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Detroit's Sport Spaces And The Rhetoric Of Consumption

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DETROIT'S SPORT SPACES AND THE RHETORIC OF CONSUMPTION

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DEDICATION

For Detroit, stay strong

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Introduction

Today, the city of Detroit, Michigan is caught in an identity struggle: On one hand, it is fighting to sustain an authentic and historic identity in a rapidly-paced, advanced, technological and global climate. On the other hand, the success of the city hinges on adopting a new identity that successfully appeals to hip, modern, and young professionals who city planners, governments, and businesses feel will help carry them through the 21st century. Functioning as a manufacturing hub, Detroit was the automobile capital of the world from the early 1920s to the early 1960s. Arguably the start of the first World War transformed industry in Detroit for the next 40-50 years as Detroit built tanks, trucks and other military equipment that was shipped overseas to American allied forces. Reynolds Farley, Sheldon Danzinger and Harry Holzer argue in their book, *Detroit Divided,* that because train transportation was not reliable to transport goods from Detroit to shipping docks in the New England area, car manufacturers began to build trucks to carry these heavy loads, which further enhanced their industry. The authors contend that Detroit became the epicenter of the automotive and industrial world. However, as critics had long warned, in recent decades Detroit's automobile industry became its own worst enemy. The Big Three – Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors – failed to change their vision of auto manufacturing as times began to change. Farley, Danzinger and Holzer argue that as a result, the Big Three declined rapidly in global automotive significance. Given its deep ties to this industry, Detroit's identity is defined, in large part, by the state of U.S. automobile industry.

Another significant factor contributing to Detroit's identity tension is the city's conflicted relationship to race. Perhaps no other event was more important than the July 1967 riot that

turned into four days of chaos with martial law going into effect. The riot began when a police raid broke out on a "blind pig" club that was serving alcohol after hours. A citywide conflict erupted because of years of tensions between downtown African-American residents and Detroit police. The riot lasted four days, with hundreds of buildings being destroyed or burnt to the ground, hundreds of arrests and massive upheaval throughout the city. As a consequence, National Guard, Army rangers, and other troops were sent in to help control the rioting. The aftermath of the 1967 riots caused many white families living in the city to migrate to northern and western suburbs. In the wake of the riots and years of suburban flight that lowered the city's tax base, Detroit faced a host of significant problems. For instance, as Farley, Danzinger and Holzer explain, with suburban flight, crime, racial tensions, poverty, homelessness and home foreclosures, many local businesses could not survive in Detroit and either went out of business or moved to where the economic climate was more sustainable. With over one million people living in the city prior to the 1960s, the U.S. Census Bureau reports that in 2010 Detroit's approximate population was hovering just over 717,000. Furthermore, over the 10 year period from 2000 to 2010, the city's population decreased by 25 percent. Additionally, critics like Klein argue Detroit has not invested enough in retaining people living in the city. Additionally, high crime rates continue to plague the city, as well as population loss, vacant/empty space, gentrification, a troubled economy, crime, drugs, and the failure of the auto industry. I want to clarify my use of the terms space and place. Throughout this dissertation, when I refer to place I mean a locatable and addressable place inside space. When I refer to space, I mean the conceptual space surrounding a particular place or places. The city's troubled past and history creates a seemingly permanent dark cloud over the identity of Detroit (Kurth, Wilkinson &

Augilar). All of these issues further complicate the city's problems, which makes it easy for many residents and outsiders to view Detroit as a city in decline. I argue all of these issues are what define the "Old" Detroit.

However, despite these many problems, there have been recent hopeful developments as Detroit has garnered much national, and even global, attention. For example, the rebirth and rebuilding of Detroit has been spotlighted by media and print journalists throughout 2014. In addition, in 2011 and 2012, Chrysler ran Super Bowl advertisements highlighting the comeback of Detroit's auto industry with rapper Eminem and his famous "Lose Yourself" song and actor Clint Eastwood. The tag line for the spots was "Imported from Detroit," a catch phrase that has received much political and social attention (Condon). The phrase was an attempt by Chrysler to demonstrate how locally-made car products continue to be imported by foreign countries and other parts of the U.S. market. Furthermore, the automobile industry has begun to bounce back after Chrysler and General Motors were bailed out by the federal government in late 2008. All three American auto companies have seen sales increase dramatically since their 2008 crisis (Higgins and Naughton). Additionally, many Detroiters have begun to take action in their city, where local arts, urban farming, and other entrepreneurial activity have caught on, bringing a number of businesses and projects to Detroit. Recently, many Detroit business leaders have been supportive of new renovations taking place within the city. The Woodward Light Rail project has garnered much support from Detroit leaders such as Quicken Loans owner Dan Gilbert, Detroit Red Wings, Tigers and Little Caesars owner Mike Ilitch, Roger Penske, and Kresge Foundation CEO Rip Rapson (Schinkai). Additionally, *Hour Detroit Magazine* voted Gilbert as 2011 Detroiter of the year (McFarlin). Gilbert now owns nine buildings downtown and the number

may increase as 2015 progresses. Gilbert has promised to include retail stores on the first floor of all his buildings (Aguilar).

The rebirth of Detroit has received much attention, especially from people invested in the city from all standpoints—economically, locally, emotionally and most of all from those individuals living within the city. Suzette Hackney, a *Detroit Free Press* journalist for over 15 years, has been vocal about how she distinguishes the "New Detroit" from the "Old Detroit." She questions whether there is room for low-income residents to survive within the landscape of the "New Detroit." Kim Trent, who works for the Ann Arbor-based group Michigan Future and member of the Board of Governors at Wayne State University, illustrates the struggles and tensions facing the future of the new Detroit saying, "It's not an illusion that these parts of the city are getting more resources. The question becomes, Is it the chicken or the egg? Are these places now getting more attention because the racial makeup has changed, or are the racially-diverse residents commanding more attention?" (Hackney). While many people argue that issues of gentrification may be slowly defining the new Detroit, still others contend that the resources available in greater downtown are accessible to those living on the periphery of the city. Aaron Foley, an African-American Detroit-based journalist who writes about the recent developments occurring within the city, sees a major issue with comparing the "New Detroit" to the "Old." He states,

> "When 'new' is basically used as code for 'white' in a city where 'old' is 'black,' it can drive someone like me to think they're obsolete. I should never have to question my own self-worth because of what someone else thinks is their idea for a city that has always been there. Bury 'new Detroit' in the cliché graveyard and embrace Detroit for what it is: A city rich in history with opportunity to make more history. No 'old,' no 'new,' just now (Foley).

When understood within the larger context of Detroit, these conflicting identities compete against each other while simultaneously shaping how people perceive the redevelopment efforts. University of Detroit Mercy management and labor relations professor Michael Witty asserts that the issue of accessibility is frequently overlooked in redevelopment discussions. "Detroit is making progress, but I think the question is 'progress for who?' and 'who is being left behind?' The positives from the city filing bankruptcy won't reach the most disadvantaged stratum of Detroit. They won't even get the most entry-level jobs" (Hackney). This dissertation argues how the attractiveness of the downtown spaces, specifically sports places, are made meaningful to draw in suburbanites at the expense other Detroit residents.

Fundamental to this process is an understanding of how these two trajectories intersect. Specifically, throughout this dissertation I argue how discourse surrounding what constitutes a "New Detroit" conflates with the appeal of the downtown places because of the nuanced ways sports operate as an apparatus to articulate suburbanites' relationship with the city from one of local/metropolitan resident of the city to an economic and cultural tourist of the downtown area. While sports attempt to operate as a universal sign of city identity, I argue that the rearticulation of sports locations into sites of tourist consumption actually relegates the downtown into a temporality that brings the suburban experience into the downtown, but once consumed, the tourists leave and the urban experience ends. As a result, this creates accessible spaces and places, and with them a flawed notion of development, which shapes how the city discusses redevelopment and understands what a "New Detroit" identity means. Discourses over the meaning of "Old" and "New" Detroit have begun to inform the city's struggle over its identity.

Despite all of these other significant influences, perhaps no other aspect of the city articulates and shapes the above discussion of a universal city identity more than its professional sports teams and sports culture. For instance, in the 1930s, when Detroit resident Eddie "the Midnight Express" Tolan won two gold medals in the 1932 Olympics, Joe Louis won the heavyweight boxing championship, the Red Wings, Lions, and Tigers all won national titles, and the city was recognized as "The City of Champions" (Zacharias). In later years, Detroit maintained this reputation. Two of the more significant moments in Detroit's recent sporting history were the 1968 and 1984 Detroit Tigers World Series championships. Additionally, since 1968, Detroit has won three National Basketball Association (NBA) championships, four National Hockey League (NHL) championships, and three Women's National Basketball Championships (WNBA). Further validating this reputation, a reader's poll conducted by *The Sporting News* in 2011 declared Detroit the "Best Sports City of All Time," beating out cities like Chicago and New York (Fenech "Best Sports City").

In addition to this success, the team's sports arenas, such as Tiger Stadium, Comerica Park, Ford Field, and Joe Louis Arena are key elements of the downtown area and serve as major contributors to the city's identity. Besides hosting championship-caliber teams, these stadiums have hosted several major sporting events. For example, in 2003, the largest verified crowd in college basketball history (78,000) watched the University of Kentucky play Michigan State University in Ford Field. In 2005 and 2006, Comerica Park hosted the Major League Baseball (MLB) All-Star Game and Ford Field held Super Bowl XL. In 2009, the city hosted the National Collegiate Athletic Association's (NCAA) Men's Basketball Final Four games. Additionally, many of these venues have hosted some of the nation's top music tours and festivals. As a result,

these arenas draw significant local and national attention to the downtown area. I contend this is how sports are included in the meanings of the "New" Detroit.

Furthermore, these sports organizations and stadiums allow the city to value and cherish the history of sports. Detroit has rich history of championship teams. This proud tradition of winning albeit grants the city permission to promote consumption based on an appeal to sports. The "New Detroit" identity the city endorses is an attempt to preserve a public memory of a long legacy of tradition while radically transforming the landscape of the city with high-consumption modern arenas and stadiums. Throughout this dissertation, I will interrogate this discursive process. Cities are anchors of past, present, and future identities. Anouk Belanger argues,

> In this context, urban centres worldwide have been swept along by a new phase of entertainment consumption indicating the integration of a new entertainment economy with a new urban economy. In its wake, this phase, which can be called the spectacularization of space, is creating a new urban landscape filled with casinos, megaplex cinemas, themed restaurants, simulation theaters, stadium and sports complexes. As cities around the world are being transformed into aggressive entrepreneurial cities through the industry of spectacle, so too are identities and memories being reforged within these spaces. In fact, the conflicts between discourses promoting new urban entertainment destination projects and local memories and identities are a notable element of the social and political confusion accompanying transformations in cities as they are becoming a moving force within the dialectics of uneven capitalist development (378).

Belanger's understanding of how these discourses are in conflict is rhetorically interesting for my project. Specifically, I am interested in how redevelopment projects focused around sports stadiums in Detroit are rhetorically constructed in a way that provokes the conflict of these identities. The importance of sports locations is evident in the way Detroit has built itself around sports stadiums. Additionally, there is an incentive marking the value of sports stadiums. The more these places are marked with meaning and value the more attention they will receive.

While Detroit attempts to rebuild itself through re-structuring how the city council operates, managing its enormous debt, re-building its school system, and transforming vacant buildings into urban malls and tourist sites, the city's sport stadiums embody notions of public memory and public tourist consumption. However, the sports stadiums serve as a key nodal point for the complicated and conflicted discourses of Detroit's identity. These stadiums are rhetorically powerful places that contextualize how Detroit's identity becomes produced and manufactured.

Detroit faces dilemmas in preserving their industrial and diverse middle class identity while at the same time modernizing it as well. While many strategies have been deployed to save these urban spaces, few have seemed to succeed. For instance, John Gallagher has written about many plans for redevelopment within Detroit that are never finalized ("Detroit development"*).* George Jackson, president of the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation, states that many times potential developers attempt to gain momentum for their proposals by relying on the press get their word out (Gallagher *Detroit development)*. While sociologists, political scientists, and cultural and urban studies scholars have ruminated on new ways to use public space to make it more democratic, diverse, and economically productive, I approach the study of urban space from a rhetorical direction in order to understand the discursive processes in which sports places articulate discourses that shape urban identity based on public consumption.

Viewing urban space, cities and their identities from a rhetorical perspective offers many advantages. First, it brings to the table rhetorical studies' vast and nuanced means of analyzing and evaluating the contents of urban space while examining how discourses shaped their identities. Whether it is a sports stadium, a building, a monument, or an event occurring in a place, urban identity is continuously negotiated through these processes and formations. A

second advantage to this approach is analyzing urban communication and culture through understanding the discursive role of rhetorics of consumption. Scholars have analyzed the use of urban space to produce identity (Chatterton and Hollands; Dickinson; Katz; Sennett). Similarly, scholars have studied the intersection of sports and urban identity (Belanger; Boyd; Horne; Ingham and McDonald; O'Rourke; Silk). Research has also analyzed how consumption practices influence cities (Gupta; Gupta and Ferguson; Silk; Styhre and Engberg). The third advantage for studying the spatial discourses of cities is how it acts as a platform for many issues affecting urban environments. These issues range from the intersection of sports, space, place, and rhetoric and the role those factors play in constructing urban identities. Additionally, researching how urban spaces create discourses that provide access to some populations but not to others is an expanding area of research based on spatial justice. Those interested in spatial justice examine the various ways cities construct spatiality and how those boundaries affect aspects of inclusion and exclusion for those living and frequenting these spaces. Moreover, urban spaces contain numerous symbolic meanings and represent different aspects of identity to different people. This dissertation aims to understand these nuanced processes that act as markers for not only urban identities, but group and individual identities as well.

Specifically, in chapter two I map out the cultural context of Detroit's identity struggle. This tension over identity is evident within the discourses competing for meaning about the "New" Detroit as opposed to the "Old" Detroit. I argue how this tension is negotiated by the ideographic nature of "new" and "old" Detroit. In his exploration of how rhetoric operates to make ideology material, Michael Calvin McGee describes this process as the development and deployment of ideographs. As McGee explains,

> A formal definition of "ideograph"…would list the following characteristics. An ideograph is an ordinary-language term found in political discourse. It is a high-order abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal. It warrants the use of power, excuses behavior and belief which might otherwise be perceived as eccentric or antisocial, and guides behavior and belief into channels easily recognized by a community as acceptable and laudable…All ideographs, taken together…are thought at any specific "moment" to be consonant, related to one another in such a way as to produce unity of commitment in a particular historical context (15-16).

Understanding what constitutes an ideograph, I argue in chapter three how the "New" Detroit is ideographic in nature because of it collects all the different meanings of Detroit under the ideograph of "New" Detroit. However, there are negotiated, contested and conflicted meanings regarding "New" Detroit. Additionally, I argue that because sports is the anchor point in the articulation of these meanings, the term "loyalty" may operate ideographically because of the meaning it attaches to sports and the city of Detroit in general. The use of this term by people living within Detroit and the greater metropolitan area posits a certain sensibility that anytime one enters the city, there is an authentic meaning to being a "Detroiter." Thus, these terms function as ideographs because of they provide people with the ability to collect identities while negotiating meaning. These terms all have a common valence that establish publics and allow people to enter into what McGee calls a "unity of commitment" (16). My argument here is how these newly formed publics create a symbolic bond with suburban tourists to the city of Detroit and provide a way for people to access and engage in a certain identity about Detroit.

Understanding how ideographs function as a mechanism to articulate identity, I view space and place discursively. This allows me to examine how memories and rhetoric about sports anchor urban identities to regulate and figure the uses and consumptions of those spaces to achieve an official discourse about a city. Through the various processes and formations that

shape these identities, these rhetorics both enable and disable democratic participation and economic development. Thus, these identities compete against each other for legitimacy while attempting to penetrate the public consciousness of a given community. I am interested in the importance of sports locations as a hub of urban renewal projects. These discourses mark the sports places as significant and meaningful to the identity of Detroit. As a result, this is why suburban tourists visit these areas. However, the battle over identity is one anchored in accessibility—specifically; questions arise regarding the accessibility of these spaces. Specifically, questions such as—who are these new locations for, who is to occupy them and who is allowed to benefit from them? Thus, a conflict ensues about Detroit's identity. The "Old Detroit" identity grounded in manufacturing is gone. However, the "new" battle over identity is molded by a nostalgia for the now unattainable past and resentment about its lost identity. This lost identity is tied into how suburbanites view the city. Thus, the "New" identity is a struggle between the hip, young workers who are coming to the city attempting to rebuild the city's image and the long-time, mostly African American residents who desire a city that has less crime, better services and long-term economic opportunity for them, and the suburban tourists who frequent the city and then leave. In doing so, I use sports as a lens through which we can view how certain trajectories of discourse intersect to create urban identities while using existing memories to articulate new ones. Thus, economic development is understood as a way to access these high-end spaces and experience Detroit. These identities attempt to rhetorically fuse democratic participation with economic development in the hopes of attaining a new urban identity for the city. Additionally, I explore how sports allow for a particular type of consumption to take place within these spaces and how that may influence collective memory.

To advance this argument, I first begin by reviewing public sphere and space theory to demonstrate how this literature informs our understanding of urban spaces. Specifically, I review Marxist critiques of space and how the discursive approach I employ is more advantageous. I argue for a discursive approach to analyzing Detroit's identity because it allows for a thorough examination of context and how an ethic of consumption shapes these discourses. Second, I explore critical/cultural studies of sport communication in order to describe and explain how the field's findings inform and shape our understanding of the relationship between identity and sports. Finally, I will outline the method of the this project by discussing Michel Foucault's theories of power, resistance, dystopias and heterotopias, Lawrence Grossberg's understanding of articulation and identity formation, and John Sloop and Kent Ono's ideas on official and vernacular discourse.

Literature Review

Public and private spheres:

In order to appreciate the importance and effects of discourses about space, we must first understand how public space operates. To do this, I begin with Jurgen Habermas and his notions of public and private spheres. Habermas first theorized the public sphere in his monumental text *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into the Category of Bourgeois Society*. Habermas argued that the public sphere is a representation of a social arena of discourse that shapes democratic ideals. For Habermas, the public sphere was grounded in spaces where important public matters were discussed and debated in a democratic fashion. For instance, Habermas examined dialogue and conversations that happened in places like British coffee

houses, French salons, and other popular locations where people frequently congregated. These physical locations provided the contexts where democratic issues and ideals were discussed. Second, these were places of consumption—coffee houses or salons, not public libraries or the town square. People gathered in spaces primarily because they sought to consume products or purchase services. As a result of gathering to consume, these places also became sites for democratic dialogue. This is an important distinction in understanding the value of public space. These spaces were valued because they brought people together. Thus, people frequented these spaces because they engaged in intellectual and interesting conversations.

Because he examined how democratic deliberation happened in actual locations and places, rather than in some idealized and abstract fashion, Habermas' understanding of public space is useful to study how groups of people organize and identify with a space in order to engage in broader social and political discussions. As a result, Habermas' greatest contribution to the study of democratic dialogue and citizenship was to expose the way in which bourgeois consumptive practices radically altered the landscape of democracy and social structure. Prior to the rise of the public sphere, social life was threatened by the increasingly privatized nature of commodity exchange and the authoritarian tendencies of the State and ruling class. For Habermas, public spaces became sites where public authority and private commodity exchange interacted, forming an ideal space for dialogue that was independent from the state and market. The public sphere was a way citizens could gather to engage in civic discussions of a democratic society, which provided a vehicle for people to assert their point of view regarding issues of government, politics and other social issues (Deem; Fleming; Goodnight; McCarthy). However, an economy of production quickly moved into an economy of culture based on consumption and

citizens began to lose sight of the utility of critical-rational debate and now were largely consumers instead of producers of knowledge. It is at this point that we begin to see the limits of the private autonomy of bourgeois subject as they move from citizens of production to citizens of consumption.

Habermasian public sphere theory is important to this study for two main reasons. First, Habermas allows rhetorical scholars to examine deliberation as a process affected by space and location. Second, Habermas' writings on the public sphere provide a framework from which scholars can continue to theorize the importance of public participation and deliberation. The idea of a public sphere is not tangible; rather it is understood to exist through formal and informal institutions, relationships, discourses and disputes over meaning. Furthermore, he also imagined the possible trajectories a public sphere could take. It is this second idea from Habermas that rhetoricians interested in spatial productions engage—rhetoric is contingent on spatial and temporal dimensions.

A Habermasian understanding of public and private spheres is one way to theoretically approach the parameters and boundaries of the production of public and democratic space. Many scholars (Fleming; Fraser; Goodnight; Habermas; Harvey) have critiqued how Habermas understands the role of the public sphere to communicate how knowledge is produced in contemporary society. Perhaps the most significant critique of Habermas is that his notion of a public sphere creates or maintains social inequality (Calhoun 118). For example, Nancy Fraser laments that minority groups do not have access to the public sphere due to its origin in a masculine and bourgeois society, where only the middle to upper class can access and engage it. Fraser argues that Habermas' concept of a liberal, democratic public sphere was almost entirely

masculine in nature, and women and minorities were exempt from publically accessing it. She contends that Habermas envisioned his public sphere to "be the public arena in the singular" (66). Her critique that the Habermasian public sphere was "a single, comprehensive public" instead of "multiple publics in two kinds of modern societies—stratified societies and egalitarian multi-cultural societies" (66). She asserts that stratified societies create a "basic institutional framework [that] generates unequal social groups in structural relations of dominance and subordination" (67). This critique of Habermas' public sphere is shared by many scholars as well (Landes; Ryan; Eley). Fraser invites scholars to revisit the various boundaries by which the Habermasian public sphere was theorized while being made accessible. Professional sports receive critiques similar to those offered by Fraser in regards to being male-dominated while promoting a particular kind of masculinity. However, my goal in this project is to examine how sports places are discursively constructed in a way that allows for the creation of accessible points of urban identity for some but not others.

The exclusions produced by the public sphere illuminate discourses that give rise to discourses that create subaltern publics, or what Warner terms, "counterpublics", in response to dominant groups. Specifically, Warner's work on publics and counterpublics provides insight into how discourse shapes the composition of marginalized groups and broader society. Warner contends that public displays are controlled through rules governing behavior in public spaces and that these rules heavily influence what counterpublics can do. However, it is riddled with contradictions, ambiguities, and exclusions that undermine the fictitious universal "public." For instance, while Habermas viewed the public sphere as a lived space that contained critical-rational debate and dialogue, Warner contends that particular discourses circulate and have a

temporality to them that determines how they transfer from one culture or group to another. Thus, he is interested in the discursive process of the public sphere to demonstrate how marginalization gives voice to those who are excluded. He wants us to consider how the discourse of a group, which can constitute a public, originates and is maintained by its members. To Warner, a counterpublic would oppose dominant discourse and give a voice to minority groups that constitute the counterpublic while also influencing the authority of the discourse the dominant group wants to assert. Consequently, this rhetorical activity provides agency to members of those publics. Warner's ideas on publics and counterpublics helps us understand how public spaces are rhetorically realized and ultimately created. Furthermore, publics and counterpublics discourse serves as the presupposition for the constitution of spatial discourse.

The construction of urban space

While many scholars have commented on the constitution of publics and public space, few have acknowledged that the method of articulating urban space is different from traditional discursive publics. For instance, Warner's notion of publics assumes that a group is organized around a set of discourses, ideas, or exclusions. In urban space, boundaries are also constituted by the saturation of capitalistic consumer society because they include so many meaningful and symbolic activities and spaces.

The activities that occur within city-space affect the constitution of space. For instance, Henri Lefebvre argues in *The Production of Space* that consumer-society is fueled by how space is made to produce a certain capital. He argues that since the Industrial Age—in which cities were organized around the location of factories, businesses, and, only recently, tourist

attractions—spaces have functioned as a means to produce some type of monetary gain. In particular, Lefebvre contends that cities were arranged around how those job sectors functioned and ultimately produced some form of capital. This is especially the case in Detroit. For example, Detroit was the manufacturing hub of the United States. The auto industry controlled the economy and structure of Detroit while growing exponentially from the early 1920s until race relations soured within the city in the mid-1960s. Put differently, the city's core space was built to accommodate its consumerist workers. The auto industry had a tremendous influence on the suburbs of Dearborn and Pontiac. Many auto plants existed within these suburbs and they served as popular hubs for manufacturing. Additionally, immigration in Detroit flourished because of the demand for wage labor, which further shaped and changed the spaces around the city as ethnic enclaves formed (Farley et al.).

Further demonstrating his argument that space, time, and money are all related to the production of capital, Harvey explains that whoever controls capital also regulates urban space and time. For example, Mike Ilitch owns the Detroit Red Wings and the Detroit Tigers and accumulated his wealth as owner of the popular Little Caesar's Pizza chain. After playing minor league baseball for a brief time during the early to mid-1950s, which included a stint with the Tigers, Ilitch started his pizza business in 1959 before purchasing the Red Wings in 1982. He helped bring the Red Wings back into NFL and hockey relevance, winning four Stanley Cups in 11 years from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s. In 1992, Ilitch bought the Tigers from Domino's Pizza founder Tom Monaghan. The Tigers endured losing seasons for over a decade before their return to prominence in 2006. Central to my argument is the claim that capitalist ventures and team ownership are not necessarily tied to a desire on the part of the owner to promote sports and

have a winning team. Rather, the nexus between the two is that owners purchase teams because they view them as good investments. This established relationship is important when understanding my analysis of consumptive spaces within Detroit and its current plans for redevelopment. When the Detroit Pistons were up for sale, discourse surrounding the sale included discussion of the Ilitch group buying the team. In particular, this discourse was filled with speculation surrounding a proposed Ilitch monopoly of Detroit entertainment and sports industries in and around metro Detroit, as Ilitch had plans to buy the Pistons and build a new arena for both the Red Wings and Pistons downtown. If the sale had happened, Ilitch would have had total control over Palace Sports and Entertainment, DTE Energy Music Theater and three professional sports teams in one city, near complete control over the Detroit sports and entertainment market. As a result, he would have control over a major part of the economic discourse and influence in the city. However, businessman Tom Gores eventually bought the Pistons, if nothing else than to maintain balance in Detroit's entertainment and sports markets. Had Ilitch gained controlled over so many organizations and arenas, his investment group would have had a substantial influence over how Detroit would be represented to the rest of the country and world.

While Marxist notions of spatial production are necessary to understand space and power, post-Marxist notions of spatial production are more in line with the interests of my project. Recently, scholars have begun examining the limits and extent to which space is constructed from a cultural studies approach. In particular, the field of sport communication has specifically examined the construction of space. For example, Michael Silk examines how transnational capital is vital to sports developments in Memphis. He investigated how the localized

organization of the sports stadiums in downtown Memphis aided in reviving the city and brought more urban tourism to the area. As Silk and others rightly note, it is vital to understand how sports teams and sports arena development projects are positioned and framed as remedies for a number of urban problems. For example, scholarship has interrogated and refuted the claim made by city developers and politicians that sports can stimulate local economies (Andrews, Pitter, and Irwin; Boyd; Eckstein and Delaney; Wilcox). The argument that sports produce long-term economic benefits for cities is fallacious because people come to the city simply to see a game or event and then leave immediately afterwards. While a short-term spike in a city's revenue may occur from food or gas, the scholars above conducted longitudinal studies that discredit the claims of developers. Additionally, profits made by sports go directly to owners and investors while the majority of costs associated with building the arenas are paid with public taxes. This is a perceived public problem with Detroit. The city's construction of sports stadiums while taxing its already struggling tax base is frequently a point of contention from people within the city. Another problem with the use of sports to redevelop urban space is that it promotes certain uses and abuses of public space.

Understanding how urban space becomes invested with meaning and value is central to my project. Harvey is a leading theorist on spatial production and understanding his approach on the subject is important for my project. He contends that in order to understand urbanization, exurbanization, or counterurbanization, we have to understand how spatial production is tied to capital. Harvey argues that space, time and capital are all interconnected. First, he argues that whoever dictates the material aspects or forms of time and space also controls capital. Second, he argues the practices of a given time are only accessible to certain classes and genders (227). He

contends that all complicated systems of production require spatial organization as fixed systems of capital require subjects to overcome certain barriers. For my analysis, consumption is the most important barrier—as Harvey argues, consumption is manipulated by those who control capital, and, thus, control space and time ("Condition" 229-230). Thus, the experience of space is constituted and organized through these consumption barriers to rationalize the spatialization of capital. As Harvey explains,

> Spatial barriers can be reduced only through the production of particular spaces (railways, highways, airports, teleports, etc)…how space is influenced is important to understand so one knows how social power is thus produced and carried out…Working-class movements are generally better at organizing in and dominating place than they are at commanding space…any struggle to control reconstitute power relations is a struggle to re-organize their spatial bases. ("Condition" 232-234; 236-239)

Understanding space and capital production in this way is important to realize how urban cities are moving away from traditional industrial capitalism to a more nuanced form of commercialization. According to Silk, transnationalism has transformed how urban cities reinvent themselves. In particular, Silk argues that cities partner with professional sports teams in order to redefine their identity. For example, Silk notes that Memphis took advantage of federal incentives to help bolster their city and attract tourism by developing new sports arenas. Silk concludes that Memphis is an archetype of how sport consumption links with transnational capital to produce varying degrees of symbolic capital. In particular, he examines how glorification, creation, and stigmatization discourses of urban plight are used to frame Memphis and other struggling urban cities. Ultimately, Silk is not concerned with Memphis's success; instead, he is interested in the rhetorical means by which the landscape of Memphis is transformed.

Similarly, Jerry Herron details how Detroit experienced a host of economic, racial, and cultural problems beginning in the late 1960s that opened the door for commercialization to increasingly influence urban space and memory. Herron argues this occurred because white suburbanites feared Detroit and urban space. As a result, Detroit began losing its culture and identity, which had detrimental effects on the city. To replace this lost culture, commercial culture filled in and substituted for past memories and local identities. Thus, the memory of the city is now manufactured and packaged in a commercial fashion to entertain and welcome back suburbanites who once fled the city. This new commercialization of Detroit, Herron argues, is parasitic to the city's memory and how consumers identify with the city.

In particular, Herron cites Barbara Ehrenreich, who posits that middle-class Americans are losing their sense of culture due to the "fear of falling" (Herron 42). As Ehrenreich explains,

> In the middle class there is another anxiety; a fear of inner weakness, of growing soft, of failing to survive, of losing discipline and will. Even the affluence that is so often the goal of all this striving becomes a threat, for it holds out the possibility of hedonism and self-indulgence. Whether the middle class looks down toward the realm of trees, or up toward the realm of more, there is the fear, always, of falling. (Ehrenreich 15)

Herron argues that this notion of falling has already induced "an endpoint that has now been reached by substantial numbers of prosperous, thirty-something adults. Americans are fearful of not disciplining themselves, of not striving for what they see as attainable" (Herron 42). While this fear has caused authentic memories of downtown area to be replaced, scholars such as Herron and Ehrenreich do not analyze how sports culture, space, and consumption of that space actually fill this cultural gap, as Silk's study suggests. Ehrenreich is concerned chiefly with urban areas in general and those people who use or live in or near them. Thus, this anxiety of falling is related to consumption because hyper-real spaces, such as sports arenas, of consumption threaten

to replace authentic memories. I want to clarify my use of hyper-real spaces. Throughout the dissertation, when I refer to hyper-real spaces, I mean a space which constructs a destination. Specifically, my use of hyper-real refers to a lived space in which a sanctioned mode of consumption pervades the places within that space and all of the surrounding space. Additionally, Herron argues that Detroit's history is a novel built out of narrative time. He examines how the city's history has been told, what has been told, and why the city no longer resembles a fluid narrative. According to Herron, all that is left are novelists' projections onto the city that makes it lost and unrecoverable (51). Thus, the journalistic and literary coverage of Detroit is the space left after the built city can no longer sustain itself. This is similar to sports consumption in Memphis, where the city underwent a similar process of rebirth, and the coverage of urban space was transformed by the construction of sports and entertainment venues.

Lefebvre contrasts a discursive or communicative approach to a literary one. He argues that a scientific or literary approach does not produce a knowledge of space. Instead, it examines discourses or messages about spaces; which do not guarantee a knowledge of space. A knowledge of space is an understanding of the relationships between spaces and the discourses they produce. Lefebvre contends that knowledge is a sensibility that communicates something about spaces, discourses, and messages. Lefebvre argues for the Marxist approach to space; specifically, that knowledge arises from awareness of material effects and that this operates outside of language. So, while spatial production allows a discourse to emerge the articulation of that discourse ends without ever sustaining a knowledge of that space. For Lefebvre, any discourse, message or knowledge created from a space sidesteps the history of that space. If spatial production encompasses all historical contexts and meanings of a given space, then

spaces would be laden with messages that are inconceivable. While helpful to the study of space, I examine space from a rhetorical approach that emphasizes the role that discourse has within particular spaces.

Conversely, a discursive approach to studying spatial rhetoric has several advantages. First, it allows for a close examination of discourse. To analyze urban landmarks in isolation not only jeopardizes the context, but also the relations of space to place and urban identity. Second, rhetorical elements of form, content and purpose are better accounted for when a discursive approach is employed. Urban spaces and their influence on urban identity construction are better understood as a discursive process, rather than through the creation of a literal meaning. For example, the Spirit of Detroit is a distinct place in downtown Detroit; the monument and the space immediately surrounding it have several meanings. Arguably, one meaning of the Spirit represents Detroit as a place of opportunity, immigration, and community. However, the past historical meanings of the Spirit or events located there are not accessible to every person who happens to walk near or around it. Thus, the rhetorical construction of space relies on a deep contextual analysis of places in order to fully understand the meaning of that space and its discourses. Marxist approaches to studying space ultimately fail because of they ignore the context of culture. A discursive approach argues why material inequities are not culturally independent and captures a thorough examination of context. A rhetorical approach to studying Detroit and the articulation of discourses arising from its tourist spaces of consumption allows me to critically interrogate the distinct effects these discourses have on the city's identity.

Additionally, a rhetorical approach to the study of urban spaces allows for a more nuanced examination of the process and discourse of urbanization. Urbanization has had a

tremendous influence on today's urban cities. The rhetoric of urbanization is important because it contains many nuanced patterns and processes that create urban identity. For instance, Wilcox et al. discuss Van den Berg's theory of the process of urbanization (6). First, Van den Berg explains how "exurbanization" occurred during the years in between World War I and World War II. He cites the expansive growth and construction of freeways, highways and railroad systems as the beginning of exploration beyond and the minimization of urban cities (5). Detroit's movement from a hotbed of urbanization to a vacant, gentrified and high-crime city is a well-documented example of this (Beaurgard; Farley et al.; Herron; Kruse and Sugrue). Second, Van den Berg argues that "counterurbanization," which occurred during the post-World War II years, saw an increase in "spatial mobility" (qtd. in Wilcox 5**)**. In other words, those settlements for which exurbanization gave access to were now becoming reliant on the capital gained from urban areas. Additionally, those services offered in urban areas now expanded outward into the creation of suburban areas. While material Marxists have critiqued the city to understand how the city is shaped by neoliberal policies and an obsession with hyperconsumerism, I am not interested in the traditional Marxist approach. These critics are concerned with how changes in material conditions are shaped by how society is organized. Rather, I am interested in a discursive sense of materiality that acts a force on bodies and physical locations to make them significant while articulating meaning that allows subjects to emerge through discursive techniques. Thus, my aim is to understand how these physical locations are transformed into sites that are culturally articulated into meaningful nodal points that anchor discourse about the city, economic development and identity into that location. Additionally, I want to make a distinction between materiality and physicality. When I state materiality I do not mean mere physicality of space. As

Trapani and Young have demonstrated, too frequently in rhetorical studies scholars conflate physicality with materiality. The physicality of places most definitely matter in my analysis. For instance, the way a stadium is arranged and the location of stadiums in proximity to each other are important. However, this matters only in how this physicality becomes discursively mapped in ways that have importance and meaning. This is the material function of rhetoric.

Identity and memory in urban spaces: The problem of spaces of consumption

For years, ruminations about the city and urban space has taken place on an abstract level. This approach is focused around the distinct patterns, methods and procedures urban cities have used in constructing their geography (Gupta; Gupta and Ferguson; Harvey; Lefebvre; Katz; Silk; Styhre and Engberg; Silk). For instance, whereas European cities rebuild and transform older, decaying buildings into memorials, shrines or a modern-day version of what those spaces were, American cities do just the opposite; they often create new and replace old buildings while neglecting their past history. Consequently, these new urban city sites now coalesce around modern consumption activity (Chatterton and Hollands; Gupta & Ferguson; Silk; Styhre and Engberg).

An effect of this drive to produce sites of consumption can be witnessed in how American architects, planners and government officials are in constant competition with each other to build the most attractive, lucrative, and generic spaces for large amounts of people. Thus, history and memory are discarded in favor of a new type of spectacle— what Gaynor Kavanaugh calls the postmodern "dream space" (2). According to Sennett, within these spaces, a certain paradox faces consumers who live, work, or shop in these spaces: these people strive for a sense of pure identity for themselves. Yet, they feel a need to constantly rearticulate and

recreate their identity in order to survive in a constantly changing social environment. Additionally, Sennett argues that another tension created by these urban spaces is that the postmodern urban space requires the repression of feelings, emotions and thoughts of adolescent life. The result is that these communities organize a repressive state structure to make citizens feel afraid of and avoid urban, inner-city structures and spaces. In suppressing these emotions, these citizens may heavily police themselves in order to feel some sense of community within these new spaces (25-26). Thus, the division between the orderly, adult, and new urban spaces and the chaotic, unruly, juvenile, and older city spaces produce a host of tensions that constitute and rearticulate individuals' and communities' identities.

Perhaps sites of consumption function in a similar fashion to make the imagined Detroit come alive and as such, these sites produce two very different discourses of the city: official and vernacular rhetoric. The official discourse is manufactured by the spaces of consumption. Thus, I interrogate Detroit's identity from a discursive approach that emphasizes the rhetorical effect of materiality within Detroit. My analysis of consumptive discourse demonstrates how it shapes the city's identity while accounting for the cultural contexts of these discourses. However, this discourse does not ignore vernacular discourse. Consumptive spaces may allow for a certain lived experience to occur as they provide distinct, clear and preferred messages. Conversely, the spaces of vacancy may allow for a vernacular discourse to occur through the decaying, unclear space that can be reclaimed and changed. These spaces may be are biopolitically governed by the already-established sites of consumption. As Foucault suggests, they may be "watched" even when no one is there to watch or occupy them. Sports may operate as a vehicle of consumption, biopower, or even a reclaimed vernacular discourse. If so, a break in biopower and governing

creates different histories about Detroit: a history organized around a center and one organized around a set of dispersions. Thus, a critical discussion of how sport communication cuts across and intersects with rhetorical notions of space and place, and the larger rhetorical effect this process has on urban identity, is important to understanding the role sports have in shaping today's urban cities.

The understudied side of sport communication research

Sports are a new and burgeoning area of interdisciplinary research for communication and rhetorical scholars. Within the communication discipline, sport rhetoric is a culturally, politically, and social relevant area of research because of the implications that sports have on shaping our contemporary culture. For instance, sports communication affects a host of cultural, economic, political, and social issues that have been studied quantitatively, qualitatively, critically and recently rhetorically (Aden; Billings and Angelini; Buysse and Embser-Herbert; Cole; Eastman and Billings; Grano; Johns & Johns; Kusz; Leonard; Markula; O'Rourke; Silk; Spencer). Additionally, sports rhetoric implicates a number of critical issues concerning the consumption of urban space/place and the constitution of urban identity and sense of community (Aden; Cole; Grano; Johns & Johns; Markula and Pringle; O'Rourke; Silk; Spencer; Wong and Trumper). Scholars have also critically examined the intersection of sport, place and urban communities (Atkinson; Bard; Cole and King; Ingham and McDonald; Wilcox and Andrews; Wilson and White).

More recent sports communication studies have examined community identity issues from a critical-cultural perspective. For example, Aden argued that the symbolic nature of sport

can be witnessed in a community's attachment to teams and how the community influences how sports are perceived. Specifically, Aden's argument is that place, or context, plays a crucial role in the production of a sporting identity for a community. In his study, he chronicles how the state of Nebraska is deeply attuned and connected to the University of Nebraska football program. Ultimately, he argues that place produces a sports identity and strong discursive attachments to teams in that place.

Additionally, Daniel J. O'Rourke contends that the National Football League's (NFL) Cleveland Browns move from Cleveland to Baltimore had a crippling effect on not only Cleveland itself, but also its citizens and the Browns fans. In the case of Cleveland, O'Rourke demonstrates how fans feel a sense of civic ownership and a deep attachment to their team. As a result, in the absence of that team, a powerful sense of loss fills their rhetoric about sports and identity. Wong and Trumper track a similar fidelity in examining how global sports celebrity icons are hailed as heroes in their native countries despite the fact that they no longer play sports there. In doing so, national identity is negotiated through sport. For example, Wayne Gretzky was and continues to be a hockey icon in Canada, even though most of his professional hockey career was spent playing for American teams. Similarly, Ivan Zamorano is a renowned futbol/soccer player for his native country of Chile, although he spent a great deal of his career in Europe. Both athletes began their professional careers in their respective countries but were subsequently traded to teams residing in another country. In short, these high-profile athletes are strongly associated to their country's sense of national identity, which is articulated and reinforced by the discourse of nationalism and public memory.

Discursive studies of sports have examined a number of important racial identity issues as well. For instance, Leonard examines how the Duke Lacrosse team was constructed through a white upper-class discursive formation. In particular, Leonard argues that a certain discourse emerged out of the Duke lacrosse team's allegations that they raped a black stripper. This created a great deal of discourse and tension throughout North Carolina and the nation about how white college lacrosse players are treated differently than black athletes based on their class, gender, and race. Similarly, Kusz explores how discourse since 9-11 positions white players with current social problems in order to create sympathy for and to naturalize these athletes. He argues that the athletes and sports are often viewed by a racially-coded form of whiteness "invested in the 'traditional' values and fundamental ideologies for which America has always stood" (80).

Studying a Detroit sports issue specifically, Daniel Grano examined the "Palace Brawl" between the Detroit Pistons and Indiana Pacers. He argued that a rhetorically negotiated social contract was considered broken when the brawl erupted. From his analysis, Grano calls on scholars to understand the rhetorical implications sports have for regional and gender identities. As he states,

> The symbolic stakes associated with sports ritual participation help to explain fans' deep emotionality, where victories and losses on the field are (at least symbolically) matters of life and death. This is especially evident, for example, when fans feel an intense need to maintain or restore regional pride and reinforce value fantasies about work and masculinity after significant wins and losses by their favorite teams. (450)

In addition to studying how rhetoric positively constructs communities' and nations' identities, other studies examine how sports communication also disrupts and complicates these identities. For example, O'Rourke argues that the Browns move created a "rhetorical rebellion" and how the community of Cleveland reacted to this very abrupt departure (O'Rourke 73). In a

similar fashion, Nancy E. Spencer studies the production of discourse surrounding the Martina Navratilova-Chris Evert rivalry in women's tennis. Examining each athlete's essentialized identity construction, Spencer interrogates how Navratilova, who is a lesbian, was seen as the "butch tennis player" who intruded upon the legacy of Evert, who was framed as an "all-American girl" (28).

While sports communication studies have examined a number of very important issues about individual, community, and national identity construction, they have not approached the construction of urban identity and its relationship to sports. Sports, rhetoric, and space, and the relationship between these three may be important to how urban identity is manufactured and contested. Current scholarship has examined sports communication as it relates to individual players and teams or how sports are packaged and presented by networks and sports reporters. Although urban identity is created by a variety of sources, as sports continue to extend into political, social, racial, and class based relations of our contemporary world, isolating how sports intersect with urban space allows scholars to view sports practices and discourse as a significant factor shaping urban identity. Thus, we next examine how sporting spaces and places are crucial to the development of identity.

Rhetorical notions of sports space/place

As stated earlier, understanding the construction of urban space from a rhetorical approach offers scholars the ability to analyze how sports places produce and manufacture urban identity. However, notions of urban space/place and specifically sports space/place have been understudied by rhetoricians, despite some recent attention from scholars (Dickinson, Blair, and Ott; Law and Smith; Marback; Phillips; Zagacki and Gallgher). For instance, Alexander Styhre

and Tobias Engberg cite Michel deCerteau's distinction between place (lieu) and space (espace). Specifically, deCerteau notes,

> A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which the elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence…A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability. A space exists when one takes into consideration the vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables…In short, *space is a practiced space.* (1984; 117)

I adopt deCerteau's notions of space as a guideline for understanding the deployment of space to engage in certain practices. There is much discussion regarding how space and place are related. However, I am interested in the ways space is constructed to produce consumptive rhetoric. Based on this distinction, Styhre and Engberg argue that consumption occurs as a result of the production of space. Additionally, the authors argue that consumption creates an identity for the consumer who relies on market capitalism in order to live and take part in society. As Styhre and Engberg argue, "Consumption is based on the use of symbols that in turn produce meaning in social formations. Consumption of goods makes sense; goods inscribe qualities into human beings and forge relationships between individuals" (121).

As deCerteau and Styre and Engberg's sociological and critical frameworks demonstrate, sports places may regulate and create meaning and value for urban spaces. For example, urban areas across North America have remodeled themselves using sports to gain recognition, profits and new investments. Additionally, local sports neighborhoods stabilize and advertise their value through sports consumption by offering various attractions, bars, restaurants and arenas to watch a game or match. For example, Todd Boyd states that:

> Because theories of memory since classical times have linked rhetoric and space (Dickinson, 1997), the labels on these great good places become significant

> ingredients in the memories that the places create and the communities that the places draw together. Every time the name is invoked on the building, on road signs, by a broadcaster, by a reporter, or by a fan, it communicates the building's role in the community. (333)

Because urban identities are created from a multitude of spatial productions, we should approach urban identities from a sports-rhetorical perspective. Specifically, rhetoric functions as a means to constitute the spatial boundaries and meaning of urban identity. Approaching the construction of urban identity in this way, a rhetorical perspective offers scholars a way to view urban identity as a process rather than just a product. This discursive process invites rhetoricians to consider the many nuanced ways urban identity is manufactured. Because sports have unique rhetorical effects that have tremendous power and influence on the formation of urban identity, the consumption of sports may be a potent and extremely powerful source of urban identity. Following Styhre and Engberg, I define spaces of sport consumption as hyper-real sites that have symbolic, cultural or economic meaning in which people gather in tight, enclosed places to witness sporting events and spectacles. Additionally, spaces of consumption are created and constituted by their spatial arrangement and organization. As such, these spaces are discursively governed and monitored by what Michel Foucault would call mechanisms of biopower. For instance, Detroit's sport stadiums may be accessed, controlled, guarded, and monitored in complex ways by numerous traditional and non-traditional sources of authority, such as law enforcement, local citizens, and tourists. In addition, each place's attempt to reinforce and sustain certain notions of team, community, and civic pride may further police and regulate these spaces. Finally, places of sport consumption may be transformative sites that are heavily influenced by their constantly shifting and negotiated cultural, economic, and symbolic meaning.

Questions:

Given the limited examination of sports consumption's effects on constituting and regulating urban identities, I propose the following questions to guide my project:

1) What types of discourses do Detroit's places spaces of sport consumption produce? How does this process function?

2) How are Detroit's sports places discursively governed?
3) How have Detroit's abandoned or vacant spaces of sport been overshadowed or haunt their hyper-real or lived sport spaces?
4) How have articulations of Detroit's sport places been remembered? How have these discourses been constructed and embedded within the discourse of the city's history?

5) Do Detroit's sports places constitute heterotopias? If so, what is their progressive potential?

Method

This project draws heavily from Lawrence Grossberg's understanding of discourse as functioning as articulation and Michel Foucault's theories of power, resistance, and space to analyze the functions of Detroit sports places in relation to Detroit's identity. However, in different content chapters, I employ other theorists, who I discuss in more detail in those specific chapters. For now, I review Grossberg and Foucault's theories as they are used across all the chapters.

Cultural studies and the importance of context

Traditional rhetorical studies have often overemphasized the importance of the rhetorical object rather than the context surrounding that object. As a result, context tends to be treated as

background and less important in the shaping of the rhetorical object. However, to properly understand cultural objects, rhetoricians need to attend to context and its role in articulating objects, identities, and other contexts.

To properly assess the impact of context, Grossberg maintains that scholars must examine the broad and specific contexts that articulate and bring forth, resignify, and give significance to an object or subject. In what Grossberg refers to as "radical recontextualization," cultural studies scholars interrogate contexts as "dispersed but structured" fields of practice that articulate cultural texts (70). Rather than examine a text in isolation, the critic examines complex spatial and relational contexts that contribute to the emergence of the text.

With this understanding of context in mind, I can now outline how one conducts a radical interrogation of context. First, one begins by contextualizing a cultural text. Grossberg explains that the only way to realize the materiality of such texts is to understand how each context is embedded and formed in conjunctural moments. Cultural studies never begin their examination from a singular cultural practice, event, or object. Rather, cultural studies explores conjunctures as its object of analysis, "a structured assemblage of practices—a cultural formation, a discursive regime—which already includes both discursive and non-discursive practices" (Grossberg 25). Furthermore, conjunctures are constituted by some type of articulation, or "a condensation of contradictions" that are bound together by particular situations (Grossberg 40). Contexts and conjunctures are embedded within each other. Stuart Hall argues that conjunctures are "the complex historically specific terrain of a crisis which affects—but in uneven ways—a specific national-social formation as a whole" (Hall 127). Grossberg cites Foucauldian notions of apparatuses as articulations or assemblages of discursive and non-discursive practices. They

overlap and often contradict each other. Thus, the social formation is never complete or unified, which opens space for change and potential agency. Additionally, Grossberg distinguishes notions of space as a mechanism opening up a site of multiplicities and how that influences spatial rhetoric. Grossberg does not claim that multiplicities of spaces are similar to the discourses of a particular space. Rather, Grossberg uses the "multiplicities of spaces" to refer to the different articulations which could potentially be created from a conjunctural moment. A multiplicity of spaces constitutes these articulations to create new meanings for that space. This begins the production of discourses.

Articulation is understood as a deconstruction or reconstitution of the fissures, cracks, or pieces that constitute a cultural practice or text. According to Grossberg, articulation is the process by which "what appears to be a harmonious whole without seams or cracks, or a natural unity whose contradictions are inevitable and unavoidable, has been forged from diverse and divergent pieces, or has the very appearance of wholeness and naturalness" (22). It is only through understanding and mapping out different contexts, identifying the conjunctures from those contexts, and interrogating the embedded and disembedded relations of a text that articulation can be realized by the critic. The previous quotation from Grossberg describes how some discourses may not have enough power or consistency to hold up as a distinct articulation. In this case, a disarticulation of identity occurs as a result of a trajectory's inability to define something. When disarticulations occur, they often combine with other articulations to produce rearticulations of something's identity.

Grossberg's study of rock music is an example of conjunctural analysis. I understand sport culture as an object similar to Grossberg's study of rock culture. For instance, sport culture

and rock culture both employ multiple contexts to understand how discourses are articulated. Thus, I examine sport culture through the lens Grossberg studied rock culture. I will study the object of sport as a way to understand how it shapes Detroit's identity. Grossberg illuminates the struggles occurring during this time were articulated through rock music. Similarly, I will demonstrate how Detroit's documented issues are rearticulated through sport. Next, Grossberg contends that rock music was co-opted by conservative and social forces and he steps back from the object to consider how post-war American political, cultural, and economic tensions shaped rock music. Grossberg argues that these post-war tensions were highly contingent on the consumerist practices of the American life. Rock functioned as an example of this new consumer-laden way of life. It promoted and reinforced an ideal for youth who could envision themselves as successful. I approach my study of Detroit's sport culture from an understanding of Detroit's political, social, racial and economic contexts. Embedded within these contexts discourses that have attempted to articulate a trajectory of the city's identity. However, I argue that perhaps the most profound and impactful trajectory of discourse is articulated through sports. Grossberg demonstrates how rock culture was commodified by youth culture, resulting in a shift of contexts. These contexts relied on the economic prowess of rock, the cultural unity it promoted, and the political tensions it created. Rock culture was a million dollar industry, promoting cultural awareness and harmony. Sports is no different, especially within the context of Detroit. The attention sports receives in Detroit not only generates an economic incentive, but it becomes politicized within the larger discourse of the city. The construction of Ford Field, Comerica Park and the new Red Wings arena, I will demonstrate, is evidence for the politicization of sport. Furthermore, Grossberg argues how rock culture seized on the political

tensions surrounding the Korean and Vietnam wars. This counter-discourse to wars and other political tensions created new contexts for which rock culture was to shape the American way of life. In Detroit, sports have provided the city a transformative object from which to radically alter not only its identity, but the spatial configuration of its downtown. Additionally, the focal point of stadiums in Detroit's redevelopment efforts demonstrates how sport anchors these rebuilding efforts and attempts to bring order to the city's chaotic, destructive history.

This type of contextual analysis offers several advantages for my project. First, it allows for a close examination of the changing contexts that produce articulations of a discourse within a given space. Second, cultural formations cannot be interrogated until the organization of the cultural practices within the formation have been contextualized. Articulations do not simply exist; rather, articulations occur as a result of understanding the progression of a cultural formation's context. Thus, a formation's ability to articulate the power relations influencing the practices within that formation is how an articulation occurs. Social formations are broad contexts that move, shape, and change. Thus, each change leads to new possibilities and new contexts. Third, contextual analysis solidifies how space is used and creates discourse about urban identity. The number of articulations, rearticulations, and disarticulations resulting from the contextualization of urban spaces and the subsequent discourses this creates only further aids our understanding of how discourses are produced from this process. In doing so, it helps expose the cultural sensibilities that govern particular social formations. As Grossberg explains, cultural sensibilities define how the formation shapes the fabric of people's experiences and lives within the formation. It determines how those people living within the formation act, behave, and how they consume certain practices that ultimately shape and constitute identity. The sensibility

"makes sense" of the planes and the organization of effects within the formation; it structures and re-structures the practices of life that exist within the cultural formation (Grossberg We Gotta Get 73).

Understanding space-as-text is crucial for my project in order to realize the potent rhetorical constructions and manufactured places that operate in and around Detroit and how sports articulate Detroit's urban identity through practices of consumption. To do this, I first examine specific sports places to understand the basic identities and meanings found within them. Next, I take a step back and examine the surrounding social, political, and economic contexts to understand the broader cultural formation what allows those identities and meanings to become possible and meaningful. Then, moving further back, I explore what made those contexts possible. Finally, I examine how those contexts ultimately shape, create, and manufacture identities of Detroit. Undertaking this process to understand Detroit's identity construction allows me to attend to the various contexts that give force to powerful discourses operating within Detroit.

Foucault and power/resistance

The study of practices of power has a long tradition in rhetorical studies. For some time, rhetoricians have employed Foucault's ideas concerning how power is practiced, relational and practiced through discourse. Rhetoricians have also employed Foucault's understanding of power as something that is not simply contained in something or someone; rather, that power is supplied through the conditions of possibility that have already been cultivated within the discursive formation itself. Yet, as Foucault demonstrates, power is not something possessed by a sovereign, but instead is relational. In his text, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1,* Foucault

traces this aspect of power and how it adheres to certain social locations and relations. As Foucault notes, power,

> …must not be sought in the primary existence of a central point, in a unique source of sovereignty from which secondary and descendant forms would emanate; it is the moving substrate of force relations, which, by virtue of the inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable. The omnipresence of power; not because it has the privilege of consolidating everything under its invincible unity, but because it is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another. Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere (93).

Thus, Foucault explains that power is not contained within a structure, but it occurs because of the complex relations that exist within a society. For Foucault, the object of his studies are the conditions of possibility that give rise to a subject within relations of power. Those relations are created by discursive formations created by institutions and disciplines of knowledge. In this case, power is practiced and adhered to only because institutions, governments, and people create the very possibilities for power relations. As I said above, the conditions of possibility within the discursive formation are cultivated and made sensible before they are ever practiced. The articulations of these entities from social formations produce power relations within a given formation.

Foucault understands power as multiple trajectories of force that all exist within a context of relationships that are organized and governed by discursive formations. He reasons that a process acquires and maintains a form of power that "through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them" (92). These trajectories, or strands of power, uphold the relations within the formation. Foucault further contends that systems of

power relations also create ruptures and "contradictions which isolate them from one another, and…as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies" (93). Thus, in doing so, power creates the very conditions for its undoing by articulating sites of resistance. Given this understanding of power, Foucault argues that resistance does not occur in direct opposition to systems and locations of power or through mass revolution, but instead operate in everyday performances and mobile and transitory points or moments of discourse.

Because Foucault understands power as a discursive and relational force, system, or formation, he contends that power is evasive, elusive, and shapes every aspect of our daily lives. This aids a rhetorical investigation of the social because power and resistance is not found solely in governing bodies, but also within everyday social life and relations—a lived experience. As Foucault explains in *History of Sexuality, Volume 1*,

> And 'Power,' insofar as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing, is simply the over-all effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement…power…it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society. (93)

Operating in this way, power produces desire, discourses, and domains and objects of knowledge.

Foucault explores how visibility and biopower guarantee the functioning of these systems of power. Specifically, Foucault contends that power functions when spaces are arranged and organized in order to maximize regulation certain capitalist practices of a particular space or place. I am interested in the discursive power of consumptive discourses to orient people toward

a certain consumptive ethic within Detroit. Specifically, I argue that sports places are the vehicle through which this consumptive ethic is articulated.

Foucault's notion of biopower is indeed helpful to my analysis. Foucault argues that biopower is a distinct mechanism to manage large populations of people through particular techniques and technologies in order to make capitalism effective, efficient and orderly. Thus, biopower is instrumental in my analysis of how consumptive rhetoric is practiced within Detroit to effectively manage people through not only a variety of locations, but to order people according to a certain technique of capitalistic practices. These techniques are fluently sustained because they effectively engage people in consumerist practices that orients them towards sports. The biopolitical force of these consumptive spaces is successful because it provides a determinate method for how these sites are made intelligible and regulated.

The rhetoric of sports stadiums may resist their former places because of the nuanced ways they attempt to expose the discontinuities of the former places' discourse and power. This rhetoric is resistant if it interrogates and exposes contradictions in systems of discourse and power. Foucault explains that resistance does not occur in opposition to the systems, regimes or locations of power; rather, resistance occurs in the movement of the mobile points of power or through moments of discourse. Foucault's writings on resistance consider how the subjects of power play a significant role in understanding how power and resistance are related. A king can be removed from power, but the subject position still remains and the power that seat holds still exerts a force once a new king replaces an old one. Additionally, resistance does not come from bizarre acts like screaming and protesting nude. Instead, resistance takes the form of acts that cut across and call into question what is possible or intelligible. They are recognizable enough to

make sense, but call into question the norms, regulations, and expectations enough that we question them. According to Foucault, resistant acts fall into one of two categories:

> Instead, there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable; others that are spontaneous, savage, solitary, concerted, rampant, or violent; still others that are quick to compromise, interested, or sacrificial; by definition, they can only exist in the strategic field of power relations….Resistances do not derive from a few heterogeneous principles; but neither are they a lure or a promise that is of necessity betrayed. They are the odd term in relations of power; they are inscribed in the latter as an irreducible opposite (1978, 96).

Foucault reminds us that resistance manifests itself through mobile and transitory points of discourse. These points of discourse enter into the social fabric of life in many different and nuanced ways. They only exist because of their ability to complicate and challenge the standards by which a set of power relations operate. Understanding resistance from a spatial standpoint, spaces of consumption refuse all attempts of resistance through "mobile and transitory points" that Foucault describes. Spaces of consumption are defined as sites of subjectification. Characteristics of these spaces are: bars or restaurants displaying sporting events to their customers; tight, enclosed places where people are gathered together; sites that reinforce and attempt to sustain team, community or civic pride; sites that uphold team and city identity and belonging; locations that capitalize on or appropriate urban space and urban plight to promote sporting spectacles; and a site that undergoes a transformation to broadcast sport for large masses of people.

Texts for the Study

Using these theories of discourse, power, and resistance, this study will examine a number of sports stadiums in and around Detroit. Within these places, I examine the discourses within and around the stadiums. First, I will contextualize each place. Next, I will closely

analyze the places and spaces the stadiums occupy and the commercialization in and around the stadiums. Additionally, I will examine a number of selected secondary texts about the discourses of sports stadiums to demonstrate how they are framed. These secondary texts will be various magazines, blogs, websites, and news articles from Detroit and other nationally-known publications that all discuss Detroit's sport stadiums, the value sports have for Detroit, and how the sporting places are used by the city. As for the primary texts of this study, each sports stadium communicates its role and affects Detroit's identity differently. In my project, I will examine the following urban places of Detroit—Tiger Stadium, Joe Louis Arena, The Olympia, The Palace of Auburn Hills, The Pontiac Silverdome, Comerica Park, Ford Field and the new Red Wings stadium. Tiger Stadium and Olympia Stadium are the oldest of these markers of city identity while Comerica Park, Ford Field and the new Red Wings arena are selected as examples of modern sites that have been marketed as a new marker for Detroit's identity. The Silverdome and The Palace demonstrate the Lions and Pistons' plan to build stadiums in the Detroit suburbs. The meanings of these stadiums are compared to the construction of the new stadiums downtown and the articulation of a suburban identity within Detroit. Joe Louis Arena is selected because of its similarity to the Silverdome except that it is located in downtown Detroit. I will examine these sites by analyzing distinct elements within these spaces and places while also analyzing the official and vernacular discourse about these sites. I will do this by examining texts from the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit News*, *Crain's Detroit Business Weekly* and other local publications focusing attention onto sport, commemoration and the previously mentioned public spaces. Additionally, I will analyze selected blogs, websites and chat rooms in which Detroit's sport stadiums, references to public memory, and consumptive practices, are discussed. Within

these texts, I will be reading for discourse about Detroit and its spaces' and places' identities amid arguments about reclamation, revitalization, and consumption of the sites outlined

Chapter Previews

This study is divided into three content chapters. In chapter two, I examine Comerica Park and Ford Field to understand how spaces of sport consumption rhetorically operate to produce certain trajectories of discourse. Drawing upon Grossberg's theory of articulation and context, as well as Silk's work on spaces of consumption, I map out sport consumptive rhetoric and the process by which this type of rhetoric asserts itself within these sport places. Furthermore, I explain the cultural formation of Detroit as it relates to sports. Next, I examine the areas these stadiums occupy as well as various news articles, blogs and other relevant websites to understand how these discourses become articulated.

In chapter three, I examine Comerica Park, Ford Field, Olympia Stadium, Joe Louis Arena, Tiger Stadium, and The Palace of Auburn Hills to understand how these places police and control Detroit's identity. Drawing from Foucault's work on power, resistance and governance, I analyze how these places are surveyed and governed and how they are the former spaces haunt and linger within the consumptive spaces. Again, various news articles, blogs and relevant websites will be analyzed.

In chapter four, I examine the Tiger Stadium Conservancy Group's effort to save Tiger Stadium and how the result produced a certain type of public memory of Detroit. In this chapter, I analyze various Detroit print and online publications, as well as relevant websites, to understand how different types of public memory and re-membering are constructed. Following Kendall Phillips and Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson, and Brian Ott's work on public memory, I

examine how different types of public memory have been produced from the debate surrounding the preservation of Tiger Stadium.

Finally, I discuss my conclusions and implications in chapter 5. Specifically, I argue that Detroit's sport places and the subsequent cultural memory produced from these spaces create different trajectories of discourse ranging from economic, public memory or re-membering, to polarization discourses that still plague the city. This chapter looks at each of these discourses and contextualizes how the implications of this process influence Detroit.

Chapter 2 Discourses of Consumptive Spaces: The Cases of Comerica Park and Ford Field Location and Attention Stadiums

Thus, contextualizing the material and discursive role sports places play within the development of Detroit's development strategy aids us in understanding the role sports has in influencing urban tourism and shaping the city's larger identity. For instance, these spaces produce a staggering amount of revenue. The Tigers team value was calculated in March 2014. At that date, the team's revenue from the previous year was 262 million dollars. Broken down per fan, the Tigers received $47 dollars per fan while receiving 96 million dollars from gate receipts (Forbes). The Lions team value was calculated in August 2014. Their revenue at that date for the previous year was 254 million dollars overall and $20 per fan while totaling 49 million dollars from gate receipts (Forbes). These numbers demonstrate the popularity of professional sports within Detroit. Additionally, these spaces have been instrumental in redeveloping Detroit's downtown serving as focal points for these efforts. Both stadiums opened in the early 2000s and were not surrounded with nearly as many retail stores as they are today. Because of their material and discursive centrality in the city, these spaces play a crucial role in the production of Detroit's identity; they provide not only economic but rhetorical incentives for people to visit Detroit and see these spaces as illuminating the future of Detroit's development trajectory.

Detroit's spaces of sports consumption receive attention from politicians, fans, business leaders, community leaders, investors and venture capitalists. These places serve as major markers of the city's identity. On game days, the crowds of people gathered at these spaces jam

the sidewalks and streets surrounding the stadiums while cramming into bars and restaurants to cheer on their teams. These are typical sights on any given game day.

The location of these places is important to how these spaces are received by fans. For example, Comerica Park and Ford Field are located directly across from each other on Brush Street and Montcalm Avenue. In the next few years, a new Red Wings arena will open just a short distance away. As a result, a number of important sports attractions are located closely together. Aside from the attractions located inside both stadiums, the outlying areas around the stadiums are developed with bars and restaurants to keep the crowds close to the stadiums and other commercial developments. As a result, consumption densely enfolds the Midtown area around the stadiums.

In addition to their physical location, the rhetorical structure of these spaces is also important to how these spaces are received by fans. In other words, the stadium's discourse produces a certain sentiment regarding sports and the larger community. For instance, fans are promised an exciting experience in downtown Detroit as long as they consume the products and services offered in and around the stadiums' spaces. Furthermore, the places advertise themselves as offering fans the chance to be a part of something significant so they can share the experience with friends and others within these spaces. Notably, Mayor Mike Duggan announced plans for small business development around Detroit's neglected neighborhoods (Gallagher "Small Businesses"). Additionally, Michigan manufacturer Carhartt plans on opening its first store in Detroit's midtown, located only blocks north of Ford Field and Comerica Park (Walsh "Carhartt"). During 2015, Detroit will see many construction projects beginning, all with a focus on rebuilding the downtown and surrounding areas into a more retail-oriented, consumer-friendly

district. These projects include the groundbreaking for the new Red Wings arena and midtown retail district, the New International Trade Crossing Bridge from Detroit to Windsor, the new headquarters for Little Caesar's Pizza located next to the Fox Theatre, along with the continued construction of the Woodward Light Rail that will run from Campus Martias Park directly north to the New Center Area. The light-rail project is designed to connect the downtown district and stadiums to the other business New Center business district located north of midtown (Gallagher and Reindl). Chief executive officer of the Downtown Detroit Partnership Eric Larson explained the importance of these projects to the city; "It is more critical mass of activity and development than the city has seen in a very long time. In a lot [of] ways, quite frankly, we're building the equivalent of a small city within the downtown. So it is very significant" (Gallgher and Reindl). These projects demonstrate the continued efforts made by Detroit in its redevelopment efforts.

Ford Field and Comerica Park work in tandem to create sports consumptive rhetorics. I define sports consumptive rhetoric as a trajectory of discourse emanating from the materiality of spaces which articulates identity in ways that are made intelligible and accessible for the public. Central to my argument about sport consumptive rhetoric is the rhetorical practice of articulating redevelopment discourse to sports. Demonstrating the political nature of sports is not sufficient enough to warrant a close examination of discourse. However, to successfully interrogate how the rhetoric of sports works to produce identity, I examine how sports are the anchor that draws in redevelopment discourse and suburban tourism resulting in the displacement of Detroit residents. Without understanding how sports operates as a technique to create the "New" Detroit, the attention to the downtown area would be difficult to accomplish. This consumptive rhetoric functions in material and discursive dimensions to produce a positive image for Detroit. I am

interested in how the discourses of physical places become discursively mapped by sports locations in ways that give their spaces meaning and importance. However, this image is a selective, essentialized, and frozen notion of what life is like in Detroit. In short, sports are an over-determined anchor point for a modern and polished identity for Detroit. In this chapter, I track two lines of consumptive discourse, a rhetoric of emphasis/de-emphasis and a rhetoric of access, to examine how they affect Detroit's identity and development strategies. While these discourses provide some limited advantages to the city, they ultimately over-emphasize an identity that is limited to a select few but not most Detroit consumers.

In this chapter, I first describe the stadiums I will analyze. Following Grossberg's theory on articulation and context, I then begin by mapping out the function and effects of sport consumptive rhetoric. Afterward, I contextualize the cultural formation or assemblage of Detroit in order to understand the how sports rhetorically operate as an anchor for the city's identity. I argue that central to these neoliberal reconstruction and revitalization plans for a new Detroit are a number of developments that feature sports arenas as their anchor point. I examine sports because they anchor redevelopment discourse and the idea of suburban tourism (and its resulting displacement of Detroit residents) to the downtown area. Without sports as a discourse of inquiry, this kind of attention to the downtown area would be more difficult to accomplish. Thus, a "New" Detroit is being built around sports. I argue that sports is the cultural nodal point within this mapping discourse. Next, I explore the cultural practices existing within this cultural formation to understand how Detroit's sport consumption spaces emphasize and de-emphasize elements of the city's identity. I then discuss how Detroit is attempting to rebuild itself through a neoliberal lens and the role sports plays in this redevelopment. I then examine how these spaces

produce a rhetoric of access that limits who can consume in these areas. Finally, I follow Silk's work on spaces of consumption in conjunction with Grossberg's notions of articulation to evaluate the effects of Comerica Park and Ford Field's sport consumptive rhetoric. I will describe and explain each stadium.

Stadiums

Tiger Stadium

Tiger Stadium was a historic landmark for not only Detroiters, but baseball fans around the world. After the Detroit Tigers played their last game there in 1999, the stadium stood for another seven years. During that time there were many efforts to save some part of the stadium. Some groups lobbied to transform the space into a retail shopping district while others wanted to keep part of the stadium intact to memorialize and cherish what the stadium meant to so many people. In particular, most attention was garnered by the Tiger Stadium Conservancy Group, led by the legendary former play-by-play announcer of the Tigers, Ernie Harwell. The Conservancy Group wanted to keep the part of the stadium that stood behind home plate in order to move the Michigan Sports Hall of Fame there and use the field as for youth leagues. After receiving their third legal injunction against the demolition of the stadium, the group could not raise enough money to keep the park, and the entire structure was demolished. Like many parts of Detroit, the place that the stadium once occupied is a large empty space.

Tiger Stadium was initially called Bennett Park, which opened in 1895 under the direction of then owner George Vanderbeck. James Burns purchased the team from Vanderbeck in 1900, and the first official game at Bennett Field was played in 1907. As more people came to

watch the Tigers play, eventually new owner Frank Navin had the stadium expanded to accommodate more fans, and he officially changed the name of the field to Navin Field. Navin Field opened its doors the same day as Boston's historic Fenway Park, on April 12th 1912. However, news of both stadiums was overshadowed by the sinking of The Titanic (Tigers Ballparks). Additionally, the Tigers had lost 3 consecutive World Series—two to Chicago and one to Pittsburgh, so Navin thought a change was much needed. Walter Briggs bought the team as Navin passed away and on opening day 1936, 36,000 spectators jammed the stadium to see the first game of the newly renovated Briggs Stadium. The park saw many more renovations throughout the years and eventually the NFL's Detroit Lions began playing their home games at Briggs Stadium. Then, in 1961, John Fetzer became owner and officially named the park Tiger Stadium. Tiger Stadium would host baseball and football games for the next 32 years.

The Olympia

The Detroit Olympia was home to the Red Wings from 1927 until 1979. Originally called The Cougars, the team played was bought by James E. Norris and renamed the Red Wings in 1932. Located at 5930 Grand River Avenue and nicknamed The Red Old Barn, The Olympia was an iconic building located about five miles northwest of downtown Detroit. From 1957 to 1961 it also served as the home for the Detroit Pistons. The arena also hosted marquee events including fights featuring Sugar Ray Robinson, professional wrestling, an address by President Herbert Hoover as well hosting the Harlem Globetrotters. In 1964 and 1966 the arena also played host to The Beatles. After the Lions moved to the Pontiac Silverdome in 1975, the Red Wings considered following them to the suburbs. A new arena deal was negotiated to move the Red Wings to Joe Louis Arena. After the Red Wings moved to The Joe after the 1979 season, The

Olympia remained vacant until its demolition in 1987. Today, the Michigan National Guard's Olympia Armory occupies the place of the stadium at Grand River and McGraw. Inside the Armory is a historical marker commemorating The Old Red Barn.

Joe Louis Arena

While Tiger Stadium and Comerica Park are predominately known for playing host to the Detroit Tigers, Joe Louis Arena is home to the Detroit Red Wings. Located downtown along the Detroit River, but removed from Comerica and Ford Field, the stadium is isolated from bars and other entertainment and night-life that Detroit offers. Known by locals as simply "The Joe," the arena was named after Detroit-native boxer Joe Louis, who took the world by storm as the world's heavyweight boxing champion from the late 1930s until the late 1940s. In 1979, Joe Louis Arena played host to its first sporting event, a college basketball game between the University of Detroit and the University of Michigan (Detroit Red Wings). The first Red Wings hockey game was played about two weeks later. "The Joe" is only one of three remaining stadiums in hockey that is not sponsored by a corporation and thus corporately-named. The other two are the New York Rangers home, Madison Square Garden, and the New York Islanders Nassau Veterans Memorial Coliseum.

"The Joe" has been criticized for years because of its rugged structure, its stale and warehouse-feel concourse, and the lack of seating space. CBS Detroit reported on August 10th, 2010 that "The Joe" was in desperate need of a renovation or a new stadium needed to be built for the Red Wings. The February 23rd, 2010 issue of *Crain's Detroit Business* reported that Tom Wilson, the former President and CEO of The Detroit Pistons and The Palace Sports and Entertainment, quit and took a very similar position with the Ilitch Holdings, INC (Shea). His

main goal was to ultimately get the new Red Wings stadium approved. He was successful, as the stadium is set to open for the 2017 season. Ilitch Holdings is not only building the new stadium for the Red Wings, but in addition it will spearhead the construction of a shopping district, apartments, lofts, and office space. This new development site is located directly north of Comerica Park and will spawn upwards of 40 blocks north to midtown.

The Joe is a very rustic building, both inside and outside. It is located the farthest west of any Detroit stadium. Walking through the concourse of The Joe, one is drawn to many of the statues and monuments dedicated to past and current Red Wing players, teams and coaches. The stadium has curtains draping down the entrance to each section of seats, as they serve the role of making sure fans do not walk through the aisles and lanes of seats during game action. Once seated, one sees how close they are to the hockey rink and the live action. The Joe is a very intimate stadium, as the seats are very small and there is not much room for fans to move. The rafters of The Joe are adorned with retired player jersey numbers, division, conference and championship banners. It does not take much time for a first-time visitor to The Joe to realize the success and the rich tradition of the Red Wings organization.

The Pontiac Silverdome

Located in suburban Pontiac, about 40 miles north of Detroit, The Silverdome is known mostly for being the former home of the National Football League's (NFL) Detroit Lions. Opening in 1975, the Lions played there until 2001, when owner William Clay Ford moved the team to downtown Detroit's just built Ford Field. The Silverdome was recently renamed, from The Pontiac Silverdome to The Silverdome. It hosted World Cup matches in 1994, becoming the

first indoor stadium to host World Cup matches on natural grass. It has a seating capacity of around 85,000, which was the largest in the NFL until the Washington Redskins opened FedEx Field in the early 2000s.

Upon entering the Silverdome, it is difficult to fend off the high-blowing hinds that whistle through the revolving doors. This is especially difficult to manage when leaving the stadium. Inside the Silverdome, the concourse is very close to the playing field. The large size of the Silverdome is difficult to not notice. When the Lions played their home games there, the crowd noise was unbelievably loud. During the 1999 regular season, the Lions were almost penalized because the fans were so loud it was affecting the on-field officiating. However, devoid of any championship banners because of the constant state of mediocrity and futility of the Lions franchise, there are no banner accomplishments except for a few division titles, located at the very top of the seating chart, and are extremely difficult to see. The Silverdome was one of the first stadiums to have a restaurant located inside it, the Main Event Restaurant, where VIPs can sit, eat and have a great view of the game. Once seated, one can see the logos of all NFL teams located on the southwest side of the stadium, and the logo of Super Bowl XVI, which the Silverdome hosted in January 1982.

Before the Silverdome was built, the Lions played their home games at Tiger Stadium. It has been argued locally in the Detroit-area for years that the Silverdome was a failed stadium from the beginning. Owned by the city of Pontiac, the city had strict regulations on the dome while the Lions played there. After heated discussion about lengthening the team's lease of it in the mid to late 1990s, Ford built his new domed stadium downtown and took the Lions there in 2001. The Pistons called the Silverdome home until The Palace opened in 1988. Currently, the

Silverdome plays host to corporate events, motorcycle/off-road events, bridal shows, trade shows and other events. It also has a drive-in movie theater located on its southwest side.

Ford Field

Located at 2000 Brush Street in downtown Detroit, Ford Field opened in 2002 after the Detroit Lions relocated from the Pontiac Silverdome, located in roughly thirty miles north of Detroit. Ford Field seats roughly 65,000 for football games and is incorporates much natural light as it relies on the exterior windows to penetrate light onto the playing field. The concourse of the stadium is sleek and extremely pedestrian-friendly. The second level of the stadium includes a large, open-seated restaurant and bar area from which patrons can watch the game. Originally intended to be an outdoor stadium, the stadium is a dome and hosts numerous events aside from Lions home games. Ford Field hosted the largest crowd ever for a basketball game between Michigan State and Kentucky in 2003, was host of Super Bowl XL in 2005, Wrestlemania in 2007, and the NCAA Men's Final Four in 2009. The 2010 Men's NCAA Hockey Frozen Four was also held at Ford Field. Additionally, the stadium hosts many music concerts, including artists such as The Rolling Stones, Madonna and Kenny Chesney. The arena is located in the central district of downtown Detroit near numerous bars, restaurants and other attractions.

Comerica Park

In 2000, the Tigers move from Tiger Stadium to the commercialized and modern ballpark, Comerica Park. Costly nearly $300 million to construct, Comerica Park opened its doors to the Tigers and their fans in April 2000. Owner Mike Ilitch financed some of the costs

himself but much of the cost was covered with taxpayer dollars. The Detroit Tigers website calls the location of Comerica Park an "urban village." According to the Tigers official website:

> Comerica Park itself is built around the configuration of the playing field. All planning efforts established fan sight lines as the highest priority. The surrounding "outbuildings", however, conform to the property boundaries of Montcalm, Witherell, Adams, and Brush Streets. As one enters these boundaries, Comerica Park appears rooted at the center of an urban village, a village that includes shops, restaurants, offices, and other attraction (Detroit Tigers Official Site).

The park contains a number of interesting features for a baseball park. For instance, the park has a Ferris Wheel for kids to ride and a Merry-go-Round located in the food court. There are many historical landmarks throughout the park's concourse to pay homage to the Tiger's rich history as an organization. These historical landmarks chronicle the history of the Tigers and their numerous World Series Championships and other team and player success stories. In addition, right field is called Kaline's Corner, paying tribute to where Tiger great Al Kaline hit many homeruns and the position he played. The ballpark also has a commemorative statue of Tiger broadcaster Ernie Harwell. This statue is located at the main gates off Woodward Avenue. As one passes through the main level of the ballpark's concourse, they will find all of these historical posts. Located in left-centerfield are the statues of Tiger greats. Also, many numbers are retired on the outfield walls with the players name and their number under their name.

Additionally, the areas outside the stadium are always filled with crowds of people during home games throughout the summer. Fans can visit Cheli's Chili Bar, Hockeytown, USA and some nights the State Theater holds concurrent events before and after the Tigers game. The ballpark is also located in close proximity to many other bars, which are usually fairly empty depending on how far one wishes to walk away from the stadium. The Detroit Opera House is located across Montcalm Street and is visible from inside the park. The centerfield wall is

adorned with a General Motors sign and lights and water that are signaled to go off on a Tigers home run.

The Palace of Auburn Hills

The Palace opened up its doors to the Detroit Pistons during for the 1989-1990 season. That season the Pistons won the second of their back-to-back championships. The Palace is located at the intersection of M-24 Lapeer Road and Interstate 75. It also hosts concerts, bridal and trade expos, and other events. The road it is located off of is 4 Championship Drive, a number that changes each a Detroit basketball team wins another championship; the Pistons have won 3 National Basketball Association (NBA) Championships, and the Women's National Basketball Association's (WNBA) Detroit Shock have won one. The Shock relocated to Tulsa, Oklahoma a few years back. Upon entering the stadium from its main entrance, one notices the renovation completed a few years back. The sleek-looking glass windows are an eye-catch before entering. The Palace Locker Room store is the stadium's only store for Pistons gear. On most game nights, a music performer is usually playing inside the main entrance. There is a video display of past and present players located on the back wall where the staff scans your ticket to enter. Walking up the stairs to the concourse, one is struck by the many Pistons booths wear gear and merchandise is sold. The concourse has been remodeled to resemble a more modern-day stadium. Upon arrival to your seats, you realize how close you are to the floor and the action of the game. Many banners are hanging from the rafters of The Palace's ceiling. Banners from retired players, to division, conference and league championships adorn The Palace's ceiling. The stadium prides itself on being very clean and the upkeep meets the highest standards of other NBA stadiums. As one casually walks around the concourse, you are stopped

by time capsules build into the walls of the concourse. The Pistons "Bad Boy" days of the late 1980s and 1990s are impossible to miss. Tributes to former players, teams and coaches and written descriptions of each of them are among the highlights of this walk. Many food vendors have stands set up throughout the concourse. Perhaps one of the biggest attractions is the dazzling fireworks display that occurs for the starting lineup of each game. John Mason has become one of the more notable public address announcers in all of sports. The lights are shut off and a collage of current Pistons players are visible on PalaceVision.

An important aspect of the current state of the Detroit Pistons and Red Wings is one of ownership. The Ilitch Holdings group owns the Tigers, Red Wings and Little Caesar's Pizza. The Palace of Auburn Hills opened just during the 1988-1989 NBA season, and the Pistons won the first of their three championships. Palace Sports and Entertainment was established by former owner of the Pistons William Davidson. He financed the construction of The Palace, as it is referred to by locals. The Palace Sports and Entertainment (PSE) group was incorporated by Davidson. His death in 2009 left the team and establishment to his wife, Karen Davidson, who had no interest in being the long-run owner of the Pistons or PSE. She eventually sold the Pistons, and PSE's other venues—Meadowbrook Music Festival in Rochester, MI and DTE (Detroit Edison) Music Festival and The Palace—to native born Tom Gores, owner of the billion-dollar company Platinum Equity, located in California. However, the final two candidates for PSE was Gores and Mike Ilitch. Local residents, fans, corporations, businesses and politicians alike were fearful that if Ilitch bought the Pistons, he would move the team downtown and build a joint arena for the Red Wings and Pistons. This would leave the debt-free and state-of-the art Palace to waste in Auburn Hills, a suburb about 40 miles north of Detroit. Concern was

that Ilitch would have a monopoly in Detroit sports and entertainment, thus decreasing competiveness between groups and organizations. But Ilitch ended up backing out, and Gores moved in as the front-man and ended up buying the Pistons and PSE.

The Palace was considered the first state-of-the-art arena in the NBA and arguable all professional sports in the United States, when it first opened in 1988. Renovations after 2000 The Palace created even more buzz about the stadium and kept it up-to-date with the explosion of new arenas, stadiums, and ballparks in the U.S. after the turn of the century. Home to music concerts, trade shows and other events, The Palace is one of the oldest arenas in the NBA but has the look both inside and out of one of the newest and probably the most well-kept in all of professional sports.

Mapping Out Sports Consumptive Rhetoric

Interrogating what factors influence urban identity begins with a careful examination of context because it allows critics to examine the scope of a cultural formation. According to Lawrence Grossberg, context is the "dispersed but structured" field of practices from which an articulation originates (We Gotta Get Out 70). Grossberg tells us that a cultural formation gives shape to and molds certain discursive practices by articulating, or fusing together, two seemingly unrelated objects. For Grossberg, the two unrelated objects were politics and rock culture. For example, Grossberg analyzed rock music culture and the numerous discursive articulations that transformed rock culture from a progressive and anti-establishment political force into a conservative one. Thus, articulation is the rhetorical practice of attempting to join objects together.

Grossberg argues that music and politics are articulated together for a number of reasons. First, rock culture has the ability to reach a broad, young and motivated audience who feels disenfranchised by politics. Second, because of this broad and young audience, political parties and other groups frequently attack rock music's anti-establishment themes while simultaneously deploying musicians and rock music as a campaign tool. For instance, the Parent's Music Resource Center was formed in 1985 to increase the parental control regarding children's access to violent music. Among the four women who spearheaded the group was Tipper Gore, Al Gore's wife. The group advocated for a rating system to be used in rating violent music deemed inappropriate for children. Conversely, during the 2004 presidential campaign, Bruce Springsteen went on a "Vote for Change" tour that attempted to persuade people to vote for Democratic nominee John Kerry. This tour also focused on President George W. Bush's mistakes to reinforce the message of Kerry's ability as a president. Similarly, Bill Clinton used Fleetwood Mac's "Don't Stop Thinking About Tomorrow" and as Ronald Reagan played Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A." in 1984 as campaign songs, despite the context and original meanings of those two songs. Thus, both candidates adapted these songs to influence their campaigns which radically transformed their message. Subsequently, rock music has become heavily fused together with American politics in attempts to appeal to younger voters.

In a somewhat similar fashion, sports and politics have been articulated as politically significant. For instance, Michael Butterworth examined the rhetoric following the attacks of September 11th, when Major League Baseball was heralded as the recovery of the American spirit. He also studied the rhetorical attempts been made by Major League Baseball to absolve the sport of any steroid-related issue. Moreover, Samantha King analyzed how the National

Football League has featured programs and events concerning Breast Cancer Awareness, veterans' affairs, and a number of other non-partisan political causes. Additionally, Congress has regularly held hearings about the practices and management of MLB and has threatened legislation to regulate a number of sports. These hearings range from the investigation into steroid and drug use to how MLB is conducting its business. Because of the popularity of sports in today's society, these issues are culturally significant because they position controversial issues within sport as areas of social concern.

Understanding the role sports has on political and social life, we can now turn our attention to how articulations operate. While any two concepts can be combined together, an articulation does not have force or effect unless it is maintained over both space and time. Specifically, Grossberg states that a formation cannot sustain itself; rather it can only endure in terms of its "conditions of possibility and its own effectivities" (We Gotta Get Out 70). He further notes that a cultural formation exists because of its ability to disperse and organize "cultural practices, effects, and social groups" (We Gotta Get Out 71). The ability of a cultural formation to engage people in cultural practices and organize social groups is of significance to my analysis. The formation provides a prompt from which people engage in cultural practices.

However, analyzing a cultural formation does not end just by noting its mere existence. Instead, the critic must also note the terrain of the formation. This is significant so critics understand how context gives shape and form to the formation. Additionally, the trajectory of the cultural formation is ignited by past practices. Along the contours of the cultural formation are various sites that provide it with a sense of identity. Within these sites, cultural practices occur that reinforce and uphold the formation. For Grossberg, cultural practices are the specific habits

or customs that are distributed, connected, and made intelligible within the larger formation. As a result, each site along the formation has particular cultural practices that define it.

However, these practices are not available or accessible to every social group at each site. According to Grossberg, "at different sites, for different fractions, the distribution and configuration of the formation itself will determine different relations to and experiences of the formation itself" (We Gotta Get Out 71). He further illustrates how alliances are constructed from the articulations of the formation. These "secondary articulations," as Grossberg calls them, are alliances created through a re-articulation that includes different cultural practices. Because not every group or person has the same experiences within the cultural formation itself, the alliances are articulated in relation to the broader cultural formation. For example, urban redevelopment projects use sports to organize space according to twenty-first century capitalist demands. Adhering to these blueprints of urban renewal, local growth coalitions attempt to arrange urban spaces around a modern place, such as a sports stadium. Organizing space in this way, city builders and planners hope that a central district becomes more desirable if malls, shops, lofts, houses, trendy bars and restaurants are built as spatial boundaries capturing the essence of urban life. These concepts are related because they demonstrate how sports function as the anchor that articulates redevelopment discourse and suburban tourism. Sports steer these discourses of redevelopment and open up a rhetorical space for transformation. This is how redevelopment projects shape the city's identity—they are anchored in sports. Unfortunately, as previous research demonstrates, the perceived economic benefits produced by urban development focused around new sports stadiums is negligible and does not benefit the majority

of people in a city (Alexander, Coates; Kern and Neill; Eckstein and Delaney; Koehler; Property Counselors).

These sites function as a secondary articulation within a broader formation of urban consumption. Acting as sites of consumption, these places produce a number of effects. First, sports work in tandem with a number of related sites to produce identity. Sports stadiums operate alongside redevelopment discourse to articulate identity. Thus, while ports alone do not shape urban identity, as they become articulated with all the other projects occurring within Detroit, they gain force. In order for articulation to occur, the city's spaces of consumption operate in similar contexts to sports along the formation of Detroit's identity. As a result, Comerica Park and Ford Field operate in tandem to articulate numerous discourses that link sports to Detroit's urban identity. For instance, The Bleacher Report describes Comerica as a "composite for Midwestern values" and home of friendly yet spirited people:

> In what might come as a surprise to outsiders, Detroit fans leave their tough guy image at the gate. Visitors, once nestled into their seats, should expect to engage in meaningful sporting conversation and debate. Detroit is home to some of the most knowledgeable and hospitable fans in baseball and Comerica Park is a composite for Midwestern values. Though across the board all do not fit this wholesome description, the majority of Tigers fans are more than willing to dish about baseball's current events or to tip where to visit the city. (17)

Not only does this description of Comerica represent a particular image of Detroit, it also shapes our expectations of how to behave and consume within these spaces. While operating as a

secondary articulation, consumptive rhetoric can be powerful discourse as it shapes and conditions the experiences, traditions, and routines of fans and local residents as they occupy and use these stadiums. Furthermore, consumptive rhetoric may be rather influential as it extends to a wide audience that exists far beyond the spaces in close proximity to the stadiums.

Within this understanding of how sports discourses operate, we next turn to examining Detroit as a cultural formation. To understand a cultural formation, Grossberg contends that the first step to contextual analysis is to map out and contextualize discourse. The cultural formation of Detroit's identity is discursively governed; articulations of this identity are not just random, but they exist because they rely on each other and are articulated out of other contexts. For this study, the revitalization or rescuing of urban space constitutes the larger cultural formation, sports serve as a site of articulation, and sport consumption is a cultural practice articulated from that site. In my use of the terms, the city's revitalization and rebuilding efforts refer to how Detroit attempts to give new rigor or vitality to the city, while also basing this message on its methods to fulfill this promise. These efforts act as cultural practices contributing to the formation of Detroit's urban identity and are evident with the construction of new developments, the demolition of old, vacant buildings, and the efforts to reassemble or repair troubled neighborhoods.

Grossberg's method of contextualizing rock culture and politics to demonstrate the articulations produced from these objects informs my analysis of redevelopment discourse and sports. First, his cultural mapping of these discourses is similar to how I explore the trajectories of redevelopment and sport discourses within the context of Detroit. Understanding how context shapes and alters the terrain of discourses while engaging in the rhetorical practice of articulating

two objects together establishes how redevelopment discourse is made sensible through a reliance on sports. The trajectory of sports consumptive rhetoric is articulated through the domain of urban redevelopment. In Detroit, this rhetoric is articulated on a few levels. Comerica Park and Ford Field operate as pivots along which the discourse exists. They serve as anchors. Redevelopment discourse is given meaning when attached to and in relation to the stadiums. As redevelopment occurs within a certain proximity to the stadiums, the physical location of the stadium elicits more influence. As redevelopment discourse gains force, surrounding spaces benefit from an increase in discursive potential. Capitalism pervades these spaces, allowing people, most notably the suburban tourist, to engage in practices of consumption. As these discourses continue to become articulated they transform other spaces within the downtown district. As a result, the trajectories of these discourses compete for inclusion within meanings of the "New" Detroit. Many of the discourses are aided by the consumption practices of the suburban tourist, which for some people erodes the authenticity of the "New" Detroit.

Beyond molding the experience of fans, this rhetoric articulates the identity of a certain type of Detroit sports fan and Detroit resident. Certainly, depending on what team one cheers for or what stadium one attends, a certain type of fan and identity emerges. For instance, in Oakland, Raider fans who sit in sections 104, 105, 106, and 107—the notorious "Black Hole"—are known to be wild, exotic, and intimidating and are expected to wear elaborate punk-warrior costumes. Thus, to be a fan, one must engage in routines; in most cases, this involves a certain cultural practice. For example, if I attend a game at Comerica Park, I engage in certain routines that constitute my ability to be a fan. These routines range from purchasing a ticket, sitting in my seat, wearing team colors or shirts, and experiencing the game as a result of these routines.

Additionally, Tigers fans buy and wear team clothes, read up on the team, and engage in certain cheers. However, if I watch a game on television, I am still subjected to certain routines and practices of being a fan, but they are mediated fan experiences and do not require all of the ritualized routines found in the sports place. However, within all of these practices of fan identity a person still has a certain degree of agency—he or she choose to participate in these rituals. There are moments when the pressure to participate may be intense, so the degree of agency afforded to a person varies.

In Detroit, the experiences of fans in these sports locations play on a fundamental tension in Detroit's identity—it is a tough, gritty urban identity that wants to become a smooth, technically-advanced city (Gannes). However, the promotion of the new and modern identity de-emphasizes a lot about the city that centrally constitutes the city's identity and its various problems. These downplayed issues include racial tensions, poor economic conditions, the city/suburban divide, unemployment, and homelessness. In other words, the modern sports places encourage fans to embrace an identity of Detroit—contemporary and advanced—that is perhaps an exaggerated and highly selective identity.

Furthermore, what these new sports places focus attention on is not only a selective sense of Detroit, but hyper-commercialization. The issue of sports consumptive rhetoric shaping identity is crucial to Detroit. The sports ethos is a vital rhetoric to sell the "New" Detroit. Understood within the context of the already present and accepted context of redevelopment discourse, this identity is articulated through sports while demonstrating what the stadiums mean to the city. The commercialization of sports has been influential for some time; however, the commercialization both limits and empowers the conditions of possibility for sport stadium

development to ignite urban renewal, generate collective identity and sustain the city's public memory. This limits the conditions for stadium development because it restricts access while displacing the citizens of Detroit. Conversely, consumptive rhetoric empowers the conditions for stadium development because it reinforces discourses of "New" Detroit aimed at sustaining suburban tourism. For example, at Comerica Park, the outfield walls, the scoreboard, and the digital screens around the stadium are covered with advertisements. Deep center field is called the General Motors Wall and features a GM vehicle on display. In between innings, fans can guess which Tim Horton's breakfast product will win an animated footrace. Team yearbooks, scorecards, and vending containers are all marked with advertisement.

In addition, the layout of the stadiums is promoted as a great space to tailgate and enjoy entertainment before games. For example, Hans Steiniger, a devout NFL fan who writes reviews and critiques of NFL stadiums, comments on the arrangement of space around Ford Field. Despite the open parking lot that the Pontiac Silverdome offered, Steiniger contends that the arrangement of space around Ford Field is highly conducive to tailgating and entertainment. The destinations he describes are Hockeytown Café, the Detroit Lions Pre-Game Tailgate on Brush Street, and Eastern Market. While his list is not exhaustive, his tourist and fan writings reinforce the enclosed nature of how consumption manifests itself in Detroit. For instance, Steiniger observes that,

> Being situated downtown meant finding parking within the numerous privately-owned parking lots that were dotted throughout the city and many of which would not allow tailgating under any circumstances. So faced with this dilemma, the innovation and perseverance of the Motor City shined through, as tailgating hot spots sprang up

> throughout Detroit, offering a slice of what it used to be like at the Silverdome. ("Ford Field Experience").

Steiniger supports his claim by alluding to the determination and grit of Detroit that allows consumption to occur. His discourse invites readers to engage in this pre-game ritual by describing the nature of events and the glamour of the spaces. Additionally, Kurt Smith, who composes ballpark e-guides for fans of MLB teams, lists numerous taverns and establishments in and around Comerica Park, such as the bars, restaurants, and parking lots. His discourse frames the ballpark experience as an enjoyable one for fans frequenting the park for a first or second time.

However, Smith's guide also emphasizes the consumptive nature of the spaces surrounding Comerica. His manual depicts Detroit as a busy city with many entertainment options. However, this is a very narrow view of downtown Detroit. Despite the city's offerings for fans, the central district extends only so far; once past the Midtown area, these entertainment and consumption spaces are rather limited. Fans driving from the suburbs to a game are frequently dissuaded from staying after a game to explore and visit other parts of the city because of a presumed notion of the "Old" Detroit as unsafe and dangerous. This lack of interest is attributed to the fear many people have of Detroit and the selective safe haven offered by the sports places and surrounding areas. The fans are able to park in secured lots, walk 10 minutes to the stadium, enjoy the game, and walk 10 minutes back to their car and leave via the expressways. This material organization of space in Detroit's central district is conducive to this type of behavior, and the layout of the stadiums and surrounding parking lots was created for this very reason: to give suburbanites quick and easy access to the stadium. Hence, the consumption

in these areas is limited and encourages fans to drive into the city, consume, and get out as quickly as possible. While Smith wants to present the Motor City as an attractive destination for fans, his account is very selective and over-emphasizes the Midtown area as a site of consumption.

The consumptive and selective nature of sports places operate to exclude. Despite all the modern glitz of Detroit's sports consumptive places, accessibility to sports games is exclusionary. The accessibility of sports masks the exclusionary nature of other consumption in Detroit. For example, Detroit sports are appealing to suburbanites but are not as accessible to lower income families who live within the city's boundaries. This is due primarily to the high-ticket prices and the expense of attending a game. Moreover, since modern sports places demand that fans consume as a ritual practice of being a fan, fans must own Detroit sports clothing, consume food, and other acts of consumption, all of which can be exclusionary. Combined with the spatial arrangement of the space around the stadium that encourages fans to stay within close proximity of the parks, fans do not interact with the broader downtown area and its residents.

The exclusionary nature of sports consumption and redevelopment discourse is illustrated on many levels. Crain's Detroit Business reported that sixty percent of the new Red Wings stadium will be paid for by Detroit taxpayers (Shea). The article reports that, "property taxes would pay for 261.5 [million] (58 percent) of the building's construction cost while the team's ownership would provide 188.4 [million] (42 percent), according to details provided by the state" (Shea). In addition, skepticism exists among housing authorities and social workers in Detroit regarding the revitalization of older downtown and midtown senior living units into new, upscale, market-rate apartments (Muller). Mlive's David Muller reports that senior-citizen

occupants at 1214 Griswold were given a year notice to find new housing because of extensive construction that was to begin on new apartments in the complex. However, Muller reports that real-estate companies are beginning construction on these properties early while continuing to buy out many senior citizen complexes within downtown and midtown.

Mapping out how sport consumption operates in these ways provides a glimpse at how Detroit's sports places rhetorically constitute identities. Understanding how radical contextualization solidifies different contexts helps give shape and form to the cultural formation emanating from this approach to contextualization. Thus, as Grossberg has demonstrated, rock culture was become rearticulated into political contexts in very powerful ways. Similarly, sports culture in Detroit has become rearticulated into redevelopment discourse and the result is a production of sites along the cultural formation where certain consumptive practices articulate aspects of urban identity. As a result, these places themselves, and other representations of consumption in these spaces, depict Detroit in distinct ways.

Indeed, the plight of Detroit is part of a much larger discourse about urban renewal in America. There are many forces and discourses influencing the broader cultural formation of the "urban American recovery." These discourses include discussions about race relations, the importance of the American manufacturing base, the structure of city and regional politics, and the best development and redevelopment strategies. All of these discourses operate in the debate about Detroit's problems and solutions.

Neoliberalism and City Revitalization

The broader cultural formation of Detroit's identity is embedded within a neoliberal approach to revitalizing North American cities. A much broader discourse exists regarding how blighted urban cities need to be "saved" from the urbanism that characterized their growth. Accordingly, this recovery of the American urban city must diligently work to eliminate what is old and "useless" and bring in new, worthy, and usually commercial investments which are disconnected from the identity of the city or that function to create a new identity entirely. Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore argue that neoliberal approaches have characterized the rejuvenation and growth of urban cities, especially within the past twenty years. As the authors contend,

> On the other hand… neoliberal programs have also been directly 'interiorized' into urban policy regimes, as newly formed territorial alliances attempt to rejuvenate local economies through a shock treatment of deregulation, privatization, liberalization, and enhanced fiscal austerity. In this context—cities—including their suburban peripheries—have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, from place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism…new strategies of social control, policing, and surveillance, and a host of other institutional modifications within the local and state apparatus. (368)

The scholars conclude that because of these neoliberal attempts to bolster urban cities, a demand for consumptive-based practices within cities has largely led this development. As Brenner and Theodore further explain, "The overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite

consumption practices" (368). Additionally, Jeffrey Zimmerman details the particular ways Milwaukee, Wisconsin attempted to sophistically re-brand itself for what Richard Florida calls the "creative class" (230). This new approach consisted of tailoring the downtown cityscape to appeal to young professionals, artists, entrepreneurial, and college graduates. Beginning in 2001, Milwaukee began branding itself with catch-phrases such as, "Milwaukee: the Genuine American City," and with organizations such as the Young Professionals of Milwaukee (Zimmerman 233-234). Zimmerman argues this approach was modeled after Austin, Texas and its ability to position itself as the center of a young and hip music scene. Zimmerman concludes by stating, "Milwaukee's recent articulation of the entrepreneurial city presents a textbook case study of how cities embody strategic sites for the expression of innovative neoliberal urban policy packages" (241).

Thus, there exists a broader discursive context about the renewal of urban areas in general. This discursive context operates according to a certain cultural logic of neoliberal valuation of space and consumptive practices. While I trace this specific useful/useless space discourse in more detail in Chapter 3, I want to note here that efforts within Detroit represent stunning examples of this neoliberal logic in their attempts to rebrand the city in ways similar to Milwaukee while also using the blight of the city to rearticulate new identities.

For instance, in Detroit, specific examples of these revitalization and rebuilding practices include the renovation of Cobo Hall and the construction of the Woodward Light Rail Project. For instance, discourses pertaining to Cobo Hall were articulated within the context of improving the conditions for the North American International Auto Show (NAIAS). The NAIAS occurs every January at Cobo Center and Cobo Hall and is North America's premier auto show.

Renovations to Cobo were lauded at both improving the NAIAS along with renewed vigor for Detroit to lure other large-scale events to Cobo. Similarly, the Woodward Light Rail Project is hailed as bridging downtown with the New Center area, a business district located directly north of midtown. Discourses surrounding the vision for the Light Rail Project are aimed at eventually connecting downtown Detroit with the northern suburbs, providing accessible public transportation for both suburbanites and people living within the city limits. Both examples illustrate how the city wants to add and build new markers of identity to Detroit. Additionally, the Detroit Works Project and the debate surrounding public and charter schools only reinforce the larger scope of problems currently ailing the city. These projects attempt to disassemble current infrastructure and rebuild parts of the city.

A similar spotlighting project is also found in Detroit's hosting of the 2014 National Main Streets Conference (NMSC), a subsidiary of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The NMSC has eight principles which guide main street redevelopment project. Redevelopment plans must be comprehensive, incremental, have aspects of self-help, incorporate partnerships, identify and capitalize on existing assets, emphasize quality, experience change, and implement their ideas and plans (preservationnation.org). For Detroit, this conference will highlight the importance of revitalizing the Livernois and Vernor/Eight Mile neighborhood, a once important neighborhood in the city.

Perhaps the most expansive and popular redevelopment plan for the city is former mayor Dave Bing's Detroit Works Project. This plan touts that a new Detroit will emerge by the year 2030 and the project has three primary goals for the next 15 years: Detroit will "have a stabilized

population, the city will have two or three jobs for each person living in the city, the Detroit metropolitan region has an integrated regional transportation system" (12).

For example, the Detroit Light Rail Project is scheduled to receive federal funding for its construction and Comerica Park will be in the middle of the rail stop. The Rail will connect Campus Martias, Comerica Park, and the Detroit Medical Center and Wayne State University (Tampa Times). This Rail Project will feature another important stop once the new Red Wings arena and commercial retail and loft space is created. This massive project will cover over fifty blocks from Comerica Park north to midtown and fuse together sports and an entertainment district into a single project. Discourses promoting these two projects will cement sports' centrality to the redevelopment of the city and provide transportation that unites the sports arenas with more of the midtown area.

For Detroit, one of the dilemmas posed by formation of urban revitalization is that developers and citizens want Detroit to be a modern city; however, it is caught within its past. Additionally, those who consider themselves "Detroiters" have a cohesive identity. For these people and groups, "Detroiters" functions as their ideograph. However, there is dissent and factions within that identity. I argue that the ideograph "New" Detroit becomes intelligible through the force of consumptive rhetoric and its pursuit of suburban tourism. Thus, the cohesive identity for "Detroiters" includes meanings of both suburban and urban—it unites groups who live within the city limits and those who live in the greater Detroit area. However, this rhetorical relationship demonstrates the fracture of identity—specifically, that there is an identity struggle or tension between the "Old" Detroit and "New" Detroit. Furthermore, this tension is intensified because of the different understandings as to what constitutes the "New" Detroit. I argue that

these downtown spaces are advertised to draw in suburbanites at the expense of Detroit residents. Thus, sports operate as a technique to articulate suburbanites' relationship with the city from one of local/metropolitan resident of the city to an economic and cultural tourist of the downtown area. The fracture in identity occurs when discourses of suburban tourism become articulated within the cultural context of redevelopment while being fused together with sports to create the ideograph of "New" Detroit. To demonstrate this identity struggle and the value of sports to Detroit, I argue that sports places anchor and rhetorically construct identity in an overdetermined way.

In Detroit, there are not many redevelopment plans that do not feature Comerica Park and Ford Field as their focal points. Quite literally, the sports stadiums are the center of development in Detroit. As Mike Stone, a sports-radio broadcaster on 97.1 The Ticket, states, "Comerica Park and Ford Field are arguably two of Detroit's most well-known attractions and with good reason. The side by side stadiums provide entertainment for approximately 4 million fans every year, they are clean, modern, and have terrific sight lines (especially Ford Field) and have two of the best scoreboards in sports" (Stone). The entertainment value of these stadiums encourages redevelopment throughout the downtown corridor because of the offered appeal of the stadiums. Their entertainment value is paramount to redevelopment because many businesses and investors want to build entertainment, housing, and office districts close to the stadiums.

Embedded within the discourse of what constitutes a "New" Detroit are issues of blight rhetoric. Quicken Loans CEO and metro Detroit native Dan Gilbert has invested nearly 1.3 billion dollars in real estate within downtown Detroit (Alberta). Gilbert has championed much of the efforts for rebuilding the "New" Detroit. He has made public comments about the blight

removal process underway in Detroit. His role in this process further complicates how Detroiters and those living in areas around the city perceive the part he plays in this effort. Gilbert was quoted in the Detroit Free Press of May 22, 2014 as saying, "Blight is a cancer. It's a soul-sucking type of situation. It takes hope and takes optimism away" (Walsh "Detroit Blight"). Gilbert's referral to blight as cancer is similar to Rachel Weber's contention of blight discourse. Weber states,

> The language of urban destruction evolved from the vice-obsessed teens and twenties into its own technical language in roughly the middle third of the century…In the local renewal ordinances and state statutes of this period, the definition of blight is vague: it is framed as both a cause of physical deterioration and a state of being in which the built environment is deteriorated or physically impaired beyond normal use. The discourse of blight appropriated metaphors from plant pathology (blight is a disease that causes vegetation to discolor, wilt, and eventually die) and medicine (blighted areas were often referred to as 'cancers' or 'ulcers'). The scientific basis for blight drew attention to the physical bodies inhabiting the city, as well as the unhygienic sanitary conditions those bodies 'created.' (526)

This discourse is attempting to carve the path for future meanings of the "New" Detroit. The discourse is used by Gilbert in ways which have crippling effects for the city and those who call Detroit home. Referring to blight as cancerous and taking away optimism positions those living in these areas as almost deviant and places blame on them for shredding away any hope for the city. Conversely, it positions Gilbert as a hero to Detroit. The February 27, 2014 The National Journal praises Gilbert's efforts and titles one of their articles "Is Dan Gilbert Detroit's Next

Superhero?" further demonstrating the control Gilbert has on the growth of Detroit. This rhetoric shows a picture of Gilbert leaning back with a smile on his face, almost single-handedly depicting Gilbert as the newfound savior of Detroit. The article also quotes Wayne State University Urban Studies and Planning professor Avis C. Vidal as saying, "Not everybody has the stomach for it. There's a lot of risk going into this market, and [Gilbert] is either going to be a big winner or a big loser" (Alberta). This rhetoric is not simply an isolated example of the current state of Detroit. It is representative of the larger discursive context of blighted urban cities and Detroit in particular. Thus, it serves as a clear snapshot of what is to come in the city's future—the future rebirth of the city premised on consumptive, commercial, and most importantly economic investment—and as something Detroit desperately needs or else it will find its future bleak at best.

Gilbert's interest in downtown Detroit stems from his unique perspective on the city and the appeal Detroit has to businesses. Bruce Schwartz, of Bedrock Real Estate Services LLC, a company dedicated to bring real estate investors and businesses to downtown Detroit on behalf of Gilbert's investment in the city, states that, "The word's getting out. Not only here, in Detroit and the state of Michigan, but all over the country, and for the matter, the world. In a year from now, and in five years from now, you're going to see a different Detroit. This is going to be a city where you are going to walk around, have choices, have places to go" (Wayland). Dan Mullen, also of Bedrock Real Estate, states that, "We want to work with a lot of local retail and office users, but at the same time we want to work with a lot of the national folks. We're trying to revitalize the downtown area in general, so companies in-state and out-of-the-state is part of the mix" (Wayland). The emphasis Gilbert is placing on bringing business to Detroit is having a

profound effect not only how the city is attempting to rebuild itself around commercial investments, but also illustrates the control Gilbert is having on the entire rebuilding efforts.

Gilbert has purchased dozens of vacant buildings and land within the city's downtown core to execute his strategy for revitalizing the city. His vision of a renewed Detroit is based around commercial real estate investment that will stimulate not only more people visiting and moving to the urban city but will also produce economic benefit for the city and himself. In May of 2014, Gilbert criticized the Pistons for being the only NBA franchise not playing in an urban core. This came after reports that the Sacramento Kings will build an arena in downtown Sacramento. Gilbert was quoted as saying on 95.5 FM Detroit that, "If you're gonna convince someone like that [Pistons owner Tom Gores], and I've said it to him, long term for business reasons, that's not a viable place that you're gonna have a long term successful, profitable venture. People want entertainment, a whole night of it, a whole experience" (ESPN "SVG Fires Back"). Additionally, Gilbert added that, "Detroit doesn't have an NBA team, because their somewhere 30 miles north of here, right? Their in Auburn Hills, right? Now that Sacramento is building an arena downtown, they're the only one not in an urban core. The only one. It's not really good business. It's nothing against Auburn Hills, Oakland County, or L. Brooks Patterson. An arena in the middle of a field is not an ideal thing" (ESPN "SVG Fires Back"). Gilbert concluded his remarks with the comment the Pistons should remove the "Detroit" from their jerseys and name because they do not play in Detroit. In reaction to Gilbert's comments, Pistons president and coach Stan Van Gundy remarked, "There are teams all over the place that carry the name of the city but represent an entire area. We represent the Detroit metropolitan area. We are the Detroit Pistons, and where we play I don't think is of that much relevance" (Detroit Bad

Boys). Gilbert is owner of the Cleveland Cavaliers, and much debate has surfaced as to the economic investment Gilbert has in Detroit while owning a rival team only three hours away from Detroit. The idea that Detroit is attempting an urban revitalization project solely focused on consumption only reinforces its force and control of the city's identity because these meanings are attributed to the discourse what exhibits a "New" Detroit. However, promoting and engaging in urban renewal premised upon consumption is perceived as something positive and enlightening for Detroit. From a rhetorical perspective, these meanings of "New" Detroit conflate growth with the act of removing blight because popular opinion within the public sphere assumes this process is productive and has net benefits for Detroit.

These stadiums accent the city's attributes and other projects built around them. Detroit places great emphasis on sports as a vehicle to drive the city's rebuilding efforts. As a result, sports are important in governing and maintaining the identity of Detroit. For instance, when Detroit hosted Super Bowl XL, a great deal of attention was given to the River Walk and other touristic features of the city. Beyond showcasing certain attractions, the city also temporarily moved homeless people out of Midtown and created facades for abandoned buildings. But the most important feature was obviously the sports venue itself. Tom Lewand, president of the Detroit Lions, reinforced the connection between sports and the ethos of Detroit—as provided by the Ford family—w hen the city hosted the Super Bowl in 2006 in stating, "In no small measure, the Ford family's commitment to the city and the fans here was reflected in the commitment of the other 31 owners to bring the Super Bowl here. We're the only northern city to get it a second time" (ThinkExist). In sum, due to these developments and attractions, sports are at the center of

a broader discussion about Detroit redevelopment and anchor how the city plans to further rebuild itself.

In addition to redevelopment projects occurring within Detroit, there are discourses pertaining to what Detroit can be in the future that emanate from these projects and sports plays a central role in this rhetoric. For example, Jim Bieri, president of the Detroit-based real estate company Stokas-Bieri, claims that Ford Field and Comerica Park have helped stimulate and anchor Detroit's downtown district. He states,

> I think it's helped stabilize downtown as an entertainment destination. The size of the crowd makes a difference. The fans tend to come down longer and stay longer. It's continuous activity (on game days) but it's not an everyday thing, and it's not blossomed beyond food and beverage yet. Trying to develop around stadiums is not something that is perfected yet. The stadium certainly didn't hurt anything. The whole venue was part of a masterplan for that site that was going to include more entertainment and bars. (Shea "10 Years Later").

Furthermore, Ford Field is home to many businesses who lease office space inside the stadium. Well-renowned advertising agency Campbell-Ewald is relocating to the old J.L. Hudson warehouse adjacent to Ford Field beginning January 2014 (Walsh "Campbell-Ewald"). Therefore, Ford Field does not just represent and embody a sports identity for Detroit, but it also connects business and industry with the city's identity. Although the city of Detroit has long had an identity closely aligned with the automobile manufacturing industry, the sports arena district is associated with high tech companies and entertainment activity.

Because revitalization of urban spaces operates through a neoliberal logic that only values productive and modern commercial space at the expense of older spaces, Detroit operates as a cultural formation within this broader redevelopment discourse. Within this formation, sports and sports places act as important anchor points for the city's development and identity. While these spaces are marked as important to the city's identity, these spaces also produce discourses that actively constitute the city's identity. In particular, we now examine two rhetorical strategies central to this discourse: one of emphasis and the other of de-emphasis.

Detroit's Discourses of Emphasis and De-emphasis

A rhetoric of emphasis begins by over-determining the importance of Comerica Park and Ford Field as the center of Detroit's identity. For example, Comerica Park functions as a dynamic place with much vitality. It functions as a place communicating a sense of liveliness. Furthermore, the ballpark is a marker representing Detroit in many websites, news articles, and other publications regarding places of interest in the city. Overall, Comerica Park is framed as the most widely recognized sports stadium in Detroit. Additionally, the ballpark is viewed as an isolated place of entertainment when used in this manner. The attention the stadium receives as a focal point of Detroit positions the ballpark as a primary, necessary, and a sole means by which the city frames its downtown district as must-see space for people to come and visit. Ultimately, this discourse emphasizes consumption and demonstrates the city's attempt to frame urban tourism around commercialization.

Advertisements that focus on Comerica Park as a popular destination in Detroit reinforce the notion that sports, specifically their consumptive places, operate as a secondary articulation.

Grossberg reminds us that, "Moreover, at different sites, for different fractions, the distribution and configuration of the formation itself will determine different relations to and experiences of the formation itself" (71). Thus, a secondary articulation is what Grossberg refers to as something that includes different cultural practices existing at various sites along the formation. However, not every group or every person has the same experiences within the cultural formation itself; thus, alliances are constructed in relation to the broader cultural formation. While consumptive spaces appear to function as a secondary articulation, the city frames and represents them as primary articulations in regards to Detroit's broader identity. For example, the Tigers website provides readers with an above view of the ballpark complete with the description of all the attractions inside Comerica. The description reads,

> A ferris wheel. A mammoth water feature in center field that can be choreographed to any music. A decade-by-decade pedestrian museum enveloping the main concourse. But wait, there is also a field with a game being played on it as well. Comerica Park is one of the many highlights of Downtown Detroit. ("Detroit Tigers Official Site").

Accompanying this description is an image of Comerica from behind home plate that overlooks the entire ballpark. It is on the Tigers webpage that has links to and images of other features inside Comerica Park. Thus, the discourse found within the advertisements about these sports places is highly selective and narrows our focus on the parks as tourist or entertainment attractions for guests of the city. Consequently, this rhetoric frames the sports parks and arenas as "must see" entertainment attractions in Detroit. These appeals appear to be rather successful as, during the 2011 season, the Tigers had more than 2.5 million fans ("MLB Attendance") and the Lions had over 505,000 fans visit their stadiums ("NFL Attendance").

The marketing of these spaces as important attractions demonstrate the articulation of sports and the broader discourses of redevelopment. For example, in 2012, the Tigers launched an advertising campaign that coincided with Michigan's official travel and tourism campaign, Pure Michigan, to draw people to Detroit through sports. The Pure Michigan campaign even purchases blocks of television and radio advertising time during Tigers games, further combining the importance of sports as a tourist attraction. Additionally, Pure Michigan advertisements appear on the local stations of visiting teams' broadcasts, making sports a convenient advertising platform to attract people outside of the state. As Duane McLean, Vice-President of Business Operations with the Tigers, said,

> These positions receive an excessive amount of television exposure, which is very exciting for us and very exciting for Pure Michigan. We also believe this is the right platform for Pure Michigan's to accomplish their goals. Most significant about this partnership is a global reach that Pure Michigan will have, with more than 25 million television viewers outside the state of Michigan, see the Pure Michigan brand during televised Tiger games. (Campbell)

As is the case with most advertisements in these sports places, Pure Michigan appears almost everywhere in Comerica. For instance, these advertisements appear on the back supports of the benches in both the home and visitor dugouts and on the outfield walls and they appear numerous times throughout a game when a camera focuses on a player or manager in the dugout or when a fly ball goes to the outfield. This campaign demonstrates the tension in identity. Specifically, the issue is that the "home" team fans are now tourists to the city. Visiting fans have always been tourists. However, the cultural context in which Detroit is rebuilding is

complicating the identity struggle by articulating the stadium as a "tourist stop" and conflating understandings of what meanings constitute the "New" Detroit.

Additionally, two of Detroit's most well-known tourist websites position Comerica Park and Ford Field as the main attractions of the city and highlight the significance of sports. Both websites have numerous categories to search from when trying to find something to do in the city. One website, experiencedetroit.com, lists Comerica Park and Ford Field as the first link under its revitalization tab. The other well-known site, visitdetroit.com, includes a picture of Comerica Park under its experiences tab. The homepage of one of the sites has a large picture of a Tiger fan with the caption underneath promoting the Tigers and Comerica Park. The lure of a Tigers game is described as appealing to many different audiences because it is outside, it offers a great view of Detroit, it has other amenities besides simply watching baseball, it is a social event, and there are many places to visit before and after the game.

The idea that the sports stadiums are starting point for visiting other downtown attractions is important to this discourse. While Detroit has many cultural events and places to see, a baseball or football game may give visitors a reason to visit the city and then experience some other aspect of Detroit after the game. Because the baseball season includes 81 home games spread across six or seven months, fans can be selective when deciding which game to attend and they have time to plan their visit to Detroit. Many Tiger fans do not frequent the city on a regular basis, so they want to experience as much of Detroit as possible. This demonstrates the conflicted meanings of "re-urbanization." The "Old" Detroit consists of the locals who live in and are actually "Detroit." In comparison, the "New" Detroit includes the suburbanites who frequent the city as tourists. Tourism within contemporary sports is not unique to just Detroit—it

occurs in almost any urban city in the United States. However, the "New" Detroit is attempting to re-integrate suburban Detroit by encouraging people to become tourists and participate in fandom. Sports operate as an apparatus to articulate suburbanites' relationship with the city from one of local/metropolitan resident of the city to one of economic and cultural tourist of the downtown area. "New" Detroit is attempting to capture all these meanings and articulate discourses in order to make them mainstream and accessible to anyone who can come to the city. Thus, suburban tourism is made intelligible to the public because it uses sports as a mechanism to redevelop and rebuild the "Old" Detroit.

Moreover, the stadiums also are advertised to encourage tourists to visit the suburbs rather than the downtown area. For instance, one of the more popular tourist websites to showcase Detroit frames its information to visitors in a very user-friendly and easy-to-use way. In doing so, the site organizes metro Detroit into five main areas: downtown Detroit, Dearborn/Wayne, Greater Novi, Oakland, and Macomb. However, downtown Detroit is the smallest area on the map, but still emphasizing that visitors should frequent downtown while using sports as a vehicle to provide access for the suburban tourist. Sports are a mechanism to attract massive crowds of people with the hope these fans will disperse to other areas of the city to have a Detroit experience. Thus, even if fans venture into Detroit and experience more than just the consumptive spaces immediately surrounding the stadiums, their experience is prompted and mediated by sports place or they are quick stops on the way to other suburban attractions. This is why sports stadiums serve as poor centers for economic development: while they draw large numbers of fans to central city locations, they often fail to provide long term benefits,

certainly not enough to overcome the high public costs of building new stadiums (Alexander, Kern, and Neill; Coates; Eckstein and Delaney; Koehler; Property Counselors).

Beyond emphasizing the importance of place, the sports teams and their locations promote a selective vision of what constitutes the Detroit community. Understandably, these organizations produce a great deal of discourse about athletes' work in the local community, various sport camps for youth, and television shows devoted to reporting an athlete's life outside of sports. In this regard, sports places produce discourses emphasizing the benefits sports bring to a city like Detroit. For instance, the Detroit Lions are featured in an NFL "Play 60" commercial promoting healthy lifestyles for kids. The commercial showcases many Lions players on a school bus and passing by the sports stadiums throughout Detroit. The clip ends with players and kids engaging in football drills at the Lions practice facility. This commercial combines the civic duty of athletes and sports places to emphasize a certain vision of Detroit that underscores a diverse mixture of vibrant, young, active, and reasonably affluent people. Additionally, these advertisements emphasize very specific views of downtown Detroit. Iconic places such as Joe Louis Arena, the Joe Louis fist, Ford Field, and the Spirit of Detroit are all featured. Even the visible skyline from Comerica Park's outfield materially limits fans' view of Detroit. Rather than see abandoned and dilapidated buildings and structures, visitors see a modern city skyline.

Despite these discourses of emphasis, visitors to the parks will eventually encounter homelessness and the poverty visible in part of downtown Detroit. However, even these experiences tend to be mediated and rather selective. For example, around the stadiums, there are various people asking or performing for change. Recently deceased James Van Horn, the "Eat

'Em Up, Tigers" man and "Dreadlock Mike" were iconic sights at any Tigers or Lions' games. Both men were icons in Detroit. Van Horn was best known for his hand in a giant Incredible Hulk fist while calling out cheers outside of Comerica Park on gamedays. "Dreadlock Mike" was best knowns for his distinctive look and could be seen in his wheelchair around Detroit. Rather than represent the reality of poverty and life in less policed or developed parts of Detroit, both men were safe and amusing representations of downtown Detroit. Thus, even when visitors encounter poverty or blight, it is rather mediated.

Additionally, many fans interact with homeless people and experience the poverty of Detroit when attending a game. Interacting with homeless people is different from the examples above. For instance, due to the amount of blight that still exists around the peripherals of the downtown area, suburban tourists are active agents in the displacement of Detroit citizens when attending a game. Their perceptions of homeless people serve as representations of the problems facing Detroit. Furthermore, suburban tourists make generalizations depicting homeless people as evidence of the social ills of the city. However, for the suburban tourist, these are still safe and amusing versions representing Detroit's blight and emphasize aspects of Detroit which the city is continuously trying to avoid. These various articulations of identity all emphasize certain features Detroit intends to promote about itself. Perhaps the strongest aspect of this identity is located within the consumptive areas around the ballpark itself. The glorification of entertainment, sports, and nightlife combine with an authentic urban sentiment of Detroit that attempts to capture the essence of the city in a localized place. Thus, in regards to urban identity, a rhetoric of emphasis capitalizes off pre-established spaces, which are intended to promote consumerist and consumptive behavior from the production of sports. However, despite

emphasizing certain aspects of the city, these sport places produce positive effects which are only short-lived. These effects do not always contribute to the broader cultural formation of the city's identity in productive and useful ways.

Because these sports places are over-determined in terms of how they relate to and represent Detroit, they operate to downplay or deemphasize different urban identities. While the stadiums and surrounding areas emphasize the consumption of a particular identity, this rhetoric distracts and discourage people from visiting and interacting with other parts of downtown Detroit. This occurs in two ways. First, the stadiums and their emphasis on consumption in the areas immediately surrounding the stadiums narrow visitors' view like a blinder. Second, when the discourse surrounding the stadiums encourages people to visit the "rest of Detroit," it tends to emphasize the suburban areas rather than other parts of downtown. This de-emphasis of the rest of the downtown area causes people to ignore the poverty, racial tensions, city corruption, and the declining nature of the automotive industry. Furthermore, because these sites are so heavily invested in consumption serving as the measure of worth or value of a site, visitors to the downtown area are discouraged from visiting other parts of downtown because, by default, they must be unsafe or lacking because they are not so heavily emphasized. In that way, the rhetoric of de-emphasis tends to be subtle and unnoticed – it does not actively dissuade, but does so nonetheless based on how the rhetoric of emphasis overinvests in certain locations and spaces. These discourses attempt to re-frame Detroit's urban identity as something lived or experienced by simply attending a game in the localized, consumptive-area of Detroit.

By emphasizing that people can connect with a tangible identity regarding Detroit, the production of an authentic Detroit brand asserts a particular emphasis the city wants to promote:

an urban identity based on consumption. Thus, the more advertisers, clothing manufacturers, and businesses can connect the Old English D of Detroit to a brand name they want the city to represent, the more appeal the city attains. This process is not concerned with an authentic urban brand. Rather, it is concerned with the most effective way to engage people on this brand awareness. The manufacturers of this brand intensify this idea of the city. This produces new meanings for how fans interact with the city without actually experiencing the city. People around the metro-Detroit area, and those outside of Michigan, become stewards for the city and represents the idea Detroit wants to communicate to a larger population—that you can embody Detroit by wearing it. Detroit relies heavily on its production of brand awareness to engage the public. This is the most rhetorically powerful way that Detroit can package and sell its identity to people.

While building a brand people can relate with is important to constructing an identity, the maintenance of Detroit's consumptive spaces is also important. When interrogating this process from a rhetorical standpoint based on the consumption of spaces, it is clear that spaces do directly penetrate into the areas of social and political life that create and sustain change. Sports help downtown investors, local owners, and other similar establishments. Yet, while more people may frequent these locations, sports do not cause economic growth within its urban center. Scholars have examined the public benefits sports stadiums have on a city and its citizens (Alexander, Kern, and Neal 2000). Not everyone denies the value of sports stadiums. Koehler concluded that sports stadiums are more likely to give a boost to local economies if the arena is actually built in downtown rather than in the peripheral of the downtown. He concluded that of the 31 NFL stadiums, 14 are located downtown. Of the 30 MLB stadiums, 22 are located

downtown. He argues that MLB stadiums are more likely to be downtown because on average, they are smaller than NFL stadiums. Koehler states, "An easy explanation is that MLB stadiums are smaller at an average of about 1.1 million square feet compared to NFL stadiums which average 1.6 million square feet. In downtowns that do not have an abundance of vacant space, it is undoubtedly easier to construct a new major league baseball stadium than it is to construct a new NFL stadium" (11). Additionally, the City of Seattle's Office of Planning and Development concluded that because NFL games occur much less frequently than MLB games but typically attract much larger crowds, NFL stadiums located on the peripherals of a downtown are more accommodating to a large number of people. Eckstein and Delaney argue that local businesses do not directly benefit from the construction of stadiums, as this is more of a spontaneous correlation than causation. Sports also do not help poorer areas, and if they do, it is superficial in nature (Eckstein and Delaney 2002). Coates summarizes research on sports stadiums providing economic incentive to cities. I quote him at length because his findings have a high degree of significance for my research.

> The most basic question is the research about stadiums, arenas, and sports franchises is the extent to which these contribute to the vitality of local economy. The literature on this issue is of two basic types: the ex ante economic impact study and the ex post econometric analysis. The economic impact studies invariably suggest that there are large benefits from stadium and arena construction. The consensus of the ex post studies is that there is little convincing evidence for large income and job creation benefits attributed to stadiums; rather, the evidence largely points to there being none of those benefits…There are some researchers who contend that that consensus from this literature is wrong.

> Recently constructed stadiums are integrated into the downtown and are explicitly used to anchor downtown redevelopment, while the earlier stadiums that dominate the data in existing research were built in the suburbs and were frequently surrounded by acres of parking lots. Because of the difference in the context of the two types of stadiums, the impacts on local development will also be different. Moreover, given the high degree of aggregation in the data used in many studies, the positive but possibly small effects of sports stadiums will be swamped. I discuss both these criticism of the consensus literature…Despite the resurgence in the view that stadiums are good economic development tools and criticisms of the methodology used to find the opposite, I contend that the issue is really settled on the consensus that they are not. This does not mean, however, that stadium and arena subsidies cannot be justified based on their actual benefits…(3).

As a result, the economic boost sport stadiums provide to local economies is controversial and still being measured.

However, sports do serve as a vehicle for people to experience, engage, and possess some type of community engagement surrounding their city. In Detroit, sports function as a way for people to connect with certain ideas or branding of the city. Thus, sports contribute to the idea people want to believe about Detroit by creating an illusion that distracts fans from the political, social, and economic tensions plaguing Detroit. By emphasizing certain aspects and markers of Detroit's identity, a rhetoric of emphasis relies heavily on sports to construct this image to the public. Sports are a positive image for the city; while the political, social, and economic issues are viewed as negative aspects of Detroit.

Even the architecture of the stadiums emphasizes a certain consumptive and branded identity. The built environment surrounding the physical location of the stadium strongly influences the way it is able to create the identity of the urban area where it is located. For example, sociologist John Horne draws from Anouk Belanger in arguing that architects of new stadiums want to transform an urban space into a "transnational sport space" (218). Specifically, Horne asserts that Belanger views this transformative process in three key areas:

> First, the paradox of distinctiveness is that if everywhere has iconic architecture then there is a global sameness to the pursuit of distinction…Second, there are various urban narratives, imaginaries, and themes that can create a division between, in architectural as well as other terms, the spectacular global and the vernacular local…Third, the production of consumptive spaces, such as the new-made-to-look-old nostalgic baseball parks in the US (such as Camden Yards in Baltimore and PNC Park in Pittsburgh) uses collective memory to reformulate a new consumerized public sphere. (218)

The architectural production of new sports stadiums emphasizes the modern features of the stadium. The site of a baseball or football game is no longer the central focus of a live-game experience for many fans. This process creates discourses of emphasis that utilize consumptive features to distract from the game and shift focus elsewhere, thus creating "unspectacular spectacles" (Horne 218).

Discourses of Access: Detroit Sports and the Production of Spaces

Having examined the discourses that emphasize and de-emphasize Detroit's spaces of consumption, I now analyze how discourses of accessibility assert themselves within the cultural

formation of Detroit. I define "accessibility" in two ways. First, in regards to access and consumptive practices; and second, since consumptive practices are linked to identity, I also examine accessibility to a sense of identity. This accessibility is a crucial feature within this urban context because of the landscape of the metro-Detroit area. People are able to access Detroit's urban identity because of the spatial arrangement of these consumptive spaces. For example, the central district is accessible to suburbanites because freeway access leads directly to the downtown district. In addition, tourists are given a practical means through which to access this identity by the commercial establishments existing within Detroit's downtown district. They have such practical access because of the infrastructure that connects the suburbs to downtown. For instance, the interstate and expressway system connecting the downtown area to the rest of metro Detroit provides an extremely practical way to not only access the consumptive spaces, but to engage within them as well.

The process of accessibility is multi-layered. Tourists not only gain access to ballparks and stadiums, but through a multi-layered process, they gain access to a commercially crafted "essence" of Detroit. Furthermore, accessibility is influenced by the cost of consumption. This accessibility prompts the right to use sport-consumptive practices in distinct ways. Sport-consumptive practices are those moments along the cultural formation that give shape to, mold, and define the discursive context of Detroit's identity. Thus, to understand how accessibility discourse operates, I examine access to sports consumptive practices and access to identity and then examine the implications of these discourses.

Access to consumptive-based practices within places of sports stadiums and surrounding spaces include several features. First, accessibility is for anyone willing to come to the central

district and experience the production of a sports spectacle. However, the cost associated with attending a bar or restaurant and watching the game excludes certain classes of people. Thus, there is a cost to consumption and it limits accessibility. Secondly, fans can attend the game. The markers of consumptive practices—hats, jerseys, food, tickets—are expensive and not everyone can access this consumption. People from different classes attend ballgames, and depending on their financial status, they may not be able to access certain consumptive practices. Thus, consumptive practices are restrictive and exclusive; only certain people can access consumption. Specifically, the choices fans make to consume while attending games are distinct markers for how sport consumptive rhetoric asserts itself. Thus, fans play a significant role in producing and re-producing consumptive rhetoric. Additionally, immersing oneself into the stadium's commercialization is an exercise in consumption as well. Fans wanted to see the game from multiple angles and experience different settings in the ballpark. For example, the traditions of attending a baseball game—eating a hotdog, having a few beers, catching a foul ball, seeing a homerun—are all cultural practices that fans want to experience. Yet, this experience is limited to a minority of people.

Additionally, the manner in which each stadium is marketed and advertised is essential to the experience a fan can have before or after a game. Unlike older stadiums and ballparks, the stadium itself functions as a marketing tool to attract fans. Fans can frequent Detroit's Greektown area by walking no more than one mile for entertainment. The Greektown Casino is a popular destination for fans leaving a game. Grand River Avenue also has many trendy bars and restaurants for people to attend. Live entertainment in various bars also perks the interest of those

leaving a game. These additional commercial venues all serve as avenues for people to access some part of the city's identity.

Despite the numerous bars and restaurants outside the stadiums, the inside of both Comerica Park and Ford Field offer many novelties not accessible outside. Located on the main concourse of Comerica Park, there are numerous historical capsules capturing the history of the Tigers and the team's former players. The ferris wheel and carousel offer places for parents to entertain their children. There are also a number of concession stands selling food, beer, soda, candy and other treats for fans. Comerica Park also has a number of video-game areas where fans can play baseball games on Sony PlayStation and Xbox consoles. Additionally, the main concourse extends all the way around the ballpark, so fans can experience all the park has to offer. Thus, the amount of entertainment available inside Comerica Park also contributes to consumptive practices inside the stadium.

A crucial aspect of sport consumptive rhetoric is its ability to establish cultural practices both inside and outside these stadiums. For example, the idea to construct Ford Field and Comerica Park directly across from each other was founded on the premise of creating a central place for people to visit. This provides greater accessibility to both stadiums. The Ford Field parking garage is located directly east of both stadiums and is usually full during both baseball and football games. The layout of each stadium is conducive to how one experiences each place. First, in regards to life outside the stadiums, fans can frequent Cheli's Chili Bar, owned by former Detroit Red Wing Chris Chelios. Sitting on the rooftop of the bar, one can observe a Tigers game instead of buying a ticket. The layout of Comerica Park invites people passing by to

stop and try to catch a glimpse of the game through the fences separating those in the stadium from those outside the stadium.

However, within this discourse, the ease of physical access to these sports places is emphasized while the high economic cost of access is often de-emphasized. For example, it is not cheap to attend games, park near the stadiums, and eat and drink at locations like Cheli's Chili Bar, Hockeytown Café, and other establishments in the area. Therefore, accessibly is conditioned on a fan's ability to afford consumptive spaces. This affects the identity of the city because fans or residents who cannot afford participating in sports-related consumption-based activities are unable to access the modern branding of Detroit's identity. Because Detroit wants to build itself around this brand and provide people with a way to consume it as a way to engage Detroit, access to the city and its developments are important if all residents are to part of this new Detroit. However, overlooked in this process is that this type of consumption is based on economics and excludes almost as many people as it allows. Thus, people feel as though they cannot access Detroit and its new identity. As a result of not being able to access this brand, less affluent people do not have access in creating this new identity of Detroit. Instead, they are regulated to the perimeter where they are on the outside looking in.

Second, due to the extensive amount of discourse on the "redevelopment" or "revitalization" of Detroit throughout the past decade and its substantive presence in today's political climate, these terms representing the redevelopment of Detroit are not objective or fixed terms; rather, they are ideographic in nature. In his exploration of how rhetoric operates to make ideology material, Michael Calvin McGee describes this process as the development and deployment of ideographs. As McGee explains,

> A formal definition of "ideograph"…would list the following characteristics. An ideograph is an ordinary-language term found in political discourse. It is a high-order abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal. It warrants the use of power, excuses behavior and belief which might otherwise be perceived as eccentric or antisocial, and guides behavior and belief into channels easily recognized by a community as acceptable and laudable. (15)

With this understanding of an ideograph, the "New" Detroit operates as an ideograph because of its capacity to constitute certain groups within their meanings. It captures the meanings of the young professionals, venture capitalists, and most importantly the suburban tourists who all have a stake in the city. However, there are conflicted meanings over the groups that form the "New" Detroit. "New" Detroit's attempts to transform the city through revitalization and redevelopment efforts contribute to not just the image of the city, but what groups are perceived to have control over how these meanings reconfigure Detroit in general. As a result, the "New" Detroit is used frequently to refer to Detroit "coming back."

Additionally, McGee notes how ideographs are structured synchronically and diachronically. As he explains,

> …I have argued here that ideology of a community is established by the usage of such terms in specifically rhetorical discourse, for such usage constitute excuses for specific beliefs and behaviors made by those who executed the history of which they were a part. The ideographs used in rhetorical discourse seem structured in two ways: In isolation, each ideograph has a history, an etymology, such that current meanings of the term are

> linked to past usages of its diachronically. The diachronic structure of an ideograph establishes the parameters, the category, of its meaning. All ideographs, taken together…are thought at any specific "moment" to be consonant, related to one another in such a way as to produce unity of commitment in a particular historical context. (16)

Understood in this regard, "New" Detroit's rearticulations of its identity function ideographically because they constitute distinct historical contexts that are tied to past usages of their meaning. Furthermore, the "New" Detroit maps out how future meanings as to how these groups will revitalize the city. Subsequently, as more venture capitalists begin to lead redevelopment efforts through investing in the city by purchasing and renovating older buildings, along with construction of the Woodward Light Rail and the popularity of the suburban tourist visiting the city, the cultural and economic trajectory of Detroit's identity will move in the direction of not consumption. As a result, sports operate as a technique to articulate the local/metropolitan residents' relationship with the city to one of economic and cultural tourist of the downtown. The pervasiveness of this influence will claim downtown Detroit as an accessible urban center, but only for those people who have the financial or cultural status in which to access it. Additionally, these terms are ideographic because they attempt to revive those former meanings into a "unity of commitment" in order to affect some form of real social and political change (McGee 16). For example, *The New York Times* documents reclamation efforts of Detroit's abandoned and vacant land when it contends that, "In Detroit, there is some rehabilitation and redevelopment near Comerica Park, the $300 million baseball stadium that opened downtown in 2000, but in the neighborhoods, the abandoned houses are seen more as garbage to be removed than as

opportunities for growth" (Wilgoren). Currently, Mayor Mike Duggan is attempting to not just remove blight but to build neighborhoods that have the potential for growth.

The term "New" Detroit is an abstract term that sounds good to city developers and businesses looking to invest in Detroit with the unstated premise implying redevelopment and renovation of what currently occupies those spaces. This expands the synchronic meaning of "New" Detroit. Thus, "rebirth" and "rejuvenation" are terms that drive meanings of "New" Detroit. They are used to justify building high-priced apartments or razing abandoned homes with no clear meaning other than to support consumption. Thus, the access a person gains to an identity is access to an unclear identity to which people want to belong; however, the effect produced from the overuse of these terms is that no one actually knows what Detroit means as a result of these discourses. The continued and repeated use of these terms within the context of Detroit have unintended implications for the city. First, the use of terms like "rebirth" and "rejuvenation" imply that city developers and investors must begin Detroit's "rebirth" originating from the downtown district. The premise of this argument is supported by the Comerica Park and Ford Field's construction fifteen years ago. In addition, those investing in the city focus their efforts in relation to downtown, and until recently, midtown. Additionally, this language communicates that in order for Detroit to be "reborn" it has seemingly already "died." The focal point of this rebirth is crucial to the implications for how these terms are ideographic in nature. The idea that Detroit is "rebuilding" from its downtown offers hope to those city planners, developers, politicians, and most of all its citizens who believe this growth will somehow spread to the peripherals of the city. Thus, in order to be "reborn," its "rebirth" must originate from somewhere. Second, the use of these terms places more expectations on the

consumptive areas in the hope that sports stadiums and commercialization will ultimately rejuvenate Detroit and re-establish it as a desirable city. When juxtaposed with where Detroit has been the past 30-40 years, the building of so many consumptive spaces is problematic. Furthermore, the overuse of these terms creates a false space within Detroit. An overdetermined anchor point in the consumptive spaces, with the only hope that more of the same will produce results, characterizes this false space.

While certain practices inside and around the stadiums encourage accessibility to Detroit, they do so in a limited way that focuses on development and consumption. Both stadiums constitute hyper-real experiences of sports, influenced greatly by the presence of consumptive practices. The experience of attending a game creates a vastly different understanding of the city than what actually happens within its city limits. Despite sports having a profound effect on identity, it also divorces itself from problems ailing Detroit. Additionally, these spaces of consumption present a preferred identity of Detroit as exciting and hip. Sports do not close off other experiences, or discourses, of a city. However, they cannot elide the notion of a preferred identity. Sports create different ideas about cities, especially Detroit by hiding and minimizing other discourses of the city. These spaces place high demand on identifying with the city on a consumptive basis. This is similar to how Silk describes Memphis as a city in which, "the spectacular structures and landscapes that have recently become apparent in the City of Memphis have become abstracted from local culture, translated into marketable cultural meanings…and mask the complexities and contradictions of life in Memphis" (365). Like Memphis, Detroit has produced a great amount of symbolic capital in attempt to gain more national and global attention. However, its reliance on consumptive spaces to achieve this result will only further

perpetuate a branded idea of Detroit but not the long-term growth that would benefit the whole city. When seen in this way, these spaces freeze Detroit's identity and limit audience access to other conceptualizations of how to identify with the city.

The ability of these sports stadiums to package a certain urban identity of Detroit is important to understand because of its capacity to influence other rhetorical factors in relation to its identity. The rhetorical meaning of this packaged identity produces symbolic capital for its sports places. Noting a similar effect in Memphis, Silk argues that Memphis attempted to rebuild itself through spaces of sport consumption. He explains that the 2002 heavyweight fight between Lennox Lewis and Mike Tyson occurring in Memphis helped bring national and global attention to the city. Since then, the city has won an NBA franchise from Vancouver. In addition, the city built a new ballpark for its minor league team, the Memphis Redbirds, and constructed an urban mall for tourists. Coupled with other entertainment and hyper-real consumptive spaces, Memphis has attempted to re-present itself as a transnational capitalist city. Silk does not conclude whether efforts in Memphis was a success or failure. Rather, he pushes critical scholars to employ spatial perspectives when interrogating the capital of sport on cities.

While Detroit is not a popular destination for vacation, sports stadiums, casinos, hotels, theatre attractions, upscale, trendy restaurants and other consumptive spaces attempt to make Detroit a tourist attraction. Currently, the drive for tourism shapes how Detroiters and metro-Detroiters think about and perceive the city. The purpose of marketing Detroit as a tourist destination is to increase the amount of time and money people will spend there. Similarly, Harvey argues that the construction of Baltimore's inner harbor has transformed the city into a highly visible and occupied urban space. Since the 1960s, Baltimore has not had much to offer in

terms of urban tourism, but the inner harbor shapes and molds an urban identity for the city to capitalize upon.

Understanding Silk and Harvey's ideas on Memphis and Baltimore helps illuminate some of the issues existing within Detroit. Both Silk and Harvey contend that Memphis and Baltimore want to re-cast their cities as something more productive and valuable than before, something that not tangible or measured, but felt or experienced through consumption. Despite all these changes, Memphis and Baltimore continue to face the same poverty, homelessness, and other social problems. Thus, sports cannot fix significant structural problems; rather, they simply change the emphasis and access to the city. Detroit is undergoing a similar change. In Detroit, people come to the large structures of each stadium, the visuals of the scoreboard, playing field, or advertisements surrounding the stadium. These visual markers represent an idea of Detroit, but simultaneously distract the viewer from Detroit's economy and its vacant and derelict neighborhoods. Instead, one sees the flashy images of each stadium, the skyline of the city in Comerica Park, and the high-tech, solid structures.

Chapter 3 Regulatory Practices of Sports Stadiums

The Detroit Tigers moved from Tiger Stadium to Comerica Park in April 2000. However, plans to redevelop Tiger Stadium and its surrounding space were not taken seriously until a number of groups attempting to preserve the stadium formed. These groups included Michigan and Trumbull, LLC, the Old Tiger Stadium Conservancy Group (OTSC), and the Tiger Stadium Historical Society. These groups worked with each other to delay the demolition of the stadium while trying to raise money and gain tax credits to preserve it. From early 2007 into late 2009, when the demolition of the stadium was complete, the OTSC provided an escrow cost of $300,000 to "secure demolition costs and the purchase price of the stadium" ("Save Tiger Stadium) Additionally, Save Tiger Stadium also notes that the OTSC raised $600,000 in donations and also received $3.8 million in federal appropriations earlier that year, thanks in large part to Michigan Senator Carl Levin. Furthermore, the OTSC tried to try to secure tax credits from purchasing the rights to the stadium and its land. Lastly, the OTSC met with the Detroit Economic Growth Committee (DEGC), the Detroit City Council, and the Detroit Economic Development Corporation (EDC) to prove it had a reliable alternative to demolishing the stadium. The most significant argument the OTSC and other Tiger Stadium preservation groups cited to the DEGC and the EDC was that taxpayer money was being wasted on demolishing the stadium when the OTSC was in an excellent position to purchase and maintain the stadium and property. According to the OTSC, the group paid $93,000 for security and maintenance fees through June 2009. To enhance its credibility, the OTSC was led by former legendary Tigers broadcaster Ernie Harwell.

With all of these resources in hand, the OTSC won three injunctions against demolition in 2009. The injunctions were granted in hopes that the OTSC or perhaps another group could raise more money for preservation. However, an exact deadline was never specified to the OTSC and the city of Detroit eventually demolished the stadium. Despite the loss, the OTSC won one more injunction to keep the remaining part of the stadium behind home plate. However, that stay lasted only about a week and the OTSC could not conjure up any more support for preservation of the site. The OTSC and a large number of Tiger Stadium supporters living in the Metro Detroit area continued to argue that because Detroit already had thousands of vacant homes and buildings, demolishing the stadium would only add more vacant space in Detroit and put the city further into debt to do so. This argument was ignored by the DEGC, the main organizing body with final say on the fate of the property.

Emerging from these many plans to preserve Tiger Stadium and its surrounding space were many discourses about the use and value of its particular place. City and business officials' evaluations of the vacant space shaped these discourses. I define vacant space as a space that once had productive value but is currently empty and lacks any productive value. Furthermore, I define vacant space as a space that was originally rooted in history instead of consumption. For example, some city leaders, like Wayne County Executive Robert Ficano, expressed interest in developing the land into a new criminal justice campus. Specifically, Ficano stated that new jails, courthouses, and law enforcement offices were in the planning and development stages (Gallagher). However, local residents expressed their concerns about this plan because Corktown, the part of Detroit where Tiger Stadium was located, was a thriving business and young professional community that new jails and courthouses could erode (Gallagher "Tiger

Stadium eyed as copsite"). In addition, some business leaders pitched ideas to use the stadium as a place for bullfighting, dog racing, boxing and off-road racing. Furthermore, other plans advocated using the space for a residential, commercial, and entertainment district. Other suggestions ranged from building lofts, shops, ice rinks, and an Olympic-sized swimming pool (Dixon). Ultimately, plans to redevelop the property were unfulfilled, as "… the public [got] an empty Tiger Stadium half a mile away; there [were] no firm plans to redevelop it; and the hope that the ballpark would contribut[e] to downtown revitalization" was lost (Lam).). Modern stadiums represent the nature of smooth and shifting modern spaces. In comparison, vacant or empty sites expose this because they have little or no advertisement. The attempts to banish, erase, or erode the dead or vacant spaces demonstrate the commercialization drive of the consumptive spaces.

The debate surrounding the preservation and use of Tiger Stadium highlights the larger development problems surrounding the city of Detroit. The most glaring similarity is that the former Tiger Stadium property is framed as vacant, empty, and useless, much like the assessment of much of property that exists throughout Detroit. Discourses of vacancy and traditional meaning of space were made evident numerous times throughout the Tiger Stadium preservation process. These discourses of vacancy are not only tied to issues with sport, but they suggest and emptying of memory. Conversely, the discourses of tourism arrange meaning around issues of, what T.S. Eliot terms, decadent athleticism. Concerns over adding more vacant space to Detroit's landscape were most often heard in the arguments favoring the preservation of all or at least part of the stadium. These pro-preservation groups also cited the tradition, symbols, and meaning of Tiger Stadium for Detroit residents. Corktown, an upscale and thriving district of Detroit after

heavy renovation, saw the preservation of Tiger Stadium as part of its overall revitalization effort. Some advocates tried to have Tiger Stadium placed on the National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places list. In supporting documents for its candidacy on the list, Tiger Stadium was hailed as "a remarkable symbol of stability for a city that has felt perhaps more keenly than many others the major social, political and economic upheavals of 20th century life" (Dixon). Despite all of these arguments about the fear of vacancy and the need to preserve past memories located in physical places, efforts to save Tiger Stadium ultimately failed.

This chapter tracks this sentiment about the value and use of spaces by examining how Detroit's sport places are governed and policed as productive or vacant spaces. The regulation these places exert on each other functions to produce both useless and useful space. This process is undertaken through the different discourses each place attempts to control and govern. Whereas the consumptive spaces govern and create the official discourse of the city, the vacant spaces monitor and produce the vernacular discourse. When understood in conjunction with one another, the consumptive and vacant spaces regulate each other in particular and nuanced ways that regulate aspects of Detroit's identity as a whole.

This chapter will also analyze how these places and spaces are haunted by a certain material presence that exerts its constitutive force in shaping Detroit's identity and the value we place on these and surrounding sports places. This material presence is aided by the extent to which both consumptive and vacant spaces regulate identity. Thus, this materiality is understood and argued as a lingering presence within the consumptive spaces that is prompted and created by the vacant spaces. Adopting Foucault's understanding of power as biopower, this chapter will begin by explaining the methods by which these spaces are regulated and governed. This

analysis is guided by the ways in which power relations are evident within these spaces. I will then describe how some of the spaces in Detroit are haunted in a discursive sense by their former meaning and value and the influence this has on the identity of Detroit. Overall, this chapter will interrogate how Detroit's sport places act as a vehicle to regulate, haunt, and shape the city's identity.

Sport Spaces, Places and Biopower

Foucault's writes about how self-regulating subjects become submissive or docile. His ideas originate out of medieval times when a King would act as the sovereign power and regulate social control through exacting revenge on those who committed crimes against the sovereign (Markula and Pringle). The force of sovereign power manifest itself in public punishment techniques like the spectacles of torture and executions. Foucault reasons that around the turn of the 19th century, this form of social control became less pronounced as more "humane" and private means of punishment came into being with the advent of the modern prison that managed and disciplined prisoners. He attributed this not to the increased human civility that became a normal practice for societies, but to the ever-increasing role of disciplinary power. In these institutions, bodies were regulated by procedures of surveillance. Foucault contends that this disciplinary power was:

> Defined [by] how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines. Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies. (138)

Markula and Pringle explain that Foucault argued that disciplined bodies were "economically efficient and politically obedient: bodies that were ideal for employment within

the capitalist workforce" (40). Perhaps Foucault's most important idea regarding surveillance and discipline was his work on biopower. Foucault reasoned that discipline was the method by which the state exerted control on individual people. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault explores how visibility and governance operate as disciplining powers. Specifically, Foucault contends that power automatically functions when spaces are arranged and organized in order to maximize regulation of that space. In addition, this system becomes automated, meaning that it does not matter who intends to conduct the surveillance, power constantly operates by "creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it" (Discipline 201). This sort of power is part of what Ronald Greene refers to as a governing apparatus, which operates as:

> …a complex field of practical reasoning that invents, circulates and regulates public problems. Following Foucault's (1991) desire to study the art of government, a governing apparatus polices a population, space and/or object by articulating an ensemble of human technologies into a functioning network of power to improve public welfare. From this perspective, rhetorical practices function as a technology of deliberation by distributing discourse, institutions and populations onto a field of action. In doing so, rhetoric allows for a governing apparatus to make judgments about what it should govern, how it should govern, as well as offering mechanisms for evaluating the success or failure of governing (22)

In his later work, Foucault argued that the way society, or capitalism, is practiced and made sensible is through the organization, disciplining, and control over large populations. In a rather straightforward way, Foucault defines biopower as, "Hence there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of 'biopwer'" (140). He contends that biopwer was an "indispensable element in the development of capitalism; the latter would not have been possible

without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of population and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes" (141).

Furthermore, Foucault argued that with the advent of biopower, "power would no longer be dealing simply with legal subjects over whom the ultimate dominion was death, but with living beings, and the mastery it would be able to exercise over them would have to be applied at the level of life itself; it was the taking charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body" (143). Understanding power as a gradual shift to the production of biopwer is important in my approach to fully explicating how spaces of consumption operate to mechanism of control. In addition, Foucault later contends that the issue of governmenatlity is a certain logic by through which a state or society carries out its rules; simply, a logic of governing. I argue that Foucault's concept of governmentality is similar to the neoliberal policies I discussed in chapter two.

For instance, spaces of consumption not only regulate a fan, but understood from Foucault and biopwer, it engages large populations of people to make capitalism intelligible. First, fans cannot engage in over-excessive or rowdy activities without the threat of removal from the stadium. This produces submissive subjects within a sports place. People adhere to certain rules and guidelines for what constitutes an obedient fan. The punishment may be severe for unruly behavior, resulting in removal of a game or future games, monetary fines, or perhaps even a court date or jail fines. Thus, the physical landscape of the ballpark or stadium governs fans behavior in distinct ways. However, the practice of biopower does not just end. When understood within a larger context, biopower not only engages people but orders them according to certain features, which I argue are mostly spatial features. The spatial layout of Comerica Park

and Ford Field establishes certain behaviors because of their location in relation to surrounding spaces within the central district of Detroit. For instance, Ford Field has signs throughout the stadium with a text message number to report unruly fans who engage in offensive behavior. Thus, while guards and police are present, the stadium asks fans to be vigilant in monitoring each other for disturbances and bad behavior. This demonstrates how biopower engages people while establishing order within these spaces.

Moreover, space is arranged so that it focuses on consumption. Here, biopower dictates practices of capitalism. This primarily takes the form of consumption of advertisements. For example, each experience provides an appeal to some other commercial activity. When eating a hot dog, one is subjected to an advertisement on the wrapper. When watching a fly ball to the outfield, a fan sees five to six advertisements during the balls journey to the outfield. When a fan uses the restroom, there are advertisements placed on the walls above the urinal to continue exposure to biopower. Consumption is not solely based on what one legally can and cannot do, but the regulation of what a fan focuses on and consumes as a viewer. Walking through the concourse of both Comerica and Ford Field, one may see anywhere from ten to thirty advertisements for some type of food, beverage, memorabilia, or merchandise. Fans are inundated with commercial advertisements when attending a game at these stadiums. At Comerica, the outfield walls are adorned with Trader Joe's, Comerica Bank, and other commercial ads. The scoreboard in left field is filled with five or six corporate logos and billboards. The Chevrolet sign in centerfield usually contains a Chevy truck and sponsors the fountains that erupt after a Tiger homerun. The digital signs are constantly flashing ads and names of sponsors throughout the games. Additionally, numerous between-inning shows are

sponsored by a corporation whose name is read by the public address announcer. Furthermore, throughout Comerica, credit card companies have representatives trying to lure fans to sign up for a credit card with an added incentive of a Tiger bag or t-shirt. As a result, fans' attention and focus are constantly being managed by the space to consume corporate messages.

Fans are regulated by what they visually and physical consume. Fans become disciplined by this process of consumption and are often unaware of its effects. There is an organizational flow of people that orders both stadiums. This is set up to reinforce the commercial activity and attraction of these spaces. The concourses are made to look and feel hip, new, exciting, and alluring. Both stadiums are clean and visually stimulating if not over-stimulating. In this regard, consumption is rather ubiquitous upon entering the space. However, despite its pervasive presence, the advertisements so over-saturate the space that fans are unlikely unaware of how much they are exposed to these messages and how it disciplines their attention and experience in the stadiums. The existence of such persistent advertising and commercialization conditions fan behavior within these spaces. Thus, it produces a certain consequence for participating within a consumptive space—that the agency of fans is becoming rearticulated into the social fabric of Detroit's identity. Fans are still able to make decisions, but the effect of their consumerist behavior becomes re-packaged with consumption and ultimately taints this articulation of identity because it is solely premised on consumption.

Therefore, Detroit's spaces of consumption are self-reproducing because their identity is never fixed—it is continuously shifting and creating new discourses. As a result, the mobile and transitory points of discourse influence the power relations in nuanced ways. Spaces of consumption are constantly producing mobile points of discourse. For example, the

advertisements and commercialization within Comerica Park and Ford Field are not only seen by fans, but they emphasize how local businesses endorse and sponsor these professional teams. The left field wall of Comerica Park is sponsored by Trader Joe's, marketed as a hip, healthy, and affordable alternative to major grocery stores. Advertisements similar to Trader Joe's are heard and seen on radio and television, especially during live telecasts of games. These ads all emphasize where the action happens—at Comerica Park. Furthermore, they also emphasize the mobile points of Comerica Park—the fact that it can be packaged, distributed, and circulated for a wider consumption. Thus, one hears or sees an advertisement on television for Trader Joe's or Little Caesar's Pizza which iterates the Tigers and Comerica Park, and the only place to see a live game is at the stadium. Similarly, the Tigers have a marketing campaign called "Whose Your Tiger?" This campaign showcases numerous players at Comerica Park asking "Who is your Tiger?" Furthermore, the metro Detroit area is plastered with billboards on interstate freeways and on local streets with professional athletes. Thus, a fan enters the stadium to watch these players and the discourse that is articulated by these billboards is repeated in the stadium. The interaction between a fan and the sport becomes part of the identity of the city. Sports are a focal point of identity. Additionally, the automotive plant on I-75 south of Detroit has an oil refinery that has been painted as a basketball commemorating the Detroit Pistons 2004 NBA Championship. That place has been transformed into a sporting identity and is visible to cars driving along the interstate. Additionally, sports places are frequently transformed into concert and entertainment venues. The sporting place now becomes a new type of consumptive space attracting different crowds of people. A person is invited to enter that place to see music artists, comedians, and other entertainment, but its consumptive value still remains the same. The

consumption does not have any particular use-value; rather it is purely fetish value. This produces a fetish commodity that has to intersect with sports at that specific sports place in order to attain its value. This process is ideological because it assumes that the viewer perceives these spaces as having attractive and stimulating value simply by seeing them. However, when fans see these glorified and highly commercialized spaces on a regular basis, they become satiated and conditioned to them. Thus, their sleek and attractive appearance slowly begins to erode and become standard. While this idea is not unique just to Detroit, it certainly places an emphasis on the stadium as a focal point for urban rejuvenation and growth.

Therefore, consumption within these spaces is repetitive. As a result, the repetitiveness regulates other spaces. The more repetitive consumption becomes, the more it is practiced and carried out by the people who occupy its space. According to Kenneth Zagacki and Victoria Gallagher, the materiality of spaces affects and regulates behavior and other rhetorical artifacts. As they explain,

> The move from symbolicity to materiality involves a shift from examining representations (what does a text mean/what are the persuader's goals) to examining enactments (what does a text or artifact do/what are the consequences beyond that of the persuader's goals) and, as Carole Blair suggests, to considering the significance of a particular artifact or text's material existence: What does it do with or against other artifacts? (172).

The materiality of these spaces is not simply in the form of the stadiums themselves. Rather, the materiality of consumptive spaces is evident in the repetitive practices that are enacted by and within the space. In addition, Carole Blair argues how the National Holocaust Museum crafts particular relationships, employs affect, and crafts identity. She explains when she visited the

museum she engaged with strangers from all over the country and shared in a transformative experience with these people. She discusses this experience,

> It was insistent and disorienting, and it carried more than quiet suggestions that its visitors should experience something akin to the miseries of the death camps. Although I was never far from the people I had met that morning, they had stopped talking to one another and to me. When I came face-to-face with the woman from Nebraska about an hour into the Museum, she did not seem to recognize me. She just kept moving…I knew that the building's rhetoric had exerted its force effectively with me. I felt exhausted, overwhelmed, resentful, and nearly frantic for some respite…At about three and a half hours, I knew I had to exit…Outside the Museum, there were others like me who just sat silently on the curb to recover (286-287).

Blair then explains the rhetorical implications for visitors to the Holocaust Museum. She contends, "It is one thing to theorize the specific effects of building design and quite another to see such a clear case of it in practice. But to acknowledge that such effects *can* be produced certainly should not be conflated with the conviction that they *should* be…Am I wrong to even suggest that some small discomfort is an unacceptable price to learn of such a horrendous event?" (287). Understanding Blair's analysis is helpful when considering the role of affect within materiality. Frequently, repetition employs affect and is influential in the experiential process. While spaces of consumption and vacancy are not as affect-laden as the Holocaust Museum, the underlying premise regarding the repetitive force of a space to facilitate affect demonstrates the utility of understanding the potential for a transformative process within a symbol-laden space.

In addition, there are many examples of repetition occurring within these spaces. First, standard acts such as purchasing a ticket and gaining admittance through the gates is repetitive. When fans enter the stadium they are presented with many opportunities. They have to locate

their seats. As they walk to their seats they are presented with a concession stand on one side, gift shops on the other, and images and iconic moments of their team in historic capsules in front of them. While each stadium is built differently, the repetitive flow to each stadium is the same. Some stadiums are rectangular in shape, some are oval, and some circular. However, the organizational flow of bodies and the ordered nature are all repetitive. Usually, a person has to walk up steps or a ramp to get to their seats. This occurs for every game and the pattern is almost identical for each game. For baseball games, this repetition occurs 81 times throughout the course of six months. For football games, this repetition occurs for eight non-consecutive weeks throughout the fall. Conversely, waiting at a subway stop or driving our morning commute to work are both repetitive behaviors. These behaviors represent capitalism's ability to engage us in day-to-day activities. In comparison, the self-reproducing and repetitive nature of a baseball or football season demonstrates the discursive force as to how we engage capitalism on a mass scale of consumption. Stadiums teach us repetitive behaviors for how to be a consumer. These instances demonstrate the difference between Foucault's concepts of biopower and biopolitics. The practices of biopower create the conditions of possibility for biopolitics. Maurizio Lazzarto stipulates between biopower and biopolitics. He contends, "Biopolitics is the strategic coordination of these power relations in order to exact a surplus of power from living beings…Biopower coordinates and targets a power that does not properly belong to it, that comes from the 'outside'. Biopower is always born of something other than itself" (3). The self-reproducing nature of games is biopolitical because it governs how biopower is managed and practiced. Biopower is the actual practice of organizing large populations of people to engage in capitalism, whereas biopolitics is how that practice is governed and made sensible.

Furthermore, the gaze of the fans directed on the field of play is repetitive—there is a certain rhythm to the game directing the fan's frame of vision. There are repetitive cheers throughout a game. For example, the "Day-Oh" chant, which originated during rugby matches, occurs routinely throughout a game. The fight song of a team is chanted after a big play. During baseball games, the seventh inning stretch is always a proud moment for home fans. Before the game begins, the National Anthem is sung by someone on the field and certain ritualistic practices occur during and after it. Next, standing in line at concession stands is orderly and someone is always in line. However, aside from these standard repetitive practices, there is also a sense of a logical flow to the stadium itself. It is organized around the concourses, which are focused on mass consumption within and outside of the stadium. Bodies move in a repetitive pattern throughout the game. The repetitive nature of consumption occurring within these spaces produces the need for more consumption. Thus, repetition is an integral component to the process of consumption. Foucault explains that formations display aspects of repetition that contribute to the construction of power relations (Archaeology 21-22). The repetitiveness of consumptive spaces becomes standardized the more they are practiced and rehearsed.

This repetitiveness of consumption also produces submissive and docile behavior. Specifically, consumption is passive and despite its ubiquitous nature, it often goes unnoticed because we do not think of stadiums as large spaces decorated with commercial activity. This form of stadium has become more of a modern trend in the last decade, and professional stadiums are driven primarily by corporate investors. Thus, consumption creates submissive subjects who are willing to obey the rules and practices, and submit to the consumptive-driven behaviors that define the space. This type of submissive consumption encourages a capitalist

logic discussed in the previous chapter. Specifically, sports places which promote consumptive behaviors want to produce economic incentives for their own needs and want to draw attention to their spaces and surrounding areas. Harvey contends that whoever controls the material aspects of time, money, and space controls capital (227). This is an extremely salient feature of consumption, which the owners and management of sports places attempt to capitalize on and reinforce through the consumptive practices they offer inside their stadiums.

Conversely, Tiger Stadium and Joe Louis Arena do not govern one's view. They are more concerned with the on-field action than promoting commercial activity. The focus in these stadiums is the game itself, with little to no distraction from corporate America. They had largely green and white walls with few advertising boards, concourses that largely sell food, beverages and souvenirs. These places are located in relatively non-modern commercial areas. However, in recent years Joe Louis Arena has caught up to the rest of the NHL arenas and began placing sponsors along the boards and on the ice. Walking through the concourse of Joe Louis Arena, the Red Wings history is chronicled with statues of former Wing greats, trophy cases and memorabilia, and other iconic tokens of Wing history. Tiger Stadium was a very community-friendly environment. People would walk around inside and outside of the stadium, and baseball and the ballpark would be the focus of their experience. There were no historical capsules, Ferris wheels, carousels, or other spaces of consumption surrounding the stadiums. Additionally, Detroit did not utilize each space in terms of their marketability as they do with Comerica and Ford Field. These stadiums were still perceived as markers of the city's identity, but they were not inundated with the corporate advertisements and sponsorships seen in today's stadiums.

These features of Tiger Stadium and The Olympia did not produce obedient subjects in the same manner as their consumptive counterparts. Rather, the vacant stadiums policed fans in different, rather unconventional ways when compared with Comerica Park and Ford Field. There was no emphasis of commercial advertisements inside Tiger Stadium. Fans came to the park to watch the team play, absorb the environment and interact with each other. The practices of consumption were not standardized as they are with today's sports places. Tiger Stadium and Olympia gave fans more autonomy within their stadium experience. The sovereignty and self-sufficient nature of Tiger Stadium and Olympia was replaced by the disciplined and controlled disposition of Comerica Park and Ford Field. Thus, the vacant spaces allowed fans to create their own involvement with the stadium rather than govern the manner in which they consume that understanding.

Vacant spaces were once seen as very esteemed and attractive sport places. Tiger Stadium was arguably the most popular of these places. Its intimate setting inside the ballpark, coupled with its community-friendly location in the Corktown neighborhood of Detroit set it apart from other stadiums. It opened on the same day as historic Fenway Park in Boston, and both stadiums emphasized a sort of public kinship that each stadium had with their surrounding areas. Tiger Stadium was a beacon of aspirations for the city of Detroit while it was in existence. As former Tiger great and Hall of Famer Al Kaline stated, "Tiger Stadium's strengths lie not in its dazzling architecture or creature comforts but in its character and charm" ("Tiger Stadium, Briggs Stadium, Navin Field"). Former Tiger Alan Trammel had similar thoughts when he said, "I came from Southern California, and we were used to big stadiums, big parking lots, and I drove by here and the cab driver said, 'That's Tiger Stadium' and I said, 'Where? That thing? It

looks like a fortress!'" (qtd in Albom). Longtime Tiger great and 1968 World Series Champion Willie Horton humbly stated, ""That '68 team has always been credited with helping bring the races together in the city the year after the riots…That might be one of the proudest achievements I ever had during my Tiger career. That might have been the first time the Tigers ever made that connection with the black community" (qtd in Sharp).

Whereas vacant spaces rely on history, tradition, and nostalgia to influence identity, consumptive spaces rely on commercial activity and the arrangement of places within close proximity to each other to influence identity. Thus, both vacant and consumptive spaces rhetorically manipulate identity and attempt to manage it according to their preferred system of order. The materiality of these spaces influences their resulting effects, and these effects produce control. Vacant spaces govern people because of the free will they allow subjects to have. They do not regulate behavior in a strict manner like their counterparts. However, vacant spaces regulate and govern behavior because they are anchored in history and tradition, an experiential process that is sewn into the narrative of that past, which will be discussed in much more detail below. Conversely, consumptive spaces condition people to a certain type of behavior. The commercial activity elicits a certain response, which becomes repetitive, and is reinforced by subsequent behavior that models consumption. Thus, both spaces are problematic. Vacant spaces are invested in creating a friendly atmosphere celebrating community. However, these spaces are unable to thrive in today's current landscape when competing against consumptive spaces because they struggle to include other embedded meanings within their spaces. Conversely, despite places of consumption as becoming the now-dominant mode of stadium building and urban rejuvenation, they struggle to produce the more authentic meanings of their vacant

counterparts. The following section will explore how both consumptive and vacant spaces regulate, control, and govern their surrounding spaces, albeit in different and nuanced ways.

Places Regulate Surrounding Spaces

Spaces of consumption do not just regulate behavior and practices within stadiums. They also regulate and control surrounding spaces. In order to be considered a consumptive space, it is necessary that its surrounding spaces are also commercial and consumption-based to draw consumers to the space. Thus, consumptive spaces regulate and control the types of spaces that can exist around it. Only certain types of businesses are allowed to exist within these spaces. Certain bars, restaurants, and other popular spaces are built to transform consumptive spaces into more attractive destination zones for city-goers. As stated in the previous chapter, there is a certain mindset dictating how these spaces are built. Especially in a city like Detroit, it is considered imperative that these spaces are as appealing as possible in order for the entire area to flourish and succeed. In addition, accessibility is a key feature that organizations and leaders address. In order for the spaces to draw crowds, they need to be easily accessible. This type of landscape encourages suburbanites to flock to the city with a relatively easy entrance, and then presents the ability to leave with that same access. This occurs after games at Comerica and Ford Field, when one-way streets are turned into two-way streets or are closed down to allow access to the major expressways within the central district. In these ways, Comerica Park and Ford Field have a profound effect on how the rest of the downtown space is managed and developed. While many people might celebrate this attraction to the city space as an important step to connect the city and suburbs, it only creates unsustainable development because it maintains the city-suburb divide by making consumption quick, easily accessible and escapable (for the affluent).

In comparison, vacant spaces are often built in non-commercial or community-friendly areas. The surrounding space of Joe Louis Arena is extremely non-commercial and resembles an industrial neighborhood. Similarly, Tiger Stadium was located in community-friendly Corktown. Corktown is a small neighborhood located a few miles west of the downtown core that offered a more neighborhood-like approach to experiencing a game. Zagacki and Gallagher remind us that the materiality of spaces are influential because of their impact on other artifacts. This is extremely pronounced within Detroit. Corktown is a small and tight-knit community. Tiger Stadium was very similar; it served as a beacon of the city's neighborhood-like qualities. Conversely, with the shift towards more commercial-friendly and consumptive-driven markets, Comerica Park and Ford Field reconfigure Detroit's downtown as an entertainment district that is more aligned with highly commercialized major downtown areas across the United States.

The popularity of Comerica Park and Ford Field has stimulated much interest in building more sports stadiums in that area of downtown Detroit. Tom Wilson, of Ilitch Holdings, was hired away from the Pistons and Palace Sports and Entertainment to oversee the financing and construction of a new stadium for the Red Wings. After the Platinum Equity chairman and CEO Tom Gores bought the Pistons, much discussion and debate began about bringing the Pistons downtown and building a new stadium that would house both the Pistons and Red Wings. However, discussions about moving the Pistons slowly evaporated because former owner Bill Davidson built The Palace with his own finances rather than with a public-private tax incentive partnership. Additionally, the upkeep on The Palace has been strong and new additions have recently taken place that still makes it one of the premier basketball and entertainment arenas. With the collapse of a Pistons move, talks of a new Red Wings arena located near Comerica and

Ford Field has emerged. The Detroit Free Press in April 2013 noted that earlier in 2013 Michigan lawmakers approved a plan that would give the Downtown Development Authority tax dollars that could be used for the construction of a new $650 million multi-purpose stadium. It was reported that the DDA has had two decades to pay off Detroit's obligation bonds worth an estimated $12.8 million per year (Walsh "State OKs up to $450 million"). On July 20, 2013 The Detroit Free Press reported that Governor Rick Snyder and Emergency Financial Manager Kevyn Orr announced that public funds would be used to support a new Red Wings arena, complete with an entertainment and housing district. This announcement was made amidst the city's filing for bankruptcy. Specifically, Snyder said that, "It's a public-private partnership that will lead to a number of construction jobs and more tax revenue. Let's try to do as much as possible to grow the city" (Walsh "Rick Snyder, Kevyn Orr"). However, Bruce Katz, director of the Brookings Institution's Metropolitan Policy Program, stated that Detroit is an exception to the idea of public subsidies for sports stadiums. He stated, "Because you had a team like the Lions come back from the suburbs, it sort of reinforced the centrality of the city, the role of the city, and that was really important here" (qtd in Walsh "Rick Snyder, Kevyn Orr"). Katz also stated in the July 25, 2013 Free Press that, "Sports teams have a hold on the civic pride of places," (qtd in Walsh "State OKs up to $450 million"). Furthermore, Brian Holdwick, executive vice-president of the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation, reiterated this idea by stating, "The reason we have the Hilton Garden Inn and the (Westin) Book Cadillac hotel is that their developers followed where new stadiums were being built." (qtd in Walsh "Rick Snyder, Kevyn Orr"). The tax-increment-financing (TIF) is a law in Detroit that allows property taxes to be used for economic projects that will create jobs. This same discourse surfaced during the 1970s, when

Mayor Coleman Young spearheaded the construction of Joe Louis Arena, the current home of the Red Wings. Thus, despite filing for bankruptcy, millions of dollars were found for an unnecessary stadium. This occurred without any city-wide debate, local media discussion, a city town hall meeting, or any vote. Furthermore, there was no debate on this topic; it was simply announced one day and reported as finalized. In comparison, to repurpose the space of Tiger Stadium with significant meaning for Detroit, there is a protracted conflict that has lasted for decades without any hint of success or compromise from either side.

This discourse is strikingly similar to other development projects within the city. For example, the purchase of the old Packard Automotive plant has been ongoing for years. The Detroit Free Press reported that Chicago-area developer William Hults has yet to transfer a non-refundable $300,000 deposit to Wayne County in order to secure the vacant lot (Reindl). Hults has been a frontrunner for purchasing the space for over a year, and reports continue to surface that the city has given him numerous extensions. These discourses represent how repurposing stadiums and other projects rarely attract as much attention compared to redeveloping or just building something new. This is a relevant issue because Detroit is laden with buildings that are condemned, and developers want to build new structures so they can sustain them into the future. This is appealing to many people. However, these discourses demonstrate that the cost of building is frequently placed on the citizens of the city in the form of subsidies to cover the cost of these projects. With the discourse surrounding the new Red Wings arena now in full swing, there was much debate regarding the use of Tiger Stadium after the Tigers left over 10 years ago. The stadium stood vacant for over eight years, with many plans to renovate and rebuild it. The major argument advanced in these negotiations was the loss of memory that Detroit would

endure as a result of demolishing the stadium. If plans to memorialize this space were to never occur, a permanent sore spot would be left on the city and fans, leaders, and engaged citizens of Corktown and surrounding areas did not want to see this happen.

Both discussions of the new Red Wings home and the demolition of Tiger Stadium further reinforce the notion that sports places regulate and control surrounding areas, Detroit's identity, and its development. The new Olympia Stadium (the proposed name for the new Red Wings arena) would house a large 6,000 square foot restaurant along with 35,000-40,000 square foot retail space, among other attractions. This type of development would no doubt be pivotal in the process of rebuilding Detroit and its identity. However, it would also create a heavy tax burden for citizens of Detroit, and possibly surrounding cities, as well as add to the mystifying nature of Detroit's identity—one that is constantly being penetrated by contradictory efforts of city leaders and developers in an attempt to rejuvenate the city while simultaneously adding to its dire financial state and perplexing city governance. When compared with the identity of the vacant sports places, this new manufactured identity would dominate and bleed into the request for preservation of Tiger Stadium. Since the city seems intent on creating new spaces of consumption, it ultimately sidesteps and completely misses the significance of preserving a place considered sacred to many vested within Detroit. Advocates for preserving Tiger Stadium wanted to bring the Michigan Sports Hall of Fame to the site, preserve the field as a youth league field, and keep the section behind home plate as a memorial to the stadium and its long, rich history. However, these plans never materialized because of a host of reasons explained in the beginning of this chapter. Preservation efforts do not fit into the discourse and logic that runs through the governing apparatus of developing Detroit. Preserving a space which contains

nothing but memory is not commercial, and thus not seen as productive, smooth, and fluid. Thus, the factors allowing this discourse to exist mean that redevelopment discourse simply crowds out these preservation options and refuses to allow it to exist. Ultimately, Detroit was left with another blighted space at the center of one of its most storied spaces. These debates detail the ways in which sports places influence the regulation and commodification of other spaces within the city.

Regulation of Sports Places effect on Detroit's Identity

Detroit's sports places have a profound influence on the city's identity. The construction of docile and obedient fans inside sports stadiums and as docile consumers outside the stadium has several implications for Detroit's identity First, it creates the illusion that sports actually do stimulate economic growth and investment. This claim is supported by research conducted by Delaney and Eckstein's economists and other social scientists (Alexander, Kern, and Neill; Coates; Eckstein and Delaney; Property Counselors) work on the financing of public dollars for private sports stadiums. Second, it also conditions fans to the experiences of a stadium but does not maintain a sustained interest so that fans stay to be part of the city outside of the few locations that immediately surround the stadiums. As a result, development does not extend very far into the city. This influences the way people perceive Detroit, creating an artificial engagement with the city because despite the popularity of sports, it functions as a secondary alliance and a source of entertainment that is sustained for a limited amount of time. The different types of spaces—vacant and consumption—shape the fans; experiences at these ballparks shape how they view Detroit. Where vacant stadiums are built around history,

consumptive spaces feature consumption and a manufactured and detachment from that history. These rhetorical elements create conflicting identities for the city.

To understand the influence of these identities it is important to note the materiality of spaces. Dickinson and Ott argue scholars studying neoliberal capitalism should more fully attend to the symbolicity and materiality of landscapes and the built environment (2). Specifically, the authors contend,

> We believe that recent work in communication and other disciplines on materiality can aid in that charge. Though dominant understandings of communication continue to focus on symbolicity, running beside and beneath this mode of thinking is an awareness of communication's fundamental materiality—its inherent thingness. Communication's materiality is not strictly opposed to symbolicity, nor is it only a supplement. The symbol, when perceived, is already itself material; it is a sound, or sight, or texture—matter registered on the body. In addition to the materiality of signs, of course, are the manifold communicative enactments and performances that are deeply suasory, but whose forcefulness is poorly accounted for with recourse to symbols…Landscapes, like music, operate on a material (as well as symbolic) register—a register that affects how neoliberal capitalism is manifested in particular spaces and times. As we have already argued, neoliberal policies and the forces of globalization do not occur in the ether; they do not exist only, or perhaps even primarily, in the circulation of capital information, or design. Instead, as people take up, make use of, and are used by capital, information, and design, they do so in particular places and under specific conditions (2).

Dickinson and Ott are concerned with the particular material elements of the built environment that act as a force on people to foster their engagement in capitalistic practices. In addition, their work informs my distinctions between physicality and materiality. By physicality, I refer to the actual stadiums, the built environment surrounding the stadiums in Detroit's central district. By materiality, I refer how the physicality of the built environment is discursively mapped by sports locations in ways that have importance and meaning; thus, this is the material function of rhetoric.

Thus, the result is that consumption begins to take sole possession of these identities. Consumptive practices then manage and regulate how identity is constructed. For example, by making sports a central focus of the city, people commune around this identity and consumption starts to monitor itself while simultaneously exerting control over how people access identity. When sports become the dominant mode of identity making for a city, people only access the city through sports. This is problematic because it positions sports as a vehicle to forget aspects of the city's past and distracts from the issues that are plaguing the city. Sports are productive as markers of identity when they represent the benefits of a city; they are not productive, and at times destructive, when they emphasize the city's defects through exploiting its citizens. In Detroit, this is evident through the implementation of a heavy tax burdens on citizens who are already struggling in order to finance a sports stadium. Furthermore, citizens are exploited when sports become the predominant mode of attempting to recast a city in a positive manner.

Resistance to the heavily promoted hip and commercial identity occurs as the material and historical reality of Detroit's spaces cut through the new identity. Foucault's understanding of power as disciplinary and located within discursive formations creates possibilities for its own resistance. According to Foucault, resistance is not the "violent ruptures" that attempt to overrule power, but are "cleavages" or as Markula and Pringle explain "points, knots, or focuses of resistance—that are distributed in irregular fashion over power relations at multiple points" (88). Foucault describes resistance as:

> …dealing with mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings, furrowing across individuals themselves, cutting them up and remolding them, marking of irreducible regions in them, in their bodies and minds. Just as the network of power relations ends by forming a dense web that passes through apparatuses and institutions, without being

> exactly localized in them, so too the swarm of points of resistance traverses social stratifications and individual unities. (Foucault 1978, 96)

Foucault is discussing how biopower operates as a mechanism to regulate people. Understanding power and resistance as spatial and discursive, these sites of resistance within sports places can disrupt, form, and reshape different identities and relations within the formation. In Detroit, consumptive spaces' attempts to shape, control, and regulate the city's identity based on commercial appeal also produce ruptures that expose the former or vacant spaces. The vacant and former spaces anchor parts of Detroit's identity with history and tradition, allowing for remembrance of its former spaces and articulating those identities against the force and materiality of the consumptive spaces. For instance, in the construction of Comerica Park there was no attempt made by developers and architects to include any gesture towards Tiger Stadium. This outraged many fans when Comerica Park opened.

Thus, the rhetorical effect of the vacant spaces is to haunt the consumptive spaces in an attempt to resist them. Comerica Park cannot exist without the memory of Tiger Stadium. For example, the concourse at Comerica has numerous historical capsules chronicling the history of the Tigers and Tiger Stadium. These capsules contain images of notable games at Tiger Stadium, players who played there, and popular moments in Tiger history. This is the memory now preserved of Tiger Stadium, but the memory of Tiger Stadium also lingers in fans' minds. Author Tom Stanton, who wrote a memoir of the final 1999 season at Tiger Stadium, states that, "The place is tied to so many of our lives; we lose something when we erase these places from our landscape," (qtd in Dixon). Additionally, some users on a blog dedicated to remembering Tiger Stadium and debating the issue of preservation comment:

> "Naw, going to a Tigers game during the 50's through 68 were the best. As a kid growing up in the 50's, I had the pleasure of watching many of the greats play ball. I first saw Al Kaline play as a 18 year old rookie. He was always my hero. I was at the park when Denny McClain won his 31st game. I will never forget the thrill of watching Mantle hit the ball out of the park onto Trumbull Ave. (pre steroid days). It was also exciting to watch Mantle & Maris duel it out for the home run title in 1961." (SCBaker).
>
> "Let's just hope the Little League fields really get built. Re-development plans have a way of crumbling in this city. But hopefully Tiger Stadium plans go as planned and opens the flood gates of demolishing/renovating old buildings around the city. I mean just a mile is Central Station….they need to figure out what to do with that place" (Blaw82).
>
> "The first time I ever entered the gates of Tiger Stadium was in the summer of 1968-yes, I got to see the fabled '68 Tigers: Willie Horton, Al Kaline, Denny McClain, Bill Freehan, Gates Brown…all of my childhood sports heroes…Fond memories. And now, typical of Detroit, this classic stadium-one of only a few classics left (Fenway Park, Wrigley Field, and Yankee Stadium are the others)-just like so much of Detroit's past, has met the wrecking ball. I have always said that Detroit loves to tear down its past because, it seems, many (but not all) blacks in the area feel these classic buildings-anything built before (Detroit's first black mayor) Coleman Young's reign is not worth saving. (Historical Ken).

Indeed, there are mixed reactions about how to remember Tiger Stadium. However, popular opinion asserts that the people who saw games there will remember their experiences for a lifetime. Thus, the materiality of these places is compared to other spaces surrounding it and attempts to provide a full historical narrative that combines both spaces into one history. For example, on the same blog cited above, a user contends that the issue surrounding Tiger Stadium is one of accountability. He explains:

> "Your talk of big pictures, economics, and wealthy people making investments in Detroit doesn't make sense to me. If there is a big picture that we are missing please enlighten us. This is a simple matter. The owner of the team and the stadium, who is extremely wealthy, moved the team to benefit himself. The "entertainment district" is called Ilitch Town. The city is stronger by taking the economic engine out of Corktown? The city is stronger because of all the family owned for generations small business around Tiger Stadium failed? The city is stronger because a certain billionaire bought up a downtown area at a bargain rate, leveled historic buildings and then raised his own property value by

> moving the Tigers there? The city is stronger because of Johnny Rockets? Don't say "we" don't have any money. Certain people have the money to preserve Tiger Stadium personally. The rest of us could easily pool our resources if we valued history but we shouldn't have too. We may not own the franchise but it is our money that makes it worth owning. If you can pay a player 20 million a year, you can cough up 25 million as a tax right off to preserve the place that so much history happened. Move on? I moved on 10 years ago. This isn't about being stuck in the past. Its about accountability. Those that don't learn history are doomed to repeat it" (constantly gardening).

Detroit's spaces of vacancy, while constantly overmatched by consumptive spaces, continue to affect the city's identity because of their ability to mark their respective spaces with a certain sense force. Jacques Derrida examined the discursive effect of a mark on discourses. Derrida was interested in the ways that material rhetoric produces force, even when it is a ghostly or a haunting presence. Drawing on Derrida's work, Trapani and Young argue that de-materialized rhetoric can shape discourses even without a physical presence that is often understood as materiality. Specifically, they state:

> To underscore a critical point in Derrida's account—and to correct what we worry is a drift in the field toward equating materiality with physicality—it is not the "thing-ness" of an object that produces materiality (as in the contours or presence of a body, a museum, the mass group of protestors, e.g.); it is the passive, infinite, and trenchant force emanating from a mark that combats all efforts to counter or contain it. (697)

The stipulation made by Trapani and Young's quote in comparison with Dickinson and Ott's above is relevant for several reasons. First, while both camps discuss the "thing-ness" of materiality, I argue that the sight, sound, texture, or ability of the built environment to produce a force acts on large populations of people in distinct ways. The force is constituted by the material nature of the built environment. Thus, I do not mean to conflate the two quotations, rather, both inform my position of materiality and the function of rhetoric. In describing Derrida's discussion of terrorism as a de-material presence, Trapani and Young claim that it is not the presence of the terrorist that arouses anxiety or fear. Instead, "the terror of terrorism comes from the formless,

disassociating, and disabling anxiety produced by the specter of terrorism's possibility; that, theoretically, at any moment any person in any place can become the terrorist's next target" (697). There is a potent mark emanating from vacant spaces, like the haunting and de-material spirit described by Derrida. This mark lingers, clings, and manifests itself within the hyper-real spaces of consumption. Vacant spaces have a haunting discursive presence that influences Detroit's identity on numerous levels. First, the rhetoric of those vacant places create a rather disjointed identity due to its ability to disrupt the modern and commercial identity. This identity is left unsettled due to the lingering materiality of memories of the city and its history. Second, this haunting presence only has force because of the existence of commercial spaces. In other words, the haunting presence only becomes meaningful in the face of the threat posed by consumptive spaces.

Additionally, due to the intense debate and issues surrounding Tiger Stadium's demise, this haunting only further complicates Detroit's identity. There are still people who want to preserve the Tiger Stadium place and want to see a memorial or a new ballpark built in the same space. Third, Comerica Park lacks any real tribute to Tiger Stadium, except in the historic capsules located on the main concourse and the statues of great players in the outfield. However, the traces of Tiger Stadium that linger within Comerica Park are embedded within the discourse that compares the two ballparks, the viewpoints and perspectives of people who cherish Tiger Stadium and who opposed its demolition and ultimate demise. While this does not necessarily threaten the status of the new ballpark, these traces assert the value of Tiger Stadium in an attempt to position its history against city leaders' attempts to redevelop the city. The subsequent result of this discourse pits Tiger Stadium against Comerica Park—specifically, it positions

preservationists' intent on commemorating Tiger Stadium against those who call themselves "realists," those who see Tiger Stadium as an eyesore on the city and the space it sits on as valuable space which can contribute to its economic growth. For example, an internet thread dedicated to keeping users up-to-date on the demolition process, showed users on both sides of this debate. Those intent on preserving the space contend:

> Tiger Stadium destroyed. Someone should be held accountable. After some thought I have decided to blame the Caesar of Little Caesars. I blame him because he moved from the Tiger Stadium to downtown to make himself richer. I thought he was shameless but I understand the temptation of money. Now the billionaire can't spare a measly tax deductible 25 million to save a bit of Tiger Stadium? Who do you blame? If there is anyone out there that thinks this was a good idea I would be interested to hear why (constantly gardening).
>
> "'[George] Jackson [CEO of the Detroit Economic Growth Committee] wouldn't put a timetable on a decision about demolition, but acknowledged, "We're at a point when we have to make a decision soon and it won't be based on something with no substance.'
>
> If the Administration and/or DEGC really are thinking about demolishing Tiger Stadium, that is all the more reason to give Mr. Glanz [co-founder of Capital Mortgage Funding, who wants to preserve the stadium for youth leagues] the 4-6 months that he requested…Therefore, giving him a few months to examine it won't really cost the City anything. If he can make the project work, great. It's another historic property that we can bring back on-line; creating more jobs and tax revenue in the process" (Fnemecek).

Conversely, those "realists" contend:

> …I can certainly understand peoples fond memories of Tiger Stadium, but I think it was time for it to go. The Ilitch's obviously carry a lot weight in this town and I think they wanted it gone and that probably trumped everything else. That and the fact that the city never really got any realistic private redevelopment plans other than pie in the sky proposals with no legitimate financing (redford dude).
>
> Tiger Stadium was the oldest in the league. It was beyond repair. They had chicken wire in the press booth for Christ sakes. Ilitch didn't own Tiger Stadium, the city of Detroit did since the 70's. Ilitich also doesn't own Comerica, the Wayne County sports authority did. The residents of Detroit voted and approved a new stadium, so quit bitching that this was

> all Ilitch's doing. If Detroiters didn't want a new stadium, they should've voted no and watch the Tigers move to the suburbs (scolls).
>
> To me, the entire thing should have been demolished the day of the first game at Comerica. To leave that place in rot for 10 years is just another in the seemingly endless examples of Detroit's continued decline, apathy, and incompetence. Make condos out of Tiger Stadium? Make a shopping center out of Tiger Stadium? Make a museum out of a little piece of Tiger Stadium? Are you KIDDING ME? Hell no! It either stands in all its glory or doesn't stand at all! That was my position from the very first day I heard about the plans to build Comerica, and that is my position today (The Northerner).

These remarks have shaped public opinion regarding the demise of Tiger Stadium and the juxtaposition between the two stadiums. Furthermore, what is made clearer is the discourse pertaining to Detroit's redevelopment and sports role in this process. Thus, the spectres from Tiger Stadium become evident within Comerica Park's empty commercialization. There is a certain lethargy to commercialization that simultaneously brings excitement to Comerica Park. This haunting subsumes the newer ballpark and is evident within the nuanced ways Tiger Stadium is discussed in conjunction with Comerica. The "realists" contend that it was time for Tiger Stadium to go, the city needed a new ballpark for the Tigers. Conversely, the preservationists assert that an appropriate memorial should be erected in the place of Tiger Stadium and that the city lost a favorable chance to preserve some of the city's history. This discourse continues today and remains embedded within the discourse of sports and redevelopment.

Tiger Stadium changes as a result of the retelling of its history. While its remembrance is not altered, its status as an icon of Detroit identity becomes transformed. So-called "realists" perceive Tiger Stadium as a decaying, rotten, old structure. They admit it was a marker of identity. However, these same groups contend that it represented and perpetuated the city's blight, especially during its vacant status in the 10 years after it closed. However,

preservationists assert the stadium will always signify a beacon of hope for the city and that its iconic status will remain unchanged. The images of its demolition and subsequent vacancy live in the minds of fans and those who witnessed its destruction. Photographs of Tiger Stadium appear inside Comerica Park, and construct an official memory of the former stadium. However, there are numerous eerie photographs of Tiger Stadium appearing in the mainstream press, in online magazines and websites devoted to remembering Tiger Stadium, and most importantly in people's minds. These images alter the form of Tiger Stadium and how it is remembered. It remains with Comerica Park while simultaneously being forgotten. Tiger Stadium becomes a ghost that lives in baseball history and is forever remembered as part of a past that was troublesome. These are problematic memories because they produce discourses focused on the demise and decaying nature of Tiger Stadium. These photographs contribute to the haunting nature of Tiger Stadium within the place of Comerica, and attempt to recast the former stadium within points of resistance to the new stadium. This recasts the positions between the "realists" and the preservationists.

The effect of this discourse on Detroit's identity is profound. It reinforces the vacancy of the city and reminds people that Detroit is forever caught in a state of repair. The Tiger Stadium preservation process garnered so much attention that it became a heated topic of debate for years and continues even today. The new consumptive spaces attempt to appropriate the old spaces, yet they fail to successfully capture them. Rather, what remains is a Detroit that is building commercial spaces yet avoiding the use of its older historical spaces. Images of commercial spaces recast a new Detroit, one that rhetorically transforms the relationship between sports places and redevelopment projects into an official discourse. This identity promises economic

growth, livable conditions, job security and social value. However, this new image ultimately divides the city even further because of its inability to extend to all parts of the city. Focusing redevelopment efforts around sports, and solely around consumption, only attains temporal effects. As a result, remaining neighborhoods and parts of Detroit are excluded from redevelopment due to their decaying landscape and inability to be articulated into this new, consumptive discourse. What is left is a Detroit that has hopes of creating a new identity, but will struggle due to its inability to see beyond itself.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how Detroit's sports places govern and haunt each other and the effectiveness of this discourse. The city's sports places police and maintain an order in regards to sports. These places, and the discourses that surround these locations, want to uphold a certain idea of Detroit through sports. This produces a type of civic ownership that fans demonstrate regarding their city. Specifically, people feel connected to Detroit through sports and this occurs through the consumption at sports places. In these places, the stadiums govern fan behavior by giving fans agency as to how they orient themselves to the city. Consumptive spaces assert that identity begins and ends with them—there is no room to look outside the space because the space itself is at the center for the production of discourses and memories. Thus, redeveloping urban planning around consumptive spaces is problematic because these places contain so much rhetorical force. This force attempts to assert its value and worth over the entire city, thus, fetishizing the entire city.

Additionally, the sports places govern each other by giving order and direction to how people engage in the ritual meaning of sports. This order is more pronounced in Detroit than other cities due to the city's current state of affairs. People need some type of hope and distraction from what is happening around them, and sports is an ideal space to offer this type of relationship. This has both positive and negative effects. It is beneficial because it promotes community and engages in acts that serve community interests. Additionally, distractions are helpful for an urban city like Detroit because it allows people to gain access to uplifting aspects of city identity. However, these spaces are also problematic as the spectres are manifested within the vacant spaces. As stated above, these spectres not only fetishize the city, they capitalize on the fetish to create rhetorical vacuums from which people perceive the city. Furthermore, the spectres allow people to interact with an authentic, but also troubled, history. For instance, The Corner Tap Room is set to open inside Comerica Park for the 2015 MLB season. The restaurant will serve as a dedication to Tiger Stadium. Specifically, the restaurant will feature "[f]our display cases [that] will pay homage to the site over the years. One will feature items from the Navin Field era, another will feature its history as Briggs Stadium and a third will showcase its years as Tiger Stadium. The fourth will represent events unrelated to baseball that took place there, including a fight by Joe Louis and a visit by Nelson Mandela" (Rector). Additionally, the restaurant will feature a "vestibule [that] will be covered with replicas of bricks from the stadium…and outside the door, a replica of the street sign at the corner of Michigan and Trumbull will give visitors another place to pose for photos" (Rector). Thus, the biopower existing within the consumptive spaces is reinforced through the spectres produced from their vacant counterparts. The potential for capitalism to occur within the consumptive spaces is

strengthened by the presence of the spectres. In addition, the authentic but troubled history of the vacant spaces is becoming packaged for consumption within Comerica Park as well.

Moreover, these consumptive sports places create strictly linear views of Detroit. They promote consumption of urban renewal by excluding the exploitation of urban blight. This has profound rhetorical implications for urban planners and city developers as they attempt to recast Detroit as a beacon of hope by concealing and perpetuating hegemonic discourses that oppress the people living there and the conditions in which they find themselves. This produces discourses that encourages people in the suburbs to continually say, "Detroit is its own worst enemy. Detroit is doomed. The people of Detroit are too stubborn." This only further polarizes the city and metropolitan areas.

The haunting presence of the city's sports places provide people with a sense of history regarding their city, and they engage in a form of civic duty as a result. While the physical structure of Tiger Stadium is gone, more emphasis is placed on that space to communicate memory. Today, that space is occupied by the infield which continues to be preserved. Additionally, the symbolic meaning of "The Corner" of Michigan Avenue and Trumbull Avenue connotes memories that no longer have a physical marker to signify the value of the space. This civic duty is unique to Detroit because people pride themselves on remembering, understanding, and retelling this history to other people in and outside of Detroit. This recounting of city history is crucial to identity-making for Detroit, as it posits a civic pride that many Detroiters value and take seriously. This aspect of identity construction is self-sustaining because it relies on people and citizens to help anchor Detroit's identity. The community identity of Detroit is shaped by the public and is sustained throughout time. This is due to the ability of public discourse to embed

itself within the discourses of sports. Thus, it is sustained throughout time because it is rearticulated from public to commercialized discourse. Despite these identities engaging in tension and battle for public memory, public discourse about sports stadiums articulates the positions of preservationist efforts and those who consider themselves "realists". Thus, public discourse about these sports stadiums causes the tension over public memory. However, the effect of this discourse reinforces the polarization that plague Detroit. This dialectic is woven into the official discourses of the city. Despite the ability of these discourses in constructing an identity, they create points of resistance.

When understood in conjunction with consumption, these points of resistance construct an identity that appears feasible and productive. However, this process demands more consumption, which increases the repetition of behaviors and practices within the discursive formation. Redevelopment projects then focus their plans around consumptive spaces, under the guise that these ideas will have productive economic, cultural, and social effects. Thus, the entire process is self-reproducing because it articulates and rearticulates identities the city feels it can manage and appropriate to its advantage. The effect of this discourse-making process is that fans in sports stadiums are the result of consumptive practices. They are not only the result of this process, but function as the means by which it sustains itself and gains rhetorical force. This need creates more consumption and stimulates the entire cycle. The significance of this self-reproducing process is the ever-elusive idea of Detroit created as a result. Commercialization and consumptive spaces mask the real problems occurring in Detroit. In an attempt to rearticulate discourses into a productive form, they disguise the discourse in commercialized form to capture an essence of the city in order to promote its rebirth.

Second, Detroit's sports places regulate the city's identity. The regulation of this identity restricts options for the people who interact with these spaces. The perceived authenticity of these spaces gives the illusion of choice. However, the effect of these spaces limits consumers' options because the space organizes, categorizes, and regulates their behavior. Thus, these spaces not only govern people's identity but the identity of the city due to their appearance as authentic and the rhetorical force to articulate new identities from the context of the sports place itself. People perceive their consumption to be authentic, and the Detroit brand they consume has a powerful rhetorical effect in regulating this identity. Thus, the Detroit brand fetishizes identity and restricts choices for consumers based on the presentation of only one option. The commercialization and appropriation of the Detroit brand has been dissolved for the public into the appearance of having many options. However, the commercialized form of the brand constructs a static identity that resists penetration. As a result, the production of the brand reinforces the control over how people access identity, and ultimately, the behaviors and actions they take to consume this brand. Sports produce numerous identities. They provide a vehicle for people to come to the city and offer many attractions for fans to engage in this process of consumption. Thus, sports places regulate identity very closely and contribute to a creation of a sporting capital that drives interest in Detroit.

While this chapter has explained how sports places govern identity, it also teaches us about how sports bridges the past with the future. First, sports are a key point of entry for people to experience the city. They provide people a place of ritual, a place of community, and give people a sense of hope for the future. This is evident within Detroit because of its current state of disarray. Overall, sports stadiums are entertainment. They build excitement throughout the city

and the metropolitan area. They are a casual point of conversation and give people a sense of relief. Second, Detroit's identity remains polarized. Sports reinforces the economic and social polarization in the city, albeit unconsciously, due to its specific audience. This audience consists of not only sports fans, but people who enjoy wearing the Detroit brand, and people who see this brand as a status symbol. Thus, an effect of this discourse is that sports are used in a way that evokes the past, and uses the past as a bridge to the future. Sport builds community and provides a space for the condensation of identities. The force of sports uses what has happened in the past as a way to create hope for the future. Throughout their history, the success of Detroit's sports teams has created official discourses premised on attractive qualities of the city. The effect of this discourse is to highlight sports as a focal point of identity in order to accent the city and provide a representation of Detroit as a city that is on the verge of rebirth. This identity-making process is premised on the public memory produced from these discourses in order to supply the future with optimistic identities.

Third, sports places distract from Detroit's larger issues. Detroit is attempting to sell and rebuild itself according to commercial interests. The promotion and glorification of sports conceals the city's larger issues, such as political corruption, the looming bankruptcy, urban decay and blight, crime, homelessness, and poverty. The sports page is often the first place people look to read something about Detroit. People are drawn to sports because they become distracted from the issues plaguing the city and can indulge in sports in order to access identity. Despite the community involvement of professional athletes throughout Detroit and metropolitan area, sports serve as a distraction from other political and social issues that exist within the city. Detroit is attracted to this self-promotion because sports are one of a few positive aspects it has.

The ability of sports to cut through, across, and within the political, social, and economic fabric of the city only reinforces the perceived legitimacy of the sports discourses.

Furthermore, the debate surrounding Tiger Stadium, and the issues swirling around the city building new, commercial spaces rather than preserving its historical legacy, is paramount to the issue of non-sports development projects. These non-sport projects attempt to build anew without appreciating the rhetorical legacy of the past. The "realists" who argue Tiger Stadium should have been torn down long before it actually was contend that the city is plagued, and to some extent haunted, by urban decay, by the vacant, abandoned, and overall pitiful landscape of Detroit. These people perceive the city's large land mass as a potential for redevelopment. They do not proclaim to dismiss or discredit the historical legacy of these spaces, but feel the time for change is slowly declining. Thus, these groups want to see vacant spaces with historical significance transformed into modern day, productive places. Conversely, those preservationists who wanted Tiger Stadium to be renovated and a memorial commemorating the stadium erected, contend the city is suffering from such an ignorance of its rhetorical legacy and that commercialization does not always heed the most effective result. For instance, the recent debacle with securing a financer for the old Packard automotive plant has continuously been a failure. Recently, the Detroit Free Press reported that Peru-based developer Fernando Palazuelo has been given until December 18, 2013 to put a deposit down on the former automotive site to secure the land begin redevelopment (Reindl). Until this point, Chicago-based realtor Bill Hults was given numerous extensions to place his deposit on the site, and finally lost $200,000 in non-refundable deposits because he was unable to secure the land with the $1.8 million Wayne County was seeking (Reindl). At the Vernor Highway corridor located at Vernor and Livernois,

PlacePlans, backed by the Michigan State Housing Development Authority (MSHDA) is proposing a redevelopment plan that would include 60,000 square-feet. The proposal is projected to be a $15 million, 60,000 square foot retail development, with 35,000 square feet dedicated to redeveloping the Detroit Public Works building and around 25,000 square feet in additional construction. The site would include merchants "of local, artisan vendors and major retailers" (Muller). But George Jackson, president of the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation, states that often times these proposed deals fail to get done. He explains that, "One way to tell who is a suspect is, they like to sell their deal in the media before coming to the folks to discuss the business issues. And they also avoid proper due diligence, or they fail in proper due diligence and then try to make their case in the press or through political means. And it happens a lot" (Gallagher "Detroit Redevelopment Announcements").

These redevelopment projects have enormous significance for Detroit. First, they presume that commercialization is the most effective way to rebuild the city. These projects are estimated to bring millions of dollars to dying neighborhoods, but they fail to capture that goal because they are often stifled or never get built. The Vernor Highway project would not start construction until Spring 2016 and would take a year to build. These estimates often get delayed because the groups financing them are unable to secure payments and deposits. However, these consumption-driven redevelopment plans have colossal implications for the city's rhetorical legacy as well. These projects are a way to transform the city from a commercial standpoint and shed the history and past of Detroit in an attempt to build new markers of identity. The rhetorical legacy of the city will continue to embed itself in discourses. The physical nature of the landscape may change, but the effect is driven by plans to rebuild the city that almost never

actually occur. Thus, the troubling nature of Detroit's rhetorical legacy continues to be plagued by the amount of redevelopment plans that never actually materialize.

While this chapter demonstrates different characteristics of Detroit, it also reveals something regarding the rhetoric of space and materiality. This chapter shows how space and place are discursive and that it is not just abstract and always open to interpretation. In the rhetoric of consumption and redevelopment, space is intended to be organized around capitalist demands but Detroit shows us that this is not always so. The organization of space and its unique capacity to govern behavior is also evident in how it regulates identity. Space can be organized according to many different patterns and along different dimensions. However, the implementation and practical use of that place is what influences urban identity. The perception of consumptive space is extremely potent in regulating how urban identity asserts itself and influences people's thoughts. If sports place existed without a consumptive element, then that place would cease to be powerful and dominant for identity formation. Thus, the extent to which space regulates identity is contingent upon the degree of its consumption. Space is transformative and sport provides a way to understand how stadiums have an ability to serve as major markers of identity. Furthermore, space can be consumptive. When understood this way, space is rhetorically powerful because it governs certain behaviors and practices that give surrounding spaces meaning. When space is consumptive, its consumptive capacity is contingent on what occurs there. The rhetorical nature of consumptive space is repetitive and self-producing. Without this element, space cannot become transformed into consumption. Consumption is the focus of space when intended in this way, and the governance of the subjects who occupy it is crucial in its continuous re-production. Additionally, space regulates and controls behavior.

Specifically, sports places produce docile subjects who are disciplined according to certain consumptive rules and behaviors. In this way, spaces are authoritative in their ability to construct distinct rules and practices. Ordinary space is transformed into ritualistic space that monitors and controls how people act and behave. Spaces condition people to certain guidelines and procedures that are acceptable. These meanings give space rhetorically commanding methods to influence behavior.

This chapter teaches us several things about the study of rhetoric, space, and place. First, the organization of urban space dictates the degree of control that space has on a city's identity. Detroit's spaces of sport consumption were designed with a purpose in mind—to maximize the economic value of that space while increasing the viability of the space to attract crowds of people. This idea is premised on the belief that people congregate in spaces that have transformative potential. This is an important distinction for rhetoric and space. The rhetorical force of consumptive spaces are constructed, and ultimately perceived, in a transformative way because they represent ideal spaces—spaces premised on appeals to attraction and promotion. This rhetorical appeal is instrumental in the articulation of identities. By attracting, promoting, commercializing, and ultimately packaging these identities for consumption, they become official discourses embedded within the larger identity of Detroit. Thus, these discourses originate from not just spatial contexts, but spaces that are transforming how people perceive, consume, and interact with urban cities like Detroit. Second, while the organization of these spaces is transformative, the spaces also manipulate and govern aspects of the city's identity. This often-underscored point has tremendous consequences for how we understand rhetorical identity. When sports are examined as a distinct formation that influences identity, the role they

play in maintaining that identity is important to analyze as well. This has implications for how we understand rhetoric, identity, and urban space more generally. This dissertation, and this chapter specifically, has demonstrated the powerful rhetorical influence, popularity, and control sports have on Detroit. Despite the spaces themselves as not being easily accessible to all groups of people, the effect produced within these spaces is accessible. This could be the brand of the city, the team logos, jerseys, apparel, or the overall sensibility or feeling a fan gets from engaging in a certain type of fandom regarding a team. The result of this is that this identity bleeds through and penetrates outward into other markers of identity to which people have access and consume. These markers may be billboards, commercials, or other signs and symbols representing sports that exist throughout the city and metropolitan area. Thus, sports exert their control over Detroit's identity in nuanced ways that are not always visible to the casual observer. Finally, the traces and spectres of the vacant spaces that exist within the consumptive spaces produces a powerful rhetorical effect. This haunting of vacant spaces embeds itself into the discourse of the new stadiums, and ultimately threatens the memory of the consumptive spaces. In Detroit, this is problematic because this lingering of the former and vacant spaces embeds itself into other discourses relating to urban blight, vacant land, abandoned buildings, and urban decay in general. Thus, the discourses of the vacant spaces not only haunt the consumptive ones, but threaten the legitimacy of redevelopment plans because of the way the haunting discourse reflects the problems present in Detroit.

While this chapter demonstrates different notions of how space is rhetorical, it also exhibits different understandings of the materiality of rhetoric and spaces. Following Zagacki and Gallagher, spaces are not just material due to their physical nature. Rather, spaces gain

materiality because of their ability to influence and affect other artifacts around them. Within urban centers, space is significant because it extends to other areas bordering the nexus of the city. Materiality gains intensity when it creates uniformities within surrounding spaces. For instance, the spatial design of Comerica Park is similar to Ford Field. Both stadiums give fans choices, but dictate and limit those choices while guiding and conditioning fans to make certain decisions. Directing people who to go sit, the site of gift shops, concession stands, and other memorabilia and consumptive stands along the way to their seats all guide fan behavior. This uniformity is found in similar consumptive spaces as well. Spaces are organized around similarities, and when they exert control over other spaces, materiality becomes dynamic. Next, the materiality of spaces ignites a haunting presence of and within other spaces. Derrida contends that the force of an object's mark and the resistance to it is what constitutes materiality. Specifically, materiality constantly haunts progress with its past. The force or mark of materiality gains strength through how it lingers within other spaces. This cements a meaning of a former space within a new space and stimulates a haunting that resides within these spaces. The materiality of spaces cannot escape what has previously happened throughout a space's history. Current spaces cannot escape this haunting and it provides numerous points of articulation to produce new identities. Thus, the materiality of spaces articulates new discourses of urban identity. This helps to retain their history. The materiality of spaces and its ability to articulate new discourses originates from the context of a particular space, and when these discourses include the history of a space in its rearticulations, the materiality of the space is preserved. In regards to spaces and cities, redeveloping cities is not accomplished simply through the construction of new, productive, commercial places. Rather, it is through a remembrance of the

past in order to influence the future of those spaces. Furthermore, the materiality of spaces is contextual—its force relies upon the history of a space in order to create new meanings. Thus, plans to redevelop the old Packard plant exist because of the productive value the space once represented. Finally, the materiality of spaces has the potential to produce consumption. Thus, the stronger the force of each space the more demand for commercialism. For instance, the more attention the Packard plant redevelopment plans receive, the more rhetorical force is attributed to what these new plans mean and the potential they may bring to the city. This type of discourse is evident within many of the redevelopment plans in Detroit. Sports places have much potential. In a way, these spaces want to operate as capitalist utopias and become their own center. Sports are powerful in this regard because they have the ability to invent new centers for urban cities and design these spaces as they wish. In this process of becoming their own center, sports places also destabilize the city. In this striving for utopian ideals, sports places also create new memories, attempt to appropriate existing ones and introduce ways of forgetting in order to fulfill the potential of consumptive spaces. The next chapter will argue how Detroit's sports places produce varying discourses of public memory in order to realize how we remember Detroit.

CHAPTER 4: CHRONICLING PUBLIC MEMORY: OLD TIGER STADIUM AND THE SEARCH FOR PRODUCTIVE PLACES & SPACES

Detroit, Sports and the Use of Space

The 1967 race riots began a new era for Detroit. Unfortunately, this new era was not defined by responding to the causes of the riots, but largely by reacting to the fear caused by them. As white people began to leave the city by the thousands, the suburbs grew exponentially. The racial implications were stark: the remaining downtown population was mostly black and the suburbs became increasing white, a racial divide that remains today.

During this turbulent time, the city received a significant prize: the Detroit Tigers won the 1968 World Series. This victory created an important memory for the city that many people continue to hold onto as their primary memory of the era. While this event united the city on several fronts, it could not resolve the deeper problems that plagued the city and its memories for decades after. Thus, despite this positive moment, public memory of Detroit was framed negatively after the 1968 riots with many consequences for the city's development. This memory of Detroit is shared today by those who live in the city and around it. Fear of the city has stifled the city for decades since the riots. Recently, however, the city has begun to slowly transform itself and its image with ample room for further repair.

Throughout this transition, Detroit's four professional sports teams have been rather successful and almost all of these teams have returned downtown. For instance, the Lions moved from Pontiac to the downtown Detroit Ford Field and the Tigers move from Tiger Stadium, located on the western side of the city, to Comerica Park, located right next to Ford Field in downtown. Additionally, the Red Wings will move from the obsolete Joe Lewis Arena into a

new stadium, residential, retail, and office development project, located just north of Comerica and Ford Field. While not a very significant move in terms of distance, this move solidifies the downtown area as the sports entertainment district. In part, due to these developments and the presence of three casinos and attractions like the Detroit Institute of Art and the Detroit Symphony, the larger midtown area has blossomed with new apartment and condominium buildings, new restaurants and bars, and many retail shops. These developments help give Detroit something promising from which to build its future identity.

Overall, one of the city's most defining and attractive features is its use of space. Detroit is a large city—large enough to fit the combined space of Boston, San Francisco, and the borough of Manhattan combined. In this space, there are many options and possibilities to develop the city, much like what is happening in Midtown. However, this size is also the city's enemy, as it is too large for its limited tax base. As a result, space is filled with vacant buildings and lots that are decrepit, dangerous looking, and not functioning. These areas complicate the upscale and modern look that this city hopes to present. Adding to this problem is the fact that the city currently is under emergency financial management to help get its finances on track, has recently emerged from bankruptcy, and has significant unemployment. These problems reflect negatively on how the city is remembered and what it represents. While the newer sports stadiums draw on a certain memory of Detroit—metropolitan, upscale, commercialized and exciting, the vacant spaces suggest a grittier, rugged, and different memory. The city's sports places attempt to overshadow this tainted mage and rearticulate its image to bring hope and popularity to it.

This chapter examines how Detroit's sports places create different ways of remembering the city. Notions of recollection, (mis)remembering, and forgetting all play a part in the process of public memory construction. Specifically, this chapter argues that vacant spaces in Detroit produce a vernacular discourse through the recollection, (mis)remembering, and forgetting of the former stadiums and surrounding spaces. This discourse is rhetorically powerful because it reinforces normative discourses that shape and distort how we come to understand Detroit. The resulting identity is incomplete and incoherent on the surface but is underwritten by a logic that views spaces worth remembering as productive and consumptive spaces. Thus, while there is a certain memory of a place like Tiger Stadium as an anchoring point for a memory of Detroit's past, the discourse suggests the place is only worth preserving if we can find a productive and consumptive purpose for it, like developing it into a residential or commercial space.

To make this argument, this chapter begins by reviewing relevant literature about the articulation of public memory. Next, the chapter investigates how the rhetoric of Detroit involves (mis)remembrance and forgetting and how it plays a part in the constitution of public memory and identity. Finally, the chapter discusses these discourses of memory and how they contribute to Detroit's history being retold in ways that are different when compared to how that history has been told in its past.

Studies of Public Memory

The study of memory and its importance dates back to classical Greek times. Since that time, scholars across a number of fields have explored how individual, social, collective, and public memories are shaped and used. As Edward Casey explains, public memory is an outcome

of individual, social and collective memories. Because of its public nature and the necessity of communication to craft and share public memories, many rhetoric scholars examine the relationship between discourse and memory (Blair; Bodnar; Dickinson, Blair, and Ott; Phillips; Zelizer; Vivian). Specifically, rhetoricians study the discursive construction and use of public memory for partisan ends (Brown; Casey; Dickinson; Dickinson, Blair, and Ott; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki; Phillips; Reyes; Vivian; Zelizer). In these studies, scholars note that public memory is always "partial, partisan, and thus frequently contested" (Dickinson, Blair, and Ott). As Young and Trapani suggest, "because no representation can include everything we know about commemorated people, events, or places, public memory is inherently selective, foregrounding certain elements or events at the expense of others" (252). Because of the limited and incomplete nature of public memory, numerous scholars outline how public memory, collective memory, and history are all discrete ways of storing, interpreting, and remembering specific public events (Browne; Dickinson; Phillips; Reyes; Schwartz). Overall, leading scholars of public memories rhetoric studies, Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott, summarize six ways that public memory operates discursively: memory is activated by current issues and concerns; memory communicates shared identities; memory contains and is shaped by affect; memory is contested but still fragmented and partisan; memory is contingent on material and symbolic signs; and memory does in fact have a history.

While a great deal of research has demonstrated a connection between public memory and public discourse, Dickinson, Blair, and Ott contend that our deliberations tend to mistakenly view the relationship as a mutually exclusive dialectic comprised of either remembering or forgetting. Rather, our connection to public memory is much more complex. As Kendall Phillips

argues, there are four different acts of remembering. First, there is forgetting, which is the loss of memory or the active efforts to no longer remember something. Second, there is misremembering, which involves remembering differently. As Phillips explains, misremembering is deceptive remembering with which "we deceive ourselves by misapplying an image to the imprint left by past experience" (211). Third, there is misrecognition, which is also an act of remembering differently, which involves misidentifying the present as related to a past experience. Fourth, there is recollection, which constructs a framework to be used to control what exactly is remembered about an experience so what is remembered is considered to be "accurate" to those constructing the memory. As Bernard Armada suggests, "Although failure to represent a particular memory content publicly does not necessarily suggest forgetting, [public efforts such as the construction of memorials or museums] demonstrates how one form of memory might be suppressed to activate or at least amplify the other" (218). As Casey maintains, "an established and received public memory serves in untroubled times as an encircling presence – sanctioning and protecting, legitimating and supporting from afar" that governs how and what we should remember (26). Therefore, recollection can foreground certain memories that warrant being included in what is considered public memory while moving other not necessarily forgotten memories to the background.

For example, public memories are created from an individual's experience and they communicate that memory of the past to, as Phillips suggests, "a wider communal network" (220). In the context of Tiger Stadium, this would take the form of a how a fan's past experience may be shared by many people. For instance, witnessing a Cecil Fielder homerun that clears the roof of the outfield is exciting and is cemented in that fan's experience of the ballpark as

something truly unique. In comparison, a public remembrance is something that "[perpetuates] cultural forms of memory and [establishes] frameworks for an official relation to the past" (220). Using the same Tiger Stadium example, remembrance would be a group of people having experienced something unique together, such as the same Cecil Fielder homerun, and then contributing to the feeling of all the fans who saw this event. The stadium serves as the site for the memory to allow people who were not there to share in the memory as well. This would add to and reinforce the larger public remembrances of Tiger Stadium and establish official public memories. However, fans devoted to preserving Tiger Stadium also contribute to the public remembrances of the stadium by demanding that the vacant space be transformed into something productive and meaningful. Finally, public recollection operates between memories and remembrances. Public recollection governs public memories and remembrances and "will either [discipline] or overturn the frameworks of remembrance and, in this way, establish new frameworks" (Phillips 220). Operating in this way, both the public memories of Tiger Stadium (the iconic Fielder homerun) and the public remembrances (group remembrances of the Fielder homerun and the oppositional rhetorics of preservation and demolition) struggle against each other to produce memories that are fragmented, parochial, and likely contested. As Phillips argues, this process functions because "through the struggles of memories, recollections, and remembrances, our frameworks of the past, and in this way our orientation to the present, are constructed and contested" (220). Thus, understanding public memory in this way, rhetoric does not simply enable the complete and accurate remembering or total forgetting of the past, but it also contributes to remembering differently and what we consider worthy of recalling later.

These ideas, particularly misremembering and forgetting, are important in my analysis of Detroit.

Further enhancing our understanding of the relationship between these discursive acts of remembering, remembering differently, and forgetting is the concept of affect. According to Sarah Ahmed, the memories and public identities that are mostly likely recalled in our public memory are those that become "sticky" or are "saturated with affect" and remain in our memory (45). While affect is one of the hottest terms in contemporary cultural and rhetorical studies with a host of different meanings and definitions, I simply use affect here to suggest that some memories and identities have a force or intensity that is difficult to ignore. As I argue later in this chapter, discourses about consumptive spaces and revitalization likely direct and route our affective attachments to certain public memories and representations of Detroit in ways that crowd out and misremember different memories of the past.

In addition to providing this discursive understanding of the nature of public memory, public memory scholars also maintain that public memory is closely linked to the use and discussion of place. As has already been noted in Chapter 1, place is different from space. According to Dickenson, Blair, and Ott, places have borders and they are named. Spaces are defined abstractly, they are not always context-specific and their boundaries and borders are static compared to the boundaries of places. Specifically, these scholars argue that places are "bordered, specified, and locatable by being named; is seen as different from open, undifferentiated, undesignated space" (23). In short, these places have an address. The authors conclude that memories are dispersed "events" that are recalled from an "undifferentiated, temporal succession of occurrences" (24). Dickinson, Blair, and Ott describe the comparison

between space, place, memory and time. They argue that place is to space as memory is to time (23-24). Furthermore, they maintain that "memory places construct preferred public identities for visitors by specific rhetorical means" (27). These rhetorical means are evident within the connection between past and present. This produces different types of memories and provides points of communion for people to which people can attach their experiences. As Dickinson, Blair, and Ott explain,

> By bringing the visitor into contact with a significant past, the visitor may be led to understand the present as part of an enduring, stable tradition. Although any memory techne presumably has the capacity to accomplish that rhetorical work, the apparent immutability and permanence of place are important here…Granted, at some memory places, the visitor may be invited to grasp a past that seems alien to the present. But the seeming stability of the place may still foster a sense of cross-temporal community. (27)

Dickinson, Blair, and Ott refer to a place which was made into a memorial or monument, thus its addressability is not lost. However, I argue that once a significant place is demolished or torn down, its addressability becomes lost and people push to recover its address in order to once again make it significant. Thus, place and memory are rhetorical because they are named, positioned in relation to something else and are unique in their inventiveness. As a result, places are made public from this process. The rhetorical meaning of places gives a borderless dimension to their spaces. Spaces are also rhetorical because they are actively involved in the rhetorical meaning-making process of places and help define those borders and identities.

Because of the importance of place to the articulation of public memory, sports places operate as important sites to ground and circulate public memories and representations. As Mark Douglas Lowes reminds us, sports places influence local public memories and operate as powerful symbolic spaces through which cities build and manage their image and advertise

themselves. And the location of these sports places will produce and mold different memories. For instance, urban space will manufacture public memory differently than rural space. Therefore, place is very important to the anchoring, shaping, and circulation of public memories that are recollected, misremembered, or forgotten.

A final area of memory studies that is important for my analysis is the difference between history and memory. As Michel Foucault argues, history attempts to provide a complete narrative of the past as present. He claims this is never attainable; rather it produces a certain general history of knowledge or of a discipline. While historians are progressive in their work to produce these general histories, they assume too much of a history and do not leave room open to take into account other ruptures or discontinuities that others may see or read in a text. Thus, Foucault argues we must suspend this notion of history that posits history as a totality that privileges community and frames discontinuity or failures to remember as a failure. Foucault argues that our traditional history is composed of "transforming documents into monuments. In that area where, in the past, history deciphered the traces left by men, it now deploys a mass of elements that have to be grouped, made relevant, placed in relation to one another to form totalities" (*Archeology* 7).

The most relevant consequence of this distinction for my analysis is that two different types of histories are formed—one that is organized around a center, or a total history; and one that is organized around a set of dispersions, or a general history. The effects of this production of history have several implications for how spaces influence public memory. First, people are more concerned with a sanctioned memory rather than an unofficial or vernacular form of public memory. Or, as Ono and Sloop contend, an official discourse will crowd out vernacular

memories and rhetorics. This is especially relevant when examining an older city like Detroit where people may be attached to the certain arrangements of remembering rather than a new, or manufactured, form. However, when these manufactured forms become saturated with meaning and affect, the existing public memories begin to have new meanings and are overshadowed and co-opted by these saturated types of memories. Second, spaces are paramount to understanding how these different modes of remembering are constructed. Without the deployment and production of space, such as the creation of new stadiums and meaningful spaces surrounding them, public memories will ultimately have no influence on how urban identity and memory is made or remembered. These official discourses of remembering simultaneously say and do not say something—the unsaid or un-remembered is what the vernacular has the potential to create and sustain.

Within these understandings of recollection, misremembering, forgetting, affect, space, and history, I now turn to analyzing the ways that Detroit sports places and vacant areas are remembered and forgotten. In doing so, I examine how these spaces and efforts to rehabilitate or revitalize them channel and regulate certain memories of Detroit and its identity into official or totalizing discourses about the history of the city. I begin by exploring how Detroit's sports places attempt to problematically and perhaps productively remember the city.

The Struggle to Re-member Detroit's Sport Memory

The effort to preserve Tiger Stadium was ultimately lost as the city decided to demolish Old Tiger Stadium. Basing its decision to demolish the stadium on the premise that it would cost too much for taxpayers and the city as a whole, not even the multiple injunctions made by

preservation groups could keep the stadium intact. The case for preserving Tiger Stadium represents a key moment in the construction of Detroit's public memory. The group that spearheaded the preservation efforts was the Old Tiger Stadium Conservancy Group (OTSC). Their statement immediately following the demolition of the stadium explained the reasons why they were unsuccessful in preserving the site. They blamed the Detroit Economic Growth Committee (DEGC) directly for working against them, rather than in partnership with them, and stated they were granted a $3.8 million in federal appropriation allocated to them by Congress for redevelopment of the site. Michigan Senator Carl Levin helped secure these funds and was a strong supporter of the OTSC. Furthermore, the group identified over $18 million in tax credits for which they were eligible. The Conservancy had made substantial progress in finding groups to secure these tax credits as well. At one point, the DEGC acknowledged the progress of the Conservancy's preservation efforts. However, this support by the DEGC quickly lost momentum and the DEGC thwarted any efforts by the Conservancy and continued on with the demolition process.

Recollecting Detroit

The effort of preservation groups was an attempt to recollect a certain memory or identity of Detroit. As Phillips maintains, recollection is that logical and deliberative process of tying together past events to produce a form of memory. As Phillips reminds us, "recollection involves a kind of systematic approach to tracing the sequence of events and in doing so we remember, or as Aristotle puts it, 'As a result we remember them and memory ensues'" (214). The major distinction here between memory and recollection is that the process of recollection creates different ways of remembering; thus, it manufactures memory in a disciplined, partial, and

partisan way that may not always be accurate. Phillips argues that one of the more overlooked characteristics of public memory is "its dangerous and potentially undisciplined dimensions" (213). In other words, public memory cuts across both space and time; it is not always obedient or capable of being disciplined. This is most evident in misremembering and forgetting. Groups and communities remember experiences and memories differently. Thus, the very notion of public memory does not strictly adhere to organized efforts to recollect. However, Phillips reminds us that the process of recollection is disciplined because it incorporates a repetitive process to remember certain memories. For instance, people have different memories of Tiger Stadium. However, those memories all share a repetitive and common process of recollection—they are all anchored in the context of the place of Tiger Stadium. As Phillips notes, memory is evoked most often by an emotional appeal or event, whereas recollection is more disciplined, logical, and serves some end or goal.

This idea of how recollection operates as public memory is helpful in understanding the several attempts to construct Detroit's identity through the use of public space. First, it uncovers the well-ordered method in which Detroit's new sports places use their abandoned counterparts to construct different forms of memory and remembrance. Second, because recollection is a deliberative and disciplined process, memories are included and excluded based on mostly rational choices made by each space. Recollection is not free from affect or emotion. Rather, recollection tries to rationally select parts of memory for inclusion in the public memory archive in an effort to channel affect into these memories so they remain. However, there might be emotional, psychological, or political forces that make this decision less rational than we realize. This process is fundamental to how consumptive spaces attempt to produce an official,

manufactured, and partisan view of the city as suggested by developers and city officials. This is in stark contrast to the organic, messy, multidimensional, and vernacular discourse that lurks in every crack and fissure in the official version.

Organized attempts to recollect Detroit in specific ways are extremely pronounced within Detroit's current sports landscape. The city's consumptive spaces are inventing new ways of remembering as it pertains to sports. These spaces work extremely hard to actively and somewhat rationally posit a particular memory of Detroit. For example, Comerica Park not only promotes commercialization, but it attempts to produce new meanings for Detroit, its citizens, and fans of sports. The space is determined to create new memories for its visitors and city officials want these memories to become a staple of city development and growth. Observing Comerica Park from I-75 or walking by it elicits feelings in people. The aim of the city and sports organizations is that these memories and emotions come to represent the potential for the city. This is the vision that the recollection process is attempting to articulate and ultimately sustain.

Despite the best attempts by developers and city officials, this effort to recollect is constantly penetrated, shot-through, and corrupted by a vernacular and rather vivid memory of older stadiums and Detroit. Thus, several memories of Detroit likely lurk and fill-in the spaces that official recollection is unable to control. Thus, there is an active attempt to push those vernacular memories to the background because they do not conform to the new identity and vision of Detroit. However, these efforts will inevitably fail to some extent, which ensures these efforts must be constantly repeated.

Detroit's consumptive spaces of Comerica Park and Ford Field want to recollect Detroit's identity and memories for its fans. There are three ways in which Comerica Park attempts to recollect Detroit's past sports memories. First, it freezes and appropriates the past in its use of time capsules around the stadium. On the main level of the stadium, there are a number of time capsules located on the stadium's support beams. Each of these capsules includes a snapshot in time of an event, player, or team that occurred earlier in Tiger's history. The existence of such attempts to create associations between one place and another is not unusual. However, the photos and items within the capsule suggest to fans visiting the park that memories and past experiences are not grounded in material locations but instead can be captured and frozen in time and then relocated. As a result, Comerica attempts to appropriate a sense of authenticity and history by selecting, packaging, and taking moments and literally anchoring them to the support beams in the stadium.

Second, the stadium attempts to create a number of associations with fan's emotional attachments to particular sports memories. For instance, this year marked the 30th anniversary of Kirk Gibson's three-run homerun in Game 5 the 1984 World Series to win the series. This signature moment in Tiger's history was used by the Tigers as a marketing strategy and the photo of a triumphant Gibson was displayed on a number of marketing items. Much like the time capsules, these publicity efforts freeze this moment from Tiger Stadium in time and transfer it to Comerica in ways that erase the importance of the place in which the event occurred. Rather than being a memory of a place, it is instead a memory of a decontextualized individual player. In this memory, it does not matter that Old Tiger Stadium was central to the 1984 World Series team and how the city embraced this place. The photograph of Gibson is removed from its time and

place and pasted into current times in a way that detaches it from its place. It deliberately recollects what it wants to remember, freezes the moment, repackages it and then uses it for current consumption.

Third, the place commodifies and merchandizes these memories and associations. For example, old Tigers logos and the jerseys of Tiger greats such as Ty Cobb, Al Kaline, Denny McClain, Alan Trammel, and Lou Whittaker are packaged for consumption even today. This is not to insist that these players were not valued and key historical figures in the history of the team, but their continued sanctioned presence today suggests that there is great commercial interest in building associations between today's fans and these icons of the team's past. While this strategy of recollection initially operates in a similar fashion to the time capsules and marketing efforts, one significant difference is that clothing and team apparel operate as means of identification for fans; they deliberately choose to buy clothes with particular names and images with which they identify. As a result, fans become active agents in the process of recollecting the past in this decontextualized way that continues to separate memories from Old Tiger Stadium and recollect and relocate them to Comerica and the present time.

Overall, these three techniques of recollection seek to deliberatively freeze important events and people from Old Tiger Stadium and transplant them to Comerica for the purpose of building solidarity and community for fans within a consumptive space. As Phillips notes, these strategies of recollection are disciplined efforts that manufacture a partial and biased view of the past. In this instance, the goals are to promote commercial consumption and to build community associations with the commercial districts and new identity of Detroit. In order for these new

associations to occur, past memories and moments must be actively decontextualized first through these recollection efforts.

In addition to creating new associations for these new sports stadiums, these recollection efforts also create unexpected effects or what Phillips refers to as undisciplined dimensions. Even though Old Tiger Stadium was not considered a space of consumption because it lacked many modern features or corporate sponsorship, the place and memories of it have the potential for affective attachment that cannot be contained or controlled by recollection efforts. For example, despite years of efforts to transform Old Tiger Stadium into a number of commercial developments, fans and community members balked at the idea of tarnishing their memories of the stadium by converting it into a mall or housing development. Similarly, this affective attachment to memories of Old Tiger Stadium haunts fans' experiences at Comerica Park. For instance, many fans have noted how Tiger Stadium memories continue to affect their experiences at Comerica:

> My least favorite thing about CoPa is that you are a long way from the action. Even in the close seats, you're a ways away. You were on top of the action at Tiger Stadium (Rick H.)
>
> Least favorite things…ads, ads, ads. The visual pollution on the outfield walls is bad enough (screams 'minor league!!'). but the super-loud in-game TV commercials are really offensive. After paying for the ticket, the food, and the parking (and Ilitch has a hand in all three of those tills), being the recipient of such unpleasant violence really ticks me off. Between-innings is supposed to be a quiet part of the rhythm of the game. All those loud ads kind of burn you out. (scotsw)
>
> Least Favorites: The Upper Deck. I know this is an old bit, but anyone fortunate enough to have spent any significant time in an unobstructed view seat anywhere in The Upper Deck of Tiger Stadium knows what I'm talking about. Comerica's upper deck is sterile and cold and so damn far away as to make you feel you are watching the game in a different stadium. (tbone)

As user Tbone suggests, there is a feeling or emotion that one experiences that is intangibly different about Comerica from Tiger Stadium. This presence of these undisciplined feelings and memories constantly ruin and plague fans' experiences at the new stadium. As other online commenters note, in comparison to Old Tiger Stadium, Comerica is "sterile, cheap, cold" and nothing but a "hollow mall" (Crash Davis 99). Thus, the deliberate efforts of the Tigers organization and Comerica Park to capture and create bonds with fans using particular recollections of the past can fail because in evoking the past, the place also recalls a number of related emotions and memories that cannot be easily regulated or controlled.

Read more broadly, these strategies for recollection also operate and are undermined in similar ways when applied to Detroit as a whole. For instance, Old Tiger Stadium's abandoned place continues to haunt memories of Detroit and our current deliberations about the city and its future. In doing so, it forces city officials and residents to consider what Detroit once was, to recall the city's past, and to ground Tiger Stadium in a narrative of future growth and rebirth of the city. In not preserving all or part of Tiger Stadium, Detroit missed an opportunity to directly connect the current development plans of the city with the past.

Yet, the emphasis on preserving Tiger Stadium and the purported sacred space it occupied helps construct a recollection discourse for the city of Detroit. This official discourse focuses on the professed authenticity and tradition that Tiger Stadium represented. Despite the city's anti-blight efforts and massive reconstruction efforts, city residents constantly remember Tiger Stadium. For many residents, they associated their childhood with attending games at the old stadium, or driving by it or seeing it on television, or the celebration related to the 1968 and 1984 World Series Championships. As a result, Tiger Stadium, even in its current vacant space,

continues to have a powerful presence in the city of Detroit that constant reminds the city of its past.

Because of the powerful presence of memories of Tiger Stadium, residents are conflicted about Comerica and Detroit's attempt to recollect a sense of authenticity with new commercial development. Much like Comerica, the city wants to blend both the nostalgic discourses of old Detroit together with a commercialized and manufactured discourse of new Detroit to produce a new Detroit identity. However, this production of identity may be sterile and might lack the feel of authenticity, as the Comerica users comments above suggest about one of the city's premier new commercial developments that tries to capture and re-appropriate past memories and feelings. This identity is sewn up in a capsule that does not memorialize, but only samples decontextualized moments in time. Rather than operate as a vivid and seemingly authentic identity, the new Detroit identity – grounded in commercial utility – is incomplete and lacks meaning and this lack is constantly brought to the fore by unregulated and vernacular memories of the past. If the "New" Detroit is to emerge as a viable and vital identity, the city's past must be confronted through a discourse of misremembering or forgetting. The next section argues how redevelopment discourses of Detroit attempt to misremember parts of the city's history in distinct ways.

Misremembering Detroit

Redevelopment discourses in Detroit seek to misremember, or remember differently, much of Detroit. Given Detroit's troubled history over the last four decades, it is important that Detroit learn how to deal with its past and move on from that legacy. However, there are two

ways to deal with memories of the past: to misremember or to forget. As noted public memory discourse scholar Bradford Vivian argues, misremembering, unlike active forgetting, is a problematic approach to contending with public memories, which we will explore in this section.

As the city seeks to reclaim its status as a major metropolitan area, the city seeks to forge a new commercial identity for itself. However, as the previous section notes, this identity is constantly haunted by places that are purported to be blighted, unproductive and unregulated memories of these locations. In an attempt to contain and regulate these memories, a process of misremembering is used by both city developers and preservation groups.

The process of misremembering requires an act of self-deception that is transmitted to others to constitute new collective memories. As Phillips contends,

> In all instances, Plato is concerned with the potential for deception, for false opinion and judgment and in the case of memory for misremembering. Misremembering can be seen as an almost primary instance of this deception in that the act of misremembering we deceive ourselves by misapplying an image to the imprint left by past experience. Following the established line of potential deception, it is then not a stretch to suggest that it is through speech that this instance of misremembering is passed on to others. (211)

Once a new image is misapplied to the past, misremembering allows for distorted public memories to be used for partisan aims. Rather than confront and negotiate difference, this approach seeks to cover over or ignore difference and discord. I examine the debate over the use and redevelopment of Old Tiger Stadium because for many years, the stadium and its development epitomized the discourses of misremembering that occur across the city.

Both the Detroit Economic Growth Committee (DEGC) and Old Tiger Stadium Conservancy Group (OTSCG) engage in a misremembering of Tiger Stadium and Detroit. Prior

to its demolition in 2009, various groups sought to transform the former baseball stadium into a number of new developments. Plans ranged from building a number of retail stores to constructing luxury condominiums with a health club. Each development attempted to keep some part of the stadium intact as long as the place could be made to be economically viable. However, as development plans stalled and fights emerged between the DEFC and OTSCG, a decision was ultimately made to demolish the stadium. In the aftermath of the decision, I would like to examine the full text of the OTSCG statement I excerpted above. This was a statement issued on June 19, 2009 arguing why its development plan would have been good for the city and its development as a whole:

> We are shocked at the recent demolition of Tiger Stadium. It dishonors the hundreds of thousands of dollars raised by the Conservancy, the State of Michigan changes to the historic tax credit laws to enhance this project, the federal appropriation granted by the U.S. Congress and signed by President Obama, and the thousands of volunteer hours contributed by the Conservancy, its consultants and its supporters in advancing this effort. We believe—and the DEGC has said they agree—that we had made substantial progress toward our redevelopment goal with a strong likelihood of ultimate success in the worst economy in decades. Then out of the blue, we received notice that the DEGC was tearing the stadium down….Not only the city, but the state and the entire country have lost the opportunity to redevelop a historic treasure that would have anchored a significant enhancement of the near west side of Detroit and spurred much-needed economic development in the years ahead. Instead, we will have an empty field at the corner of Michigan and Trumbull to further blight the landscape of our city. The historic "corner" will have a new meaning. ("Save Tiger Stadium")

In addition to the disappointment expressed by the organization, what is important to note here is how, despite its attempt to preserve the site and memories about it, the OTSCG uses discourses about an "opportunity to redevelop a historic treasure" that would have "anchored a significant enhancement" of the city and "spurred much-needed economic development." These statements reflect a Rhetoric of Development that suggests that the only value to a place is if it has

commercial use value. The OTSCG also notes that the mutually-exclusive opposite of development is blight and emptiness.

On the other side of the debate over the demolition of Tiger Stadium, the DEGC and its CEO George Jackson argued that the decision was made using a business-valuing process. As Jackson explained to MLive's Eric Jacey on January 10, 2013,

> …first of all, [talk that I halted the development progress of Tiger Stadium] was a lie…It's a business-based process; it's not influenced by a politician. And a lot of people don't like when you do it that way. We don't do things [at the DEGC] by favoritism. We're very consistent. Now, we took the people who wanted to do these dreams [for Tiger Stadium] and put them through a process that allowed them time to prove themselves. They failed at every juncture, and I think some had three or four extensions and failed. Then we bidded, and some groups were part of the process…And they basically all bombed because they didn't have the wherewithal and capacity to perform what they said they wanted to perform. So from that standpoint, we have to look at the highest and best use. (qtd in Lacy)

Similar to the OTSCG, the DEGC evaluated Tiger Stadium in terms of its "highest and best use" using a criteria of profit and sustainability to make this determination. As Jackson suggests, most of the alternatives to demolition were "dreams" that did not prove to be economically viable. Like the OTSCG discourse, Jackson and the DEGC use this Rhetoric of Development to positively value commercial application of a place over less productive "dreams."

This discursive establishment of a dichotomy between commercial value and blight frames the value and importance of the site on its ability to foster economic growth rather than its historic or community value, or what Jackson labels "dream" uses. This discourse which pits commercial value against community dreams and potential blight has created a misremembering of Tiger Stadium and Detroit in general. They have produced discourses that incorrectly remember Tiger Stadium and have taken, at times, sole possession of those cherished memories

regarding "The Corner." For example, they create a problematic anxiety about blight. Obviously, there are many parts of the city that have fallen into disrepair and are no longer used as they once were, but the opposite of a particular development plan is not blight. For instance, since the stadium was demolished and plans for what to do with the site were still being debated, the field was regularly being used by community baseball groups to play games. Likewise, even without this anchor, Corktown has developed into one of the fastest growing areas in the city, home to a number of local businesses, restaurants and bars. These developments suggest that the anxiety over blight and non-use are ill-founded. As discussed in Chapter 2, numerous studies have documented that the idea that sports locations are necessary anchors of economic growth is a faulty one.

What does the Rhetoric of Development, with its sole valuation of commercial use and fear of blight, exclude when attempting to remember Detroit? Spaces can be valuable because of their foregrounding of public memories and experiences. The problem here is not that Tiger Stadium has lost its significance in public memory, but that its value is now being misremembered as one of productive commercial space rather than a center for certain public memories. As Phillips explains, "While the forgetting is conceived as a kind of occlusion or even erasure, the process of 'other-judging,' or here misremembering, constitutes an active process of making knowledge claims about the past that are in error" (212).

Despite this fight over how to make the stadium place into a commercially viable location, it was once it was destroyed that its original purpose – as a sports location – emerged. Besides the many informal baseball activities that occurred at the site, the location was recently approved to be used as the home of the Detroit Police Athletic League, a non-profit youth

athletic organization, and a youth baseball field. Thus, once the discursive battle over how to best commercially value Tiger Stadium ended with the abrupt demotion of the stadium, vernacular memories of the place as a sports center re-emerged.

Thus, the battle over how to best preserve Tiger Stadium was fought on the wrong terms. Ultimately, the fight was over how to make the place most commercially viable, but this is the wrong focus. Saving the stadium through a Rhetoric of Development was the wrong focus of efforts to preserve public memories of the place. Much of the public and OTSGC reaction to the demolition of the stadium faulted Jackson and the DEGC. As long as the debate over Tiger Stadium specifically and Detroit broadly is framed within a dichotomy between new commercial value on one end and blight/fantasy on the other end, places like Old Tiger Stadium and other historic locations in Detroit will continue to be misremembered.

Overall, the misremembering of Old Tiger Stadium is symptomatic of a misremembering about Detroit at large and how the city's larger identity is a part of this process. For instance, almost all discussions of reviving the city assume new commercial development. Examples range from Dan Gilbert's new downtown development walk to the new Red Wings arena and the entertainment and office district that will all exist within the same few blocks of each other. All of these discourses misremember Detroit in order to develop vast commercial places at the expense of preserving spaces of memory. For example, with the planning of the new Red Wings arena, what to do with Cobo Hall and Joe Louis Arena is left out of the discussion. Ultimately, Joe Lewis Arenas was traded to a creator company in the Detroit bankruptcy "grand bargain" so that it can be demolished and turned into luxury housing. These are important sites for sports, music venues, and other events, and Detroit seems to continue to perpetuate a discourse of

redevelopment and blight when new development projects take center stage and garner much of the attention.

Detroit's Inability to Forget

Another problem facing the city is its inability to forget. This might seem like a strange statement given how much of the preceding discussion has focused on how Detroit needs to preserve and foreground its history. However, by "forgetting," I do not mean that Detroit should simply let memories fade away or be actively erased, but rather, I mean forgetting in a sense of beginning anew. As Vivian describes the process of public forgetting, it is the ability to acknowledge the past in order to begin again:

> Public forgetting constitutes a mode of public judgment whereby communities articulate in speech, language, or other symbolic forms the advent of their own past. Judgment of this sort goes beyond acknowledging mundane differences in historical interpretation. The value of public forgetting so conceived lies not in achieving ideal ends, some form of permanent order, but in the strategically invoked ideal of beginning again—an inauguration accompanied neither by naïve negation of the past nor by utopian anticipation of an untroubled future. (171)

Thus, public forgetting is an active choice to start over that does not simply refuse to acknowledge the past but instead accepts the past and initiates democratic dialogue about how to move forward given this past.

However, within the discourse of commercial value and blight, there is no negotiation of public memory. Instead, there is a constant rush to produce valuable space. For instance, preservationists misremember the past as utopian and pure while developers envision a utopian Detroit that is modern and new. Somewhere in between is a likely combination of the two that gets lost. It is this alternative understanding of Detroit that must be actively remembered through

productive forgetting. According to Vivian, this forgetting constitutes a "radical new set of attitudes, beliefs, or customs concerning the meaning of its own past" (171).

However, one thing that blocks a move towards a productive public forgetting is an intense clinging to problematic moments or scenes in the city's past. For example, it is entirely too easy for Detroit residents to dwell in a resentful way on a number of troubling events and public memories as the city's political structure constantly reproduces conflicts over these memories. The inability to forget is tied to a kind of resentment about the past—that groups' identities are strongly tied to certain memories of the past, so they feel threatened when official discourses appear to be forgetting parts of it. For instance, much of the racial divide between suburbanites and urban citizens is about this very idea. Whites are upset because the Detroit that was once their childhood home is no longer that. Conversely, current downtown residents see the city as their city and perceive any attempt to change it as a threat to what they have. National Public Radio's Sarah Hulett explains how the debate over Belle Isle, Detroit's 1,000-acre park demonstrates this sentiment. Many Detroit citizens did not want the city to lease the park as a state park. They took enormous pride in the park being owned and run by the city. Detroit resident Ruth Roman stated, "I would prefer it to stay in Detroit, the ownership of it. It's one of the jewels of the city. It belongs to the city" (qtd in Hulett). Hulett writes that Roman was not alone in her belief and pride in Belle Isle and explains that the idea of turning the park over to the state was "derided by some…as yet another attempt by people outside of Detroit to erode the city's self-determination" (Hulett).

Another suburban-urban issue that curtails our ability to publicly forget is the figure of Coleman Young in Detroit's public memory. Hulett explained that Mayor Young, Detroit's first

black mayor, was a hero to many black Detroiters and united many parts of the city. However, Young was seen as a threat to many whites within the city and in the suburbs and displayed much opposition to how whites wanted to control the city. Thus, many white people still have resentments toward Young and Detroit in general. This affect attachment to these memories about Mayor Young and a number of similar memories stops a productive and progressive forgetting.

Both whites and black residents resent both Detroit's past and current memories and this attachment to these deeply conflicting memories disrupts the process of forgetting. As Vivian suggests, "a fundamental determining factor in allowing members of a community to begin again, to release one another from burdensome or corrosive dimensions of their common history and mutually enter into new and improved relations," is integral to the process of productive forgetting (177). Detroit has many "burdensome or corrosive dimensions," particularly in suburban-urban relations and memories that interrupt the process of forgetting and continuously haunts Detroit's progress.

In order for Detroit to forget, the discourse of blight and redevelopment along with the adjacent discourse of productive value must be critically examined and reconfigured. These discourses must find a way to coexist. In particular, the discourse of blight and redevelopment should compensate for what the discourse of productive value cannot fulfill. Similarly, the discourse of productive value must account for what the discourse of blight and redevelopment cannot achieve. This becomes a complicated process of negotiation. However, this balanced process is crucial to a successful public forgetting. Yet, Vivian also warns that this shedding of a group's destructive past can only proceed willingly if it is documented and stored appropriately.

A group can forget its bitter past, but it still needs to acknowledge and accept it; only then can it proceed to publicly forgetting. This "abundance of remembrance and documentation" is necessary for a community to "symbolically forget elements of its past because it can do so without risking fundamental loss" (Vivian 178). In many ways, Detroit documents a great deal of its memory, but too often, it documents resentment and loss without having a democratic dialogue that allows these memories to be accepted as part of moving on. As Vivian reminds us, public forgetting is effective when it involves open avenues for public judgment and is harmful when it condemns or denies "opportunities for communal judgment as such—indeed, as a substitute for deliberative judgment altogether" (177).

As this chapter has noted, this deliberation of memories about Tiger Stadium specifically and Detroit more broadly have been cut short by the discourse of redevelopment and blight. This may be why no compromises can be reached on gentrification issues and redevelopment plans. Much like what happened with OTS, the city and its residents are constantly haunted by unrestricted memories of the past that have likely become misremembered. As a result, redevelopment and compromise become almost impossible because memories cannot be accepted and moved beyond. Absent efforts to increase public deliberation and productive reconstitution of public memory, the current memories formed through resentful discourses of development and blight will continue to harm the city and its residents. It is not solely up to groups like the DEGC or other individuals like Dan Gilbert to bring economic development to the city, despite the help they bring; instead, the discourses about city's identity and public memories constitute how people understand the present and how people relate to it.

Conclusion

The challenging nature of Detroit's public memory is one that is omnipresent. For the foreseeable future, there will continue to be events and new places that will reproduce the discourses of recollection and misremembering that will disrupt forgetting and deliberation. How Detroit is remembered through recollection, misremembering, and forgetting is important in how its identity develops into the future. There are many potential trajectories for this identity. For example, the discourse of redevelopment and blight could continue to haunt and impede the progress of the city. While many commentators suggest that the best option for the city to move forward is continued unfettered economic redevelopment of blighted and historical areas, these actions would do little more than mask deeply rooted public memories and the bitterness attached to them. Instead, what is necessary is the development of a critical history, one that is mindful of the discourses that constitute public memory in such a problematic way.

To understand what a critical history would entail, we turn to Michel Foucault's discussion of general and total histories. According to Foucault, contemporary times are in a pivotal state. For too long, historians have packaged and communicated the history of the world through believable narratives that have been distributed to the masses. Foucault states that,

> The problem that now presents itself—and which defines the task of a general history—is to determine what form of relation may be legitimately described as between these different series; what vertical system they are capable of forming; what interplay of correlation and dominance exists between them; what may be the effect of shifts, different temporalities, and various rehandlings; in what distinct totalities certain elements may figure simultaneously. (*Archeology* 10)

He explains that history can be challenged and organized around either the unity of a single center—a total history—or a history deploying a set of dispersions—a general history. Foucault describes this new organization of history as either being understood from a "principle, a

meaning, a spirit, a worldview, an overall shape" or understood from dispersions that do not just rupture history. not just ruptures history, but also conceptualize history from one event to another and at different angles that connect different histories to each other (*Archeology* 10). There is always a desire to create and posit a total history—a coherent and complete "history" of something. However, this is always a function of power because history is always partial, partisan, and shaped by gaps and fissures.

With this understanding of what Foucault means by history being at a crossroads, it becomes clear how this impacts the recounting of Detroit's history. Detroit's history cannot be re-written or vanquished. However, it can be accepted and critically forgotten. History and memory are inevitable, precisely because memory has a material life that is grounded in spaces and places. Thus, how history and public memories are grounded within these spaces has tremendous significance. As a result, attempts to rhetorically posit particular memories are part of a struggle to control and shape this very idea. However, vernacular memories will always challenge these efforts to craft a controlling or total history. Currently, there are many attempts to craft the city's history organized around a single center—blight, corruption, and a lost identity. Certain words used to describe it—e.g., decaying, downward, or declining—are used to describe where the city has been or where it is headed and these terms shape Detroit's identity and its current state of affairs.

Yet, despite constant efforts to construct a total history of Detroit, it is slowly and gradually restricted by a set of dispersions. This new conversation takes into account Detroit's spatial boundaries and the importance and value of the city's spatial landscape. The city's spaces need to be rebuilt. Additionally, there are also new opportunities for business within the city as

well. Sports have helped give more substance to the city's foundation. These examples all employ a dispersion of some sort—they not only create new discourses but also build new conjunctures from which Detroit is transforming itself. These new conjunctures build new moments, and the moments produce new histories that will be rewritten into the city's history. For example, despite the consumptive areas of Ford Field, Comerica Park, the new Red Wings arena and retail shopping district, the city continues to engage in blight removal located within those peripheral neighborhoods outside of the downtown district. They want to build new, attractive, and practical spaces for people in Detroit to live. The hope and intent is that new business owners will also contribute to these peripheral spaces being rejuvenated and the vitality of this process will be maintained. This new history will parallel other cities that have been built around the idea of a general history, such as New York, Chicago, or Houston. Because of a new conceptualization and understanding of its history, Detroit's public memory has the potential to forget, and shed itself, of its destructive past and, as Vivian states, begin anew.

This chapter has examined how recollection, misremembering, and forgetting all function to rhetorically construct Detroit's public memory and the influence sports has on this process. This chapter contributes to the study of sports, rhetoric, and memory. First, building off the work of Dickinson, Blair, and Ott, this chapter argues that public memory is a rhetorical construct. This is evident in terms of sports, space, and memory. Within this context, public memory is partial, partisan, conflicted, and fragmented. Thus, public memory shapes community identities. Sports play a pivotal role in this process of memory and meaning-making because they are not only permeated with affect, but they unite people. The memories produced from sports places are rich places of meaning-making for these very reasons. They call people to commune around a

particular event and provide a point of condensation for the articulation of identities. Furthermore, sports places build a shared past for groups. The memories produced from these places are significant because they attempt to become permanent fixes on the city and assert themselves as official or vernacular memories. Despite the type of memory produced, they are nonetheless meaningful and valuable to the identity of Detroit. Building off this framework, the official discourses that produce memories are saturated with commercial incentives. These incentives attempt to improve, and to some extent promise, economic rejuvenation and foster redevelopment. The rhetorical effect of commercialization has an profound influence on the city's identity and the extent to which these memories are not only made public, but are sustained across both space and time. Thus, the public memories of sports give meaning to the spaces in which they are created. This process works both ways—spaces and places give meaning to sports, which build community identities and the memories give meaning to the spaces, which serve as sites for meaning-making. The commercial appeal of Detroit's sports places attract large crowds, which in turn produce more memories, enabling discourses of public memory to manifest themselves.

Understanding that public memory is a rhetorical construct is important. However, it is also vital to note that public memory is infused with affect. Sports have a certain type of affect attached to them. People are emotional when they involve themselves with professional sports teams and follow them for years. There is a sense of clinging to sports teams that compensates for insecurities or uncertainties in our own lives, and sports fill this void. Furthermore, sports places have affect as well. There is a certain aura we feel when entering a modern-day sports stadium. The experiences in these places are ritualized, and produce meaning and make lasting

impressions on our lives. Additionally, when places are ritualized they create memories. This entire process is infused with affect because we personalize our experiences within these places, and we share them with friends, family, and complete strangers. Fans are stakeholders in their teams and are affirmed of this position by the athletes and coaches. Thus, affect produced the active recollection of memories. Due to the disciplined and obedient process of remembering certain memories, each person takes part in the recollection of a particular sports place. We recall particular memories because of our experiences within these ritualized and symbol-laden places.

This chapter has also argued how the process of misremembering expands existing research into how recalling memories in sports places creates different types of remembering. For example, the decontextualization of iconic moments or jerseys disarticulates that idea from its original place and repackages it for consumption. People want to remember a place like Tiger Stadium for what it stood for and what that place can stand for in the future. However, their determination to remember it as a productive space only complicates and confuses the memories that were created there. The demands of remembering a place for something it can neither create nor sustain produces a sort of misremembering of that place. Memories alone do not transform vacant spaces into productive ones. However, it is the desire and yearning for that space to once again represent what occurred there that yields misremembering. Within an urban context, spaces have many uses. The memories emanating from these spaces may be replaced with new ones that do not resemble the original. In Detroit, misremembering takes many forms but it is ultimately the haunting of the original space that perpetuates different arrangements of memories.

Finally, this chapter has demonstrated that when sports places are infused with affect and individuals and groups are emotionally attached to these places, forgetting becomes even more

difficult. When forgetting is challenged by new places, people cling to old memories to comfort themselves. Thus, there is a resistant nature to public memory in general. The idea that groups do not want to forget the past because they feel threatened by losing aspects of their identity only reinforces the difficulty of forgetting. The exclusive nature of public memory introduces patterns of forgetting. As the vacancy of a place remains and lingers over time, forgetting the memories of that place, such as Tiger Stadium, becomes more complicated. The result is that the materiality of that space is forgotten and the need for that space to become productive once again haunts those with an affective attachment to that particular place.

The 1967 race riots had a profound influence on Detroit. They will not be forgotten. However, what remains to be seen is whether the riots will be forgiven, and the manner in which that forgiveness will contribute to a new public memory of Detroit. The city desperately wants to transform itself. However, it is unable to do so because it cannot forgive itself of its past burdens. Current official and vernacular discourses represent how the city still is its own worst enemy. By understanding how recollection is a deliberative and disciplined process of memory making, there are certain aspects of sports the city is attempting to remember. While these recollections exist, they produce distorted versions of memory. Similarly, the misremembering that occurs because of public discourse and concern over the city is destructive to a Detroit that is trying to rearticulate its identity for future progress. Finally, the process of public forgetting is most problematic for Detroit. Sports provide a basis from which to begin this process of forgiveness. It creates spaces for people to voice their public concern and to eventually judge whether the city has forgiven itself. However, until its fans, citizens, and the people who are invested within the city forgive Detroit for what has happened, its eventual growth can only be stunted.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS THE PROGRESSIVE POTENTIAL

Understanding Identity

Detroit's spaces of sport consumption have a profound influence on the city's identity. The rhetoric of these spaces contributes to attempts to craft a "New" Detroit. The rhetoric attempts to capture as many of these conflicted meanings as possible. These spaces produce discourses that have different levels of effects on the city. First, the spatial boundaries and parameters of the city's sports places not only help contextualize the effects, but lay out a basis from which these discourses are produced. For example, the places of Ford Field and Comerica Park were once local places filled with memory before the construction of the stadiums. The place of Ford Field once was home to the J.L. Hudson's building, which offered many Detroiters the ability to shop and consume long before the stadiums existed. However, the space around the stadiums was transformed into a modern commercial and hyper-consumptive area once Ford Field and Comerica Park were built. This allowed the stadiums to become the focus of the downtown district and numerous restaurants, bars, and entertainment areas that sprung up along with the stadiums. Thus, just as Comerica Park and Ford Field dictate the development of their neighboring spaces, the space around them also affects the stadiums. This production of place cannot influence Detroit's identity unless the stadiums and surrounding spaces are meaningful and able to sustain commercial activity across both space and time. This is evident because these spaces are being continuously transformed into places that have symbolic capital that attracts large crowds of people, demonstrating the potency of this rhetoric. Detroit's central district is different from other large cities that organize their sports stadiums around entertainment and commercial activity such as Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis, and St. Louis. These cities,

especially Boston, provide fans and tourists spaces complete with a bar and restaurant district. This extends beyond the stadium into neighboring areas surrounding the stadiums. However, Detroit's downtown district only extends so far and its potential is never realized due to the exclusive nature of its consumptive areas; these spaces do not blend into existing neighborhoods. This demonstrates the exclusive nature of "New" Detroit. These consumptive spaces produce a saturated discourse that is heavily reliant on the stadiums in order to maintain activity and attention. Unlike other major sports cities, Detroit's central district might be vastly less populated if the sports stadiums did not exist. As I argue throughout this project, this complicates Detroit's identity and simultaneously enables and constrains the city's potential.

While these spaces produce a saturated discourse, they also create an exclusionary discourse based on the economic demands of these spaces. Not everyone has equal access to the stadiums and the surrounding district because money dictates access. If one cannot afford a ticket or to eat at a bar or restaurant, then they are unable to participate in the commercial activity of these spaces. When city planners and architects design these commercial spaces, they often overlook how development affects citizens' access. As a result, a tension exists over which meanings are to be included within the "New" Detroit. People are excluded from participating in and experiencing this area of Detroit. Furthermore, due to the emphasis on economics, these spaces pressure people to consume. Comerica Park and Ford Field are inundated with commercial advertisements that encourage people to spend money in order to experience the full potential of these spaces. Therefore, patrons who frequent these places require a certain level of affluence to access them and then the spaces demand continued consumption and spending. Sometimes these consumption discourses are overt and in other instances, they are subtle.

Detroit's consumptive spaces also discursively govern the city's identity in distinct ways. First, these spaces operate biopolitically to organize large populations of people toward engaging in commercialization. Consumptive spaces elicit a certain type of automated and repetitive response from their subjects. This behavior is reinforced and controlled by consumerist practices found within the discursive and material context of the space. This repetition creates submissive subjects who are willing to obey the standards and practices that exist within these stadiums. The repetitive practices of purchasing a ticket, food, beverages, soveniours, and other merchandise within a stadium becomes standardized and ritualized through the authoritative discourses that shape what constitutes a Detroit fan and citizen. Here, the "New" Detroit is made intelligible through the production of biopower in order to make consumption appealing, desirable, and practical for people. In comparison, the old stadiums operated very differently. These stadiums did not emphasize commercial activity in order to control docile fans; rather, fans had more agency and were able to act on their own instead of being conditioned to a certain type of consumptive behavior.

While biopower regulates fan behavior both inside the consumptive and vacant spaces, these spaces also regulate their surrounding spaces. This is most evident within the areas around Ford Field and Comerica Park. Stadiums dictate the landscape of the downtown core in distinct ways. Since the announcement of the proposed new Red Wings stadium and entertainment district located immediately northwest of Comerica Park, the new area would centrally locate three of the four professional sports teams and provide new condominiums and housing, entertainment and shopping options, and office space. It is believed that the construction of this new space could greatly enhance the downtown district and revitalize it. However, as noted

several times in previous chapters, the spaces rarely result in sustained economic benefit for city residents. Yet, the pressure of Comerica Park and Ford Field to encourage the construction of this new commercial space is substantial; without these stadiums, the new development would not even be a possibility.

There are many new developments occurring in Detroit. Quicken Loan owner Dan Gilbert has purchased an enormous amount of land to build new commercial developments. In addition, REVOLVE Detroit's Art + Retail on the Ave has launched a campaign to revitalize the once prominent fashion district along Livernois, between McNichols and Eight Mile Roads. Furthermore, Art + Retail on the Ave is also taking part in a larger plan, "which includes $1.7 million in beautification and streetscape upgrades in addition to other programs like the Living for the City initiative, a partnership between the Detroit Lions and Hatch Detroit that is currently focused on the Avenue which will improve facades and signage and activate vacant storefronts" (modelmedia). Also on the horizon for Detroit is the redevelopment of the former automotive building and significant sign of Detroit blight, the Packard plant. Peru-based developer Fernando Palazuelo won a bid to purchase the plant and its surrounding area for $400,000 after a number of higher bids fell through. Palazuelo and his development team plan to keep the building and renovate the place into rental property ("Detroit's Packard Plant Owner"). Another redevelopment project that has been announced is a plan by the Detroit Economic Development Corporation (DEDC) to rejuvenate land along the Riverfront. The plan is intended to redevelop space from the Dequindre Greenway Trail to Riopelle and Atwater Streets. McCormick Baron Salazar, a real estate firm heading up the project, is planning to spend upwards of $55 million on this development. The project will build a 300-unit residential and retail complex. These projects

are part of a broader attempt to include other consumption-based meanings within the "New" Detroit.

These proposed redevelopment plans are nothing new for Detroit. The city's past is laden with ideas and plans for rejuvenating different areas of the city. DEGC president, and Detroit's chief development officer, George Jackson, contends that he and his office can usually distinguish a pretender wanting to redevelop parts of Detroit from the legitimate and reliable prospects. As Jackson explains, "One way to tell a suspect is, they like to sell their deal in the media before coming to the folks to discuss their business idea. And they also avoid proper due diligence, or they fail in proper due diligence and then try to make their case in the press and through political means. It happens a lot" (Walsh "Detroit Development Announcements").

These new redevelopment projects are creating a rhetorical identity for the city premised on recalling selective parts of the past to posit a new identity that is inconsistent with the city's history. These rhetorics attempt to build new meanings and markers of identity using the blight surrounding the city to distance itself from the turmoil that has plagued Detroit for decades. All these redevelopment projects produce discourses that want to purge the old identity and images from the city's history and supplant new discourses of revitalization and rejuvenation onto the city's landscape. This new identity wants to imprint onto Detroit with a rhetorical force that will garner commercial and political attention that will overwrite memories of the past. What is included in this new identity is an idea of "New" Detroit with commercial, industrial, residential, and retail development and ultimately consumptive incentives. This ethic of consumption is rhetorically interesting because inherent within all the proposed redevelopment plans

consumption is the primary focus. Without the appeal to commercialization, a "New" Detroit identity cannot emerge or become realized.

However, what is excluded from this new identity is the excess that is purged from its history and that will later haunt these new efforts. These leftover and neglected memory places exist within the peripherals of the city—the abandoned businesses, homes, and other spaces and neglected neighborhoods—and public memories about the maelstrom of political corruption and racial tensions. This new identity for Detroit creates a rhetorical façade that appears to bring new economic investment and interest but, at the same time, functions as a veil to hide the underlying memories and problems of the city. Thus, a fantasy Detroit is projected that is founded on consumptive principles that promote interaction with the city through hyper-real commercial experiences. It is through this process that these lines of rhetoric begin to exert their force and control over the city's identity.

ADDRESSING THE QUESTIONS

My examination of Detroit sports spaces and places sought to answer the following research questions:

1) What types of discourses do Detroit's spaces of sport consumption produce? How does this process function?
2) How are Detroit's sports places discursively governed?
3) How have Detroit's abandoned or vacant spaces of sport been overshadowed or haunt their hyper-real or lived sports places?

4) How have articulations of Detroit's sports places been remembered? Have these discourses been constructed and embedded within the city's history?
5) Do Detroit's sports places constitute heterotopias? If so, what is their progressive potential?

Addressing the first research question, Detroit's spaces of sports consumption produces several discourses. First, they create an accessibility discourse that attempts to regulate entry for people to experience the city's urban identity. As a result, these spaces construct a restrictive discourse. This exclusionary discourse is premised on affluence and consumption. Specifically, certain economic conditions need to be fulfilled in order for access or inclusion into these spaces. Just as these spaces allow accessibility they also exclude because not every person has the economic means to enter these ritualized spaces. Second, each space produces a type of authoritative discourse that attempts to govern and control different aspects of Detroit's identity. These discourses position sports as central to the city's identity. By framing sports as a unifier of the city, this rhetoric masks the inequalities that sports stadiums and their surrounding spaces create by simultaneously allowing access into consumptive spaces while also excluding people who are not able to meet the economic demands in order to enter these spaces. While these discourses of unity and limited accessibility obviously contradict one another, development discourses cover over these contradictions and gaps by positioning sports rather than consumptive activities as the unifier of the city's identity, even though these sports spaces are thoroughly saturated with consumptive discourses. As sports spaces become more important to the identity of the city, they draw more businesses and events to the area, which determines the spatial boundaries and parameters of what constitutes meaningful memories and parts of the city's identity.

From a rhetorical perspective, redeveloping Detroit around sports stadiums and consumption has tremendous implications for the "New" Detroit. This strategy presumes that the construction and achievement of these redevelopment projects will create more growth and attract more people to the city. The research on building downtown districts around sports stadiums demonstrates that growth and city benefits are unproven. Yet, despite the lack of clear economic benefit from this approach, it does not follow that city planner, developers, and politicians should simply abandon this approach altogether. However, they do need to proceed with absolute caution. The rhetorical implications of this strategy of urban redevelopment, especially in Detroit, are problematic because the approach assumes that more attractions and commercial incentives will bring more people to the city, either temporarily or permanently. With so much attention focused around downtown, Midtown, and Corktown, developers are not seeking out other areas to revitalize. The assumption among the DEGC, DEDC, and other developers is that the more attractive these three core areas of the city become, the more they attract developers to the periphery. However, in Detroit, this type of development is going to continually be haunted by decades of failures. Perhaps Detroit needs to consider why it is approaching redevelopment with this high consumption approach. The city is no doubt orchestrating a rebirth focused around consumptive ideals. However, there is only so much consumption that a declining population can access. Despite the accessibility of some of these consumptive spaces, a rhetoric of exclusion will continue to exist and foreclose these spaces, thus limiting the economic, cultural, social, and political potential of these spaces. Furthermore, sports have only a certain temporal reach to audiences. With this idea in mind, focusing development around sports serves those who enjoy sports and have the economic means to

access them. This approach leaves and excludes a large number of people. As a result, these spaces cannot fundamentally change the everyday social fabric of Detroit's landscape.

The second research question asks: how are Detroit's sports places discursively governed? As demonstrated in Chapter 3, sports places and their commercialization regulate the docile fans as they wander throughout the stadiums. Consumptive spaces contain repetitive practices that monitor and control how consumption unfolds within these hyper-real spaces. Examples of these consumptive practices seem almost endless, including commercial advertisements on outfield walls at Comerica Park, the array of advertisements and merchandise available in the concourses, and television commercials on the scoreboards. The stadiums are a celebration of commercialism and through this pervasive and powerful rhetorical dimension, they regulate the behavior of fans within these spaces.

The regulation of fan behavior inside Comerica Park and Ford Field is subtle in its ubiquity. Fans likely do not notice how many advertisements surround them. For example, the fan who sits in his or her seat with a hot dog and beer wrapped in Tiger logos does not inspect it to uncover some hidden meaning. Likewise, the casual fan who stops at the historic time capsules of Tiger memories does not consciously think about how this interaction may be regulating his or her behavior. However, what these examples all have in common is they are laced with commercial appeal and consumption. This well-ordered presentation of commercial appeal through consumption is subtly absorbed as part of the stadium experience.

Moreover, consumption has certain rhetorical features that allow it to regulate fan behavior within the context of the stadium. These are expressed in the common and repetitive

commercial logos and symbols that people take for granted or are simply used to seeing. For instance, they include the Coca-Cola and Pepsi logos, hot dog wrappers, team logos, the Old English D, and player uniforms. These types of symbols and slogans are markers of commercial identity. However, when they are all placed within one context and are seen, heard, and consumed, they take on new regulatory rhetorical effect. Furthermore, there is also a certain cadence and commercial appeal at play during the game. People know when an inning or quarter has ended, when a team scores, and makes a big play. The rhythm of a game prompts people to engage in consumption. For instance, after a quarter or half-inning people leave their seats to move to the concourse, presumably to buy food. People also acknowledge the intermissions within a game and are bombarded with commercial advertisements during these times. Thus, the cadence of a game begins to dictate when a fan will engage in consumption; this is a very distinct regulative characteristic of consumption. Additionally, there is a large amount of colloquial language occurring during a game. People have slang terms relating only to sports, to life in general, or perhaps to consumption. They are not aware of their colloquialisms but use them nonetheless. These types of language devices also regulate, control, and serve as prompts for consumption.

The regulation of fan behavior is not the only rhetorical purpose during a game. Outside the stadium, the rhetoric of spaces also biopolitically govern aspects of the city's identity. The consumptive spaces regulate surrounding spaces. Thus, because Comerica Park and Ford Field are consumptive in nature, their surrounding areas also appeal to consumption as well. This has to be the case, because if they were in neglected Detroit neighborhoods, fewer people would attend games and stay after to frequent the spaces around the stadiums. The stadiums not only

attract and regulate these other nearby consumptive areas, but the larger city and vacant sports places as well. These spaces are framed as the most attractive and popular destinations to experience something truly authentic regarding "Detroit." As a result, much of Detroit is neglected by this rhetorical frame. While sports stadiums and their surrounding spaces can incorporate only so much commercial activity and different perspectives into one part of the city, this framing of the city as fully represented by sports places is not accurate. While the skyline and scenery around a stadium is appealing, it only positions the fan in relation to the city, not within it. This is the result of consumption and it will only continue to foreground certain aspects of Detroit's identity with more consumptive-based districts and centers built within the downtown area.

The third research question this project explores Detroit's vacant sports places haunt and overshadow their consumptive counterparts. Despite the intentions of "New Detroit" developers, the new, hyper-real, consumptive sports places can never erase the old identity and meanings of the city. Rather, what remains after the imposition of consumptive spaces as the locus of the "New Detroit" identity are vacant places (e.g. Tiger Stadium) that haunt these new consumptive spaces. It is worth pausing here to explore how this process unfolds. With the construction of Ford Field and Comerica Park, a new identity quickly emerged for Detroit. These spaces, as observed in this project, received much attention and articulated new discourses about Detroit. They were hailed as spaces that could save the city, with the ability to host numerous events outside of sports that could provide the city with something positive from which aspects of a new identity could be built. It did not matter that, at the time of their opening, neither stadium housed a very competitive professional sports team. However, over time the Tigers became perennial

championship contenders and the Lions slowly started succeed after a long history of defeat. However, the Lions went 4-0 overall in the 2008 preseason, only to lose all 16 games of the regular season that year. This set a new, all-time low for the franchise. Within a few years, they would gain back some semblance of competitiveness and make the playoffs during the 2011 season. Despite all the negativity and pessimism that swirled around the Lions, Ford Field hosted Super Bowl XL in 2006 and hosted the NCAA Men's Basketball Final Four some years later. Detroit's struggles still continued, but both stadiums began receiving national attention for their charm, beauty, and ability to host big-time events.

However, despite all this positive attention the new stadiums received, Old Tiger Stadium was still perceived as a staple of Detroit's history. It was a marker of identity for almost 100 years as Tiger Stadium hosted many famous games, players, and public memories Its abandonment seemed to cast a dark cloud over what it meant to baseball and Detroit, and slowly started to draw criticism from fans and experts alike as to why it was not either renovated in place of Comerica Park or preserved given the charm and class it showed for so many years. Gradually, conversations about Tiger Stadium were in direct opposition to Comerica Park. Today, this tension still exists.

As examined in Chapter 4, this resulted in Tiger Stadium's controversial and contentious fall from grace. Its eventual demolition provoked even more angst and skepticism over how city leaders run Detroit. Traces of the discourse surrounding Tiger Stadium began to creep into the space of Comerica Park. With so much positive attention focused on the new ballpark and so much grief, remorse, resentment, and anger hovering over Tiger Stadium's demise, it was sure to spark cynicism over Comerica. Comerica Park does not resemble Tiger Stadium in any fashion,

no matter from which perspective one wishes to view the new ballpark. This tension over the material nature of the new park bled even more traces of the old stadium into the new one. It pitted the traditional, historic, and community-friendly Tiger Stadium against the new, corporatized, and aesthetically-pleasing Comerica Park. This dialectic only further reinforced the haunting nature that Comerica Park will always possess. Of the many things Jacques Derrida writes about hauntology, one is that the state of being is a haunted state. Alex Murray writes about the ontological ambiguity existing between the two states which characterize the remains of the spectres of ideological resistance and the ability of these spectres to attack one's collective conscience (4). When examined from the perspective of Detroit, these spectres from Tiger Stadium have been infiltrating Comerica Park for years. The articulations of these spectres have been expressed in the rhetoric of numerous fans, as they resist the urge to forget Tiger Stadium. For example, Frank Rashid, a longtime Tiger fan and co-founder of the Tiger Stadium Fan Club, completely distanced himself from the Tigers after their move to Comerica Park. In an interview with the *Detroit Free Press*, he stated:

> What I liken it to is what it must be to fall out of love with someone. You make the separation, and I made the separation. We became involved because we wanted to save Tiger Stadium. But what kept me going was when I realized the extent of the injustice. The middle class and poor people of Detroit are made to pay taxes to support one of the wealthiest people in the state of Michigan. It's a very blatant form of corporate welfare. I still have an interest in baseball. I like to look at the old pictures and the time from my past. But it was a very difficult time, a very intense time of many years working on that issue. For me it would really be a violation of what I believe, to back to the kind of naïve faith I had in the Tigers. It gave me a lot and they gave me a lot. But it's not the same anymore. I know too much. (Rosenberg)

Despite Rashid's extreme position, it is this kind of sentiment that some Tiger fans feel today. They feel betrayed by their team and city. This strong rhetorical sentiment is what creates the spectres that inhabit Comerica Park. They may not be felt by fans who attend games, but they

exist and emanate from the former place of Tiger Stadium. This is the remainder of the demise of Tiger Stadium. A ballpark no longer stands, but decades of memories still exist.

The fourth research question explores how the articulations of Detroit's sports places are constructed, remembered, and embedded in the discourse of the city's history. Chapter 4 argues how notions of recollection, misremembering, and forgetting function in producing discourses pertaining to the city's history and identity. One of the key issues explored in that chapter was the idea of how the decontextualization of memories produce discourses of recollection and misremembering. The decontextualization of player jerseys and iconic moments in Tiger Stadium's history represent the basis for rearticulations to emerge and assert themselves in the reproduction of the Detroit brand and the city's public memories.

After surveying the city's rhetorics of recollection and misremembering, I contend that Detroit needs to begin to embrace the failed parts of its memory. This is not accomplished simply through acknowledging its faults, but rather, it is a rhetorical process focused around what Vivian argues is the process of, "forgetting…[that] helps perpetuate the eternal cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth that defines human existence" (39). Through a genuine rhetorical process of forgetting, Detroit will be able to forgive itself for its past. This is an important step for the city. The city has acknowledged its political faults, mistakes, and misdirection. We have seen this to a small extent through media statements and news articles explaining what has gone wrong in Detroit and how current leaders hope to resolve the city's problems. However, many fissures and resentful memories still remain that beg for a genuine rhetorical forgetting. Vivian explains that a heuristic of public forgetting is "not the appea[l] for the public to forget dimensions of its past [that] are universally acceptable" (47). Instead, asking a public to forget a

memory or event draws attention to the very thing the public is being asked to forget. Vivian clarifies this idea when stating, "Memory contains dimensions of forgetting; and forgetting…often reproduces (however indirectly) a degree of shared recollection" (47).

Vivian explains how forgetting is a rhetorical process because, by asking a public to forget certain parts of its shared past, a rhetoric must draw attention to what is remembered and the value placed on certain memories and then persuade the public to discuss and remember differently. Vivian references Foucault to showcase how counter-memory plays a role in the process of public forgetting. For Foucault, counter-memory is a radical approach to realizing the breadth and significance of how we come to know and perceive history. In his writings, Foucault asks us to consider the ways an author is not simply the writer of literature, but rather, someone who has the legal and political force to identify and arrange the hierarchies of memories and rhetoric. Vivian captures Foucault's idea effectively when she explains, "Foucault's text insinuates that re-remembering, as it were, the history of authorship produces a vastly different account of the same phenomenon—one in which the object in question is altered unrecognizably in relation to this previous form" (50). In short, Foucault viewed the reporting of history as a hegemonic power move. He urges critics to think of the history of history in a certain way, the position of historians, and the process of storing memory, especially organized around either a total or general history.

Foucault's understandings of counter-memory and history provide a foundation rooted in language and reason for how public forgetting operates. Vivian contends that public forgetting does not erase, negate, or translate the past into future memories or recollections (51). Rather, as Vivian argues,

> Public forgetting…suspends, or even rejects altogether, the past's prevailing and seemingly natural truth, value, and destined course of development as they have yet been conceived in collective reminiscence. This suspension or rejection opens a rhetorical and political space in which one may voice an entirely new collective sentiment concerning the contingent meaning and utility of the past in relation to the present. Public forgetting culminates not in termination but in the type of transformation that Foucault ascribes to counter-memory: "a transformation of history into a totally different form of time." (51)

Seen in this way, public forgetting is directly tied to communities and groups' attachments to past memories and events. When understood from a Foucauldian perspective as a total re-transformation of history, the production of public history takes on new rhetorical forms that shed light onto how a productive form of public forgetting can be accomplished.

For instance, in Detroit, the suspension of a group or community's grip on the past in order to remember critically is closely tied to the public's perception of the city. Until the public has made the decision to progress into suspending judgment and condemnation of the city for the sake of a healthy and more productive future, forgetting cannot begin. The idea of suspending the past in this way contradicts what city planners, developers, and politicians hope to achieve by undertaking current redevelopment projects. These meanings are vying for inclusion into the "New Detroit." The continuous effort of these leaders to include as many new trajectories of meanings into the "New Detroit" is a rhetorical attempt to position the rejuvenation of Detroit as the standard representing redevelopment discourse. These leaders hope to erase old memories and replace them entirely. Furthermore, city and metro residents cannot suspend their memories of the city until they are able to release their biases towards Detroit's past. This demonstrates meanings of the "Old Detroit" and how citizens and metro residents are reluctant to simply forget what the "Old Detroit" means to them.

The Heterotopic Nature of Sports Stadiums

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The fifth and final question asks if Detroit's sports places constitute heterotopias, and if so, what is their progressive potential? This question is answered and evaluated in this final chapter because it uses the ideas from previous chapters in order to understand how these spaces operate in different ways and the extent of their potential for a productive forgetting. The ability of these spaces to act as heterotopias drives their potential as sites for a productive forgetting. To understand their progressive potential is to examine the opportunities presented by the arrangement of these spaces against and within each other. For instance, while the spaces adhere to discourses of redevelopment and productive value, they appeal to the suburban tourist. This is the nexus that rhetorically produces a "New Detroit" identity. Without the link between sports, commercialization and suburban tourism the "New Detroit" identity is unable to sustain itself. Conversely, Tiger Stadium and The Olympia were located in community-friendly neighborhoods of Detroit during their heydays. They rhetorically bonded citizens with the city and provided an identity accessible to all people. When all of the stadiums are placed within their original context and arranged in a rhetorical field alongside each other. They fulfill this potential because they all include meanings of both the "Old" and "New" Detroit.

When positioned within their original context and the cultural formation of Detroit's identity, these stadiums rhetorically create a utopic identity for the "New Detroit." However, because it lacks a historic and lived quality, this utopic ideal is only a manufactured and desired identity: no one goes where the history is, and where people do go, rhetorics of consumption are foregrounded. The stadiums cannot always be read within their original context. This shift in context is what positions the "Old" and "New" Detroit against each other. The public memories created from the vacant spaces complicate the identity of their consumptive counterparts. This

process has been argued and demonstrated throughout the dissertation. However, the potential for an effective public forgetting is simultaneously made sensible through this rhetorical project. While an ethic of consumption pervades the new spaces and an ethic of history pervades the old spaces, both discourses strive to produce the same authentic identity for the "New Detroit." Understanding how these spaces constitute heterotopias provides a medial zone where the consumptive spaces meet with the older, historical spaces. This medial zone is where identity is negotiated. However, instead of becoming bogged down in memorial discourses of "Old Detroit," the potential for a productive public forgetting competes for meaning against the discourse of redevelopment, blight and commercial value. Until this medial zone successfully negotiates these polarizing discourses, a productive public forgetting will not occur. The efforts of city developers, politicians, citizens, teams, suburbanites and venture capitalists need to be fully invested in the process of bringing productive meaning to the "New Detroit." We now turn to how the stadiums constitute heterotopias to further examine this process.

According to Foucault, utopias are placeless. They are actual sites but do not have any real place. He contends that utopias "present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces" ("Of Other Spaces" 3). He then offers the definition of heterotopias. Foucault explains how the idea of space in contemporary society is driven by the need for sacred space. He presents numerous binaries of space: private-public, family-social, cultural-useful, and leisure-work ("Of Other Spaces" 2). This space is external and is heterogeneous. He then introduces and defines heterotopias as sites that are an "effectively enacted" utopias, which are found within the representation, contestation, and inverted nature of utopic sites ("Of Other Spaces" 3). He clarifies this by stating,

> Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. I believe that between these utopias and these quite other sites, these heterotopias, there might be a sort of mixed, joint experience. ("Of Other Spaces" 3)

He then describes two types of heterotopias: crisis and deviant. Crisis heterotopias are sites which are privileged, sacred, or forbidden places and people existing within these spaces are in a state of crisis (e.g. adolescents, elderly, and menstruating or pregnant women). In contrast, deviant heterotopias are beginning to replace crisis heterotopias. These deviant spaces are characterized by people whose behavior is deviant compared to the average person (e.g. retirement homes, psychiatric hospitals, and prisons). At this point it is worth noting that Foucault was interested in "certain [deviant spaces] that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect" ("Of Other Spaces" 2).

Foucault's interest in heterotopias came at a time when he was writing about the nature of disciplinary power within prisons, psychiatric wards, and other physical spaces. To a large extent, the boundaries and parameters that distinguish space and place were central to his work on prisons, discipline, punishment, and the discourses of psychiatry. Thus, they are useful and practical as well in the study of urban space, identity, and power.

Foucault sites six tenets as to what constitutes a heterotopia. For my purposes, all six tenets are discussed interchangeably. This is appropriate as Foucault was proposing an understanding of space as interchangeable and malleable. To understand heterotopias as they relate to Detroit's sports places, the heterotopic characteristics constituting each space will be explained.

First, Tiger Stadium, Comerica Park, and Ford Field exhibit the principle that one heterotopia, as time elapses, can prompt and create another heterotopia that functions in a different fashion altogether. Foucault writes that, "each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another" (4). This is perhaps the most important principle in Foucault's heterotopia theory. For instance, Tiger Stadium was built and housed years of baseball games before Ford Field and Comerica Park were even on Detroit's radar. There was a primary purpose for Tiger Stadium—to house Tigers (and for many years Lions) games and to provide a place of entertainment, distraction, and community for Detroiters. Throughout the years, the intensity of this purpose grew, but its intent remained the same. Thus, many memories were created from Tiger Stadium. However, as time went on, more attention was awarded to the stadium and it became a symbol and major marker of Detroit's identity. What many people do not realize is that Tiger Stadium was one of the first well-known and expansive stadiums in America. It prompted other cities to seek out sports teams and build stadiums of similar stature. Thus, its function multiplied throughout the years. It not only served as a space for Detroiters and other people around the country, it eventually served as a model for other cities and stadiums. This only generated more attention and popularity for the stadium. Because Tiger Stadium rhetorically represented and communicated so much popularity and excitement about Detroit, other stadiums began to have similar influences on their cities. Of course, many other stadiums also caused excitement during these years, such as Boston's Fenway Park and Chicago's Wrigley Field and Comiskey Park. Arguably the defining moment of Tiger Stadium came during the 1970s when new cathedral-like stadiums began to be built in

major downtown cities. This depreciated the value and meaning of Tiger Stadium. It did not undergo the required maintenance or renovations to keep up with these more commercialized stadiums. Thus, its utility began to diminish. As a result, what it represented only 15 years ago was now neutralized. Yet, its existence and popularity began to articulate new visions for what was to become Comerica Park. What was once seen as a thriving urban community in Corktown could not compete against the expansive downtown districts where stadiums were being constructed. Thus, the need for new stadiums to compete with other cities for attention and popularity had important rhetorical implications for how space was to be used.

Returning to Foucault's principle that heterotopias can create other heterotopias with different functions, Tiger Stadium was used for other events than sports during its heyday; however, the modern-day implications of why this space constitutes a heterotopia is important to understand because if it did not exist, neither would Comerica Park or Ford Field. The idea of public forgetting is also at play here. Once a proposal for a new stadium is given, it presumes that all the memories and past events of the former stadium will either transfer to the new stadium, or more practically, produce even better memories than its former. The new consumptive stadiums suspend history of old spaces and then choose when to rearticulate past public memories into new ones that may have the ability to compete against the older memories. Yet, simply because Comerica Park and Ford Field were built as replacements for Tiger Stadium and the Pontiac Silverdome does not demonstrate their operation as a heterotopic space alone. These new consumption-based stadiums have spurred redevelopment plans throughout Detroit's downtown. They have served as a symbolic and often times cited as economic incentives for the city. Their heterotopic nature lies in their ability to constitute other spaces that were once seen as

both a crisis and deviant spaces. In fact, almost half of Detroit's landscape was at one time deemed crisis or deviant. It was where homeless people flocked to, where crime was rampant, and where people who were suffering through a crisis period lived. This is not to discredit these people, but to drive a home a fundamental point about Detroit's redevelopment: that while it is based on consumptive practices, it also attempts to capitalize on the crisis and deviant spaces within the city to give order and vibrancy to the city. According to Rashid, it is a blatant form of corporate welfare in which displaced and poor people are forced to contribute to redevelopment projects they will never experience because of the economic conditions placed on them. These conditions range from the taxes they are required to pay to the high cost of accessing these consumptive spaces. This has profound implications on how space is used and reinforces many concerns for rhetoricians interested in examining spatial justice, which will be discussed in the future research section.

Foucault's next characteristic of a heterotopia is that it "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" ("Of Other Spaces" 4). This is an important principle because it is here that consumption and sports stadiums collide. During Tiger Stadium's formative years, there were no advertisements on the outfield wall, no commercials on a big screen during innings, no credit card companies stationed in the concourse. There may have been an occasional advertisement, but it did not control the entire viewing experience. With the introduction of corporatization, there was a radical change to the sports place. The pairing of corporations with sports games was extremely profitable. This trend happened in almost every major American sport, city, and team. Furthermore, it is now considered a branding enterprise by global media, sports, and public relations firms. What once

was perceived as incompatible was realized in less than a decade. Foucault gives an example of the theater, as it "brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another; thus it is that the cinema is a very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space" ("Of Other Spaces" 4). It may seem as if Foucault himself did not imagine the implications of what he was writing about at the time, for he was actually foreshadowing the advent of the consumption-era itself. What was once a room was turned into a theater, then into a cinema, and eventually, a staple of modern society. Sports and consumption are no different; they connect a variety of unrelated and conflicting spaces – authentic identity space, "pure" sports event, commercial market, theater—into one modern sports place.

The next principle which constitutes heterotopias is premised on the idea that heterotopias are usually linked to segments in time. Foucault illustrates this point in explaining, "The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time" ("Of Other Spaces" 4). Foucault contends that heterotopias attempt to capture the essence of time within a single space and that no matter how much time elapses, a heterotopia arrives at a break in time with the world outside of that space. Again, referring back to Foucault:

> From a general standpoint, in a society like ours, heterotopias and heterochronies are structured and distributed in a relatively complex fashion…By contrast, the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place at all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity. ("Of Other Spaces" 5)

Here, Foucault is describing the intent of a space to create and sustain all things that make a particular space viable and productive. When understood from a rhetorical standpoint within Detroit's sports places, this idea is rhetorically powerful. It allows us to understand that a space, such as a sports place, attempts to include everything possible that makes a space attractive, popular, and plentiful. Today, sports places rely on consumptive practices to achieve this productive end. They break away from traditional time—specifically, they entice people to enter the space with a rhetorical incentive appealing to people's need for belonging. This belonging is attributed to sports and competitiveness and the desire to be distracted and distanced from life outside of a stadium. People can leave their personal problems at the door of the stadium, enter into a hyper-real space that decontextualizes a team and city's history and makes a universal and timeless appeal through commercialization and consumption. Thus, as Foucault claims, to "enclose in one place at all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages" (26). This presupposes that this space is not only transformative, but is based on including all the available means to captivate and engage an audience. Thus, Comerica Park and Ford Field are able to capture the attention of people because they not only include every possible piece of commercialization to appeal to fans' senses, but they accomplish this by breaking with time of the world outside the stadium.

Foucault's next principle of heterotopias is that they "always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory…or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications" ("Of Other Spaces" 5). Indeed, sports

stadiums are not public places. Entry is permitted based on certain economic access, security checkpoints, and the mobility of a person. Admission to sports stadiums is most definitely compulsory—there are certain regulations one must adhere to if entry is to be granted. There are no rites or purifications, but entry is based on one's ability to meet certain standards and regulations of that particular space.

The last principle of Foucault's heterotopias is that they must have a purpose in regards to all the remaining space. This function is two-fold, as Foucault explains; "Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory…Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill-constructed, and jumbled" ("Of Other Spaces" 5-6). Understood from this perspective, Foucault asserts that a heterotopia must have a purpose to the space that lies outside of the heterotopia itself. The heterotopias may create a space of illusion where everything seems organized and excellent. Indeed, spaces of sport consumption create this illusion of perfection in creating hyper-real and decontextualized spaces of consumption that allow people to ignore the plight of the city space just outside the stadium as they watch near-perfect athletes perform. In addition, the rituals of a sporting event—innings, seventh inning stretch and the national anthem—all contribute to this sense of organized time. In regards to the fourth principle, people have entered into a space that is distanced from the outside world. They are relieved of their everyday burdens and preoccupied thinking. Thus, they are in a space that is surreal and can only be experienced temporarily. Furthermore, these spaces are inundated with commercialization to reinforce the

idea that one is in a space that is attainable while they occupy it, but not accessible or attainable the moment they leave.

Implications

Understanding how Detroit's sports places constitute heterotopias provides us valuable insight into how urban space is rhetorically constructed and is subsequently able to negotiate various sentiments and understandings of identity. Understanding how stadiums function as heterotopias aids in expanding the meanings of what constitutes a "New" Detroit. Engaging in a heterotopic analysis further clarifies how the stadiums are positioned within the larger context of Detroit. For instance, as demonstrated in the conclusions of chapter three, Comerica Park is set to open a restaurant dedicated to Tiger Stadium. The restaurant will feature an urban bistro menu and distinct features representing Tiger Stadium. The Corner Tap Room will feature an interior "kind of like a history of Old Tiger Stadium" (Rector). While the purpose of the restaurant is to entertain and allow guests to experience a history of Tiger Stadium, it also reinforces consumption. Furthermore, the act of constructing the restaurant inside Comerica Park is undoubtedly heterotopic. Now, Comerica Park has been repurposed for an additional function—commemorating Tiger Stadium. The arrangement of Comerica Park also juxtaposes several real spaces within it while creating a sense of temporality with the new restaurant. This new space inside Comerica Park is penetrable while adding to an illusion about Tiger Stadium's history. When understood in the context of the discourses of recollecting, misremembering and forgetting, this new place within Comerica Park is infused with biopower as means to engage guests about the symbolic status of Tiger Stadium. In a hybrid and consumption-based style, it commercially memorializes Tiger Stadium. Additionally, it reinforces an authentic but

consumption-driven history of Tiger Stadium while providing guests with a way to engage in a troubled history of Detroit and its accessible sporting past.

This heterotopic ideal of Detroit and sports is similar to what Allan Ingham and Mary G. McDonald argue: that sports influence communities in various ways. They explain that class status and cultural power formations constituted by stadiums disrupt and corrupt efforts to build effective communities. As Ingham and McDonald explain,

> ….differentiated and status-based cultural power is reinforced by state and substate policies in the allocation of the amenity infrastructures of collective consumption. This transformation in the relations of social relations facilitates the demarcation between the irreplaceable and the expandable—the wanted and the unwanted, respectively. This demarcation is especially visible in the built environments of amenity infrastructures—both in where and what is built, in the internal, social ecology of the structures themselves, and in the pricing of access to such amenities….many stadia have been built under the guise of urban renewal, yet those living in closest proximity to them cannot afford the price of admission. Ironically, in the case of the imposition of regressive taxes (e.g., the use of sales taxes) to fund such stadium construction, it is also the poor who bear a disproportionate burden of paying for such facilities. Moreover, tax abatements and the creation of what are tantamount to tax-free zones to entice corporate investments create shortfalls in funding for services that the poor desperately need—education, urban renewal, sewer and water provision, and public safety. (23)

Ingham and McDonald claim that city planners, developers, and politicians deploy an "us" versus "them" discourse based on class xenophobia and cultural power to justify the construction of new stadiums. These leaders need the approval of urban citizens, who cannot afford the amenities such facilities offer, in order to build these venues for those who can afford to experience them. As Ingham and McDonald argue, "the unexplored or dark side of the concept of 'community'—is cultural and political abuse" (24). Within discussions of community building is a discourse of domination and hegemony that make the term "community" exclusive and pervasive in nature. This occurs because those who are taken advantage of are often unaware of

how the benefits claimed by new construction rarely benefits them and generally harms them instead. Similar to Detroit and the well-documented history of tension regarding the use and neglect of Tiger Stadium, the emplacement of the new Tiger Stadium restaurant inside Comerica Park has created an exclusive and corporate-driven interest about the history of Tiger Stadium. However, the progressive potential of Detroit's heterotopic spaces is one that can lead to a productive forgetting. The continued efforts underway in Detroit have opened up an array of potential for these spaces of consumption to propel the city into redevelopment and rebirth. While traces of the city may have been erased, Detroit has also rhetorically built new markers of identity while creating discourses that may perhaps sustain its future. Thus, attempts at redevelopment have now opened up new rhetorical zones for all meanings of the "New" Detroit to co-exist according to an ethic of consumption.

This corporate-driven approach is destructive to communities and creates what Ingham and McDonald term "spontaneous communitas." The term means a temporary gathering of people that constructs a new identity. In the sports context, this includes the development of identity around exceptional sports moments, like the 1984 World Series championship, that are deeply embraced yet fleeting moments. As Ingham and McDonald further explain,

> The die-hard fan may be there no matter what, but spontaneous communitas requires something above the mundane—a league championship or equivalent. Only the diehard fan can be satisfied with miserable serial civic rituals—indeed, it may be that audience sub communities are generated from misery loves company conditions. Only the exceptional can provoke spontaneous communitas. But spontaneous communitas is fleeting and cannot form the basis for community per se. Community involves time and social commitment, and the investment of social capital. Community, in the utopian sense, involves trust and obligation, and representational sport, especially in North America, provides no basis for such. (28)

Thus, Detroit needs to be extremely cautious in how it foregrounds sports teams and stadiums in its reconstruction. Detroit does have the luxury of having a loyal fan base for most of its sports teams. This does not mean that Detroit is immune from the shortcomings of spontaneous communitas. Perhaps, the progressive potential of Detroit's heterotopic spaces is one that can lead to a productive forgetting. The continued efforts underway in Detroit have opened up an array of potential for these spaces of consumption to propel the city into redevelopment and rebirth. While traces of the city may have been erased, Detroit has also rhetorically built new markers of identity while creating discourses that may perhaps sustain its future. Thus, attempts at redevelopment have now opened up new rhetorical zones for all meanings of the "New" Detroit to co-exist according to an ethic of consumption. In Detroit's case, spontaneous communitas may be fleeting at certain times, but perhaps it will grow and mature into a new building of community that will embrace social commitment a sustainable long-term growth.

Examining the rhetoric about urban spaces and sports sheds light onto how city identity is articulated, contested, and fragmented. This project has demonstrated that the relationship between rhetoric, sports, and space is complicated and vast. There are several contributions this study provides the field of communication studies. First, it highlights the significance context plays in understanding spatial discourse. Understanding space from a perspective of radical contextualization and interrogation allows communication scholars to view a vast number of spaces as symbolic and meaningful. Space is not merely static; rather, it has a host of meanings that change due to its context that warrant close examination, particularly in relation to how articulations of identity emanating from these discourses are seen as culturally, politically, socially, and economically significant. Without examining the communicative context and its

effects, scholars of space side-step important implications to be found from close and critical examinations of space and surrounding spatial and visual texts.

This project contributes to research on urban cities and spaces in numerous ways. As I discuss in the Chapter One, Lefebvre contends that using a communicative approach based on critical examinations of spatial relationships is important to understanding how knowledge of a space is constructed. By knowledge of a space, I mean the relationships between the spaces and the discourses they produce. Lefebvre argues that knowledge is a sensibility that communicates something about discourse and space. Moreover, knowledge has a history. Yet, spaces often attempt to erase or foreclose history so that they are empty and can be filled with other and new knowledge. Rather than utilize this approach on a broad basis, I explore how knowledge is produced by spaces at a ground level and how this spirals outward to shape the identity of a larger city and metropolitan area. Thus, I combine the broader cultural study of urban spaces with a textual analysis of specific spaces and discourses about those spaces.

As I note in Chapter One, Lefebvre argued in *The Production of Space* that consumer-society is fueled by how space is made to produce a certain capital. Furthermore, he argues how cities were originally arranged according to the order and flow of industrial society. Applying Lefebvre's findings to today, Detroit is a city operates with consumer-driven and consumptive-based models of urban redevelopment in order to ignite and sustain economic development. As a rhetorical and critical scholar, I explore, through a contextual approach, these cultural practices to better understand the processes and implications by which this identity, which I have taken to calling "New Detroit," is created. While we understand these identity formation processes on a broad level, we have a limited understanding of how consumptive spaces shape identity at the

ground level. As my research demonstrates, this research is important because specific sites and spaces, such as commercial and cultural spaces like a sports stadiums, produce complicated relationships between identity, memory, and space, something that past theoretical investigations fail to properly note.

My research also contributes to how scholars understand the rhetorical relationship between space and place. deCerteau distinguishes space and place by stating that,

> A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which the elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence…A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability. A space exists when one takes into consideration the vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables…In short, *space is a practiced space.* (117)

This project argues that spaces of consumption rhetorically create places to control several vectors of public memory about urban cities. As Styhre and Engberg argue, neoliberal consumptive places etch qualities and values onto space in an effort to arrest the meaning and memories created and shaped by space. Our current research tends to understand neoliberal consumption as a smooth or monolithic force that faces little to no resistance. However, my research demonstrates how this neoliberal valuation of space and place, when done through discourses of accessibility and emphasis, constantly undermines the smooth operation of place-creation. As place attempts to construct a stable identity for Detroit, space, as found in public memories and vacant spaces, constantly haunts and thus problematizes place.

My work also adds to our understanding of the value of sports places and sports discourse in urban redevelopment projects. While existing research by Eckstein and Delaney quantitatively notes how sports developments have little positive economic impact on urban areas, this project rhetorically investigates why cities like Detroit are so heavily invested in sports stadiums and

similar developments despite their poor return for urban residents and city poverty levels. In blighted urban cities like Detroit, sports rhetoric anchors and decontextualizes past memories of positive times in the city and transfers them to attractive consumptive places. The effect of these discourses produces new public memories that then shape how urban places are recreated for future consumption. As new consumption places are created, new socio-economic accessibility problems are created that can have devastating consequences. The complicated nature of the relationship between sports and urban redevelopment is important to understand as cities continue to rely on sports developments as anchors to urban development projects.

While this project has considerable utility for communication and rhetorical scholars, it is limited in a number of ways. First, I examined only one urban city and illuminated the various ways its identity has been rhetorically influenced by sports, space, place, rhetoric, and memory. Given the importance of context, it is likely that the use of sports and stadiums as anchors for city redevelopment might operate differently in another city. Second, this project specifically examines the role of sports places in the construction of urban identity. Indeed, there are multiple factors and variables to consider when attempting to fully capture how a city's identity formation is produced and maintained across time. These other factors should be more fully considered in addition to the role played by sports and sports places. Third, this study maintains that sports are a powerful marker of identity for cities. However, not every large American city has professional sports teams or values sports the same way as Detroit does.

These limitations should drive future research in the study of urban identity and spaces. The limits of sports communication research and its role in spatial production should alert scholars to the nuanced ways the boundaries and parameters of space operate. Scholars interested

in spatial rhetoric should consider research on spatial justice, because space is constructed in ways that limit people's access to the city. Critical geography studies can complement work on spatial rhetoric and provide clarification where rhetoricians interested in space may be limited. In addition, other urban sport cultures warrant close analysis, as their role in the production of identity is likely important to understanding discourse about urban space identities. Lastly, further research needs to be conducted on the various ways commercialization influences sports and the market that drives the corporatization of sports. While my work illuminates some of these factors, even more research into these areas is necessary to properly understand the full relationship between sports spaces, places, and city development.

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ABSTRACT

DETROIT'S SPORT SPACES AND THE RHETORIC OF CONSUMPTION

by

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This dissertation argues how Detroit's spaces of sport consumption rhetorically configure the city's identity. Specifically, this project interrogates the city's sports spaces and argues how they anchor identity in the following ways: through the production of accessible discourses, through the emphasis on certain discourses and the de-emphasis of other discourses, through the regulation, control and biopower of the city's sports spaces and their rhetorical effect on Detroit's identity, and through the creation of distinct public memories produced from these discourses.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Anthony Cavaiani was born on April 7, 1981 in Southfield, Michigan. He was raised in Troy, Michigan and later moved with his family to Rochester, where his family still lives. He attended Rochester Hills Lutheran Northwest High School, where he played football and basketball. He received his Bachelor of Science in Psychology and Bachelor of Arts in Media Studies at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, MI. While at WMU, Anthony competed on the competitive speech team. After his undergraduate degree, he attended graduate school at Wayne State University. While there, Anthony was a graduate assistant for the speech team. Anthony taught one year at Colorado State University-Pueblo. Currently, he is an Assistant Professor in the Communication department at William Woods University in Fulton, Missouri. He plans to defend his dissertation in June 2015.