition to or intertwined with persuasion. When we see

ourselves in a place, we are more readily positioned to favor it. We participate through enactment, evaluate intellectually, and attach ourselves psychologically, thus engaging our bodies, minds, and emotions. According to James Boyd White, as we read a book, we are asked to be a certain person and think a particular way, which then changes us through the act of reading; we create a relationship with the book. We emerge transformed, subtly or significantly, by the experience (*When* 15). Similarly, a place asks us to be a particular person and act in a specific way. “A consequence of this theoretical move is that it permits an understanding within rhetorical theory of ideological discourse, of the discourse that presents itself as always only pointing to the given, the natural, the already agreed upon” (Charland 133). Consequently, our identities, ideologies, and belief systems are affected. Rather than simply being persuaded, when we accept the rightness of a discourse, we are converted, our identity is reconstituted and we dwell in this new place, which is changed by our participation (142). From our participation, we learn how to live and think, where we belong in the world, and develop our belief system. As a result, we learn who we are and who we are not. In sum, our identity is rooted in, oriented, and shaped by architecture.

Instrumental functions refer to argumentation and the persuasive capacity of a situation to induce us to agree with the position or claim. When we accept the minimalist, strong lines of a modern city hall as symbolizing good government, we have agreed to the likely reasoning of the designers, the premise of “less is more” that represents the core of modern architecture. In contrast, if we like



traditional concepts, we are drawn to the charms of a white columned porch fronting a neo-classical house. Instrumental arguments help us make sense of the world and organize the shapes and forms of the city. At times, a city might conflict with our sense of order. For example, a highly commercial street hosting a cacophony of signs may appall some shoppers. Consequently we may shop elsewhere which, in fact, influences and shapes the city. Persuasive elements of architecture may be aesthetic, political, social, or economical and present arguments in any of these arenas. We understand these shapes and forms through our cultural norms and develop a set of expectations to compare one place with another.

While constitutive and instrumental functions are central to enacted architecture, they are not clearly separated functions; frequently, the two intertwine in the same action. Michael Leff and Ebony Utley caution “that rigid distinctions between instrumental and constitutive functions of rhetoric are misleading and that rhetorical critics should regard the constitution of self and the instrumental uses as a fluid relationship” (37). The dual functions emerge in their analysis of Martin Luther King’s letter from Birmingham Jail where the construction of self interweaves with persuasive appeals of character. Barbara Biesecker extends this argument by reframing the rhetorical situation “as an event that makes possible the production of identities and social relations” (“Rethinking” 243). Consequently, rather than a situation in search of an audience, rhetorical discourses are emergent processes that discursively produce

audiences, a stance she claims works against problems of essentializing or universalizing. In terms of spatial practices, we are generating identities as we are being influenced by a place.

In summary, the rhetorical force of the city can be understood in terms of its instrumental and constitutive functions which occur in a single process rather than in a distinct fashion. Constitutively, architecture shapes us and reflects who we are and where we belong as well as from whom we are different or where we are out of place. Instrumentally, we interpret architecture in terms of messages, concepts, and themes that seek to persuade and argue in favor of particular points of view. I propose that as we use the built environment, we develop themes for constructing reality and knowing how to live, which for this study I limit to three particular themes: identity, power, and the public realm.

### **Identity, Power, and the Public Realm in Enacted Architecture**

As we enact architecture, we move through a process of knowing, interpreting, and adapting, which may not occur as completely distinct actions. In each phase, we gain greater levels of understanding. The first level is architecture - as encountered in its initial form, whether perceived, conceived, or lived-in space. In the second level, we interpret and incorporate our memories, imagination, and aspirations. Finally, in the third level of understanding, we draw lessons as equipment for living. We reflect on consequences and matters of concern, which become codified in urban form. Rather than treating built form as a static container constructed by others, we generate meaning and modify the

environment through interactive use. While there are any number of concepts that we learn from architecture and cities, I concentrate on the themes of identity, power, and publicness. Other equally critical concepts are a sense of aesthetics, nature, and sacredness. All must eventually be part of a rhetoric of architecture.

We gain a sense of identity as we enact architecture. Identity in relationship to architecture is defined as our sense of who we are in place and time within communities. Burke describes identification as a process “whereby a specialized activity makes one participant in some social or economic class” (*Rhetoric* 28). Identity makes us distinct while identification connects us into groups (23). Enacting architecture supplies a foundation for orienting ourselves, knowing who and where we are in the community, and allows us to transform ourselves based on our experiences. Architecture shapes our sense of identity and reflects who we are as a society and as individuals. As part of its constitutive function, a place addresses us as particular types of people: a shopper, driver, spectator, or worker. We gain a sense of where we belong as well as where we do not. Therefore, cities and architecture enable us to differentiate ourselves from one another and also know who we are. Where we live, work, shop, and seek entertainment constitutes who we are. For example, living in a shared urban loft and shopping at the local farmers’ market describes an environmentally oriented lifestyle while living in a penthouse condominium and paying for gourmet grocery delivery represents upper class luxury. Places we inhabit describe a sense of identity and reciprocally shape individuals.

Architecture also enacts power, which is defined as the relationship between two forces and can be viewed as a dynamic of balance or struggle. Through agency, we exercise power through resistance and creative acts, which as we encounter resisting forces, generates systems of power. In his development of discursive formations, Michel Foucault says that sovereign power occurred in the feudal system through military and aristocratic control, which can be seen architecturally in castles and fortified cities (*Discipline* 47-49). During industrialization, disciplinary power controlled through social conventions, language, institutions, expert specializations, and various forms of surveillance (138). Separated districts and buildings for various functions such as prisons and schools represent disciplinary power. Gilles Deleuze claims that, since the advent of the information era, control power is enacted through socio-technological methods, for example in remote surveillance of computer habits (3). Each form of power becomes increasingly invisible, yet all are still evident in cities. In terms of the built environment, this resistance can be as simple as a curb that guides and restricts driving movements to a school where access is next to the principal's office for visual control or a city where jobs are clustered in downtown skyscrapers that mandates commutes from neighborhoods. The dynamic between our agency and the resisting conventions shapes our concepts of power and our influence on architecture. Identifying power in architecture and city development opens dialogue about values and ideologies represented by these types of power and how we are controlled by and control space.

Enacted architecture reflects and constitutes public and private realms in terms of public spaces, symbols, and interests. *Public* refers to those elements and activities which serve the broader society and that are intended for collective use, while *private* is that which we control individually and whose purpose is for individual use. Under privatization of many traditionally public functions and through public/private development projects, public and private realms overlap and blur conventional boundaries. Furthermore, the public realm includes both collective concerns, meaning shared interests, and community functions, which refers to special interest groups such as a neighborhood or the environmental community. Robert Hariman and John Lucaites believe we live as strangers that only form a collective if “individual auditors ‘see themselves’ in the collective representations that are the materials of public culture” (*No Caption* 42). Cities, neighborhoods, and buildings serve to generate these connections and in the process, generate identification.

We do not experience these three themes of identity, power, and the public realm separately; rather they are intertwined in cities and architecture and we frequently encounter two or more simultaneously. For example, a public space can have controlled access points that instruct and control us in terms of social power, and a civic monument that imbues both a sense of identity with local residents. Thus all three types overlap. Each theme will be further developed with extended case studies. In the next section, I summarize the remaining chapters, which focus on the themes: a sense of identity, power, and publicness.

## **Preview**

The first chapter is on theory while the second chapter covers method. The following three chapters are organized around the themes of identity, power, and public realm, with findings and implications summarized in a concluding chapter. In Chapter Two, I reframe metaphoric, narrative, and mythic criticism methods to make them applicable to spatial forms. Then I compare enacted architecture to existing approaches in architectural theory, architectural and visual rhetoric, and studies of commemorations and memorials. The purpose of the three content chapters are to develop what we learn from cities according to three themes, identity, power, and publicness, as illustrated in extended examples.

In Chapter Three, I argue that we gain a sense of identity as we enact architecture, which supplies a foundation for orienting ourselves, knowing who we are in the community, which enables us to transform ourselves and architecture based on experiences. As a case study, I consider Seaside, Florida, a planned community that aims to be Small Town U.S.A. Because of its perfected design and restrictive culture that constrains the ebb and flow between people and place, it asks people to be vacationers and connoisseurs of the good life rather than engaged residents and city makers. Therefore, Seaside enacts a themed resort rather than an authentic hometown. Communities that cultivate their identity create more coherent, compelling cities that constitute a stronger citizenry.

In Chapter Four, I define power in terms of three manifestations, analyze the consequences of power on built form, and then apply the frame of enacted

architecture to explain the redesign of Ground Zero in New York City. Power is defined as opposing forces, where we exercise liberties in consent or resistance to spatial conventions, which produces a relational power that shapes cities, architecture, and spatial practices. Drawing on Foucault and Deleuze, I consider differences in enacted architecture based on sovereign power, disciplinary power, and control power. At the redevelopment effort at Ground Zero, three men from different domains claimed control by employing different types of power and parts of the American value system. The fragmentation of control power splintered authority at the site, while disciplinary power enabled claims of expert knowledge, and sovereign power emerged as patriotic might and in security fortifications. American materialism enabled private matters to dominate public demands and control power allowed a visionary design to be replaced by an overly rational tower with a fortified base, thus displaying images of fear rather than optimism. To create great cities in situations with fragmented power mandates the ability to resolve differences across domains and belief systems.

In Chapter Five, I propose that the public realm in enacted architecture is defined by public symbols, public spaces, and public interests, which are on display at the National Mall in Washington D.C. Rather than a clear delineation between public and private rights, public can be identified by the qualitative measurements of open access, control of space, and representation by citizens. At the National Mall, the nation's most public space, we experience the American myth of the "individual writ large." Through ritual pilgrimages, we reaffirm

patriotic values and the public realm. Ultimately, the major monuments carry the message of freedom and democracy through the core values of power, honor, reason, perseverance, sacrifice, and unity, thus appealing to our bodies, minds, and spirits.

### **Conclusion**

A central theme of “A Rhetoric of Architecture” is a quest for understanding and qualifying meaning in city life, essentially, defining living architecture.<sup>6</sup> Rather than framing meaning around abstract symbolism or aesthetic experience, although each of these represents valid methods, I aim at meaning that resides in the discourse and is created by the interaction of place and people. Through spatial practices, rituals, narratives, and myths, we bring the city to life through our everyday actions. This layered approach recognizes the typology of physical, mental, and social space. Instead of seeing cities as fixed and obdurate, we enact architecture in a constant state of becoming, a way of making sense of and in collaboration with our environment. In its best partnership, the city teaches us how to live. Far from “architectural determinism,” we co-make the city as we enact and use it. However, when we fail to connect, to make meaning, to participate or contribute, a city becomes a relic, or worse, a war zone of danger and crime. Dead architecture fails to spark our imagination; we do not see ourselves in it, and it does not meet our expectations or supply a sense of coherence, much less wonder, in the world.



A theory of enacted architecture seeks to define this relationship of people and place and offer the critic tools for analysis, explanation, and potentially, understanding. Enacted architecture functions constitutively and instrumentally as we are not only persuaded but fundamentally changed in terms of who we are, our sense of reality, our way of understanding and being in the world. Durable methods of narrative, myth, and metaphor are reframed to apply to spatial rhetoric. Furthermore, we know architecture in three forms. In conceived space, we treat architecture as patterns and abstract representations in a distanced view of the planner or map reader. In perceived space, we mingle our memories and collective knowledge with the phenomenology of space through enactments. In lived-in space, we find coherence and draw themes from spatial practices. I have limited the analysis to three themes: who we are, how power is enacted in architecture, and how we act publicly and privately, abbreviated to issues of identity, power, and publicness.

Enacted architecture sits at the intersection of contemporary rhetorical theory and architectural knowledge, focused on the issues of meaning, communication, and identification. While architecture is a mirror of ourselves, it is also our maker. We become different people through travels to and by using a variety of places and building types. To move beyond the fixed nature of architecture as objects, I employ the idea of symbols in use. We recognize and identify with places through their capacity to persuade us, change our sense of reality, and see ourselves in them.

In architecture and cities, we encounter the “other” both in terms of people and objects. We see who others are, what they think, feel, and believe by what is expressed in buildings and places. The largest questions of human life are also questions of city life. How do we come together and how do we stay apart? Where do we find the contemplative moment and the electricity of crowds? What is the feel of the city, the logic of it, and the trust and credibility of it? What makes us safe from dangers or what places us in harm’s way? What do we care about, who are we, and how do we perceive reality? How do we create the good life for ourselves? Furthermore, how do we create it for others, for all? Enacted architecture serves as a framework to understand how we develop meaning in cities and the reciprocal nature of how we shape cities as they shape us.

## Chapter Two

### Analyzing Enacted Architecture

To understand enacted architecture, we need tools that account for the spatial experience. We not only see the city, we *live* it. Much like language, we inhabit the environment. Therefore, part of the work is identifying the effects of assumptions and interpretations, our terministic screens based on what we expect and value. Another task is explaining how architecture functions differently than discursive or visual texts. We do not simply read the text of the environment; we experience, interpret, and are changed by it, generate concepts from it, modify it through use, and reflect on the consequences, thus developing a reflexive city. We constantly generate ideas and narratives and are influenced by and influence environments. In this chapter, I argue that while spatial forms are a unique type of artifact, established tools supply foundational knowledge that can be extended to architecture and, furthermore, that these tools are an essential part of our everyday interpretation and use of architecture.

Enacted architecture considers cities from the perspective of spatial practices and symbols in use. As we enact architecture, we incorporate discursive and visual narratives, metaphors, and myths; each instrument is different but not exclusive. While it may seem too obvious to state, discursive texts are language, visual texts are images, and architectural texts are objects. All three forms are also representations that symbolize or refer to other ideas or images. Significantly, through each form we gain different knowledge about architecture. We gain a

sense of place through a descriptive story or speech, which is expanded through photos, and even more by visiting. Not incremental differences, these shifts are qualitative leaps. These distinctions, which are frequently overlooked or conflated, are the focus of this chapter.

Architecture and cities exist as narratives when we hear or read about them, as visual images in the initial views, and as three-dimensional forms experienced dynamically as we move through space. Although these stages are not always progressive, each represents a level of experience. In the process of experiencing and understanding architecture, we enact metaphors, myths, and narratives. We not only *tell* a story, we *live* it. Furthermore, within the spatial realm, we encounter architecture as conceived, perceived, and lived-in spaces. Conceived spaces are visual and discursive abstract forms while perceived physical spaces and social lived-in space use all three forms, discursive, visual, and spatial. We embody the lived-in space through spatial practices. In order to acknowledge these differences, I reframe rhetorical methods to consider the dynamic element.

This chapter supplies tools to address architecture as rhetoric and draws on current scholarship from a cluster of approaches. In the next section, I develop the spatial dimension of enacted architecture followed by an analysis of four approaches typically used with architecture: architectural theory, architectural rhetoric, visual rhetoric, and commemorative and museum rhetoric. Each

perspective offers insights with limitations because none address architecture as a whole.

### **Spatial Metaphors, Narratives, and Myths**

When we consider employing the rhetorical critic's tools of metaphor, narrative, and myth to enacted architecture, we have to consider how presentational and discursive forms differ and, furthermore, whether or not these methods, once modified, lend reasonable clarity to the mix. I argue that each of these methods supplies insights to understand enacted architecture. Proposed modifications involve reconceiving the idea of each as spatial rather than discursive, in other words, rather than verbal or visual metaphors, we consider spatial metaphors. A number of questions arise in this shift. How is a spatial metaphor (or narrative or myth) different than a discursive metaphor? What works and what no longer works when analyzing an architectural artifact? Once we make these adjustments, is the tool still useful? I will take each term separately with the understanding that this is not an exhaustive reformulation; it is a schematic for translating these tools to new purposes.

#### **Spatial Metaphors**

Architecture frequently functions metaphorically. For example, large retail buildings are commonly referred to as "big box" retail. According to Paul Ricoeur, a metaphor is "two thoughts of different things held together in simultaneous performance" where one thing represents another (*Rule 80*). He believed useful metaphors teach us something new (148). Along with Ricoeur,

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson say that metaphors construct reality as “the only ways to perceive and experience the world. Metaphor is as much a part of our function as our sense of touch, and as precious” (239). Furthermore, they claim that orientation metaphors such as “stay the course” are not merely illustrative; these concepts organize our lives spatially and govern our thoughts. In other words, we cannot help but use metaphor because the whole of language is metaphoric. Symbols are metaphoric, and in its symbolic dimension, architecture is also metaphoric. Furthermore, Burke says metaphoric analysis is the only way “to get a close glimpse of the secret ways in which a symbol integrates” (*Attitude* 329). Stripped of metaphors, he says, the world would be without purpose and imagination (*Permanence* 194). Consequently, metaphors are an essential component of enacted architecture.

To be useful, a metaphor needs to not only link two different ideas but also provide new insights to the signified object. Ricoeur proposes surprise, which he termed “semantic impertinence,” as a necessary ingredient (*Rule* 151). In the idea of “perspective by incongruity,” Burke noted disorientation as an attribute (*Permanence* 306). Lakoff and Johnson propose the concept of “metaphoric coherence” where more than one metaphor is necessary to fully understand a concept (95). For example, an argument can be described as a container and also as a journey; each signifies a distinct characteristic, and so both are necessary. As noted by Chris Abel, a strict adherence to rules may miss “the dynamic and creative role of metaphor” (102). Therefore, to recognize spatial metaphors, we

look for referents that tell us something unique and surprising about the place without creating the burden of a single rigid method.

Spatial metaphors create a relationship between two architectural forms or between architecture and words. For example, the pyramid entrance at the Musée du Louvre signifies the ancient pyramids at Giza, and by doing so, creates new meaning for the form, as an example of a semantic impertinence, or what Burke calls perspective by incongruity. The entrance at the Louvre creates surprise and new meaning by changing from tombs of rough stone to an art center with sleek glass surfaces. Spatial metaphors can also connect words and architecture; for example, the ancient pyramids can signify Egyptian culture, connect built form and spiritual world as shown on United States one dollar bill, or indicate a pinnacle of power. Shape-to-shape and shape-to-word metaphors expand the meaning of architecture.

In sum, architecture often works as metaphor. Metaphoric terms aid us in making sense of a place and generating meaning. To recognize their role in understanding enacted architecture, the critic should be both sensitive to and inventive with spatial metaphors.

### **Spatial Narratives**

We know a place as an experience and communicate about, conceptualize, and remember it by enacting spatial narratives. According to Langer, “The first thing we do with images is envisage a story; just as the first thing we do with words is to tell something, to make a statement” (Langer, *Mind* 145). A similar

process occurs in spatial narratives. Through our use of a place, we make it “by physical transformation or by inhabiting it in ways not previously imagined, or by conceiving it anew” (J. Hill 351). As we live and work in an environment, we are creating a story, a narrative of our lives and of our city-making.<sup>7</sup>

To explain how narratives are more than denoted meaning, de Certeau calls them an art of saying that produces effects. “One must grasp a sense other than what is said” (79). As we navigate the city, a school, a store, or a house, we create a running narrative of place, events, and experiences that become our memories. We identify with the narrative and it becomes intertwined with the cues of the city; it becomes our spatial narrative. The pavers, fountains, and sculpture of an Italian piazza express the pride of Renaissance artisans that we enact by our presence, experiencing the place and imagining its history. Through spatial narratives, we bring meaning to and identification with a place. To relocate the idea of the city from the abstract planning of experts to the street-level experience of everyday users, de Certeau said the act of walking is to a city what the speech act is to language. The “rhetoric of walking” weaves places together through discourse, dreams, and movements. Our use of the city is a way of being with a particular style of use, our enunciation of the city (de Certeau 97-100). As we produce spatial narratives, we enact the city.

Spatial narratives differ from discursive stories because we are doing and making instead of telling or hearing.<sup>8</sup> “The story does not express a practice. It does not limit itself to telling about movement. It makes it. One understands it,



then, if one enters into this movement itself” (de Certeau 81). To broaden the use of narrative to include spatial enactments, de Certeau claims valued narratives are believable, memorable, and primitive (105). Believability relates to our sense of reality, our comparison with other places; it is questioned as we ponder its validity. Memorability considers, “Does this place matter? Is it distinct and significant? What do we dream here?” Primitiveness asks, “Do we feel good here?” While these descriptors may not be all inclusive, they reframe narrative towards how we experience place, which is a more emotional effect because we are using our senses and enacting the story. Narratives enable us to express, constitute and remember place and our role in it. Discursive stories are efficient and can be retold, while in contrast, spatial narratives are experienced and enunciated in our daily movements. The two combine to create our understanding of reality.

In addition to individual narratives, every space represents a collective narrative, and at most and in particular, in public spaces or monuments, multiple narratives reflect and constitute various groups. John Bodnar says, “Public memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions” (13). Consequently, collective narratives represented in cities reveal the values of society, and because multiple views are present in society, every building, and city as the sum total represents the “winning” view in the contest of the city. Wallace Martin describes narratives as “instances of general cultural assumptions and values – what we consider important, trivial, fortunate, tragic,

good, evil, and what impels movement from one to another” based on human interest (87), which is in practice our enactment of a place. We participate in the city’s narratives and draw our own meaning from these enactments. Shared stories emerge such as New Orleans’s losses to Hurricane Katrina and its slow rebuilding towards prosperity. These narratives can build collective will and community identity.

A spatial narrative is both a practice and an art, an enactment of a place in a form we know and recognize. These narratives make the city, and simultaneously, constitute our identities, our sense of who we are. Narratives enable us to remember and enhance the inspiration of architecture. By combining discursive stories, which are efficient, portable, and can be retold, with spatial narratives, which are enunciated in our daily movements and circumscribed in space, we construct reality. In short, spatial narratives enable us to make sense of cities.<sup>9</sup>

Through these stories, we recreate the city along the lines of our lives. The places we frequent become our own stage, with cues that trigger particular memories, actions, and feelings. A surgical room might truly frighten patients while a physician or nurse feel completely at ease, ready to begin the procedural dance. The spaces are transformed, reframed to suit the different perspectives, purposes and beliefs, and framed in narrative terms, where each person plays a role. Similarly, we use highways, streets, churches, stores, offices, and houses as narratives of our lives. When we act in concert, that narrative grows and becomes

the story of a place, a collective narrative. Thus a place with traumatic or spectacular events gains higher identification. The most powerful places cultivate these stories, and build them into shared history, repeated and celebrated, cursed, or mourned. As we make the city into narratives, we also remake ourselves and become a part of the spatial narrative.

### **Spatial Myths**

Myths underpin our basic assumptions about reality, connect us to transcendent values, and perform both instrumental and constitutive functions. Roderick Hart identified four types of myths (242). First, *cosmological* myths are stories of ancestral origin that explain why we are here and where we came from, e.g. the Birth of the Nation which shapes the decisions at the National Mall in Washington D.C. and reminds us of the nation's founding principles. *Societal* myths provide instruction on "the proper way to live," such as the American Dream myth, which combines both the moralism of "all men are created equal" and the materialism of rags to riches stories and the Puritan work ethic (Fisher, "Reaffirmation" 161). American skyscrapers serve as symbols of this myth, evidence of our opportunity to achieve greatness through hard work. Third, *identity* myths bring us together in communities or as groups. For instance, American expansionism and Manifest Destiny represent national identity myths and are symbolized at Mount Rushmore, a patriotic monument (Blair and Michel 169). Finally, *eschatological* myths help us see where we are going so that we know how to behave today, e.g., the concept of heavenly rewards for living

properly and penalties for shameful acts. War memorials recognize the efforts and loss of soldiers, thus encouraging bravery of fighting and dying for patriotic duties. Many myths perform multiple functions; for instance the American Dream supplies a national identity as well as social instructions.

Myths are re-enacted rituals. “Rituals have the function of celebrating the whole over the part” (Douglas 153). An ordinary act that carries significance, such as spring planting, is given ceremonial significance by a prayer, dance, an anointment by a wise or powerful community member, or some other type of noted celebration, transforming it to a sacred act. To reinforce the sacredness, a story explains the cultural habit, and the myth is ritualized through reenactments or reaffirmations (Eliade, *Myth* 28, 76). One form of reenactment is architecture, a point that is obvious in both the dispute over and design of the Freedom Tower at the site of the destroyed World Trade Center towers. Different mythic beliefs were enacted by the major participants in this project and are evident in alternative views of the project’s purpose, resulting in dissatisfying solutions. Through shared myth, a group of people are bound to a similar construction of reality and hold the same unspoken assumptions and beliefs. Without reenactments, reaffirmations, and adjustments to suit new conditions, myths die, as evidenced by the ancient pyramids at Giza. As ruins, they symbolize a dead culture, not a living one.

One way that myth is enacted in architecture is through sacred places. Vine Deloria describes sacred places as “a foundation for all other beliefs and

practices” that “regenerate people and fill them with spiritual powers” (279, 285). They may be sites that are made sacred by rites that are practiced at that special place or a place may be sacred as the actual location of a human event. Examples include battlefields, places where “sacred or higher powers have appeared in the lives of human beings” such as the Holy Land, and places of overwhelming holiness in and of themselves. These sacred places are frequently landforms such as Ribbon Falls at the Bottom of the Grand Canyon (275-79). Sacred places can function as sites for social narratives that transform society such as Plymouth Rock or Gettysburg Battlefield or sites that are essential to cultural survival such as a sacred landscape or pilgrimage route (Gulliford 69-70).

In addition, a place may not be sacred but may still enact a sacred story. For instance, the barest industrial building may represent the freedom of opportunity to develop a business that lies at the heart of the American Dream myth; entrepreneurship epitomizes economic freedom. More explicitly, the Statue of Liberty symbolizes America as a land of opportunity and equality. The proximity to Ellis Island where immigration entry for millions of people occurred for decades enhances the statue’s role as an icon for openness and egalitarianism. American skyscrapers also represent a more implicit symbol of the American Dream in terms of economic opportunity, essentially claiming there are no limits to industry and competition. The skyline of Manhattan coupled with the iconic Statue of Liberty establishes both the material and moral characteristics of American identity in a panoramic view (Fisher, “Reaffirmation” 161).

Metaphors, narratives, and myths weave together in hybrid relationships. For example, metaphors and narratives add meaning to the Birds' Nest Stadium in Beijing. The metaphoric name aptly signifies the imagery, building an iconic memorability, while narratives of the 2008 Olympics and the explosive growth of China enrich its global value. In terms of myth, architecture may be a sacred site such as a battlefield or the Pyramids at Giza, may symbolize a myth which acts like a metaphor such as the Louvre's entrance pyramid, or rest on mythic foundations such as skyscrapers signifying American progress and exceptionalism. While metaphors operate in direct relationships as one thing signifies another, narratives weave together a way of making sense of reality through a storyline, and myths cultivate transcendent values.

Furthermore, if as Ricoeur claims, metaphors are to poetic language as models are to scientific language (*Rule 240*), then I propose that similarly narratives relate to reality. As he states, metaphors add connotative meaning, while models are denotative. Extending this theory, narratives bring everyday meaning to our actions that enable us to make sense. For enacted architecture, narratives are enriched by metaphors and frequently assume a special hybrid as mythic narratives. These three tools - metaphor, narrative, and myth - enable us to turn bricks and mortar into living cities.

In sum, architecture often involves metaphor, narratives, and myths. In enacted architecture, the critic selects the most appropriate tool to explain architecture as rhetoric based on the particular artifact and the purpose of the

study. We enact these forms through the lived-in experience that is unavailable in discursive forms; being in a castle is unlike the word or a picture of a castle. In the next section, I summarize related scholarship and compare it to a theory of enacted architecture.

### **Comparisons with Other Theories and Approaches**

In this study, I draw from many disciplines, primarily communication and architecture and their constituent areas of specialization. Each domain provides useful ideas, yet none fully addresses the issue of how we construct meaning in architectural discourse. This section reviews architectural theory, architectural rhetoric, visual rhetoric, and rhetorical criticism of memorials and commemorative monuments, and compares these approaches to an enacted architecture approach.

### **Architectural Theory**

Since the Roman architect Vitruvius wrote *The Ten Books of Architecture*, his famous treatise on architecture in the first century B.C.E., built form has been analyzed in terms of “*firmitas, utilitas, and venustas*,” or durability, convenience, and beauty (I.III.2). This triad represents the foundation of traditional architectural theory and criticism but does not recognize meaning or the symbolic dimensions of architecture. While traditional design that dominated architecture through the nineteenth century referenced historic architectural elements, modern design broke from the past by using imagery inspired by function and rationalism. Modernism, which peaked mid-century and is still widely practiced, was

famously defined by Louis Henri Sullivan as, “[F]orm ever follows function” (409).

As a reaction against plain-surfaced Modernism, the era of postmodern design dominated architectural design in the 1970s and 1980s heavily employed the notions of architecture as communication and symbolic meaning, primarily through historic references. In *Learning from Las Vegas*, Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour’s 1972 landmark manifesto against pure modern design, they propose two generic types of buildings, the “Duck” and the “Decorated Shed” (Venturi et al 90). The Duck, referencing a roadside stand in the figure of an oversized duck, serves as a metaphor for buildings that fit a function into an iconic but dysfunctional form. The entire shape of the building is a symbol. The Decorated Shed refers to buildings whose shape is strictly functional and ornamentation is applied to the surfaces at the architect’s discretion (87). In a more recent explanation, Venturi and Scott Brown described Decorated Sheds as “the essential form of Architecture as Communication, where meaning rather than expression is the quality sought” (35).

Communication as the central purpose of architecture contradicted prior design eras. In traditional neo-classicism, buildings were lavishly ornamented to reflect authority or formality. During the Modernist movement, applied decoration was considered immoral, as Mies van der Rohe’s often repeated, “Less is more.” Venturi’s counter-view turned design ethics upside down, re-legitimized decoration for its own sake, and dubbed buildings a form of signage much like



billboards. Previously illegitimate (in architectural design terms) historic references were allowed but instead of serious traditional uses, ironic applications ruled. In other words, designers and the public had to know the code of traditional and modern styles to understand postmodernism's ironic references, which is an approach that becomes more outrageous when applied to landmark structures.

To offer some examples of symbolic postmodern design, historic forms such as elaborate ornamentation, pediments, columns, and towers were in a sense attached to buildings without consideration of cultural legitimacy or authenticity, and done so in an exaggerated or simplified aesthetic. At the AT&T Tower (now the Sony Tower) in New York City, architect Phillip Johnson crowned the skyscraper with a super-sized Chippendale chair back. The 100-foot-wide broken pediment form ordinary seen in a dining room represents an outrageous architectural metaphor. While this flamboyant top designed by a respected architect initially shocked the architectural community and perhaps the public as well, over time the absurd image gained familiarity and lost its impertinence and ability to surprise. Due to the fleeting nature of postmodernism appeal, it fell out of favor within the architectural field as did architecture as communication. By using symbolism in a most literal, whimsical fashion, postmodernism in effect poisoned discourse surrounding the symbolic meaning of contemporary architecture, a point that is particularly salient to a study on meaning and architecture. However, I believe that symbolism and architecture as

communication can be separated from postmodernism design and restored to an area of useful consideration.

In 1987, Michael Benedikt wrote a manifesto against postmodern styles that highlights the link between postmodernism and communication, and simultaneously suggests a useful way to approach symbolic meaning.

In striving for a meaningful architecture, the historicist-ironist or mythicizing-classicist postmodern architects inevitably find themselves at one remove from any authentic reality and onto a theoretical course that leads to abandoning an architecture that belongs to the realm of things which words, signs, and symbols refer to, for an architecture of ciphers themselves. (14)

Instead of architecture as signs or messages of communicators, he implores architecture of the real, the authentic, based on need and function (30). He cautions against interpretation or stylized images and writes in favor of an architecture grounded in fact with a sense of the necessary. As an architect practicing during this era, I respect his desire to denounce the fakery that dominated postmodern design and applaud a return to authenticity in design. However, Benedikt conflates meaning and symbolism in architecture with false references and thus denies dialogue on why we build what we build.

Contrary to the use of literal representations employed by postmodern designers, the symbolic dimension of architecture defined in this study refers to what Benedikt called “realness” (30). Clearly, buildings do not speak to us as he so rightly notes; they are inanimate objects. Yet we interpret their meaning in our

lives; they are meaningful to us. For example, our houses portray concepts with which we identify, as do the cities and neighborhoods where we live. A monumental building impresses us as a symbol of power while a cathedral inspires as a connection to the transcendent universe and spiritual realms. From each built form, we experience, interpret, and generate meaning about life and our roles in it as a symbolic act. Reading architectural patterns and evaluating the way that built forms frame our senses of reality and our identities require theoretical tools that can be rigorously applied to enable the development of knowledge and understanding about these functions.

Towards a rehabilitation of architectural ethics after the widespread condemnation of postmodern design, Ada Louise Huxtable, renowned architectural critic, states, “Of all the arts, architecture alone is not a studio or audience art; it is a balance of structural science and aesthetic expression for the satisfaction of needs that go far beyond utilitarian. The essential mix of efficiency and delight, the quality of the balance, give architecture its beauty, strength, and style” (*Unreal* 50). Like rhetoricians, the architectural critic sees the object as part of a thread of history, but architecture as a discipline considers function and beauty rather than symbol systems, as outlined by Vitruvius two thousand years ago. The role of architecture to constitute identities or persuade the public towards a particular point of view may be discussed but rarely takes center stage within the architectural field, overshadowed by function, beauty, and economics.

Without theories or methods that recognize how architecture constitutes reality or persuades, or how we identify with architecture, little progress has been made towards understanding the rhetorical work that architecture does. These topics, being associated with the postmodern phase of ironic decoration which has been largely discredited, remain sidelined rather than central to architectural conversations. Notably, postmodern design as a particular aesthetic style should not be confused with the use of the term postmodern in communication and philosophical theory which continues to be explored and debated.

### **Prior Scholarship in a Rhetoric of Architecture**

The scholarship that claims the term architectural rhetoric is quite thin, with the majority of work accomplished under the auspices of visual rhetoric or public memory covered in the following two sections. Two authors, Darryl Hattenhauer and Gerald Gutenschwager, each define architecture as rhetoric and as symbols for society.

Hattenhauer treats architectural rhetoric from the perspective of semiotics, which is “architecture as signs,” with the architectural object as the signifier that conveys the signified message (73). “Architecture is rhetorical not only in its effect, but in the way it is put together” (74). Taking a structuralist’s approach to architectural influence, he claims that “not only function follows meaning, but also form follows meaning” (73). A communication code must be known by the receiver to understand the meaning, and multiple codes exist, which results in many possible messages. For example, architects and the general public each have

different codes, and consequently, the public may not understand contemporary design and frequently rejects it. Hattenhauer distinguishes communication as messages from rhetoric as effect and manipulation. However, he stops at instrumental functions and does not account for constitutive functions: how we shape and are shaped by buildings. Furthermore, Hattenhauer concentrates on the perceived physical environment and does not consider conceptual representations or social practices. He concludes with recommendations for utilizing movement studies and fantasy theme methods that extend to a critique of Modernism and the International Style.

In terms of Hattenhauer's discussion on architectural styles and preferences, the vast majority of architectural theory as it relates to formal design is bound by aesthetics, as well as technical building methods, urban planning theory, and environmental behavior. Aesthetics as it relates to rhetoric can be viewed in two manners: a style used to persuade or an ethical form in terms of *telos* and the pursuit of virtue that are the subject of much architectural theory and criticism. In this analysis, I have purposely concentrated on meaning and messages in everyday practices rather than aesthetics. Architectural criticism tends to consider a highly restricted number of structures that push the edge of design sensibilities, so-called cutting edge design. Aesthetics falls under the realm of expertise in terms of design movements and stylistic preferences, and as described by Hattenhauer, can be viewed in rhetoricians' terms as fantasy themes (75). His analysis effectively identified reasons that people outside the circle of

experts struggle with experimental design (74-5). However, pushing boundaries and expressing “art for art’s sake” without concern for public acceptance is the intent of avant-garde design, so his argument is not persuasive within the field of architecture. Hattenhauer’s examination of meaning in architectural designs using social movements and fantasy themes falls well within the dialogue of this current research study and lays the groundwork for the discussion of architectural images in terms of persuasive effects and purpose. In other words, I will consider the reality that the designers envisioned, the cultural patterns they drew from, and their possible intentions and contrast that with likely experiences of buildings or cities.

Blending rhetoric and sociology, Gutenschwager describes architecture as social artifacts that convey meaning as symbols (262). He claims, “Symbol systems are very resilient and closely tied to the maintenance of culture” (263). They are so closely tied in fact that he proposed that maintaining the symbol system is a matter of survival for society. A collectively understood meaning of symbols underpins the order of a culture and “must be agreed upon by all those who make up the community” (263). The creation of symbols is “fraught with ambiguity,” which is the enemy of order, and so interpreting symbols represents “the choice between what is and what could be” (263). He says that once a symbol is accepted and is named, its meaning becomes a fact, and all other representations are suppressed. “Architects speak to both themselves and to the larger society. Architectural artifacts are symbols, thus are meaningful at both

levels, and this symbolic meaning is related to, but separate from, the technology and functionality of the building” (265). This approach closely matches enacted architecture, so I consider my research an extension and development of Gutenschwager’s work. He effectively links architectural style and social change, thus moving design issues into the public realm as a social concern rather than an artistic one.

While Gutenschwager and Hattenhauer generated very useful work, their analysis does not exhaust the story of architecture as rhetoric. Contrary to the idea that meaning becomes fixed, I propose that meaning is constantly renewed and negotiated through use. Gutenschwager believes whole societies agree on architectural meaning while I think that there are many multiple narratives assigned to architecture. Finally, Gutenschwager stops short of defining how critics should approach architecture for study and works at the societal level. Therefore, to advance this theory, I consider ways of identifying architectural meaning through the analysis of spatial metaphors, narratives, and myths in enacted architecture.

### **Visual Rhetoric**

Due to intensive activity the past few decades, visual rhetoric represents an area of rich scholarship. According to Charles Hill and Marguerite Helmers in *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, the variation of definitions compelled them “to *not* try to ‘nail down’ the term” (x, italics in original). The diversity of approaches ranges from visual arguments to visual culture (vii-viii). Furthermore, architecture is

frequently included in the area of visual rhetoric. I limit the current analysis to some of the most influential approaches: Keith Kenney and Linda Scott's symbolic action, Robert Hariman and John Lucaites's iconic imagery, and Sonja Foss's functional model.

Reviewing literature from 1977 to 2000, Kenney and Scott summarize three broad theoretical approaches for visual rhetoric: classical, Burkeian, and critical. They argue that classical and critical approaches are structuralist with a dominant perspective, which diminishes their methodological value. Instead they favor Burke's symbol action (17-56). "Rather than learn how a critic interprets a visual image or a material item, we must learn how people at the time identified with the image/item and how they were persuaded" (49). They analyze images using three components: presentation, which identifies repetitive and innovative symbols; intensification of feeling through metaphors, synecdoche, and montages that enable transfer of feelings to objects; and identification in terms of forming a community through culturetypes or archetypes. While my approach is different from Kenney and Scott's, it is broadly consistent with their research agenda. In many ways, I extend their research project to enacted architecture. Specifically, because the topic is enacted architecture, I take the stance that meaning is continually updated through action, while the moment of conception or construction is considered in terms of informing the present.

Iconography presents a highly symbolic point of view, a specialty within the field of visual rhetoric. Hariman and Lucaites defined iconic photographs as



images that are “widely recognized, are understood to be representations of historically significant events, activate strong emotional response, and are reproduced across a range of media, genres, or topics” (“Performing” 366). They perform the specific functions of reflecting ideologies, shaping understanding of events and periods, influencing political action, and providing a figural image that can be recognized and reused for subsequent communicative actions (366). Like iconic photographs, iconic architecture plays a special role in cities in forming public opinions. When architecture becomes iconic, it functions very much like iconic photographs; these methods would directly apply to reproduced forms such as renowned images of the Eiffel Tower. Furthermore, an enacted architecture approach could be usefully applied to iconic architecture.

Foss approaches visual rhetoric projects by: identification of the function communicated in an image; assessment of how well that function is communicated; and scrutiny of the function itself, reflecting on its legitimacy or soundness determined by the implications and consequences of that function (“Rhetorical Schema” 213-24). She evaluates the effectiveness of images by comparison to other images with the same or similar functions. This comparative method between images suggests a visual vocabulary that does not rely on verbal communication for understanding. In other words, because we compare image to image to create clusters, our conceptual process remains in presentational form and is not translated to discursive form. As another approach, Foss, Gail Chrystlee, and Arthur Ranney offer four steps in the development of a claim: 1. Present facts

such as the form, style, and medium. 2. Identify possible feelings the images evoke in the viewer. 3. Note knowledge from experience about the image as context. 4. Describe the function of images in terms of its form (9-13). This method acknowledges context, function, and emotional appeals. However the authors' focus on form, style, and medium clearly favors visual images, not enactments in architecture. No provisions for evaluating the dynamics of place are supplied.

An example illustrates this point. Foss evaluated Vietnam Veterans' Memorial at the National Mall in Washington D.C. from the standpoint of visual rhetoric. In comparing visual arts and rhetoric, she states, "Visual works of art, then, may be considered rhetoric in that they produce effects and are intentional and purposive objects" ("Ambiguity" 329). For methodology, Foss identifies the physical properties of the memorial "that a viewer is likely to use as the basis for attribution of meanings to the memorial" (331). Due to its lack of traditional imagery of soldiers as heroes or other war images, the memorial is ambiguous and enables polysemic interpretations. Foss explicitly notes the idea of the V-shape as a reference to the first two fingers to signify peace. This explanation is not offered by the architect (Lin 4:05), so in other words, Foss is adding a possible logic for the design. Furthermore, this interpretation treats the memorial from an aerial perspective looking down, not spatially at the ground level. In other words, she sees the memorial conceptually rather than a perceptual experience or lived-in space. As described by architect Maya Lin, walking down the path adjacent to the

black granite wall is the central intent. The memorial is “a moving composition, to be understood as we move into and out of it; the passage itself is gradual, the descent to the origin slow, but it is at the origin that the meaning of this memorial is fully understood” (Lin 4:05). Beyond the visual representation of conceptual space, an enacted architectural approach considers the experience and practices of a place separately from paper representations or aerial views, in other words, in the sense of being there.

In *The Rhetorical Act*, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Susan Schultz Huxman note differences between visual and discursive texts, several which pertain to spatial rhetoric as well (266-267). Due to the presentational nature of visual images, they are more volatile emotionally and quickly produce strong reactions both positive and negative. Similarly, when we experience a new place, we immediately respond to it. Furthermore, the roles of audience and persona are unlike those in a speech act. The creators of images and architecture are not usually present, and rather than audiences, images have viewers. By extension, architecture has users, visitors, residents, workers, and so on. Instead of one-directional reception of speaker-receiver, we act as “active buyers and discriminating consumers” (267). In addition, because images and architecture do not provide literal messages, they both persuade through enthymemes, which allows for polysemic interpretations and possible misunderstandings. Finally, both images and architecture struggle with authenticity and aesthetics, two issues that

speak to judgment, credibility and values (266-67). These distinctions from discursive texts are also part of the critic's considerations for architectural texts.

While methods for explaining visual rhetoric are useful for analyzing architectural rhetoric, they do not consider the dynamics and embodied experience of architecture, nor the full immersion of living within the environment of architecture. Architecture and cities are initially viewed as an image from a distance and become dynamic as an unfolding experience when we enter buildings and places. For distanced views of architecture and representative drawings or photographs, visual rhetoric offers a great deal, but for understanding enacted architecture a broader approach is needed.

### **Memorials and Commemorations**

Several scholars have focused on memorials and museums as a type of architectural rhetoric. Commemorations function *to memorialize* some event, person, or idea. "To commemorate is to take a stand, to declare the reality of heroes (or heroic events) worthy of emulation, or, less frequently, that an event that occurred at a particular place was indeed so terrible that it must be remembered forever as a cautionary note" (Levinson 317). One purpose is to capture a memory and bring it to life for a contemporary audience or to "bring it into being" in response to the contemporary urge to memorialize (Linenthal 261). According to Stephen Browne, memorials "collectively stress a sense of the text as a site of symbolic action, a place of cultural performance, the meaning of which is defined by its public and persuasive functions" ("Reading" 237).

Memorials frame a particular memory as part of the official legacy of history. By doing so, memory is reshaped and “museumified,” which simultaneously becomes an act of forgetting excluded elements (Katriel 71). In sum, commemorative artifacts look backwards in order to encapsulate the past, which is frequently contested. Consequently, scholars who work in this arena focus on framing contested views and understanding the symbolic construction of public memory and social change.

Studies on memorials and museums offer both insights and limitations for broader architectural texts. To illustrate this type of scholarship, I review three approaches: a museum, a commemorative monument, and a memorial. Marouf Hasian employs a personal pilgrimage through the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and compares his own experience and research about the Holocaust with the messages supplied through architecture, historical artifacts, and interpretive displays. Using personal observation and comments by architects, visitors, and curators, he decodes, analyzes and assesses the museum experience with the intent of monitoring the plurality of represented views. He finds that the form and function of the museum fabricates a single master narrative and omits alternative subtexts (75). The value of this study is the graphic interweaving of research with the experience of the place and narrative interpretations of others.

In their analysis of Mount Rushmore, Carole Blair and Neil Michel explore the role of commemorative monuments in seeking consensus and contributing to a national ethos (159). By analyzing interpretive artifacts as well

as current and historic press accounts, they situate the memorial in its historic context and reconstruct the narrative of its evolution. In an era where skyscrapers and gigantic dams symbolized American style, the colossal size of a sculpted mountain fit the emerging national identity, as described by the monument's creator. In determining the purpose of the memorial, Blair and Michel identify two competing narratives: the official story which signified "how" the monument was constructed versus a narrative told by the monument itself, the "why" of the carving that commemorated four presidents who implemented Manifest Destiny and "Continental Expansion" of America's "founding, growth, preservation, and development" (178). Furthermore, in its forcefulness, the monument moves beyond telling into advocacy of American imperialism. Therefore, the authors implore scholars to look beyond official literature and formal messages of memorials to consider the motivations of the original conceivers (183-84). Similar to the study here, matters of project creation figure along with analysis of completed objects.

In a study that emphasizes cultural influences on memorial conceptualization, Barbara Biesecker analyzes the influential image of World War II as "the Good War" as depicted in a bestselling book and popular film to gain approval for the controversial World War II memorial at the National Mall ("Remembering" 393). The complementary texts contributed to building a unified national identity of a "good citizen" who supports the war and by extension, the proposed memorial (394). Because these prominent media surrounded the

national discussion during the time the Congressional review, Biesecker argues that they elevated the war in public opinion which influenced the vote. Similar to Blair and Michel's Mount Rushmore analysis, the development process is the primary focus of the analysis. Blair, Michel, and Biesecker demonstrate how attitudes in popular media frame decisions on memorials and become sources for rhetorical consideration.

In sum, these studies of commemorative artifacts focus on memory and recapturing history, and consequently the scholarship focuses primarily on the analysis and interpretation of the past. For the purpose of studying a broad variety of architectural texts, these studies demonstrate how to interweave research knowledge and development process into narratives about and experienced in architecture. Commemorative studies point toward the importance of using the tools suggested here for analyzing architecture. However, commemoration is not the only symbolic matter present in enacted architecture, and a broader approach is needed than that utilized in the studies of memorials.

### **Conclusion**

To understand the symbolic dimension of architecture, a number of approaches have been used on which I propose to build enacted architecture for considering symbolic meaning. Architectural theory defines aesthetic and practical concerns. Early rhetorical studies of architecture frame major issues and approaches. Visual rhetoric scholarship demonstrates several avenues towards understanding the persuasive appeals of images. Scholarship in public memorials

and commemorations provides ways to understand the influence of memory. While all inform this research, “A Rhetoric of Architecture” takes a spatial approach to address meaning in architecture and cities and recognizes the differences of perceived, conceived, and lived-in space. The experience of a place is a different frame than considerations of social practices in that space or examinations of abstract representations of space.

As we use cities, we develop a sense of reality and produce identities through the lenses of spatial metaphors, narratives and myths. The established methods of these tools lend enormous knowledge and rigor to assist critics’ work. We cannot separate space from words; both are woven into a single fabric. By seeing architecture as metaphoric, we link various shapes to see patterns, create order, shed new light, ignite surprise, and make sense of new places. By recognizing narratives, we deepen the experience through history and imagination of what was and what might be. By applying mythic analysis, we identify shared assumptions and belief systems. Each serves to bring clarity to the meaning of architecture.

From architecture, we gain knowledge about how to live and develop our belief systems. In the next three chapters, I focus on social themes learned from architecture and illustrate their influence on people and cities through extended case studies.



## Chapter Three

### A Sense of Identity

In terms of enacted architecture, a city reflects who we are and simultaneously makes us who we are. We gain a sense of identity from our interaction with architecture and cities. “We do not *have* architecture, but rather, a part of us *is* architecture. Architecture is a way of being . . . one of the original ways in which we know ourselves” (Abel 150). Furthermore, making architecture does not end with construction. We constitute reality as we use cities and buildings (J. Hill 351). Through identification with place, we build communities with social, cultural, political, and technological implications. In cities which are full of diversity rather than commonly shared beliefs, we construct meaning in terms of identity and social groups. “Community offers people what neither society nor state can offer, namely a sense of belonging in an insecure world” (Delanty, “Community” 192). Therefore, we create places of familiarity, respite and inspiration, where we have a sense of belonging, and also places for adventure and novelty so that we expand and learn. The two types of places complement each other, provide balance, build our identities, and our understanding of a place’s identity. As we learn a sense of identity from architecture, we form assumptions and expectations for valuing it and consequently, for judging ourselves individually and as a society. By enacting architecture, that is, by making and understanding the built environment through experience, memory, and imagination, we create ourselves and our cities.

The new town of Seaside, Florida represents an experimental reaffirmation of Small Town U.S.A, an idealized American identity. This resort community in the panhandle of Florida was built over the last three decades by Robert Davis on his grandfather's oceanfront land. As a simulacra of a utopian small town,<sup>10</sup> Seaside spawned a generation of New Urbanist developments, the first major trend in urban planning in a half century (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck 215-241). Charleston, South Carolina and Savannah, Georgia, two of America's quintessential towns, served as models and inspiration for Seaside (Katz 17). However, their architectural patterns were not duplicated at Seaside; they were exaggerated as a larger-than-life world inhabiting a mere eighty acres. Its influence is tangible. For planners and developers, Seaside is the story of the New Urbanist movement and offers lessons in street design, urban patterns, walkability, and regulatory codes. For the public, Small Town U.S.A. shines through the distinctive idyllic images of towers and white pickets against a sea of green foliage and deep blue ocean. The intertwined narratives of New Urbanism and small town utopia propelled Seaside from one more coastal development to an international icon.

In this chapter, I argue that we gain a sense of identity by enacting architecture, as illustrated by Seaside Florida. Identity in relationship to built form is defined as our sense of who we are in place and time. Architecture shapes our sense of identity and reflects who we are collectively and individually. First, I analyze how we gain a sense of identity from architecture based on our

engagement and agency in a community. Second, I contrast spatial and discursive narratives. Third, the narratives of Seaside are explored as a reaffirmation of Small Town U.S.A. Because of its perfected design and confined culture that restricts the ebb and flow between people and place, Seaside asks people to be vacationers and connoisseurs of the good life rather than engaged residents and city makers. In Seaside, people enact a themed resort of leisure rather than a hometown for a whole community. When we collectively cultivate distinctive identities that relate to and are reflected in place, we create more coherent, compelling cities and constitute stronger communities.

### **Identity and Enacted Architecture**

Writing in the 1920s, Robert Park, noted urban sociologist, explained our relationship with cities. “The city is the world which man [sic] created; it is the world in which he is therefore condemned to live. Thus indirectly, without a clear sense of the nature of his task, in remaking the city, man has remade himself” (3). A city constitutes reality and simultaneously we enact reality based on our experiences and imagination, that is, our identity. Through daily use and social conditioning, we develop assumptions about the appropriateness of spaces and how to act in those spaces. “You can’t separate your memory of a specific inhabitation from the objective place you inhabited. Memory and place are one. Neither exists without the other” (R. Campbell, “Far” 51). Enactment combines a sense of collective norms developed through discourse and individual experience. The sounds, smells, and images cue our memories of similar places, and

reconstructs our understanding of place. Through our actions and imagination, we create reality which in turn constitutes our identities.

Connection to cities and communities occurs through identification.

According to Burke, the process of identification involves three steps: naming, associating (or disassociating), and identifying with or identification, thus a combined intellectual and social/enacted practice (*Rhetoric* 19-27, 46).<sup>11</sup> While identity implies uniqueness and individuality, identification joins us to others including people and things, and always in terms of ideas. We do not identify with an actual tree but the idea of the tree and our sense of the tree's substance.

“Metaphysically, a thing is identified by its properties” (23). When we relate to or share properties, we become consubstantial; in effect, we share substance.

Consubstantiality is another word for identification. We tend to understand one another by imagining our common, cooperative elements, which Burke called naming. Because we are each made of a number of substances, we identify with a range of ideas, people, and things, thus naming, associating, and forming collective identities.

Identification carries with it the burden of both including and excluding, community and alienation, connecting and disconnecting, and safety and fear, all which are manifested in the city. Naming indicates something is one thing and not another, that is, the negative term is implied by the positive term (*Language* 4).

“Identification is compensatory to division” (*Rhetoric* 22). We are driven to identify with some people or things, and at the same time to differentiate

ourselves from others, from a common enemy. The tendency to victimize others appears in the city as disadvantaged, blighted districts, or in terms of uses that are distrusted or feared such as prisons and asylums. We mandate a social order or hierarchy of uses and classifications observable in the built environment at all scales from house to metropolis. Desirable uses, groups, images, or ideas gain prominence while the dysfunctions or undesirables remain hidden or isolated. In the house, bathrooms are sequestered on side halls; in the block, services occur at back doors or alleys; and in the city, prisons, poverty, and blight are segregated while desirable uses are given top locations and resources. For example, the phrase “living on the wrong side of the tracks” referred to class separation in small towns. Cities, in their functions of reflecting and constituting society, congregate by segregation (Burke, *On Human* 369).

Numerous scholars have addressed identity and architecture. Christopher Alexander called city-making a pattern language, which is “a collection of patterns which correspond to profound observations about what makes a building beautiful” (219). When a society shares deep common knowledge, members gain knowledge and understanding about cities. “When the language [of built form] is shared, the individual patterns are profound. . . . The language covers the whole of life. The connection between the users and the act of building is direct. . . . The adaptation between people and buildings is profound” (Alexander 230). Through everyday practices that influence places, people and environment develop a common identity. Our hometown, office, and home become part of us. Moreover,

places we shop, see films, and worship speak to who we are. Each choice and movement extends and shapes our identity.

The ability to change a place becomes a central tenet of identification with the built environment. “Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody” (Jacobs 238). When *making* extends past initial design and construction to include *using* a city, citizens join experts and officials as city makers. According to David Harvey, the right to the city is “not merely a right of access to what the property speculators and state planners define, but an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our heart’s desire, and to re-make ourselves thereby in a different image” (“Right” 941). The cumulative actions, beliefs, memories, imaginations, and aspirations of all users create the identity of a city. Moreover, the greater the interaction and cultivation allowed between people and place, the greater the sense of identity. Each place brings a certain reality into being and asks us to be a particular kind of people. In doing so, we accept or reject place based on our sense of identity, and through community identification, we gain a sense of belonging.<sup>12</sup>

In addition, architecture enables us to orient ourselves in spatial and temporal terms. Recognizing the influence of environment on society, George Mead considered an emergent present that continually changes our ideas of place and self. “[W]hatever emerges must be subject to the conditioning character of the present, and that it must be possible to state the emergent in terms of the

conditioning past” (*Philosophy* 64). When we experience or imagine a place, we bring history into the present moment. In other words, the past and present are equally contained in the emergent present. Cities physically represent the past and present because they are a combination all actions, a layering of natural ecology, buildings and landscapes as they change over time. Through cities we develop a sense of our spatial selves, a sense of history, and a sense of the emergent present. We combine our sense of time and space, past and present, to make sense of reality.

Some cities seem chaotic and disorienting while others have more vivid, memorable imagery, organization, and identity that enables recognition and navigation. A disordered, nondescript environment reflects a lack of collective identity, which confuses our personal sense of identity. A urban neighborhood group with whom I worked in Kansas City changed its name to “Forgotten Homes” to reflect the fact that three-quarters of the homes had been demolished, leaving only a few in each block. With only memories of past heydays, and little hope for the future, the remaining residents adopted a similar spirit of survival. In contrast, a vivid, memorable image, “the generalized mental picture of the physical world that is held by the individual,” enables us to grow as individuals, serves as the basis for symbols and collective memory, and supplies the setting and cues for narratives and myths (Lynch 4). Our sense of self and society are framed by childhood settings such as our hometown, neighborhoods, and schools. When we identify with place, we deepen our experience, memories, and space-

time knowledge. Consequently, we use these mental images to know and orient ourselves in the world.<sup>13</sup>

Identity as expressed in architecture can describe connections among space, time, theme, or more commonly, a combination of all three. First, in terms of space, we can signify identity at the scale of a room, building, neighborhood, town, or region, and in terms of geo-political space, by nation. Each of us holds an individual perspective and selects the scale appropriate for our purposes. Thus, while we share common spaces physically, we have individual perceptions and interpretations. Group and individual perspectives exist simultaneously. Some people may identify more closely with their home or neighborhood, while others relate to a region or nation. Second, regarding time-based identities, we recognize architecture as representing a particular historic era; such as the Ponte Vecchio and the S. Maria Novella cathedral of Florence are expressions of the Italian Renaissance. Third, themes connect across time and space. For instance, McDonald's restaurants represent a corporate brand and can also symbolize the broader identity of fast food culture. Each manifestation of identity contains seeds of space, time, and theme but according to various terministic screens, one component may dominate depending on the individual and circumstances.

In sum, we develop a sense of identity through our interaction with cities and people. Communities are places of meaning where we create identification with people of common concerns in terms of social, cultural, political, and technological interests. Contemporary societies raise the specter of diverse



communities composed of different worldviews and competition between local and global identities. Development of distinctive, authentic identities reflected in and constituted by the city aids in spatial orientation and community connectedness. In the process of building identities and identification with cities, we create spatial narratives, which mean we enact stories about the city and our lives.

In the next section, to explore identity in terms of community, self, and space-time orientation, I consider the rhetorical force of Seaside, Florida, a place framed by the image of Small Town U.S.A. The narrative imagined by the founders does not fit the experience of Seaside. Instead of a vibrant new way of life, Seaside takes the image of small towns and remakes it into a narrative of leisure and appreciation of finer culture. The lack of depth and history common to everyday living stunts its identity and inhibits residents' and visitors' identification with Seaside.

### **Identities of Seaside Florida**

The idea of Seaside, Florida began in 1979 with a grandson's inheritance of eighty acres on the northern Florida shoreline and a young architectural couple's concern about formless, urban sprawl in American cities. (Fig. 1). Although a coastal resort community of 350 homes seemed unlikely to spawn a movement that would reshape cities, it has. The combination of commitment, talent, and timing at a visually dramatic site gave Seaside the necessary genes to foster a counter-movement and a new way of understanding cities. The influence



Fig. 1. Seaside Site Plan, showing original 80-acre plan.

is undeniable; over two hundred communities are completed or in process and several cities, such as Portland, Oregon, and Boulder, Colorado, have adopted the principles originally enacted at Seaside (Congress for New Urbanism 1). The reasons for this astonishing impact are less clear. I argue that Seaside appeals emotionally as a simulacra of Small Town U.S.A. but fails to offer a complete identity for residents.

Robert Davis, a Miami developer who spent childhood vacations on the land, adopted the motto, “Take the best from the past. ... Don't invent anything” (Buhasz 1). He believed development and building design that suited Florida’s climate and relaxed lifestyle was a forgotten art that had been replaced by inappropriate architecture and desolate cities (Anderson 42-43),



Fig. 2. Typical residential street. (Courtesy of © STEVEN BROOKE STUDIOS).

The owner and architects documented Southern small towns, in particular Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia, to determine patterns and shapes for public spaces, land uses, street envelopes, and building shapes (Mohney and Easterling 62-85). The half-octagonal pattern features a civic commons with a tiny post office adjacent to Highway 30-A. It is anchored by Ruskin Place, which has commercial shops with second floor apartments at the center. Residential streets circle the center in five half-loops, considered ten streets or smaller neighborhoods for a total population of 350 residences, later expanded to nearly 500 (Buhasz 1) (Fig. 2). The urban code defined street design requirements and pedestrian alleys located between backyards. The architectural code specified four single-family residential types plus three mixed-use loft types (Mohney and Easterling 86-107). Most houses sit sixteen feet from the street to

accommodate off-street parking and keep porches close enough to the street to enable conversations with passersby. White fences in a variety of designs and pastel colored clapboard siding were mandated, and certain lots were designated for towers. Landscaping was limited to an indigenous palette and lawns were prohibited to eliminate the noise of power mowers and conserve water. The oceanfront was allocated to public uses and intricately designed beach gateways became iconic images for Seaside.

The first buildings were completed in 1985 and now nearly all the houses, the Market and most public structures are complete. Seaside gained international attention as a new town with radically different ideas. In 1990, *Time Magazine* named it the “Best of the Decade” and “the most astounding design achievement of its era” (*Time* 1). The new feel of Seaside drove a larger narrative of a transformational town planning concept. New Urbanism continues to cite Seaside as its flagship project but recognizes its social and economic shortcomings (Congress for New Urbanism 1). The experience of Seaside evokes Small Town U.S.A. as an extraordinary place that embodies our aspirations yet does not fulfill lived realities.

### **Small Town U.S.A. at Seaside**

Initial impressions of Seaside include a sense of “architecture derived from the nostalgic memory of beach towns of another, easier era” (Dunlop 135), “pastel-colored houses and front porches overlooking narrow, brick-paved streets” (Bernstein F5), and “a community of predominantly Victorian houses

Painted in the most arresting (or, one could say, the most outrageous) array of bright colors such as peach, blue, violet, green, yellow, and pink” (Plas and Lewis 126). In contrast to the drab neighboring towns and high-rise condominiums common to Florida coastal development, Seaside is pristine, orderly, and distinctive. In both architectural style and layout, its vision of wholeness and consistency is unlike average villages. Idyllically nestled in a green forest by the Gulf of Mexico, Seaside re-invents the idea of Small Town U.S.A. as a utopian community, an impression reinforced by its bright white trim, quaint towers, and a distinct lack of patina due to its relative youth. (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Rooftops and towers of Seaside. (Courtesy of © STEVEN BROOKE STUDIOS).

The myth of Small Town U.S.A. most likely began in the early 1800s with Alexis de Tocqueville’s idealized descriptions of New England townships of “profound peace and general comfort” (82). American villages were orderly, charming, and astonishingly clean (Rybczynski 1). Furthermore, the towns were

seemingly created by God and “so perfectly natural that whenever a number of men are collected, it seems to constitute itself” (de Tocqueville 72). Thus the concept of extraordinary acts in ordinary practices was woven into the nation’s early identity as the foundation of American exceptionalism. In this idealized view, even the common everyday town inculcated democracy and individual freedoms, in short, the American Dream.

In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, as rural youth sought employment in new industrialized cities urban centers, the contrasts between the idea of cities and towns grew starker. During this era, according to sociologist Anselm Strauss, small towns were depicted as containing a natural lifestyle that was simple, unhurried, familiar, safe, and suited for families, in short a moral order (108). In comparison, metropolitan life was chaotic, dirty, “so busy, so harried,” filled with strangers, danger, horrendous slums, “evil conditions, and sinful temptations” symbolizing the unknown (Strauss 223). Americans could understand small towns and grow attached to them but in the big city, they were lost and anonymous. From 1916 to 1963, highly circulated weekly images by Norman Rockwell on *The Saturday Evening Post* idealized small town life as “family stability, religious faith, the work ethic” for the “white, middleclass” (Harrison 1). His illustrations glorified a perfect world of happiness and community in everyday activities. During the 1950s and 1960s, television programs in small town settings such as “The Andy Griffith Show” reaffirmed the

comforting myth of Small Town U.S.A. for popular audiences as a place where friendliness to strangers, simple living, and helping neighbors was common.

The Small Town myth represents de Tocqueville's idealized democratic society, a moral order based on the Protestant work ethic, family, and community (Lee and Lee 4). As a return to a pastoral past, it employs traditional architectural styles, intimate neighborhoods, and Main Street U.S.A. that illustrate order, familiarity, and cleanliness based on an archetypal myth of a cherished way of life (Francaviglia 69). Tree shaded residential neighborhoods and white picket fences symbolize family and community. Small Town America, as it is also called, originally supplied a site for the American Dream myth that enabled the opportunity, the right of Americans, to pursue a better life (Rowland and Jones 430).

However, the Small Town U.S.A. myth took a downward turn that later enabled its rehabilitation at Seaside. As the information age ushered in post-industrial cities, rural areas and small towns represented a declining past. Small Town U.S.A. assumed a reduced status of limited opportunity and unsophisticated, provincial culture. When the problems of sprawling cities tarnished suburban development, Seaside presented an alternative, a counter-movement that reinvigorated the idea of Small Town U.S.A. Seaside specifically was a model for "neo-traditional development," as it was first referenced, that borrowed generously from the idealized American town. Walkability, community spaces, mixed uses buildings, and intimate socializing in a quaint, yet also hip,

image rejuvenated the reputation by “stealing back and forth of symbols” as Burke might say, in a re-appropriation of the key elements into a new type of development (*Attitudes* 238).

In effect, the designers created a new type of small town by exaggerating the design motifs, and in the process, we are presented with larger-than-life hopes and dreams. The place does not serve as the hub of an agriculturally-based community. Instead, Seaside enacts a perfected Small Town U.S.A. of fantasy, a utopian approach as “a place of well being;” what Sir Thomas More would call a happy land, which idealizes place and society (Eaton 12). The contradictory message of historic images with new design elaborations enables two avenues for attachment. Some may connect because it represents a nostalgic past, an ideal town, a chance to “stay in place” as a metaphor for halting change, while others may relate because they see it as a dream for a better future, a chance to witness and participate in radical social change. Seaside manages to serve both reactive and radical urges for social change.

In terms of borrowed imagery, Seaside connects to a Florida vernacular and coastal Southern living with particular elements that are familiar yet uniquely articulated. Each house has a mandatory front porch and white fence. While metal roofs are common on local farm buildings, all Seaside houses use natural gray steel with tailored ribbing that provides a visual rhythm. In addition, horizontal clapboard siding creates consistency while the array of pastel colors is vivid and unique. Towers are required on corner houses and other prominent sites, which



rise above the treetops and serve as orienting landmarks. Finally, green indigenous flora fills space between buildings and creates tunneled paths throughout Seaside. The back walkways in particular are overgrown presumably to protect privacy and enhance the walking experience. By presenting history with idiosyncratic twists, Seaside manages to remind us of a familiar Small Town U.S.A. but continually surprise through dramatic articulations (Fig. 4). In fact, idiosyncrasy becomes a primary strength, a type of fantasy small town, and at the same time detracts from Seaside's credibility.



Fig. 4. Row of Seaside houses showing porches and fencing.

### **A Different Kind of Main Street**

Main Street U.S.A. represents the collective identity of a town, in contrast to houses that symbolize individuals (Francavilgia 69). Typically two or three story buildings with first floor shops and second floor offices and living quarters

line both sides of a street that is anchored by a monumental civic structure.

However, by the late twentieth century, many Americans never experienced small town life. Instead, the archetypal image of Main Street lived on through mediated images and theme parks such as Walt Disney's two historic recreations of Main Street U.S.A. (Francaviglia 74). As stated by Paul Goldberger, architectural critic, Disney's recreation was better than the real Main Street, "more universally true" ("Land" 41). Main Street gained a new postmodern, themed identity transcendent from community that could be reinserted into various situations as a theme.

In *Unreal America*, Ada Louise Huxtable, architectural critic, claimed a loss of cultural authenticity in architecture and initiated a typology of *real* and *fake* to characterize the problems. In her typology, Ellis Island's renovation from gritty to pristine is "hollow fake" as an overly sterilized environment that misrepresents the historic experience of new immigrants. Disneyland is labeled a real estate venture of "faux America" in recognition of its themed spaces and corporate ownership. Las Vegas used to be "fake fake" but has grown into the preferred "real fake." In other words, the architecture at first represented something like Disneyland as a corporate shard but as it grew to be self referential and house genuine lives, Las Vegas residents now enact a distinct local identity, an authentic fakeness (75-88). Reinforcing Huxtable's concern, city branding for economic development is described as "a form of *Karaoke* architecture" where verve and gusto are valued over substance (Evans 436). Consequently, authenticity is in decline in contemporary expressions of architectural identity.

As an antidote, Guy Debord calls for communities “to construct places and events commensurate with the appropriation, no longer just of their labor, but of their total history” (126). In other words, to combat the forces of external theming and corporate branding that undermine robust identities, cities can draw upon embedded local stories and reflect those in urban form to reinforce the city’s authenticity. Cities that express unique, distinctive culture simultaneously constitute unique and distinctive people. This authenticity is cultivated through spatial and discursive narratives that weave individual and shared identities into the town.

Seaside’s idealized fantasy carries into the common spaces. In contrast to Main Street U.S.A., preference is given to living and relaxing in Seaside, not working or shopping. No public functions such as water bill paying, marriage licenses, council meetings, or court hearings can be fulfilled, because there is no space for public governance. Around the perimeter, several recreational facilities exist such as swimming pool and tennis courts, plus a new elementary school. The primary store, the Market, does not sit on the pedestrian-only Ruskin Place civic commons, but rather near the streets to accommodate curbside parking. In the world of Seaside, we are asked to recreate, play sports, and shop for souvenirs, art, and gourmet foods but not work or participate in the city. People walk within Seaside’s interior spaces and drive on the perimeter; therefore visitors primarily walk while permanent residents drive to their daily duties, further segregating the two groups.

In terms of time and space orientation, Seaside lacks the patina and multi-layered depth of typical urban development created by numerous influences over time. In colors, shapes, and patterns, Seaside is designed, rather than grown in the emergent fashion of towns. Seaside's perfect form and lack of grit gives the feel of a stage set more than typical Main Street U.S.A. The town is "innocent, but not simple-minded" (Goldberger, "Land" 40). The temporal connections occur through an interpretation of vernacular architecture and small town streets, but it is neater, cleaner, and simply a more controlled environment. Consequently, Seaside's image was packaged first at the level of planning and design and then extended into lifestyle and products. The space and time connections to Small Town U.S.A. are distorted, so that the primary orientation cues are an emergent present and a perfected past. Seaside disconnects us from ordinary time and space.

Consequently, Seaside might be labeled "hollow fake" as an overly sterile mis-representation of Small Town U.S.A. as well as "fake fake," like Disneyland's pretense of realness. However, like the Las Vegas rehabilitation from "fake fake," Seaside may become "real fake" as recognition of its artificiality as a themed identity. If it can embrace whole lives instead of posing as a small town re-enactment, it may begin to grow cultural roots. Only fundamental shifts in cultivating its identity and that of its residents will advance this change. In other words, the identities of people and place would consubstantiate.

In sum, while the world that Seaside brings into being at first seems to be Small Town U.S.A., a closer look undercuts that judgment. Its picturesque,

utopian imagery creates an inclusive sense of belonging but not as a normal community. Seaside is special, and when we are there, so are we. In terms of themes, it relates to Small Town U.S.A. as the patterns of the streets and uses and relates to America's Southern vernacular for residential images, but both are exaggerated and glorified through higher levels of design and detailing.

Interspersed throughout, highly articulated public and commercial architecture express idiosyncratic forms which elevate the distinct identity of Seaside. We connect to a new, better American town that eliminates blight and industry along with poverty and infirmity.

### **Enacting the Good Life at Seaside**

As we develop spatial narratives of Seaside, initially we imagine the experience of Small Town U.S.A. Through use, we learn that Seaside does not expect nearly that level of personal investment. Many mundane elements of ordinary life are replaced by an elevated sense of the aesthetic life. While Seaside portends to represent Small Town U.S.A., no American towns are like this place. Consequently, Seaside symbolizes the small town of our dreams, a caricature of a perfected Small Town U.S.A. A number of buildings, houses, and public amenities are designed by world renowned architects so the architecture portrays exceptional quality, a utopian vision. We feel a connection to its intimacy, drama, and beauty. However, we are disconnected from ordinary life by place and time and in effect, we become slower, more leisurely selves. Renowned architect Aldo Rossi proclaimed it, "a little Disney" (Goldberger, "Seaside" 142).

With this perfected environment, Seaside addresses visitors as connoisseurs. We are invited in as members of the town, live in houses and villas, walk brick-paved streets, admire the festive architectural intimacy, and absorb the ambiance of a place that is both famous and familiar. From the force of the distant view of towers and pastels to the dynamic experience of the streets, plazas, parks, and beaches, Seaside wants us be lookers, photographers, and admirers. We can imagine we are transported to a nearly perfect world. The celebrity of place makes us into celebrities as well, aficionada of a good life. We stroll and enjoy the visions. We dine on the best food and wine, looking at a remarkable village in a stunning ecological environment. For Americans, we take pride that this is the way our towns were or at least might have been. International visitors perhaps believe Seaside represents the best of the American spirit, a pristine coastal village, which is the hope of the founders.

For the ten percent of the home owners who are full-time residents, the story is somewhat different (Marshall 70). They are Seaside residents and experience all seasons in a gorgeous setting, plus they complete the place with a home that expresses their personal identity within the strict design rules. Unlike most small town residents, these few dozen folks host 50,000 guests per year (Bernstein F1). However, the lack of services and conveniences changes the experience of Seaside for full-time residents. Other than real estate-related vocations and retail/restaurant workers, the only jobs in Seaside relate to personal and home services. City conveniences are equally narrow, without the support provided by a

typical small town, such as financial services or major stores. No clinic or health care exists. Therefore, few Seaside residents share in-town workplaces, doctors, bankers, teachers, or insurance agents. Furthermore, due to skyrocketing real estate prices, workers live in adjacent communities, further reducing the population to “transient, white, and wealthy” (Buhasz 1). As one more reminder of the non-town-ness of Seaside, the postal address is actually labeled Santa Rosa Beach; Seaside, Florida is not incorporated as a town. In sum, for residents, Seaside is something less than a bedroom community because they go elsewhere to enact basic life functions, repair a car, buy shoes, see a movie, or vote. Many of the types of buildings, such as insurance agencies, car dealers, hardware stores, and pharmacies that shape a town are missing, thus limiting the various working relationships that weave people, place, and shared narratives into a small-town community.

The omission of normal places where civic, health, education, and employment are fulfilled may, in fact, provide a welcome relief to vacationers. The beautiful world of Seaside excludes pain, work, and other daily responsibilities. Consequently, Seaside asks us to be vacationers, transient residents participating in a better, far simpler world. Moreover, as the hosts for visitors, full-time residents demonstrate few signs of ordinary life. The church, school, shops, and post office appear idyllic, almost other-worldly, but they under-perform for a town of 1,500 people. No strip centers surrounded by seas of parking exist because the founders eliminated the everyday practice of errand

running after a long day at work. People bring their personal histories with them, evidenced by house names reflective of elsewhere lives. Along with the dearth of jobs and services, we lose the daily practices of enacting a place and participating in making its identity merge with our own. Bent on mandating every porch, gate and tower, the founders did not recognize that cities are created by and through people, not strictly through the vision of experts. In Seaside, rather than seeing a whole life, we experience a mere sliver of the elements that comprise our sense of self and identification with a community. Instead we enact a highly controlled themed village of transient citizens. It is a Disney World without the rides or shows.

Seaside functions constitutively not for who we used to be but who we might be in the future, post-work life, post-everyday problems. Intended as a “rediscovery of American small town urbanism” (Mohny and Easterling 53), the actual place is like and unlike small towns. Seaside provides intimacy, a slower lifestyle, and an aesthetic experience. Similar to a spa environment, people find a relaxed, inviting enclave away from high-speed commercial tourism. Ultimately, Seaside functions as an escape into a beautiful world, narrowly defined by functions and forms, where we, being a very limited and specific “we,” are beautiful people.

### **What Are the Consequences of Seaside?**

Seaside Florida asks us to enact a world of Small Town, U.S.A. but during the experience, the narrative falls apart. The practices and places of small



towns are missing, and we are left with a coastal resort development rather than a small town experience. However, far more than an ordinary resort, Seaside presents an aesthetic experiment in the good life. When visiting, we expect full-immersion in a small town experience. Yet rather than small town residents, we become connoisseurs of fine architecture, arts, dining, and ecology. The grit of daily living is invisible, hidden away in nearby towns, and we become relaxed and carefree, members of the wealthy, savvy leisure class. Seaside's identity is a specialized niche of beauty and refined living. In its perfection, a price is extracted for purity. Full-time residents cannot enact various practices within the city limits such as work, health care, or education and imposed restrictions on community alterations stunt cultivation of collective identity. Furthermore, its high-cost real estate and lack of services "congregates by segregation" (Burke, *On Human* 369), thus negating the cross-sectional diversity that enriches organically grown places. Rather than representing its inhabitants, Seaside reflects an idealized self. It is a memorable place, and we feel good about it and who we are when we are there, but most likely, we don't really believe it is a true self for the town, the residents, or the visitors. In other words, Seaside presents a fantasy identity rather than expressing its residents because their impact through design changes, life experiences, or spatial practices is contained.

Despite troubles producing an authentic small town narrative, Seaside succeeds enormously well as an experimental model for New Urbanism. Its

unique beauty generated enormous publicity and attracts a wealth of visitors. Furthermore, Seaside serves to educate visitors. We not only enact the good life, we participate in a moral narrative of anti-sprawl. “No more housing subdivisions! No more shopping centers! No more office parks! No more highways! Neighborhoods or nothing!” proclaim the architects (Duany et al. 243). Ironically, Seaside argues against a low density, auto-oriented lifestyle at a local level, and yet it can only be accessed by car. Residents commute for basic services. Although Seaside does not solve the numerous problems of cities and urban development, it supplied a spatial narrative for the New Urbanist movement. Furthermore, Seaside experimented with vernacular regionalism and intimacy through its attention to cultural and natural ecologies. Through its seductive promise of a simpler life in an exquisite setting, Seaside drew on a nostalgic desire for Small Town U.S.A. and ignited interest in New Urbanism. Seaside’s narrative serves as a new mythic archetype.

As participants in a utopian vision, we may find inspiration in Seaside’s daring experimentation. It shines a beacon not to the past as its creators claim but to a more perfect future, a slower lifestyle that values beauty and peacefulness in a transient, boutique community set in nature. Gerard Delanty believes future communities will be “reflexively organized social networks of individuated members” that find common bonds through cognitive experiences (195). Seaside is an archetype for this vision. The small scale, front porches, white picket fences, corner parks, central commons, and pedestrian-friendly

streets and paths tie to a myth of Small Town U.S.A., the idyllic past of a slower agrarian life improved through design excellence for the future. The imagery is founded on a vernacular archetype but exaggerated and modernized through the architectural code to create a sense of regional historic context with an overlay of contemporary sensibilities. However, Seaside is not an organic city; it is a resort community by the sea, not unlike a golfing or skiing development rather than an evolved town with public governance, an economy of jobs, and multi-generational residents. Therefore, Seaside represents a radically new social order of visitors and residents who are loosely connected by a desire for a better way to live, a new American Dream.

Seaside illustrates that smallness, intimacy, and slowness might shape the future of cities and our aspirations. If as a self-sufficient place, it finds a way to cultivate a sense of community, fulfill the need for shared identity and attachment with hometown, and enable practices of daily life while retaining the strong sense of idealism and beauty, it might grow from a fantasy resort to a real town. Furthermore, as a reorganized vision of community, we may come to accept that we do not share traditional neighborly ties to a place and people. Seaside may portend a type of social order linked by intellectual liminal relationships.

### **Conclusion**

We gain a sense of identity from our interaction with architecture and cities. As societies and therefore cities and architecture gain more pluralistic

populations, we seek communities of people with common interests, and places that “ provide refuge, solace, certainty, and protect” (Castells, *Power* 67). In other words, homogeneous neighborhoods, art districts, and campus settings protect us from diversity and attract shared interests. Our concerns and reactions to globalization and change result in “new and enchanted identity in cultural community” (65). We seek commonalities between people that can provide respite and familiarity in a world of strangers. Consequently, cities are places of clumps, not smooth edges, as an individual or district identity collides with another.

By linking disparate parts, people and cities generate spatial identities, the sense of the city. In low density spaces we see fewer differences, which makes us feel safer but less exposed to novelty, congregation by segregation (Burke, *On Human* 369). Therefore, as Greg Dickinson explains, wisdom and authenticity depend on experiencing danger and difference (228). We congregate and find safety through similarities and we grow through differences. In walking a street, entering a cathedral, savoring an unfamiliar culture, or returning home after a long journey, we gain a sense of identity for self and society and in turn, contribute to the creation of cities.

When we enact architecture and cities, we make the place and in turn, it constitutes us. In the face of the city, we see who we are. Through identification with place, we build communities with social, cultural, political, and technological implications. Cities orient us according to our place in history and

our place in the world. By connecting to a place, we become part of it. Our sense of community and consequently our cities are seen in decline by many scholars. By cultivating a collective identity that ties to place and binds us together, we gain a stronger sense of who we are.

## Chapter Four

### A Sense of Power

The dynamic between multiple relational forces creates a system of power that is evident in spatial practices, and finds form in our cities and architecture. “Power is a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom it is exercised. . . . It becomes a machinery that no one owns” (Foucault, *Power* 156). Power is interactive, resides in discourse, and is constantly negotiated as we exercise liberties. “Nothing is fundamental. . . . there are only reciprocal actions” (“Space” 247). In other words, we encounter power in cultural, social, economic, and political practices with people, social structures, and architecture, which are vehicles, not points of application.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, according to Michael Calvin McGee, power is present in all symbolic acts (Corbin 32). Therefore, as we enact architecture, we both encounter power as practices and norms, and we assert it by practicing liberty. In doing so, we gain a sense of power and order. For example, a street grid controls our movements and orders the city into a pattern. Yet we move forward towards a destination; we control our actions and choose to observe laws in order to gain access, which reinforces the power of the street grid, of the city, and of conventions. These objects and spatial practices constrain movement, and as crystallizations of power, they instruct us regarding social norms and expectations. Our actions then become part of a system of constantly negotiated power, with spatial practices at its core.

Rather than a negative view of power based on the actions of a powerful few, this view states that power “produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth” (Foucault, *Discipline* 194).<sup>15</sup> Negotiated through discourse, we can recognize it when we resist, or when we assert our agency in a situation, and when we encounter resistance. Power is on both sides of the equation – both in our actions, and in the opposing force. However, resistance and external control cannot be viewed as inherently negative, just as liberty and agency are not exclusively positive; balancing the two forces creates order in society. By enacting cities, we gain a sense of power through resistance to and freedoms beyond domination, that is, through agency and creative actions.

The redevelopment of Ground Zero site in New York City epitomizes the struggles for power in American cities. A project, which began with a unified will and an opportunity to heal the city and the nation, ends with a solution based on fear – fear of newness, enemies, and collaborating with different perspectives. Without mandates to work in unison and transcend differences towards common purposes, fragmented power splintered public and private rights, thus enabling the architect, developer, and governor to individually claim authority over the site, and destroying any meaningful response for healing the damage to America or New York City.

Based on a belief in freedom of expression, and underpinned by the fragmentation of authority that comes from control power (Deleuze 3), the architect linked his spectacular design to the Statue of Liberty and connected his

own life story to the American Dream. Drawing authority from disciplinary expertise (Foucault, *Discipline* 138), the developer asserted private authority from the materialistic claims of the American Dream evident in “rags to riches” success stories. As the expert in development, he believed that no one should have greater influence than him on Ground Zero’s redevelopment regardless of the historic significance of the project to Americans. Believing in sovereign power (Foucault, *Discipline* 47-49), the governor called for a tower of freedom, a patriotic symbol of American might. Finally, security fortifications destroyed links to and transparencies with the city, and generated a symbol that is partially grounded in sovereign power and partially disciplinary power, but lacks the attraction of control power; in fact, the architecture sends a message of anxiety, not strength. In the second tragedy at Ground Zero, the final solution at Ground Zero fails to respond to the public demand for a new American symbol, and furthermore, does not create a long-term vision for America’s premier city. Eventually, the needs of many lost to control by an elite few.

In this chapter, I argue that we gain a sense of power from cities based on different types of power and ways that it is enacted. In the first part, I consider three manifestations of power -- sovereign, disciplinary, and control, which are enacted through force, conventions, and attraction, respectively. Our agency is evident in our participation in and influence on place, and in turn, its influence on us. In the second part of the chapter, I consider the redevelopment of Ground Zero as an extended case study. After an overview of the situation, I analyze three key



power positions tied to American identity and charter myths: moralism, materialism, and patriotism. The lack of coherence among the three spheres of power -- cultural, economic, and political -- and ultimate domination by private ownership rights epitomize the need to communicate across power spheres and balance the range of diverse, fundamental concerns in the urban development through transcendent, unifying solutions.

Power struggles in the redevelopment of Ground Zero prompt several critical questions that link the larger themes in this study, that is, the sense of identity, power, and the public realm. Who owns the city? How are public needs satisfied in a privately controlled environment? How is the identity of the city expressed and protected? Without a means to communicate across domains and negotiate varied priorities, the final solution at Ground Zero values materialism over artistic virtue and turns its back on the public's daily experiences or the legacy of the city. A means of resolving power disputes that negotiates meaningful quality urban living, individual and collective concerns with the pragmatics of the marketplace requires ways of valuing multiple domains of power and transcending differences towards the creation of shared, durable visions. These power struggles are not confined to high profile projects. Just as power and values clashed at Ground Zero, each home purchase or choice of shopping location reflects an individual's battle between meaning and investment, morality and materialism. The built landscape of American cities is an accumulative result of continual struggle between power and counter-power,

between individual and community concerns, and between values contained in America's complex, and at times conflicting, identity.

### **What is Power in Enacted Architecture?**

Power is revealed in reciprocal relationships, and the balance of the intentions of different forces, evidenced by spatial practices and built form. By enacting architecture and through our use of cities, we gain a sense of power. Tall buildings, dams holding back nature, and blighted neighborhoods symbolize power. We learn conventional uses of buildings and public spaces, which teaches us about social power and authority. Furthermore, we enact power as we use various places, through our choices and actions. Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze define three types of power: sovereign, disciplinary, and control (See endnotes 13 and 14). While encountering constraints reveals power at work, we counter it by resistances and creative acts. Each type of power -- sovereign, disciplinary, and control -- developed during a particular historic era and continues to influence cities and buildings.

According to Foucault, power can be explained as either sovereign power or disciplinary power (*Discipline* 47-49, 138). Prior to the eighteenth century, sovereign power was imbued by rights and was exercised through autocratic, military force. Castles and fortified villages of the Middle Ages served to protect citizens from marauding enemies and symbolized aristocratic control. Sovereign power dominates through force, and during that era, resistance was penalized with physical penalties, even death (Foucault, *History* 136). As a one-

directional force, the image of power was the sword; the sovereign exercised its power by “his right to kill, or by refraining from killing” (136). With class position established by birthright, people in the Middle Ages lived with clearly fixed positions as king, soldier, or serf. Similarly, cities and building functions were immutable, literally “cast in stone,” which was the favored building material from antiquity until the Industrial Era’s innovation of steel frame construction technology. When the cannon rendered walled towns and fortifications obsolete, power transformed from physical force of sovereign control to disciplinary power that controlled behavior (Ellin 13). Rather than a system of laws concerned with death, power moved into the realm of social control and behaviors, in other words, the control of life and living.

During industrialization, disciplinary power dominated through social contexts such as separations and divisions of organizations, knowledge, and cities, under the domain of science and rationalism. Using Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon prison as a metaphor (*Discipline* 195-228), Foucault envisioned a central point of control that enables constant surveillance of prisoners in the perimeter cells. Prisoners feared the concept of the watchful gaze regardless of whether the guard was present. Moreover, “each comrade becomes an overseer” (Foucault, *Power* 152). Although seemingly sinister *ala* totalitarian regimes, instead, each member of society serves to watch others, as part of the apparatus that perpetuates norms of behavior. Disciplinary power, in effect, becomes invisible, embedded in acceptable behaviors and expectations for built

environments, and is characterized by segregation, enclosure, and hierarchies evident in power structures such as skyscrapers, office buildings, institutional buildings such as hospitals and libraries, and massive engineering projects.

To account for the increasing sense of convergence and diversity instigated by computerization and the Information Age, Deleuze developed the concept of control power, a socio-technological form of power. In contrast to sovereign and disciplinary forms, control power is continuous and networked, as exemplified by electronic prison collars or ankle bracelets that “force the prisoner to stay home during certain hours” rather than incarceration in intimidating prisons (Deleuze 7). Control power consequently becomes less visible and more pervasive, even invasive, as it infiltrates society through computerized technologies. Factories and unions are replaced by corporations whose omnipresent brands circulate as lifestyle choices. Schools and campuses transform to lifelong learning supplied by continuing education in the workplace or through distance learning. Rather than being identified by a hand-written signature, we gain access to desired information, goods, and services through passwords (Deleuze 5). While none of the three forms of power allows complete escape because they infiltrate all forms of society, control power presents a more complex environment for resistance and recognition. Control power does not require individual compliance; its influence can occur automatically and frequently unwittingly, as a byproduct of our actions. For example, global financial markets circulate money by networked computers, which transmit

identity information, transfer funds, control stock markets, and make investments. We agree to supply our identity information and in turn, gain access to a website, which then sells our identity to unknown entities. The mobile phone may best represent control power. In case of emergency, we no longer “phone home;” contacts roam, no longer fixed to a home base. Thus, the means of control constantly changes as does our ability to exert agency.

Each type of power -- sovereign, disciplinary, and control -- dominates through different means and profoundly influences the fundamental rights of society. Trends in transportation and commuting methods over time illustrate the three forms and their influence on cities. With sovereign power, people walked or rode horses, with living and working environments connected; lifestyles were simple and intimate. In disciplinary power, commutes extended via cars and highway systems; land use and districts were specialized and the connectivity of society became more segmented. The city became a place of segregation between desirable and undesirable uses, with industrial factories, prisons, and poverty quarantined in separated districts, away from prosperous neighborhoods, governmental functions, shopping districts, and socially acceptable institutions like schools and libraries. In control power, we simply log into our home computers that transmit work to an invisible corporation located virtually anywhere on the planet, or we commute to a suburban office building, thus fragmenting the city. The city is no longer a single center hub of governmental and business headquarters surrounded by homes; instead, commercial and

political power is held by each area of a metropolitan region and work may be completed in one city for a company or client in another city, even in another country. These examples illustrate how the types of power profoundly influence everyday actions and how we design and use cities. Furthermore, changes in conceptions of power even affect how we think and conceive reality.

However, according to Foucault, sovereign and disciplinary power remain present, as “absolutely integral constituents of the general mechanism of society” (*Power* 108), which similarly, by extends to control power. The “terminal forms” that power takes form a chain or system, which our actions strengthen or reverse (92). Therefore, we can observe power in the “general design or institutional crystallizations” (93) that emerge in the form of cities. In other words, architecture and development are mechanisms of power, which both represent and reinforce a system of conventions.

In addition, when Foucault moved his focus from sovereign to disciplinary power, he also changed the focus from elite people with power to contextual, systemic control through social conventions and normative behavior, enacted and negotiated by every individual. Power is embedded in discursive formations, which are cultural and social practices, the “rules of formation” that grant meaning. Within discursive formations, some people have more control; however, real power is the entire social structure and comes from the bottom and outer edges, rather than from the top; we participate through consent. Each of us act as an enforcer, watching each other, judging, rewarding, and penalizing according to

our sense of appropriateness. As power became less explicit and permanent, identification became more difficult; it was not part of a feudal class system or enforced by a sovereign military. We know that we are encountering power when we encounter resistance to our actions and ideas (Foucault, *Power* 142). Control occurs collectively at the societal level through a systemic domination while freedom is individualized, a particular act (Taylor 173).

However, if we exist inside a discursive formation, resistance alone as the only form of counter-power does not enable transformational change; we only are reacting to a boundary within the system. Therefore, to explain the possibility of transformational change that moves beyond conventions and challenges discursive practices, Charles Taylor introduces acts of creativity and ideal models, not unlike Aristotle's virtuous life, thereby recognizing not only counter-power but also proactive power (Taylor 164). Employing invention and vision along with resistance enables people to overcome and see beyond dominating power, which is particularly salient to cities and architecture, that depend upon innovation and visionary images of the future.

In sum, classical sovereign power exercises authority through physical force, modern disciplinary power observes, compartmentalizes, and dominates to maintain conventions, and control power attracts, influences, and negotiates freedoms through implicit, fragmented authority. Each profoundly shapes our sense of self and the world. Furthermore, as Taylor explained, to the extent that we succumb to control, we incapacitate ourselves (165). Thus, the cure for

dominating power is acts of freedom, resistance, and creativity. The continual dynamic of power and counter-power generate discursive formations, which then reinforce power. Each form of power results in a particular type of life, shapes our roles, and imagines a distinct vision of the city.

### **Power Enacted in Architecture**

In terms of the city, sovereign, disciplinary, and control power each shape our patterns of behavior and our urban form, and they reinforce or resist our memory and traditions. While described as powers of particular eras, remnants of each form remain in the rhetoric of cities adding depth and layers of complexity. Sovereign power is visible in the hodge-podge diversity of Renaissance cities dominated by aristocratic palaces and sacred structures. The hilltop or fortified city offered protection from invaders, a place of safety. “We” are together in community while “others” were isolated outside the city. Sovereign power is explicit and inflexible, evidenced by symbolic monuments such as those that line the National Mall in Washington D.C. The symbols aspire to stability and roots, perhaps as prerequisites for force and domination. According to Lewis Mumford, monumental architecture is intended to link the offices of state with a sense of stability, “unrelenting power, and unshakable authority [and] . . . produce respectful terror” (65). Similar motifs filter through the American identity in the architecture of Monticello and state capital buildings such as in Topeka, Kansas, to privilege authoritative power. Thus, in a democratic society, sovereign power is employed as a suggestion of dominating force rather than a form of autocratic



governance, and is most clearly evident in architecture with fortifications whether literally designed for security purposes or to symbolize secure power; each serves the same attitude. In this way, a gated community or a building with security measures such as fortified, exterior walls indicate the protective, sometimes aggressive, mindset of sovereign power.

From the scientific rationalism of the Industrial Age, hospitals, prisons, college campuses, libraries, and modern skyscrapers symbolize disciplinary power's compartmentalization. In response to disease and pollution that spread through densely packed living and work spaces, disciplinary power segregated land uses into defined districts to isolate undesirable elements from daily life, especially for the elite classes. Enabled by automobiles and highway systems, central business districts, industrial uses, shopping districts, and residential areas were located in designated districts and to a great degree remain in those patterns. Le Corbusier famously said, "A house is a machine for living in," indicating through mechanistic metaphor how culture identified with industrial technology. The street grid as a symbolic image, and as an enforcer of behavior, is among the clearest, most pervasive messages of the city. The grid not only shapes our behavior, it gives us a sense of orientation, order, and domination of machine and order over nature and chaos.

Control power is symbolized by themed mixed-use developments that address us as consumers and persuade through fantasy and attraction. Rather than segregated uses, functions overlap. Buildings gain flexibility in purpose and

imagery so that they can fulfill different symbolic functions. According to Deleuze, “the school, the army, the factory are no longer the distinct analogic spaces that converge towards an owner – state or private power – but coded figures deformable and transformable – of a single corporation that now has only stockholders” (6). In other words, everyone shares some ownership power as stockholders, and simultaneously loses sight of power as it shifts underground, masked behind language, culture, and ideologies.

Architecturally, control power can be seen in themed environments such as restaurants or shops that reference America’s Wild West frontier, houses that look like European castles, loft conversions where industrial office buildings or warehouses become residences, and shopping malls that house public functions such as community spaces and health agencies. Burke calls these re-articulations a “stealing back and forth of symbols” where the first situation creates cultural value in a symbol and the second situation capitalizes on that power (*Attitudes* 141, 328). Anthony Vidler expressed the complexities of increasingly vague physical forms of power.

Now, the boundaries between the organic and the inorganic, blurred by cybernetic and biotechnologies, seem less sharp; the body, itself invaded and re-shaped by technology, invades and permeates the space outside, even as this space takes on dimensions that themselves confuse the inner and the outer, visually, mentally and physically. (37–38)

Rather than the self-contained rationalism that framed the Modern era, in control power, we experience a city with fewer distinctions and with blurred boundaries between city and country, between living, working, and recreational spaces, even between human bodies and machines, as Vidler notes. In the process, we may lose sight of the dominant or controlling forces and our freedoms to choose. Naming the point of resistance or barrier can mitigate control power's ability to control us and certainly defeats its desire to be unobserved. For example, by using computer security software to detect spyware, we can stop monitoring of our on-line activities and preclude identity theft. Similarly, in terms of the city, by recognizing characteristics of a region's heritage and identity evident in its architectural materials, shapes, and patterns, we can distinguish corporate claims that use themed or branded environments to represent their identity. Once a locus for control power is identified, we can act in a more informed manner, choosing to reinforce or resist a place. In this way, knowledge and naming become instruments to use in resisting control power.

In sovereign and disciplinary eras, our capacity to change the environment was controlled by the rigidity of bricks and mortar and limited by experts, material availability, and construction skills. Under control power, the environment instead is framed by surface elements such as signs and color. Spaces are multi-functional, so quite logically, buildings become "blank slates." Consequently, the need for meaning is filled with experiential themes and attractions instead of fixed, functional requirements characteristic of disciplinary,

modern architecture. Some buildings gain symbolic value or hyperrealism while others lose meaning and become bland or even contradictory. For example, a non-descript fully transparent glass office building which implies openness and generic identity, in fact, houses a strong corporate brand with distinct identity in the marketplace that hoards trade secrets. The building contradicts the occupant's symbolic self. Rather than rigid, traditional forms, flexible images and functions change according to identities, uses, and signified meaning. Instead of attention to permanency, we lower expectations in terms of authenticity and long-term identities and instead look for an immediate experience and novelty. Authenticity and legitimacy claims become increasingly difficult, as noted by Huxtable's typology of fake and real architecture and evident in the New Urbanist resort village of Seaside, Florida, discussed in Chapter Three.

With control power as the prevailing contemporary form, identification of building functions relies more on signage than on architectural character. Churches begin to look like office buildings, stores look like factories, and residences lose distinctions so they can represent a generic "everyone" persona. Furthermore, industrial, commercial, and institutional structures assume new uses such as loft apartments. The adapted historic buildings can signify a variety of meanings: an urban adventure into the inner-city, a connection to an historic era, an appreciation for old ways of construction crafted with natural materials, and an anti-sprawl, pro-sustainability message. Each of these messages is interpreted individually. While many people live in a downtown loft conversion, which

creates a community, each has his or her own reasons. In this way, with control power, we gain choices, reframe the past, and mandate flexibility. None of these aspects are immutable. The symbol is literally only skin deep in terms of the thin malleable building shell that can change with new inhabitants, or even, such as the case of digital facades like those located in Times Square, can change in reaction to new passersby. Under control power, the message of architecture is fleeting and perceived individually, which is the direct opposite of meaning from antiquity up through the Middle Ages, where architecture was built for permanence and collectively shared interpretation. In this way, architecture and urban development can be directly linked to a definition of power.

In sum, if the iconic image of sovereign power in architecture is a fortified village or a gated community and disciplinary power is a prison or a campus, control power is an entertainment district or an historic structure converted to loft apartments. We learn a sense of power as we use cities and buildings, and furthermore, the type of power constitutes the built environment and ourselves. All three forms of power continue to exist in architectural imagery and spatial practices of the enacted city and are evident in the redevelopment of Ground Zero in New York.

### **Power and Ground Zero**

The redevelopment of Ground Zero in New York City at the site of the destroyed World Trade Center site epitomizes the significance of power in architecture. In reinventing this symbol of global commerce and replacing the

former “world’s tallest buildings,” the stakes are enormous. Cultural, economic, and political powers have vigorously fought for control of the site. Each perspective claims authority based on a different view of power and of American beliefs. Three forms of power, that is, sovereign, disciplinary, and control, framed the process and solutions. Ultimately, with fragmented authority, the voices of ordinary citizens and a long-term coherent vision for the city played secondary roles to the epic clash of three visions of America. Furthermore, similar conflicts shape the everyday planning of American cities, although rarely with such tragic needs or dramatic disappointment.

In this section, I describe the redevelopment process at Ground Zero and show how fragmentation and power struggles failed this historic project. As a situation where public trust was paramount yet still ignored, the redevelopment of Ground Zero serves as a cautionary tale for American cities. The various forms of power in the city and the entanglement with mythic narratives sets the scene for dialogue and resolution of differences, albeit with unsatisfying consequences at the site of the former World Trade Center in Lower Manhattan.

### **Ground Zero as Sacred Ground**

On September 11, 2001, Ground Zero became sacred ground for Americans (Sturken 314). Thus, a mammoth burden of expectations weighed on every decision involving reconstruction. Shocked that a small band of determined suicide bombers could literally destroy the tallest buildings in the largest city of the number one global power, the United States lost far more than two

skyscrapers; Americans lost their sense of security (Nobel 16). Intensifying the impact, the attack was viewed globally in real time via media coverage and then seared into the collective memory through exhaustive reruns. The repeated performances of the tragedy served only to chisel a deeply injurious memory. Riding on the wave of public outrage, leaders moved swiftly towards repairing the damage, healing the city, and reasserting American authority. Rebuilding became the salve of choice; funerals, speeches, retaliation, no other response would fill the monumental gap (Huxtable, “What” A36). “It is a place inscribed by local, national, and global meanings, a neighborhood, a commercial district, and a site of memory and mourning,” which revealed “the problematic relationship between urban design and the commercial interests” of a metropolis (Sturken 324). Americans’ sadness and anger supplied exigency to the rebuilding effort, mandating that the response be symbolic. Ground Zero was sacred ground; no ordinary office complex would do.

When the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, owner of the site, offered six quickly sketched concepts, the public was outraged by the idea of mundane office buildings at



Fig. 1. Beyer Blinder Belle “Memorial Plaza,” 2002. (Courtesy of Beyer Blinder Belle.)

Ground Zero and questioned appropriateness of the uses and size of the project (Goldberger, “Up” 102; Huxtable, “Another” D10) (Fig. 1). The plans were rapidly withdrawn and a governor-appointed group, the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) was charged with managing the redevelopment process. Thus two critical decisions were cemented by the leadership. First, the original floor area and uses would be replaced. Second, the buildings must indeed be heroic. In short, the pragmatic functions which flew in the face of public input were established essentially without broader debate, overshadowed by the urgent public need for a memorable solution. An international call to architects hit the street within days. From over four hundred submissions, seven invited teams participated in a design competition (Goldberger, “Up” 4).

In late 2002, the architectural teams presented their ideas at a public forum. One architect, Daniel Libeskind, offered himself as part of the message as “a grateful immigrant” (Libeskind 23). Rather than discussing architecture, the Polish-born American gave his own background, speaking rapidly and with passion. Politicians, journalists, and the public were equally moved. “He talked about commemoration, memory, mourning, and renewal, and he did it with the zeal of a preacher” (Goldberger, “Up” 9). Ada Louise Huxtable stated that Libeskind had “struck a common nerve. . . . [T]his is what people really wanted, and what New York needs; . . . nothing will ever be better than this” (“Don’t” par. 15-17).



Libeskind's design, entitled "Memory Foundations," was a cluster of four prism-shaped towers of decreasing heights surrounding a memorial plaza where the twin towers stood plus one tower across Liberty Street (Fig. 2). In the words of the architect, the tall angular spire was "reasserting the skyline," the 1,776 feet high recognized the signatory year of the Declaration of Independence, and its angular shape evoked the Statue of Liberty (Libeskind 47). The name "Memorial Foundations" referenced the exposed slurry retaining wall that lined the west edge and held back the Hudson River (Goldberger, "Up" 8; Libeskind 48). Furthermore, to return the city to its original small blocks and bustling streets, he reconnected the street grid from the monolithic 1970s "superblock" of the WTC towers. In the two large squares that were the footprint of the twin towers, he designated the Heroes Park. A shaft of sunlight would shine on the twin towers footprint each year at the exact time of the event.

For the next few months, the public examined models and drawings, declaring their preferences by sticking green/yes and red/no dots on the models. Although an equal number supported Libeskind's ideas and an alternative



Fig. 2. Libeskind "Memory Foundations," Dec. 2002. (Courtesy of Studio Daniel Libeskind.)

submission by an architectural group called THINK, the LMDC leadership determined to vote in favor of the THINK proposal. However, after the final presentations, Governor George Pataki selected Libeksind's Memorial Foundations, which was seen by many as a unilateral decision and a betrayal of the public process he instigated (Goldberger, "Up" 169-67). As an additional act of authority, the governor re-named the tallest skyscraper the Freedom Tower. Thus, Pataki, the only person who could cancel the lease or override the developer, determined how much and what to build plus named the tallest structure, in direct defiance to public input (88-89).

Larry Silverstein, the developer, signed a long-term lease with the Port Authority six weeks prior to 9/11 and held the insurance policies for reconstruction, thus claiming legal and financial authority despite his relatively recent control of the site. Eschewing public dialogue, he claimed sole control of the site, stipulated the program functional requirements as one hundred percent replacement of the destroyed ten million square feet of office, and increased the retail space to six hundred thousand square feet (Nobel 58). Just prior to Pataki's design competition selection, Silverstein notified the LMDC that none of the finalists' plans were adequate from a real estate development perspective. Furthermore, Silverstein hired his usual architect, David Childs of Skidmore Owens and Merrill, a specialist in high-rise structures (Frontline/PBS). Interpreting Libeskind's solution as a master plan rather than a design concept, he decided to use the site plan but not the remainder of the scheme. Showing a lack



Fig. 3. Silverstein Site Plan 2003. Based on Libeskind's master plan. (Updated site plan, Foster +Partners, 6 Sept. 2008, provided courtesy of Silverstein Properties Inc.)

of concern for public representation, Childs said, “My client is not the LMDC or the people of New York. It’s Larry [Silverstein] who is calling the shots” (Libeskind 257). The acidic relationship between the architects, Libeskind and Childs, grew into a highly publicized battle (Frontline/ PBS).

Pataki intervened and stipulated particular elements of Libeskind’s design as mandatory, specifically, the site plan, memorial, and certain characteristics of the Freedom Tower. The site plan retained the same locations for the new towers, the slurry wall, and the memorial, which continues to portray the footprint of the two original buildings (Fig. 3). For a time, the Freedom Tower retained a sloped top surface atop a more upright structure. The spire kept the symbolic height of 1,776 and was weakly attached to one side in response to Pataki’s admonishment, “the torch does not sit on her head,” referring to the Statue of Liberty (Huxtable, “No” D10). In 2005, Silverstein and Childs fundamentally altered the building concept. Rather than a prism of angled planes extending from ground to the spire’s peak, they stated that a square tower with chamfered corners supplied more leasable space. With a flattened top, the conventional appearance of the tower referenced the original WTC towers more than Libeskind’s angular design (Huxtable, “In the Fray” D9). Three adjacent buildings remained as place-holder masses later designed by three renowned architects, with the fifth tower assuming a reduced role. No



Fig. 4. Childs/SOM Freedom Tower 2006, after NYPD security review; towers designed by consortium. (Courtesy of Silverstein Properties Inc.).

longer a single complex, the redevelopment became five unique towers, distinct not by their commonalities but by their individuality (Fig. 4).

The final set of revisions responded to New York Police Department's security review in spring 2005 (Healy and Rashbaum A1). Due to a concern for curbside truck bombs, the first twenty floors were encapsulated in concrete two hundred feet tall, eliminating the opportunity for lively spaces facing the streets or plaza (Dunlap and Collins A1). Consequently, reconnecting the streets which was intended to tie the development into the city actually results in greater fortification and segregation of the Freedom Tower from the city. The spire sits squarely on

top of the symmetrical tower in opposition to Pataki's requirement. Each change reduced the sense of cohesion among the structures and weakened the sense of a single complex, as an outward sign of the raging project battles.

For two years, Silverstein fought with more than twenty insurance companies using legal challenges to secure maximum financial resources for the project and in late 2004 was awarded over four billion dollars to replace the original twin towers. Project difficulties mounted and new tenants for the structures emerged slowly. In 2007 under daunting public pressure, Silverstein agreed to return control of the Freedom Tower, Tower 1, back to the Port Authority while retaining the rights to Towers 2, 3, and 4. Ironically, his usual architect, David Childs, is only designing the Freedom Tower while he works with three highly noted international architects, namely, Norman Foster, Richard Rogers, and Fumihiko Maki for the other three towers. Selected without public review, their tower design process also occurred with minimum public input. In short, Ground Zero became a private endeavor with public announcements replacing public participation.

As of fall 2008, while work is slowly progressing at the Freedom Tower, no construction extends above the ground level, and public attention has turned to the completion of the transit hub and the memorial. Silverstein remains the developer for the three other towers, Pataki exited the project when his term in office ended, and Libeskind provides minor oversight in "his new role as a budget line on a commercial developer's balance sheet" (Mortice par. 8). Clearly

Libeskind, Silverstein, and Pataki each held a different vision for Ground Zero based on different types of power as analyzed in the next section.

### **Sovereign, Disciplinary, and Control Power at Ground Zero**

All three forms of power -- sovereign power, disciplinary power, and control power -- played significant roles in the design and process of the Ground Zero redevelopment. First of all, looking at power in the architectural design, Libeskind's Memory Foundations visually represented control power, rather than the fortified forms of sovereign power or the modern mechanical images of disciplinary power, although granted, this explanation takes the idea of Deleuze's control power quite literally. However, as noted, each form of power is expressed in architecture, and Libeskind is clearly an architect who employs the most advanced concepts of design and culture. His signature style of shards and gravity-defying angles expressed fragmentation in architectural form. While the use of glass, clustered buildings, and monumental structures can potentially represent any of the three forms of power, the impetus for sovereign power is might, for disciplinary power is normalcy, and for control power is attraction and influence; this last form shaped Memory Foundations. Libeskind believes that the world is not stagnant; it is "a place of fluctuation, rotating in a cosmic space" (196). He stated that his intention was to "make something right that could come out of this horrible wrong" (159) and his tower was "reasserting the skyline" (177). In other words as an existing context, he saw a situation of great tragedy, a city with a powerful skyline, and a country with a spirit of freedom, and he sought

to repair the damage through architectural design. He eloquently writes of his experiences at the slurry wall, and of inspiration from Chartres Cathedral, as though the darkness was in the ground and the lightness was in the towers of his concept. Both devices were intended to convince people (or in control power's terms, attract) through a narrative about memory and hope, where dark below represented the past, the soul of the place, and light above represented optimism towards the future (16). Thus, the design expresses joint themes of mourning and democratic opportunity, "the promise of liberty and happiness guaranteed in our Constitution" (239), and represented an image of control power through the fragmented imagery, and the intention to attract through architectural experience.

As the design changed under the direction of Silverstein and his architect Childs, the shift to a pragmatic design solution represented the dominant force of capitalism, thus symbolizing disciplinary power much like skyscrapers of the early and mid-twentieth century. While the Freedom Tower began as a jubilant image of control power intended to attract people through its dramatic angles, Silverstein's final building solution is a more upright, solid image, not at all expressive of a futuristic vision. Other than its monumental height, the tower if anything looks backwards; its solid shape is familiar, rather than daring.

After the security review, fortifications of sovereign power emerged. Much like a ninety-foot-wide medieval moat around twenty-story castle battlements, the magnitude of the security response promises safety and implies every possible protection will be covered. Yet risks remain. The occupiable upper



floors are enclosed by glass walls that expose workers to the possibility of another airplane attack. People entering the building daily become hyper-sensitive or nonchalant about possible problems; their frequent movements and long-term attitudes increase their exposure. Most significantly, at three hundred feet taller than the original towers, the Freedom Tower creates an appealing target. In other words, these security devices do not insure safety and simultaneously decrease the joy of working in or visiting the tower.

Consequently, the message of the Freedom Tower's fortified base is far more clearly one of fear, not strength. The massive barriers serve as daily reminders that the city is not safe. In enacted architecture, public strength demonstrates confidence in our ability to fend off attacks at the nation's borders, to build an appropriate response that recognizes but is not reduced by threats, to allow people to move freely from street to workplace in transparent buildings filled with air and light, not hide behind towers of blank concrete walls that serve only to raise people above the height of a truck bomb blast. The disconnection represents a reactionary, fearful response, rather than a forward thinking, bold solution.

The Freedom Tower will exist alone in this dystopian vision, a brave patriot in a warrior's world. None of the other buildings on the Ground Zero site are similarly barricaded. The message is clear: it must never fall. An exaggerated defensive response to security concerns destroys the street life and represents America in a state of terror rather than courage and opportunity. Ultimately, the

building is shaped on the top floors by disciplinary power, and on the bottom floors by sovereign power. Any forward looking images of control power are absent.

### **Power and the Design Process**

All three forms of power also emerged in the actions of the project leaders during the redevelopment process. As an act of public outreach to enable diverse public participation, the design competition represented the flattened networks of control power, and simultaneously supplied Libeskind with his right to the site. Libeskind aimed to make the most of the situation through a visionary, dramatic response and worked to convince the public that his design would heal the wounds (Goldberger, “Up” 160). Furthermore, he believed that he understood and could interpret the public exigency through design. In this persona, he was, in essence, serving as a stand-in for the public voice.

Silverstein’s authority was based on a system of private freedoms and expertise, indicative of disciplinary power. However, only in the era of control power have public/private ventures so dramatically influenced urban development. While Silverstein honed his real estate development knowledge during the disciplinary era of compartmentalized fields of expertise, he embraced the complex age of control power, using contracts to extend his corporate reach away from public view. Therefore, he employed a complex strategy of both types of power. Control power allowed him to take over public rights regardless of property ownership by the Port Authority, and ignore public mandates due to the

tragic circumstances; disciplinary power allowed him to claim expert authority over his peers. From a perspective of disciplinary power, broad-based participation or public competitions served no purpose. He saw the public as consumers and workers, not part of the development process, and showed no interest in the need for national healing. For him, Ground Zero redevelopment represented strictly a business deal; nothing should interrupt that process.

Pataki believed in the right of the sovereign, and he became that voice. Ground Zero was a public situation, an affair of the state, which he framed as a patriotic mission related to a military cause. Rebuilding New York City was a means to demonstrate American might and reassert its rightful position as the most powerful nation. The Freedom Tower would be bigger and bolder than the destroyed towers to symbolize American strength, retaliate against terrorists, and mend the damage to America. Furthermore, the Freedom Tower was a call to arms, an office building that was a patriotic symbol. He saw his role as the political authority with the vision of America for Americans, which was a mission of freedom and democracy. In a fashion, the redevelopment was an act of retaliation. His sovereign perspective divided people into those for or against this vision.

In sum, Libeskind primarily used control power evident in the fragmented, shard designs and his belief in public processes while Pataki worked through sovereign power and the dominance of America. Silverstein won control of the design by using both control power and disciplinary power strategically. First,

control power enabled him to gain authority through invisible means and second, disciplinary power divided concerns by expertise so he could dominate his foes. Similarly, the final design is a hybrid of disciplinary corporate power in the glassed upper tower and sovereignty in the fortified base. Control power, the prevailing discursive formation, was banished from the Freedom Tower's architectural symbolism. To the detriment of the project and the city, the changes to the design enabled responses reminiscent of the past rather than an optimistic view of a forward-looking New York. In addition, these uses of power created ripe conditions for distortions of the American Dream myth.

### **Mythic Foundations at Ground Zero**

From these positions of power, each man employed American myths to make their claims of authority, and in a similar fashion, these claims emerged in both design solutions and in actions. Libeskind and his design reflect the moralism of the American Dream. Silverstein used materialism and individualism to assert private property rights over the needs of society. Pataki employed the rallying cry of patriotic freedom as a claim for American strength. Each entwined a different approach to power and authority with these three representations of America; satisfying all three visions at Ground Zero proved impossible.

The American Dream myth as defined by Walter Fisher actually contains two ideological narratives, materialism and moralism, and “requires symbols that her citizens can identify with” (“Reaffirmation” 161). Materialism sprang from the Puritan work ethic that created the “rags to riches” American success stories

and revered rugged individualism. Moralism subscribes to an egalitarianism woven into the Declaration of Independence as “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” and “all men are created equal” (162). The American Dream supplies a path towards the better life, where ordinary people become heroes capable of extraordinary feats. In Robert Rowland and John Jones’s analysis of the American Dream, they identify *opportunity* as the key term. “America is a place of opportunity and challenge, where every individual who is willing to work long and hard has the possibility of producing a better life” (431). The hero of the American Dream balances individual values of hard work and determination with collective values of freedom and the good of the nation. In sum, the opportunity to experience the American Dream defines our conceptions of the land in which we live, who we are as a people, and how we act individually and as a nation. The ways we enact the American Dream pivot on the balance of individual and collective betterment.

The mission, therefore, according to Americans, is to preserve the opportunity for a better life through freedom and democracy. These freedoms are endowed by the First Amendment along with the right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” granted by the Declaration of Independence. Furthermore, freedom frames not only rights to act freely but also the patriotic urge to spread freedom and democracy to other people. Freedom serves as a mission, even a destiny, to achieve success through self-initiative. Thus, three transcendent values

– moralism, materialism, and freedom –shape the American identity; each found a champion at the redevelopment of Ground Zero.

In his enactment of the American Dream, Daniel Libeskind was the perfect American hero, a combination of immigrant and artist, a figure of hopes and dreams more than hardened experience (Nobel 170). Libeskind was born in Poland in 1946 to parents who were Holocaust survivors and moved to the Bronx as a child (Libeskind 64). Rising to the top of international architecture circles, he enacted the American Dream by achieving extraordinary success from humble beginnings. He likened the collapse of the American spirit to the collapse of the buildings. “After September 11, it seemed that all of our foundations, philosophical as well as physical, were under attack and might also collapse” (26). In his promise to the public, he recognized that Ground Zero “is about paying homage to the great heroes and also seeing the city move forward. I want to make a site for the best memorial the world has ever seen” (25). For him, rebuilding at Ground Zero meant restoring the dream through design excellence, the hallmark of the good city. Between the design and the architect, opportunity, equality and memory were honored and moved America and Americans toward a better life.

Silverstein’s biography illustrates the materialism of the American Dream. He grew up in a middle class Brooklyn neighborhood and through real estate development achieved great wealth, an indicator of his hard work and the opportunities of free market capitalism (Funding Universe 1).<sup>16</sup> In his view, Ground Zero redevelopment represented a traditional although enormous business

deal, framed by legal and financial rights, not artistic or patriotic claims. His role was to secure the financing and move the project forward, and his goals were entirely materialistic: create the maximum leasable space allowed by zoning regulations. From this view, no public mandates or iconic designs should impede his objective to build the most leasable space on the site as quickly as possible.

In Libeskind's story and his spectacular concept, Governor George Pataki found a public hero for restoring Ground Zero and design ideas he could reframe into a story of patriotism to reassert America's might, and enact retribution against the terrorists. The extraordinarily tall Freedom Tower embodies America as bold, dramatic, and strong, literally a pinnacle of power. While the name Libeskind used, Memorial Foundations, reflects on the past, the dreadful tragedy of lives lost, and America's spirit traumatized, the new name, the Freedom Tower, envisions patriotism, the fighting can-do will of the American persona, and a valiant new symbol of power. In short, the Freedom Tower shifts from a message of restoration to retaliation; the new icon became an object of conflict rather than unification.

Notably, the three men disagreed on the balance of individual and societal concerns based at Ground Zero. Where Libeskind saw a collective of structures connected to the urban fabric, Silverstein and Pataki privileged an individual skyscraper. By focusing on the single form of the Freedom Tower, the vitality of clustered buildings disappeared, a critical symbolic change. With the dynamic family of similar prisms gone, the message of individual competitiveness became

in a sense a metaphor for the process. The dialogue and the architectural design salute materialism and individualism rather than moralism and collectivism.

None of the three men asked if New York needed another skyscraper or profoundly considered the future of New York City. They accepted situational constraints and stood steadfast to their visions, I believe, because their responses were founded on three versions of power and three different images of America. Like looking in a three-way mirror, each justified his own version by claiming a right to control the site and invoking America's deepest values. Based on control power and moralism of the American Dream, Libeskind aimed to attract support through visionary, dynamic architecture and the power of artistic expression, but did not manage to sway the developer. Silverstein claimed disciplinary expertise and offered a pragmatic response based on the materialism of the American Dream myth. To retaliate and reassert American might, Pataki combined sovereign power with the patriotism of freedom and democracy.

As the narrative emerged, Silverstein held contractual rights, which he used to dominate any other concerns. Based on the historic public mandate, Pataki had the ability to overcome the contract, if he had understood the nature of control power and seen beyond the blindness of sovereign patriotism to craft a compelling, transcendent message. He failed to draw deeply upon the intensive public mandate, employing instead a "single decider" approach. Eventually, the Port Authority took back control of the Freedom Tower, justified by public rights, but far too late to implement a larger vision than



offered under Silverstein's plan. Libeskind's only arrow in his quiver was the persuasive power of design, but he had no real means of asserting that vision. As noted by Foucault, architects do not control political discourse; instead, their only means of producing results are when their intentions "coincide with the real practice of people in their exercise of freedom" ("Space" 245). Libeskind's public pleas eventually faded, as he worked to salvage parts of the earlier vision. He too was trapped by constraints of the situation, in his case, the original functional requirements defined by the program. To participate, he consented to the massive construction, as did all of the final architectural teams, and furthermore, the public's enthusiasm was shared with another architectural team. While the project had a public mandate, the design carried a partial endorsement, tainted in part by the terrible negotiations. Ultimately, what good might have come from reconnecting the flow of people and traffic into the vibrancy of the urban fabric was undermined by extreme fortifications. Thus, the fragmentation of control power both enabled and destroyed opportunities for each of the key people, none who found a way to transcend the constraints of a finite project or ultimately draw upon the intentions of the people.

Architect, developer, and governor imagined three different Americas and operated from three forms of power. Therefore, they were each able to claim a right to the site and a right to the American mythic foundations. Amazingly, none held the same view of power or of America; thus they operated on three parallel tracks that never aimed to intersect. Because they

each believed they had the right to act and the best interest of America in their vision, they failed to fulfill the public urge for a strong symbol at Ground Zero and a better future for New York.

### **Conclusion**

Power is enacted in cities as three forms: sovereign, disciplinary, and control. Sovereign power protects and enforces through fortified barriers and is represented in cities in acts of security and monumentality. Disciplinary power divides and specializes through behavior conventions, which is evident in segregated neighborhoods and institutional facilities such as prisons, universities, and hospitals. Control power blurs, masks, and fragments authority and uses influence and attractions such as branding to control us through technology and experiences, which is evident architecturally in themed mixed use districts and loft conversions. During the past two decades, control power has emerged as the dominant type in American society. However, all three remain part of the built environment and continue to influence and control us in varying degrees.

At Ground Zero, these three forms of power shaped the actions of the key actors. Libeskind's desire to create a visionary symbol that represented the moralism of the American Dream and expressed the fragmented image of control power, Governor Pataki's claim of sovereign power's right to seek justice by constructing the Freedom Tower, a symbol of American might, and Silverstein's pursuit of individual property rights and disciplinary authority as

the development expert can be seen as three parallel paths. None asked: what should we build on this site to consider the long term future of New York City? In other words, none sought a transcendent mission that transcendent immediate constraints, and combined the three views into a vision that served America's need for a symbol and New York's revitalization. Rather than inspiring unity, the formidable public mandate contributed to their urgency to move ahead, and tragically aided a second disaster at Ground Zero: an inability to fulfill the public directive. The public seemingly understood the symbolic nature of the situation more deeply than the leaders (Low 326; Sturken 315). The final solution represents fragmentation rather than the ability of differing views to come together in a single vision. In the final analysis, the solution fails to respond to the public mandate for a renewed American spirit, restore the grandness of Lower Manhattan and the New York skyline, or resolve the multiple forms of power and American values.

The inability to communicate and collaborate across different domains of control sits at the center of this failure. That fragmentation illustrates the essence of control power. During the era of disciplinary power, authority was more clearly marked; science and expert knowledges empowered rationalism that privileged certain groups. Due to clearly demarcated bounds of authority, one vision could be assured in urban development. At Ground Zero, if there was no public/private partnership, public authority would claim full rights and control decisions, thereby creating a project organization that mirrored

expectations of the American public. However, under control power, public and private rights overlap and allowed private enterprise to assume authority with little regard for an historic public mandate. In reality, this situation made no sense beyond the realm of contractual negotiations. In terms of social and urban needs, we ask: Why is a public symbol so enmeshed in private control?

However, under control power, three entities claimed rights; each envisioned a different America and a different set of problems. In other words, the three men dug into the deepest portions of the American identity and exploited the cracks. While control power enables greater choices and diverse voices, this very situation means that some overriding mission, a unifier that joins public and private will, is needed to create visionary cities. While mythic roots can tie people together and transcend differences, divergent views of the myth can splinter activities, feed conflicting claims, and ultimately fuel the flames of difference rather than foster unity. Ground Zero redevelopment shows how we can come together and fall apart in an era of control power.

These struggles are not unique to Ground Zero; fragmented control power has ravaged American cities for several decades. We frequently assume the power of disciplinary experts, and the ability to legitimately claim simple authority, when we need to work with the power of fragmented control, whereby different views are respected and ultimately represented towards balanced, unified solutions. Nothing in the urban development system mandates balance, and many elements fight it. To understand American cities and in fact,

America, and to heal the damage of the fractured postmodern era of control power, cities benefit when they seek balance through dialogue, exercise freedoms and dominations in good measure, and allow both individuals and communities real opportunities to envision better lives.

## **Chapter Five**

### **A Sense of Public**

Senator Patrick Moynihan wrote in 1962, “Architecture is inescapably a political art, and it reports faithfully for ages to come what the political values of a particular age were. Surely ours must be openness and fearlessness in the face of those who hide in the darkness” (13). Public buildings and places hold a responsibility to symbolize national values. However, while the public realm may be most closely associated with public buildings, government-owned property represents just one type. Through our everyday use of cities, we gain a sense of public as we visit City Hall, walk down a sidewalk, and negotiate city streets. In terms of enacted architecture, I propose that the public realm can be characterized as three comprehensive forms: (1) public symbols, (2) public spaces, and (3) public interests. As evident in civic buildings and monuments, public symbols refer to representations of publicness. Public spaces are where we gather and act publicly. Public interests are those elements of the public realm that we hold in common, from the scale of a skyline to a neighborhood or sidewalk. In other words, an enacted public involves how we act and assemble publicly, how we are represented, and how we share interests. As we create and use public spaces, we constitute the public realm, and simultaneously gain a sense of what is public and how we are public.

Many scholars have marked the deterioration of the public realm and perhaps nowhere is that trend more apparent than in cities.<sup>17</sup> While the loss of

clarity between public and private is frequently cited as both cause and evidence of this decline, I argue that the increased ambiguity between public and private realms heightens the need for distinctions. When edges between them blur, responsibilities and accountability overlap and eventually one domain can subsume the other. By losing sight of what is public, we also lose opportunities for interaction with and understanding of different people and contrary ideas. Cities depend on participation among strangers who may have little in common except geography and a desire to live well. The city enables and represents collective action and community membership as well as preservation of privacy and individual freedoms. Consequently, each enactment of publicness is enjoined with an act of privateness, just as each public monument or space is also a testament to private endeavors. As we enact the city, public and private realms are distinguished by their different purposes and responsibilities. In developing equitable social rights to the city, it is quite important to consider whether public, as well as private, interests are being served.

The National Mall in Washington D.C. epitomizes publicness in terms of space, symbols, and interests. Known as “America’s Front Yard,” citizens enact the national mythic narrative by walking the Mall. In this chapter, I write as an American, recognizing that other Americans may experience the Mall in a different way, and that international visitors to the United States have different interpretations of the Mall. While people come together at the Mall, each has a unique point of view; no single, uniform view of the Mall, or of America, exists.

In fact, that is true of every space, and clarified in the triad of spatial forms – perceived space, conceived space, and lived-in space (Lefebvre, *Production* 40). However, that triad does not preclude shared experiences; when we experience a place, and especially when that place signifies a national myth, we enact a shared narrative, much like the use of language which is both shared and individualized.

My purpose is to explore the public enactment of national myth and the roles public space, public monuments and public interests play in constituting the public realm. In this analysis, I focus on the area anchored by the Washington Monument, Jefferson Memorial, and Lincoln Memorial. The entire triangular space including the monuments and water features represents the American myth of “freedom through individual initiative,” also stated as “the individual writ large” (Robertson 349). Three newer monuments expand and deepen the symbolic meaning: the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, the World War II Memorial, and the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial. Each fulfills a portion of the narrative and connects to a different element of the citizenry, yet as a whole, they symbolize the collectively-held beliefs of freedom, opportunity, and individualism as the cornerstones of American exceptionalism. We enact publicness at the Mall and in doing so re-instill those values in ourselves individually and collectively, thus breathing new life into the national ethos.

In this chapter, I argue that as we enact architecture, we gain a sense of who we are publicly and simultaneously gain a sense of what is public. Furthermore, we simultaneously frame the private realm through the partnership



and interaction of the two domains. As a prime example of the public realm, the National Mall embodies America's charter myth and illustrates the roles of public space, public interests, and public symbols. In the first section, I define public and private realms followed by discussions on public space, public symbols, and public interests. Second, I explore the role of myth in commemorative monuments and in the vitality of sacred places as they pertain to the public realm. Third, I consider the most explicitly public American space, the National Mall. Through ritual pilgrimages, citizens enact the national myth and renew American identity. As home of the longest continuously operating democracy, the National Mall represents one of the most powerful examples of contemporary public symbolism. By recognizing the experience of citizen enactments at the National Mall, we can better understand how a national myth is re-affirmed and revitalized through architecture. Furthermore, we gain a sense of the work that cities and architecture perform in constituting the public realm.

### **What Is Public?**

While the public realm is extensively explored in rhetorical scholarship, the focus is primarily on discursive forms.<sup>18</sup> Very little attention is given to the idea of public in built form, both in terms of how places influence publics, or how public places represent the public sphere. While a number of disputes exist between liberal, critical, and vernacular approaches, they typically sideline the topic of physical contexts. In fact, Cara Finnegan and Jiyeon Kang argue that public sphere scholarship not only ignores visual forms, it tends towards

iconophobia, a fear of images, including a desire to destroy visual references (381). Yet clearly, in ancient Athens the agora both symbolized and constituted the public realm and established a spatial dimension of publicness. The center of the city was also the center of public life, where people encountered strangers who held different values and interests, even worshipped different gods (Sennett, “*Civitas*” 82). Just as the discursive forms of the public sphere have fundamentally changed since ancient Greece, spatial rhetoric has also been transformed. Through the frame of enacted architecture, the idea of *public* is not so much a stage for discursive performances as it is constitutive and reflective of publicness. In sum, as we enact the public realm of architecture, we experience and generate what is public; in cities, we see can what is public.

A great deal of scholarship surrounding the work of Jurgen Habermas and the public sphere has instigated several alternative approaches. He defined the public sphere as “a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and where possible, to reach a common judgment,” located between private interests of family and corporations, and the arena of state power. In enacted architecture in addition to ignoring public space, this concept omits two critical areas of public interaction, that is, concerns between citizens and private developers and participation in public agency forums for planning and development. By bracketing both corporate and state involvement, the public sphere is confined to limited situations such as special

interest or neighborhood groups and fails to enable direct dialogues between the various actors who develop cities.

Seyla Benhabib argues that public sphere scholarship including Lippman, Dewey, Arendt, and Habermas actually contributed to a decline in public actions because they envisioned a nostalgic public sphere “of action and deliberation, participation and collective decision making; today there no longer is one, or if a public sphere still exists, it is so distorted, weakened and corrupted as to be a pale recollection of what once was” (164). In these views, the ideal model is behind us, leaving the public sphere in need of repair and rejuvenation. However, Benhabib disagrees with these perspectives and instead proposes to engage citizens in public actions through by connecting cultural and political interests.<sup>19</sup> Similarly other scholars see social engagement as a means for defining and revitalizing the public realm.<sup>20</sup> In this way, the city and architecture are cultural representatives and serve as sites for public engagement.

In contrast to liberal, critical, and vernacular approaches, Robert Asen defines public in terms of action. “People may become public subjects through their work habits, consumption patterns and familial interactions” (195). In other words, we are public in our everyday choices as we use the city as well as through formal deliberations about urban issues of common interest, an approach that enables a connection to spatial rhetoric and the public realm of cities and architecture. Furthermore, Asen’s approach includes a constitutive dimension; we generate the public realm in our daily actions.

As an entry point for enacted architecture, a number of urban scholars and sociologists have extended the idea of the public sphere to cities. Echoing Senator Moynihan, Richard Sennett declares that cities are by nature political. “A city is a place where people can learn to live with strangers, to enter into the experiences and interests of unfamiliar lives” (“New Capitalism” 1). During industrialization, he claims, the city enabled territorial separation of socio-economic classes. Furthermore, mobility and globalization creates temporary and tenuous connections to place and cost cities the “neighborliness of strangers” (1). Bruno Latour focused on “making things public” and called for an object-oriented democracy which “binds us in ways that map out a public sphere” (15). Moving democratic action beyond the bounds of parliaments, he claims we need to enlarge the concept to the whole of cities and countries, thereby closing the gap between realism (which combines representative participation and representing objects) and the public sphere (16). Matthew Gandy states, “Urban infrastructures are not only the material manifestation of political power but they are also systems of representation that lend urban space its cultural meaning” (39). By relating architecture and the public sphere, these scholars lay the groundwork for explaining the public realm within an enacted architecture framework.

### **Public and Private Realms: Two Sides of the Same Coin**

Public and private realms are commonly described as public voice and private self. While these definitions establish a basic model, they do not adequately explain the situation of cities. In a review of scholarship about public

and private domains, communication scholar William Rawlins defined public life as “commerce and the economy, political participation and holding office” while private life consists of “intimate and familial relationships, domestic endeavors, and limited economic activities pursued for the benefit of others” (370). As what could be characterized as a common sense approach, this definition segregates the domestic world from state and corporate domains. However, urban development and spatial practices require a more nuanced approach.

First, in terms of developing, debating, and owning cities, corporations are considered private, but simply moving business into the private column does not cover hybrid arrangements such as privately owned property that functions as public space. Second, public agencies and private corporations frequently collaborate on creating, owning, and controlling projects. Third, in the United States, interests between public and private entities converge due to the economic relationship with land and with jobs that play key roles in increasing public revenues. Consequently, in development projects, citizen interests frequently sit in opposition to government and corporate positions, splitting the idea of *public interests*. Fourth, public and private interests converge in terms of values. “Privacy is also a public value in that it has value not just to the individual as individual or to all individuals in common but also to the democratic political system” (Regan 213). In sum, public and private cannot be distinguished simply by naming or identifying property ownership or control. Instead public and private can be seen as a continuum of interests and responsibilities.

Several scholars address the confusion between public and private realms. Sennett argues that when privileged and under-privileged people used the same streets, people knew how to work with and live among different types of strangers. However, he argues, capitalism created a desire to be protected from difference when in public, and home became a refuge. Rather than public as a place to encounter strangers and resolve differences with detachment, people state their views from a personal perspective. Fear of being revealed “out in public” creates private, even anxious, selves in public and undermines our ability to act confidently and interact with a variety of viewpoints (“*Civitas*” 20-21). Similarly, Gary Gumpert and Susan Drucker, noted urban communication scholars, claim that rather than a balance between the two domains, we are preoccupied with privacy, and thus, in effect, devalue publicness. “The ascending value of privacy embraces the de-emphasis of public obligation, the fashion of disconnection, and the security of public safety” (409). Consequently, people commonly desire personal control and safety coupled with public anonymity and minimal obligation to others (412). In other words, rather than seeing publicness and cultivating shared interests from diverse views as positive forces towards stronger communities, engaging in public actions may be feared and avoided. Thus, not only is the public realm difficult to define, it lacks desirability.

In enacted architecture, to clarify problems of overlapping domains, public and private are defined by actions and spatial practices regarding representation,

access, and control of space. These actions are manifested in public interests, public spaces, and public symbols, which are the topics of the next sections.

### **Public Interests**

Given the blurred lines between public and private interests, determining what is public and accounting for changes in roles often remains unresolved during both planning stages and in everyday spatial practices, resulting in new forms of disputes. Based on studies of political action surrounding development, Clarence Stone argues that public voices outside the core group of decision makers hold little influence (Stone 26). Furthermore, traditional forms of public representation have weakened. Increasingly in public/private developments, cities reallocate responsibilities of design, construction, and management of public assets to private developers (Cybriwsky 225; Kayden 7). Yet despite the increased role of the private sector in publicly-financed developments serving public uses, corresponding changes in public access and representation are frequently overlooked (Boeder 1; Latour 14). Thus, while public and private collaborations are at the heart of making cities and benefit each, the expansion in these relationships threatens public representation.<sup>21</sup>

As a frame for public interests, Henri Lefebvre created a manifesto called “the right to the city” that insures we each have equal access for social encounters and for everyday experiences that allow the full use of the city.<sup>22</sup> He cites the need to protect the right of urban dwellers to participate in the city and decision making, specifically noting threatened groups such as low-income groups, ethnic

minorities, and children. Building on this work, David Harvey states the right to the city is “not merely a right of access to what the property speculators and state planners define, but an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our heart’s desire, and to re-make ourselves thereby in a different image” (“Right” 941). In order to achieve a different order of rights and practices, he argues that cities need new urban commons, public spheres, and participation to “roll back the huge wave of privatization” (941). In other words, public interest can be conceived as not only a reactive participation but also confers the ability to initiate plans as citizens collectively beyond the realm of private real estate and disciplinary expertise. In enacted architecture, the right to the city provides a foundation for negotiating and understanding shared public interests as part of the process of developing and making a city through use.

One frequently cited success story, Vancouver, British Columbia, has integrated public engagement to create a high level of livability and quality public spaces in terms of design and access. According to the city’s charter, the public realm includes eight distinct elements of shared interests: environmental stewardship, cultural identity, natural terrain protection, skyline design, flexible streets for multi-modal transit, access to natural resources such as waterfronts and view corridors, heritage preservation, and allocation of public financial resources (Punter 157). In other words, the natural and built form and cultural heritage are held in common and debated among city residents. Using this perspective to



create a simple definition for enacted architecture, public interests include representation by and of people in the creation and use of the city.

### **Public Space**

Based on the historic village common, public space is shared among strangers for purposes of gathering or mobility. According to Iris Marion Young, “A public space is a place accessible to anyone, where anyone can participate and witness” and represent differences (347). Public space enables unity through diversity. We assemble as a matter of daily function and utility, due to a special event of common interests or to address differences. Young identifies virtues of public space to include social differentiation of distinct ethnic districts, mixed uses within public spaces, and public celebration of differences (346-47). In the liberal tradition of civil society, Peter Rowe, former dean of Harvard Graduate School of Design, states that “*civic* lies somewhere between the private realm of one’s existence and the public domain of officialdom . . . [and] produced by the influence and activities of both domains” (Rowe 66). Furthermore, he defines urban-architectural public space according to programmatic function, representational dimension as aesthetic or symbolic articulations, and constitutive dimension in terms of “enhancing the civic experience of life” (68-9). These two perspectives, seemingly at opposite ends, can in fact lead to identification of public space through design elements, functions, access, and participation, in short, a representative spatial mosaic where differences are distinct and contribute to the overall spatial form and uses.

Perhaps contrary to commonly held understandings, public space is not defined by property ownership. Sidewalks are one territory where access and control have been bitterly contested in court, largely finding that sidewalks that are part of the fabric of a city represent a public forum.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, sidewalks that serve the city constitute public space while, in contrast, publicly-owned sidewalks on a military base, which are cordoned off from general public use, are publicly-owned yet have restricted public access. In other words, traditional urban elements and common spaces in private projects function as public space regardless of ownership based on public expectations of access for use. Public space refers to public access for use, and is not linked to ownership but to location and function in the city. These confusions create the need for more nuanced definitions of public and private spaces. Because enacted architecture relies on symbols in use, then, shopping, driving, using a public park, and other daily uses of the city represent public actions in parallel with Asen's definition of public (195). Through spatial practices, we constitute the public realm. Public and private realms are defined in terms of contributions to and influence on the greater collectivity, including relationships with neighbors as well as strangers. The right to the city protects and balances individuals and society through inclusion, access, and representation.

In sum, public space is defined through spatial practices and experiences according to access and ability to control behavior, evidenced by the example of sidewalks. Public space is defined by expectations of public access for use in

terms of its function in the city, not by property ownership. Therefore, shopping malls and sidewalks integrated with the urban fabric are public while publicly owned sidewalks on military bases are not. Sennett proposes that public space must be the center of activity, the focal point of the community where political discussions and everyday congregating of strangers occurs, accommodating not just mobility but also conversations and contemplation, and most importantly, representing the community's moral purposes. We should make "a place where those who are unlike find some sense of mattering to each other" ("*Civitas*" 84). Public space therefore can first be defined in terms of basic legal rights to access and secondly be judged based on quality of spatial experiences and representation of public interests.

### **Public Symbols**

Significant buildings, monuments, spaces, artwork, highways, bridges and other architectural elements serve as civic symbols representing a group, community, or nation, in terms of ideas, values, or events. By representing society, Manuel Castells, urban communication scholar, claims that cities can reconcile differences between culture and technology, preserve meaning, and generate knowledge. "Architecture and design could become essential devices of cultural innovation and intellectual autonomy in the informational society" (*Rise* 453). Therefore, new architecture can build cultural value and rootedness as well as knowledge of technology and innovation. However, pitfalls surround cultural representation. Sennett claims we struggle to design meaningful centers in the

modern world because of our mobility and placelessness. We either copy former architectural ideas or we create a theme, “Disney World as a public space” (“*Civitas*” 83). The issue of authenticity and legitimate representation becomes a reflection of and a constitution of society, and furthermore, an expression of the designer’s interpretation. Justifiably, then the design of public space and symbols is often contested. An actively engaged community creates an environment where identity is continuously articulated through actions and architecture, as discussed in Chapter Three.

In sum, the public realm in enacted architecture refers to where we gather, what we hold in common, and what represents publicness, in short, how we enact shared spaces, interests, and symbols. Rather than stagnant terms, these publics gain significance through use and activity, by representing the plurality of a citizenry, and by generating identities as significant public symbols. Furthermore, what is public can be identified by spatial practices regarding access to space, control of space, and representation by people and of people in architecture. By considering the ways these functions are enacted, we can identify what is public in cities and architecture. In the next section, I consider how we enact the public realm at the National Mall in Washington D.C.

### **America’s Front Yard: The National Mall**

The National Mall in Washington D.C. epitomizes the public realm. We reenact the national myth as we walk the Mall and experience each monument. The sacred territory serves as the focal point of a national patriotic geography that



Fig. 1. National Mall aerial photograph 1980. Lincoln Memorial in foreground, Jefferson Memorial at far right and Washington Monument in upper center (Courtesy of National Park Service).

features “shrines, memorials, monuments, and battlefields at which patriotic orthodoxy has been ritualized and reinterpreted” (Chidester and Linenthal 14) (Fig. 1). Situated in a social, political, economic, and symbolic context of power, this national network of public spaces weaves a story of the American identity that instills patriotic interpretation and offsets competing visions. David Chidester and Edward Linenthal describe three attributes of sacred space. First, sacred space is a site carved out of the “ordinary” environment for sacred acts or rituals. These ritualized, controlled patterns of behavior, “embodied, spatial practice” represent the way things “ought to be” (9-10). Second, the space is significant “because it focuses crucial questions about what it means to be a human being in a meaningful world” (12). Third, the space is fiercely contested because “power is asserted and

resisted in any production of space, and especially in the production of sacred space” (15). In other words, sacred space is a site for rituals, provides instructions for living and connections to transcendent values, and is intensely contested. Therefore, the messages of sacred space reinforce relationships between leaders and citizens, insiders and outsiders, and primary and minority voices. All of these characteristics can be experienced at the National Mall as we enact public citizenship and inculcate patriotic values.

The National Mall features a message of democracy and freedom, supported by core values of honor, reason, perseverance, unity, and sacrifice and reinforces them through architecture, landscape, artwork, and inscriptions. Furthermore, we experience America there as a powerful nation of public virtues and citizen heroes. By enacting this sacred space, visitors encounter the visible America, both who and what is respected and valued, and can imagine the less prominent America of contested, appropriated “stealing back and forth of symbols ... whereby the Outs avoid ‘being driven into a corner’” (Burke, *Attitudes* 328). Increasingly, alternate views have a presence, most dramatically depicted in the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial that resists glorifying war and instead memorializes individual sacrifice. Similarly, the expanded representations of minority populations in the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial, Holocaust Memorial Museum, and National Museum of the American Indian enrich the American message.

Beginning with the Revolution and the founding fathers’ early acts, the American myth has been transformed over time as the nation evolved and

reinvented itself. Each major era and shift in the myth is reflected at the Mall. The American myth gives us a sense of destiny and unifies us as a nation.

The birth of the nation is of individuals and small communities that fiercely desire to control their own affairs, shape their own destinies, and pursue their own versions of happiness, but who at the same time want to be one people and one nation. (Robertson 69)

With the overall optimism of “the individual pursuit of happiness” (71), myth empowers Americans as a chosen people based on freedom, individualism, community, sacrifice, and patriotism in a land of equal opportunity. These values are embodied by the various monuments at the National Mall, which Americans reaffirm through ritual pilgrimages.

Myth and commemoration shape public memory and collective identities, serve to inculcate social values and behaviors, and underpin society’s power structures (Blair and Michel 58-59). Both connect us to transcendent values, but they take different paths. Myth aims to transcend particulars while commemoration’s function is *to memorialize* some event, person, or idea and build public memory. “To commemorate is to take a stand, to declare the reality of heroes (or heroic events) worthy of emulation or less frequently, that an event that occurred at a particular place was indeed so terrible that it must be remembered forever as a cautionary note” (Levinson 317). The purpose is to capture a memory and bring it to life for a contemporary audience or to “bring it into being” in response to the contemporary urge to memorialize (Linenthal 261). According to

Stephen Browne, memorials “collectively stress a sense of the text as a site of symbolic action, a place of cultural performance, the meaning of which is defined by its public and persuasive functions” (237). Memorials frame a particular memory as part of the official legacy of the American experience; by doing so, the memory is reshaped and reified, which simultaneously becomes an act of forgetting excluded elements (Armada 236; Hasian 66).

The National Mall is a sacred place of commemorative monuments where we reenact the national myths of American exceptionalism with evidence from each turn of history and reaffirm our values. Each artifact supplies a different portion of the story, unified around the central obelisk of the Washington Monument, representing the land of freedom and opportunity. Through this experience, Americans reenact the American myth and learn what is public and who we are in public.

### **America’s Most Public Space**

As American’s most public space, the National Mall was conceived in two major plans: the 1790 L’Enfant plan and the 1901 McMillan Plan. The first plan established the grid of the District of Columbia and an “L” shaped green space for the Mall (Highsmith and Landphair 8). The future site of the Washington Monument sat at the intersection of the lines on which lie the White House and the Capitol, symbolically linking the executive and legislative branches of government in ways that “reinforce specific political relationships while also expressing the dominant ideology of the new republic” (S. Mills 87). The





Fig. 2. Current Site Plan showing three clusters of monuments, west, center, and south.

McMillan plan extended the Mall to the west and south on reclaimed land that includes the Jefferson and Lincoln memorial sites, transformed the overall shape into a two-way axis, and established an area for purely symbolic monumentality (Longstreth, *Mall* 15) (Fig. 2).

The National Mall creates a significant public space that works as a civic commons and a national symbol. Claimed in Congress as “the Paradise of America,” the picturesque National Mall blends nature with monuments as a “physical and political Eden” (Scott 53). In fact, the pastoral imagery with a central green lawn and idyllic pools influenced the national landscape of public spaces, in clear contrast to traditional European and Asian hardscaped plazas. The

McMillan portion of the Mall, which hosts the memorials, is framed by the triangle of presidential heroes at cardinal points: the Washington Monument, the Jefferson Memorial, and the Lincoln Memorial. The ritual walk begins at the Washington Monument and World War II Memorial, proceeds around the Tidal Basin to the Jefferson Memorial and Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, and concludes at the Lincoln Memorial and Vietnam Veterans' Memorial. Each of these monuments and landscape elements contributes particular values and stories contained in the American myth. As a whole the National Mall represents American democracy and freedom.

**Center Cluster. Washington Monument and World War II Memorial:**

**Power and Victory**

The first two monuments are the most aggressive images and celebrate the power and honor of the country through overwhelming might. The Washington Monument, as the most recognizable architectural icon of the United States (Longstreth 14), unifies the National Mall through its location and the design of the obelisk, thus visually symbolizing cohesion for the nation. Furthermore, the design and implementation process set precedents for heated battles over the Mall's symbolic monuments and serves to illustrate America's democratic resolve. As the leader of the Revolution, the Constitutional Convention, and the first president, George Washington was known as "the man who unites all hearts"



Fig. 3. Washington Monument, looking across Reflecting Pool. (Courtesy of Jim Roth.)

(Segal 90) (Fig. 3). The monumental 555 foot height of the Washington obelisk claims sovereign power and is complemented by the Lincoln Memorial at the opposite end of the Reflecting Pool, anchoring the nation's most significant public gathering space. The enormous length of the pool creates the idea of an infinite view at the ground while the Washington Monument signifies infinity to the sky and the cosmos, in effect, the depth and height of power, embodying the ideals of the Revolution.

Although the Washington Monument was proposed during the Constitutional Convention, construction did not commence till 1848 and was not

completed for forty years, in part delayed by the Civil War (Highsmith and Landphair 14; Scott 46). As a result, two different colors exist in the limestone blocks. This visible striation connects the Washington Monument to this significant war and demonstrates the fortitude required to complete the monument, thus setting a precedent for future debates. The soaring obelisk, drawn from ancient Egyptian triumphal pillars, creates an image of infinite power and establishes the secular sacredness of the Mall. As Washington serves as father of the country, the Washington Monument signifies the core values of power and freedom based on the spirit of the Revolution. With no distracting adornment, the brilliance of a single spire connecting the Capitol Building and the White House secures the Mall's public role as a timeless source of power for the nation.

The location and design of the World War II (WWII) War Memorial situated between the Washington Monument and the Reflecting Pool symbolize the significance of this war in the American story and honors military victory. The site selection between the Washington Monument and the Reflecting Pool instead of on the Tidal Basin is explained at least in part by the transformational effect of WWII on the nation's myth. According to Barbara Biesecker, its prominent location is "symptomatic of the pivotal ideological role WWII has begun to play in the U.S. public culture in the present" (393). Because the United States emerged from WWII as leader of the free world, this conflict is ranked above others and glorified in the media and personal accounts as "The Good War" (Terkel v). Furthermore, the monument portrays war in a traditional heroic

interpretation and depicts triumph through battle. Its regimented, formal, neo-classicism reflects traditional ideals and an architectural desire to return to past glory days. By recognizing in the architectural design the states and the Allied countries involved in battle, embellishments create a heroic vision that resonates with military and conservative groups. However, the controversial imagery “does little to elucidate the meaning of war for future generations” (Wise 95). By creating a more prominent, grand homage to WWII than to President Roosevelt, the primary credit for victory is given to role of the nation’s military might, the role of each state, and the allied nations rather than the national leader. The Washington Monument and WWII Memorial broadcast the significance of freedom and democracy in the world (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. World War II Memorial, looking at pavilion honoring the Atlantic battles and pillars representing each state. (Courtesy of Jim Roth).



Fig. 5. Jefferson Memorial, looking across the Tidal Basin (Courtesy of Jim Roth).

### **South Cluster. Jefferson and Roosevelt Memorials: Reason and Perseverance**

From the Washington Monument to the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, the path encircles the Tidal Basin and takes visitors away from the central mall, and into the realm of reason and perseverance, the virtues of everyday American life (Fig. 5). The initial views of the Jefferson Memorial are reflected in the large body of water and emphasize its pure architectural beauty. Placed on the south axis of the White House and aligned with the Washington Monument, the colonnaded temple illustrates an American commitment to rationality and ideals. Jefferson was a true Renaissance man as architect, farmer, author, and politician and also embodied the spirit of the Enlightenment, the Age of Reason. The

Palladian design, which is the same style Jefferson used at Monticello and the University of Virginia campus, signifies perfect formalism of a circular form. Jefferson represents the best of American leadership, the everyman with whom most Americans identify (Griswold 89). With “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” incised on limestone panels, the Jefferson Memorial supplies a sense of unity, clarity, and rational judgment that embodies the American way of life.



Fig. 6. Roosevelt Memorial showing long, flat walk and rustic stonework (Photograph by author).

The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial on the Tidal Basin depicts individual fortitude and opportunity from the Depression and freedom and global involvement from World War II (Fig. 6). As both a Depression President and a War President, Roosevelt represents two aspects of the American myth

(Robertson 320). Through this era of domestic survival and global transformation, the United States became the leader of the free world. In the four outdoor rooms of the memorial, we enact Roosevelt's four presidential terms and gain a sense of the enormity of his influence. As homage to the difficult Depression era, chunky stone walls and simple spaces contrast with the ornate elegance of the neoclassical monuments. Criticized as "politically correct" with "a bombardment of visual imagery" (Lewis 89), the four-block long, low monument is nearly invisible until you are upon it, in opposition to the three extroverted presidential monuments that each have a strong presence from a distance. Through understatement and the lengthy walk-through that is virtually all on one plane, we enact perseverance and connect with the ground rather than mount stairs to an elevated platform. Under Roosevelt, American exceptionalism assumed new meaning as the country overcame extreme difficulties in economics at home and in battle abroad. However, rather than emphasizing his role as Commander in Chief, the memorial demonstrates a closeness to the earth, and therefore to ordinary people whose courage conquers enormous obstacles. Between the Jefferson and Roosevelt Memorials, Americans gain a sense of how to triumph over difficulties and succeed, through fortitude and reasoned intelligence.



## **West Cluster. Lincoln Memorial and Vietnam Veterans' Memorial: Equality and Sacrifice**

As the most intensely emotional experiences at the Mall, the Lincoln Memorial and the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial carry similar messages of equality, sacrifice, and unity through diversity. However, they use contrasting enactments (one ascending and the other descending into the ground) to convey their virtues. The Lincoln Memorial honors equality for all people and serves as the most important public space for protests and historic events most notably, Martin Luther King's Dream speech (Fig. 7). Not only supplying a dais for consequential performances, the physical ascension up the oversized, steep steps to the statue of Lincoln represents figurative climbing to the unifier who lifts our



Fig. 7. Lincoln Memorial looking west across Reflecting Pool (Courtesy of Jim Roth).

spirits and serves as a moral guide for America. The rectangular neoclassical shape with thirty-six columns places Lincoln in a temple facing east towards the Washington Monument and surveying the Mall.

Instead of the grandeur of the American Empire as it was intended to express (Wilson 152) and with abolition strangely missing from its text, the Lincoln Memorial signifies unity, sacrifice, and respect for differences. As a monumental temple, the memorial seems surprisingly imposing for the humble Lincoln but it serves appropriately as a civic symbol for equality and peace; Americans' deeply connect with Lincoln's heroic spirit as the nation's healer-in-chief, aptly represented by this monument, and in particular, the terminal location and the relationship of the monument, steps, and Reflecting Pool. The message is enhanced by the text of the Gettysburg Address and Lincoln's Second Inaugural incised in the limestone walls, including his famous admonition that we should express "Malice toward none. . . . charity for all." While Washington provided leadership in our fight for freedom, Lincoln served as the unifier and the voice of equality who by brave leadership and tragic assassination ascended from mortal man to hero-god (Griswold 697).

While the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial conveys a similar message of sacrifice and unity, the descent into the earth serves as a counter-balance to the steep ascension at the Lincoln Memorial. The reflective black granite wall slices through the landscape and has a contemplative, somber presence. In the slow walk down the cobblestone path next to the names of thousands of lost soldiers, we feel

the loss of individual lives and the scar on the American psyche from a failed war (Griswold 709). Rubbings of names and left mementos at the base of the reflective black granite wall reflect intimate moments of personal expression that contrasts with the massive public rallies on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. While Lincoln consoles a nation, the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial embraces each soul lost and each one who visits. Unlike the Civil War that tore the country apart and then re-unified it, the Vietnam War changed America. As a stain on our "can-do" spirit, Americans' learned the mission to spread democracy can fail (Fig. 8).

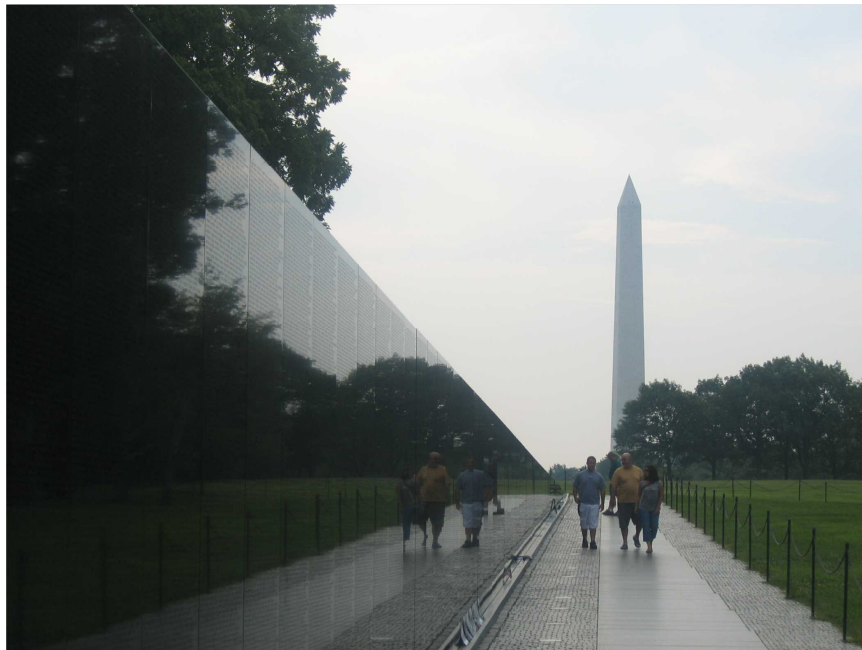


Fig. 8. Vietnam Veterans' Memorial showing lost soldiers' names on black granite wall, with Washington Monument in the distance. (Photograph by author.)

The nation needed a way to heal and the Vietnam Memorial supplies “a collective catharsis by simultaneously honoring the dead, bringing Vietnam veterans back into society, and helping heal the deep divisions caused by the war” (Pedersen 1). While the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial is the least visible, it is also the most visited site at the Mall, “the people’s memorial,” that makes us acutely aware of the enormous loss of human life in military conflicts (Griswold 713). Furthermore, the memorial was the first to challenge the heroic glorification of war where according to Maya Lin, architect, “we, the living are brought to a concrete realization of these deaths” leaving each individual to come to grips with the loss of lives, the resolution of death is ultimately “a personal and private matter” (4:05). Thus, in the quiet intimacy of the black granite wall, private concerns find a public forum.

Through these two monuments, we are reminded of a deep sense of unity through difficulties, even defeat. From each battle, America emerges with a new sense of vision, and in these two cases, also a sense of remorse and reflection rather than victory and honor. Operating as paired memorials with spiritual messages, Lincoln’s character inspires us to carry the shared burden of equality and Vietnam’s emotional appeal mourns the sacrifice of loved ones. Together they blend into a powerful message of compassion. Both remind visitors of the loss and the humility of war and yet also evoke patriotism and unity. Rituals of walking, protesting, making rubbings, leaving flowers and mementos, and gazing at the landscape embedded in the nation’s capital reenact

the birth of the nation and reaffirm American exceptionalism while reminding us of ultimate sacrifice by a leader and by ordinary citizens in service to the nation.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I argue that the public realm can be defined as where we gather, what represents public, and what we hold in common, in short, how we enact public space, symbols, and interests through our practices and ideas. As we create and know public space, we are reciprocally constituted by it. We learn what is public and private through our spatial practices and through the debates involving contested public territory. Public and private realms cannot be defined as opposites because they frequently hold the same interests and reflect shared outcomes. Public and private cannot be defined by ownership because those lines have been crossed to the point of being meaningless. Many public spaces are privately owned or controlled. Therefore, public is better understood through daily activities and spatial practices regarding access to space, control of space, and representation of space in architecture and in the process of producing space.

Building on Asen's definition of enacted publics, I claim that citizens are "voting with their feet" through their choices of living, shopping, and working (195). In other words, we are public according to spatial practices. The vitality and commerce of the city depends on people not only as citizens but as consumers and users. Sennett claims that mobility in society diminishes public

space. “The problem with public space in this country is a really difficult one because we are so placeless. . . .What I want to see is public work done in cities, and in public” (“*Civitas*” 84). He argues for a more open, accessible public process, and also for public spaces that engender a distinct sense of place, which attract and enhance public gatherings and civic identity. In fact, as we debate and explore the public realm, we develop a greater sense of what is public through discourse.

At the National Mall, which epitomizes the public realm, we enact the message initiated with the founding fathers, that is, “the individual writ large” (Robertson 349). Through ritualized pilgrimages, Americans reaffirm the national identity. American values of freedom and democracy are represented in the three primary groupings of monuments. The most assertive architecture, the Washington Monument and the World War II Memorial, symbolizes the strength of freedom, power, and honor of a democratic society. To celebrate everyday freedoms, the Jefferson Memorial and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial instruct us regarding the value of reason, love of beauty, and perseverance to overcome hardships. As places of deep reflection, the Lincoln Memorial and the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial morally guide us towards sacrifice and unity despite differences. In other words, at the National Mall, Americans enact freedom through appeals to body, mind, and spirit. We are most aware of our public roles when we experience citizenship in America’s Front Yard. However, we are arguably equally public during everyday actions

of using streets as public rights of way, educating children in public schools, selecting where to live, shop, and work, and enacting a civil life. As public and private realms overlap, we need to remind ourselves of what is public in cities, and the essential functions of public rights in a free nation.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Conclusion**

A rhetoric of architecture explores a framework for articulating symbolic meaning in cities and architecture. I consider how we know architecture as perceived, conceived, and lived-in space, and how we understand and communicate about architecture as spatial metaphors, myths, and narratives. By adding the dynamic of space and multiple ways of knowing it, we see how spatial rhetoric conveys messages differently than other types of texts, that is, through the body and mind simultaneously. Furthermore, through cities, we learn how to live. In this study, I have argued that in our use of cities as a symbolic form, we gain a sense of who we are, how power shapes us, and how we act publicly versus privately. Cities represent and constitute society and us individually. Therefore, in American cities, we enact a free democratic society as evident by pilgrimages through the National Mall, aimed for in the experiment at Seaside, Florida, and lost during the redevelopment of Ground Zero in New York. Places that fail to represent a free society do not connect with who we are, what we know as power, or our sense of publicness.

### **Findings and Implications from Approach**

Rather than a conceptual view of the city, enacted architecture allows us to understand cities at the level of everyday use of streets, open spaces, and buildings (de Certeau 91-93). While a conceptual city is held abstractly in the mind, perceptual space is experienced physically, and lived-in space is learned



socially (Lefebvre 40), enacted architecture incorporates all three forms, thus combining the symbolic with the phenomenological experience. All three types of knowledge – mental, physical, and social -- converge and influence how we enact architecture, evident by what we build and how we use it. In short, enacted architecture refers to symbols in use.

Furthermore, an enacted approach to architecture considers cities as symbols that both reflect and constitute us. Through symbolic actions, cities and architecture represent ideologies and values, that is, messages that we continually interpret. However, rather than being literal signs that are precisely read as architectural messages, we enact narratives that instruct us on behaviors and social uses of space, how to treat both the place and the people in it. Furthermore, our understanding of a place begins with encounters of conceptual, perceptual, and lived-in space, then moves to interpretations, and finally develops as reflective, practiced knowledge of space. In this layered manner, we develop meaning and understanding of architecture and cities, which in essence, then become models of spatial practices that frame reality.

Because we move through and inhabit architecture, spatial metaphors, narratives, and myths evident in architectural texts are necessarily different than discursive or visual texts. Rather than being told about or seeing a concept, we enact spatial forms. As such, the first tool, spatial metaphors, links one shape to another, or links a shape to a word or phrase. For example, rather than being told about transcendence to get in touch with spirituality, we enact it by hiking to the

peak of Machu Picchu, feeling the terrifying heights and treacherous footing, thus gaining a sense that the spiritual path can be difficult. Spatial metaphors can also create clustered connections, such as the various uses of stone in architecture: rough textured stones can symbolize rugged strength or closeness to the land while smooth stone can be sculpted into intricate ornamentation or columns to show power, authority, or opulence. Second, spatial narratives are woven into our experience of a city through personal and collective stories. For example, a particular street in my hometown connects my childhood home to a number of vivid life experiences, and serves as a cue for those personal memories. For the community, the growth of the city can be seen in developmental changes over time; the street tells the story of progress. Consequently, its rhetorical force is both personal and shared by other members of the community. Third, spatial myths supply stories of origins of a place, and speak to the character, values, and assumptions of long-term residents. Each of these tools supplies useful information about architectural symbols and our enactment of cities.

Furthermore, spatial metaphors, narratives and myths can work individually or simultaneously in concert as a web of readings. In order to examine the symbolic dimension of architecture, critics select the tool with the best fit for the situation and their purpose. For example, my examination of the Washington Monument links metaphorically to Egyptian obelisks that signify protection, its narrative defines its significant position on the Mall at the intersection of power, and the American myth makes it the ultimate symbol of the

“individual writ large.” Each reveals a different facet of the monument’s symbolic meaning, as described in my analysis. However, the pivotal role the icon plays in the larger myth shows how pilgrimages to the Mall reaffirm American identity, my particular focus. In this way, the most useful approach depends on the particular situation and analytical intent.

Architectural texts, like visual texts, present particular difficulties when considering meaning; four differences were described in Chapter Two (Campbell and Huxman 266-67). In contrast to discursive forms, in architecture, four challenges are: stronger emotional responses, the role of buyer and consumer instead of audience member, polysemic interpretations, and issues of authenticity and aesthetics present challenges for critical analysis. Consequently, an analysis of architectural texts should take into account each of these differences. First, rational appeals may be overshadowed by emotional appeals. Second, without a rhetor or original creator present, individuals are left to discover meaning. Knowledge of original intentions may deepen perceptual knowledge and can influence experiences of a place. For example, a first visit to the Vietnam Veterans’ Memorial is enriched by stories of Maya Lin’s reasons for the design but the stories are not essential; the memorial stands on its own as a moving experience. Furthermore, while Campbell and Huxman call the audience of visual rhetoric “buyer and consumer” who receive messages, I have called the audience of architectural rhetoric users and participants, and dealt with the experience of space as enactments and spatial practices. Instead of simply seeing or receiving

messages, we are living and enacting them, with both instrumental and constitutive dimensions. In other words, functional logic of a building and knowledge of the architectural design processes add value when the user is cognizant of the details and perhaps more significantly, when the logic and narratives resonate with the architectural design, which becomes apparent through use. For example, if the Washington Monument did not conjure images of power and if by being there, we were not awed, then a desire on the part of its creators to create a significant symbol of democratic freedom would be empty. Historic or personal narratives, knowledge about architectural design intentions, the logic of the place, and rational appeals build layers of meaning in architecture.

Third, polysemic interpretations, while possible with words, are more pronounced in presentational texts. These interpretations can add value or create dissonance. For example, the lack of embellishments at the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial opens the experience to a broad range of meaning. Each visitor finds significance from a gamut of choices, including meditation on death and life, honoring fallen soldiers, recognizing a loved one's name, remembering the national conflict, or opposition to wars in general. The breadth of optional readings heightens its purpose. In contrast, mixed messages can be troublesome. This is exemplified in the final design of the Freedom Tower that is intended to celebrate democracy, but in effect, reduces freedoms through fortifications. Greater risk for misunderstandings exists on controversial or experimental designs

with unfamiliar cues; through analysis, we determine if those choices present a benefit or a pitfall.

Finally, issues of authenticity and aesthetics fall into the realm of judgment by users. Authenticity, addressed in the analysis of Seaside with Huxtable's typology of real and fake in Chapter Three, and aesthetic appeals develop various personal and collective followings. These dimensions belong in the area of ethics, where we assess the fittingness to the situation, in essence, its virtues. For example, while many people find Disney World a delight, others consider it a sign of cultural collapse, thus illustrating a populist versus an elite perspective. For enacted architecture, understanding authentic and aesthetic values depend on the critics' analyses and public responses. While authenticity falls within these parameters, beauty in a symbolic approach is reframed in terms of its persuasiveness: What does Disney World say about us, and how is that portrayed aesthetically? For enacted architecture, we focus on an object's capacity to reflect and constitute society where artistic expression is a type of appeal, not an architectural analysis of design qualifications. In sum, analyses of architecture necessarily account differently for emotions, the revised role of users rather than audience, polysemic interpretations, and judgments about authenticity and aesthetics than for discursive or visual texts.

In terms of methodological findings and implications, I explored how we understand the built environment and considered ways of knowing and analyzing cities. In contrast to speaking discursive texts or seeing visual texts, I found that

we enact architecture in three forms, as perceived, conceived, and lived-in spaces. It functions as a language and frames both how we act as well as how we conceive reality. By analyzing spatial metaphors, narratives and myths as enacted in architecture, we gain insights about the symbolic dimension as well as who we are as a society. In the next section, I summarize what we learn from architecture and cities as illustrated by three extended examples and draw implications for architecture and cities.

### **Findings and Implications for Architecture**

In this study, I argue that architecture and cities represent and constitute society and individuals and from them, we gain a sense of identity, power, and publicness. These three themes imply a vision of cities in a free democratic society, where we are able to express ourselves, make choices, and act collectively and individually in public, illustrated by three examples.

I found that Seaside, Florida, through its shortcomings as an authentic town, demonstrates how narratives create, or fail to create, identification with place. To become part of a place, we need to experience a full range of everyday activities, including the ability to remake the place into a community. Seaside represents several conflicting identities, thus revealing a place that does not fulfill its creators' dreams, yet it surpasses expectations as a model for future cities. While the town founders aimed to create a more walkable, intimate town based on the pre-automobile model of Small Town U.S.A., in fact, we only experience a fantasy-like place as connoisseurs of the good life. Seaside strives to be an

intimate community through closely-knit functions, numerous common areas, and front porches among other architectural devices that encourage walking and social encounters. However, the dearth of jobs, services, and affordable housing constrains activities to leisure and entertainment and, consequently, few full-time residents exist. Furthermore, strict architectural codes protect Seaside's quaintness yet do not foster self-expression and "making" the city. Consequently, people have a sense of a hotel or resort development more than an authentic town; they appreciate the fine life as a liminal experience rather than interweave life stories with the place. Instead Seaside offers us an escape into a beautiful, perfected world with narrowly defined functions and form. While Seaside served to launch a new initiative in urban design, it is unable to sustain the lived-in narratives of whole identities.

In terms of lessons for cities, collective and individual identities are developed as we enact architecture. Through our daily movements of working, shopping, driving, walking and so on, we enact narratives that articulate who we are and in the process, influence buildings and cities. Drawing from Burke, we identify with a place when we associate with it and see part of ourselves in it, in other words, when we consubstantiate with the place and people (*Rhetoric* 28). By interweaving our life stories with the spatial narrative of a neighborhood or city, we create an experience of perceptions, memories, and aspirations, some which are unique and others which are shared. Cities such as New York City and Paris

that cultivate a strong sense of identity reflected in both the place and people are more compelling, memorable, and distinctive.

At the redevelopment of Ground Zero in New York, I found that coherent well-designed cities depend upon the ability to negotiate across disciplinary expertise and belief systems. Because of fragmented control power (Deleuze 7), no lines of clear authority existed in the project and none of the key leaders saw the need to collaborate effectively for the greater good. The monumental public demand for a meaningful solution placed a heavy burden on the decision-makers, which proved too great for their capacity to communicate and resolve differences between various perspectives. The three men who fought for control drew from different conceptions of America and drew from three domains of power: Libeskind, architect, worked from a concept of control power, evident in the fragmented imagery in his design, represented the moralism of the American Dream; Silverstein, developer, believed in the power of disciplinary expertise of himself as the developer, and control through individualism and materialism promised by the American Dream; and Governor Pataki promoted patriotism to reclaim American strength and symbolize democratic freedoms. Each assumed the legitimacy of his vision, rooted in American exceptionalism. However, each used his perspective as defensive protection instead of compelling points of persuasion and therefore was unable to understand other points of view or negotiate a balanced solution. In the last stage, the Freedom Tower became a fortified structure with exaggerated safety elements that overpromised its



potential for security, and representing an idea of sovereign power that controlled through physical force. In effect, the exaggerated response represented fear rather than strength, and destroyed critical connections to the community.

Therefore, I learned that with fragmented power, communication across domains is critical and furthermore that we cannot selectively use just part of the American Dream myth. To enact a free society in cities, we need to balance both moral and material concerns to create fertile opportunities for better lives. In addition, power in enacted architecture is revealed when we encounter resistance, filters, or controls that influence not only “the capacity but the right to act” (Hindess 1). Three types of power draw from historic periods and continue to shape cities. Sovereign power is symbolized by fortifications, protective barricades, and formal images of authority. Disciplinary power of reason and divided knowledge is evident in specialized buildings such as prisons, hospitals, and college campuses (Foucault *Discipline* 38). Fragmented control power is represented by themed mixed use districts, adaptive reuse of downtown loft buildings, and corporate branded buildings such as the digital surfaces of Time Square and big box retail structures. All three types interweave and influence cities; however, control power is rapidly becoming the dominant image.

Finally, the National Mall, America’s most public space, teaches us our public role as citizens, “the individual writ large” (Robertson 349). Through ritualized pilgrimages around the public symbols, Americans enact the core values of freedom and democracy and thus reaffirm the national identity. The

three primary groupings of public monuments appeal first to our bodies in terms of freedom through power, then our minds through reason and fortitude, and finally our spirits through reflection. The most assertive architecture, the Washington Monument and the World War II Memorial, symbolizes the strength, power, and honor of a democratic society. To celebrate everyday freedoms, the Jefferson Memorial and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial instruct us regarding the value of reason, love of beauty, and perseverance to overcome hardships. As places of deep reflection, the Lincoln Memorial and the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial morally guide us towards sacrifice and unity despite differences. In other words, at the National Mall, we enact our public selves and the values that we share as Americans in America's Front Yard.

In addition, we are equally public during everyday actions such as using public streets, educating children in public schools, selecting where to live, shop, and work, and enacting a civil life (Asen 195). As public and private realms overlap, we need to remind ourselves of what is public in cities, and the essential functions of public rights in a free nation. Therefore, we consider whether a city is serving public rights based on public accessibility, control of space, and representation, in short, our right to the city. Furthermore, to clarify what is public in cities, I characterize the public realm as three manifestations: public symbols, public spaces, and public interests. Public symbols refer to civic buildings, monuments, and places that represent public. Public spaces are where we gather and act publicly, whether or not these places are owned by government entities.

Public interests refer to those elements or concerns that we hold in common, for instance, the skyline, a district, or the image of the city. By clarifying what is public in cities and how we enact our public and private roles, we consider a city's reflections of a democratic society.

In sum, cities and architecture teach us society's values, including who we are, what we consider powerful, and how we enact our public and private selves. Through spatial practices inspired and influenced by the built environment, we develop meaningful experiences and cultivate shared values. Cities reveal our ideologies, establish who may participate in the city, and epitomize our hopes and aspirations as well as our fears. They have the capacity to build a robust sense of public, protect private rights, and create unity while respecting diversity, or they can divide society into warring tribes. Through enacting architecture, we generate and affirm collective values in our everyday lives.

### **Advantages, Disadvantages, and Future Research**

I chose to focus on enactment in order to embrace movement through and being in space. The experience and phenomenological aspects of architectural texts open possibilities for understanding cultural symbols and messages in terms of spatial practices and symbols in use. In fact, arguably, we cannot understand a culture without understanding the situated society, in terms of both built and natural ecologies. Clearly cities say a great deal about societies and shape those societies. Yet, most architectural scholarship addresses technology, aesthetics, and sociological issues with only modest knowledge about communication and

rhetoric. Methods for studying rhetoric and architecture separately exist, yet few bridge the disciplinary gap. Consequently, the purpose of this project is to build on existing scholarship by connecting the two fields and to explore the meaning of cities in hopes of better understanding society and informing future projects.

Towards those goals, I created a framework for a rhetoric of enacted architecture with several choices that led to both benefits and pitfalls. The main components of my argument are:

1. An enacted approach that focused on everydayness;
2. Reframing of metaphor, myth, and narrative theory for spatial texts;  
and
3. Primary themes of identity, power, and publicness.

As stated by Burke, when we select, we also deflect far more, and each of these decisions prove his point.

The most important contribution may be the discussion about spatial rhetoric in contrast to discursive and visual texts. From the outset, it was clear to me that architecture functions in a unique way, yet as buildings and memorials are frequently considered visual rhetoric, I did not initially discern that this approach failed to address multi-sensory experiences and dynamics of movement. Certainly architecture from a distance and in photographs is primarily a visual text, and for this perspective, visual rhetoric supplies excellent methods (Hill and Helmers vii-ix). However, a visual approach restricts analysis to a single sense instead of five, and to a flat representation on paper rather than movement; in other words, it does

not address the fully-immersive experience of cities. For instance, the difference between Maya Lin's primitive sketch of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial and the actual place is fundamental. I believe clarity in the difference between conceptual space such as paper representations and real buildings and cities will help us understand and create better cities because we can transform our analysis of architectural texts and, consequently, shed new light on the symbolic dimension of cities and architecture.

Furthermore, design experts easily fall into the habit of paper design, which de Certeau denigrated as the concept city, a panopticon point of view for simplifying planning decisions "disentangled from daily behaviors, alien to them" (93). Therefore, to understand the city and buildings, we necessarily need to move from paper representations and into space itself. Carol Blair encouraged us to explore materialism, "rhetoric in relation to bodies," and "what a discourse does rather than what it is" (281). The critic's toolkit must address the situation or the scene as a foreground rather than a setting for talk, and as an unfolding activity of daily life rather than a pinpointed event. A space means something with people and something different when vacant; one sense in the light and another in the dark; something when its new, sitting in a woods, or among similar buildings, and another when the trees are replaced with office buildings, or adjacent buildings are demolished for a new parking lot. Context changes the meaning of architecture. Enacting everyday places and imagining the meaning of symbols in

use creates a vastly different palette of topics than concept buildings and cities on paper.

Yet undoubtedly, as noted by Lefebvre and used in this study, architecture is not just one mode; it is three forms: perceived, conceived, and lived-in space. We combine these three ways of knowing space in our understanding of cities. Furthermore, we enact the city not just as we walk the streets but also as we plan and participate in formally making cities. As I explored the redevelopment of Ground Zero, I found the process of planning merges place, people, history, and future aspirations based on various spatial narratives, mythic assumptions, and metaphoric references. In fact, I argue that these traditional tools of rhetoric are woven not only into the designs but also the actions and motives of the various parties. In other words, spatial myths, metaphors, and narratives are evident in architecture just as they underpin language, public policies, the legal system, and the free market.

The differences of spatial myth, metaphor, or narrative in enacted architecture are qualitatively different than discursive texts because we live the story rather than speak, hear, or read it. While I believe this is a fundamental shift, I do not believe that my examination was exhaustive. This study represents an early effort. Far more clarity will be gained through repeated tests and explorations of various situations, buildings, and cultures. When all three forms are available, the analysis becomes more complex. Therefore, critics must note

the type of artifacts being scrutinized, their analytical purpose, and the effect of that form on the analysis when crafting their approach.

Furthermore, I selected some of the most dramatic architectural examples so that the messages and situations would be vividly apparent. Furthermore, all are exceptionally influential; their reach is global. In hindsight, I believe that more subtle situations would have been an equally valid starting point. For example, as I realized that the three men at Ground Zero were each enacting the American Dream narrative, I wondered if myth may be at the base of every public symbol. Further study would refine when this particular myth is applicable and when it does not add to the meaning and analysis of civic monuments and plazas. Furthermore, I selected a range of significant architecture, a town, a skyscraper, and a public complex from three different regions in order to broaden my representative sample. However, a study that addresses multiple facets of the same place, district or city, might supply rich and quite different types of motives. In other words, more finely grained, articulated studies of a place offer another outlet for study. In addition, as three American sites, the exemplars shared a context of a democratic, capitalistic society. Cross-cultural studies of vastly different socio-economic systems such as China, ecologies such as island nations, or level of development such as India would undoubtedly improve these methods and teach us more about cities and societies.

Finally, I selected three themes, identity, power, and publicness, because they seemed to follow and interact with each other. Our sense of identity is

simultaneously shaped by power, which connects directly to the public realm. All three supply enormous blocks of influences on cities evidenced by volumes of research on each topic and from various perspectives. Identity, power, language, and architecture underpin culture, like an interwoven nest with each twig and twine distinct but connected. Issues of public and private realms moves into a topic of governance and division that shapes society. I included the public realm as a natural connection to power and cities. To fully consider power and identity, what is public and who we are in public are necessary.

While identity, power, and publicness represent key topics, equally important are three others: nature, sacredness, and beauty. In fact, I would argue, that while I addressed the twigs and mud of the nest, by and large, I ignored its habitat, its overall shape, and its connection to the cosmos, to stretch this metaphor perhaps beyond its reach. I believe that these other three topics merit exploration; however, I need identity and power in order to frame them. Therefore, while I can justify my approach, it is incomplete, a first volume rather than a full consideration of a rhetoric of architecture.

In summary, considering cities as enacted architecture and symbols in use transforms the focus of scholarly discourse from concept cities to lived-in places and recognizes the constitutive and instrumental functions of spatial rhetoric. My second move frames cities using spatial narratives, metaphors, and myth theory. Every building and place reflects multiple narratives, is fundamentally shaped by myth, and serves as metaphors for living. As a third move, I claim cities situate



life lessons. We gain a sense of who we are, a sense of power, and a sense of what is public through our enactment of cities. This approach and tools are intended to cross disciplinary boundaries by building, not diluting, methodological rigor. When we build cities and architecture that connect deeply with people and reflect their values and way of life, industry and wealth are balanced with memories and aspirations.

### **Conclusion**

In Chapter One, I introduce several large questions. What does the city say about us and what do we learn from cities? What do we say about our cities? How do we come together and how do we stay apart? How do we create the good life for ourselves and furthermore, how do we create cities that offer the good life for all? The questions are embedded in my framework for understanding architecture and cities as issues of symbolism and communication, in terms of how we co-exist and at times thrive among strangers. In other words, at the heart of this study, I explored how we enact not just architecture and cities, but excellent cities in a free and democratic society. Implied in these findings is the idea that cities not only enable us to pursue a better life, but they grant us the right, the access to opportunities. In other words, we need a worthy path and the path must be open.

By examining how we talk about architecture and cities, I aim to refocus how we conceive them. Rather than treating the built environment as a portion of the economy, a material product, I argue that cities exist in the realm of rhetoric, as a spatial symbol system, a language of built form. While current practices of

city-making do not encourage broad dialogue, through an interdisciplinary approach, dialogue can move beyond the disciplines of design professions and city management, into the arena of communication. Language and architecture represent broad, contextual fields that constitute culture and frame society. Furthermore, they serve as incubators that may inhibit or foster the good life. I link these domains of rhetoric and architecture to appeal to each discipline and awaken curiosity, perhaps even spur a sense of responsibility and urgency. While design professionals can open to the values of public citizenship and how architecture is persuasive, rhetoricians can expand scholarship in architecture and cities. Bridging fields of experts represents a significant step intellectually, and furthermore, broadening our understanding of cities allows us to better understand ourselves and how to enact a free society.

According to David Harvey, our will to plan in advance and envision thought experiments differentiates us from all other organisms (*Hope* 204). Furthermore, as we imagine cities, we need to pursue a broad agenda, including our right to dream. Beyond the right to buy and sell property or participate in planning processes, the right to the city is “an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our heart’s desire, and to re-make ourselves thereby in a different image” (Harvey, “Right” 941). Through social, economic, and political actions, we become what we build and use. As we learn a sense of identity from architecture, we form assumptions and expectations for valuing it and consequently, for judging ourselves individually and as a society.

Winston Churchill stated it memorably, “We shape our buildings; thereafter, they shape us” (1). In short, cities and architecture are extensions of us as a society and individuals. By enacting architecture, that is, by making and understanding the built environment through experience, memory, and imagination, we create ourselves, our cities, and our sense of identity, power, and publicness. Our rhetorics in architecture and in language remain our most cultivated symbols for understanding ourselves. Furthermore, they represent our most enduring legacies as messages to future generations about who we are as a people.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Scholarly work on architecture in the field of rhetoric has considered architecture as rhetoric (Hattenhauer, Gutenschwager, Fleming), as visual rhetoric (Foss “Theory,” Dickinson), and as commemorations (Armada, Foss “Ambiguity,” Linenthal, Hasian, Biesecker “Remembering”).

<sup>2</sup> Similar to de Certeau, Lefebvre recognized the significance of “lived in” space and everyday spatial practices, in essence, the physical and social domains. Dickinson and McKerrow among others have employed the work of Lefebvre and de Certeau in their scholarship.

<sup>3</sup> Burke relates symbols to experience and action. He says symbols are the “verbal parallel to a pattern of experience” and “the conversion of an experiential pattern into a formula for affecting an audience . . . [and] appeals either as the orienting of a situation, or as the adjustment to a situation, or as both” (*Counter-Statement* 152, 156). Furthermore, he claims symbols serve as persuasive devices that are realistic or even idealistic (*Rhetoric* 46). In other words, symbols appeal as abstract concepts or in the physical realm.

<sup>4</sup> Langer’s research focused on understanding meaning in art specifically in contrast to language. Presentational forms including art are seen all at once as a gestalt experience and has multiple meanings (*Philosophy* 96). In contrast, language is understood in linear form and words offer a logical efficiency due to

their long history of shared meaning, documented by dictionaries (94). Langer's descriptions of discursive versus presentational forms recognize the value of each.

<sup>5</sup> Burke places symbolic action in the realm of strategic action and social change, the drama of enacting everyday life, bracketed by two forces that it is not: philosophy disconnected from reality or behavioral science that fails to recognize the significance of motives and attitudes. "Still, there is a difference, a radical difference, between building a house and writing a poem about building a house – and a poem about having children by marriage is not the same as having children by marriage. There are *practical* acts, and there are symbolic acts" (*Philosophy* 8-9). In other words, he sought to define purposeful acts from non-symbolic motion of biological body functions or "assembly line" automatic tasks without choice. Symbolic action can also mean the act of imagining or creating, "the dancing of an attitude" (9). In other words, even considering a particular action is a symbolic act.

<sup>6</sup> In *Living Speech*, James Boyd White says, "Language is always dying in our minds, and it is our responsibility to give it life" (9). As a sign of this decline, people become an object of destruction and "a thing in the mind of another," not worthy of respect, freedom, or even life (5). The remedy is living speech awakened by the desire for meaning.

<sup>7</sup> When we enact stories in a context, we reinforce and recreate who we are and what sort of world we live in through our memories, experience, and

imagination, the past, present, and future possibilities, what has been referred to as the spatial imagination (Soja 16; Grossberg 7).

<sup>8</sup> Regarding narrative in discursive form, coherence originates in cultural values that “elevate its significance above annals and chronicles, gives it a moral authority” (H. White 27). Human interest is the final determination of the narrative’s cohesion, whether we can and are motivated to read and comprehend the text (Frye 33). Surprise and novelty in a coherent narrative captures our attention. Furthermore, “if a narrative fails to reflect the assumptions and values of its culture then it most likely will be judged unsatisfactory” (Jasinski 391).

<sup>9</sup> Numerous scholars have linked narrative to sensemaking (Weick, Fisher, Foss, Brown) most supremely located in Fisher’s paradigmatic claim of humans as *homo narrans* or storytelling animals (Fisher “Narration”, “Narrative”). Enactment of stories is a key part of sensemaking that enables us to resolve personal memories with institutional memories, make causal links, and map reality (Brown). This narrative function helps us “impose order on the flow of experience so that we can make sense of events and actions in our lives” (Foss, “Rhetoric” 399). In effect, narrative as a sensemaking tool blends both instrumental and constitutional functions.

<sup>10</sup> In 1994, Jean Baudrillard theorized the idea of the simulacra. “Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being, or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal” (1). Instead of a signified real

with a signifying simulation, the simulation is actually self-referential; it is its own real. Ada Louis Huxtable described a similar concept as a theory of real and fake architecture (*Unreal* 75-88), which I describe later in Chapter Three.

<sup>11</sup> Burke defined identification as a process “whereby a specialized activity makes one participant in some social or economic class. ‘Belonging’ is in this sense rhetorical” (*Rhetoric* 28). By supplanting persuasion with identification as the key term for rhetoric, Burke shifted the loci of study from strictly explicit matters to patterns of experience and motives. In other words, attitudes and actions are framed in terms of our core sense of who we are individually and collectively, where we belong, simultaneously who we are not. Identification moves the symbolic into the realm of social psychology and issues of community as well as conflict. In doing so, division and difference match the significance of being and attachment. For example, when we select a place as a home or workplace, we reject others; we create a circumference of identity. In short, identification in Burkean terms enables a conversation about cities and communication on cultural and sociological terms and connects the symbolic with everyday practices, or in his terms “equipment for living” (*Philosophy* 293).

<sup>12</sup> Community identities work in concert with individual identities. We develop our personal identities through cooperation and conflict with others and the environment. According to George Herbert Mead, “the generalized other” represents an organized community or social group and gives rise to our sense of

identity. Furthermore, the generalized other includes inanimate objects as part of the social community. For example, a cult is the social embodiment of the relation between a social group and its physical environment “in a sense, carrying on conversations with it” (*Mind* 154). Community ties people and place together through matters of shared concerns. Delanty defined community as groups connected through social, cultural, political and technological actions. Socially, community is spatially oriented and framed by class. Culturally, we gain a sense of identity and belonging through the conceptions of self and other. Politically, we are members of ideological groups based on our values such as a sense of justice and equality. Technologically, communications enable distance communities based on similar interests (3-4). We enact multiple identities and are members of communities that simultaneously exist, all equally valid. As we move through various spaces, we adapt to different roles and functions. Enacting architecture supplies a foundation for orientating ourselves, knowing who and where we are in the community. Similarly, a city has numerous identities, in a network of imagery, experiences, and ideas.

<sup>13</sup> “The city in our actual experience is at the same time actually an existing physical environment, and a city in a novel, a film, a photography, a city seen on television, a city in a comic strip, a city in a pie chart, and so on” (Burgin 238). To understand how we constitute a city, we necessarily include media representations that influence our knowledge of various places.



<sup>14</sup>To understand how the idea of power has changed over time as explained by Barry Hindess, two concepts of power dominate western political thought in the modern era. The one most prominent in academic theory is explicit power as a “simple quantitative phenomenon . . . [defined as] a generalized capacity to act” (1). He traces this type through Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Steven Lukes, and then describes how Foucault transformed the concept of power to a more generalized form, disciplinary power. This second, more complex concept is defined as an implicit power that grants “not only having a capacity to act, but a right to act, with both capacity and right being seen to rest on the consent of those over whom power is exercised” (1). In cities, the capacity to act, the first type, is defined through urban regimes of power, a finite view that is aligned with C. Wright Mill’s power elite (269-297). Max Weber described this power as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance” (152). In other words, the focus is on who has power, what is their source of authority, and how do they exercise it. Stephen Vago outlined three manifestations of the “capacity to act” approach to power: “when challenged it becomes force, when legalized it becomes authority, and influence rests on the sum combination of personality attributes and authority” (154). This form of power is concerned with the divide between those who govern as a public authority versus members of privately-controlled production, which establishes a two-way relationship of economic and

political forces (Stone 2). William Domhoff and Harvey Molotch critique the “capacity to act” when applied to cities based on tactics, not on overall strategy, and claim it results in an exaggerated emphasis on institutional and governmental reform; instead, they prefer the “growth machine model” that focuses on the city as an economic engine (Domhoff 49; Molotch 25). While wedded to the capacity to act, they believe economic production rather than political will rules. In this first conception, which Hindess also calls a city-citizen model, is interested in legitimacy (20) and, as noted by Foucault, is “obsessed with the person of the sovereign” (*Power* 121). This power is viewed as negative, one-directional, and restrictive, possessed in as a quantity in that we say some have more power than others to achieve their will (Hindess 26).

Hindess states that the second type, the right to act as framed by Foucault, is based not on the legitimacy of power, but on the “means whereby the effects of power are produced” (20). Rather than a focus on actors who exercise power, power is studied as an interest “in the techniques and rationalities of power, and of governmental power in particular. From this perspective, Foucault locates the government of the state within a broader framework, which also embraces the government of oneself and of a household” (20). In this second form, “power establishes a network through which it freely circulates” (Foucault, *Power* 99). Rather than control by a ruler/subject sovereignty that relies on control of wealth and material products, the right to power permits time and labor to be extracted

from individuals and is concerned with bodies and actions; control is exercised through surveillance and normalization rather than government obligations (104).

Foucault's two concepts of power – sovereign rights and disciplinary mechanisms – do not perfectly parallel Hindess's two forms – a capacity to act and a right to act. Hindess focuses on political power and split it into two forms, while largely giving credit to Foucault for the second concept, "a right to act." On the other hand, Foucault looks at all of society, attempting to move away from the emphasis (which he says is an over-emphasis (*History* 89)) on centralized government control and considers technologies, social conventions, and control at the outer margins; we contribute to this generalized power when we monitor each others' behaviors based on norms. In fact, Foucault attributed a right to act to a monarchical system of law explained by sovereign power, while disciplinary power employed normalizations and mechanisms that "took charge of men's bodies," in a way that cannot be controlled by law (*History* 89). In this way, the two sets of theories – Foucault and Hindess – do not use precisely the same two power types. However, I use Hindess because of his comparative approach, and because of the clarity he supplies on the first type, a capacity to act. Due to his interest in political power, Hindess more clearly explains scholarship on how people exercise power, while Foucault better explains the function of conventions enforced in generalized social power, and seeks to discount law as the focus. My concern is on contextual power -- a spatially-oriented power -- which is evident in

cities, is integral to an entire social, political, and economic system rather than ruled by a few, and constitutes society and individuals through everyday actions. However, I recognize, as Foucault did in his later writings, such as *Power/Knowledge*, that political power is deeply entwined with social and cultural power, and cannot be ignored. Similarly, both the capacity to act and the right to act are evident in cities, as explained by Hindess, who attributes his insights regarding rights to Foucault and disciplinary power. Therefore, Hindess supplied a useful framework for understanding Foucault, located within a long thread of academic scholarship that began with Hobbes.

<sup>15</sup> While I researched a number of avenues to explain power and cities in terms of enacted architecture, a long trail of scholarship led me to Foucault, and subsequently, Deleuze. In what currently serves as the primary comprehensive research methods text for architecture, *Architectural Research Methods*, David Wang defines Foucault's influence as a way to link architecture and social/cultural discourse within the context of an era, whereby scholars "parse the discourses that define it" (151). This method clearly describes a rhetorical approach to explaining architectural meaning. Neil Leach, a renowned architectural theorist, edited *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* as a collection of "well-known essays on architecture by key thinkers of the twentieth century" (xiii), and included Foucault, Deleuze, and Lefebvre among twenty-three authors. As declared in the title, many of the ideas run

contrary to the way architecture is conceived within the field of architecture, and in particular, his selections consider the need to “put architecture in communication with other media, other arts” (xvii). He defined his purpose as interdisciplinary, and so, the authors come from communication studies, philosophy, literature, and sociology to name a few.

Specifically, Leach states that Foucault’s work has special relevance to architecture, because space is central to his thinking (348). In addition, Leach considers Deleuze’s control power as “highly relevant to the world of architecture” in terms of the influence of human behavior on architectural form and on ways of conceptualizing society and thought (308). Finally, in *Architecture of Fear*, Nan Ellin draws on Foucault for understanding power as it relates to sprawl, escapism, and loss of public space, noting that disciplinary power can be seen in libraries, atriums, and other forms of public space with formal surveillance and has been a factor in splintering cities and privatization (16-35).

Foucault has been influential in architecture and related studies, perhaps in part because he took a spatial approach, starting with his study of prisons and his use of Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon as a metaphor for power and surveillance (*Discipline* 195-202), preceded by his 1967 study of heterotopias and the influence of spatial ordering. By employing a relational approach to power that was oriented to control over the body and resistance, in terms of both our ability

to resist and encountering resistance, he placed social and spatial concerns at the center of his scholarship.

In an influential 1982 interview published in *Skylines*, an architectural journal, Foucault created the fundamental links between space, power, and knowledge, clarifying that while he considered buildings a part of power, he did not believe architecture could resolve social problems or that architects have any power over others (“Space” 143). Foucault’s theory of power is woven into the work of several of the key scholars in this study, including Lefebvre who authored a book that focused on Foucault’s work (*The Survival of Capitalism*, 1976), Sennett who at the time of Foucault’s death was co-authoring a book which Sennett later completed (*Flesh and Stone*, 1994), and de Certeau introduces his concepts of everyday creativity via an analysis of Foucault and Bourdieu (43-60). What all four scholars hold in common is a spatial, embodied approach, called spatial practices, and an “everyday” approach which are at the center of this study.

<sup>16</sup> As a private developer, Larry Silverstein’s biography and public statements are limited, particularly compared to Libeskind who wrote a book on Ground Zero’s redevelopment, and Pataki who as a public figure and former governor is frequently quoted in the news.

<sup>17</sup> Numerous scholars have noted the public sphere has eroded at the level of community engagement (Putnam *Bowling*; Sennett *Conscience*), which is

particularly evident in the process of building cities (Castells *Rise*; Latour *Realpolitik*).

<sup>18</sup> Scholarship on the public realm is extensive and includes multiple approaches, including the liberal public sphere (Rowland “Liberal”), technical sphere (Goodnight), public sphere and ideal speech act (Habermas), subaltern publics (Fraser), public versus counterpublics (Warner); and vernacular publics (Hauser; Hauser and Grim). With an emphasis on public in terms of enacted architecture which is defined in the body of Chapter Five, public in terms of people refers to situated participants, including regular users and visitors who relate to a space by their presence or through interests in a particular place.

<sup>19</sup> Seyla Benhabib argues that the culture and public sphere can be linked by participation opened through equal access in electronic media. However, she cautions against a mediated “flattened self” when “our inner beings are hollowed out as we are reduced to simplistic social, cultural, and political positions, easily recognizable by a public of viewers that is itself equally flattened and hollowed out” (177). Enacted architecture resolves the problems of mediated selves, because it exists in lived-in space. In other words, concepts of publicness and privateness are delineated by actions and by rights.

<sup>20</sup> To redefine the idea of “public,” Michael Warner names three types: *the public* as “a kind of social totality” that treats a society as a uniform group, *a public* as “a concrete audience, a crowd witnessing itself in visible space” that is

bounded by a particular event, and a *public* “that comes into being only in relation to texts and other circulation” such as readers of a particular article (65-6). Furthermore, a public must “characterize the world in which it attempts to circulate and it must attempt to realize that world through its address” (Warner 422). In particular, Warner aims to define publics as situated by a common concern rather than characterized by an official parameter such as national citizenship. Employing a vernacular approach, Gerard Hauser notes a shift from the central function of civic virtue in ancient societies to civil society that “marked the rise of a *public* engaged in open exchange in a *public sphere* (a discursive arena outside of the royal court) that produced a sense of *public opinion* (a prevailing tendency of opinion outside the seat of power and regulative power)” (italics in original, 217). He focuses on the public’s judgment as it informs public decision making, which in the case of cities, would pertain to urban policy and regulations as well as decisions by private owners and developers.

<sup>21</sup> The tension between public and private realms in the city becomes in some ways a clash of capitalism and community, previously noted by Sennett (“New” par. 15). Donald Lyndon says, “to build is to pursue a promise,” which for the user or citizen, expresses identity and personal vision, while for the developer, focuses primarily on economic speculation (2). In other words, while public interests of government and individual citizens are split along strange fault



lines, so are private interests. Ideally, both users and developers gain from a stronger identity and connection to place. Seeing the city largely in terms of capitalism and economic development has to a large degree marginalized claims of social justice, livability, cultural heritage, aesthetics, and environmental concerns, to name a few, in favor of ownership and private control.

<sup>22</sup> Lefebvre outlined social justice in cities, stating, “The *right to the city* cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed *right to urban life*” (158).

<sup>23</sup> Using the constitutional right to free speech, The New Jersey Supreme Court found that privately-owned shopping malls replaced downtown squares as public gathering spaces, and therefore public access is protected. “The constitutional right of free speech cannot be determined by title to property alone” (“Private Property” par. 18). Similarly at Cleveland’s Gateway Sports Complex (owned by a public/private corporation), the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the privately owned sidewalks surrounding are a “traditional public forum” where First Amendment rights are protected such as protest demonstrations (“Sidewalk” 138).

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