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BEYOND THE BRANDOPOLIS: A COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH
TO CIY PROMOTION AND MARKETING

A Dissertation

Submitted to the McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Kasey Clawson Hudak

December 2012

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Kasey Clawson Hudak

2012

BEYOND THE BRANDOPOLIS: A COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH
TO CITY PROMOTION AND MARKETING

By

Kasey Clawson Hudak

Approved November 9, 2012

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ABSTRACT

BEYOND THE BRANDOPOLIS: A COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH TO CITY PROMOTION AND MARKETING

By

Kasey Clawson Hudak

December 2012

Dissertation supervised by Pat Arneson

A review of current city branding literature indicates that unsuccessful attempts at city branding appear to rely on creating static, flashy, and often idealized images of a city. Such marketing efforts may result in a “brandopolis,” or images that may not reflect a city’s true identity. This dissertation supplements current city branding literature by exploring how stakeholders’ discourses form, enhance, and communicate a city’s image. The consideration of a communicative approach to the promotion of city images, from a humanities perspective grounds stakeholders’ experiences of the city in their communicative practices. This grounded communicative approach to city marketing offers marketers better insight into how the stories people tell about their experiences become part of the city’s narrative identities. Understanding stakeholders’ roles in

crafting and communicating a city's narrative identities in their everyday discourses may help marketers promote the city's image beyond a mere brandopolis.

DEDICATION

“There is only one thing that makes a dream impossible to achieve: the fear of failure.” — Paulo Coelho, *The Alchemist*

For my wonderful husband, Mike, who continually reminds me to “not worry,” and whose love never ceases to surprise and inspire me.

For my amazing family – especially my parents, Garrett, and Faith – whose warm embraces and words of encouragement have never failed to motivate me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thank you to all my friends and family who have supported me the last few years. All your words of encouragement, support, and prayers for wisdom and guidance were what kept me going.

I would also like to thank my Committee Chair, Dr. Pat Arneson, for keeping me attentive to my vernacular voice and reassuring me when I felt that I had lost that voice. To my Committee Members, Dr. Calvin Troup and Dr. Richard Thames, thank you for your ideas and suggestions.

For the last seven years, I have had the privilege of getting to know and work with some of the smartest, most dedicated, and talented colleagues and professors. Your scholarship, teaching, and friendship have provided me with the greatest resources for success that extends far beyond the classroom. I am a better scholar, teacher, and friend because of you, thank you!

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CHAPTER 1: COMMUNICATING THE CITY “BRAND”

Throughout the 1990s, the Las Vegas Strip experienced an urban development boom with an increase of over 70% new hotel accommodations (O’Keefe 3). However, the city faced identity woes and declining revenue in 2001, as the rising number of mega-resorts popping up on the Strip featured theme parks whose marketing appeared to cater more to families than fun-loving adults. The Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority (LVCVA) hired R&R Partners to design a marketing campaign that would “obliterate” this family-friendly image promoted by urban planners, yet sustain tourism revenue comparable to the Strip’s hotel growth (Perkins 22). The “What Happens Here, Stays Here” (WHHSH) campaign became one of the most recognizable slogans in city branding history.

City planners pay marketers thousands, even hundreds of thousands of dollars, to create a branded image that will generate revenue and recognition for a city. What city planners need to realize, however, is that one city’s branding strategy may not work for another. In Ken Perkin’s article concerning the promotion of cities, branding expert Eric Swartz writes:

You want something indicative of who you are, not what someone else is. . . . The worst, ineffective slogans play off common themes. Effective ones have depth and dimension. The Las Vegas slogan is good because it has double meaning and a sense of irony. It’s funny. It has edge, an attitude. An appealing slogan tells a story while promising an experience that can’t be duplicated anywhere else. (23)

Successful city branding attempts, like that of Las Vegas's WHHSH campaign, build a marketing campaign around the stories that people tell about their personal and collective experiences with the city. In opposition, unsuccessful attempts at city branding appear not to listen to these forms of communication and instead play off of common marketing themes derived from what philosopher Paul Ricoeur called "dead metaphors" (*Interpretation* 52).

Unlike living metaphors that use word association, resemblance, and/or comparison to produce meaning (Ricoeur, *Rule* 3), a dead metaphor is an overused, banal metaphor. Overuse trivializes metaphors, making them no longer dynamic and unable to produce meaning (Ricoeur, *Rule* 115). Static city branding practices centered on dead metaphors may produce cookie-cutter images of a city's offerings that do not meet the reality of a stakeholder's experiences with the city. This dissertation supplements current city branding literature by exploring the metaphors, discourses, and narrative stories that form and enhance a city's image. The consideration of a communicatively informed city image, identified here as narrative identity, from a humanities perspective grounds stakeholders' experiences of the city in their communicative practices. This grounded communicative approach to city branding offers marketers better insight into how the stories people tell about their experiences become part of the city's narrative identities.

Storytelling is one of our oldest and most universalizing means of communicating experiences and sentiments. In *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, Alasdair MacIntyre claims "man is in his action and practice, as well as in his fictions, essentially a story-telling animal" (201). People tell stories so as to share personal experiences, enhance relationships, make sense of their roles in the world, and better understand the

motives and character traits of others. Jean Paul Sartre remarked, “a man is always a teller of stories, he lives surrounded by his own stories and those of other people, he sees everything that happens to him *in terms* of these stories and he tries to live his life as if he were recounting it” (qtd. in Bruner 21). Narratives reveal relationships by embodying human experiences and articulating them to others. According to Hannah Arendt, we lace the experiences of our actions into narratives to retrospectively convey what holds significance in our lives. Narratives as told by internal audiences (people who live, invest, or work in the city, herein referred to as stakeholders) and external audiences (potential stakeholders or tourists) could unearth the shared experiences and collective stories of the city that hold significance in people’s lives. This project explores the ways in which marketers can hermeneutically explore stakeholder’s discourses to unearth the metaphors and narratives that reflect stakeholder’s perceptions of a city’s actual and imagined images, and the city’s unique identities.

This chapter begins by defining terms central to navigating the rocky landscape of city branding literature and this project’s communicative approach to the promotion of the city. Next, current city branding approaches and practices will be explored. This section includes discussions of the current city branding trend of applying corporate branding strategies to the marketing of city, to which scholars have raised concerns in the practice of this approach. Subsequently, city branding literature that centers on communication will be reviewed. This section provides significant starting points in which to explore the prominent role of communication in the formation of city images. From this review, a communicative approach to investigating how metaphors unearthed during inquiry of stakeholders’ discourses create, sustain, and enhance images and

narratives of a city's identity will be offered. The final section of this chapter presents this project's framework of a communicative approach to city marketing and the philosophical foundations of the scholarship that supports such an approach. The exploration of a communicatively informed approach to the city branding domain begins with the defining of terms relevant to the study of cities and city branding literature.

City Branding Terms and Definitions

This section describes several terms related to city branding and ideas that relate to the promotional marketing of a city's image. While several definitions exist for each of these terms, the following definitions serve as a map for investigating city branding scholarship. Key terms in this project: discourse, metaphor, narrative, and narrative identity, will be explored and defined in additional chapters.

City: A city is defined by The United States Census Bureau as “at least one urban area of 10,000 or more population . . . with at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants” (par. 4). The Bureau also states that a city is “core area containing a substantial population nucleus, together with adjacent communities having a high degree of economic and social integration with that core” (par. 5). This definition implies that city images materialize more from the high degree of interaction between local residents (population) and people who “use” the city as a core or hub of their activity rather than from the city's geographical or population demographics.

Marketplace: The traditional view of a marketplace stems from the Greek *agora* or “open place of assembly” where free-born males would gather to discuss political and economic issues (Jowett 3). This space later included an area where merchants set up their shops to sell goods and services (Mumford). Today, a marketplace represents any

physical, virtual, or metaphorical space in which goods, services, and ideas are exchanged, or a material environment in which products are consumed (Douglas and Isherwood 38). The marketplace incorporates elements of a (1) physical meeting place for people, services, and goods, (2) with the institutions, infrastructures, and communication systems whereby (3) parties engage in product exchange and/or social relations. For use in this project, the marketplace refers to any space where people meet, share, and exchange resources, goods, and stories.

Stakeholders: Stakeholders are identified as any individual, group, or institution that affect and can be affected by an organization's behaviors (Donaldson and Preston 71). For a city, internal stakeholders include inhabitants, businesses, non-profits, governments, social groups, and any individual with a "stake" in the outcome of a city's economic, structural, operational, political, and cultural workings. Stakeholders also include people who share in the benefits and drawbacks of such interactions. External stakeholders are potential stakeholders who may move to the city to live, travel to city to work, or to just visit, i.e., tourists.

Brand: On the American Marketing Association's website dictionary: "A brand is a customer experience represented by a collection of images and ideas; often, it refers to a symbol such as a name, logo, slogan, and design scheme." Brands move into the realm of consumer experience when they act "as signposts in a busy marketplace, clustering values and characteristics together in recognizable packages that we regard with different levels of trust or approval" (Braun 20). When used in corporate settings, a brand offers a recognizable symbol that represents "a multidimensional assortment of functional, emotional, relational and strategic elements that collectively generate a unique set of

associations in the public mind” (Aaker 68). This project uses the term “brand” as visual representations of consumer’s perceptions of a product, service, or company.

City Branding: City branding is defined as “the practice of applying brand strategy and other marketing techniques and disciplines to the economic, political and cultural development of cities, regions and countries” (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 521). City branding aims to promote, profile, and “sell” a city to both internal and external stakeholders through the “construction, communication and management” of a city’s image or identity (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 507). Over the last decade, city branding has emerged “as an internationally recognized research domain” (Lucarelli and Berg 9) that seeks to create a memorable and attractive image that marketers promote as the city’s greatest attributes.

Terminology associated with city branding literature expands upon contemporary branding theories within the marketplace. Consideration of these terms provides a greater understanding of the city branding domain. These definitions also offer common references on which to explore current city branding approaches and practices.

City Branding Research Reviews

Reviews of city branding literature reveal that the domain has grown in leaps and bounds over the past decade (Hanna and Rowley; Kavaratzis; Lucarelli and Berg). Yet, “there is a recognizable gap in the literature with regard to the branding process of cities in general” (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 507). The gap between approaches to city branding and practices within the marketplace may present obstacles to creating cohesive city branding theories amongst the city branding domain (Hanna and Rowley; Kavaratzis; Lucarelli and Berg; Papadopoulos).

The high level of diversity in the city branding domain results in researchers using “whatever theoretical framework seemed most appropriate at the time” (Gold and Ward 19). In “City Branding: A State-of-the-art Review of the Research Domain,” Andrea Lucarelli and Per Olof Berg “identify and analyze the main characteristics of city branding literature in order to contribute to a more concise understanding of the research domain” (22). Lucarelli and Berg categorize city branding research under three main perspectives:

(1) branding as production (with a focus on how to produce, create, and manage a brand as well as how to organize and govern a branding process);

(2) branding as appropriation (with a focus on the reception, use and consumption of the brand, as well as on the interpretation and utilization of the branding process;) and

(3) critical studies of city brands and city branding (city branding as a positive/negative factor for the economic, social, and cultural environment). (18)

Each of these perspectives point to the ways in which researchers focus their treatment of city brands. From these perspectives, Lucarelli and Berg place several city branding studies within each category.

Within the production category are city branding studies that focus on issues of identity, place branding, location branding, destination and tourism marketing, and urban competition for economic, social, and political resources (Hankinson; Kavaratzis and Ashworth; Trueman et al.; Van der Berg and Braun). Appropriation research explores the

role of stories in cultural urban branding (Jensen; Richardson), while critical studies focus on urban design and regeneration (Evans; Hubbard; Paddison; Short et al.). Nonetheless, Lucarelli and Berg identify studies whose perspectives overlap categories (Bramwell and Rawding; Cai; Julier; Smith; Ward; Young and Lever), which suggests diverging theoretical foundations, ontological standpoints, and research interests that continually confront one another across the city branding domain. Overlapping perspectives may cause marketers confusion over which approach should be paired with which city branding practice. Within the following subsections are discussions of current city branding approaches and practices.

First, city branding approaches within various disciplines will be discussed. Included in this discussion are the practices that characterize each approach. Next, the current marketing trend of applying corporate branding methodologies to city branding practices will be explored. Lastly, the “most discussed issue among researchers,” namely the “conceptual and theoretical shortcomings” of current city branding approaches and practices will be investigated (Lucarelli and Berg 19).

City Branding Approaches and Practices

Several disciplines explore the nature of city branding. These include urban studies, tourism, geography, political science, business and management, economics, social sciences, psychology, and marketing/branding. Scholars argue that since each discipline focuses on a different approach in their practices, a lack of terminology agreement across research fields also occurs (Ashworth and Kavaratzis; Hanna and Rowley; Lucarelli and Berg).

Terminology associated with the city branding research field includes place branding/marketing (Anholt; Hanna and Rowley), destination marketing/branding (Buhalis; Cai), urban branding/design (Hubbard; Julier), city marketing (McCann), and location branding (Hankinson, “Location”). For more on city branding terminology, see Sonya Hanna and Jennifer Rowley’s “An Analysis of Terminology Use in Place Branding,” as well as Lucarelli and Berg’s review of the city branding domain. The lack of agreement among city branding disciplines and terminologies may cause marketers difficulty in understanding which approach would best fit the objective of their city’s marketing campaign. Lucarelli and Berg note that “there seems to be little interchange of ideas between the different parts [disciplines] of the research field” (10). Nonetheless, the authors identified two broad approaches to the promotion of cities, and their practices, that appear to cater to multiple disciplines.

First, the marketing approach looks at “the process or technique of promoting, selling, and distributing the city or parts of the city as products or services” (21). The marketing approach to city branding includes practices of destination marketing and promotion (Buhalis; Murphy et al.; Saarinen; Sheenan, Ritchie, and Hudson), place marketing and the selling of places (Hall; McCann; Young and Lever), urban and town marketing (Hubbard; Page and Hardyman; Van der Berg and Braun), city planning (Murtagh), and city marketing and promotion (Ashworth and Voogd; Dadgostar and Isotalo; Wu).

Second, the branding approach involves the “purposeful symbolic embodiment of all information connected to a city in order to create associations and expectations around it” (Lucarelli and Berg 21). The branding approach has been used in territory and nation

branding (Anholt; Van Ham), destination and tourism branding (Cai; Hankinson), location, regional, and metropolis branding (Hankinson; Hornskov; Rantisi and Leslie), city branding and re-branding (Ashworth and Kavaratzis; Bennett and Savani; Greenberg), and city image management (Czarniawska; Laaksonen et al.). Although each approach has specific practices that characterize their use in the marketplace, a growing trend in city branding literature links marketing and branding approaches with corporate branding practices.

City Branding and Corporate Branding

In corporate branding, marketers focus on the creation and management of messages that help to organize and govern a branding process (American Marketing Association). Corporate branding spotlights “the visual, verbal and behavioural expression of an organisation’s unique business model” that aims to create differentiation and preference in consumer’s minds (Knox and Bickerton 1013). A corporate brand, thus, stands as a representation of the corporation’s core values and beliefs as communicated via their mission statement, marketing campaigns and interaction with stakeholders (Balmer; Simões and Dibb).

Through a strategic marketing approach, scholars argue that corporate branding can work the same way for city branding efforts (Ashworth and Voogd; Hankinson, “Managing”; Kavaratzis; Kotler, Asplund, Rein, and Heider; Rainisto; Trueman et al.). Trueman et al. claim that “City branding can draw parallels from the corporate branding literature in terms of relationship building, communications, personality and identity, supported by strategy, creativity and resources” (23). Recent scholarship into city

branding has looked to create a “systematic and effective” framework through which to “translate” a corporate branding theory to the branding of public spaces (Rainisto 2-7).

In *Success Factors of Place Marketing*, Seppo Rainisto describes his multiple longitudinal case studies that analyzed the place marketing efforts of Helsinki, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Chicago. Rainisto chose these cities due to his claim that these cities were successful in translating corporate branding to each city’s branded image. Rainisto lists 35 key concepts of corporate branding theories that “can be adjusted to the circumstances and needs of places” (230). A few of these concepts include strategic marketing, “organising capacity,” and “presence of substance” that contribute to the success or failure of constructing a place’s identity (Rainisto 228-230). Rainisto defines organising capacity as the efforts of urban planners and managers to design infrastructure that enhances the place’s functionality, while presence of substance relates to a place’s “state of affairs” or the end result of a place’s organising capacity (226-228). Nevertheless, he argues that the images and marketing messages that marketers use to convey an identity often do not link with a place’s organizing capacity or the real “substance” of a place (geographical and architectural aesthetics).

Likewise, Mihalis Kavaratzis’ research into city branding suggests that while corporate branding “casts new light to the topic by bringing marketing theories closer than ever before to the needs of cities,” problems may arise when taking a corporate branding theory and applying it indiscriminately to the branding of a city (“Cities” 30). In “Beyond the Logo: Brand Management for Cities,” Kavaratzis writes:

It is certainly possible to adopt a branding philosophy for the management of cities and to use tools and principles of corporate branding particularly.

It is necessary, however, to adapt such tools and models to the specific characteristics and demands of cities. Cities are neither products nor corporations in the traditional meaning of the terms, and therefore, a distinct form of branding is needed. (525)

Understanding that cities are different from corporations, products, and services is an important concept to consider when promoting a dynamic entity like a city. This idea could get overlooked when faced with the many decisions of which approaches and practices might best meet a marketer's promotional objective. In fact, several scholars -- particularly Kavaratzis, Simon Anholt, Gregory Ashworth, and Heather Skinner -- note that problems in the city branding domain relate to a lack of concepts and theories that address the complex and intricate nature of the city.

Conceptual Concerns

Applying corporate branding theories and practices wholesale to the promotion of the city underscores the fundamental and essential differences between cities and corporations, products, and services. Ashworth and Kavaratzis argue that marketers "too easily assume that places are just spatially extended products that require little special attention as a consequence of their spatiality" (507). Likewise, Alfredo Andia writes:

Cities are more than a product one buys or destinations to which one transfers, they have been throughout history places that nurture ideas and enterprises over time. The most profound campaigns are not about promoting relocation but the ones that help communities' growth from the inside. Slogans and mottos may offer temporary boosts but if they do not embrace particular functional advantages they may not be worth much. (3)

Cities appear to nurture the economic, social, political, and cultural health of stakeholders' lives when individuals and groups impart human characteristics on the city. Cities become more than "just" buildings, infrastructure, and landscapes when stakeholders attribute human characteristics to the city's "personality."

The city is often thought of as a living environment because so many of its stakeholders transcribe the emotions and sentiments of their own lives onto the city's image. For instance, "friendly" or "charming" are human characteristics that many people attribute to a city's personality. As such, cities have multiple imagined (stakeholders' perceived images) and actual (external physical properties) identities that must foster long-term relational development with multiple stakeholders (Ashworth and Voogd; Dematteis; Kavaratzis, "City Brands"). Additionally, the planning of city places and buildings are more inclined to trends in the marketplace than countries and states (Caldwell and Freire).

City planners and marketers feel an incessant pressure to attract "soft attraction factors" like an entrepreneurial image, culture, or niche development — defined as the total service or product package determined by quality of life, entertainment, comfort, thrills, and luxury (Kotler et. al 163). "Hard attention factors" are also of constant concern for city planners that include "productivity, costs, property concept, local support services and networks, communication infrastructure" (Kotler et. al 163). Residents, tourists, and businesses are also becoming increasingly demanding in what they want a city to offer, impressing upon city marketers that the messages of a city's branding efforts must also become more complex and stylish (Ashworth and Kavaratzis; Caldwell and Freire; Rainisto).

Competition for residents, local and global industry, entertainment, and tourism with nearby cities and even distant rivalries (Los Angeles and New York, for example) further intensify cultural trends and heighten awareness of the city's ability to respond to those needs (Anholt, *Competitive*). Major internal changes like infrastructure, taxation, zoning coordinates, and urban regeneration threaten the functionality of a city and its static images (Kotler et al.). Moreover, fluxuation in these demands often occur at a faster pace than most city managers and planners can respond (Ashworth and Voogd; Gold and Ward; Holcomb; Kotler et al.; Van Den Berg, Klaassen, and Van Der Meer). The result of which leads to public questioning of a city's "usefulness" that urban planners and city managers constantly struggle to overcome (Anholt, *Competitive* 21). As businesses, local communities, and even whole towns fall under the pressure of a weakened economy, cities especially need to market their most valuable assets in order to generate revenue and remain competitive in the marketplace. Furthermore, cities must remain compelling places of interest by demonstrating their abilities to provide resources that increase economic and social prosperity.

City planners have long called on marketing to support, enhance, and communicate these initiatives. The growing amount of money that city planners allocate to city branding efforts are staggering. Odney Advertising agency receives \$9 million in tax dollars biannually from the State of North Dakota to produce advertisements for the state's larger cities ("ND Tourism"). North Dakota recently launched Odney's "Legendary Series" on Facebook that focuses on how tourists and visitors can plan their "legendary adventure" in several of North Dakota's primary city attractions ("ND Tourism"). Odney created the series to attract youth to the Fargo, Minot, and Bismark

regions, but one advertisement in particular stirred controversy over its perceived image and message.

The advertisement in question features three women standing on the street outside of a bar. Inside the bar, two gentlemen gesture for the women to come inside, presumably for a “good time.” The words “Drinks, dinner, *decisions.*” and “Arrive a guest. Leave a legend.” are featured in the upper left hand corner of the advertisement. The Legendary Series were released early on Facebook so that marketers could receive consumers’ feedback on the campaign. Several comments on this particular advertisement read “terrible,” “trying so hard to be cool but failing so miserably,” and “reminds me of the worst ‘pick-up line’ I ever heard” (“ND Tourism”). In fact, the majority of negative criticism that Odney received on their Facebook page from this advertisement led to nationwide media attention. While North Dakota and Odney’s intent may have been honorable -- attract youth to the city by producing print advertisements that seek to fulfill the desires of that demographic -- the execution of their efforts seemed to have stemmed more from cliché images of a bustling city like Las Vegas than the reality of life in Bismarck, North Dakota.

City branding researchers Gregory Ashworth and Henk Voogd claim “marketing equals promotion” (52) is a widely held myth. Marketers and city planners spend ample time, effort, and finances creating a strong mental image of what they *want* the city to offer, yet the *reality* of what the city often has to offer fails to equally insure a return on investment. The majority of failed city branding efforts demonstrate a weak understanding of that specific city’s stakeholders’ needs, and the city’s ability to meet stakeholders’ needs and perceptions. In such cases, flopped city branding campaigns

appear to rely more on aesthetic appeals than authentic representations of that particular city.

With increasing frequency, marketers will develop a catchy slogan or phrase to enhance a favorable image of a place or alter an undesirable one, often at the expense of producing a meaningful connection with stakeholders (Ashworth and Kavaratzis; Kavaratzis). Kavaratzis contends that marketers often use “qualities, images, and in most cases, stereotypes of the place and the people living in that place” to construct aesthetically pleasing, yet content-lacking marketing campaigns (“Place” 332). As a result, the city pictured in the advertisement may not correlate with stakeholders’ interactions and perceptions of the city. Stakeholders will often reject these derived images, resulting in an “identity crisis” that plagues many postmodern cities (Perkins 22). Bismark, North Dakota had such a crisis when the “Legendary Series” failed to connect with stakeholders. The feedback that Odney and city planners received over one of their advertisements demonstrates how badly the marketing objective missed its mark. The city becomes commodified and consumed when treated as a product to be branded.

Reducing the vibrancy and dynamic nature of a city into images of a pretty place or a catchy slogan may result in “commodifying” a space as a destination to visit or an experience to be consumed. Karl Marx claimed that commodification occurs when economic and fiscal value is placed on something that does not occupy material space, i.e., ideas, morals, identity, gender, religion, social concerns, etc. (Marx, Fernbach, and Fowkes). In addition, strong philosophical support for promoting a city’s identity in a way that would differentiate city branding practices from the branding process of

marketed goods, services, and products is absent in both city branding approaches and practices.

From a communications standpoint, city branding theories are incomplete. The whole of city branding approaches and practices has been “characterized by a high degree of multi-disciplinary, rapid proliferation in and between disciplines, and a somewhat fragmented theoretical foundation” (Lucarelli and Berg 9). Although the concept of branding provides a holistic framework through which to construct and disseminate a recognizable identity for a corporation or product, such a systematic process cannot attend to the dynamic and organic nature of a city. Since “no general theoretical framework exists to underpin the development of place brands apart from classical, product-based branding theory” (Hankinson, “Location” 110), the practice of applying corporate branding techniques to a city marketing campaign may result in shallow marketing practices. The lack of cohesive branding concepts and theories often result in the use of stylized images in a branding campaign that may not correlate with how stakeholders’ perceive the city. When this occurs, very idea of branding -- that of connecting values with a particular image of a product or service -- also fails.

When a dynamic entity like a city has been marketed as a generic container of entertaining and prepackaged “experiences,” the term “branding” becomes an ill-suited metaphor for the promotion of a city’s image. Failed city branding efforts tend to center on the wholesale approach of applying common corporate branding techniques to a city and calling it a “brand.” The metaphor “brand” has thus been diminished by use, becoming a dead metaphor for the process of promoting a city. Applying the concept of a brand without understanding the communicative “goods” that a city realistically has to

offer may result in an uncharacteristic and hazy image of a city. As a result, the city may become a “brandopolis.”

Branding and ad agency firms have used the term “brandopolis” as a company name for their branding strategies. For use in the project, the term “brandopolis” designates a city whose marketers use numerous Photoshop images and entertainment metaphors in their promotional images of the city, which are ill-suited metaphors for many cities. These images are ultimately unsuccessful in capturing stakeholders’ lived experiences of that particular city. The larger issue at hand with the concept of city branding may not be the symbolic process by which a city can be identified, as much as the ill-suited metaphor of “branding” as it is being applied to cities. Nevertheless, “the very phenomenon of city branding gives us a unique opportunity to question the very concept of branding and the theories behind it” (Lucarelli and Berg 22). Concerns for how the intent of a city branding message may be misinterpreted by stakeholders point to the necessity of understanding how stakeholders perceive and communicate their perceptions of a city’s image. Recently, scholars have noticed that successful city branding strategies appear to be grounded in the actual communicative practices of the people that marketers are trying to target in their branding messages.

From Social Sciences to Communicative City Branding Practices

In “Making Space: Stories in the Practice of Planning,” Barbara Eckstein notes that telling stories within urban landscapes help to produce and sustain community boundaries and the defining of community members. Additionally, Ole Jensen and Tim Richardson have devoted their scholarship on urban planning to the construction of theoretical frameworks in which city narratives can be linked to notions of space. Their

studies look at the socio-spatial dialectics concerned with urban planning and intervention. Jensen argues that the “city becomes the frame” to build a cultural branding narrative (Jensen, “Culture” 213). In this regard, narratives can be *sociologically* defined, signifying that a city’s narratives and discourses can be critically analyzed and empirically investigated. For more on narrative analysis via a social scientific lens, see Barbara Czarniawska’s *Narratives in Social Science Research*. While Jensen and Richardson’s studies provide connections between narratives, discourse, and the city, their work denotes the city as a “frame” on which to build a narrative of what the city *could* look like, rather than identifying the organic nature of the city as emergent from stakeholders’ communicative practices.

Recent discussions regarding the formation of a city branding theory have shifted to include the importance of communication practices -- principally communication management and hermeneutic interpretation -- to the promotion of cities. These budding areas of city branding research explore the networking and channeling of communication within a city’s infrastructure and marketing messages. Kavaratzis’ work on communication management and Deborah Peel and Greg Lloyd’s theory on hermeneutics and branding provide literature relevant to the task of constructing a communication-informed city branding theory.

Kavaratzis claims that cities are already engaging in two types of communication that may convey opposing images of a city (“Cities” 30). Primary communication “relates to the communication effects of a city’s actions, when communication is not the main goal of these actions” (“Place” 337). Primary communication is not managed nor consciously controlled. Rather, primary communication is the unintentional

communication that arises from the messages that circulate through a city's reputation and stories told about the city. Conversely, Kavaratzis sees secondary communication as "the formal, intentional communication that most commonly takes place through well known marketing practices" ("Place" 337). Hence, the intentional messages that marketers communicate about the city may or may not be correlating with stakeholders' discussions of the city and/or a city's perceived and actual images. Using Kavaratzis' work as a basis for their project, and building from Mary Jo Hatch and James Rubin's theory of hermeneutic branding, Peel and Lloyd contend that a city's primary and secondary communication efforts could be "read" to reveal its image (507).

Peel and Lloyd explore the city of Dundee's marketing strategies alongside the city's urban regeneration projects to clarify how contemporary theories of city branding demonstrate the "complex interplay" between a city's formal and intentional communicative acts (secondary communication), and perceived image (interpreted via primary communication) (507-514). Through their analysis of Dundee's image perception in relation to the city's formal and deliberative communicative activities, Peel and Lloyd describe an "idealised" model for a city branding theory that takes into account the "communicative logic" of a city's re-packaging or re-branding efforts (507).

For Peel and Lloyd, communicative logic refers to the collective interpretation of the structural, infrastructural, landscape, governance, and behavioral aspects of a city. The authors imply that a present theory of city branding should move towards convergence and integration of communicative logic and marketing strategies within a strong communication platform. Along these lines, hermeneutics of space and the role of communication within a city's marketing and planning efforts offer relative frameworks

in which to “boldly consider the shifting processes of representation created as people, cultures, societies, and ideas move across and about the space that they inhabit” (Donald, Kofman, and Kevin 11). Moreover, Peel and Lloyd’s work reveals the importance of interpretation and dissemination of socio-spatial contexts, indicating that a relationship exists between a hermeneutical approach to city branding and the reception of a city’s marketed image. This indicates that a deeper look into the marketing and everyday communication of city images must be investigated. Subsequently, a communication-oriented approach that attends to both primary and secondary communication could strengthen connections between what stakeholders say about the city, how they utilize the city, perceptions of the city, and the city’s realistic offerings.

Socio-cultural inquiries emphasize the relationship between social patterns and factors, and the sociological consequences of a narrative’s telling/retelling within public spaces, which is beyond the scope of this project. Instead, this project invites marketers to think thoroughly and extensively about what aspects of stakeholders’ needs and wants are fundamental to their perceptions of the city, and how those considerations are communicated in the public sharing of experiences. As such, this project augments current city branding approaches, practices, and theories from a communications perspective.

A Communicative Approach: Framework and Foundations

Current city branding literature suggests that a lack of cohesive theoretical approaches and practices to the promotion of a city may result in miscommunication and misinterpretation of a city’s perceived and actual images. Scholars’ apprehension toward applying corporate branding strategies to a city’s marketing campaign also demonstrate

that marketers may not yet understand the importance of including communication practices in their study and subsequent promotion of a city's images. These concerns spur significant questions regarding the promotion of a postmodern city's images and identities. How can exploration into discourses and narratives about the city uncover stakeholders' perceptions of a city's image? How might communicative interactions between stakeholders reveal a city's identities? How might the consideration of metaphors and narratives derived from stakeholders' discourses enhance marketer's understandings of a city's promoted identity? Once questions concerning the relationship between what stakeholders say about the city, and how they perceive and use the city are asked, marketers may find the metaphors that rhetorically drive stakeholders' discursive consciousness of a city's narrative identities.

This project offers a communicative approach through which marketers may begin to explore such questions. Exploration into the metaphors, discourses, and narratives that breathe fresh and innovative life to the city's narrative identities provide structure to this approach and will be the focal points of proceeding chapters. This chapter presents starting points to crafting a philosophical and rhetorical framework through which marketers may engage a communicative approach to the promotion of a city's perceived images.

Framework

Following Kavaratzis' suggested communication-oriented city branding framework and terms present in current city branding literature, this project looks at a city's communicated images as forms of a city's narrative identity that emerge from everyday public discourses (Andia 3; Anholt, *Competitive* 23; Ashworth and Kavaratzis

520; Donald, Kofman, and Kevin 11; Kavaratzis, “City Brands” 4; Perkins 24; Van Den Berg, Klaassen, and Van Der Meer 34). The next chapter begins such exploration through a discussion of the relationship between the city and marketplace. Chapter Two studies the historical shifts of the role of the marketplace within the city to provide a greater understanding of this relationship. Understanding the relationship between the city and marketplace may aid marketers in (re)claiming the marketplace’s tradition of supporting and shaping the city’s well-being in their marketing efforts.

Chapter Three discusses how metaphors emerging from stakeholders’ discourses about the city may reveal a city’s images. Investigating metaphors present in discourse may help marketers to discover what stakeholders want a city to represent in its marketed images. Marketers could then potentially use understandings of these images to support and invigorate a city’s promoted identities. Chapter Four addresses the areas within the city where stakeholders are most likely to discuss their perceptions of a city’s image. These “areas” include both physical environments (landmarks, events, public spaces) and the experiential space of public opinion. When people share their ideas and concerns within a public setting, public opinion emerges (Arendt; Habermas; Hauser). Chapter Four builds off of Gerard Hauser’s theories on publics, public spheres, and public opinion to provide consideration for how narratives about the city give shape to individual and public narrative identities, which could inform the city’s narrative identity.

Lastly, Chapter Five presents a case study that utilizes a communicative approach -- underscored by ideas of metaphor, discourse, narrative identity, and hermeneutics -- to the study of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania’s discourses. This study seeks to provide a glimpse of how marketers may unearth metaphors in a city’s narratives that could promote a

postindustrial city's diverse culture and heritage. Understanding how vernacular discourses influence the form and function of a postmodern city, marketers could begin to focus on the ways in which a communicative approach to the promotion of a city's narrative identities enhance stakeholders' acceptance and response to a city's marketing campaign. The following subsection describes philosophical foundations for the study of metaphors, discourse, public spaces, narratives, and narrative identity.

Philosophical Foundations

This section first describes two theorists, Walter Fisher and Paul Ricoeur, who have sought to bring rhetoric back to its prominent place within narrative theory. Within each scholar's description of narrative are important considerations for how a narrative theory might apply to the promotion of a postmodern city, to which Ricoeur's narrative theory may lend more hermeneutical ground. Next, literature related to the studying of public spaces will be briefly discussed. Here, communication scholar Gerard Hauser's work on the rhetorical vernacular of our shared social spaces informs contemporary descriptions of publics, public opinions, and public spheres within our current historical moment. Collectively, Ricoeur and Hauser's work point to the ways in which stakeholders' communicative practices shape and are shaped by stakeholders' narratives of a postmodern city.

Stemming from MacIntyre's work on narrative, Fisher labels humans as *homo narrans*. As the symbolic expressions of our experiences, stories provide a blueprint on how to act in given social spheres. The concept of narration, Fisher explains, refers to "a theory of symbolic actions -- words, and/or deeds -- that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create, or interpret them" ("Narration" 2). In essence, stories structure our

social worlds. Narratives are more than just fictitious stories with entertaining messages; they are the definitive lifeblood between thought and action within our social world.

Fisher further distinguishes narrative as a paradigm or a “representation designed to formalize the structure of a component experience and to direct understanding and inquiry into the nature and functions of that experience — in this instance, the experience of human communication” (“Narration” 2). According to Fisher, narratives are inherently ontological; they provide a rationality that informs the various ways in which we *recount* and *account* for human choice and action through narrative rationality (*Human*). Fisher claims that narrative rationality affords logic when it is espoused by “good reasons,” and corroborated by narrative probability and narrative fidelity, which he argues all humans have a natural capacity to comprehend (“Toward 378). “Good reasons” are “those elements that provide warrants for accepting or adhering to the advice fostered by any form of communication that can be considered rhetorical (Fisher, “Toward” 378). Narrative probability addresses the narrative’s structural coherency (is it probable?), while narrative fidelity provides a means by which to gauge whether or not the narrative resonates with the audience (Fisher *Human*).

By “providing a ‘logic’ for assessing stories,” Fisher’s narrative paradigm provides a unique approach to an intratextual understanding of experience (*Human* 348). His narrative paradigm has been broadly used in the rhetorical and philosophical disciplines (Arnett and Arneson; Bush; Glenister Roberts; Kearns; Kearns and Philo; Schrag). Still many critics have scrutinized Fisher for his vague and ambiguous treatment of discourse and not clearly outlining how his narrative paradigm differs from the rational world model.

Several critics claim that Fisher does not provide any clear criteria in which to assess the purpose of each narrative genre, i.e., poetic, dialectical, and rhetorical (Hauser, “Human”; Lucaites and Condit; Rowland). Others find fault with Fisher’s separation of the rational paradigm from the narrative approach (McGee and Nelson) without a distinctive “locus” for judicious evaluation (Warnick, “Narrative” 172). Hauser also questions how Fisher addresses his claim that narrative is a mode of discourse without internal criteria by which to resolve logical contradictions that characterize our current historical moment. In his review of Fisher’s *Human Communication*, Hauser maintains that Fisher fails to execute “the burden of establishing narrativity as the ontological foundation of rhetoric” (Hauser, “Human” 348). The strength of Fisher’s theory rests in his belief that rationality is at the heart of rhetorical action, yet postmodern thought would argue against such claims (Hauser, “Human” 348).

Difference, diversity, hyper-reality, and conflict characterize our postmodern historical moment (see Derrida, Lyotard, Baudrillard, and Deleuze for more on postmodern theories); and unlike the universally accepted theories and philosophies that characterized modernity, postmodernity suffers from what Jürgen Habermas calls a “legitimation crisis” of our cultural, political, and religious institutions (*Legitimation*). A majority of Westerners no longer have faith and trust in institutions like the church and government, which formerly supplied the “grand narratives” of society (Lyotard). Dominant institutional stories that produced ethical, political, and social regulations for public decision-making processes and acceptances of normative “truths” are now rejected. In their place are little narratives, what Lyotard calls “petits récits,” that are expressed and enacted by small cultural sub-groups (60). If discourse is to be measured

by rationality, Hauser questions how Fisher's rational argument predicates rhetorical competence in a landscape of petite narratives?

In the face of an evident difference between discourse that is in story form and discourse that is in argument form, it remains unclear precisely what is added to any rhetorical season by delineating its phrases with narrative's calendar. If everything is narrative, nothing is claimed by affixing "narrative" to it. (Hauser, "Human" 348)

Since narrative subsumes rationality, discourse simultaneously becomes denoted to rational as it becomes labeled as rhetorical, to which our historical moment cannot bear witness. Since the critic decides what is right or wrong in Fisher's narrative paradigm, Hauser questions if Fisher's view of logic reads more like an ethic.

Fisher privileges rationality, placing too much emphasis on logic and neglecting the experiential experience by which people also predicate understanding. Hauser also notes that there are "features of experience that can be brought to language only by narratives" to which Fisher endorses but does not explicitly argue in his narrative theory ("Human" 347). With all the contesting, vying, and cynical worldviews and ethical paradigms in today's historical moment, the subjectivity to which Fisher clings to, but does not provide interpretive models for, leaves little room in which to translate a larger shared narrative.

Conversely, Ricoeur explicitly discussed in his numerous publications that narratives reflect the ontology of expression and experience in our discursive actions. Ricoeur's narrative theory, supplanted by his work on hermeneutics, asserted that "In passing from the paradigmatic order of action to the syntagmatic order of narrative"

discourse “acquire(s) integration and actuality” (*Time and Narrative* 1: 56). Discourse aims to make the un-communicability of personal experience, a distinctive flaw of language, understandable to another person (*Interpretation*). Time and space are the two most critical points of reference through which to engage and integrate explanation and understanding to the communication of personal experiences. Without the inclusion of these concepts in a narrative theory, the means by which to judiciously study competing narrative theories (the main critiques of Fisher’s paradigm) are also absent.

Ricoeur argued that too much “emphasis on nomological models and paradigmatic codes” placed on the narrative form, “results in a trend that reduces the narrative component to the anecdotic surface of the story” (“Narrative Time” 171). People might be capable of exercising reason and *ought* to know how to go about it, but they might be limited in their ability to communicate experience by their spatiotemporal constructs. Ricoeur’s theory on narrativity reflected his belief that a reciprocal relationship exists between time, language, and discourse.

Ricoeur wrote that “narrativity and temporality are closely related-as closely as, in Wittgenstein's terms, a language game and a form of life” (Ricoeur, “Narrative Time” 161). In his *Time and Narrative* series, Ricoeur expanded upon his view that to properly give expression to the complexity of life as experienced, one needs to account for time. To properly account for time in the communicating of experience requires a special kind of discourse, i.e., narrative, that attends to the logical and experiential understanding of time. As a manifestation of discourse, narrative attends to a form of consciousness that is neither bound by time nor space. Per Ricoeur’s narrative theory, the meanings that people ascribe to their experiences can be transcribed into narratives via the emplotment of their

actions and experiences into a meaningful storyline. Human experiences, then, can then be read like texts (*Time and Narrative* vols. 1-3). Ricoeur's narrative theory also points to the sharing and crafting of narrative as a rhetorical process.

When language is brought to experience via discourse, narrative can articulate actions and events and the human contexts in which they occur. Ricoeur's research into metaphor and narrative present starting points to exploring how narratives about the city may reveal how stakeholders perceive the city, and how the city's identities springs from such discourses. In this regard, Ricoeur's works provide the means in which marketers can understand, interpret, and evaluate the kinds of text that "endure beyond the immediate situation of their production and reception and are appreciated by subsequent audiences because they express beliefs and values of cultures" (Warnick, "Ricoeurian" 227). Albeit broad, an argument can be made that cities serve as such texts.

A city's architecture, infrastructure, and heritage are continually thrust between tradition and innovation, yet the experience or "reading" of the city must "speak" to a multitude of audiences. In this case, narratives must speak to a multitude of stakeholders on a variety of different levels. Identifying the stakeholders who comprise publics within a postmodern city's public spheres can aid this project's goal of unearthing where important discourses about stakeholders' experiences and perceptions of the city are being held.

The most notable analysis of the public sphere comes from Jürgen Habermas's 1964 *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Habermas's theory contributes principal understandings of how deliberation within the spaces that the public shares can lead to a collective consensus on the appropriateness of actions within such spheres. The

result of such discourses could then lead to those actions being performed or implemented for the betterment of society (*Structural* 81). The main criticism of Habermas's public sphere revolves around his provision for a ruling class of citizens, the bourgeois, and his claim to a universal, single public voice.

Identifying those who comprise "the public" in a postmodern community can be challenging; as the idea of a singular entity comprised of a multitude of individuals who share similar viewpoints poses problems in our current historical moment. Charles Taylor proposes that what we have today are "nested public spheres" where the activity of the smaller spheres "feeds into the agenda of the national sphere" (*Sources* 279). As a space where many diverse citizens should be able to interact and participate in actions that matter to them, Hannah Arendt stressed that the lines between public and private issues are increasingly beginning to blur at the detriment of loss of self-identity. Feminist critiques, such as Nancy Fraser's "counterpublics" (a term also embraced by Robert Asen's "Seeking the 'Counter' in Counterpublics") and Seyla Benhabib's "cosmopolitanism," contend that when marginalized voices are not welcomed in a postmodern public sphere, a growing number sub-groups will form their own alternative, and often counter, narratives. Conceptual models of the public sphere, thus, have proceeded to an approach that suggests a public composed of a multiplicity of individuals and groups that offer inclusive discursive practices and norms.

Appending both Habermas's and Arendt's descriptions of the public sphere, Hauser seeks to rectify the problematic dogmas that permeate current understanding of publics, public spaces, and the shaping of public opinions. While negating Habermas's principle of universality, and at the same time remaining sensitive to the personal and

private contexts within which Arendt argued are progressively indistinct in our public forums today, Hauser “recuperates” rhetoric’s role in the crafting of publics, public spheres, and public opinions. Using Ricoeur’s narrative theory and Hauser’s classifications of publics, the proceeding chapters seek to supplant an overall understanding of how discourses, narrative, and narrative identity can co-inform and structure an engaged approach to unearthing a city’s narrative identity.

Conclusion

Not all cities are Las Vegas, nor should they aim to be; each city has its own unique characteristics that contribute to a city’s distinctive identities. Kavaratzis notes that the successful promotion of a city “involves the creation of a recognisable place identity and the subsequent use of that identity to further other desirable processes, whether financial investment, changes in user behavior or generating political capital” (Kavaratzis, “Place” 334). By defining key terms relating to city branding and the approaches of this domain, this chapter also provided a lexicon from which to base this project’s exploration into the promotion of a city, stakeholders’ discourses, narratives, and possible narrative identities. Terms related to city branding have roots in classical and contemporary understandings of cities, marketing, branding, and the marketplace, pointing to a philosophically grounded approach to city branding that is supported by past and present literature.

One basic assumption found in city branding research advocates that city’s brand strength is only as strong as the reality of that experience in the mind of the consumer. “People “meet” and understand cities through accepting their own perceptions and processing those perceptions into their own understandable image of the city”

(Kavaratzis, “City Marketing” 1). This idea relates to the corporate branding process of crafting a branded identity based on the “experiencing” of that product, service, or company as indicated from stories told by an organization and about the organization (Donald, Kofman, and Kevin 11).

Reviews of city branding practices and scholarship implies that applying fundamental corporate branding principles wholesale to cities could result idealized images that may not reflect the true identity of a city, possibly resulting in a “brandopolis.” Scholars also point out a fundamental flaw in common city branding practices that entail the shallow application of logos, catch-phrases, and advertising jingles to a city and calling it a “brand.” Marketers focus their city branding efforts narrowly on entertainment and tourism, which may or may not hold true to a city’s ability to meet these offers. This chapter explored possible problems within current city branding practices and approaches to serve as rationale on the necessity of providing communicative ground to the city branding domain.

Although important to understanding how culture, social institutions, and people function independently, the social scientific approach presents serious limitations to the study of city branding. The success or failure of a city brand appears to depend on how well messages of a city’s assets are constructed, marketed, and interpreted by those who invest in the general well-being of city life, referred to here as stakeholders. So while the studying of narratives within publics, public spaces, and public opinions leans more towards an empirical paradigm, the examination and implication of messages within a city’s and its public discourses demands a communicative approach. A communicative approach to narrative attends to how stakeholders communicate their experiences with

the city and how they understand their public roles in influencing the city's perceived image.

Narrative theorists like Walter Fisher and Paul Ricoeur study how stories help people make sense of their surroundings, the latter of which offers a more definitive theory on how discourse with others informs understandings of human experience. Like Fisher, Ricoeur espoused that values are inherently injected into stories (*Time and Narrative; Rule*), but the acceptance of such ideas warrants both logical and experiential inquires to which the concept of time in Ricoeur's narrative emphasizes a stronger connection. Because of time, all narrative forms are subject to revision, expansion, and rewriting. Thus, narrative always heeds, and needs, interpretation. Ricoeur's narrative theory provides material for subsequent explanation and understanding of the human condition as bound by our spatiotemporal existences. Moreover, the persuasiveness of narrative in our culture and the diversity of means by which people communicate in a postmodern community (technology, face-to-face, written, and even non-verbal expressions like yellow ribbons tied on trees) constitute an inherently rhetorical nature. As Hauser's work in publics attest, the studying of narratives within larger cultural enclaves predicates a characteristically rhetorical and philosophical framework that predates even the city itself.

Before the city was "the city" with buildings, roads, and monuments, early civilizations had public meeting spaces that provided a deep social connection for the people who gathered in its spaces. Wherever the earliest of civilizations met on a regular basis to share goods and stories marked the beginning of the ancient city, and with it, its close ties the marketplace (Mumford, *City; Reader*). The city and the marketplace have

long fed off of one another's prosperity to create strong and vibrant cultures. However, the historical transformations of the connection between city and the marketplace indicate that this was not always a happy marriage. The proceeding chapter looks at the role the marketplace has traditionally played in the historical well-being of the city, leading to a more fundamental understanding of what role marketers may play in a postmodern city through their marketing practices.

CHAPTER TWO: THE CITY AND THE MARKETPLACE

Historians, philosophers, and archeologists have long described the city as more than just buildings and structural remnants of civilizations long gone. Studying the historical transformation of the city, historian Lewis Mumford described the city as “the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship; it is the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning” (*Culture* 3). At various times in history, the city site has been a worksite and playground, ceremonial space and war zone.

Cities arise out of man’s social needs and multiply both their modes and their methods of expression. . . . The city is both a physical utility for collective living and a symbol of those collective purposes and unanimities that arise under such favoring circumstance . . . the city lends itself, not only to the practical offices of production, but to the daily communion of its citizens. (Mumford, *City* 3-6)

Throughout history, the city served as the space where many diverse individuals interact on a daily basis, providing structure, content, and meaning to human life. Surveying several historical moments that begin with the city’s origins and extending through today’s postmodern moment, this chapter looks at the transforming relationship between the city and the marketplace.

Studying the historical shifts of the role of the marketplace in the city, this project seeks to provide a greater understanding of the relationship between the finite resources -- environmental and physical properties of a space -- and the infinite realms of human experiences that the city and marketplace offer. Mumford’s work informs this enterprise as his characterizations of the historical city point to how the growth of the city depended

on, and still depends on, stakeholders sharing resources in and through the marketplace. Additionally, historical evidence of the changing form and function of the city also contributes to the philosophical backbone of this project by offering archeological and historical support for how the city and the marketplace are inherently linked to public concerns. This chapter provides a succinct overview of the marketplaces changing roles within the city throughout history.

Beginning with evidence of the marketplace's prominent place in the shaping of the world's earliest civilizations, the proceeding summary chronologically follows the marketplace's relationship to the city within each historical moment. Here, the term "historical moment" refers to important or significant time periods that are characterized not only by the order of events that occurred within this time frame, but also by the human thought and actions that define this moment. Thus, the idea of a historical moment embodies how chronological events throughout history have come to represent the attitudes and behaviors of the people who have experienced these events. The major historical moments that will be discussed in this chapter, in order, include Antiquity (Greek and Roman civilizations), the Middle Ages (The Dark Ages, Renaissance, and Enlightenment), Modernity, and finally Postmodernity. Within each section are discussions of the significant events, human thoughts, and actions that mark a city's history. More importantly, each section outlines the marketplace's shifting role within the city and the influence of human interaction on perceptions of the city and the marketplace.

Earliest Recorded Civilizations

Historical evidence reveals that the relationship between the city and marketplace began long before the construction of city walls and buildings (Mumford, *City*). During the Paleolithic period, which extends from 2.6 million years ago until 11,700 years ago, hunter-gather tribes would periodically meet to exchange goods (Toth and Schick). As tribes began to steadily stay in a particular place longer and longer, semi-permanent structures and walls were built for protection and shelter. The continual frequency with which Paleolithic man settled into one place, led to the geographical and economic development of the Neolithic village.

In 1865, archeologist Sir John Lubbock classified the period known as “Neolithic” (meaning “new stone” in Greek) as the “New Stone Age.” Lubbock advocated that this time period could be broken down into three phases of cultural development. Neolithic cultures first appeared in the tenth millennium BC, which shifted to the Bronze Age around 3500 BC (Bellwood). The Neolithic village was the “embryonic structure” of the city, producing basic structures and amorphous communication networks that have become permanent establishments in the lifeblood of the city, even still today (Mumford, *City* 16). Mumford’s claim that this time period showed the first signs of a communal marketplace supports Lubbock’s theory that the earliest historical time periods were based on the transformations of cultural settlements (*Technics* 62-66).

Neolithic villagers built the initial construction of housing and religious edifices, primitive infrastructure, and spaces for communal gatherings (Perlès). Public spaces were designed in such a way that people could gather to barter, trade, and sell their goods and

engage in leisure activities, previously unimaginable in a hunter-gather lifestyle (Mumford, *City* 85). The agrarian culture of the village offered villagers “utilities for protection, storage, and life-maintenance” (Mumford, *Culture* 285). Villagers farmed crops such as wheat and small-seed cereal grains. They also began to domesticate livestock such as sheep and goats. The agrarian lifestyle of the Neolithic period added many new food sources to villagers’ diets, fostering a sedentary way of life and the specialization of jobs (Reader 17). Villagers built protective walls around their crops and buildings and created complex communication systems to keep inhabitants in contact and the authoritative leaders in control.

The communal nature of the village was a magnetic force, drawing different types of people to its center. Anthropologists have found evidence of blacksmiths, warriors, farmers, miners, potters, tanners, and peasants in the village (Mumford, *City* 29). Working together, these men and women generated the possibility of an advanced culture as the growth in human productivity enhanced the overall quality of village life.

Cooperation between different types of skill sets changed the village landscape, giving rise to structures and technics that helped to organize and facilitate interaction between villagers (Mumford, *Technics* 63). Still the transition from village to city was more than just adding buildings and people to public spaces.

Archeological evidence of early villages indicates that spaces were created in geographically centered regions for celebration, religious worship, and public gatherings. Historian John Reader identifies a Neolithic site in Peru that dates back 4,600 years ago that covered an area equivalent to thirty-six Manhattan city blocks. Called Caral, this large village “was dominated by a central zone containing six large platform mounds

arranged around a huge open plaza” (Reader 11-12). The plaza itself was broken down into three large complexes, indicating spaces for organized ceremonial events. There were also remains from gardens, housing, and areas where crops were grown (mostly cotton and squash).

There can be little doubt that Caral was home to a large and complex society. Indeed, the social, political and ceremonial system founded at Caral probably provided the ancestral roots for the civilisation of the Incas, who ruled the Andes some 4,000 years later. It is the earliest known urban centre [city] in the Americas; no other site is as large and as old. Caral, then, is a founding stone of civilization. (Reader 12)

The findings of Caral indicate that protection and access to food and water were driving factors in the development of a village. The findings also indicate that the inclusion of land and spaces for worship may have had more to do with human desire to be with others and to better human existence than sheer survival alone.

Mumford saw the transition from village to city is that the city as an inevitable product of “certain natural and economic conditions [that] favored close human settlement” (*City* 92). The city brought together that which was fragmented and chaotic in the village, resulting in the city becoming the primary locality of human activity. The majority of those who lived within the city rarely ventured beyond its walls, so the bulk of their efforts and energy were directed inward toward the city. Mumford asserted that as a “closed container” (*City* 82), the city provided a “settled life which began with permanent agriculture; a life conducted with the aid of permanent shelters . . . and permanent buildings for protection and storage” (*Culture* 3). These goods of civilization

transformed geographical and social landscapes, but it was not until the fourth millennium BC when the villages of Mesopotamia gave birth to a highly complex civilization that the first real vision of the city can be seen.

Often referred to as the cradle of civilization, ancient Mesopotamia was the site of the world's first cities. Translated as the "[land] between rivers" ("Mesopotamia"), Mesopotamia lies between the Euphrates and Tigris, which results in a semi-arid climate. With a vast desert to the north and muddy marshes to the south, establishing settlements would have been uninhabitable if not for the invention of irrigation. Living along the fertile plains of Mesopotamia, Sumerians developed means of surviving harsh geographic conditions via technological inventions like irrigation and plows (Mumford, *City* 84). On one hand, the construction of ditches and canals and the upkeep of these structures depended upon the capacity of large groups of people to organize labor. On the other hand, Mesopotamia's fertile alluvial soils and rivers from which to draw irrigation waters were able to sustain the growing numbers and needs of the population (Frazee 34). By storing water and irrigating their fields during the dry summer months, and plowing the field to overset flooding during the winter season, Sumerians were able to increase food productivity and sustain geographical hardships (Reader 26). Along with irrigation, the Mesopotamian region was the site of mankind's oldest cultural, political, and economic accomplishments.

Around the fourth millennium BC, Sumerians began to draw signs on wet clay with the triangular tip of the reed, developing the first standard form of writing ("Mesopotamia"). Literally translated as "wedge-shaped," cuneiform began as a system of pictograms depicting scenes of Sumerian culture (Reader 40). In time, the pictographs

looked less and less like the items they were to represent, morphing into lines and symbols that could be read given the code. From the remains of these tablets, historians recovered letters, legal and administrative documents, stories of folklore, prayers, historical records, and even “the oldest map known to history” (Mumford, *City* 76). The map indicates that the Mesopotamian region of Nippur was composed of gathering places, like parks and temples, canals for transporting goods and people, and governance structures like shrines, walls, and gates.

The union between the form (buildings, parks, and public gathering spaces) and function (technological and political advancements) of city life shifted the city’s purpose in the eyes of its inhabitants from mere survival to significance. “To the ancient Sumerians the city was the centre of the world . . . Here, amid the temples, the houses and the gardens, people found shelter from the hazards of the wilderness, adequate food and drink, and the comforts of kin and friendship” (Reader 26). This statement has been found to be equally true in several civilizations in Egypt, the Middle East, and India that emerged and flourished around the same historical time frame as Mesopotamia (Reader 69). What unites these different cultures living in different geographical locations is the functionality of the city, to which Mumford wrote:

From its origins onward, indeed, the city may be described as a structure specially equipped to store and transmit the goods of civilization, sufficiently condensed to afford the maximum amount of facilities in a minimum space, but also capable of structural enlargement to enable it to find a place for the changing needs and the more complex forms of a growing society and its cumulative social heritage. (*City* 30)

As the site of many developments in human civilization, including the creation of complex social organizations, technological advancements like writing, medicine, ploughs and wheels for farming, and the manufacturing of goods, it is no wonder that Mumford portrayed the early cities of Mesopotamia as the symbolic “potential of man at his utmost being” (*City* 50). The heightened achievement of this statement can be found in ancient Greek and Roman cities.

Antiquity

The Greek *polis*, or city-state, stands as one of the greatest examples of the reciprocal relationship that can occur between stakeholders and the health of a city. Athenian citizenship and the workings of the Greek *polis* exemplified a “collective life more highly energized, more heightened in its capacity for esthetic expression and rational evaluation, than had ever been achieved before” (Mumford, *City* 125). Arendt claimed that the *polis*’ strength arose from its agenda to attend to both the deeds and speech of its people. In ancient Sparta and Greece, the *polis* was charged with developing governance structures, establishing systems of barter and exchange, and creating vast networks of villages to secure *agathos*, or the good life, for its citizens (Jowett 37). The *polis* served as a social hub, a marketplace of goods, and a gathering place for the discussion of politics and economics (Jowett 8-14). Nestled within the heart of the *polis*, the *agora* or ancient marketplace, functioned as the primary space where the majority of Greek activities were held.

The *agora* was a public space where the needs of the Greek citizens were met: food provisions, the buying and selling goods, natural resources, politics, entertainment, and camaraderie. This signified the marketplace as a prominent space within the city. The

agora was the primary site where goods and services were exchanged, yet it also served a rhetorical and experiential role within the city. The *agora* drew people to the center of the *polis* to share stories and discussions regarding the economical, political, and social health of the city. The happenings of the *polis*, centralized around the *agora*, gave rise to a naturally emergent understanding of the city, and its inhabitant's individual identity, theoretically providing an overarching identity for the *polis* itself.

Ancient Greece was not a solitary city, but a succession of self-governing city states, each with different rights and privileges for their inhabitants. The largest and most powerful of these city-states was Athens. In Athens, male inhabitants were divided into three groups: citizens, metoici, and slaves. An Athenian citizen was a freeborn male, eighteen years old or older, whose ancestors were acknowledged as citizens for several generations (Wilson 86-87). As citizens, Athenian males were responsible for upholding the duties of the city-state or *polis* by being elected into office. They could also own property and slaves. Another group of male residents, the metoici, can best be described as "resident aliens" within the Greek culture. Metoici had all the obligations of a citizen yet enjoyed very few of the rights (Preissig 184). The metoici had slaves, paid taxes, and could shop in the market if they paid a special privilege tax. Although they served in the army, metoici were not permitted to own land or vote in *polis* matters (Wilson 86).

Slaves were barbarians from Greek conquest and prisoners of war, or from slave markets within other Greek city-states (Preissig 184). The slaves conducted the bulk of productive labor around the *polis*; they were laborers, artisans, miners, and oversaw all agricultural and business matters for their owners. Occasionally, the *polis* employed slaves as police and soldiers. Slaves and women could not own property nor participate in

any political discussion, but women had some respect within the *polis*, especially within the household. Women made all financial and economic decisions in relation household maintenance. As Wilson said, “Slaves and metoici supported, the citizens conducted, the state” (87). From interaction within the *polis*, the notion of citizenship emerged as way to identify people from Greece from those not sharing the same geographical birth.

Aristotle wrote that the *polis* did not merely represent a physical space surrounded by walls but a “community, and a community is made up of citizens” (Jowett 710). Every citizen took an oath to serve the *polis* and to not turn against Greek democracy.

Moreover, citizens were often called to be soldiers in times of war and jurors during peaceful periods. Even their names were based on their geographical location, or *deme*, within the *polis* (Lang 9). For instance, “Perikles, son of Xanthippos, of [the *deme* of] Cholorgos” (Lang 9) would not only give credit to an individual’s birthright as a Greek citizen, but also to the prestige of that individual’s geographical heritage. In addition to geographical to historical heritage, the power of the Greek Empire can be seen through several factors of the *polis*’ daily activities.

First, the ancient city acted as a centralized urban space through which inhabitants are housed under a single authoritative decision-making body (Wilson 587; Hansen 2). “When several villages are united in a single community, perfect and large enough to be nearly or quite self sufficing, the state comes into existence” (Jowett 3). Aristotle often used the word *polis* interchangeably with the words “state” and “town.” The term “polis” was too ambiguous to describe a powerful region where citizens from various villages come to be united in a single governance structure (Jowett li).

Second, the *polis* represented a political decision-making process that depended on the choices and actions of citizens (Hansen 2). Studying in Athens under Plato, Aristotle saw the daily workings of the Athenian democracy as the first true polity or “rule by the people” that the Greek city-states had seen (Jowett 122). Instead of a single ruler, Athens had a public assembly of male citizens that met four times a month to vote on state decisions (Lang and Camp 5). State officials carried out these tasks, but Aristotle noted that this “fusion of oligarchy and democracy” connected the government to the people via public acts (Jowett 122). As a public act of rule by the people, the *polis* was a “union of freedom and wealth” (Jowett 123). Participating in the voting, judging, and daily workings of city life, citizens took great care in keeping informed with the happenings of the *polis*. The responsibility that came from being an Athenian citizen caused men to be loyal to their *polis* and feel pride for their city, thereby tying their identity to the city. Through a participatory environment, the *polis* became a communal space that served as the center of the city’s power and representation of its people (Meikle 19). With the government focusing on democracy in both economic and political dealings, citizens voted on matters that directly affected their role in city life.

Third, the *polis* supported a civic community whose desire to create an interdependent community of individuals gave rise to a communal “good,” or *agathos*, of the city and its people. Aristotle wrote that “readiest way to make a state self-sufficing and so fulfill the purpose for which men come together into one state” (Jowett 112) is to bring citizens together “by their common interests” (201). Aristotle felt that the purpose to which citizens were brought together was to fulfill *agathos* or the good life. *Agathos* meant being recognized as a Greek citizen, someone who could vote on the happenings

of the *polis*, and could own land and slaves. The good life consisted of a life of leisure, but more importantly, it gave male citizens enough time to partake in all decision-making activities of this *polis*. This included the building of structures and designating spaces within the *polis* for public functions. The *polis* housed physical structures that maintained and sustained public activities for the citizenry, which included the *agora*.

Fourth, the *polis* sustained an environment for free trade. To the northwest of the Acropolis, the Athenian *agora* or “open place of assembly” was primarily a public space where citizens would gather to discuss political and economic issues. This space later included an area where merchants set up their shops to sell their services and goods (Jowett 228-229).

Center of public activity, the Agora was a large open square where all the citizens could assemble. It was used for a variety of functions: markets, religious processions, athletic contests, military training, theatrical performances, and ostracisms. Around its edges stood the buildings needed to run the democracy: the Council House (Bouleuterion), magistrates’ headquarters, archives, mint, lawcourts, and civic offices. (Lang 5)

As the space of daily interactions, the very nature of the *agora* supported the primary functions and health of the *polis*. The *polis*, in turn, supported marketplaces functions of the *agora*.

Citizens were charged with exhibiting a governance structure that would oversee all actions within the *agora*. According to historical writer Woodrow Wilson, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle pleaded for three governing offices within the *polis*: one for commerce, one for politics, and one for civic activities. In reality, there was no separation

between the economic and political divisions of Greek life (Wilson 25-30). Socrates and Plato argued for clearly defined spaces between government and marketplace activities and were outspoken on the inclusion of foreigners having a role in the governance structure of the Greek polity. As Plato's pupil, Aristotle tended to share Plato's sentiments. Yet Aristotle found a less antagonistic approach to such views within his writings. Aristotle noted that "the first among city offices is that which cares for the market" (Jowett 201), to which he referred to the agora not as a space of selling goods and services, but as the space of men's political and economic decision-making voting. Nevertheless, Aristotle's disposition towards the separation of the three functions of the *polis* reflected the general feelings of Greek citizens who were in favor of cultural integration during this time period.

At first, Greek aristocracy rejected the cultural benefits of mixing metoici, slaves, and citizens within the economic dealings of the *polis*. Trade and other laborious activities were considered menial tasks by landowners, and anything associated with the buying and selling of goods was "unwelcome" in the *polis* (Mumford, *City* 153). Nonetheless, those engaged in such dealings quickly became wealthy and powerful within the marketplace's social circles. Mumford wrote, "Economic power, though it may be hidden, cannot be ignored. By the end of the fourth century, the economic center of gravity had shifted decisively from land to commerce; from the old frugal self-contained oligarchy to canny traders, parading their gains, with whom an absolute ruler could do business" (*City* 153). Trade between foreigners and villages nearby and afar brought a new economic prosperity to places like Corinth, Sparta, and Athens; the benefits of such cultural intermixing could not continue to be discarded by the Greek elite. The strength of

the marketplace fueled the Greek economy, became a means by which the strength of Greece's social character could be measured.

By the fifth century, the *agora* "can be properly called a marketplace, its oldest and most persistent function was that of a communal meeting place" (Mumford, *City* 148). "The agora indeed served as a sort of informal club where, if one waited around long enough, one would meet one's friends and cronies" (Mumford, *City* 150). By uniting all inhabitants through celebrations, games, and religious ceremonies, and bringing cultural and social concerns to public deliberation, the ancients looked to the *agora* to help restore social equilibrium. Moreover, the demonstration of man's civic activities was most prevalent in the *agora*.

By encouraging the pursuit of significant questions surrounding social concerns, activities within the *agora* contributed to upholding the "health of the nation" (Cicero I.VIII.34) Men met in the Greek *agora*, and later the Roman forum to hold public and political deliberation. Citizens attending public trials or discussing social matters in the *agora* became critically informed and therefore more apt to become involved in such deliberations (Carter 97-112). As people engaged in social discourse about the city, they concurrently revealed matters that were "contingent on the social discourse used by people in specific contexts in specific historical moments" (Foster 2). As the most prominent space of mankind's political and economic character, the *agora* was not only the physical center of city life, but also a social, political, cultural, and spiritual core. To this end, Mumford stated "All these functions of the agora would pass into the city, to assume more differentiated forms in the complex urban pattern" (*City* 149). Mumford's statement indicates that as the marketplace's role and function within the city changes, so

too does the complex urban pattern of the city.

The vibrancy of the *agora* pumped blood into the heart of the city, but by the sixth century the physical structures of the city could no longer sustain the population. As a result, structures like the *agora*, gymnasium, and any other open-air activities were placed on the outskirts of the *polis* (Mumford, *Culture* 138). The sheer size of the *polis* also made it hard to govern under one authoritative body, and vast character differences within each *polis* led to war between Greek city-states. The collapse of Athens at the hand of their sister-city Sparta produced a ripple effect in the strength of the Greek empire, producing a weakened economy and even weaker empire (Wilson 120). By 146 BC, Greece succumbed to Roman expansion, yet several features of the Greek *polis* can be seen in Rome's architecture, governance structure, culture, and marketplace.

The Flavian Amphitheatre *Amphitheatrum Flavium*, redesigned and renamed as the Coliseum during Roman rule, is an ornately designed public space surrounded by large political and religious sculptures that pays homage to a powerful empire (Bunson 45). The Coliseum still stands as a sizable symbol of the many communal functions that were held here. Thousands flocked to the Coliseum to watch gladiator games, races, religious ceremonies, dramas, and public executions. The Romans engineered aqueducts, wells, fountains, and sewers that supplied the Coliseum and Roman baths with water. Courtyards, areas for exercise, libraries, and in late antiquity, marketplace stalls, encircled these communal spaces. All who lived in Rome could attend these events, though many were separated due to their gender and socio-economic status (Mumford, *City* 207).

Much like the *agora*, the Roman forum (*Forum Romanum*) began as an open area surrounded by colonnades and structures that served various purposes around the city. During the Roman Republic, the forum served as the main area for public meetings, business, judicial proceedings, and the marketplace (Bunson 153). As Rome grew into an Empire, the forum expanded in size and purpose. Julius Caesar used the forum as a prime area of international trade, the main seat of his administrative affairs, and entertaining. The forum continued to develop in Rome until it became a complex layout of “shrines and temples, the halls of justice and council houses, and open spaces framed by stately colonnades” (Mumford, *City* 222). The ornateness of the Roman forum gave a new character to the city. “Here in the Forum Romanum was the center of public life not merely for Rome itself, but for the Empire” (Mumford, *City* 222). The forum even became a symbol of the union between the neighboring tribes and conquests as villagers would come into Rome to trade, barter, attend games, and attend public trials.

Cicero’s works have been used since the Renaissance as a humanistic blueprint on how social and civic activities were linked in the Roman forum. As a democracy, Roman trials were public spectacles, often drawing large crowds that would come to watch the patrons speak on behalf of their clients, or litigants (Fantham 110). Within the rights of the Roman Republic, men who were accused of a crime were brought to the forum either to defend themselves or hire a patron to speak on their behalf. This was also the place where men concerned for the fate of their city would plead for social, political, or economic action. Patrons who found favor with the crowd held high honor in the courts, which could eventually lead to political positions. As one of the most famous patrons, Cicero’s reputation in Rome grew until he received the highest civic office, Roman

Consul. However, civil wars between Rome and Sulla increased, and the political structure of a republic senate shifted to a dictatorship in the hands of Caesar. Cicero feared for the health of the republic, and his public outcries against such tyranny led to his exile and eventual death (Fantham 18). Yet Cicero's prediction of the Republic's downfall was an immanent prophecy of what happens when the public is no longer a part of a city's decision-making process.

The fall of Rome was "one of the most famous non-events in history" (Cameron 33). "From the eighteenth century onward, we have been obsessed with the fall: it has been valued as an archetype for every perceived decline, and, hence, as a symbol for our own fears" (Bowersock 31). This statement regarding the gradual decline and the eventual "Fall of Rome" echoes similar sentiments regarding Greece's fall, and implies how several factors -- the overcrowding of the city, the separation of the marketplace from the city, "natural" obstacles like illness, famine, and invaders, and political, economic, religious, and social upheavals -- contribute conclusively, if not exclusively, to the Empire's fall (Brown 2-3). Mumford wrote, "Rome remains a significant lesson of what to avoid: its history presents a series of classic danger signals to warn one when life is moving in the wrong direction" (*City* 242). The decline of these vibrant cultures denote how any city, no matter how powerful, large, or well guarded, will come under attack from outside forces. Perhaps more importantly, historical evidence of the ancient cities reveals that the weakening of social structures within the cities themselves could have produced an internal pressure that was too great for its citizens to overcome.

Ancient Greece and Rome illustrate possible consequences of what happens to a community when those making decisions for the city seek distant conquests instead of

trying to achieve balance and harmony nearer at hand, or when the precedents of building tall magnificent structures and glorious architectural wonders are at the expense of face-to-face communication. “These are the symptoms of the end: magnifications of demoralized power, minifications of life” (Mumford, *City* 242). Implosion of cities resulted in the birth of civilization and the expansion of the largest and most powerful empires. The opposite reaction, an explosion of resources that attempted to keep the city vibrant and pumping with life, propelled the once inward communal activities out of the city toward foreign investment and travel. The fall of the Roman Empire demonstrated a populace who increasingly became less concerned with the *agathos* of a communal life and instead sought personal gain in their interactions with others. A counter argument could be made that personal profit and power over others has been a quest for mankind since human creation. Nevertheless, technological and social revolutions have made such realities possible to more and more people, which several scholars argue caused a weakened sense of public identities (Arendt; Habermas; Mumford; Taylor). The Middle Ages characterize a time in human history when social and technological movements spurred significant changes in public activities, which in turn shifted the marketplace’s role within the city.

The Middle Ages: Dark Ages, Renaissance, and Enlightenment

The seeds of a medieval city were planted in the monasteries of late antiquity. When Constantine granted tolerance for Christians and ordered the official religion of Rome to be Christianity, existing pagan temples and buildings were turned into Christian churches (Roberts et al. 276). The Middle Ages were a time of constant, sometimes violent change, so churches built walls around their settlements for protection. These

walls did more than just make the church “simply more visible” (Cameron 58), “the surviving architecture expresses the needs of this troubled age, with its emphasis upon enclosure, protection, security, durability, and continuity” (250). Medieval churches offered salvation, grace, and the protection and resources necessary for survival. By the third century, the Christian church became the center of city life. Mumford noted, “Christian Rome found a new capital, the Heavenly City; and a new civic bond, the communion of the saints” (*City* 243). The church held markets once a week both inside their walls and directly outside their parameter. As a time marked by religious and cultural wars, having a weekly market demonstrated that a city’s economic and social structures were strong. For many townspeople, the ability to buy and sell goods came to represent freedom during these turbulent times.

The greatest economic privilege, that of holding a regular market once a week, assembling for exchange the neighboring peasants, fisherman, craftsmen, depended upon both physical security and legal sanctuary. So, as in ancient Greece, the Market Peace protected those who came to market, during the marketing hours, now symbolized by the market cross of the marketplace. (Mumford, *City* 251)

In the symbolic and physical protection of the church’s shadow, the marketplace represented prosperity and pride for the medieval city. As the medieval church began to take over the economic and political landscapes, however, power for control over the daily workings of the city began to surface.

Those that were once considered outsiders to the ancient city, the merchants, became the greatest support and core of the medieval city. Prior to the medieval

marketplace, merchants held prominent places within the city, yet did not carry as much influence as those of noble birth or those within the holy sect. In order to protect their investments, medieval merchants created guilds (Mumford, *Story* 121). In Renaissance Florence, the guilds built large public spaces in which to sell their goods. The Arte della Lana housed over two hundred workshops that sold wool linens, shoes, accessories, and clothes (Mumford, *City* 299-300). The craft guild boasted even more craftsmen in the marketplace. After the eleventh century, “the fresh activities of the community began to shift toward the marketplace, and the incorporation of merchants and craftsman, as free citizens” (Mumford, *City* 252). The church supplied the land on which the marketplace was originally held but the merchant guilds managed this space (Fenlon 181-182). These guilds not only helped to organize and control economic life of the medieval city, but they also helped the marketplace, and by extension the city, to grow beyond the church’s walls. The collaboration between the churches and the merchant guilds made international trade a common pastime in the Dark Ages.

Dark Ages

The Dark Ages were known as a time of constant war, causing many roads, waterways, and transportation routes to become too hazardous to navigate. This changed somewhat when first the church and then the guilds protected such routes and ports. “When they [merchant guilds] became permanent members of the town corporation, a new era began, which helped reopen the old highways and waterways” (Mumford, *City* 251). Cities were commonly built along waterways and travel routes as trade from other countries kept resources not native to a location in continuous supply.

Religious festivals held in the marketplace also drew pilgrims from all over the country to the holy shrine, bringing their goods to sell (Fenlon). Combining social, religious, and economic activity within the market locale, commerce became not merely an activity, but an act tied to the freedom of choice to participate in city life and the feeling of security in doing so; the continuing success of the marketplace meant that the guilds also grew in reputation and in material abundance.

The marketplace began to need less and less protection from the Christian church, consequently causing the two to separate both as social allies and in physical proximity. The medieval marketplace was moved to the center of town, even inhabiting structures that once belonged to the church. Even the illusion of a shared sense of community ceased to be at the forefront of human action. “Only one controlling agent remained: profit” (Mumford, *Culture* 155). The rhetoric of the marketplace that first helped to create a civic identity and then a protective shield for a faithful public was quickly being used for personal and financial gain, to which Mumford claimed was often at the expense of community:

Early capitalism itself, however, proved a disruptive rather than an integrating force in the life of the medieval town. For capitalism precipitated the change from the old protective economy, based on function and status, aiming at security, moralized in some degree by religious precept and by close sense of family ties and duties, to a new trading economy, based on individual enterprise, pricked by the desire for monetary gain. (*City* 257)

Mumford further claimed that capitalism was the impetus to the demise of the community-centric city (*Technics*). Like Karl Marx, Mumford connected the production of excess in goods with the increasing alienation of a man's labor from the product of his labor, the height of which occurred in the Renaissance (*Art*).

Renaissance

The following entry in the thirteenth edition of Encyclopedia Britannica portrays the Renaissance as a metaphor, or a semblance of thought, that characterizes this time period within the Middle Ages.

It is obvious that some term, descriptive of the change which began to pass over Europe, has to be adopted. That of *Renaissance*, *Rinascimento* or *Renascence* is sufficient for the purpose, though we have to guard against the tyranny of what is after all a metaphor. We must not suffer it to lead us into rhetoric about the deadness and the darkness of the middle ages . . .

(“The Renaissance”)

The Renaissance represents a shift in the medieval narrative, where the philosophical “darkness” of the Dark Ages moved to a “rebirth” of the humanities, namely literature and art, and scientific inventions.

The Renaissance characterizes a cultural movement from the fourteenth to seventeenth century that is often viewed through the “prism of its art and architecture” (Graham-Dixon 8). The majestic architectural arches and obelisks in Venice and Rome and the beautiful artwork of Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael painted an image of a regal and prosperous medieval city. However, Mumford argued that these scenes often masked the impoverished city at its core. The “merchant's emphasis upon

mathematics and literacy — both so necessary to long-distance trade” warred with the humanist approach to studying culture through an ancient rhetorical lens (Mumford, *City* 364). The mounting interests in capitalism were often at odds with the cultural movement of the Renaissance. “Behind the immediate interests of the new capitalism, with its abstract love of money and power, a change in the entire conceptual framework took place” (Mumford, *City* 364-365). Mumford identified that capitalistic drives spurred innovation in more than just the arts.

Scientific revolutions in the Renaissance led to the gradual “mechanization and impersonalization of human life,” to which Mumford argued that the Renaissance was not “the dawn of a new day but its twilight” (*City* 112). In *Technics and Civilization*, Mumford expressed that as society relied more and more on machines to increase production and profit and make life easier, the more power machines had over our daily lives (12). According to Mumford, the ways in which individuals use machines produces a mindset, the technic, that can influence politics, economy, and more importantly, culture (*Technics*).

In *The City in History*, Mumford argued “The abstractions of money, spatial perspective, and mechanical time provided the enclosing frame of the new life. Experience was progressively reduced to just those elements that were capable of being split off from the whole and measured separately” (365-366). As a mindset, technics as more than just a machine or tool (*Technics*). The horizon of experience that Paul Ricoeur would later profess as man’s greatest ability to understand self and others, was quickly and silently being removed from the Renaissance city. In its place was a new order, that of man and machine. When the function of the city (preserver and protector of culture)

becomes separated from its form (artful representations of a thriving city), a city's sense of community can be weakened, marginalized, or even completely lost. For Mumford, the loss of community that occurred during the Renaissance was just the beginning of a much larger social problem; the increasing occurrence of individualist thought and action in the Enlightenment began to trump the collective needs of the public.

Enlightenment

The Enlightenment, or as Thomas Paine explained “the Age of Reason,” proceeded the Renaissance as a social movement bent on liberating the human mind from the dogma of church and state. In “What is Enlightenment?,” Immanuel Kant claimed that the Enlightenment was “Mankind's final coming of age, the emancipation of the human consciousness from an immature state of ignorance and error” (Porter 1). The ignorance and error to which Kant referred is often attributed to the un-reflexive ideologies of the Catholic Church, the emancipation of which came from the questioning of any social, religious, economic, and/or political status quo.

Enlightenment thought paved the way for philosophers like Martin Heidegger, Karl Marx, Jürgen Habermas, and Mumford to investigate the public sphere, a “realm of communication marked by new arenas of debate, more open and accessible forms of urban public space and sociability” (Melton 4). The public sphere encompassed the civic spirit of the ancient agora or forum within the merchant agenda of the Renaissance. The public sphere was where information that concerned the public was presented in an open discussion so that all men could be able to participate in the decision-making process. Conversely, the empirical nature of a scientific approach to analyzing culture and society led to pessimism and skepticism of any true democracy or sense of community. “No

period was more impoverished than the eighteenth century in the development of a common community spirit; the medieval community was dissolved and the modern was not yet ready” (Mumford, *Culture* 155). The rejection of tradition from church and state left room for a new social thought to emerge. The historical moment known as modernity would emerge as a “programmatic vision for social change” (Kaika 4) where capitalism, science, and technology became the guiding principles through which people sought to find truth and understanding.

Modernity

The exact event or time that marks the time period known as modernity is difficult to identify. Scholars frequently designate the Industrial Revolution as the onset of this technological, cultural, and philosophical movement (Cowie; Lefebvre; Marx; Mumford). A more agreed upon stance is that modernity represents a philosophy of “progress linked to industrialization and capitalist expansion” (Kaika 4). This philosophy began to emerge in Enlightenment, but was “realized in the economic, political, and everyday spheres only after industrialization and the expansion of the capitalist world market” (4). In *Urban Revolution*, sociologist Henri Lefebvre claimed that modernity “identifies a long historical shift, from an agricultural to an industrial to an urban world” (xi).

In the ancient city, the production and understanding of space was tied to the communal needs of citizens, specifically in the economic and political dealings of the marketplace. In late antiquity, the city was still tied to community, but now men not born from aristocracy, even slaves, could become a part of marketplace interactions. In the medieval city, city spaces were produced and maintained by the Christian church and later the merchant class. The increasing interactions of the marketplace beyond the reach

of city set the foundation for capitalism, yet the majority of interactions still occurred within city spaces.

In *The Survival of Capitalism* and later *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre identified a philosophical approach to modernity that centers on the physical and metaphysical removal of people's dependence on the city. He further argued that these combined actions transformed "the city" into "the urban" (*Production* x-xi). Lefebvre labeled "the urban" as a revolutionary change in the way that people interact and understand spaces within city as a result of the Industrial Revolution (*Urban; Production*). The appearance of industry and advanced technology greatly changed the production of space for public interactions within the city.

The modern city expanded rapidly in size due to technological advancements. As industry grew within the city, people moved to the suburbs to live and raise their families. The separation of city life from the daily life of a citizen was clearly delineated by the removal of the home from the city. Technological advancements in roadways, communication routes, and infrastructure facilitated the rise of the suburb; people could now live in spaces outside of the city's walls and travel back-and-forth from the city to work. Suburbia became both a symptom and a cause of the growing separation between people and daily interactions with the city. Of this Mumford asserted, "We are citizens occasionally: we are suburbanites (*denizens, idiots*) by regular routine" (*Development* 22). In this regard, "modernity radically alters the nature of day-to-day social life and affects the most personal aspects of our experience" (Giddens 1) which includes our experiential relationships with the city.

For the wealthy, the city came to represent a “business opportunity” as a place where they could work and be entertained (Mumford, *Urban* xiii). For the majority of people, however, the city became one of two things. For those that traveled to the city for work, suburbia was home while the city was a soot-filled nuisance that they would have to endure forty hours a week. For those who lived and worked here, the industrial city was a dismal reminder of their lowly socio-economic status; a status that prevented them from escaping the overcrowded, dirty, and sometimes-violent living conditions.

Crime, disease, and harsh living conditions plagued New York City in the early nineteenth century. In 1811, New York City commissioners redesigned city streets into a gridiron layout to increase trade and commerce. Mumford noted, “every street became a thoroughfare, and that every thoroughfare is potentially a commercial street” (*Development* 10). No longer did the streets of New York lead to quiet neighborhoods and small town shops. Now all streets lead to Broadway.

Broadway, in sum, is the façade of the American city: a false front. . . . In order to cover up the vacancy of getting and spending in our cities, we have invented a thousand fresh devices for getting and spending. As a consequence, our life is externalized. The principle institutions of the American city are merely distractions that take our eyes off of the environment, instead of instruments which would help us to mould it creatively a little nearer to humane hopes and desires. (Mumford, *Development* 14-15)

Desire to rule over more land, space, and people, and the power that comes from controlling all three, drove the expansion of ancient and medieval cities. While these

gains were certainly present in the modern city, the means by which they were achieved were no longer tied to supporting the *agathos* the city and its stakeholders.

Lefebvre contended that conditions of a modern city were not the byproducts or even co-creation of relationships between people and people or people and the city. Rather, the city became “enveloped” by socio-political interests and forces (Lefebvre, *Production* 176). Mumford wrote of modernity, “Ours is an age of a multitude of socially undirected technical advances, divorced from any other ends than the advancement of science and technology” (*City* 33-34). Once space is enveloped by socio-political interests, the relationships and actions that occur within that space are rarely questioned or challenged. Thus, actions within our shared social spaces, like that of the city, are no longer influenced by publically- constructed meaning, but rather by unreflective and unchallenged ideologies (Lefebvre, *Production* 410-411). In short, perceptions of a city’s experiential spaces (how people experience the city), physical environments, and social spheres in which people interact were not in agreement in the modern city. The common saying “the black soot of progress” demonstrates this statement well.

The cities that came to life in this period [modernity] had scarcely any other civic apparatus to boast of. Conceive of Pittsburgh without Schenley Park, without the Carnegie Institute, without the institutions that have grown up during the last generation around its hub – Acropolis – and one has a picture of Progress and Poverty. . . . The industrial city did not represent the creative values in civilization; it stood for a new form of human barbarism. In the coal towns of Pennsylvania, the steel towns of Ohio and its tributaries, and the factory towns of Long Island Sound and

Narragansett Bay was an environment much more harsh, antagonistic, and brutal than anything the pioneers had encountered. (Mumford,

Development 15-16)

The billowing of smoke from a factory warehouse in Pittsburgh or Cincinnati, newly placed railroad tracts ready to deliver people and goods across the American plains, and the bright lights and sounds of New York's Times Square: all came to mirror more of the *goods* life than the good life (Mumford, *Technics* 105). The ordering and controlling of the marketplace and the commodification of goods had now moved on into the city, and by extension, its people. The marketplace had now become the city's competitor, a tumultuous relationship that dominates our current historical moment.

Postmodernity

One defining element of the postmodern historical moment is the "blur:" blurring of culture and consumption, public and private, tradition and change, technology and nature, time and space (Kovach and Rosenstiel). Jean-François Lyotard described postmodernity as a "temporal disjunction" that began in the 1950s reconstruction of the European economy where everything, even knowledge, became a commodity (3). Exploring the complex term that is postmodernity in relation to the city, David Harvey provides a comprehensive view of postmodernity as an economic and political restructuring of unstable cultural forces. "Postmodernism . . . [is] a historical-geographical condition of a certain sort," a condition that Harvey (328) connects to spatiotemporal and environmental changes that began in modernity.

The experience of time and space has changed, the confidence in the association between scientific and moral judgments has collapsed,

aesthetics has triumphed over ethics as a prime focus of social and intellectual concerns, images dominate over narratives . . . explanations have shifted from the realm of material and political-economic groundings toward a consideration of autonomous cultural and political practices.

(Harvey 328)

Harvey also notes that the move from an industrial to a post-industrial society resulted in shifting of cultural dynamics either as a response to modernity (according to Baudrillard and Lyotard) or a continuation of modernity. “The postmodern city, and the postmodern condition itself, is regarded here as being intimately related to the refiguration of capitalist society as consumer society” (Clarke 4). These comments suggest that the postmodern consumer condition is not concerned with the health of the city, or the public’s health, but the private consuming of material gains.

Concern for the postmodern condition’s effect on the promotion of a city’s image arises from the complicated relationship between this historical moment and the conception of a postmodern marketplace. Today, the marketplace stands for any physical, virtual, or metaphorical space in which goods, services, and ideas are exchanged, or a material environment in which products are consumed (Douglas and Isherwood 38). This shift in conception of a physical meeting place to a virtual marketplace has commodified goods and branded social spheres (Douglas and Isherwood 6; Hatch and Rubin 11). While promoting such perceptions in today’s postmodern marketplace has proven profitable for corporations and governments, marketers have failed to rekindle a city’s lucrative relationship with the marketplace in their promotional messages and images. Of this, Baudrillard writes, “the new cities are *satellized* by the hypermarket or *shopping*

center . . . and cease being cities to become metropolitan areas” (77). The marketplace has become an image, a simulacrum, of its former self, and so has the city.

The preceding chapter described how current city branding practices make a city’s present-day condition appear as a “fantasy,” a theme-oriented, branded, contextually solipsistic, and postmodern city “constructed around technologies of simulation, virtual reality and the thrill of the spectacle” (Hannigan 2-5). Such fantasy cities highlight entertainment value over everyday living (Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and New York are prime examples of this). In this context, branding refers not to the branding of the city’s geographical location or physical properties but the branding of corporate consumerism. Stakeholders may suffer identity woes when the marketplace has failed in its assistance to mitigate issues of stakeholders’ perceived images of the city and the branding of its idealized conditions (Ashworth; Kavaratzis).

City planners and marketers have drawn on “New Urbanism,” a theory of urban design that began in the 1980s, to minimize effects of a weak or failing city economy (Dear 123). New Urbanism surmises that spaces within the city can be redesigned to deal with economic and social issues: race, class systems, and property ownership. When computers write the codes for city designs meant to overcome social and economic obstacles, more than just a human component to the structuring of our buildings could be lost. When the picture of the city in an advertisement does not reflect its realistic offerings, images of the city can become fantasies, or distorted, fuzzy images of the actual city, at best. When applying such a theory like New Urbanism to a postmodern city, both city planners and marketers may fail to read the “subtext” of the city’s narrative identity.

Conclusion

This chapter provided broad descriptions of ancient, medieval, modern, and postmodern historical moments to provide an overview of the changing relationship between the city and marketplace. Discussion of the history of the marketplace as it is situated within the city reveals how the city and the marketplace, in all appearances, have a give-take relationship. Serving as cultural hubs, ancient cities fostered a communal marketplace where diverse individuals, businesses, and governments interacted to survive harsh social and political environments. Medieval cities relied on the church and later the merchant guilds to create a safe haven for a growing economic community. Once bringing people together to barter, trade, and sell their goods within the face-to-face environment of the ancient and medieval city center, the industrialization and electronization of mega-stores and virtual shopping malls has lessened the marketplace's dependence on the city. Conversely, the postmodern city continues to depend on the marketplace to provide income, revenue, and entertainment. This chapter explored the movements and moments that characterize this changing relationship and how the historical transformation from a physical *polis* to the marketplace of ideas results in shifting perceptions on the intended role and function of a postmodern city in the lives of its inhabitants.

The varying roles that the marketplace has played in the construction and maintenance of civilizations, especially in regards to the economic, political, and social health of the city, has incited significant questions regarding its relationship to the city. This chapter raised such questions of the nature and scope of the marketplace's relationship to the city not in hopes of mitigating sociocultural ramifications of their

altering relationship, but in an effort to point out the rhetorical role and necessity of the marketplace within the city. This understanding offers a greater interpretation of public spaces broadly, providing a foundation for the proclamation that the city can act as a “‘text’ within its own particular ‘rhetoric’” in lieu of its current chaotic condition (Clarke 44). Collectively, the historical overview of the city and the philosophical underpinnings of Ricoeur’s narrative theory aim to support this project’s claim that the city can act as a hermeneutical text if supplanted by a strong narrative framework. The following chapter will explore how the ideas of discourse, metaphors, and time offer rhetorical paradigms through which the city could be read.

CHAPTER THREE: EXPERIENCING THE CITY: DISCOURSE, METAPHOR, AND TIME

Branding involves a pragmatic process of creating linguistic and visual images that emphasize the value of a particular company, product, or service. This indicates that marketers must possess a deeper understanding of the meanings that people ascribe to their consumption experiences in order to craft messages and images that resonate with those perceptions. For more on the ascribing meaning to our consumption experiences see Mary Jo Hatch and James Rubin. For this project, the paradox between pragmatic marketing practices and theoretical understandings of experience will be explored via Ricoeur's philosophical anthropology.

Ricoeur wrote, "By philosophical anthropology I mean an inquiry aimed at identifying the most enduring features of the temporal condition of man — those which are the least vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the modern age" ("Action" 60). His philosophical anthropology of the "capable human being" points to the ways in which our humanness can be logically explained and philosophically understood (Garcia 72). Approaching the human condition from philosophical, hermeneutical, and pragmatic standpoints, Ricoeur's philosophical anthropology can bridge the gap between empirical approaches to knowledge and phenomenological understandings of experience (Ulin 887). Through hermeneutical interpretation of our discourses, actions, artwork, and narratives, Ricoeur presupposes that the human condition -- the unique characteristics of humanity aside from race, gender, etc. -- can be read like a "text." This chapter extends the idea that the city can be hermeneutically read by investigating the role of discourse in

revealing the underlying metaphors that shape perceptions of a city's image and character.

This chapter begins with a theoretical understanding of discourse in relation to how people communicate experience. Next, a look into how metaphor as a “figure of discourse” (Ricoeur, *Rule* 190) supplants the meaning-making function of communication will be conducted. Metaphor's ability to present understanding and explanation in a single utterance offers considerable illustrative advantages to marketers, to which Ricoeur's discussion of time further expounds. In his *Time and Narrative* series, Ricoeur tackles the relationship between temporality and the communicating of experience by trying to understand how to reconcile the former through the latter. Subsequently, teleological and epistemological questions of time will be explored via Ricoeur's theories on time. This chapter concludes by briefly describing Ricoeur's rhetorical and philosophical contributions to the promotion of a postmodern city and the city branding domain.

Ricoeur's work helps to unearth the apparent and hidden meanings in our speech situations that rhetorically influence our actions. More importantly, Ricoeur's theories on these ideas offer starting points to exploring how metaphors, discourses, and time can craft, support, and communicate a city's narrative identity, an identity that supports and enhances the attractiveness of a city in stakeholders' eyes. The impetus of which begins with a necessary understanding of how discourse can reveal significant meanings in our lives.

Discourse

Kenneth Burke defined human beings as “the symbol-using, symbol-making, and symbol-misusing animal” (495). Symbols provide the building blocks of language, the basis of our vocabulary, and the expressions needed to communicate our experiences to others. As linguistic structures, symbols are also “empty” in that they cannot fully impart the richness of experience to another. In *Interpretation Theory*, Ricoeur wrote, “The experience, or rather the meaning of the experience, “cannot be transferred whole as such” to someone else (13-16). The disproportion between what people can share in discourse and what is experienced does not boil down to a meaningless existence. Quite the contrary, our *bios* --individuality -- make each person distinguishable from another, but our *logos* — faculty to make and understand reasoned judgments -- makes us capable of communicating experience and transcending spatial and temporal perspectives (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 59). Ricoeur explained, “The experience as experienced, as lived, remains private, but its sense, its meaning, becomes public. Communication in this way is the overcoming of the radical non-communicability of the lived experience as lived” (*Interpretation* 16). Accordingly, Ricoeur’s discussion of discourse presents a lens through which to explore (1) how the understanding of experiences can be transferred from one person to another, and (2) how meaning is derived from and created during this interaction.

Working from Ferdinand de Saussure’s distinction between language (*la langue*) and speech or discourse (*la parole*) (Culler 39), Ricoeur addressed the spatiotemporal and philosophical differences between language and discourse. Although Ricoeur agreed with Martin Heidegger, Edmund Husserl, and Saussure that language has the capacity to

identify “what is” (qtd. in *Interpretation* 21), he also asserted that language does not possess a tangible reality.

Language is not a world of its own. It is not even a world. But because we are in the world, because we are affected by situations, and because we orient ourselves comprehensively in those situations, we have something to say, we have experience to bring to language. (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 20-21)

Language is dependent on structure and style, and therefore constrained by systemic boundaries. “Language here then means something other than the general capacity to speak or the common competence of speaking. It designates the particular structure of the particular linguistic system” (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 2). For this reason, language lacks agency and remains atemporal at the level of signs (Ricoeur “Model”). Conversely, discourse is temporal and has agency.

The temporal nature of discourse cannot be separated from the embodied act of speaking or writing. Discourse is a communicative event that occurs at some particular time. As such, discourse always refers to people who speak or write, and those who hear or read. Discourse remains stagnant and fleeting in the moment of its utterance (*Time and Narrative* 2: 63). What is said may be able to be repeated (language), but the phenomenological occurrence of discourse cannot be reproduced. Heraclites expressed “You cannot stand in the same river twice” presents an appropriate description of this phenomenon. Discourse must refer to the context and situation in which the speech or written word was uttered; however, the meaning behind such actions are never fixed or stable.

Unlike language that can only refer to other signs, discourse has a “power to refer to a reality outside of language” (Ricoeur, *Rule* 5). By signifying “a world which it claims to describe, to express, or to represent” (Ricoeur, “Model” 145), discourse communicates meaning between those who speak and those who hear. Here, Ricoeur embraced Hans-Georg Gadamer’s hermeneutic tradition in his claims that reality is culturally constituted as a product of our discourses. Meaning is always subject to historical and social change, and therefore, subject to cultural contestation. As such, Ricoeur’s view of communication becomes clear: communicating is the act of shaping meaning in discourse between oneself and another. For this reason, engaging in discourse with another person enables reflection of the inherent tension between language (explanation) and discourse (understanding).

In “Explanation and Understanding” Ricoeur defined explanation as the process of the natural sciences that constructs causal relations between logic and the use of signs, codes, and language. “‘Understanding’ refers to the subject’s experience of meaning, including the psychological integration of the meanings of explanations” in discourse (Atkins, “Ricoeur” 385). Language’s duality of meaning results from tension between the sender’s intentionality as an explanation of signs and the receiver’s interpretation as an understanding of experience. Ricoeur and Denis Savage wrote, “language itself is from the outset and for the most part distorted: it means something other than what it says, it has double meaning, it is equivocal” (*Freud* 7). Nonetheless, in the discrete and unique act of speaking, discourse grounds the intention of language with the possible interpretation of meaning by connecting words to sentences (Ricoeur, *Rule* 219).

Ricoeur argued that people do not form sentences mentally unless they intend to verbally share them with another person. Words are references used to explain human experiences. When placed together into a sentence, “language is directed beyond itself” (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 20). Through the structuring of language into groups of words that then form sentences, discourse communicates meaning and refers to a structure of reality. “Discourse is the event of language” in which language becomes actualized (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 9). Moreover, structuring sentences does not just produce a hierarchy of language, but produces a new entity, a message through which to construct an understanding of experience. Referring to this transformation, Ricoeur wrote:

Because the sense of a sentence is, so to speak, “external” to the sentence it can be transferred; this exteriority of discourse to itself -- which is synonymous with the self-transcendence of the event in its meaning -- *opens* discourse to the other. The message has the ground of its communicability in the structure of its meaning. . . . I help the other to identify the same item that I myself am pointing to, thanks to the grammatical devices which provide a singular experience with a public dimension. (*Interpretation* 16)

Only through language and discourse can our experiences be communicated to another person. When people engage in discourse, they first understand not the other person, but a means of viewing the world.

In *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*, Ricoeur described that what is revealed in discourse with another is a “pro-ject,” (37) an idea that stems from *Verstehen* in Martin Heidegger’s *Being and Time*. Through discourse, the

projecting of a world of meaning that is both internal to self and external to others is possible. In turn, our discourses present expressions of self and other that mediate the creation of new meaning. Richard Kearney writes, “Here he [Ricoeur] spoke of a *soi* that passes beyond the illusionary confines of the *moi* and discovers meaning in and through the linguistic mediations of signs and symbols, stories and ideologies, metaphors and myths” (*On Translation* x). People create a projection of the other as an alternative form of understanding self.

Projecting an understanding of the other in discourse helps to create “an outline of a new way of being in the world” (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 37). Only in discourse with another person can a person truly situate his or her being-in-the world, what Heidegger calls *Dasein*.

It [discourse] goes beyond the mere function of pointing out and showing what already exists and, in this sense, transcends the function of the ostensive reference linked to spoken language. Here showing is at the same time creating a new mode of being. (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 88)

Ricoeur expressed that discourse brings experience to language by creating a experiential space where shared meaning can emerge. Explaining personal experiences to another person helps to establish a space where a new mode of *Dasein* can project understandings of both self and other. Ricoeur further argued in *Oneself as Another* that understanding self (*moi*) begins with understanding another (*soi*), which can only be done through interpretation.

Even as language becomes comprehensible and accessible to us via discourse, its understanding depends on the incessant loop of interpretation. Ricoeur claimed, “there is

no self-understanding that is not mediated by signs, symbols, and texts; in the final analysis of self-understanding coincides with the interpretation given to these mediating terms” (*Oneself* 15). The understanding of our own *Dasein* and the projecting of language to discourse frame our perceptions of others and our social realities. Here, Hannah Arendt’s discussion on the human condition contributes to Ricoeur’s discussion on the role of discourse in public discussions.

In *The Human Condition*, Arendt described how discourse presents ways of thinking and viewing our world and relationships while providing the mediating terms necessary for self-discovery. On his reading of *The Human Condition*, Ricoeur focused on three of Arendt’s terms -- action, story, and history -- to “disentangle the *temporal* traits” whereby human conditions are characterized (“Action” 61). These three traits are part of our *vita activa* (active life), and “are fundamental because each corresponds to one of the basic conditions under which life on earth has been given to man” (Arendt 9). Mainly concerned with the transition from action to story and from story to history, Ricoeur claimed that these traits constitute our temporal existence. More importantly, they are the main mechanisms by which the self-discovery of discourse becomes part of a larger public consciousness (Ricoeur “Action”).

People share their perceptions in discourse to make sense of personal actions and other people’s actions, but also to engage in such activities because they constitute significant characteristics of public personas. Ricoeur argued that people need to be cognizant of the ways in which they relate to others, nature, and even man-made products, for discourse “cannot escape the condition of ‘plurality’” in public actions (“Action” 68). He further clarified:

That means that for each agent the outcome of an action seldom coincides with its original intention. This constraint expresses the dependence of individual activity on the web of human relationships. It implies that some make an action, others undergo it. Men are both actors and sufferers.

(“Action” 68)

People cannot escape the human condition, but through discourse, which Ricoeur argued is analogous to action (*From*), people can appropriate the ways in which to respond and redescribe conditions. Here, Ricoeur’s hermeneutic philosophy advanced beyond Gadamer’s theories to include the role that social action has in mediating experience.

In *Conflict of Interpretations*, Ricoeur acknowledged that although many theories exist on how to interpret reality, there are still criteria in our public discourses that permit a deeper understanding of our mediated experiences and actions. “That is, according to Ricoeur symbols derive their power from the *bios* but then manifest themselves in areas of human experience where they are subject to hermeneutic interpretation” (Ulin 892). Embedded within each person are social and cultural constructs that both enable and constrain discourses, actions, and communication of experiences.

Our perceptions of self, others, and our shared social reality become actualized in discourse, which then become “subject to the interpretive frameworks of human subjects that are potentially positioned differently and thus who engage objectified intentions from a range of possible perspectives” (Ulin 888). People infer their perceptions of reality and experience by embodying natural and social settings that are principally not of their own creation. In other words, the discourses people use to communicate experience to others ultimately shape, reshape, and direct thoughts and actions, as well as present alternative

interpretations for others to consider. Ricoeur asserted that authenticating an interpretation involves more than just empirically testing it against other explanations (*From*). Rather, people validate an interpretation by defending their interpretation against other competing interpretations. This implies an inherently rhetorical component to the sharing of interpretations via discourse. Hence, there is always a possible plurality to action and discourse that must continually be (re)negotiated to construct a shared sense of reality. By presenting conflicting interpretations that are always up for deliberation, Ricoeur described how discourse can change the world around us.

Discourses have the ability to present unintentional, and as yet unrecognized, opportunities for future action. The reflection and communication of often conflicting worldviews enables people to transcribe and evaluate the human condition. This understanding becomes the primary objective of narrative, which will be described in the next chapter. Important here are the characterizations of discourse and action as fundamental to Ricoeur's philosophical anthropology. Only through the discussion and interpretation of conflicting perceptions (i.e. conflicting interpretations) can the tension between one's understanding and explanation of experience be reconciled (Ricoeur *Conflicts*). When attempting to create a stronger connection between the intent of discourse and its interpretation, metaphors can aid, enhance, and help to (re)present experience.

Metaphors compare two words, ideas, or phrases that are otherwise dissimilar, in ways that make sense to someone once interpreted. Jacques's famous speech in William Shakespeare's *As You Like It* exemplifies a well-known and widely used metaphor.

All the world's a stage

And all the men and women merely players:
They have their exits and their entrances;
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages. (2.7.138-42)

By comparing the world to a theater, Jacques paints a clearer picture of how people play different roles throughout their lives. Moving from discourse to action, metaphors present the tension between explanation and interpretation. In this regard, “metaphor is the rhetorical process by which discourse unleashes the power that certain fictions have to redescribe reality” (Ricoeur, *Rule* 7). By redescribing reality, metaphor provides the means by which the incommunicability of lived experience may be surmounted.

Metaphor

Stemming from Aristotle’s definition of metaphor as the “application to a thing of a name that belongs to something else” (qtd. in Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 47), Ricoeur claimed that metaphor derives its power from substituting one reality for another. In *The Rule of Metaphor*, Ricoeur wrote “As a figure, metaphor constitutes a displacement and an extension of the meaning of words; its explanation is grounded in a theory of substitution” (3). The displacement to which Ricoeur referred arises from language’s substitution of one idea for another, for example: “he rules with an iron fist.” The result of which creates a tension "between identity and difference in the interplay of resemblance" (Ricoeur, *Rule* 247). The tension that exists between the literal meaning of the word and its semantic intention can only be reconciled when interaction in discourse creates a new meaning.

Metaphor demonstrates a figure of discourse whose purpose is “either to fill a semantic lacuna in the lexical code or to ornament discourse and make it more pleasing” (*Interpretation* 48-49). Metaphors aim to make messages more appealing by correlating meaning between two seemingly dissimilar concepts. However, metaphors themselves cannot bring about any new information to the meaning of language if there is no previous knowledge of the word. If a person does not know what steel is, then he or she cannot further understand the substitution of the words “hard” or “strong” for “iron” in the metaphor “iron fist.” Hence, metaphors “draw from the storehouse of popular wisdom — at least, those of them that are ‘established’” (Ricoeur, *Rule* 30) to stake their ground.

Metaphors also help to instruct and creatively fashion meaning in discourse by making discourse more meaningful. “We note once more the instructive and informative functions linked to a bringing-together of terms that first surprises, then bewilders, and finally uncovers a relationship hidden beneath the paradox” (Ricoeur, *Rule* 27). By presenting a new code in language, enhancing cultural constructs, or facilitating clarity in language use, metaphors help fill-in-the-gaps in our understanding. In *The Rule of Metaphor*, Ricoeur noted, “If metaphor adds nothing to the description of the world, at least it adds to the ways in which we perceive; and this is the poetic function of metaphor” (190). Metaphors can redescribe reality by presenting a linguistic space where a new meaning, rather a new reality, can emerge.

Metaphors, specifically live metaphors, aim to make our experiences communicable to another human being. For Ricoeur, metaphors are living, in that they are born, they mature and eventually die (*Interpretation* 50-52). A dead metaphor is a metaphor that is overused and ossified to the point of banality. A dead metaphor becomes

trivial and no longer dynamic, thereby unable to produce meaning. Contrawise, live metaphors have not been diminished by everyday use, thus permitting new meanings to emerge in the speech act. Live metaphors can facilitate meaning by creatively transforming language.

By awakening our senses through language, live metaphors offer new information and can “tell us something new about reality” (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 53). Instead of relying on old sentiment from a particular experience, live metaphors take memories of the past and creates new meaning in discourse. A living metaphor thus presents a passing through of our localized and temporal existence by helping to regulate and enhance understanding between self and other in discourse. This claim is supported by Ricoeur’s belief that “in discourse, it is the word that assumes the function of semantic identity: and it is this identity that metaphor modifies” (*Rule* 5). Metaphor modifies discourse by traversing the memory, attention, and expectation of our actions.

Memory, for Ricoeur, has phenomenological, epistemological, and hermeneutical aspects that direct its definitional treatment. Phenomenological memory can refer to (1) a “*souvenir*” of the mind as an object for consideration, (2) the anamnesis or recollection of experience, and (3) as the reflective understanding of self (Ricoeur, *Memory* xvi). Epistemologically, memory can mean (1) witnessing an event, (2) the “usage of ‘because’ in the figures of explanation,” and (3) a historian’s depiction of the past. Hermeneutical memory relates to (1) a critical philosophy of history, (2) ontological hermeneutics of “the existential condition of historical knowledge,” and (3) the shortcoming of forgetting, where memory has been “buried” within traces of the past (Ricoeur, *Memory* xvi). Memories of past actions often direct our attention to present situations.

Attention refers to the present situation of the speech act in which the speaker and receiver find themselves. Attention can thus refer to the historical moment, which holds conditions for what are experientially and physically possible, as well as signifying one's relative philosophical standpoint. Attention can also indicate the linguistic style of the speech act that means to emphasize or direct one's awareness to the message, sender, or even both. Awareness of the speech situation and what messages need to be communicated in discourse may lead one to expect what sort of response he or she will receive from the hearer or reader of the speech act.

Expectation of the action or discourse relates to the anticipation of meaning, but stems from a pre-understanding of cultural norms. Here, culture refers to the shared beliefs and values of a group that thrive by encompassing and structuring key values that members of a group agree upon and share (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 53).

Expectation moves from a past understanding of cultural norms, as a form of memory, to a present understanding of our spatiotemporal existence. Ricoeur noted, "by entrusting to memory the fate of things past, and to expectation that of things to come, we can include memory and expectation in an extended and dialectical present" (*Time and Narrative 1*: 11). Metaphors are able to link memory, attention, and expectation by mediating the pre-understanding of cultural knowledge and the post-understanding of interpretation in a single utterance. By creating a linguistically constructed understanding of an event and conveying this event to others, metaphor becomes one way in which people can view, analyze, and evaluate life experiences in relation to others in a short amount of time. The following section looks at how discourse and metaphors aid in structuring, supporting, and directing our understanding of experience both in and through time.

Time

In reference to this project, the concept of time becomes an obstacle to exploring experiences. How can people recall past experiences to help present a current understanding of reality to others? How can present meaning be constructed if people call on past experiences? An additional problem of time arises when exploring the static geographical existence of the city in relation to stakeholders' ever-changing social, cultural, economical, political, and environmental needs. To explore questions of the experiencing and communicating of time, Ricoeur analyzed Edmund Husserl, Immanuel Kant, Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Aristotle, and Augustine's approaches to time. Ricoeur ultimately surmises their theories of time into two categories.

First, time can be seen as cosmic time or as a linear sequence of events (*Time and Narrative*, vols. 1-3). People measure time in the movement of the planets and the stars, and in days, weeks, and months (Augustine XXIII: 29). While this approach proves useful for the study of history, people rarely reflect on their lives as a consecutive series of events. Thus, a second way of approaching time is as "lived time" or the phenomenological experience of the event (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 15). People speak about time in the past, present, and future tenses, which give experience a temporal element. Ricoeur expressed that a third concept of time, that of human time, must be adopted in the studying of time to account for how we perceive, recall, and communicate experience.

Ricoeur's theory on human time extended from his central hypothesis in *Time and Narrative* that a connection exists between the activity of communicating experience and

the experiencing of events in time. To better understand human actions, people will reflect on their experiences and (re)order the events and actions that shaped perceptions of their experiences in a nonlinear storyline. Ricoeur wrote, “between the activity of narrating a story and the temporal character of human experience there exists a correlation that is not merely accidental but that presents a transcultural form of necessity” (*Time and Narrative* 1: 152). The exploration of human time integrates phenomenological and cosmic time, offering a considerable foundation for understanding time and the human response to it.

Ricoeur’s approach to human time began with Augustine’s philosophical and phenomenological inquisition of time. Augustine struggled with how people can communicate time when time has no measurable being. Next, Ricoeur included Aristotle’s theories on time to reconcile Augustine’s theoretical impasse on the ontological nature of time. This section concludes with Ricoeur’s contribution to the studying of human time through his discussion on mimesis, or mimetic time.

Augustine’s Theory of Time

After asking, “What then is time?” Augustine wrote, “I know well enough what it is, provided that nobody asks me; but if I am asked what it is and try to explain, I am baffled (XIV: 17). Knowing that time exists and explaining how time exists presented a philosophical stalemate for Augustine. A person needs a point of reference to explain time, yet establishing this reference point for comparison imparts a circularity of reasoning that Ricoeur argued Augustine’s theory of time could not overcome (*Time and Narrative* vol. 1).

According to Augustine, time exists only within the human body, specifically in the mind where the human soul resides. “It seems to me, then, that time is merely an extension [*distentio*], though of what it is an extension I do not know. I begin to wonder whether it is an extension of the mind itself” (XXVI: 33). He later confirmed this speculation, “It is in my mind, then, that I measure things” (XXVII: 36). For Augustine, time resides in the mind, the dwelling place of the human soul. Establishing that time resides in the human soul, Augustine claimed that the soul has two opposing features, *disentio* and *intentio*.

To eliminate discordance between time-as-lived and time-as-understood, Augustine says that the soul distends, *distentio animi*, out of the body (XXVI: 33 -XXX: 40). The soul moves through time so as to always remember the past (memory) while also anticipating the future (expectation). Here, Ricoeur categorized Augustine’s theory of *distentio animi* as cosmological approach to time. Secondly, *intentio* refers to our soul’s capacity to act freely in present time. Working from a theological standpoint, Augustine claimed that the soul continually seeks to (re)connect with God, a journey that depends on an atemporal present. “So wherever they are and whatever they are [future and past things], it is only by being present that they are” (XVIII: 23). Only in the present, which has no duration, can time be understood, examined, and explained.

Since *intentio* occurs in time, the effects of one’s actions eventually become an undertaking of the past. Thus, for each moment that passes, the past is already nonexistent, and the future has not yet happened. The present will inevitably pass into the past, concurrently arousing the soul to seek the present in hopes of equivocating the burden of the past. The mind then stretched in the different directions of memory,

expectation, and attention seeks *distentio*, which starts the cycle of *intentio* and *distentio* over again. Augustine ultimately discerned that time can only be measured in the *passing through* of memory into attention and onward toward expectation; a process embraced by the soul's distention.

It might be correct to say that there are three times, a present of [*de*] past things, a present of [*de*] present things, and a present of [*de*] future things. Some such different times do exist in the mind, but nowhere else [*alibi*] that I can see. (Augustine XX: 26)

The soul thus remains in flux, without motion, under the burden of trying to understand the past through the present. At this point in his query on time, Ricoeur argued that Augustine had reached an impasse.

Supplanted by this circularity of questioning on the being and nonbeing of time, Augustine's theory of time remained a passive participant in the eternal succession of time. Time has no measurable being for the soul seeks to understand images of the past in memory as indicated by signs of things to come in the future. "The mind expects and remembers, and yet expectation and memory are 'in' the soul, as impression-images and as sign-images" (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 9). This keeps time forever in the present (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 5). Yet the present can only be actualized in a passing glance for as soon as we are able to fix our attention on it, the present has passed and the future has yet come into being. Augustine's theory of time alludes to the fact that people often speak of time, thereby giving it a measurable existence; however, Ricoeur argued that Augustine ultimately fails to provide foundation for his argument.

Ricoeur commented that Augustine's idea of an eternal time "call(s) on experience to surpass itself by moving in the direction of eternity" (*Time and Narrative* 1: 22). In effect, Augustine used an immeasurable amount of time, the soul, to measure time. The soul exists only in the mind, yet when people speak to another in discourse, they seek to recite the knowledge gained by the interrogation of time to another. Nonetheless, action can only be understood and spoken of once the action has stopped. Once an act has stopped, the memory, image, and impression of that act is stored in the mind. "It is thus in the past tense that we speak of the very passing of the present" (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 16). As such, time must be compared to a time that has neither past nor future.

Augustine's inquisitive style imposes itself. On the one hand, the skeptical argument leans towards nonbeing, while the other hand a guarded confidence in the everyday use of language forces us to say that, in some way, which we do not yet know how to account for, time exists. (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 7)

Augustine's aporia approach to time could not account for the sequential nature of human experience. Ricoeur speculated that Augustine reached this stalemate precisely because his approach to time is "aporetical" and "highly interrogative" (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 5). Nevertheless, Augustine's theory presents a starting point for how time can be expressed to another via language.

Language is used either to support time's being or negate time's existence. Ricoeur asked, "How can we measure that which does not exist?" (*Time and Narrative* 1: 8). People speak of time as having a measurable being, "to have taken place," "to occur,"

“to be,” but the existence of time also becomes muddled in negative adverbs of time like “no longer,” and “not always” (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 7). Although Augustine asserted that time exists nowhere else but in our own minds, people are able to communicate and understand time nonetheless. “Our use of words is generally inaccurate [*non proprie*] and seldom completely correct, but our meaning is recognized nonetheless” (Augustine XX: 26). Much like trying to define time, using language to describe our experiences to another person proves almost impossible. Yet, the meaning of time and experience can be understood via discourse. Ricoeur maintained that with the “act of reciting, the present changes its meaning. It is no longer a point, not even a point of passage, it is a ‘present intention’” (*Time and Narrative* 1: 18-19). By navigating the being and nonbeing of time, language and discourse can aid in translating the incommutability of individual experience to another, to which Ricoeur argued Augustine’s theory of time only grazed the surface.

According to Ricoeur, discourse presents a measurable comparison of time as passing a personal understanding of time to another person through language. Ricoeur explained that the passing through of time in discourse “is going *from (ex)* the future, *through (per)* the present, *into (in)* the past” (*Time and Narrative* 1: 13) which “forces us to think simultaneously about time and about that which is other than time” (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 22). Ricoeur envisioned that as the soul “distends” itself through discourse, it simultaneously “engages” itself, implying an active account of time that Augustine could not see (*Interpretation* 21). Discourse thus becomes an active agent of time by translating the solitary existence of human experience to interpersonal and public realms. The very act of speaking, “reminds us that discourse is realized temporally and in

a present moment, whereas the language system is virtual and outside of time” (*Interpretation* 11). Subsequently, Ricoeur turned to Aristotle’s theories on *muthos*, or emplotment, and mimesis, or a threefold sense of time, to supplant his belief that the limitations of phenomenological experience may be bridged even though the temporal limitations of discourse remain.

Aristotle’s Theory of Time

When speaking of tragedy in Books Thirteen and Fourteen of the *Poetics*, Aristotle established *muthos* as “plot,” or the organizing of events into a storyline. Ricoeur further explicated *muthos* as emplotment, or “the active sense of organizing events into a system, so as to mark the operative character of all the concepts in the *Poetics*” (*Time and Narrative* 1: 33). The organizing of events, what Aristotle called *muthos* and Ricoeur called emplotment, indicates that an action has been done in which something has been produced.

Referring to Aristotle’s treatment of the “relationship between poetic activity and temporal experience,” Ricoeur wrote:

As poetic activity, it [time] does not even have any marked temporal character. Aristotle’s total silence on this point is not without some advantage, however, insofar as from the beginning it protects our inquiry from the reproach of tautological circularity and thus sets up between the two problematics of time and narrative the most favorable [communicative] distance for an investigation into the mediating operations between lived experience and discourse. (*Time and Narrative* 1: 31).

To mediate between lived experience and the communicating of experience via discourse, distance needs to be established between the sender and receiver of the communicative act. In poetry and narrative, readers will not have catharsis towards the characters without distance. Aristotle wrote:

A tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself; in language with pleasurable accessories, each kind brought in separately in the parts of the work; in a dramatic, not in a narrative form; with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions. (Jowett 230)

Readers want to empathize with the experience without it directly happening to them. However, the reader also needs to identify with the characters in order to relate to their plight (evoking pity). Mimesis is charged with this duality of evoking recognition and distance.

Mimesis

Roughly translated, mimesis refers to imitative activity. In terms of the poetic, mimesis indicates a creative representation of reality as “what Aristotle called, in the broad sense, the ‘imitation of an action’” (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 12).

Hence poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singular. By a universal statement I mean one as to what such or such a kind of man will probably or necessarily say or do—which is the aim of poetry. (Jowett 235)

To empathize with the characters in the tragedy, the poet utilizes language to create a representation of reality that is not only recognizable by the reader (imitation of reality), but also universally understood and receptive. Aristotle viewed mimesis as embellished language that produces a representation of reality. This indicates that time has both a spatial and temporal dimension that Ricoeur's discussions on mimetic time seek to substantiate. By expanding Aristotle's views of *muthos* and mimesis beyond the poetic to the entire realm of discourse, Ricoeur aimed to eliminate discordance in time (per Augustine's treatment of time) and bring concordance to action.

Ricoeur postulated that navigating temporal boundaries inherent in discourse can be achieved via the three tenses of mimesis (*Time and Narrative* vols. 1-3). The first tense, mimesis₁, implies a pre-understanding of human actions. Throughout the majority of his writings, Ricoeur asserted that our actions are always foreshadowed with certain basic understandings of human experiences ("Action"; *From*; "Narrative"; *Rule*). Specifically, his *Time and Narrative* series addressed the connection between our actions, experiences, and the means by which people communicate such understandings to those with whom they share a social space. Ricoeur proposed that actions are prefigured by (1) our ability to ask questions (the semantics of action), (2) our use of symbols, and (3) our ability to comprehend temporal structures that govern the "followability" of discourse (*Time and Narrative* 1: 150-155). In essence, the language and context of the meaning must first be known to make a plot communicable or able to be narrated, a statement similar to the pre-understanding of language in metaphor. Likewise, a pre-understanding of human actions is required to make one person's experience able to be communicated to another.

The second tense, mimesis₂, pulls together chronological events and characters into a narrative structure or the plot. Comprised of the “agents, goals, means, interactions, circumstances, unexpected results” of our actions, this plot builds from the pre-understanding of mimesis₁ (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 65). These factors are then configured into a syntactical order that give each of these elements a meaningful part in the whole of the discursive act (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 66). For this reason, Ricoeur referred to mimesis₂ as emplotment for it creates a "concordant discordance" between the other two tenses (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 2: 4-5). Concordance through emplotment mends the discordance within the activity of the plot's construction. Ricoeur's view of emplotment, thus, gives unity to the distanciation of the soul by giving it temporal order. For Ricoeur, this meant that “poetic emplotment gives insight into human temporal existence and action by figuring the paradox of temporal experience” (Schweiker 29). Mimesis₂ also functions as the mediating structure of the plot by connecting mimesis₁ (what precedes the plot) with mimesis₃ (what occurs after) (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 65).

Mimesis₃ presents “the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the reader” (*Time and Narrative* 1: 71). Mimesis₃ contextualizes the plot (mimesis₂) so that our life story can not only be written but also read. The reader or hearer of discourse must be able to follow the speaker's story, so the plot becomes contextualized to situate the reader within the narrative. Emplotment thus moves into the experiential realm in mimesis₃. A person can then make the story of another's experience his or her own and move it to his or her level of self-understanding, classified later in this project as narrative

identity. Although separate forms, Ricoeur further clarified that the threefold tenses of mimesis are cyclical.

Mimesis₁ responds to questions of our understandings of time and experience that are continually being constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed to account for dynamic social changes and competing interpretations. Tradition provides the durable element in human accounts of time, yet feedback loops of contextualization and de-contextualization in the form of plot revisions change as the cast of characters and their actions change (D. Wood 149). In response, mimesis₂ will also be rearranged so that the pre-understanding of mimesis₁ can be emplotted. Within the notion of emplotment there is a greater “movement of transcendence” that opens up discourse to confrontation between reality and imagery (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 4-6). This confrontation further permits reflection and contemplation on the ways in which people act and react to discourse. In turn, our reflections of these changes give way to temporal comprehensions of human action in mimesis₃ that simultaneously present new questions and/or competing interpretations that start the cycle of mimesis over again.

In relation to discourse, the three tenses of mimesis enabled Ricoeur to question traditional views of time. When shared among two or more individuals in discourse, emplotment produces and/or creates a deeper understanding of self and other. This opens up reflection for social action and response to our socially constructed spheres. In this regard, emplotment remedies the endless circle of *distantio* and *intentio* that characterize our postmodern condition.

In postmodern thought, *intentio* may no longer allude to a spiritual ambition of the soul seeking God. With an incredulity toward all grand narratives, including those of

religion, science, nature, and technology, *intentio* in postmodernity is arguably different for each individual. We all seek *something*, but that something differs from individual to individual and group to group. Nevertheless, the identifying and use of metaphors in our discursive practices offer a quicker response on how to act or respond to individual or group *intentios* as manifested and demonstrated by social actions. By simultaneously directing the focus of linguistic intention and enhancing the meaning-making function of discourse, Ricoeur's work illustrates how metaphors can engage *intentio* at the same time that they provide figurative distance. Ricoeur's work offers new ways of perceiving how meaning can be simultaneously bound in context and yet free to deviate from traditional philosophical practices to construct a world anew. Moreover, his philosophical anthropology can provide a fresh look at how philosophy and rhetoric can ground a communicative approach to current city branding practices.

Ricoeur, Rhetoric, and Marketing

In "Beyond the One-dimensional Marketing Manager," Douglas Brownlie and Michael Saren argue that even as a lack of a "marketing rhetoric" exists, including rhetoric within the marketing process could produce a "wider, more open and more varied discourse" (159). The inclusion of a rhetorical discourse to marketing practices, the authors argue, would "permit marketing managers to talk of sensations, judgments, impressions, emotions and visions — are these, after all, not the ways in which the customer is creatively 'understood'?" (159). These characteristics of our human condition are largely ignored when discussing the intended outcomes of marketing efforts, to which Brownlie and Saren argue must be included in our marketing discourse. Ricoeur's theories on the interconnected nature between our discourses and actions present the

opportunity for marketers to explore the human condition while constructing rhetorical and pragmatic campaigns that reflect these exigencies.

An exigence, according to Lloyd Bitzer, “is an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be” (6). “In a rhetorical situation,” Bitzer further writes, “there will be at least one controlling exigence which functions as the organizing principle; it specifies the audience to be addressed and the change to be effected” (7). Ricoeur’s theories on discourse, metaphor, and time inform a better understanding of the rhetorical exigencies that constrain and enable their practices in our social spheres.

First, Ricoeur’s approach to the problematic, yet possible, nature of communicating experience to another person identifies a prime exigence of, and concern for, our human condition today. His description of discourse permits marketers to follow the movements of language, discourse, and their meanings as they collaborate to inform, change, and shape our perceptions. Ricoeur’s theories also enable marketers to hermeneutically explore the nature of the city’s exigencies, pointing to what actions should or should not be taken in their marketing discourses.

Secondly, his discussion on metaphors and time, specifically mimesis, help to identify the rhetorical situations that direct our discourses. In effect, Ricoeur’s theories on interpretation and hermeneutics have been previously recognized in the field of rhetoric. Barbara Warnick has applied Ricoeur’s hermeneutics to the rhetorical analysis of some of our countries most famous speeches, like Abraham Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address” and Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have a Dream” speech. Warnick expresses how Ricoeur’s hermeneutics aid in revealing a culture’s values and beliefs. Additionally, she explains

how Ricoeur's narrative theory can take such meanings and extend their significance beyond the original rhetorical exigencies to impart meaning on future generations. In *The Habitation of Rhetoric*, Michael Leff calls on Ricoeur's metaphor theory to argue that rhetoric does not necessitate a separation of *proof* from *style* to be considered *rhetorical*, an argument that Ricoeur similarly makes in *The Rule of Metaphor* and "History and Rhetoric." Louise Wetherbee Phelps in 1983, and later in 1988, offers connections between Ricoeur's theories on interpretation and pedagogy.

In 2006, Andrea Ritivo wrote exclusively on Ricoeur's contributions to the rhetorical discipline. In *Paul Ricoeur: Tradition and Innovation in Rhetorical Theory*, Ritivo contends that "a rhetorical enterprise refashioned with Ricoeur's help enables us to raise questions that are critically relevant to our time, yet are also grounded in the historical basis of the [rhetorical] discipline" (4). Ricoeur's work, as pertaining to rhetorical discourses and the promotion of the city, enables marketers to raise significant questions about a city's perceived and actual images that enable stakeholders to interact with each other and the city in meaningful ways.

Lastly, Ricoeur's treatment of discourse, metaphor, and time further demonstrate how the explanation and understanding of our spatiotemporal existence involves both empirical and philosophical inquiries. In his rejection of a universal approach to the study of our social experiences, Ricoeur attended to the conflict between what we know, and how we know it, empirically, phenomenologically, and hermeneutically. Between the seemingly polar disciplines of the human and natural sciences, Ricoeur "argues for a dialectical 'middle way' that undercuts the dualism of subjectivity and objectivity by showing their mutual implication and logical dependence" (Atkins, "Ricoeur" 385).

Ricoeur's "dialectical middle way" between *bios* and *logos* incorporated, but does not favor, a structuralist approach to language with Wilhelm Dilthey's phenomenology and Gadamer's hermeneutics of experience (Atkins, "Narrative" 343). This led Ricoeur to favor the construction of new meaning over rigid claims of methodological autonomy. Ricoeur's emphasis on the primacy of constituted meaning lends itself to this project's inquiry of how to integrate the city's perceived and actual offerings with stakeholders' perceptions of the city, a role traditionally upheld in the marketplace via branding. Particularly, Ricoeur's narrative framework offers a theoretical map through which to direct questions of our spatiotemporal and culturally situated existence and the ways in which marketing responds to such conditions.

Identifying metaphors present in discourse about the city can help marketers to discover what stakeholders want a city's narrative images to represent and construct a city's narrative identity around those images. To establish meaning, metaphor is integrated into a translatable narrative framework that creates a "space of a linguistic transformation" (Martinengo 304). In short, once metaphors are placed within a narrative framework, the understanding of human experiences can transcend temporal and spatial boundaries to create a deeper perception of self and others (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* vols. 1-3). Metaphors also permit those participating in discourse to decide their level of engagement with the narrative, thereby forming their role and identity within the narrative framework (Ricoeur, *Oneself*). Nonetheless, marketers need to first locate stakeholder discourses before they can interpret and engage them.

Conclusion

This chapter investigates the heuristic function of discourse and metaphor in connection with Ricoeur's concept of time to provide a philosophical framework for the promotion of a city's image. People continually interpret meaning from cultural, historical, religious, scientific and political lenses, but meaning can often be "lost in translation" when attempting to explain such understandings in discourse with another person. As a semantic system, language presents a virtual and transitory platform for meaning to evolve; yet the production of meaning at the level of discourse is fleeting. Ricoeur noticed, "Events vanish while systems remain" (Ricoeur, *Interpretation* 9). One way of traversing the inherent incommunicability of human experiences involves the construction of living metaphors.

Living metaphors assist in illustrating our experiences by calling on innovative language use and rhetorical troupes of explanation. Live metaphors propose new ways of looking at the world by expressing something new about our human conditions. Living metaphors thus fluctuate between interpretation and evaluation, "between surface interpretation and a depth interpretation" (*Interpretation* 87). When placed within a narrative framework, the temporal boundaries of discourse and metaphor can provide hermeneutic space through which meaning can be (re)constructed between oneself and another.

Additionally, time poses a problem to exploring and understanding human experience for as people speak of experience, the past has already happened, and the future has yet to come into being. Ricoeur's theory of time presents a means of traversing this treacherous philosophical terrain through his discussion on Augustine's *disentio*

animi and *intentio*, and Aristotle's theories on *muthos* and mimesis. Specifically, Aristotle's mimesis provided ground to Ricoeur's narrative theory of emplotment.

This chapter also provides initial scaffolding to Ricoeur's narrative theory by exploring philosophical implications of how discourse can reveal the metaphors that act as rhetorical troupes of personal and public perceptions. Exploring what people say about the city in their discourses may provide a deeper understanding of how the city and its images are perceived by stakeholders. These understandings may offer marketing-relevant insight into the demands, expectations, and problems of a city's perceived image before time, money, and resources have been used to market the city. This supports this project's argument that before city planners and marketers begin to craft a campaign around a particular city's distinctive character, they should explore stakeholders' attitudes towards the city via interpretation of public discourses. The following chapter explores where public discourses may be occurring in the postmodern city.

CHAPTER FOUR: IDENTIFYING PUBLICS IN A POSTMODERN CITY

Exploration into stakeholders' discourses about the city may reveal the individuals and groups who comprise publics in the postmodern city. Gerard Hauser asserts that our shared public spaces have a multitude of publics whose discourses and actions affect public life. This project shares Hauser's view and assumes the presence of multiple publics and multiple public spheres within a city. Hauser contends that publics are more than just a populace. He asks, "Who is 'the public' that ventures opinions on public matters? What are the venues where these opinions appear?" (*Vernacular Voices* 11). Hauser's study of publics and public spheres attends to the complex nature of our shared social spaces by offering a rhetorical approach to revealing the individuals and groups whose opinions, voices, and actions influence a postmodern city's structure and meaning.

In contrast to the perception of a universally consenting public, as first proposed by Jürgen Habermas's *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Hauser seeks to reclaim a rhetorical tradition of publics that are emergent in discourse. Hauser presents a theory of vernacular rhetoric, or the "use of symbols to coordinate social action" within everyday discursive practices, as an alternative approach to the studying of our shared social spaces ("Vernacular Dialogue" 85). His vernacular model differentiates traditional views of deliberative rhetoric as "public speaking" from local and experiential discursive practices of our everyday social spaces. Vernacular discourses are "not formal exchanges of the podium; they are vernacular expressions of who we are, what we need and hope for, what we are willing to accept, and our commitment to reciprocity" (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 11).

Hauser's work on vernacular rhetoric turns on five main ideas: publics, public spheres, public voices, vernacular voices, and publicness. His description of each of these ideas demonstrates a profound connection between public discourse and changing social conditions within public spaces, so much so that one can either be a response to or a preemptive attempt to influence the other. Each concept is constantly being negotiated through people's telling and retelling of their own understandings and experiences in connection with the (re)identifying and (re)defining of publics and public spheres.

This chapter explores where important public conversations about a city's image are held in the postmodern city using three of Hauser's terms -- awareness, perception, and participation -- as figurative guides ("Vernacular Dialogue" 85). First, Hauser's critique of Habermas's early writings on the public sphere will be discussed. Second, the terms publics and public spheres will be defined (awareness of our shared social spaces). Third, the crafting of public opinion and the sharing of vernacular voices will be explored (the element of perception). Fourth, Hauser's idea of publicness, or public actions, will be reviewed (public participation in the construction of public opinion). Fifth, Ricoeur's narrative theory will be described. Hauser asserts that the (re)telling of cultural narratives help to provide a "rhetoric of identity and justification" for vernacular voices (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 149), to which Ricoeur's interpretation of cultural memories and tradition help to describe. Finally, connections between Ricoeur's narrative theory and Hauser's identification of postmodern publics will be drawn. To better understand Hauser's theories on the multiplicity of publics within numerous public spheres, a look at his critique of Habermas' theory of a universal public sphere is needed.

Public Disputes: Hauser's Critique of Habermas's Early Writings

In his work, *Vernacular Voices*, Hauser explains that identifying those who comprise “the public” in a postmodern community can be highly problematic (32). Today, the term “public” is understood “through conceptual lenses radically out of focus” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 30). These lenses include media reporters and public opinion pollers that “typically talk of ‘the public’ as if they were referring to a single inclusive entity held together by shared attitudes and beliefs” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 30). According to Hauser, emphasizing “*the* public” produces a “generic reference to a body of disinterested members of a society or polity” while simultaneously reducing active members of a community into a “they” (*Vernacular Voices* 32). Hauser ascertains six problems with identifying postmodern publics that began with Habermas's early writings on public spheres (*Vernacular Voices* 46-55). To avoid a lengthy summary of Hauser's contention with Habermas, this project will focus on three problems that most closely relate to rhetorical exigencies of public spaces.

First, Hauser asserts that Habermas's presupposition of an idealized public denies diverse sectors of public spheres and a community's rhetorical character (*Vernacular Voices* 46). In his earlier writings, Habermas viewed the public sphere as a singular entity comprised of a multitude of individuals whose similar viewpoints on what actions should be or should not be taken in our public spaces comprise *the* public (*Structural*, emphasis added). Hauser argues that the idea that a like-minded public (*the* public) could exist in our current historical moment poses significant problems to unearthing where to find such a public. A postmodern society is comprised of individuals with distinct agendas, which Hauser contends make it virtually impossible for a public to arrive at a universal

consensus. To have a universal public means that those involved in public discussions share a similar attitude towards what action should be taken in response to a public issue. However, a shared attitude depends on having shared interests. A large group of individuals sharing public spaces today have little shared interests aside from age, gender, ethnicity, region, and class (*Vernacular Voices* 11). Hauser notes that publics comprised of these demographical interests seem to have the most contested public issues and will often vie for public attention amongst their varying concerns (*Vernacular Voices* 30).

Second, Hauser argues that Habermas's idea of a universal public fails to account for subtle acts of participation that can be seen in public spheres. Subtle acts refer to intentional actions in public spaces that are not outspoken gestures of public opinion, defined later in this chapter as *publiness*, but nonetheless demonstrate a person's views on particular public issues. These include flying the American flag in one's yard, cause-related bumper stickers, and/or bake sales to raise money for the local glee club. Such activities demonstrate a rhetorical agenda that does not fall in line with an outspoken public. Hauser argues that by focusing attention on a bourgeois sphere, Habermas "excludes those subspheres whose members are decidedly interested" in the health and general well-being of their community, but that are not directly involved in public deliberation (*Vernacular Voices* 51).

Habermas has long since re-evaluated his earlier statements on rational ideals of public reasoning to account for competing institutional, personal, and social agendas (see Habermas's *The Theory of Communicative Action*, *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*, and *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*). Nonetheless, Hauser seeks to locate understated rhetorical acts that are still overlooked by public

theory models, namely the Rational Deliberation Model, that still clings to Habermas' deliberative archetype. The Rational Deliberation Model emerges from Habermas's theory of rational discussion, which grounds Hauser's third main problem with Habermas's earlier work.

Third, Hauser claims that Habermas did not include emotion and passion as part of the deliberative process, which allowed Habermas to take for granted that people engaged in discourse within public spaces are "capable of listening with open minds" (*Vernacular Voices* 49). Habermas perceived the public as a composition of individuals who would amicably engage in a rational discussion. Collectively, this group became "an infallible voice of reason" in determining what action "ought" to be taken in Habermas's public sphere (Mills 301). These beliefs ground the Rational Deliberation Model that "depicts the policies of the state as legitimated by the consensus-producing deliberations of interested citizens" (Hauser, "Vernacular Dialogue" 84). Like his contention with Habermas's interested public, Hauser wonders first, if such a reasoned and harmonized public ever existed, and second, how individuals in our current historical moment come to demonstrate the "interestedness" that the Rational Deliberation Model seeks to quantify as "public opinion" (*Vernacular Voices* 50).

For Habermas, interestedness was grounded in rational deliberation that forms public opinion, "that is historically meaningful, that normatively meets the requirements of the social-welfare state, and that is theoretically clear and empirically identifiable" (*Structural* 244). Habermas further argued in his earlier writings that common interests "can be grounded only in the structural transformation of the public sphere itself and in the dimension of its development" (*Structural* 244). However, the normative construction

of “a” public by popular mediums creates a public that many individuals neither directly observe, neither engage, nor even feel a part of, aside from self-ascribed or prescribed affiliations.

Hauser expresses his disdain for what he calls the Public Opinion Poll Model (“Vernacular Dialogue” 85; *Vernacular Voices* 83). According to Hauser, the Public Opinion Poll Model “discovers the will of the people” from surveys and public opinion polls (“Vernacular Dialogue” 85). Public opinion pollers will use statistical evidence to categorize individuals and their opinions as “belonging” to certain public groups. This “objective datum,” writes Hauser, “conceptualizes public opinion in scientific terms as a naturally occurring phenomenon that can be observed and described quantitatively” (Hauser, “Vernacular Dialogue” 85). Quantitative and scientific approaches to the studying of public opinion seek to produce methodologies that would reproduce similar results every time. Since Hauser presents discourse as the means by which publics and their opinions emerge, and the experiential act of discourse cannot be reproduced (as explained by Ricoeur’s discourse theory), Hauser contends that these polls are mere “snapshots” of real publics (*Vernacular Voices* 5).

These “snapshots” habitually reflect the opinions of disinterested individuals who consequently count as “the public” in public opinion polls (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 5). Here, disinterested refers to individuals and groups who are not intentionally engaged in public spheres but will give their opinion only when prompted by public opinion pollers. These snapshots of “the” public depict a large, harmonious, and active community that share viewpoints on social issues, government, and administrative policies, much like Habermas’s portrayal of a bourgeois public sphere.

Hauser contends that the Rational Deliberation Model and the Public Opinion Poll Model sidestep awareness of social concerns for quick and simple categorizations of people and their opinions. Hauser also rejects the idea of “a” public that is constantly being constructed by media reporters and public opinion pollers who simply echo the term “collective” in their discussion of public matters (*Vernacular Voices* 155). Using Habermas’s exchange with newspaper editor Adam Michnik concerning skinhead attacks on those of Jewish descent, Hauser identifies how we often use inclusive language, rather than action, to associate ourselves with certain “public” interests.

In *Vernacular Voices* Hauser writes, “Habermas identifies himself, by implication, with the majority of Germans. He speaks *as if* he knows their mind, perhaps is the embodiment of majority opinion” (10). What is alarming about this supposition is not that Habermas aligned himself with the majority of Germans, but the normative way in which he placed himself as part of that conversation. Hauser expresses his contention with media reporters and public opinion pollers today that place themselves within ongoing public conversations without actually engaging publics in discussion.

By not engaging and listening to discourses already occurring in our public spaces, media reporters and public opinion pollers will indirectly reject a diversified public in favor of an easily attainable, and favorable, image of “a” public that stems from such polls. This reduces the vibrancy of individual and group wills to mere statistics, making their discourses nothing more than “means-end logic of instrumentalism and objectivism” (Hauser, “Vernacular Dialogue” 85). To this end, Hauser conveys how ineffective such polls are in identifying postmodern publics for they cannot account for multi-vocal and diversified public spheres. To overcome such narrow, poll-based

perspectives, Hauser introduces a rhetorical framework through which marketers can become aware of the meanings, feelings, and emotions that drive public forms of communicative engagement, and identify publics and public spheres in a city's public spaces.

Awareness: Identifying Publics and Public Spheres

Although Hauser does not directly define "awareness," he continually uses the term as the conscious ways in which people understand public issues that influence "what may be spoken about, who may speak, and what may be said" (*Vernacular Voices* 51). The idea of a collective reasoning process that attends to public matters must emerge from the rhetorical discourses of individuals and groups who actively engage public spaces. Publics emerge "in the character of rhetorical transactions [that] bears directly on our consciousness of the existential conditions and commitments to actions that determine our collective future" (*Vernacular Voices* 77).

Significantly, a public's rhetoric shapes this overall pattern of awareness and presents it — in how it is communicated to and in how a public's members communicate with one another . . . This awareness is not restricted to any single channel. Moreover, because communication makes shared awareness possible, it serves a function for our collective awareness similar to that of perception for the individual (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 64).

Hauser's attempt to bring awareness to public discourses helps to identify the individuals and groups who comprise the publics, and their perceptions of the spaces in which they

engage one another. Hauser also places rhetoric and discourse as the central components to revealing publics and public spheres.

In contrast to Habermas's idealized bourgeois public, Hauser "develops an argument for a *plurality of publics* located in the multiple arenas of a *reticulate public sphere*" in which individuals and groups engage "one another through vernacular rhetoric" (*Vernacular Voices* 12). Working from Herbert Blumer's view of the public as a montage of societies, Hauser incorporates the ways in which discourse can engage all members of society in ways that have significance and meaning in their private and public lives. Using Habermas's theory of communicative action and Hannah Arendt's theories on public and private selves as theoretical ground, Hauser describes how publics encompass an "emerging network of commercial, political, artistic, and even religious associations outside the state and the family" (*Vernacular Voices* 34). In turn, connections and ties between multiple groups produce what Hauser identifies as larger reticulate, or networked, public spheres.

Plurality of Publics

To identify publics in a postmodern city, Hauser incorporates several theories regarding publics and public spheres, including those of Habermas, Arendt, Walter Lippmann, John Dewey, Charles Taylor, Seyla Benhabib, and Lloyd Bitzer (see Hauser's "Features of the Public Sphere"). Condensing these scholarly positions, Hauser presents a general definition of publics that attends to multiple groups and links multiple social circles within shared public spaces. Hauser defines publics as "*the interdependent members of society who hold different opinions about a mutual problem and who seek to influence its resolution through discourse*" (*Vernacular Voices* 32). Hauser asserts that

individuals merge to form publics only when they become fully aware of the conditions that shape communicative actions within shared social spaces (“Vernacular Dialogue”). Hauser calls on Habermas’s theory on communicative action to help identify a framework through which multi-dimensional publics can communicate their opinions on what public action should be taken in response to a certain public issue (*Vernacular Voices* 44).

Originally proposed under the concept of communication competence in *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas felt that all human beings have the capacity to understand a communicative telos brought about by inclusive speech acts. Driven by discourse and the supposition of an ideal speech act, communication competence pointed to a widespread discussion of what “ought” to be done (*Structural* xiii). The proceeding public action was performed as a result of that communicative act. Habermas clarified in his later writings that the “ought” did not function as a prescribed set of rules that a communicative act follows, but rather presented a return to the inclusive dialogue of mankind, a “we” perspective, that guided a given context in public communication (*Communicative* 7-11). This idea differs from Habermas’s earlier writings that based the norm of public actions from the rational deliberation of an informed public sphere.

In *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Habermas saw the “collapsing of norm and description” that had once characterized modernity and sought to include an inter-subjective process of rationality that turns to a “critical reconstructive” method of public communication (463). Addressing Habermas’ re-conception of an interdependent and communal speech act, Lincoln Dahlberg writes:

Rather than attempting to derive critical norms from specific historical moments, [Habermas's] formal pragmatics aims to unearth the general structures of action and understanding that are intuitively drawn upon in everyday communicative practice. (5)

Habermas's re-conception of communication competence presented the idea of communicative action that attends to how everyday conversations naturally occur in our shared social spaces. Here, Hauser advances Habermas's theory of communicative action to include individual interests, which may or may not coincide with other individual or group interests, in public discussions.

Hauser includes the idea of interest in defining of a postmodern public. Interest refers to "the values and norms that are constantly evolving through the experiences of a lifetime of speaking and acting before strangers" (Hauser, "Features 438). The idea of dissimilar and similar interests brings difference and diversity to the forefront of exploring how individuals form groups and deliberate on issues of importance to them. Hauser explains that as individual interests are discussed in public, common interests groups may form. Groups of individuals who share common interests may voice their opinions with other groups, whose needs or concerns possibly intersect with the opinions of even larger groups. The interaction of multiple groups continually build on the web of interconnected publics to produce what Hauser calls "multilogues" of participatory, multidimensional, and polyvocal dialogues ("Vernacular Dialogue" 95). Multilogues emerge from the construction of a shared space, public spheres, where private and public issues can intersect. Thus, a plurality of publics depend on individuals and groups engaging one another in discourse that is attentive to relationship building and

maintenance within shared public spaces. Through Arendt's theories on public and private selves, Hauser presents a reified understanding of reticulate public spheres.

Reticulate Public Spheres

When shared in public spaces, multilogues that discuss issues pertinent to shared social concerns serve as "the locus of emergence for rhetorically salient meanings" through which public spheres materialize (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 61).

Whenever private citizens exchange views on a public concern, some portion of the Public Sphere is made manifest in their conversation. . . . A public sphere, then, is a discursive space in which strangers discuss issues they perceive to be of consequence for them and their groups. (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 64)

When people engage in discourse on a public matter, a public sphere emerges. To better describe how our daily public interactions provide discursive spaces for a common reference world to exist, Hauser turns to Arendt's theory of public and private selves.

Concerned with the tension between public and private selves, Arendt's *The Human Condition* offers divergent theories on the balance between social action and deliberation. Arendt explored how scientific and technological/mechanical knowledge have overcome natural boundaries in the human condition. As a result, we have turned questions of human social thought into questions of politics, theoretically shifting the boundaries between private and public issues (Arendt 3). Discussing the blurring between the public and private spheres that have occurred from the time following the collapse of the Greek city-states, Arendt commented on the disintegration of the private self:

Not the interior of this realm [private self], which remains hidden and of no public significance, but its exterior appearance is important for the city *as well*, and it appears in the realm of the city through the boundaries between one household and the other. (63, emphasis added)

Public demonstrations of private concerns are historically important for the health of the city (Mumford). Nonetheless, private concerns are increasingly brought to public attention through public discussions.

Arendt cautioned that a melding of private and public selves often create a strain on both personas. Yet Arendt's questions concerning the ways in which individuals craft his or her understanding of the world (which Arendt suggested occur through private self-mediation and daily public interactions) provide a possible approach to uncovering where public and private personas emerge in society. For individuals and groups to coexist with public spaces, there must be a common reference world from which to articulate shared motives and negotiate different perceptions of reality.

The idea of a common sense of reality, what Hauser calls a common reference world, supports his claim that publics involve more than just a populace within a geographical border. Hauser claims that his definition of public spheres refers to less of a "geographic space than to the social-psychological space of a common world having common meanings for those who inhabit it" ("Features" 438). Moreover, when individuals and groups create a common reference world through their discursive practices, they open up space for diverging individual and group perspectives to remain separate from the consonance of public opinion. Hauser writes, "Involved members of society are attentive and active from their own perspectives. They merge as a public only

insofar as they are able to create the shared space between them for talk that leads to what Arendt . . . calls their *common* sense of reality” (*Vernacular Voices* 75). Through discourse, individuals can form a common reference world from which publics can emerge.

A public is possible only the degree that a communally sustained consciousness is available to its members. In addition to sharing language and descriptions that constitute their institutions and social practices, a public’s members must share a web of significant meanings that define a *reference world* of common actions, celebrations and feelings . . . If those participating in public did not share this reference world, its community status would be severed. Put differently, the telos of a public is to mold a world that is hospitable to its members’ shared interests. A public whose members lived in different reference worlds would be self-contradictory. . . . This does not mean that members of a public cannot have intensely divisive differences. They often do, and the intensity of their differences is often attributable to the fact that they share the same world. A public’s emergence is not dependent on consensus but on the sharing of a *common* world, even when understood and lived differently by different segments of society.

(Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 69)

A common reference world presents a shared space for everyday talk where individual concerns can intersect with larger public issues. More importantly, common reference

worlds help to attract an individual's attention to public concerns and yet remain relevant for all parties involved in the interaction.

Charles Taylor argues that when one enters into a shared public space where many competing interpretations and multilogues exist, he or she must presuppose that a shared reference world must too exist (*Secular; Sources*). Nonetheless, multilogues do not necessarily mean a consensus. "People may disagree and still make sense to one another, provided their differences are part of a common projection of possibilities for human relations and actions" (Hauser, "Civil" 33). Through rhetorical acts of sharing and crafting shared meanings, conversations between individuals and groups can express "the claims of differences and affiliations that allow us to recognize, discriminate, and interpret meanings within the socially negotiated limits that define social membership" (Hauser, "Vernacular Dialogue" 91). This interaction also moves beyond private concerns to become fully aware of another person's understanding of reality.

Each exchange opens a discursive space that exceeds the boundaries of entirely personal and private matters. Across time these multiple exchanges include us as participants in the social conversation by which we learn and also contribute to themes that inculcate shared motives.

(Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 65).

Exchanging understandings of reality with another person that may or may not agree with our views, opens up a space for shared motives to live. As such, discourse and interaction within public spheres become "a common aspiration that serves as a common reference point for all discussion, deliberation, communication and public life" (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 69).

Public spheres are the discursive spaces in which individuals and groups discuss relevant issues, and “where possible, to reach a common judgment” about mutual concerns (Hauser, “Civil” 21). Developing from Aristotle’s description of *phronesis* (practical reasoning) and *kresis* (judgment) in *Nichomachean Ethics*, Hauser frames judgment as a form of practical reasoning that implies more than rational consent. Aristotle described *phronesis* as employing knowledge and wisdom to judge what is good or just in our speech and actions (*Nichomachean*).

In “Vernacular Dialogue,” Hauser claims that *kresis* “entails the virtue of considering the phenomena of prudential conflict in terms that exceed one’s personal interests and apply to every human” (97). In public discourse, Hauser claims that publics can be led to *kresis* and *phroeneis* when they engage in questions of what ought to be done or not done in the rhetorical exigencies that frame their common reference worlds. As such, “*Judgment is a form of knowledge constituted by the very performance and appraisal of discourse in terms of the world our collective activity promises to frame*” (Hauser, “Vernacular Dialogue” 97). Publics emerge from tangible expressions of rhetorical exchange where the outcome is a common reference world in which publics can base their judgments of public opinion.

In summation, Hauser’s theories on a plurality of publics and reticulate public spheres offer a deeper understanding of how multiple public voices, or multilogues, can coexist within a shared public space. In order for multilogues to reach a common judgment of public action, a common reference world built on shared meanings of reality and collective interests must first be established. At the same time, for a common reference world to exist, publics must enter into important conversations within public

spheres. To identify a common reference world requires exploration of those spaces where everyday conversations are held, where people gather in aggregate to participate in public acts, and where people build off of common experiences and language to construct a shared perception and judgment of reality. Hauser asserts that when people (1) understand the conditions that shape public perceptions and experiences, and (2) then share these ideas with another person in a shared public space, (3) the interaction can build a mutual understanding of what public actions ought to be taken. Hauser's discussion of everyday conversations, or vernacular voices, and his description of public opinion offer rhetorical models in which to explore these ideas.

Perception: Identifying Public Opinion through Vernacular Voices

John Dewey argues that publics are not defined just by bodily relationships, but by our "perception of the consequences" of our discursive actions (188). Dewey prioritizes face-to-face and local conversations over larger civic discourses, yet his warning of the decline of perception in public actions calls for an identification of the ways in which individual's and groups' perceptions influence public actions. Hauser presents a rhetorical model of public opinion that prioritizes discursive practices as they emerge from and response to perceptions formed by public voices.

Hauser points to a palpable flaw in identifying the *vox populi*, or the public voice (*Vernacular Voices* 24). Within our public spheres, public voice is often inferred as public opinion. Hauser cautions against such a reduction, for each have a rightful and proper place in our sharing of personal experiences, feelings, and concern. This section describes the roles of public opinion and public voice (which Hauser redefines as vernacular voices) in crafting our perceptions of reality and how both mutually inform

the other. Understanding public opinion begins with exploring the types of public discourses from which such opinions emerge.

Public Opinions

The role of discourse in expressing, creating, regulating, and refining public opinions occurs “through a process in which we cultivate and maintain a sense of ourselves in dialogue” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* xi). The previous chapter suggests how an individual can maintain his or her own unique identity (*bios*) while engaging in discourse with another that forms a shared space for meaning to emerge (*logos*) (Ricoeur, *Interpretation*). Hauser echoes Ricoeur’s thoughts on discourse’s constructive powers, claiming that the vernacular of public discourse reveals the rhetorical voice of individuals and groups whose opinions shape social reality. Through vernacular discourse “we create public opinion about particular issues and at the same time, in a side effect not merely incidental, we create and sustain our conceptions of identity and community” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* xi).

The term “vernacular” has its roots in the Roman *verna*, meaning local or home grown, and the Greek *oikotrips* or “home-genetic” (Howard “Theory” 174). “For the Greeks and Romans, the marks of this “home-genetic” nature were found in the language with which a person spoke” (Howard “Theory” 174). Contemporary use of the term stems from Margaret Lantis’s 1960 work “Vernacular Culture,” where she described vernacular as “the commonplace” (202). From here, vernacular has become an adjective for “commonplace” in many diverse studies: architecture (Rapoport), religion (Goodwin and Wenzel; Green and Pepicello; Yoder), film and literature (Boyd; Gates), folklore studies (Howard), institutional organization (Primiano), and those forms of

communication that fall outside of institutional boundaries (Ono and Sloop). Hauser's treatment of vernacular rhetoric places human communication, specifically discourse and language use, at the forefront of studying the ways in which individual and groups arrive at and share public opinions.

Vernacular rhetoric refers to informal and daily discourses that provide a deeper understanding of public opinion and public voices than that of the generalized public opinion polls or rational deliberation models (Hauser, "Vernacular Dialogue" 84). When a "public's members converse through the everyday dialogue of symbolic interactions by which they share and contest attitudes, beliefs, values, and opinions," they engage in vernacular rhetoric (*Vernacular Voices* 36). Through the "mundane transactions of words and gestures that allow us to negotiate our way through our quotidian encounters" (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices*, 11), vernacular rhetoric becomes the "dialogic force of the community" (Howard, "Vernacular Web" 494). When we share individual perceptions in public, public opinion can emerge:

Our individual perceptions of current affairs invite personal verdicts on their meaning and significance. Public opinion reflects how these same circumstances engage the wider sphere of society in the judging process.

(Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 97)

Engaging in public discussions of perception helps individuals negotiate their perceptions of reality that inform their roles within publics and public spheres and their understandings of public opinions. Hauser's approach to vernacular rhetoric describes how widely shared individual perceptions and sentiments of "common sense" come to inform public opinions (*Vernacular Voices* 299).

According to Hauser, public opinion is the expression of personal sentiments as shared motives, or the “thoughts, beliefs and commitments to which a significant and engaged segment of the population hold attachment” (*Vernacular Voices* 94). For this reason, Robert Glenn Howard sees Hauser’s vernacular rhetoric as “equated with the *doxa* [of] *sensus communis*” (“Vernacular Web” 495). Just as difference and alterity are not subsumed under consensus in crafting a common reference world, however, public opinion does not constitute a universal judgment of what constitutes social reality. Hauser asserts, “These are vernacular exchanges expressed in the language and style that members of a society must share to negotiate daily life in a community of strangers” (*Vernacular Voices* 36). This project accepts that as multitudes of publics and public spheres exist, so too does a multiplicity of public opinions whose judgments are continually (re)negotiated through public discourse. Likewise, Hauser establishes public opinions not entities but as a “manifestation of *common understanding* within a public sphere” that is “fashioned through *dialogue of vernacular talk*” (*Vernacular Voices* 85). People must continually share their perceptions of reality in order to construct a common reference world through which public opinions are shaped. In this regard, the crafting of public opinion serves a constitutive function for the creation of vernacular voices.

Vernacular Voices

Prior to the seventeenth century, the “*vox populi, vox dei*” or “the voice of the people is the voice of God,” provided the church, monarchs, and ruling aristocrats with a “rhetorical capital” in which to influence the people (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 24). After the seventeenth century, “the voice of the people acquired the more technical meaning of public opinion” and public voice became “political expressions of ‘the

public' as the basis for official action" (*Vernacular Voices* 24). Public voice as public opinion has long since been studied within deliberative democracy literature.

The sharing of public opinion within our public spheres offers a deliberative platform through which to transform our political and social realities, as proposed by Habermas, John Stuart Mill, John Rawls, and Alexis de Tocqueville. In fact, Hauser's vernacular rhetoric model, as well as the majority of his work, centers on the deliberative power of our shared public discourses. Yet reducing public voice to public opinion has also created contested issues of authenticity and power struggles within our institutions and social groups, resulting in the marginalization of groups whose voices are important but deemed not "worthy" of inclusion within *the* public opinion (see Seyla Benhabib, Nancy Fraser, and Robert Asen for more on marginalized voices within public theories). Hauser has also defended accusations that his approaches to publics, public opinions, and public spheres position consensus as the ruling norm of our public discursive practices ("On Publics").

Hauser clarified that his vernacular rhetoric describes how public opinions are concurrently sustained and instilled within a local community by remaining distinct from institutional power structures (Schaeffer). Hauser retorts that whether public opinion is dominated "by the state and power elites," as per Habermas's representation, "or remains open to the possibility of its own self-regulation, is itself subject to the rhetorical possibilities and performances it [public opinions] can sustain" ("On Publics" 278). Public opinion is not institutionally generated, but meanings, when publically shared, can be transcribed into our institutions through vernacular voice. In this way, studying vernacular voices can "uncover how society invests its rhetorical creations in cultural

legitimations of self-generating activities by which it produces itself,” which include, but are not limited to, political affiliations (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 116).

Public institutions do not generate vernacular voices, but public members can apply understandings derived from the sharing of vernacular voices and public opinions to the construction, transformation, and alteration of public institutions. Within the “open-ended possibilities of a democracy” vernacular voices have the potential to create new political, social, economical, technological, and religious realities (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 17). When publics use rhetoric to question the status quo and dominant public opinions, our vernacular voices can transform society; but only to the point in which publics continually reflect on the discursive possibilities for change.

Hauser also believes that people often glean their opinions on what is “normal” within public spaces, not from actual discourses with others, but from public opinion polls. People often interpret the rhetorical components of what is said in public spheres to infer public opinions. In fact, people frequently deduce public opinion from the “reading” of local vernacular voices (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 11). Hauser supports the reading of public opinion through vernacular voices. He does not support the reading of public opinion polls that narrowly categorize and fail to explain how individuals and groups come to *feel* particular opinions. Vernacular voices are “integral to civil society’s continuous activity of self-regulation. . . . They are the ways by which publics make their presence known; and if we have to listen, these are the ways by which they make their opinions felt” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 11). When individuals become active agents in presenting the rhetorical strength of vernacular voice, discourses within public settings can become more than just reflections of social knowledge.

The power of vernacular voices lie in their abilities to provide both continuity and social stability to our public discourses and actions. Their strength also rests in the creation of common reference worlds where individual sentiments and motives can be expressed and shared by multiple individuals and groups. By examining daily discourses, individuals and groups can better understand “the attempts of social actors to control values and norms, to overcome subjugation from dominant groups or institutions” and to “appropriate and reappropriate” their own role within publics and public spheres (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 116). Thus, individuals must determine their roles within the public spheres they are seeking to influence via their vernacular voices. Hauser presents an idea of publicness that signifies how individuals participate in public spheres, determine their role(s) in publics and public spheres, and demonstrate how comfortable a person is in engaging his or her voice in everyday public interactions.

Participation: Identifying Publicness in the Rhetoric of Everyday Conversations

Individuals engaging in discourse within public spheres often decide how they will participate in public spaces by the rhetorical means in which they engage others. Publicness refers to how a person displays his or her public persona in public spheres. Publicness helps publics “construct reality by establishing and synthesizing values, forming opinions, acceding to positions, and cooperating through symbolic actions, especially discursive ones. Put differently, any given public exists in its publicness, which is to say in its rhetorical character” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 33). Hauser further asserts that nonverbal and subtle verbal acts can point a person’s publicness. His claim indicates that individual and group participation within public spheres involves more than just overt verbal acts of participation (*Vernacular Voices* 24). This section looks at how

everyday public conversations can be interrogated to unearth individual and group publicness and the ways in which individuals and groups participate in public spheres. Inquiries into a rhetorical model of discourse, invitational rhetoric, that invites stakeholders to participate in public discussions and actively engage their publicness will also be included in this section.

Publicness

Unlike the *polis* where one's social status dictated how much a person could participate in public discussions, today's postmodern city has many avenues for various stakeholders to join important conversations about what "ought" to occur in the city. Hauser's work pinpoints the varying ways in which people participate in public forums and demonstrate their publicness.

The discourses by which public opinions are expressed, experienced, and inferred includes the broad range of symbolic exchanges whereby social actors seek to induce cooperation, from the formal speech to the symbolically significant nonverbal exchange and from practical arguments to aesthetic expression. (Hauser, "Vernacular Dialogue" 91)

Individuals can become a part of a larger conversation through publicness, which includes a broad range of verbal to nonverbal actions.

Hauser mentions several types of symbolic exchanges whereby individuals demonstrate their publicness. "They [publics] are active and attentive to issues through all courses of interaction: capitalism, symbolic representation of opinion: yellow ribbons, banners, etc., public debates, and other expressions of stance and judgment" (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 33). Hauser further points out that media reporters and public opinion

pollers often overlook these subtle rhetorical acts that take place everyday in public settings in favor of an easily identifiable public.

Individuals and groups who participate in public conversations are more than just outspoken publics who share their opinions on public matters and/or those disinterested individuals whose opinions can be conveniently polled. This project supports a view of stakeholders whose interactions have often indirect, but nevertheless, important ramifications in city life. These types of stakeholders include visitors, investment traders, students, government officials, and business travelers. These demographics often follow less direct involvements in the outcomes of public actions, however, when new conditions within public spaces emerge for social interaction to take place, new spaces for rhetorical exigencies also flourish.

The ways in which individuals and groups actively participate in daily discussions within public spheres can shape the city's rhetorical exigencies, which influence the overall functions of the city. Of this, Hauser writes, "As they are shaped by discourse, the symbolic acts of publics also may frame the discursive field in which institutional actors are themselves defined and redefined" (*Vernacular Voices* 234). Publicness indicates the ways in which people feel comfortable in engaging in deliberation or other public rhetorical acts. When stakeholders reflect on their publicness, their perceptions of their actions, and those of other individuals and groups, may influence the ways in which stakeholders (re)define understandings of self -- their own public and private personas -- and others. Since public interactions can change perceptions, publicness should not be forced. In unassuming yet parallel ways, invitational rhetoric, put forward by S. Foss and Cindy L. Griffin in 1995, offers (1) a framework through which all stakeholders may be

invited to share their motivations and reasons for participating in public discussions, and (2) proposes multiple ways for stakeholders to decide how they want to engage publicness and discuss their opinions with other individual and groups in public spheres.

Invitational Rhetoric

Foss and Griffin contend that traditional and patriarchal views of rhetoric seek to influence and control other people's perceptions and actions through persuasive communicative acts that feel more like domination than integration of multiple ideas. As an alternative means of interaction, the authors propose a form of discourse, invitational rhetoric, which focuses on engaging rather than persuading (S. Foss and Griffin). The goal of invitational rhetoric "is to enter into a dialogue in order to share perspectives and positions, to see the complexity of an issue about which neither party agrees, and to increase understanding" (Bone et al 436). S. Foss and Griffin propose three terms associated with invitational rhetoric -- safety, freedom, and value -- that produce a more inclusive rhetorical situation than that of traditional models.

First, safety refers to creating an atmosphere where all who are involved in the discourse feel secure to share their thoughts and feelings. Creating a safe environment for people to share their opinions result in a "better understanding of that subject" (S. Foss and K. Foss "Inviting" 25–26), as well as discovery of new knowledge, beliefs, or issues (S. Foss and Griffin; S. Foss and K. Foss). This parallels Hauser's view of vernacular rhetoric:

Listening to vernacular rhetoric provides us with a shared context for conversing; it promotes dialogue in which words matter for understanding

problems and the complex relations they spawn and for addressing the contradictoriness of the human condition. (*Vernacular Voices* 265)

The outcome of invitational rhetoric, that of understanding “how best to respond” to perceptions gleaned from discourse (S. Foss and K. Foss 31), indicates a communicative approach that invites people to share their vernacular voices and listen to other voices that may reflect different public opinions. In relation to crafting a safe discursive environment, there must be freedom to discuss issues with no restrictions or consequences for sharing those perceptions.

Second, freedom, correlates with constructing a discursive space free of conversational restrictions. Within this communal space, all understandings are weighed and measured and actions can then be decided upon (S. Foss and K. Foss). Vernacular voices create such a space for judicial deliberation on public opinions. “By examining how issues are discussed and resolved, we discover evidence of speakers, messages, responses, and outcomes that allow us to infer relationships between discourse and worldly events” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 64-65). Inviting others into a conversation free of restrictive boundaries opens up spaces for a coalition of public opinions that are sensitive, responsive, and respectful to multiple individual and collective concerns.

Third, value involves listening to the other with full and mutual respect (S. Foss and Griffin). Recognizing that the other has worth or value in the interaction relates to Hauser’s view of vernacular voices and the *kresis* of judgment. Hauser writes, “Understanding people’s concerns and why they hold them holds promise for helping leaders to communicate with society’s active members rather than manipulating them” (*Vernacular Voices* 265). Since there are multitude of publics and stakeholders’

participation in public discourses may occur in many divergent ways, a rhetorical model for discourse would include a process of civic engagement that does not neglect the marginal voices in society nor force anyone's participation. In this regard, invitational rhetoric has the potential to reveal stakeholders' needs and wants, as well as opening up a discursive space, a common reference world, through which marketers may find and engage publics and public spheres.

Understanding stakeholders' perceptions of the city begins by first becoming aware of the discourses that shape such opinions. When perceptions are shared in discourse, a common reference world presents an understanding of reality that is strengthened or formed in discourse. Hauser's rhetorical model of vernacular publics and public opinions indicates the possibility of participatory discursive spaces, i.e., public spheres, where marketers and stakeholders can meet to discuss a city's possible, and not idealized, city identity. In conjunction with the sharing of vernacular voices, an invitation to engage in the rhetorical discourses that are already occurring in our public spheres point to the ways in which our publics are formed and addressed consistent with the particular needs of the city and its stakeholders.

Inviting stakeholders to share their perceptions of the city may help marketers to become more aware of the vernacular voices that help to create, support, and reinforce a city's perceived images. In this manner, exploration of publics, public spheres, public opinion, vernacular voices, and publicness can provide the plot of a city's narrative. To remedy the perpetual (mis)classification of publics, public spheres, and public opinions, Hauser proposes a hermeneutic and discursive framework supplemented by Ricoeur's

narrative theory. The following section describes Ricoeur's narrative theory and the roles of cultural memories and tradition within our public spheres.

Ricoeur's Narrative Theory

Ricoeur's narrative theory postulates that narrative embraces the totality of the linguistic structure of metaphor and the rhetorical message of discourse to direct actions within cultural arenas. This becomes especially important when considering a city's rhetorical exigencies or the rhetorical situations/conditions that both restrict and assist stakeholders' actions in shared social spheres (Bitzer). Exploring a city's rhetorical exigencies would involve a deeper understanding of stakeholders' memories of the city, the city's current physical conditions, stakeholders' current perceptions of the city, and the ways in which stakeholders are constructing new conditions for a city's ecological future — which would include city planning, urban regeneration, and green sustainable practices. Ricoeur's description of narrative, or emplotment, demonstrates how cultural memory and tradition help to build metaphorical understandings of a city's rhetorical exigencies.

Narrative

The structure of narrative, or plot, permits human experiences to be revisited and studied so that a person can better understand his or her social role(s) and relationships with others (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* vols. 1-3). Through emplotment, the second stage of mimesis, our linear life experiences can be rearranged into a story that can then be read or retold. The reading and the retelling give way to a dynamic understanding of self and others that Ricoeur argues cannot be fully understood relying on internal reflection alone (*Time and Narrative* vols. 1-3). Cultural narratives reveal relationships

within public settings by capturing cultural memories, embodying tradition, fashioning new living metaphors, and articulating common meanings among the culture's members.

Ricoeur described, through Augustine and Aristotle's theories of time, that memory preserves understandings of past actions in the mind that individuals recall in the present to shape future actions (*Time and Narrative* 1: 11). In "Remembering and Forgetting: Narrative as Cultural Memory," Jens Brockmeier claims that cultural memory is a communicative process that is "culturally mediated within a symbolic space laid out by a variety of semiotic vehicles and devices" (25). This space includes cultural artifacts, spoken and written language, and other "architectures and geographies in which memory is embodied and objectified" (Brockmeier 25). At first, cultural memory, like individual memory, appears to only exist within one's own mind. Yet all forms of memory can be "distributed" to others through narrative (Brunner "Self-Making" 25-37). Cultural memory is "a continuous interplay of cultural meanings that, in the act of reading, opens up to a multivoiced conversation" (Brockmeier 25). When placed in a narrative framework, cultural memories keep past traditions alive and frame future considerations for public thought and action.

Tradition is a form of a cultural narrative that evolves and extends from a specific event within history.

Tradition presents order to the structure of narrative that is neither historical nor ahistorical but rather "transhistorical" and "cumulative" (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 2: 15). Traditionality is that irreducible phenomenon that allows criticism to stand half-way between the contingency of a mere history of genres, or types, or works arising from

the narrative function, and an eventual logic of possible narratives that would escape history. (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 14-15)

Ricoeur mentioned that this does not mean that tradition is atemporal. From cultural memory, individuals in the present moment can carry on the meanings of tradition by fashioning new metaphors from old sentiments. Ricoeur's use of the term "live metaphors" is important for understanding how past understandings still possess significant meanings for people in the present moment.

Ricoeur asserted a live metaphor utilizes language to craft new meanings. This does not mean, however, that the metaphor itself has to be new. In fact, a metaphor's only definitional requirement for success is that it incites new meaning (Ricoeur *Rule*). When placed within a new narrative, old metaphors can offer resilient yet fresh meanings (Ricoeur *Interpretation*). By inciting and employing cultural knowledge, old metaphors can remain durable elements of culture; even more so when the narrative's foundation is grounded in cultural memory. Through the creation of a living metaphor in narrative, the re(telling) of cultural memory and the (re)understanding of tradition can produce new meanings for public actions and sentiments.

Without cultural memories and the cumulative structure of tradition, narratives would fail to connect with readers, as each fall along different parts of the hermeneutic circle and between arcs of understanding and explanation. Narratives built from cultural memory help a person to better understand his or her role(s) within culture, while also helping a person to establish his or her cultural and public identity. Ricoeur's theory of narrative identities describes how individuals decide their role(s), or character(s), in the narrative plot.

Narrative Identity

Narrative identity is historically grounded in tradition and cultural memory, yet (re)interpreted and adopted by individuals who “figuratively” place, or emplot, themselves in a narrative’s discourse (Ezzy 246). In *Oneself as Another*, Ricoeur wrote, “The narrative constructs the identity of the character, what can be called his or her narrative identity, in constructing that of the story told. It is the identity of the story that makes the identity of the character” (147–148). Characters and axes of communication help to establish the narrative identities of the story’s narrator, or speaker, and readers, or listeners.

In the *Time and Narrative* series, Ricoeur described characters as identifiable personas able to be named and responsible for the actions ascribed to them within a narrative. Characters are ascribed actions by the narrator based on the expectations of how they are to act as transcribed by cultural norms (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 35-39). Characters reflect a “type” of person within a culture. Individual and groups are often placed in cultural categories based on demographics or behavioral patterns. “Psychologists say we categorize -- or stereotype -- by age and race and gender, because our brains are wired to do so automatically” (Stossel and Kendall par. 2). Characters are given attributes that reflect cultural stereotypes so that readers can easily recognize and identify with their plight. Narrative characters can thus be either “good” or “bad,” much like personal identities and roles within cultural communities (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 46). Reading the narrative is imperative to understanding this ethical condition, as the narrator dictates a character’s moral fibers (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 1: 241). Language once again plays a central role in investigating this function of

discourse, becoming the mechanism that assigns readers, narrators, and characters their responsibilities and roles within the narrative.

Ricoeur identified three axes of communication that situate the characters, narrator, and readers within the narrative. First, the attitude, which Ricoeur calls the speech situation (*Time and Narrative 2*: 36-39), surrounding the language used in the telling of the story, or utterance, dictates if the novel is a narration or a commentary (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 67-72). As interlocutors, characters do not dictate the situation because they are not implied within the attitude. Since the story needs to speak to common experiences of its audience to remain accessible to the reader, the attitude represented in the narrative's language communicates the interlocutors' roles within the story (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 40). This relates to the next axis, or speech perspective.

Second, the speech perspective links the time of the action to the reading of the text by situating the narrator within the narrative. Narrative contains a threefold sense of time, or mimesis, so narrators can fall behind or anticipate action within the telling of the story (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 70). Therefore, the speech perspective signals where the reader is to follow in the plot.

The narrator is associated with the events whether engaged in them (as a first-person narrative) or whether only witness to them (as in third-person narrative). In this way, the conditional is to narrative what the future is to commentary; both signal anticipated information. (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 70)

The attitude distinguishes a character's role, but the speech perspective determines which language the narrator should use in order to guide the reader's attention and expectations. As such, the narrator's role indicates a mastering of the speech perspective that decides where the reader should be "placed" within the plot. This leads to last step in the axis of communication.

Lastly, the reader is "put into relief" by linking the reader's experiences to the narrative. Ricoeur calls this voice, "the silent speech that presents the world of the text to the reader" (*Time and Narrative 2*: 99). Voice becomes the unspoken discourse that the reader mentally hears as he or she reads the text, and the mechanism through which the reader becomes involved in the narrative. Voice points to the transition between the configuration and reconfiguration of the readers' plot expectations, "the point of intersection between the world of text and the world of the reader" (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative 2*: 99). Voice situates the reader's expectations with that of the narrator's intended meanings through direct engagement with the text. This is why Ricoeur clung to his belief that narrative must involve both intent and interpretation, without favoring the voice of either the narrator or the reader. From the voice of discourse, new meanings and understandings can emerge that enable readers to interpret and identify personal connections with the narrative. Ricoeur's narrative theory establishes several features for how personal identities can extend to cultures and publics.

First, narratives connect the discordance of memory and time within the concordance of plot. With the help of living metaphors, narratives can connect individual memories and cultural memories and construct new meanings for old traditions. Second, narratives resonate with individuals because a narrative's characters are easily

identifiable. Characters are often based on cultural stereotypes so that the reader or listener of the narrative can understand why a character acts a certain way. Through attitude, speech perspective, and voice, the plot relates to the reader's (or listener's) experiences and memories in meaningful ways. Third, individuals situate their own identities within the narrative by responding to the characters' actions and speech. As individuals evaluate the characters and plots, they emplot their own identities within the narrative. For instance, an individual may wonder if he or she would act the same way as the character in the story acted given the same situation. Fourth, when individuals read or retell narratives, they better understand their own thoughts and actions and the thoughts and actions of others.

Ultimately, narratives tell stories of human interaction that connect multiple individuals, events, perspectives, and evaluations of social actions over a period of time. Cultural narratives help to connect multiple individual and publics in the same way that individuals make sense of their own actions and experiences and the actions and experiences of others — through direct engagement and discourse with other people. Hauser's work helps to identify how Ricoeur's narrative theory can extend beyond individual narratives to public identities and how a city's narrative identity can reflect stakeholders' shared narrative identities

Narratives and Postmodern Publics

Narratives can speak to a larger group of individuals when they identify and direct meanings that hold value for particular groups. Arendt's work on public and private selves signified that meaning can be derived from dialectic encounters with others that opens up a transformative space between individuals and groups. The plurality of that

interaction with multiple others, as identified by Hauser's work on publics, illustrates how operant discourse and the crafting of public opinions extend individual meaning to larger public spheres. Using Ricoeur's narrative theory, Hauser formulates a relationship between narratives, cultural memory, metaphors, and traditions that attend to postmodernity's fragmented sense of publics, public spheres, and public opinions.

As a rhetorical construct of cultural memory, Hauser claims that Ricoeur's narrative theory presents an "antidote" to the "fractured sense" of a postmodern "public sphere, the publics that emerge there, and the opinions they come to express" (*Vernacular Voices* 112). Narratives gain their power to (re)shape, support, or enhance social connections through cultural memory. Hauser even goes so far as to say that a common reference world that provides the foundation of public opinion "would be impossible without cultural memory" (*Vernacular Voices* 155).

To share in cultural memory is to feel the force of its valences, to know how to respond to them and apply them to one's own circumstances. . . .

Put differently, stories and symbols derive their force from their connections to cultural memory. (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 151)

Narratives help to merge past memories and present understandings to direct future actions through the symbolic force of cultural memory. In this way, metaphors help narratives to resonate with many individuals by acting as preservers of cultural memories and innovating new approaches to traditional actions.

When cultural memories are invoked by public discourse and shared within a public setting, significant symbols of culture -- metaphors of discourse -- can be revealed. Metaphors based on cultural memories help people recall previous modes of operant

discourse and construct deeper understandings of current cultural symbols to build significant webs of experience for individuals and groups. Hauser writes, “His [Ricoeur’s] merger of past and future to the present through the story of history underscores the power of narrative form to forge and to tap cultural memory” (*Vernacular Voices* 112). The use of cultural metaphors within narratives “leads to a related conclusion: narratives that grow from cultural memory can be used to build a politics and society rather than as forms of popular consumption” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 157). When placed in a narrative framework, metaphors help to bring historical consciousness to present traditions and shape meaning for future actions.

When connected to cultural memory in narrative, metaphors can build the foundation of tradition and “construct rather than consume society” (*Vernacular Voices* 159). Metaphors within narratives act “as a bridge between cultural memory and historicity, in constituting publics and public spheres with discernible differences in their possibilities for action” (*Vernacular Voices* 119). Historicity forms an active awareness of history that permits us to see beyond temporal and spatial limitations of the past and present. From a sociologist perspective, historicity “refers to a society’s capacity to produce a model of itself based on its own actions” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 116). From a philosophical perspective, Hauser claims historicity helps people understand the “trajectory of history from the past into the present which, in turn, provides the condition for reflexive self-regulation manifested in history” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 116). For these reason, Hauser proposes that a “narrative bridge” exists between tradition and history that provides a clearer understanding of individual and public opinion on the crafting of vernacular voices (*Vernacular Voices* 113).

When enacting multiples roles in multiple public spheres, people seek to find the other's voice and share their voices and opinions to create a shared world for interaction, what Hauser attributes to a common reference world. By conceptualizing cultural meanings, narratives can "serve as bridges between a people's experiences and the norms to which they subscribe" (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 347). In this regard, individual narrative identities can become a collective that "at once provides the rhetoricality of a public" (Hauser *Vernacular Voices* 113). Voicing personal opinions in public spheres can connect individuals within a single conversation that "provides the overall pattern of awareness at any given time of those with whom we are mutually engaged" (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 64). This single conversation can become a narrative framework through which community members situate their roles and become characters within ongoing cultural narratives.

In summary, this section connected Ricoeur's narrative theory and Hauser's descriptions of publics, public spheres, public opinion, publicness, through a discussion of how each theory influences, and is influenced by, stakeholders' discourses about the city. Ricoeur felt that people develop a sense of identity that ties to larger cultural constructs and memories through the telling, retelling, and interrogating of narratives ("Narration;" *Time and Narrative* vols. 1-3). Hauser contends that individuals within publics can distinguish their identities by interrogating narrative voices, much the same way that readers identify themselves as characters. Individuals can also understand competing narratives within public spheres by hermeneutically "reading" the common reference worlds that inform cultural memories, traditions, experiences, and narratives.

Drawing connections between Ricoeur's and Hauser's work offers a philosophical foundation whereby a city's narrative identities may be found.

Narratives reflect the ontology of expression and experience in our discursive actions. Once marketers begin to explore this relationship, the metaphors that rhetorically drive the city's narrative identity may be found. Moreover, a prompt hermeneutical return to our narratives in the crafting and sharing of social experiences via marketing may rhetorically invigorate a city's cultural and social connections (Kearney). Applying a hermeneutical investigation to city discourses, marketers can connect where the public emerges within a postmodern city to the narratives that stakeholders tell about the city. By examining discourses about the city, marketers can hope to uncover how publics invest in a city's rhetorical construct of culture and the self-generating and sustaining activities by which cultural memory is produced and shared in the narratives people tell about the city.

Conclusion

Cara Finnegan and Jiyeon Kang note that "When the public is studied through analysis of discursive practices, then membership in the public does not depend on one's social location," political affiliations, or "commitment to predetermined rules and topics" like those of the Rational Deliberation model (377). Likewise, Hauser refutes the habitual, and what he calls "symptomatic" ways, in which we no longer interrogate dialogue to better understand public opinion (*Vernacular Voices* 4). Concerned that we gain our insights into publics, public spheres, and public opinion through too many empirical channels (predominantly polls, surveys, and other scientific means), Hauser

wishes to (re)connect discourse with rhetorically salient meanings associated with public theory.

Hauser's revival of a rhetorical component to the studying of our public discourses points to the ways in which marketers can become aware of stakeholders' images and ideas about the city that hold significance in their public and private lives ("Vernacular Dialogue" 94). His description of a plurality of publics and reticulate public spheres draws attention to the ways in which stakeholders' perceptions are shaped by and in response to our vernacular voices. Understanding how we form our common reference world via discourse offers a theoretical framework in which to explore how public opinions become public actions within the city. His work also identifies the ways in which stakeholders can participate in crafting shared judgments of what ought to occur, or not occur, within our public spaces. Hauser's description of Ricoeur's narrative theory attends to experiential questions of social, political, and cultural issues, all of which have influence on and are influenced by stakeholders' activities within the confines of the city.

Projecting a world that is simultaneously self and other, Hauser observes that "Narrative offers a means for meeting the challenge of a past and future moving in opposite directions" (*Vernacular Voices* 112). When discussing the role of narrative in cultural memory, Hauser contends that "society's rhetors" are charged with taking care of history's stories, to become "custodians" of a society's cultural narratives (*Vernacular Voices* 112). Pulling from Walter Benjamin's essay, "The Storyteller," Hauser says:

A story portrays with images, that on hearing or reading, evoke memories of what we have seen and done in similar circumstances and of our soul's responses to real moments in our lives. An artisan mode of

communication, its moral unfolds beyond the moment of its invention. Each iteration announces itself to new listeners in differing circumstances and, through its common theme, binds them in a community of memory. “Seen in this way,” says Benjamin, “the storyteller joins the ranks of the teachers and sages. He has counsel-not for a few situations, as the proverb does, but for many, like the sage.” (*Vernacular Voices* 139)

Although, Hauser does not directly identify whom these rhetors are in our current historical moment, his work calls on all members of society to tap into cultural memory, craft ongoing narratives, deliberate on issues central to publicness and the health of public spheres, and engage one another in discourse. Specifically, he advocates that we must all traverse the horizons of “permanence and change, tradition and transformation” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 112) through the construction of narratives in our public spaces.

By evoking cultural and personal memories in the city within their marketing messages, marketers can become storytellers, narrators of the city’s narratives. Taking into account how vernacular voices contribute to the continuing cultural, social, and political health of citizens’ everyday interactions, marketers could engage in ongoing conversations within public spaces that help to form cultural narratives. Listening to and engaging vernacular voices that form perceptions, public opinions, and actions within public spheres enables marketers to discern publics and invite them to participate in the sharing of a city’s narratives. Once marketers better understand the publics, and their voices, opinions, and actions (publicness) that frame public spheres, they can begin to construct narrative threads that give a city voice. For this reason, exploring shared

narrative threads may prove a resourceful way of understanding publicness within a larger social environment like the city. The next chapter draws from terms presented in this dissertation to construct a narrative theory of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's promotion of marketing images.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCOURSES OF A POSTINDUSTRIAL CITY:
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Within the confines of the city, hundreds upon thousands of people share public spaces and resources with each other daily. “Today, for the first time in the history of the planet, more than half of the population -- 3.3 billion people – are city dwellers” (Smith and Swainson xi). Perhaps this is why Ricoeur wrote, “The city gives itself as both to be seen and to be read. In it, narrated time and inhabited space are more closely associated than they are in an isolated building” (*Memory* 151). Alongside permanent geographical environments and semi-permanent structures that communicate a history all their own, people continually tell stories about their experiences in, with, and about the city.

A communicative approach to the exploration of stakeholders’ discourses may uncover significant metaphors for the shaping of city narratives and narrative identities. Such an approach centers on several concepts: discourse, metaphor, time, public(s), public sphere(s), public opinion(s), publicness, narratives, and narrative identities. Exploration of these concepts may help marketers gain better insight into stakeholder’s beliefs, perceptions, and expectations about the city and promote cohesive images of public life in their marketing campaigns.

While Hauser remains dubious on media reporters and public opinion pollers’ abilities to offer explanatory descriptions of public life, he proposes that:

Publics may be repressed, distorted, or responsible, but any evaluation of their actual state requires that scholars and leaders engage in analyses of the rhetorical ecology as well as the rhetorical acts, including their own, by which they evolve. (*Vernacular Voices* 109-110)

Marketers considering their roles in the communication and promotion of city images may engage in hermeneutical investigations of the city's rhetorical ecologies. For use in exploring a city's images, rhetorical ecology represents the relationship between a city's physical environments and spatiotemporal understandings of a city's public(s), public sphere(s), public opinions, vernacular voices, and publicness.

This chapter explores Pittsburgh's discourses that account for the many rhetorical acts that shape this city's rhetorical ecologies. In praxis, a communicative approach to the promotion of a city's images attends to the complex nature of a city's rhetorical ecologies by promoting images of the city that resonate with stakeholders' temporal, spatial, and environmental experiences with the city. Hence, discourses about Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania have been explored through the lenses of time, environment, and space to see what metaphors of Pittsburgh's narrative identities emerge.

First, the communicative approach that this project used when considering the hermeneutical investigation of Pittsburgh's discourses is described. Next, a historical overview of the Pittsburgh region is discussed. Third, coincidences of past, present, and future metaphors of time as they emerge from Pittsburgh's discourses are expressed. Fourth, metaphors of Pittsburgh's physical environments are illustrated. Fifth, the metaphors of space that emerge from hermeneutical investigation of stakeholders' discourses about Pittsburgh are revealed. To conclude, the metaphors that collectively form Pittsburgh's narrative identities that marketers could embrace in their promotions of the city are explained.

Communicative Approach to Pittsburgh's Discourses

A communicative approach to the promotion of a city values how stakeholders' perceptions collectively give shape to a city's images and narrative identities. Hauser's theories on public opinions, vernacular voices, and publicness demonstrate that exploring stakeholders' discourses can provide a rhetorical base for intelligent reflection of stakeholders' perceptions of the city. Hauser notes that understanding discourses as they naturally occur within our conversations with others and as they manifest in public spaces involves more than just studying formal exchanges (*Vernacular Voices*; "Vernacular Dialogue"). The rhetoric of everyday conversations and interactions point to spaces where larger, communally sustained consciousness are available, where people engage in social practices, and where people use discourse to build a web of significance for their daily interactions. To explore the ways in which stakeholders in the city of Pittsburgh engage one another and the city's physical and social environments, this chapter hermeneutically investigates stakeholders' discourses of the city as they emerge in daily interactions and conversations, invitational rhetoric, and historical narratives.

Within the hermeneutic branding tradition, studying the ways in which people use their physical and social environments could help to identify how people acquire and craft meaning in their lives (Douglas and Isherwood; Hatch and Rubin; Peel and Lloyd). To properly study human reality, Ricoeur contended that philosophical inquiries must combine phenomenological description with hermeneutic interpretation (Garcia). As such, "Ricoeur's perspective extends beyond cultural products, the typical domain of hermeneutics, to incorporate social action" (Ulin 888). To account for emotions, actions, and sentiments outside of scientific and quantitative research methods, Hauser contends

in “Vernacular Dialogue” that hermeneutical analyses of public discourses would include all forms of rhetorical expression. These rhetorical expressions include public opinions, vernacular voices, publicness, formal speeches, nonverbal actions, and aesthetics (Hauser, “Vernacular Dialogue” 91). This project attends to all vernacular expressions of multiple publics by exploring perceptions of the city as they naturally occur in our public spaces. Alongside the aforementioned rhetorical expressions, this project included blogs, Facebook posts, books, newspaper and online articles, and scholarly references to the study of Pittsburgh’s discourses. Historical anecdotes and facts about Pittsburgh are also included to paint a more vibrant portrait of the public spheres that have historically supported this postindustrial town.

When approached “as a research inference,” public opinions, vernacular voices, and publicness can be “drawn from an examination of collective discursive practices that reveal a common understanding about the reality of experience, including its intended and unintended consequences” (Hauser “Vernacular Dialogue” 86). Listening to stakeholders’ discourses as they occur in everyday public settings presents a common understanding of the complex nature of the city as it physically and experientially exists for stakeholders that traditional branding theories may overlook. A communicative approach to exploring these forms of discourses may provide a greater understanding of why stakeholders’ perceive, feel, and interpret the city that the convenience samples of public opinion pollers cannot fully explain.

A communicative approach to studying public opinions and vernacular voices also seeks to include stakeholders in the creation and framing of our public spheres in ways that relate to individual and collective concerns. “Taking actual discourses as the

prima facie evidence from which we infer public opinion [and perception] elevates the ongoing concerns of social actors to a central place in detecting and deciphering its content” (Hauser, “Vernacular Dialogue” 84). This project invites anecdotal evidence to revealing Pittsburgh’s discourses. This type of discourse elevates stakeholders’ perceptions of a city to a central place in detecting and deciphering a city’s metaphors, narratives, and narrative identity.

Drawing from Sonja Foss and Cindy Griffin’s invitational rhetoric, people were asked to share their stories of Pittsburgh through social media, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Pittsburgh-themed blogs like pghbloggers.org and IheartPgh.com. Inviting any and all members of society whose interactions have less direct but still important influences on a city’s attributed character was thought to maximize involvement and minimize the risk of marginalizing any vernacular voices. Stakeholders who agreed to share their opinions of Pittsburgh were then interviewed. Stakeholders were free to share any stories and opinions in the discourses that emerged from these interactions. Hauser, Griffin, K. Foss, and S. Foss indicate that creating a safe, open space for discourse to occur is important for personal and public conditions.

Since all forms of public discourse create the potential for change in public spheres, perceptions of self and other, and public and private personas may also change. Hauser writes, the “ongoing dialogue in which an active society critiques, negotiates, associates, and ultimately constitutes its interests and opinions on the issues confronting them,” presents a multitude of perceptions and choices for actions that have consequences for those engaging in discourse (“Vernacular Dialogue” 91). S. Foss and

Griffin also describe how sharing perceptions and listening could lead to a change of self-perceptions:

In invitational rhetoric, change occurs in the audience or rhetor or both as a result of new understanding and insights gained in the exchange of ideas. As rhetors and audience members offer their ideas on an issue, they allow diverse positions to be compared in a process of discovery and questioning that may lead to transformation for themselves and others. (S. Foss and Griffin 6)

These statements indicate that sharing vernacular voices and public opinions should not demand but rather invite stakeholder participation. Since the outcome of invitational rhetoric is a better understanding of “how best to respond to all perceptions” (S. Foss and K. Foss 32), a coalition of public opinions from marketers and stakeholders’ discourses might be built.

Using Hauser’s theory of vernacular rhetoric, this case study presents not a consensus of public opinions on the city of Pittsburgh, but an identification of the many “rhetorical possibilities and performances it [the city of Pittsburgh] can sustain” (Hauser, “On Publics” 278). In “Civil Society” Hauser contends that there are “certain overarching considerations that can aid in discerning the character of any specific public sphere” (31-32). Unearthing prominent metaphors in public discourses excavate these considerations. Including vernacular voices as they naturally emerge in conversation with stakeholders to the exploration of a city’s images helps to infer the metaphors that shape stakeholders’ common reference worlds. In such cases, investigating stakeholder discourses can reveal a city’s narratives and metaphors that form a horizon of expectation -- what could happen

when visiting, living, or working in the city -- with the experiences and tangible realities that a city authentically has to offer.

Narrative models derived from discursive investigations of public opinions and vernacular voices that are located at the very heart of cultural identity are inherently different than those reducible models of fantasy cities. Hauser cautions that largely adopted and deeply embedded cultural narratives “flirt with being grand narratives” (*Vernacular Voices* 156) that philosopher Jean-François Lyotard claims haunts our postmodern moment; “but the very fact that ‘official’ images can be resisted indicates that society cannot be reduced to a self-reproducing organism” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 157). Promoting images and messages of the city as they relate to stakeholders’ discourses may prevent the potential for a city’s narrative to be reduced to a mere product, service, or brandopolis.

Models of a city’s narrative backed by physical environments, aesthetic images, and discourses of the city apply themselves not as “patterns to be reproduced but as a stock of resources” (Hauser, *Vernacular Voices* 157) from which to infer dominant metaphors of a city’s identity. Hauser writes, “I believe we can begin to sketch out these characterizing features by focusing on the multiple arenas of the Public Sphere as sites of emergence for rhetorically salient meaning” (“Vernacular Dialogue” 32). While deliberative rhetoric grounds Hauser’s view of vernacular rhetoric, the epideictic function of publics’ rhetorical narratives present a fusion of horizons for the city’s narrative identity that is both fixed and fluid (Ritivoi 96). Epideictic rhetoric in teleological terms, presents “a discourse that serves more exigent social and civic function than simply celebrating, reinforcing, or reexamining values” (Sheard 787). Hauser’s model of

vernacular rhetoric and Ricoeur's hermeneutic anthropology were used to investigate prominent metaphors that emerge from Pittsburgh's discourses.

Once known for its steel industry, the city of Pittsburgh has undergone a rejuvenation process after many of its mills closed in the mid to late 1900s. In 2010, Forbes.com named Pittsburgh one of "America's Most Livable Cities," and The Economist Intelligence Unit listed Pittsburgh on the top of its 2011 Liveability Ranking and Overview list. Pittsburgh could be seen as a most livable city not only because of its economy and industry, but also because of its publics and their roles in constructing and supporting a vibrant city life. Discourses about the city will be explored to unearth what metaphors support Pittsburgh's current image in stakeholder's eyes and the function of these metaphors in crafting Pittsburgh's narratives and narrative identities.

Historical Overview: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh's history began like many of our nation's cities with Native American tribes settling in the Pittsburgh region (Killikelly 1-11). European traders and explorers began to arrive in Pittsburgh by 1710 (Fleming 185). French and British explorers saw the rich resources that Pittsburgh's rivers, hills, and valleys offered settlers and fought many battles to claim this land during the 1750s. In 1754, the French chased the British out of the area between the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers, and built Fort Duquesne at what is now known as "The Point" in Downtown Pittsburgh (Killikelly 27). By 1758, the British forces gained strength in numbers and overthrew the French. At which time, British General John Forbes burnt Fort Duquesne and built Fort Pitt, named for British Secretary of State, William Pitt. Forbes also named this region between the rivers "Pittsburgh," later becoming "Pittsburgh" under American rule (Fleming 484).

Throughout the late 1700s, “the conditions influencing Pittsburgh were destined to evolve it rapidly into an independent trade center and manufacturing metropolis of the west” (Killikelly 110). Pittsburgh’s region was booming in the manufacturing of iron, tin, copper, and many glass products. Shipping was also a major industry in Pittsburgh during this time, as materials could be rapidly moved down the Ohio River toward New Orleans and the Gulf. “Because Pittsburgh was the last frontier outpost west of the Allegheny Mountains, ‘the Point’ quickly became the Gateway to the West” (Boehmig 21).

By the 1800s, Pittsburgh was one of the largest cities west of the Allegheny Mountains and produced half of the nation’s steel. “From 1875 to 1980, southwestern Pennsylvania was the steelmaking capital of the world, producing the steel for some of America’s greatest icons, such as the Brooklyn Bridge and the Empire State Building” (Phillips, Oberlin, and Pattak 38). Although Pittsburgh has a lengthy and varied narrative, this project focuses on the metaphors that relate to the city’s identity post-industrial boom, which arguably frame conditions of the city and public life as they exist today.

In the late 1980s, “Greater Pittsburgh lost an estimated 127,500 jobs in steel and related manufacturing industries” (Phillips, Oberlin, and Pattak 42). The relocation of several prosperous Pittsburgh companies continued the decline in both commerce and revenue for the city. Over the last 25 years, Pittsburgh has undergone a revitalization process, focusing on its entertainment, medicinal, and educational sectors to drive “A New Pittsburgh” (Phillips, Oberlin, and Pattak 13). In *The New Colonist* blog, “Sustainable City News: Pittsburgh,” an anonymous writer states:

The outside world’s image of Pittsburgh is in flux, as is the reality of the city. While many still perceive it as an industrial town, others claim it is a

renewed and refreshed hip urban enclave. Take any marketing claims (and there are many) with as many grains of salt as you like, then learn about the real Pittsburgh — a beautiful city with a stunning skyline, lots of walkable neighborhoods to live in, river trails, a lively downtown, and affordable housing.

This statement reflects many of the metaphors and sentiments of Pittsburgh's discourses considered in this case study. To identify this city's narrative identities in more detail, the proceeding sections study Pittsburgh's discourses to uncover key metaphors of the city's narratives budding from the concepts of time, environment, and space.

Time: Steel and Sports

The project began with a philosophical look on the impact of time, including that of historical events, as it influences the form and function of the city throughout history. Historians Lewis Mumford and John Reader's explorations into the changing relationship between the city and the marketplace offer archeological and historical evidence for how cities have sustained stakeholder's needs over time. In *The City in History*, Lewis comments:

From its origins onward, indeed, the city may be described as a structure specially equipped to store and transmit the goods of civilization, sufficiently condensed to afford the maximum amount of facilities in a minimum space, but also capable of structural enlargement to enable it to find a place for the changing needs and the more complex forms of a growing society and its cumulative social heritage. (30)

As indicated by city discourses, Pittsburgh is one city that has sought to overcome spatial and environmental boundaries, and yet stay true to its heritage. Pittsburgh continually draws on its steel heritage to fashion new stories, especially for the city's professional sports teams to attend to the changing needs of the city's current and potential stakeholders.

Steel

Pittsburgh's history as a steel-making town solidifies this city's chief metaphor. As little as thirty years ago, "Images of the steel city translated into perceptions of smoke, soot, grime, and grunge" (Phillips, Oberlin, and Pattak 3). Soot filled air and smokestacks characterized the industrial era of this city that began during the 1800s.

The industrial age, sparked by the War of 1812, saw Pittsburgh capitalize on its bituminous coal resources. Mining, coupled with iron, steel, and glass production, flourished, with three convenient rivers to distribute the finished products to the rest of the country. With all that industry, it's no wonder Pittsburgh was called the Smoky City. (Phillips, Oberlin, and Pattak 3)

The nickname of "Smoky City" is now gone, yet its replacement still holds true to Pittsburgh's mining heritage. Today, Pittsburgh is known primarily as the "Steel City."

Many of Pittsburgh's factories and mills within the city proper are no longer running, but their buildings have been turned into restaurants, apartment complexes, and museums. The once billowing smokestacks and other symbols of Pittsburgh's steel industry have been turned into sculptural art. In 1999, Developers Diversified Reality refurbished seven smokestacks from the former U.S. Steel Factory. "The Smokestacks"

sculpture was placed in Homestead as public art welcoming shoppers and visitors to the multi-retail area known as the The Waterfront (“Homestead”). Located within 320 acres of the original factory site and “approximately 4 miles from the center of the City of Pittsburgh,” The Smokestacks “were retained in order to create an interesting and important focal point for the new development” of this retail mecca (“Homestead”).

In Station Square, once home to Pittsburgh’s Terminal Train Station, the old boilers from steam engines have become part of this landmark’s attractions. Station Square’s website describes the transformation of this now hip entertainment enclave:

Long ago, people came to the site now known as Station Square to meet passengers arriving on the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad. Today, people come here to meet people passing through our nightspots. . . . The property celebrates its rich cultural and industrial history by renovating and maintaining its attributes like the Landmarks Building, which was constructed in 1900 to house the Pittsburgh Terminal Train Station. Today, the seven-level historic building is home to Pittsburgh iconic restaurants The Grand Concourse and The Gandy Dancer and also offers 80,245 square-feet of office space. The Freight House Shops, which was once a train shed, has been transformed to boast its old world charm in the setting of one of the restored railroad buildings.

Nonetheless, remnants of Pittsburgh’s murkier times still appear on many city buildings. Many of Pittsburgh’s buildings are black from the soot that hung in the air for many years following the industrial boom.

Timothy C. Englemen writes about his childhood in Pittsburgh during the steel-making days and the impact that the city's history has had on the crafting of city buildings.

Those of us who grew up in the mill towns around Pittsburgh during the 1950s (and before) can remember soot covering laundry hung on clotheslines and fallen snow becoming progressively grayer. This was after the air quality had already begun to improve. The dirty air was actually a design condition for architects: Henry Hobson Richardson purposely avoided elaborate detail on the Allegheny County Courthouse because it would accumulate soot. Even so, lots of Pittsburgh buildings were blackened for so long that it is easy to understand that some people thought they had been built that way. Over the years, many of these buildings have been cleaned, especially after safe chemical methods were developed. . . . After clean skies stopped the darkening of walls, rain washing selectively revealed the original color. (Englemen)

Trying to overcome previous reputations as the “Smoky” or “Dirty City,” Pittsburgh city planners have planted many trees along city streets, built several green buildings, and created four sizeable parks within the city limits. Bonnie Siefers comments, “Pittsburgh boasts 48 LEED-certified buildings including the David L. Lawrence Convention Center and (ironically) the Heinz History Center Smithsonian Wing. I love knowing that my hometown is building sustainably” (blog response from O’Toole). Over the past ten years, efforts to clean the outside of Pittsburgh’s buildings have steadily increased, often to mixed emotions.

Last year, a historic church on the corner of Negley and Stanton Avenue in Pittsburgh's East Liberty neighborhood received a chemical treatment that restored its once black stones back to their original sand color. Many locals knew this church by its dark black color, gothic-looking architecture, and beautiful stained glass windows. Discussions regarding the church's exterior cleaning were mixed. Some church members and surrounding residents of East Liberty, Stanton Heights, Morningside and Highland Park (the neighborhoods adjacent to this area) liked the look of the "clean" church. One church member, who was really against the cleaning of this historic church, said, "it [the church] will never be that way again, and even if it does, we will never see it look like that again" (Shelly). Many of the enduring values of the steel industry, however, help to keep Pittsburgh history as a steel city alive.

Sports

An alloy made by combining iron and other elements, steel is a durable and hard metal. From the city's heritage as a steel-manufacturing town, Pittsburgh's American football team was called the "Steelers." The Pittsburgh Steelers joined the National Football League (NFL) in 1933, making them the seventh-oldest member. Since then, they have won six Super Bowls and have created a franchise whose fans, which span the globe, refer to themselves as "Steeler Nation." Fans who wish to become apart of the Steeler Nation demonstrate their publicness by wearing clothing with Steeler's logos and colors, and waving their "Terrible Towel" (a yellow hand towel printed with the words "Terrible Towel" and Steeler's name and logo) whenever the team does well. During the 1970s, "The Steel Curtain," became a nickname for the Steeler's defense, further

demonstrating the association between the city of Pittsburgh's football team's toughness and the city's steel industry heritage.

The Pittsburgh Penguins hockey team also has a historical connection to the city's steel, iron, and glass shipping industry. Prior to 1967, Pittsburgh's hockey team was called the Hornets and they played their games at the Duquesne Gardens from 1927 until 1956 when the decaying Gardens was torn down (Cooper). In 1961, the Hornets (disbanded after the Duquesne Gardens was torn down) began to play in the Civic Auditorium, a former Pittsburgh opera house. In 1967, investors H.J. Heinz III, Art Rooney, and Richard Mellon Scaife received the rights to the franchise the Hornets, and refurbish the Civic Auditorium. The Auditorium was renamed the "Civic Arena" and over 3,000 tons of Pittsburgh steel were used to redesign the Auditorium into a retractable dome-covered arena (Cooper). The name "Hornets" was also replaced. In Bob Grove's *Pittsburgh Penguins: The Official History of the First 30 Years* the author shares the discourse that occurred when the new investors took over Pittsburgh's hockey team:

There was a lot of work to be done, of course, and one of the first tasks was naming the team. (Part-owner Peter) Block was adamant that it would not be called the Hornets. "There was some (support) for it, but I basically said I wouldn't allow it," he [Part-owner Jack McGregor] said. "The Hornets were a minor-league team. I knew we were going to get some bad players (in the expansion draft), and I didn't want to be called just another minor-league team." . . . [McGregor's wife, Carol said] "I was thinking of something with a P. And I said to Jack, 'What do they call the Civic Arena?' And he said, 'The Big Igloo.' So I thought, ice. . . Pittsburgh. . .

Penguins. We talked about other names, but we kept coming back to the Penguins. Our friends really liked it. We pictured the uniforms being black and white.” (57)

The Pittsburgh Penguins’ first uniforms were black, white, and baby blue, and their logo [now redesigned but bearing the same symbols] had a penguin with a hockey stick in front of triangle, which represented the “Golden Triangle” of Pittsburgh’s three rivers (Cooper). Pittsburgh’s heritage of a steel town is also evident in the rituals of its fans during sporting events.

In 1861, German immigrants Augustus Hoeveler and John Miller began to bottle “Pittsburgh Nation’s” beer, Iron City (and later I.C. Light). Although no longer bottled in Pittsburgh, Iron City’s headquarters is still located at its original site on 34th Street and Liberty Avenue (“History of Pittsburgh Brewing”). Some speculation occurs on whether or not people drink Iron City because of its taste or because it is “Pittsburgh Beer.” In such a case, drinking Iron City or I.C. Light at Pittsburgh’s sporting and entertainment events may indicate a person’s publicness of their identity as a Steeler or Penguins fan. The drinking of Pittsburgh beer and cheering Pittsburgh’s sporting teams may also provide expectations for how people should act when tailgating. Those new to the Pittsburgh region may “read” such actions from the observation of Steeler Nation members’ actions and/or from the operant discourse of Pittsburgh’s stakeholders.

Hauser contends, “Narrative sharing gives each individual continuity with the past and a common identity with individuals with whom they otherwise are unconnected” (*Vernacular Voices* 139). Steeler and Penguins fans are brought together through their common interests for a sporting team, and their identities as a part of a larger public,

which Steeler fans have even named as Steeler Nation. If they have nothing else in common, fans' strong feelings toward the narratives of Pittsburgh's football and hockey teams keep them connected to cultural memories of the past, present displays of publicness, and future expectations for their team's continued success. Moreover, city planners' current efforts to clean the city and build green buildings demonstrate an attentiveness to changing conditions within the city that fit current and future needs of the city, but still resonate with the authentic character of the city's steel history.

Narratives of Pittsburgh's steel heritage present images of an inherited culture and tradition that are not situated in a static past. Through hermeneutic interpretation and the reading of cultural narratives, the past intersects with our cultural memories to produce a "common present" (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 3: 114). In this manner, narratives unite the constant influx of new carriers of culture with the continual exoduses of others. As one generation ages and its narratives begin to die, new narrative identities emerge, rejuvenating an aging market (Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* vol. 3). Heritage and tradition make room for innovation through the unification of cultural narratives. The retelling of narrative also makes room for living metaphors to emerge that provide structure to traditions within current cultural practices.

Living metaphors of "steel" and "sports" embrace images of Pittsburgh's past and provide new meanings for Pittsburgh's current stakeholders. The perception of Pittsburgh as a strong, durable city built from the strength of steel evokes the *distantio* and *intentio* that harkens back to the days when men and women worked the mills and the "black soot of progress" surrounded the city. Today, these metaphors help to illustrate Pittsburgh's football and hockey teams, the Steelers and Penguins, as well as its public of Steeler

Nation members, as strong and enduring representations of this city's heritage and future. These perceptions stem from an environment that supports such images and expectations for what people can experience when visiting, working, and living in Pittsburgh.

Environment: Bridges, Rivers, Downtown, and Entranceway

Unlike products or services whose brand identity can be easily changed, a city's exigencies are inherently tied to environmental and geographical features. Cities cannot be easily uprooted like a businesses or service. Cities are rooted in particular place-specific elements, designs, and structures. While cities are geographically situated, their nature or character is not static. Cities are attributed their character from the individuals, groups, and businesses that frequently use their physical spaces. A city's identities thus stem from people's perceptions of the city and the experiences that people have in the city. This suggests a give-and-take relationship between city places, including the marketplace, and stakeholders' use of that environment as they go about their daily activities. Pittsburgh's geography lends several environmental metaphors to its narrative identities: bridges and rivers, and Downtown and entranceway.

Bridges and Rivers

Alongside the metaphor of steel, Pittsburgh is commonly known by its bridges. With more than 446 bridges, Pittsburgh has the most bridges in the world (Regan 12). Bob Regan's book, *Bridges of Pittsburgh*, addresses that the name "City of Bridges" had first been bestowed on Pittsburgh due to its steel industry roots (Regan 23). A person driving through Pittsburgh would find it virtually impossible to not have to travel over one or several bridges and tunnels to get to almost any location around Pittsburgh. People not from this area revel in the bridges' architectural beauty, people who live and work in

Pittsburgh often curse the many bridges and tunnels for rush hour traffic. Nonetheless, Pittsburgh needs bridges to traverse the three rivers that surround the city.

The Allegheny River and Monongahela River, affectionately called “The Mon,” converge to form the Ohio River at “The Point” of Pittsburgh’s Downtown region. As another well-known nickname for the city, the three rivers appear everywhere — in the name of public events: Three Rivers Regatta, Three Rivers Film Festival, and Three Rivers Arts Festival; in buildings: Rivers Casino, the Rivers of Steel National Heritage Museum, the now demolished Three Rivers Stadium; even the short-lived, medical drama, “Three Rivers,” that aired for only a few episodes on CBS before being cancelled (Abrams). The rivers are also a source of Pittsburgh’s most scenic views, shipping and transportation routes, and entertainment.

Over 500,000 people annually attend one of the city’s largest events, the Pittsburgh Three Rivers Regatta. The Regatta showcases the rivers with a five-day event over Fourth of July weekend, providing free entertainment over land, air, and water (Regatta). Pittsburgh’s publics are highly visible along Pittsburgh’s rivers. On a nice spring, summer, or early fall day, many people are out on their boats along one of the rivers, fishing along its banks, or even canoeing down near the North Shore. Two of Pittsburgh’s stadiums, PNC Park (home of Pittsburgh’s MLB team the Pirates) and Heinz Field, offer stunning views of the river with Downtown’s architectural buildings in the background. Built in 2001, PNC Park’s construction has been named one of the “top ten places to watch the game [baseball]” (Ahjua 67). In 2008, Men’s Fitness magazine named PNC Park one the “10 big league parkts worth seeing this summer” (Langosch

par. 1). In 2010, ABC News named PNC Park as one of their “favorite places to watch a game” (Mayerowitz par. 2).

This riverfront facility combines the best features of yesterday's ballparks -- rhythmic archways, steel trusswork and a natural grass playing field -- with the latest in fan and player amenities and comfort. But it is really known for the view. There are scenic vistas of the downtown skyline and riverfront, as well as pedestrian and riverboat access. (Mayerowitz par. 28)

Heinz Field also offers scenic views of the city, riverwalk and, Downtown skyline. However, many Pittsburghers say that the best location to view the city's skyline and Downtown region is from the top of Mount Washington.

Driving up McArdle Roadway to Mount Washington, one can see why USA Weekend called this view "the second most beautiful view in America." Observation decks that jut out of the mountainside on top of Mount Washington offer breath-taking views of all three rivers as they meet at The Point. Standing on Mount Washington also offers a great view of the city skyline and Downtown Pittsburgh.

Downtown and Entranceway

The Downtown area of Pittsburgh has many restaurants, both upscale and to-go, chic boutiques, and large-scale shopping centers like Burlington and Macy's. In comparison to city-center housing costs like New York or Chicago, the Downtown area of Pittsburgh has relatively affordable housing. This area is also home to the Cultural District, an area along Liberty and Penn Avenue that houses many theatres: the Benedum Center, Byham Theater, O'Reilly Theater; music halls like Heinz Hall, and galleries like

the Wood Street Galleries. The Downtown region does not boast an all-night scene like New York or Los Angeles, but there are still many parts of the city that offer late night entertainment. Entertainment “hot spots” include the neighborhoods of South Side, Strip District, Station Square, Shadyside, and Oakland. In these areas, nightclubs, bars, and other forms of entertainment last long into the night. Yet what makes the Downtown area truly remarkable isn’t even located in Downtown.

The New York Times said that Pittsburgh is the "only city with an entrance." Approaching Downtown from the Fort Pitt Tunnel and Bridge -- the main route from the airport -- Pittsburgh’s skyline reflects off of the rivers, creating a very impressive and unique view. Once covered with soot from its many mills, Pittsburgh’s skyline was practically non-existent (Sebak). Today, the Downtown skyline serves as a backdrop to several films: *Sudden Death*, *She’s Outta Your League*, *Next Three Days*, *Batman Trilogy: Dark Knight Rises*, and *Perks of Being a Wallflower*, that prominently highlight areas of the city that stakeholders know and recognize.

In terms of marketing, presenting visually attractive images of the city’s well-known and easily recognized physical environments are a well-established practice. As Chapter One discussed, many city branding practices are narrowly concerned with the physical layout of a city’s infrastructures, buildings, and parks that incite marketers to pay more attention to these factors than how those structures support and reinforce human interaction (Roberts et al. 53). To enhance the city’s attractiveness to potential stakeholders, marketers will use stylish slogans and “pretty pictures” without understanding *why* these images resonate with so many different individuals (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 510, emphasis added). Ricoeur’s work on narrative and narrative identity,

alongside Hauser's view of publics, offer philosophical and rhetorical means of exploring why a city's physical environments become tied to deeply-rooted sentiments of self, others, culture, and community.

On the surface, well-known places in the city indicate areas where publics frequently meet in aggregate. Yet people also use their physical surroundings to construct understandings of self and other. To understand human actions, people will reflect on their experiences with others, and interrogate operant discourse, and analyze the speech act, or where the communicative act is taking place, with whom, and under what circumstances. These conditions of human experience, as manifested in our public environments, can be explored in relation to the meanings that emerge in the linguistic space of discourse. In order to explore any interaction within public spaces, the space of lived experiences must be "anchored in the range of the body and its environment" (Ricoeur, Blamey, and Pellover 152). In this regard, environment serves as the hermeneutic link between spatiotemporal contexts, the "reading" of human experience through operant discourse, and an individual's and group's use of cultural constructs, i.e., technological, geographical, economical, political, structural, and cultural artifacts that craft significant meaning in their lives.

Made from the steel that made Pittsburgh a historically significant manufacturing region, Pittsburgh's bridges are different than those in New York City. The three rivers that had made Pittsburgh one of the shipping meccas of the 18th and 19th centuries still provide recreational and entertainment value to stakeholders, which maintain the importance of these rivers to the city's identity. Physical environments also elicit memories of experiences by linking time and space within a culturally-situated narrative.

Pittsburgh's history as a shipping mecca is still celebrated in public events, like the Three Rivers Regatta, alongside Pittsburgh's rivers. The city's physical environments: bridges, buildings, arenas, riverwalks, and sculptures, evoke cultural memories of Pittsburgh's shipping and steel heritage. Hauser notes that "people form their knowledge of the progressive possibilities of their histories from experiences that have endured as significant moments and that resonate with the current times" (*Vernacular Voices* 156). Personal memories (direct experiences) and cultural memories (narratives told by others) shape perceptions of our physical environments. To reveal the "resonant cultural meanings" (Hearn 199) of a city's narrative identity, the non-physical spaces where publics, public spheres, publicness, public opinions, and vernacular voices must also be explored.

Space: Yinzers, Pittsburghese, and Neighborhood Narratives

Like time, space can have a stratified meaning that is both physical and experiential. Space can refer to (1) physical areas and (2) space of the "moving body" as actions that can be seen, heard, and felt (*Time and Narrative* 1: 13). Ricoeur explains that analyzing a body's action, or space, permits exploration of our behaviors as a physical construction of reality (*Time and Narrative* 1: 55). Then again, analysis of space as a realm of experience permits us to hermeneutically read our actions like a text. The latter of which defines space as any realm of human interaction where the potential for meaning arises.

Ricoeur's theory of narrative identity postulates that language situates the characters, narrators, and readers within the story's plot. To understand one's role(s) in the narrative, people will listen and interpret the narrator's voice to become a character

within the story. Likewise, Dan Rose argues that we do not “merely interpret the utterance for understanding, but rather interrogates the utterance” of our culture’s discourses to better understand our actions (121). This implies that when a person engages in public discourse, he or she becomes a character in the cultural narrative. From investigation of Pittsburgh’s discourses, a unique character of the Pittsburgh region, the Yinzer, was identified. Additionally, yinzers’ attitudes (language within a narrative), or Pittsburghese, was also revealed.

Yinzer and Pittsburghese

Born and raised in Pittsburgh, a Yinzer is “Someone from the area east of Ohio, west of Philly. Speaks Pittsburghese. Drinks IC [Iron City Beer]. Loves the Stillers [Steelers], yinz guys. Says ‘jeet yet’ to see if you're hungry, calls downtown ‘dahntahn.’ Two of my best friends are 'Burghers. Good, salt of the earth people” (Myers). A comical webisode series, called “The Pittsburgh Dad,” aptly portrays what many see as the stereotypical yinzer. Created by Curt Wootton and Chris Preksta, these one-minute to two-minute clips feature a character called “Pittsburgh Dad” whose mannerisms and speech illustrate the main characteristics of someone born and raised in the Pittsburgh region. One particular webisode had the Pittsburgh Dad talking about his favorite pastime, *Stiller* (Steeler) football. “Hey yunz kids, quit stompin on them floors up arh! I’m tryin to watch da game!” (*Pittsburgh Dad*). Yinzers are typically characterized by their language and reference to the second-person plural “yinz,” or “yunz” similar in use to the Southern “ya’ll.” To truly understand a Yinzer is to understand his or her language.

Pittsburghese is a form of the English language where words are blended together to form expressions. As early as 1910, newspaper articles attributed this form of speech

to the Pittsburgh region, but by the 1960s discussions of the city's dialect became more pronounced. Linguistics Barbara Johnstone and Dan Baumgardt remarked that late 1960s to mid-1970s marked the "era when the grandchildren of the immigrant industrial laborers who had arrived between 1880 and 1920 came of age, no longer speaking the homeland language" (120).

While their parents and grandparents thought of themselves mainly in ethnic or religious terms, these Pittsburghers began to develop class and regional consciousness. The ground was thus fertile for ways of imagining what it meant to be a working-class Pittsburgher and local speech provided a powerful resource for this. (120)

A Pittsburghese "quote" might be: "I'm goin' Dahntahn to buy some pants n'at and eat a Primanti's (pronounced Per-man-tees) san'wich." This translates as: "I am going Downtown to buy some pants and other things and eat a Primanti's sandwich." Other common sayings include: *slippy* (slippery), *nebby* (nosy), and *jagoff* (a derogatory term for someone acting inappropriately). In an article on the Public Broadcasting Station's (PBS) website, Johnstone and Scott Kiesling mention how people in Pittsburgh find humor and a connection to Pittsburghese, putting these sayings "on t-shirts, postcards, souvenir shot-glasses, and other such items, as well as on the Internet." Johnstone and Baumgardt claim that this dialect is not exclusive to Pittsburgh, nor does it constitute the only "language" for the Pittsburgh region (21-23). Pittsburghese does, however, help to distinguish Pittsburgh's ties among the city's many publics.

In March 2002, Pittsburgh television station WTAE launched a conversation on their website with the prompt: "What's your (yunzes') opinion of 'Pittsburghese,' i.e., the

dialect indicative of western Pennsylvanians? Also, what's your favorite -- and least favorite -- term?" Another discussion prompt asked, "Is Our Local Dialect Charming or Embarrassing?" Johnstone and Baumgardt analyzed the nine and half month-long discussion, which included 101 participants and a total of 180 responses. Looking at the discussion as a whole, the authors found that widely shared ideas about how places and dialects are formed connect to people's identities. Two early responses that resonate with Johnstone and Baumgardt's claim typify many stakeholders' contributions on this topic:

Hey yunz guys! I am also an ex-burgher well actually (Wish)-ington county. . . When I first went to college at Edinboro I tried to get rid of my accent because other students and even the professors would point it out. Why is it charming to have accent from one region and not another? It should not be embarrassing. It doesn't mean we are not intelligent people. I am proud of being from the Pix-burgh area. I think that the area is an incredible melting pot of many different cultures. And if it is such an embarrassment [sic] to talk this way . . . if we sounds stupid . . . how come i am a univ. prof, and I still say gum bands, pop, and drop the "g" off any word ending in "ing"? [Lyn-byrd, C37]

I never realized I spoke Pittsburgheze until my children became older and asked me why I talk funny. Apparently, our teachers spoke the same way and we were never taught the short vowel sounds. I am too old to correct my speaking now. Many years ago, I lived in Rochester, NY and the people there knew I was from Pittsburgh, and not only that, they knew I was from McKees Rocks. McKees Rocks has their very own thick Pittsburgh accent.

Our dialect is charming and I am proud to speak it!!!! [stilesmom, C29].
(Johnstone and Baumgardt 123-124)

After a few months, however, responses seemed to shift more towards discussions of personal *identity* than on personal *opinions* of Pittsburghese.

Pittsburghese is a joke. It's an embarrassing reflection of laziness in a region trapped in a time-warp! [kinglarry, C1]

This is in response to kinglarry. . . . You must be from cleveland. . . . I feel sorry for you, look around in cleveland and what do you see . . . only more cleveland. [dish 50, C10].

. . . Plus, you have to remember that the truth hurts sometimes and everyone here will have to one day admit that the area is backward and THEN the rest of the country will be more that happy to welcome you into the 21st Century. . . . [pghsucks, C109]

pghsucks: I'm pretty amazed that with how much you hate our city, you insist on spending your "valuable" work time . . . on a PITTSBURGH website while you LIVE IN PITTSBURGH! If you hate it so much, what are you doing here? [iluvpgh, C111]. (qtd. in Johnstone and Baumgardt 132)

Yinzers and people who speak Pittsburghese are often mocked due to the appearance of a lack of sophistication, but “it’s not that we Pittsburghers lack the knowledge of correct speech. It’s merely that we’re so excited, we can’t wait to share what we have to say” (Phillips et al. 8)! Even Johnstone and Baumgardt’s study of Pittsburghese and questions

of Pittsburghese's use circled round to questions of stakeholders' identities and intelligence levels and whether the city "sucks" or not. A heated debate between kinglarry, pghsucks, iluvpgh, and dish 50 points to the strong connection between language and identity, and the ways in which people's perceptions of the city and publics are tied to their interpretation of people's discourses. Attacking the city on the blog related to attacking the person who wrote favorably of Pittsburgh's character. Nonetheless, these discourses revealed that Pittsburghers take pride in their city as a form of self-proclaimed identity.

Claiming that you are a "Pittsburgher" forms communal bonds among its residents that unite smaller, diversified publics under the overarching identity of "belonging" to this larger public sphere. Still, Pittsburghers retain their diversified identities through the formation of neighborhood publics. Much like Ancient Greece's residents identified themselves first as "Greek" and then as a resident of a particular city, Pittsburghers align themselves within particular neighborhood publics.

Neighborhood Narratives

Discourses of city residents revealed that where a person lives in the city is very important to their private and public personas.

Pittsburgh is a city of neighborhoods. This claim is made by many cities that celebrate their traditional enclaves, but Pittsburghers seem more attached to their places than other folks in other places. It is common for natives to define their home not by city boundaries, but by neighborhood boundaries, and many are reluctant to cross rivers or go through tunnels, of which the city has many. ("Sustainable")

Each Pittsburgh neighborhood, of which there are over 80 in the city proper, has their own distinctive qualities that make the neighborhood, and its community members, different than the others. This understanding became very apparent when viewing a DVD titled, *Greetings from Pittsburgh: Neighborhood Narratives*.

Produced by local Pittsburghers, the nine fictional stories in *Neighborhood Narratives* represent some of the “key” neighborhoods within the city limits of Pittsburgh. This includes: Southside, Strip District, Downtown, Oakland, Lawrenceville, Bloomfield, Homestead, Hill District, and Regent Square. Each story, albeit fictional and written from the perspective of individual filmmakers, fittingly captures the distinctive attributes of each neighborhood by highlighting significant metaphors that portray each area. Co-creators of the project Andrew Halasz and Kristen Lauth Shaeffer state, “These narratives will provide a unique portrait of the communities through fictional personal stories that reveal the experience and character of the neighborhoods in which they take place” (“Our Mission”). For instance, the first narrative depicts South Side’s chair/crate ritual.

Helping to establish Pittsburgh’s historical legacy as the “Workshop of the World,” for its iron, glass, and steel manufacturing, South Side was historically home to many Irish, German, Polish, and Slavic immigrants who worked in the mills (“South Side History”). Today, the South Side houses a mixture of decedents from those immigrant workers, along with a continual influx of young college students and working professionals. Sometimes the drastic difference between those that have grown up in South Side their entire lives and those who now live and play in Southside’s bar scene (over eighty in a strip of buildings that line Carson Street) clash dramatically. In the DVD

Neighborhood Narratives, “Milk Crate” tells the story of a Polish man’s claim to his parking spot and his new neighbor’s continual disregard for his “message.”

Each time that the old man drives his car, he places a milk crate in his parking spot before driving away, to which he will pick up and place back on his porch upon his return. A younger, Asian male drives up to the spot, jumps out of his car, picks up the crate, places it on the sidewalk, and then proceeds to park his car in the spot. The old man’s neighbor comes outside and yells at the young man in Polish, to which the young man does not understand. In one scene, the young man even meets his friends at a popular South Side café, the Beehive, and he says to them in Japanese “Everyone here is old, [I] don’t think they speak English.” Each day the old man returns to find his spot taken and his crate sitting on the curb. The movie short goes on like this for a few more scenes, each time the old man becomes increasingly frustrated that the young man moves his crate and takes his parking space. Finally, the old man and the young man return to the parking spot on the same day, each looking at each other’s cars (now blocking traffic on the street), and then looking at the crate. Finally, the young man understands that the crate is “holding” the old man’s “spot.” The two men then use the crate to pick up some beer and share a drink on the old man’s stoop. The second narrative looks at Pittsburgh’s Southside.

People living in South Side, or from Pittsburgh in general, interpret from observation and listening to operant discourse and cultural narratives that when an object of any decent sized is placed beside the curb, it signifies “Don’t park here, this is my spot.” In other areas of Pittsburgh, this practice is principally only done in the winter when an individual has rightfully “owned” that spot by spending hours digging out their

car from beneath three feet of snow. For the South Side, this is a year-long practice, respected by those who have lived and worked in that part of town since the 1950s. South Sides' old Victorian row houses and many side streets contribute to its charm, but street parking has plagued this part of town for many years. Objects in a parking spot represent a claim to someone's spot. The milk crate symbolized a primary metaphor for this neighborhood that Pittsburgh publics know, recognize, and have connections to through experience, operant discourse, and cultural narratives. The other eight stories of the DVD *Neighborhood Narratives* follow suit — each identifying a feature, artifact, attitude, landmark, or image inherently tied to narrative identities and metaphors of that specific neighborhood.

Bloomfield has a sign indicating that this neighborhood is Pittsburgh's "Little Italy." In Pittsburgh's early history, many Italian families settled there and the short form *Neighborhood Narratives* showcases the many Italian restaurants and pizzerias that line Bloomfield's streets. The Downtown film follows two friends on a bus trip to the hustle and bustle of the city's center. In "Notes in the Valley," a young woman takes an emotional journey through her research of Homestead's past to find the rightful owner of an old letter. In "Regent Square" filmmakers Jeremy Braverman and Nelson Chipman depict how a New York businessman finds a "friendly" home in the Regent Square part of town. Braverman says, "We talked to people from the neighborhood and shared our favorite stories, things that were unique to Regent Square . . . A lot of that stuff found its way into our film, such as the front porch happy hours. Those are pretty big around here" ("Nelson" par. 4). Although reluctant to make the move, the businessman's interactions

with the Regent Square community soon made him feel at home. Another narrative explores the home of Pittsburgh's many college students.

Oakland is home to over 17,000 undergraduate students from the University of Pittsburgh, so filmmaker Justin Francart used the University's Cathedral of Learning as the backdrop to his film. Standing 530 feet tall, the Cathedral is the second-tallest education building in the world, and the "geographic and traditional hear of the campus" ("Tour"). In a personal interview, Lori Robinson recalls her time in Oakland:

The area was very culturally diverse because of the universities. I did notice that African Americans, Jamaicans, Haitians and whites mixed freely but the Asian cultures stayed within their cultural groups and often only spoke their native languages. I think this part of the city was different because we (students) felt like it was ours because it was mainly students everywhere.

Oakland is also home to Chatham University and Carnegie Mellon University, making this area the "youth-ridden neighborhood of Pittsburgh" ("Justin" par. 3). As a place where many student publics interact with one another, Oakland's neighborhood narrative expresses the feelings and emotions of Pittsburgh's future leaders. One narrative that deals with past, present, and future conditions of the city focuses on the Hill District.

Filmmaker Timothy R. Hall's "What Green Could Be" is a neighborhood narrative that connects Pittsburgh's past with its current sustainable city planning efforts. Hall grew up in the Hill District and used a "pseudo-biographical" photo-montage of the Hill's historical transformation to tell his story for *Neighborhood Narratives* (What Green" par. 3). "The Hill, as it is fondly known in the 'burgh, was once considered to be

the center of African-American culture, steeped in art, literature and music. A decline in the steel industry, however, and the construction of the Civic Arena forced many residents to leave the neighborhood in the 1960s. Today, the area is slowly being revamped” (“What Green” par. 2). Hall’s work on the project takes his character, largely based on himself, through the emotional journey of what the Hill was in the 1950s, what it is today, and the ways in which the Hill District could become a cultural center once again. Hall confesses that today the Hill is a “shell of what it used to be” (“What Green” par. 9). Recently, a *New Colonist.com* article commented, “Rich in history and scarred by urban renewal, one of America’s great African-American neighborhoods [the Hill District] is coming alive again” (“Sustainable”). These narratives speak to the Hill’s history and provide hope for the Hill’s publics to renew their public spaces. The neighborhood narrative for the Strip District showcases one of the busiest public spaces in the city.

The “Strip District” borders the Allegheny River (11th- 33rd street) on one side and the Downtown area on the other, and couldn’t be further from the illusion that its name conjures. One blogger, MauraJudkis, clarifies: “Pittsburgh does have a ‘Strip District,’ but it actually has nothing to do with adult entertainment. It’s a wholesale food warehouse district, so named because it was built on a small strip of land by the river.” In the 1800s, the Strip District contained many mills and factories that easily shipped and transported their goods from the docks along the Allegheny. In the early 20th century, the Strip District had grown to a bustling marketplace, which it is still today. “It’s no secret, the Strip is the best thing about Pittsburgh. A lively produce market by day, a busy club scene at night...a visit to the strip is not to be missed” (“Sustainable”).

In the WQED series, *It's Pittsburgh & A Lot of Other Stuff*, narrator Rick Sebak takes through what it would be like to walk down Smallman Street or Liberty Avenue, the main streets of the Strip District. Walking through the Strip District “unravels the senses” as you pass by so many street vendors, restaurants and people. You cannot help but be enveloped by every “shade, smell, shape of every ethnic group in the world” (*It's Pittsburgh*). *Neighborhood Narratives* blog editor also comments, “The challenge lies in navigating one’s way through the sea of street merchants without surrendering to each and every persuasive aroma. It’s like Ulysses and the ‘song of the siren,’ except the song is really an enchanting smell that threatens to overwhelm the wallet” (“Ray” par. 2).

Ray Werner’s short film “Tommy and Me” tells the story of the Strip District’s eclectic culture and the realities of living in the city for the homeless (*Neighborhood Narratives*). Werner’s touching story of the Steeler’s Santa who helps to sell merchandise outside of Mike Feinberg’s Novelty Shop really draws viewers into the story of Pittsburghers’ aptitudes for compassion and the harsh experience of living on the street. Upon hearing that all the proceeds from *Neighborhood Narratives* would go to Operation Safety Net, The Steeler’s Organization granted permission for Ray to film a clip at their stadium (“Ray”), demonstrating the uniting of publics and the ways in which Pittsburgh stakeholders’ publicness emerge in their relationships with others. Along with its portrayal in *Neighborhood Narratives*, Lawrenceville has another story to add to Pittsburgh’s narrative.

Over the last decade, Lawrenceville has been transforming itself from a run-down gateway to the Strip to a hip and chic neighborhood, favored by artists and small boutique owners. PopUp! Pittsburgh (a leadership training program for Pittsburgh young

professionals) hosted a one-day event, “An Upper Lawrenceville Love Story” on March 19, 2012. People from Lawrenceville and the surrounding communities were invited to experience and engage this neighborhood. Residents of any age were invited to “the vowel-renewal ceremony of the decade” as PopUp! Pittsburgh hoped “to help celebrate the way in which residents both new and seasoned are shaping a neighborhood that’s worth taking a second look at a neighborhood that’s worth loving all over again” (Freiss par. 4). The event featured live bands, local fine food and drink, free family-friendly activities, and “what just may be Pittsburgh’s largest cookie table” (Freiss par. 5). Owner of Nied’s Hotel Bar and Restaurant in Lawrenceville, Jim Nied thought the event was a great idea. “It’s basically a win-win situation. Fast burners of the Pittsburgh business community get to flap their wings and we as residents and business people get to enjoy a heightened awareness of the attributes of our community” (qtd. in Freiss par. 6). What makes these stories of Pittsburgh’s neighborhoods resonate with Pittsburgh’s larger publics and viewers of *Neighborhood Narratives* are the ways in which these stories aptly capture characters, cultural memories, personal memories, and cultural narratives of these regions.

Halasz and Shaeffer said that they produced *Neighborhood Narratives* because they wanted to “give voice to our individual neighborhoods, and foster feelings of connectedness between all members of all Pittsburgh communities” (“Our Mission”). The success of each “short” in paying tribute to a region’s vernacular voices and fittingly capturing its stories, metaphors, and characters is evident by Pittsburgh publics’ receptions to the film. The film’s first showing was in one of the neighborhoods, Regent Square, selling out to a full house on September 25, 2008. “We had such a great

turnout,” said Shaeffer, referring to the crowd that gathered for its premier. “It made us so happy to see that Pittsburgh supported our film because that’s really who this was for.” (“Greetings” par. 7). Individuals, who may have nothing in common other than where they live, often come together to support the awareness and functionality of their communities.

When discussing how closely tied individual identities are to neighborhoods, Rick Sebak, producer and director for WQED, notes “People can’t believe that you don’t know their neighborhood.” He then tells a story about a woman whom he was supposed meet in Crafton (a small suburb of Pittsburgh) for an interview. “This was back before GPS. I asked her ‘How do I get to Crafton?’ and she tells me to first go to the Crafton-Ingram Shopping Center. I say that I don’t know where the Crafton-Ingram Shopping Center is and she says, ‘you don’t know where the Crafton-Ingram Shoppin’ Center is?!’ like I have two heads or something.” Telling anecdotes of Pittsburgh’s publics and public spaces is a common occurrence for Rick, who can be identified as the “narrator” of Pittsburgh’s stories. For the last twenty-five years, Rick has narrated the majority of WQED’s documentaries. In a personal interview, Rick mentioned that many of Pittsburgh’s stories center on neighborhoods and people’s close ties to the regions where they live.

In a *It’s Pittsburgh* segment called “North Park Versus South Park,” Rick identifies a “syndrome” where a person from the Northern part of Pittsburgh will not to someone from the Southern part of the city simply due to where this person lives or was raised. Rick commented that this has nothing to do with the person, but everything to do with their neighborhood; each area thinks that there is something wrong with the other

neighborhood and therefore, their area is much more significant to Pittsburgh than the other. Bob Jones, a marketer who grew up in Swissvale but now lives with his wife in Los Angeles, told a similar story about the rivalries between Pittsburgh's nationality neighborhoods.

When I was a teenager, I would go to another neighborhood, you know, with a group of other boys. If we looked a little out of place, and cops knew people [from that town], they would ask us where they we're from. [They would ask] 'What are you doing in this neighborhood?' and we would say something about what we were doing there. The cops would then tell us to go home. Leave that neighborhood. (Jones)

Bob mentioned that these cops wanted the boys to leave their region, not because they thought the boys would commit a crime, but because the cops thought a fight would erupt between neighborhood kids. Bob explained that the cops' greatest fears, because the cops were probably from that neighborhood or at least knew everyone there, were that they thought the boys from Swissvale were going to get into a fight with boys from that neighborhood (Jones). "Then the cops would have to explain to parents what happened to their sons. They looked for people who didn't belong there, so they didn't pollute their neighborhood. Today, those kind of things fall along racial lines. Weren't along racial lines then, it was ethnic" (Jones).

Protecting an area from outsiders relates to keeping the narrative identities of each neighborhood distinct from other neighborhoods. Rick claims, however, that neighborhood loyalties are "Not just regionalism, it's something more." Like Ricoeur says of experience, the "something more" of Pittsburgh's identities are practically

incommunicable. Pittsburgh's stakeholders take pride in their identity first based on where they live or grew up, and second, by their identity as a Pittsburgher. Listening to Pittsburgh's publics' vernacular voices and paying attention to how they interact with each other and the city offers symbolic cultural cues to the memories and narratives that form people's connections with each other, strangers, affiliated groups, and the city.

With all the man-made and natural beauty that the city of Pittsburgh has to offer, and the number of people who call this city home, it's no wonder that this last metaphor has been bestowed on Pittsburgh by the mass media. Nonetheless, what makes the moniker "Most Livable City" a prominent metaphor for the city is not due to the mass media's agreement of the title, but with Pittsburgh's stakeholders' acceptance and reception to it. The metaphor of "American's Most Livable City" evokes images and memories of Pittsburgh's heritage with current perceptions of the city's sustained efforts to remain relevant and exciting to current and potential stakeholders. Moreover, this metaphor collaborates temporal, spatial, and environmental features of the city that marketers and stakeholders alike can support in their discourses of the city's narrative identity.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: America's Most Livable City

Pittsburgh's ranking as one of "America's Most Livable Cities" was based on several factors: income growth rate over a five-year span, everyday costs versus income, crime reports, thriving local culture based on the "Arts & Leisure index created by Sperling's Best Places," and the number of colleges or university located in the city (Forbes.com). The affordability factor also makes new businesses and real estate ventures attractive to those looking to relocate to Pittsburgh. These awards were given to

Pittsburgh by mass media, but their meanings have been embraced and passed on by the city's publics and their communicative acts.

Pittsburghers are really proud that outsiders have recognized their city. In a Pittsburgh blog, Briarwood Julie states "It's easy for us yinzers to forget how awesome Pittsburgh is. I own a B&B and it's wonderful to see Pittsburgh reflected in the eyes of out of towners" (O'Toole). Likewise, Christine O'Toole nominated Pittsburgh for *National Geographic Intelligent Traveler* magazine, "20 Must-see Destinations for 2012," for "its natural setting that rivals Lisbon and San Francisco, a wealth of fine art and architecture, and a quirky sense of humor" (par. 6). Pittsburgh won this distinction, making this city one of only two United States destinations, the other being Sonoma, California. *Intelligent Traveler's* blog editor asked Christine to tell them more about why she felt so strongly about Pittsburgh (O'Toole). To answer the editor's questions, Christine wrote an article "I Heart My City: Christine's Pittsburgh" (O'Toole).

In this article, Christine remarks on which geographical or business locations people should visit when in Pittsburgh, but she also mentions how Pittsburgh is "home" to many people. "You can tell a lot about my city from how many people boast about it being their hometown" (O'Toole par. 3). When discussing the neighborhoods, Rick also mentioned that "the emphasis [on neighborhood pride] is that many people are proud to call Pittsburgh home" (Sebak). When comparing and contrasting Pittsburgh with Washington, D.C., where Bob lived for several years, he says:

The thing that is most characteristic of Pittsburgh is that it is home to so many people. When you ask someone where they are from or "Why do you live in Pittsburgh?" someone from Pittsburgh will say, "Where else

would I live? That's where I live." If you ask someone why they are in D.C. they say "career" or "five year plan and if I have accomplished this, this is my next goal. . . ." Very few people would say this is my home, where else would I live?

When asked what he means by "home," Bob says, "I think what it means is that it is some place where you always feel comfortable. Where you feel home. People are so nice and so friendly," he pauses and says again, "Because people are so nice and friendly" (Jones).

Perhaps a dead metaphor in some contexts, "friendly" was a term repeatedly appearing in interviews, blogs, and articles about Pittsburgh. Rick also mentioned: "What I remember about Pittsburgh is the friendliness, that you feel like you still know someone in the city" and "The thing that Pittsburgh has to offer is that the people are nice and people are so relaxed." Christine also notes Pittsburgh's publics' "friendliness" (O'Toole). She writes, "If you come to my city get your picture taken with a local. Ask anyone-really. Pittsburghers are unbelievably friendly." When asked "If my city were a celebrity it'd be _____," Christine responded, "Tom Hanks: friendly, handsome, modest, and all-American" (O'Toole). The metaphors "friendly" and "home" help to support Pittsburgh's image as a "livable city," because these metaphors remain new or fresh for the city of Pittsburgh in stakeholder's publicness.

As Ricoeur says of living metaphors, Pittsburgh's successful marketing of "friendliness" and "home" depend not on the newness of these metaphors, but rather on the authenticity of people's use of the term. The metaphor "friendly" still speaks for the city because Pittsburgh stakeholders keep this metaphor fresh in their everyday actions,

speech, and publicness. Pittsburgh is “home” to many people because their *personal identities* are inherently tied to the *public identities* of their region, both local and geographical. When *Intelligent Traveler’s* editor invited Christine to further talk about her city, Christine was more than willing to discuss her opinions and perceptions of the city. By engaging in discourse with the reporter and other readers of her article, Christine framed a clearer picture of why she felt the way she does about her city and how actual places within the city “back-up” her perceived images. Hermeneutically speaking, Christine framed a horizon of expectation (what to expect when you visit or live in the city) with a space of experience in the sharing of her narrative identity as it relates to Pittsburgh.

Examining personal interviews, scholarly articles, historical data, online reviews, articles, and blogs, metaphors that best characterize Pittsburgh are: bridges, steel, entranceway, neighborhoods, Pittsburghese, yinzers, Downtown, rivers, and most livable city. It should be noted that no one metaphor fits into just one description of the city, nor does this mean that these are the only metaphors that fit Pittsburgh. These metaphors can overlap and are not exclusive. Moreover, there are many more stories of Pittsburgh not shared in this project, ones that influence the form, function, experiences, rhetorical ecologies, and cultural memories of its stakeholders. The metaphors presented in this project were chosen because they frequently appeared in stakeholders’ discourses and they attend to many of the city’s publics and the city’s rhetorical ecologies. These metaphors also stem from larger, more inclusive discourses and stories about the city, indicating a narrative identity for the city of Pittsburgh that many of its publics “bought into” and embrace in their daily lives and interactions.

A Communicative Approach: Promoting and Marketing the City in Praxis

Up to this point, this project has addressed the theoretical framework of a communicative approach to the city branding domain. The ideas presented here accumulate to the final question: how can marketers apply a communicative approach to the promotion and marketing of their cities? In praxis, a communicative approach incorporates five principles that guide marketers' discursive practices. Meaning matters: *read vernacular voices*. Listening involves more than just hearing: *listen to ideas not words*. Cities have three dimensions: *texturize meaning via living metaphors*. There is more than one public: *practice invitational rhetoric*. Narratives are not just embodied but embedded: *become a narrator of the city's stories*. The practices that emerge from these principles do not follow any prescribed "rules." Rather, this unique approach bridges social science practices with rhetorical and philosophical theories in ways that hold significance and meaning for all those involved in the promotion and marketing of a city's identities.

First, marketers need to realize that meaning matters. Individuals and groups often have personal and/or public identities that are deeply tied to the city's identities. Additionally, personal and/or collective experiences of the city drive stakeholders' perceptions that import value and worth to private and public identities. Understanding why and how people come to feel the valences of those experiences and perceptions is a crucial step to move promotional practices beyond shallow branding devices. This project suggests that to better understand why and how stakeholders come to perceive and communicate images of the city a hermeneutic reading of vernacular voices is necessary.

Marketers can practice hermeneutically reading vernacular voices by using multiple forms of research to study stakeholder's opinions and inform a deeper understanding of why and how stakeholders perceive a city. Drawing on all forms of research -- qualitative and quantitative measures, ethnographies, historical studies, etc. -- marketers can examine detailed and comprehensive qualities of public voices and publicness, as well as obtaining measurable and representative samples of multiple public opinions. These assessments mutually inform a greater explanation of experiences that can be interpreted to reveal motives, details, and significant meanings that stakeholders hold of the city. Marketers could then take such meanings and craft living metaphors that represent and capture these experiences in a marketing campaign's images and words.

Second, listening involves more than just hearing. One of the most difficult aspects of communication is attempting to explain an idea to another person in a way that maximizes understanding and minimizes the risk for misinterpretation. Ricoeur's work sought to alleviate the tension between language and discourse, but any attempt to communicate meaning to another person has the potential for misunderstanding. The challenge of listening to another person speak is being able to link that person's ideas together in a way that makes the most sense to us. Since true understanding emerges from the act of discourse that presents a horizon for shared meaning to emerge, listening implies more than just hearing another person's words and waiting for your turn to speak.

Marketers can practice listening by attending to a person's ideas and not just their words in their speech and actions. One way marketers can hone their craft in identifying key ideas in discourse is by concentrating on the bits of information that seem to be repeated or embellished, or by focusing on the patterns that emerge from the ways that

people communicate. Marketers could also avoid or reduce the use of explicit instructions when engaging stakeholders in discussion. Instead of a predetermined agenda to interviewing or engaging stakeholders in discourse, marketers could listen to what the stakeholder or stakeholders have to say and then respond to their comments in a way that provides clarity and detail to the ideas that they have already commented on; commenting on stakeholders ideas as they emerge in discourse could also allow the conversation to travel down a new or exciting direction that neither party could have anticipated. Another way of becoming a better listener is to try to curtail or free your physical and experiential environments from distractions and focus on the person doing the talking. By being attentive to ideas, the bigger picture of what the person is trying to communicate may be revealed.

Third, cities have three dimensions. Ricoeur understood that there are three ways of viewing time because it means something different to experience, understand, and communicate time. The same principle holds true for cities. There are physical areas of the city -- buildings, parks, bridges, lakes and rivers, etc. -- where public activities occur, yet people also experience the city through the perceptions of these spaces. Communicating those perceptions and experiences to another person then plays a major role in the crafting of public opinions that shape a city's identities, images, and reputations. Cities are three-dimensional and often seen as a living, breathing, entity because a city's physical environments have been textured by stakeholders' perceptions of spatiotemporal events and emotional connections to the city. As such, the marketing of those elements must also be textured with living metaphors.

Marketers can practice texturizing by including metaphors of time, space, and environment within the city's marketing campaign. Many city branding campaigns have fallen under the misconception that showing *any* city as an entertainment hotspot will make the city more attractive to stakeholders; but if the reality of the city does not live up to that expectation, cities may have an identity crisis. Being attentive to metaphors of time, space, and environment will help marketers to avoid the pitfall of shallow, flat marketing practices. Additionally, promoting a city's growth by encouraging future development remains an important part in any marketing campaign. By keeping a city's tradition and history alive in its current images and metaphors helps a city maintain its identities while reducing the possibility for a city to become a commodified fantasy. Marketers can still support challenges and changes to a city's physical, emotional, and perceptual developments through the inclusion of living metaphors that paint attractive yet representative images for the three-dimensional city and its multiple publics.

Fourth, a plurality of publics exist in today's marketplace and cities, so marketers should be aware that there is more than one audience for their campaign. While tourism is a booming industry for many cities, cities endure economic and physical hardships through their residents, businesses, and other individuals and groups who have a stake in its well-being. Marketers should include the opinions and viewpoints of those whose speech and deeds influence the shape and health of the city. In this regard, marketing a city must extend beyond the "usual suspects" of the city branding campaign to include the vernacular voices of all stakeholders.

Marketers can practice invitational rhetoric by encouraging stakeholders to be engaged and active in the marketing process. Marketers can carefully create opportunities

for all stakeholders to become a part of the process by inviting stakeholders to share their concerns and stories of the city, and become active participants in the marketing campaign. Invitational rhetoric highlights communicative practices that encourage conversations to freely occur through the provision of a welcoming and safe space for valuable meaning to emerge. Marketers need to begin to see stakeholders as knowledgeable contributors who already play active roles in the city, marketplace, and society, and whose opinions are valuable to the health and well-being of those physical and virtual spaces. Furthermore, the practice of invitational rhetoric supports the practice of reading by peeling back the layers of the city's attractions to reveal the real meanings behind their significance.

Practicing invitational rhetoric also supports listening when marketers become a part of the discourses that they are wishing to study. Many practices that are at the heart of a city's identity could easily be overlooked from behind a desk or by simply studying quantitative opinion polls so marketers need to hear the vernacular voices and see acts of publicness first hand. Marketers should use technology to help research a city but they should also walk the streets, attend public events, and visit tourist spaces. Marketers need to keep in mind, however, that they are not tourists either but have been traditionally charged to facilitate and enhance the city's *agathos*. As geography, government, economics, technology, etc. changes, marketers need to continually reassess and collaborate with stakeholders to evaluate current marketing practices and conduct new research to determine the possibilities for a city to realistically achieve in a given amount of time and resources.

Fifth, and most importantly, narratives are not just embodied but embedded in cultural activities, so promotional practices must also become embedded in cultural narratives. As stakeholders come to embody cultural narratives of the city, the social practices that shape those narratives also become embedded in the framework or plot of stakeholders' stories and communicative practices. Since temporal, spatial, and environmental metaphors can be interpreted to better reveal a city's narrative identities, these living metaphors can be fashioned into a marketing narrative that embodies holistic experiences with and perceptions of the city. Intrinsically, marketers can take the prominent metaphors of the city that are identified by interpreting stakeholders' daily communications and actions and then embed, or emplot, those meanings into a marketing narrative.

Marketers can become the narrators of a city's stories when they emplot main ideas and metaphors of the city in their marketing campaigns. Emplotment organizes our understandings of events or experiences into a narrative framework that emphasizes the operative personality of cultural activities (*Time and Narrative* 1: 33). Marketers can express authentic experiences of the city that guide stakeholders through the narrative when they embed images of the city in narrative. Additionally, the embodied practices of the city's stakeholders must be "heard" in the marketing messages. To promote a dynamic entity like the city, the dialectical balance between belief in the images projected by the narratives (imagination), and the experience of and interactions with a city's physical and metaphysical environments (reality) must be sustained. To this end, narrative scholar Richard Kearney encourages the mass media to have ethical responsibility toward narrative imagination and the refiguration of our experiences in

metaphorical language and images, which this project argues conventional branding methods overlook in favor of “commidfiabl” and “objective’ explanations of their occurrences.

A good storyteller pays attention to how the listener responds to the story and may change the plot’s direction or emphasize an appealing point so that the story remains attractive to the audience. Marketers also need to become aware when their messages teeter towards over-embellished language or images to the point that stakeholders no longer believe the plot. If called to market lesser recognized cities, marketers may have to spend more time, resources, and energy on finding where publics and publicness emerge in the city. Yet promotional efforts, once embedded in narrative, can celebrate potentials for growth but remain attentive to elements of the human condition that may be less flexible or take more time to come to fruition.

These principles and practices build off of one another to pilot a communicative approach to current practices and theories of city branding. A communicative approach to city marketing campaign may (1) keep marketers focused on the outcomes they are best suited to influence, yet remain attentive to all stakeholders’ needs, (2) keep city branding theories in proportion to their pragmatic practices, and (3) keep marketers from focusing too narrowly on either human communication (social science), scientific, or mediated communication in their promotion of cities, realizing that each play a strong role in a city’s primary and secondary communications. Researching why and how publics arrive at such opinions further enable deeper evaluations of current practices that could give way to innovative trajectories for a city’s future. As cultural practices and the city itself

changes, collaboration between multiple stakeholders help to invigorate traditions with new meanings.

Conclusion

Mumford claims that “We need a new image of order, which shall include the organic and personal, and eventually embrace all the offices and functions of man. Only if we can project that image shall we be able to find a new form for the city” (*City* 4). This project supports a communicative approach to promoting a city, not by the use of idealized images or stock photos, but as the city’s images naturally emerge from stakeholders’ discourses and stories. To overcome obstacles in current city branding practices, this project grounded the promotion of Pittsburgh’s images in a theory of narrative that identifies and reflects the metaphors, perceptions, and meanings that emerge in stakeholders’ public discourses and shape their public and private lives and actions. Ricoeur’s narrative theory provides a philosophical base to such an inquiry; while the works of many other scholars (Mumford, Kavaratizs, Habermas, Arendt, and Hauser to name a few) support a hermeneutical model through which to examine, construct, engage, and reflect such practices in the marketplace.

When applied to the discourses of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a communicative approach to the city’s metaphors revealed that there is more to this city than just its publics’ sporting attitudes. Pittsburgh was built on the back of Andrew Carnegie’s steel, nestled in the hilly terrain between the three rivers, and dotted with many busy bridges. The city pulled itself out from the soot of the “Rust Belt” to become a very hip, chic, and visually appealing city. “Pittsburgh’s third renaissance is happening,” says Pittsburgh mayor, Luke Ravenstahl, in an article for Forbes.com (“Ten”). The many colleges,

universities, and world-class medical centers (University of Pittsburgh Medical Center-UPMC) make Pittsburgh an increasingly better, and more economically feasible, place to live. Pittsburgh's neighborhoods provide a sense of comfort and belonging to those who proudly call Pittsburgh home, and those who no longer live here that still call this city "home." As such, this case study provides a small glimpse of how an industrial town can promote fresh metaphors and new narratives identities that celebrate its diverse culture, maintain traditions and heritages, and represent a successful model for a communicatively informed city identity.

The ideas and opinions represented in this project are informed by a praxis approach to the promotion of the city that moves beyond the mere branding of a city, referred to in this work as a brandopolis. A brandopolis is the logical and empirical construction of a static city branding campaign. Instead, marketers should look to the promotion of the city as a living, breathing network of organizations, people, and ideas that project a multitude of voices, resounding in discourse and narrative. Isn't that, after all, how we feel about the places we call home?

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