THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

A DEVELOPMENT OF A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE IMAGE OF THE CITY AND CITY MARKETING

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Abstract

This thesis challenges current city marketing theory and practice for the oversimplification of analytical tools they employ, which have led to undesirable results such as loss of the uniqueness of places. Current city marketing practice tends to measure the benefits and costs of their practices collectively, not taking into account the value, or utility, that the experience of space has for the individual. In order to account for the individual experience, this thesis develops an alternative analytical approach using phenomenology. The foundations of this approach reside on Heidegger's spatial thinking and Husserl's internal time consciousness. These authors developed ontology beyond the utilitarian gaze of the modern world, which the author finds is at the core of those limitations of current city marketing theory.

A neologism is formulated: *Topoaletheia*, from the Greek *topos*, place; and *aletheia*, disclosure of truth. This concept provides a vehicle to understand how an individual may experience Being (i.e. extend one's awareness) through space. It is demonstrated that the extension of one's awareness provides fulfilment, and hence topoaletheia is put forward as a new tool to understand how different phenomena will impact the value, or utility, of the image of the city. A number of typical structures (or rhythms) depicting the possible ways in which an individual experiences Being are given. This results in an aprioristic approach that can predict the utility that an individual will experience through a series of stimuli, namely city marketing practices.

Topoaletheia is tested in both the physical setting and the symbolic space of cities. It is also used to analyse the images of Madrid and Barcelona in some depth. Practical recommendations are suggested in order to improve the efficiency of city marketing. Only by taking into account the extension of individuals' awareness, city marketers will be able to forecast the success of their strategies. The typical structures (or rhythms) proposed enable the proper assessment of awareness. The usefulness of a phenomenological approach to the image of the city and city marketing thus comes from its ability to investigate the benefits of the individual experience and awareness of space.

Keywords: image of the city, city marketing, phenomenology, Heidegger, Husserl, experience of Being, awareness, value, (human) fulfilment, space, Madrid, Barcelona.

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Glossary of abbreviations

BT   – Being and Time (Heidegger, 1962).
CBA   – Cost-benefit analysis.
FD   – Flagship development.
FDE   – Flagship development and hallmark event.
IOC   – International Olympic Committee.
ITC   – Internal Time Consciousness.
MM   – Matter and Memory (Bergson, 2002).
OG   – Olympic Games.
PAU   – Plan de Actuación Urbanística (new area for development in Madrid).
TA   – Topoaletheia.

INTRODUCTION:
GENERAL FRAMEWORK, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. The focus of the research.

The purpose of this thesis is to search for an alternative analytical approach to the study of the image of the city and –in a broader sense- to city marketing as a whole. Its main focus is the study of the value, or utility, that images of cities have for individuals. For this purpose, I develop a new analytical point of view through phenomenological investigation. The insights reached by this new approach will be illustrated with specific city marketing practices as examples, which I consider will be useful for city managers when it comes to devising their marketing strategies.

By using each of the steps of the phenomenological methodology as described by Spiegelberg (1960), I come up with a neologism, which I call *topoaletheia*[1], that I intend to put forward as a new tool to understand how different phenomena impact the value of the image that one individual has on the city where they take place. In a nutshell, *topoaletheia* deals with the extension of one's awareness through space[2]. This awareness occurs in the individual's internal time consciousness (as developed by Husserl); that is to say, in lived-time (as opposed to clocked-time). At this early stage in the research, the essence of *topoaletheia* might be roughly defined as an extension or variation along time of the individual awareness of the manifestation of the being of space in one's world[3]. I will demonstrate how the experience of topoaletheia produces a feeling of satisfaction or fulfilment in the individual –thus I speak about the *value* of the image of the city. That fulfilling experience may become known as the *phenomena* of topoaletheia.

In order to develop this new phenomenological approach to the image of the city, I establish an original link between the existing literature on the image of the city and the philosophy of Heidegger. I base on Heidegger because he developed ontology beyond the utilitarian gaze of the modern world, which I believe is at the core of the limitations of current city marketing theory. His concept of truth (*aletheia*) is beyond any such limitation, and is in direct link to the becoming aware of Being. This is the link I apply to the understanding of space through *topoaletheia* and subsequently to the image of the city. In a more illustrative dimension, I utilise the concept of *topoaletheia* to approach the images of Madrid and Barcelona. These two cities are just a bit over 500 km away, but thousands of miles away in terms of their approach to city marketing. A phenomenological approach using topoaletheia will explain some of these differences and their apparent success of failure.

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[1] From the Greek *topos*, place; and *aletheia*, Heidegger's concept of "un-concealment of truth".

[2] Let me use the analogy of light: one cannot see light in itself, but only as projected on things. Likewise, an extended awareness needs of something to be experienced. I will demonstrate how the image of the city may allow an individual to extend one's awareness.

[3] For a comprehensive understanding of this definition, please note that its main concepts, such as 'awareness' or 'being', are regarded here the way Martin Heidegger utilised them, which I explain in chapter four.

This thesis challenges current city marketing theory and practice, in what I see as an oversimplification of the analytical tools they employ. I believe current city marketing discourse can be criticised for just focusing on *collective* and *quantitative* magnitudes when assessing the benefits and costs that city marketing practices may incur. This view neglects the value of the individual awareness of the image of the city. The *collectivising* approach to city marketing has resulted into a number of conflicts (e.g. re-imagination, gentrification, etc.) that have made city marketing a controversial tool. I believe these flaws of city marketing are due to the limitations of its theoretical basis.

Of course I admit that estimating benefits and costs is useful and sensible in order to suggest policy actions. However, I consider that scholarly studies on city marketing, with less time pressure than practitioners, could have focused on studying the utility, or value, of the individual awareness of those images. I argue that since the value of the awareness of cities' images is obviously perceived individually, the way to approach it must be an understanding of the *typical structure* of how this value is experienced individually. This would result in a correct assessment of the image of the city. In order to develop such an approach, I believe it is necessary to resort to phenomenology, the *logos* that deals with the individual experience of one's life-world, unlike the study of the objects of the world per se. Thus, I use phenomenology to formulate topoaletheia and test its relevance to city marketing.

In this thesis I use an unorthodox interdisciplinary approach. Rather than covering one narrow aspect very deeply and carry out case studies, I believe that the greatest value of this thesis lies in putting into relation different disciplines and make sense of it by putting forward a new concept, which may be use as a tool in city marketing.

In the rest of this introductory chapter, I firstly frame the research within its socio-economical context. Secondly, I explain the gaps I found in the existent literature on city marketing. Thirdly, I describe my research questions, as well as the methodology I employ. Finally, I summarise the chapter structure of this thesis.

2. General framework.

I challenge current city marketing literature, due to the narrow focus I find in their scope. That is why I develop a new approach to city marketing. In this section I summarise the general framework from which city marketing became relevant. The utilisation of city marketing practices has been at its height since two main changes took place in the socio-economic and cultural environments: the acceleration of the process of globalisation, and the postmodernist era. I argue, however, that city marketing and its conflicts are not necessarily inevitable, but are a product of the artificially created notion of progress, in which modern economies are currently embedded.

2.1 The context of increased globalisation.

The increasing process of globalisation, with its mobility of capital, workers, goods, information and services, as well as with its flexible production and blurring of national borders, is known to be deeply changing cities across the world as well as the hierarchies of cities within any region.

In the literature about the topic, usually four factors are mentioned as causing this phenomenon: a) the transformation of the financial sector, b) the emergence of trans-national corporations, c) innovation in communications technology, and d) dispersion of migrant communities and different cultures. As a result, it is claimed that spatial and economic reorganisation has prompted the establishment of a hierarchy of cities in relation to the economic functions they perform. The paradigm shift towards the study of the relationships between such global economic change and cities was pioneered by Friedman (1986, 1995) and followed by Rimmer (1986), Sassen (1991), Short and Kim (1999), and many others thereafter.

Globalisation is exposing even the most remote spaces to competition and forcing firms, localities, and regions to react to the new economic conditions. Economic and

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social actors across the world are restructuring their production and consumption habits as a result of these processes. But the main point here is that this process offers new opportunities and challenges, which might be taken advantage of, or might result in severe hindrances towards development, depending on the case.

Furthermore, in the case of Europe, the whole hierarchy and networks of cities are also being changed due to: a) the opening markets of EASTERN EUROPE; b) the process of EUROPEAN INTEGRATION whereby, among other consequences, some cities that used to be peripheral within their own national borders become central in a common market (e.g. Aachen, Strasbourg); and, of particular importance; and c) the SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET, whereby companies are increasingly restructuring themselves to serve the European market as a whole rather than as a set of national markets (see Cheshire and Gordon, 1995b; Berg, 1995).

As Cheshire and Gordon (1995b: 112) point out, the major impacts (or changes) of this increased globalisation are more likely to be seen in advanced metropolitan regions, where information-intensive and decision-making activities tend to be concentrated. As a result of these changes, and however paradoxical this may sound, they also argue that, since European integration is expected to produce most change (and potential gains) in strong regions rather than lagging ones, the former may be more active in pursuing "territorial competition", even if it seems less necessary there (1995b: 116).

Therefore, all these opportunities and threats are seen to call for "territorial competition." The competition for reaching the top of the symbolic hierarchy is viewed as something inevitable... and worthwhile.

2.2 Territorial competition.

Territorial competition is usually understood as a process through which groups acting on behalf of a regional or sub-regional economy seek to promote it as a location for economic activity in competition with other areas (Cheshire and Gordon, 1995b: 110; Berg, 1995). The term 'competition' is used in the wide sense, to include the attraction of

industrial, trading, transport and distribution companies, leisure services, shops, government agencies, tourists, certain groups of inhabitants, etc. Territorial competition involves both "active local economic development measures of various kinds, and a self-conscious strategy to guide policy development and implementation, with regard both to the future economic role of the area concerned and with respect to its principal competitors" (Cheshire and Gordon, 1995b: 110). Since the efforts that territories may carry out involve activities by groups seeking to promote the economic development of that area, Cheshire and Gordon (1995b: 113) argue that the 'product' of territorial competition can be viewed as a quasi-public good, from whose benefits it may be hard to exclude those who have not contributed to the activity. As a result, they affirm that it is increasingly common to find the creation of partnerships between public authorities, public agencies and representatives of the local private sector in order to carry out coordinated efforts.

There is actually a debate in the literature on whether cities do actually compete or are just places where firms which do compete are based, as Lever and Turok (1999) assert. On the one hand, Porter (1995, 1996) argues that cities and regions *do* compete for mobile investment, tourism, public funds, population or hallmark events such as the Olympic Games. On the other hand, Krugman (1996a, 1996b) argues that cities as such *do not* compete with one another: they are merely the *locus* for firms and enterprises which compete. Nevertheless, he does put the emphasis on the significance of urban agglomeration economies as a source of increasing returns, incompatible with there being any unique competitive equilibrium. In this line, Lever and Turok (1999) assert that, at best, the locational attributes of places are basic requirements or necessary conditions for competitive success, but not sufficient conditions.

Once the necessity of territorial competition or, at least, of territorial re-structuring to the new socio-economical context, is acknowledged, the debate in the literature shifts to deal with the different options that city managers may select and whether or not they are positive and constructive, in the way of being growth enhancing for their territories.

Hence, Cheshire and Gordon (1995b: 122-123) stress that zero sum activities, like pure promotion, advertising and marketing "may be highly visible ways of spending budgets and justifying an agency's existence, but they are not necessarily very effective in terms of attracting mobile investment, still less in terms of local capacity building." For these authors, growth enhancing measures would comprise training, fostering entrepreneurship, helping new firms, business advice, uncertainty reduction, coordination and infrastructure improvement.

2.3 City marketing.

One of the widespread consequences of these processes of territorial competition is the increasing utilisation of a huge variety of activities called city marketing, seen as a means to place the city in an advantageous position in the publics' mind so that cities may reap some of the benefits from the mobile factors newly available. Bramezza and Gorla (1995) agree that the practice and theory of city marketing are gaining in importance, and they affirm that this starts from the idea of a city behaving as a firm, with its various urban functions representing products to be sold in specific markets to current and potential investors. A similar idea had been previously developed by Borja and Castells (1997). Thus it becomes also necessary for a city to be aware of the identity of its key competitors, both actual and potential.

This is the definition I assume for "city marketing": it is a process of communication between the "city" (understood as in the previous paragraph) and its publics. This is thus opposed to that other term of "selling cities" often found in the literature (e.g. Goodwin, 1993; Kearns and Philo, 1993; Short, 1998; Ward, 1998). Within city marketing, such communication with the publics of the city determines (or at least shapes) the "urban product", according to the will of the public. On the contrary, the activity of selling cities implies that consumers are persuaded that they desire or need what the city actually has to offer.

Berg (1995) stresses that, by adopting marketing principles, the municipal organisation may become more customer-oriented, ready to give service to, and mind the interests of, the town's citizens. He argues that there is a specific nature of proper strategic city marketing: a successful implementation requires a comprehensive vision of the future development of the urban region. One of the advantages of such a vision is that it may lead to planning by consensus and working in unison between the different agencies that may work for the policy of city marketing. One of the threats is that, as usually happens, the strategic plan, or even the whole master plan of the city, becomes a mere marketing product by itself, rather than being the marketing aspect of a tool towards the completion of the strategic goals that the whole plan must have devised.

It is also worth mentioning that quality of life rankings have become a popular tool of city marketing lately, since they can always be arranged in order to present a determined aspect of a highly *commodified* city wherein it has a comparative advantage with respect to others (Rogerson, 1999). I explore this issue in chapter three.

2.4 **The culture of leisure and postmodernism.**

The culture of leisure is ever growing in importance due to (1) the reduction of working hours, (2) an increased ease to travel around the world, and (3) higher purchasing power. These factors are the sources of the currently increasing economic importance of the tourism industry. This also leads to the awareness of the increasing importance of the need for city marketing to attract hordes of new tourists that may bring useful cash to the city. Hence, several actions are usually put into practice in order to market the city for tourists, regarding it as an urban product able to be transformed according to market pressures. These actions, especially when they are controversial or incur a high cost, are usually justified to citizens by assuring that their economic benefits will *trickle down* to the residents.

As one might suppose, these activities result in a double game: in the first place, demands are placed on cities to provide certain facilities and amenities to provide for

these newly globalised mobile investors and tourists. This makes cities become increasingly alike and, hence, cities lose their appeal, since their uniqueness was their strongest feature (see Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). Therefore, cities are expected to differentiate themselves again somehow, and they usually do so in an *inauthentic* way: by going to the global postmodern market of hyper-real images. Moreover, re-imagining cities means incurring costs that are usually excessive. Therefore, those who either think all these activities are just a waste of resources feel that they can legitimately criticise the implementation of city marketing practices. So do those who stress the opportunity costs of such practices and argue that many other things could be done instead for the community. This is particularly the case in so called flagship developments (such as landmarks, etc.) and hallmark events (e.g. international expositions, festivals and the big prize: hosting the Olympic Games, which is actually a combination of both). Smyth (1994) argues that it is not that flagship developments and events (FDE's) help to market the city, but rather, that "a FDE project *is* about marketing the area or the city."

2.5 **A scientific notion of 'progress.'**

I believe that the blossoming of conflicts through FDE's and other smaller practices is mainly due to the lack of a comprehensive analytical framework to address the question of city marketing. It is because of this lack that I aim to put forward a new approach, based on phenomenology. In my opinion, current analyses have justified and reinforced the intrusive nature of the practices carried out by *city marketers*, forced as they are by the apparent *necessity* to carry them out, or else risk lagging behind in the competition with neighbouring places. This necessity, in its contingency, is I think the result of an artificial notion of progress, as derived from the Western modern mind. In other words, only from within the paradigm of the modern Western mind can one see that notion of progress as necessary, opening the room for those without such a paradigm to see reality somewhat differently. The Western modern paradigm is based on the idea that history moves onward and upward, in a linear and singular way dictated by the material

achievements devised by human reason. The artificiality (or conventionality) of this notion is hence established by the consensus created around the paradigm itself.

This paradigm, by relying on the apparently limitless capabilities of the human reason, seems to pursue the emancipation and empowerment of the human being from any other entity or environment beyond its free will. Thus, changing matter (i.e. producing, seen things according to the utilitarian use we can make of them) is "good" according to this myth, which in turn is usually taken for granted as normal and socially accepted as desirable. Conversely, the fulfilment provided by tranquil contemplation of the world is despised as inaction, with the negative connotation this has: it is commonly understood as inability to change, or "progress," showing one's less worth.

In the light of this, in this thesis I move away from progressive theories achieved by practitioners' or academic consensus that follow the paradigm of the necessity for material development and, instead, try to investigate how to apply the fulfilment provided by contemplation to the study of the image of the city. Therefore, I demarcate myself from the modern desire for "equality", whereby opportunities to fulfil motivations and needs are provided according to goals set up collectively. By contrast, I target the heart of the origin of human fulfilment, which is in one's individual experience –and bearing in mind one's personal characteristics and the context where one dwells.

In doing so, I can frame my thesis within the so-called humanistic approach to city planning or geography, in which non-scientific human measurements come to play –e.g. values, meaning, cultural context (see phenomenologist geographers such as Tuan, 1974, 1977; Relph, 1976; and Seamon, 1979; and also Harries, 2001; and Tavernor, 2007).

Tavernor (2007: 178) cites Heidegger's views on measuring within the context of providing meaning to human existence, e.g. beyond a scientific approach to distance.[4]

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[4] In the specific case of space, Tilley (1994: 8-9) points out that the usefulness of a 'scientific' conception of space abstracted from human affairs has systematically been called into question. He summarises the main literature covering this point, most of which will appear again from chapter four of this thesis onwards -e.g. Harvey, 1969; Relph, 1976; Gregory, 1978; Gregory and Urry, 1985; Soja, 1989; Miller and Tilley, 1984; Shanks and Tilley, 1987. The implication of this perspective, Tilley argues, "was that activity and event and space were conceptually and physically separate from each other and only contingently related."

Thus, he affirms that in order to dwell, humankind needs to be able to measure the distance between the sky and the earth, but this distance cannot be measured quantitatively: "This measure is realised and best enjoyed through the heightened awareness of time, memory and the natural qualities that exist around us."

It is precisely this heightened awareness of time and memory which leads to the experience of topoaletheia, as I explain in chapter four. Of course, if one looks beyond geography and planning, the taking into account of an *ultimate reality* that confers meaning and qualitative measurement to human existence is a very trodden path. The study of Being, in its multiple names, can be summarised in the phrase of *Sophia Perennis* (or perennial philosophy) that Huxley (2004 [1944]) popularised in the 1940's. The experience of Being has been widely studied from a variety of points of view: e.g. psychological (see James, 1985; Maslow, 1968, 1994: Bucke, 2006 [1901]; Pike, 1994; Underhill, 2005; and Grof, 1990, 1998), mystical-religious, from all kinds of traditions from all over the world and historical epochs (e.g. John of the Cross, Rumi, Lao-tzu); physiological, ontological, and finally from a purposefully interdisciplinary point of view by authors like Huxley himself. Harries (2001), basing on the thoughts of Nicholas Cusanus and Giordano Bruno, established a link between Being (or 'the infinity of God') and architecture. In this thesis then I harbour the ambition of following along this path and coming up with some tools (the rhythms of topoaletheia) that I believe fine tune the relationship between Being and urban form.

> "In a world where education is predominantly verbal, highly educated people find it all but impossible to pay serious attention to anything but words and notions. There is always money for, there are always doctorates in, the learned foolery of research into what, for scholars, is the all-important problem: Who influenced whom to say what when? Even in the age of technology the verbal Humanities are honoured. The non-verbal Humanities, the arts of being directly aware of the given facts of our existence, are almost completely ignored" (Aldous Huxley, 1994: 48).

3. The research questions.

In his *Research design* book, Creswell (1994) points out that one typically finds research questions, not objectives or hypotheses, written into qualitative studies (such as this). He explains that those research questions may assume two forms: either a) a grand tour question, which is a statement of the question being examined in the study in its most general form, followed by sub-questions that narrow the focus of the study; or b) a guiding hypothesis followed by sub-questions. I have opted for option *a*, and therefore I can put my statement of the question as follows: *A phenomenological approach to the study of the image of the city can be developed so as to be relevant to city marketing.*

The subsequent research questions narrow the focus of the research on the different aspects of the potential phenomenological approach to the study of the image of the city, thus serving as a *fine tuning* on the relevance of this approach as a source of new tools that may be relevant to city marketing. The research sub-questions are:

1) *Does topoaletheia exist?* In other words, this is the question on whether there is an essence of what I call *topoaletheia* that may be formulated as a new and sound concept, i.e. a concept that is equal to itself despite changing circumstances or locations and different to any other concept. This concept is based on Heidegger's concept of *aletheia* and applicable to the value that the image of the city has for the individual.

2) *Does the concept of topoaletheia have potential to be relevant for the study of city marketing?* In other words, by this I enquire whether the development of a systematic analysis of how the individual experiences Being through the physical and symbolic spaces of the city can be relevant to the study of city marketing, and to what extent. If the answer to this question is affirmative, the link between topoaletheia and urban planning may be disclosed, hence showing a direct link between city planning practices and human fulfilment. This is achieved by taking into account the way individuals perceive the city along time, regardless of the space they are in (this is, going beyond the dichotomy

between the 'reality' of the city and its image in individuals' minds). This shall surely have important policy implications, as city planners could devise their projects in order to maximise the value that residents have of the image of their city (e.g. taking into account a specific targeted benchmark of "happiness" of their residents).

3) *Are symbolic images more important than the perception of the physical space of the city when it comes to experience topoaletheia?* In an even narrower scale, this research question focuses on the dichotomy 'image versus reality.' This question will refine the usefulness of topoaletheia by pointing out what type of space may be more efficient in order to provide higher value (i.e. more fulfilment) to the individual who experiences the city. In the case of an affirmative answer, it would explain why certain city marketing practices (especially FDE's) that seem to be shallow, short-term-sighted, mythical or image-focused are seen to be successful and even more successful than many sensible, long-term interventions in the 'real' fabric of the city.

4) *Can the concept of topoaletheia make any difference in the analysis of the images of Madrid and Barcelona?* With this question I intend to put topoaletheia to work in the specific case of these two cities, which despite being located in the same country have got very different images. Moreover, I also consider whether an approach that bears in mind topoaletheia can provide insights about the images of these cities that, despite being perceived in everyday life, have hitherto remained overlooked. I find the dichotomy that phenomenological investigations establish between the experience of [spatial] phenomena and the essence of space especially interesting.

5) *Can topoaletheia-based analyses serve as a tool to reduce the conflicts and hazards of city marketing?* In other words, since topoaletheia is directly linked to the fulfilment that individuals may experience when perceiving the image of a city, I ask whether it can overcome the negative effects of the conflicts of city marketing, or to prevent them altogether.

4. Rationale of the study

In order to justify this research, as well as to explain its rationale, I start by identifying some deficiencies and gaps I perceive in the literature on city marketing. Afterwards I move on to explain the originality of this research as well as its utility and potential significance.

4.1 Deficiencies and gaps found in the literature.

As previously explained, the focus of this research lies well away from the mainstream literature on city marketing. In chapter two, I discuss why I believe city marketing literature is too influenced by that of corporate marketing. The image of a city cannot be shaped and re-modelled as a shampoo-brand, but nevertheless the literature exhibits numerous examples of lists on how to apply corporate marketing strategies and procedures to cities. Not only is a city a much more complex entity than any brand could possibly be, but also a city is lived in by its residents, who somehow also shape that image, and not only consumed by targeted consumers.

I can identify two extreme poles around which I can locate at least most of the mainstream literature on city marketing:

a) The TRANSLATION OF CORPORATE MARKETING into city marketing. This literature tends to provide very practical policy suggestions, almost in the manner of "recipes" applicable to any city. It assumes that cities are *one* entity eager to grow and expand. See, among others, Kotler *et al.*, 1993; Berg, 1990, 1995, 1999; Kearns and Philo, 1993; Morgan *et al.*, 2002; Mikunda, 2004. The fledging Spanish literature on the topic (e.g. Valls, 1992; Elizagarte, 2003) fit this group: they advocate for utilising cities' master plans as tools of city marketing, instead of including city marketing strategies inside the plan of the city.

b) The CRITICAL VIEW OF CITY MARKETING. This other pole is more discursive and usually focuses on the tension created by the clash between the need for cities to grow economically and the maintenance of traditional communities' identity. In other words, it usually deals with the conflicts that city marketing creates and thus has a more cautious approach towards the subject. This is the approach usually found, among many others, in Burgess, 1974 and 1978; Ashworth, 1990 and 1994; Erickson and Roberts, 1997; Hall and Hubbard, 1996 and 1998; Short, 1998; Montgomery, 1998; Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999.

Therefore, I think there is a gap in the literature: there is room for a positive, and proactive, approach to city marketing (unlike pole b) that deals a priori with the complexities that cities may offer; that is to say, taking into account the reality of cities as complex and unique entities (unlike pole a).

Besides, I consider there is a clear gap in terms of the methodologies employed in the study and practice of city marketing. Positivist views that regard human beings no better than stones on a slope, ready to roll down at a given change in the surface (Entrikin, 1976: 616) are far too prominent. Conversely, methodologies that do take into account those things that make human beings truly human, such as meanings or values, are neglected.

Furthermore, both of the aforementioned poles focus only on the collective and objective sphere, leaving a clear gap regarding everything that is subjective and qualitative. By "collective" and "objective" I mean what follows:

- Objective in the sense that they refer to the aspects of city marketing that can be labelled as 'objective' merely due to their possibility of being shareable in order to accommodate a 'truth' determined by the correctness of indicators discretionally established –e.g. quantitative aspects of city marketing in terms of costs and benefits.

- Collective, as they refer to outcomes for a group of individuals or the whole of the community, but never for a singular individual.

Mainstream city marketing discourse hence regards cities' image as a tool that is useful from a producer's point of view (either the city as a whole or certain agents within it). However, and according to corporate marketing literature itself, if we accept this 'useful' possibility, we would be talking about cities' IDENTITIES, but not cities' IMAGES. Images are created in the receivers' minds and thus, if someone intends to manage them in order to achieve certain ends, firstly an ontological study of the formulation of such images is needed, in order to find out a TYPICAL STRUCTURE of how that image is formed. Otherwise we would be talking about identities.

In order to come up with the typical structure of the individualised formulation of the image of the city, the personal characteristics of the individual must necessarily be taken into account: one's attitudes, values and perception (see Tuan, 1974). In other words, it is important to analyse the individual cognitive process that an individual goes through when one perceives the image of the city. Phenomenological geographers (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974, 1977; Seamon, 1979, 1982) have in one way or another researched this process, but there is still a gap in terms of its application to the specific case of the image of the city and city marketing.

There is also another related gap here: once we agree that the individual's perception actually turns realities into images and that these two are different, I have to stress that those images seem to be able to enhance someone's fulfilment by themselves, regardless of the quality of the reality. The relation between this image-formulation process and the experience of fulfilment has not been dealt with in the literature. Only environmental perception scholars have come somewhere near this issue, but hitherto no research links the value of the image of the city along time to human fulfilment by studying the awareness of the space of the city.

Topoaletheia can be referred to in terms of the "objective" (material) attributes of the environment and also to the meaning that is shed upon it by the image of that space. Hence, I have devised a clear gap regarding a way of analysing everything that is subjective and qualitative in the topic. And I aim precisely at shifting the focus of city

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marketing and studies on cities' image to the individual, as I consider that it is in the individual's consciousness where the value of the image is granted.

I should make clear that mainstream academic discourse on city marketing which seeks to objectify the costs and benefits of those practices carried out to market the city is very useful. It sensibly suggests policy actions and provides a means for understanding the failure of certain artefacts formulated to boost a city's image, especially in the case of FDE's, (which oftentimes become so costly and therefore controversial). However, what I consider to be a gap (and an opportunity for me) is that such an approach does not tell us anything about the MEANING that those images created by FDE's have for the individuals, let alone the VALUE that individuals may get from those meanings. Therefore, there is a need for the inclusion of what I would call INDIVIDUAL BENEFITS in the benefit entries of cost-benefit analyses.

Another deficiency that I find is that it is rather difficult to find in the literature specific city marketing actions towards residents, as opposed to those towards tourists and/or investors. In those cases where actions towards residents are cited, they usually focus on attracting new residents, who are members of the 'external' public at the time anyway. Besides, as I mentioned earlier, city marketing actions are usually focused on tourists and potential investors in the hope that the benefits extracted from those publics may *trickle down* to the residents. Therefore, I can identify a gap: city marketing studies should seek the improvement of the value that actual residents experience from their city.

One more aspect that, in my opinion, has not been covered in the literature on city marketing is the influence of time on the perception of the city image's value. I consider time's influence to be overwhelming, as the relationship between the *Dasein*[5] and the city is absolutely determined by one's lived-time (as opposed to clocked-time; e.g. one hour passes more quickly when you are having fun than when you are in the queue to submit

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[5] With the term *Dasein* (translated from German as "being-there"), Heidegger refers to the type of being of each and every human being, insofar as he-is-in-the-world. He uses this term to stress that there is no distance whatsoever between the human being existing reality and his world, since he is in his world and his world is in him (as explained in chapter four).

forms to the local council). Value varies along time, and therefore so will the image of the city for the individual. There is habituation to places, meaning that one does not always appreciate a certain place to the same extent.

4.2 Usefulness, originality and significance of this research.

The incredible number of projects involving costly and controversial FDE's across the world already makes this an interesting research topic. This research advances insights, which to a degree, help with forecasting the potential success of such projects. It also proposes a framework of analysis within which potential conflicts can be minimised. Establishing the potential application of topoaletheia as a tool to be employed by city managers thus becomes significant. Also, the typical structure of how individuals experience fulfilment through the image of the city might provide aprioristic insights into the value that residents would be ready to place upon such developments. It seems that nowadays there is a trend towards bidding for all sorts of events, and implementing big flagship developments, probably fostered by the remembrance of successful experiences in other cities, and the assumed notion of the necessity to compete. City managers, in order to engrave their name for posterity, are ready to build all sorts of flashy landmarks that architects devise. However, the real potentialities for gaining value and perhaps competing effectively are not usually well taken into account. Therefore, there is a danger that immense wastes of resources occur on daily basis. If there were a way to know how to deal with the real influences that you can expect from FDE's, as well as with public perception arising from them, such waste might be limited and other conflicts may be avoided.

Moreover, I aim to embed the discussion on cities' images in a much deeper dimension: the study of the individual self. Since there is no such study, I shall demonstrate the benefits of the contemplative view of the image of the city towards the fulfilment of individuals.

The originality of this thesis has three dimensions: a) RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY, as I employ an interdisciplinary approach within a phenomenological methodology and connect topics that have not previously been linked (e.g. images created by FDE's and human fulfilment); b) THEORY FORMULATION, as I come up with the formulation and experience of topoaletheia, rather than simply applying an existing and well-established theory to a new case study; and c) PRACTICAL APPLICATION, as I aim to come up with an original way of understanding [at least some of] the reasons behind differences in the value of cities' images –especially in the cases of Madrid and Barcelona.

Regarding the limitations of this thesis, I am well aware that in treading new ground there are also risks. Nevertheless, all advances in knowledge are grounded in experimentation. I believe the foundations of topoaletheia are solid enough, since I base this concept on a well-established school of thought, to which Heidegger (whose ontology I use) and Husserl (whose internal time consciousness I use) belong. This school, namely phenomenology, has already been tested in geography, with the authors I mentioned above, like Tuan, Relph, Seamon and many others. With this, I mean that I am not recklessly jumping off to an unknown territory, but I am developing an approach within a well-established section of thinking –if not the most popular, I must admit.

In this respect I would like to emphasise the distinction I make between Heidegger's alleged political positions[6] and his ontological and spatial thinking: I do not utilise Heidegger's political thinking at all, but only his ontological and spatial thinking. Therefore, his political standpoints are irrelevant to the development of this thesis.

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[6] I say "alleged" as Heidegger's real commitment to Nazi's ideology and the Nazi Party is itself a matter on controversy in the literature. See Wolin, 1990, 1993; Farias, 1991; Young, 1998.

5. Methodology and thesis structure.

Among the different choices available to frame research, I shall follow an ontological paradigm assumption (therefore asking what the nature of reality *is*; the nature of topoaletheia in my case, its essence) rather than an epistemological, axiological, rhetorical or methodological assumption. I am aware that, because I am dealing with people's images and perceptions of their cities, if I simply collected their impressions through surveys, I would be managing already-biased influences, as those images must have been influenced by precisely those phenomena whose essence I want to study. Therefore, I wanted to set apart from empiricism and turn towards a highly theoretical approach; an approach that results in aprioristic analyses of the image of the city. Furthermore, I want to develop topoaletheia through the study of how an individual *experiences* and *understands* the city, rather than by the structures that may come into play or any other approach. Therefore, I consider that the methodology that fits my research best is, without any doubt, phenomenology.

5.1 Phenomenology as a method.

Phenomenology is the description and clarifying of *phenomena* (Tuan, 1971). Etymologically it comes from the Greek *'phainomenon'* (what shows itself in itself) and *'logos'* (reason, judgement, concept, definition, ground, relation, but its primary meaning is "to make manifest, reveal"). Therefore, phenomenology was defined by Heidegger as "to let what shows itself [the *phainomenon*] be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself (BT §34)[7]. Thus, it demands that phenomena must be 'demonstrated directly', not postulated on the basis of other phenomena or traditional doctrines.

Phenomenology is founded "on the importance of reflecting on the ways in which the world is made available for intellectual inquiry" (Gregory, 2000). In other words, the key

issue in any phenomenological approach is "the manner in which people experience and *understand* the world" (Tilley, 1994: 11). Phenomenology does not deny the existence of the world, or the material existence of the world; rather, its task is to clarify the meaning of the world –the sense in which one accepts it, rightly, as really existing[8]. Phenomenology rejects any assumption of the separation of subject ('the observer') and object ('the observed'), and instead insists that "we exist primordially not as subjects manipulating objects in the external, 'real', physical world, but as beings *in*, alongside and toward the world" (Pickles, 1985). Hence, phenomenology aims at understanding the meaning of the phenomena of the lived-world of immediate experience, and then seeks to clarify these in a rigorous way by careful observation and description (Relph, 1976). Its contribution towards understanding "lived experiences" is the reason why I find it so useful in order to explain why topoaletheia is lived; as well as how it is experienced and valued.

For a comprehensive explanation of the different phenomenological perspectives, see Moran, 2000. Husserl (1963 [1913]) and Heidegger (1982 [1975], BT) offer the particular views of these authors on phenomenology. More specifically, Spiegelberg (1960) described all the steps of the phenomenological method as summarised in figure 1.1 below, which is how I shall utilise the methodology in this thesis. Phenomenology became of common use in geographical investigations in the 1970's, specially thanks to the works of Relph (1976), Tuan (1974, 1975, 1997), Seamon (1979, 1982. 1985) and Pickles (1985).

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[7] BT stands for *Being and Time*, Heidegger's (1962) magnum opus. I use the abbreviation throughout the thesis.

[8] Phenomenology provides a powerful critique of positivism which, by virtue of its commitments to empiricism, assumes that "there is no need to say anything at all about the preconceptions on which its various objectifications depend" (Gregory, 2000). In contrast, in phenomenology inductive logic prevails. Thus, Spiegelberg (1960) identifies "emancipation from preconceptions" as the most teachable part of the phenomenological method. Among these preconceptions one of the most baneful is the principle of simplicity, or economy of thought, which has been espoused particularly by the positivists.

1) INVESTIGATING PARTICULAR PHENOMENA

a.   PHENOM. INTUITING. Without preconceptions. Removing the sense-organ prejudice is of particular importance.
b.   PHENOM. ANALYSING. Analysis of the phenomena themselves, not of the expressions that refer to them.
c.   PHENOMENOLOGICAL DESCRIBING:
    i.   Description by **negation** is usually the simplest way to at least indicate the uniqueness and irreducibility of such phenomena.
    ii.   The only other way is by **metaphor** and **analogy**.

2) INVESTIGATING GENERAL ESSENCES (EIDETIC INTUITING).

- There is no adequate intuiting of essences without the antecedent or simultaneous intuiting of exemplifying particulars –instances which stand for the general essence, conceived as phenomena sui generis that differ from phenomena.
- Such particulars may be given either in perception or in imagination or in a combination of both.
- Another way to investigate essences is by lining up particular phenomena in a continuous series based on the order of their similarities.

3) APPREHENDING ESSENTIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ESSENCES

Phenomenology is not only concerned about components, but also with relationships or connections. Two types of relationships:

a.   WITHIN A SINGLE (OR ITS) ESSENCE - The question is whether its components are or are not essential to it.
b.   BETWEEN SEVERAL ESSENCES - Essential relations between several essences are established by procedures of imaginative variations, as by keeping one essence constant and trying to combine it with various other essences, leaving off some of its associates, substituting others from them, or adding essences not hitherto encountered together with them.

4) WATCHING MODES OF APPEARING.

Phenomenology is the systematic exploration of the phenomena not only in the sense of what appears, whether particulars or general essences, but also of the way in which things appear.

5) WATCHING THE CONSTITUTION OF PHENOMENA IN CONSCIOUSNESS.

It consists merely in determining the way in which a phenomenon establishes itself and takes shape in our consciousness. E.g. the way one creates a mental map of a city he is just visiting for the first time.

6) SUSPENDING BELIEF IN THE EXISTENCE OF THE PHENOMENA.

This is the most controversial step and Heidegger did not agree with its use. It consists in bracketing out the phenomena. The underlying idea is to detach the phenomena of our every day experience, while preserving their content as fully and as purely as possible. This might be useful in order to concentrate exclusively on the non-existential or essential content, the "what" of the phenomena.

7) INTERPRETING CONCEALED MEANINGS OF PHENOMENA.

Husserl never encouraged this step, but this is Heidegger's original contribution. It is an attempt to interpret the "sense" of certain phenomena. It aims at discovering meanings which are not immediately manifest to our intuiting, analysing, and describing. Hence, the interpreter has to go beyond what is directly given.

Figure 1.1. Steps of the phenomenological methodology. Summary of Spiegelberg (1960: 658-698)

5.2 **Structure of the thesis.**

This thesis is divided into eight chapters that could be grouped into three different main parts: a first part sets up the theoretical framework where this thesis operates and comprises the literature review on the pertinent topics. Part two sets out the concept of topoaletheia by conceptualising it, describing it and analysing it both within the physical and symbolic spaces of cities. In the last part, I look at the cases of Madrid and Barcelona

and try to identify the differences that topoaletheia makes in the analysis of these cities' images.

In CHAPTER TWO, I introduce the concept of IMAGE OF CITIES and its formulation, as well as a series of other concepts involved in the process, like identity. For this purpose, I refer to both corporate marketing as well as to more specific city marketing literature, exposing the weaknesses that I find in the latter, related to the gaps I explained in the previous section. Moreover, I also make comments on the implementation of FDE's, especially regarding the conflicts and hazards they often cause. In doing so, I account for the need of an alternative analytical approach to the subject.

In CHAPTER THREE, I introduce the concept of VALUE and develop the framework where it can be understood, which is by referring to the fulfilment of human motivation and needs. The challenge of this chapter is to make the link between human fulfilment and awareness clear. Only thus I can relate both of them to the experience of the image of the city, by explaining how the experience of Being through the image of the city can provide human fulfilment.

Figure 1.2. The structure of the thesis: linkages between chapters

CHAPTER FOUR will comprise the phenomenological investigation of the concept of TOPOALETHEIA. Following Spiegelberg's explanation of the steps of the phenomenological methodology, I describe, analyse, and define both the phenomena and the essence of topoaletheia. For this purpose, I firstly refer to personal accounts of experiences of the phenomena of topoaletheia, and thereafter I move on to explain how they occur with regard to Heidegger's spatiality and Husserl's internal time consciousness. I also compare the essence of topoaletheia to the essence of other similar concepts, in order to

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identify nuances between them and, hence, reach a richer understanding of the essence of topoaletheia as a singular concept. I also include the rhythms in which topoaletheia may appear; i.e. the typical structures whereby the individual experiences Being.

In CHAPTER FIVE, I go back to the reality of cities, and move my phenomenological investigation of the phenomena of topoaletheia to the PHYSICAL SPACE of the city. I explain how topoaletheia complements other, well-established theories on the physical image of the city. For this purpose, I draw on examples from all over the world, which will helpfully illustrate this abstract research, also narrowing the focus of the potentialities of topoaletheia.

In CHAPTER SIX, I identify topoaletheia in the SYMBOLIC SPACE of the city. For this purpose, I firstly explain how the value of the being of space is manifested through symbolic space. Secondly, I focus on monuments and other contested spaces, due to their usually contested meaning. I also comment on the link between topoaletheia and the conflicts that city marketing leads to by the commodification or re-imagination of the city. Again, comparative examples are given in order to illustrate these points.

In CHAPTER SEVEN I explore the possibility of utilising topoaletheia in order to study the images of MADRID AND BARCELONA. It is at this moment of the research that its various different strands are interwoven and analysed in unison in order to study whether the introduction of the concept of topoaletheia is relevant. For this purpose, I look at both the physical and symbolic spaces of Madrid and Barcelona. I start by analysing the terrain of each of the cities; then move on to urban design aspects and cultural policies. I find it important to point out that this chapter does not comprise case studies, but simply illustrations within two cities of examples of how topoaletheia may be relevant to the study of the image of the city.

In CHAPTER EIGHT I offer the CONCLUSIONS of this research and comment on the guiding research question on whether the particular phenomenological approach hereby developed may be relevant to the study of the image of the city and city marketing.

It is worth mentioning the reason for the difference in length among chapters. This is because I find some chapters more important than others, which somehow become explanations of the former. For instance, I consider chapter four as the most important one in this thesis, because it contains the conceptualisation of topoaletheia, and therefore I found it important to extend this. In contrast, chapters two and three are significantly shorter, as their function is to frame the conditions that allow topoaletheia to emerge as a necessary concept.

	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	CHAPTER				
		4	5	6	7	8
1	The existence of Topoaletheia	●				
2	Topoaletheia as relevant in the study of the image of the city		●	●	●	
3	Relative importance of symbolic images towards topoaletheia			●	●	
4	Topoaletheia as relevant in the study of Madrid and Barcelona				●	
5	Topoaletheia as a tool to tackle the conflicts of city marketing			●	●	
H	A development of a phenomenological approach to the study of the image of the city.					●

Figure 1.3: Summary of the research questions as related to the chapters where they are mainly explored.

THE IMAGE OF THE CITY AND CITY MARKETING:
CONCEPTS, FORMULATION AND HAZARDS

In this chapter I explore the literature on cities' image and city marketing, in order to define some of the main concepts I will be dealing with in the rest of the thesis. Thus, I firstly introduce the concept of the image of the city, explaining its different understandings. Secondly, I define and describe the concept of identity of cities. Thirdly, I introduce an alternative approach to images, based on the thinking of Henri Bergson. Fourthly, I describe the main elements of city marketing, as well as the main practices that implement it. Lastly, I tackle the conflicts and hazards that city marketing practices may cause.

1. Two approaches to the term 'image of the city.'

It seems evident that images are easy to understand, yet difficult to define. For instance, if someone hears the name of a city, say, "Baghdad", one's reaction will be very different from that if one heard "Venice." This also results in effects of intentionality: if one reads on the price tag of a garment "Made in Italy", one will be more attracted to buy it than if one had read "Made in Rwanda." Why? Maybe the quality or even the entire garment is exactly the same, but the image that person has got from those countries is very different (one of fashion and arts, whereas the other is of African poverty and Third World conflicts). Therefore, one might agree that the issue of the image of the city is an internal (personal) one, but it also has consequences in the social and economic realms.

Researching the literature, one can find a number of different approaches and definitions of the concept of images[1]. Focusing on those approaches solely related to the image of the city, mainstream academic literature on cities highlights two different approaches. One is the image seen as the PHYSICAL STRUCTURE of cities, that is to say the mental map of the city. The second one deals with the MEANING of the city, as it refers to the mental representation of what a city signifies.

1.1 Image of the city as a mental map.

This first approach to the image of the city comprises the mental structuring of the relationships between the different physical components that define the urban landscape and the volume and characteristics of those social aspects that fill up that landscape (see Lynch, 1960, 1981; Nasar, 1998). According to this view, a person is able to create a mental map (i.e. a drawing of different physical features) of a city basing on one's knowledge of it (see figure 2.1). Obviously, the more that person knows that city, the more accurate that map will be. The map of those living in that city will be expected to be closest to the reality.

16 A diagram of the essential spatial structure of central Paris: the great open spaces and major visual axes.
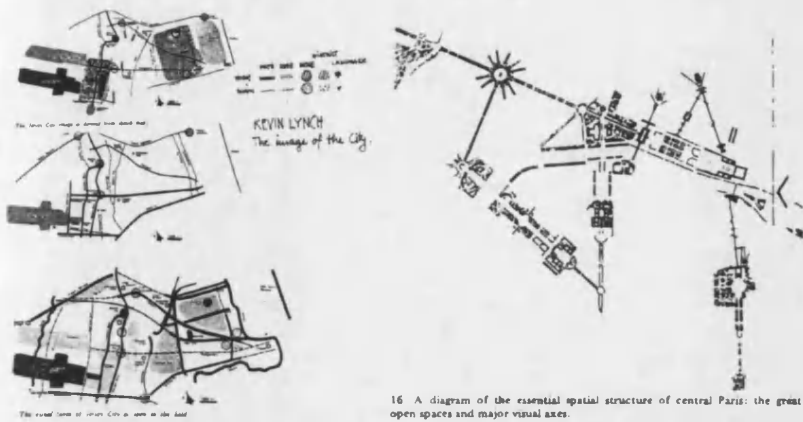
Figure 2.1: Examples of Lynch's (1960) analyses of Boston and Central Paris according to physical elements of the city.

According to this approach, the image of the city that an individual "knows" is a function of the *imageability* of the urban environment: that is, the extent to which the components of the environment make a strong impression on the individual. *Imageability* is a function of the city's *legibility* and *visuality*, as summarised in figure 2.2.

Imageability

Legibility – means clarity; the degree to which the different elements of the city are organised into a coherent and recognisable overall pattern (Lynch, 1960).
A city will be legible when it can be visually grasped and consists of :

- Paths
- Edges
- Districts
- Nodes
- Landmarks

- Identity
- Structure
- Meaning

Visuality – achieved through five attributes (Nassar, 1998):

- Naturalness
- Maintenance
- Openness (i.e. vista; open space and scenery)
- Historic significance
- Order

Figure 2.2: Legibility (Lynch, 1960) and Visuality (Nasar, 1998).

Paths are more dominant for new residents (finding your way around on an everyday basis) while long-term residents produce more complex mental maps containing both paths and districts (environmental cues). Visitors, for their part, will tend to use landmarks more as anchor-points in constructing route knowledge (Montgomery, 1998; Appleyard, 1970; Golledge, 1977).

The image has a dynamic nature. According to Pocock and Hudson (1978), there is a relatively brief period of rapid accumulation of information during the early learning

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[1] For insightful explanations about the different ways images are formulated and utilised, I found of special interest

stage of image creation, which slows down once a patterned behaviour is acquired. At the same time, they argue that the significance of physical form gradually yields to social characteristics.

Different architects and urban planners have stressed different key elements in image formation through the physical features of the city. Camillo Sitte (1945) stressed the importance of designing according to artistic principles in order to help creating the image of the city. Jane Jacobs (1961) disagreed with zoning strategies (as presented in Lynch's work) and instead stressed the importance of encouraging streets to be "full of life." Aldo Rossi (1981) emphasised the importance of the urban elements and argued that primary shapes (cylinders, cubes, cones, etc.) are best in order to facilitate a rapid image formation. Rowe and Koetter (1978), in turn, underline the importance of the context of cities and talked about the city as a *collage*, where a whole range of "utopias in miniature" can be accommodated.

I would like to stress the fact that image, understood this way, is developed solely by an individual: i.e. even though the physical features are laid for all, it is an individual who processes the information those elements shed and creates the mental map in one's own consciousness. This is somewhat different in the next approach to the image of the city, which contains a social element.

1.2 image of the city as mental representation.

This second approach to the image of the city can be firstly tackled as the "meaning" of places. It is more difficult to define than the previous approach but it is easy to understand: e.g. it is not the same setting the environment of a novel in Venice than in Beirut. This is since stories acquire part of the mythic value and historical relevance of the concrete details of the place where they are rooted (De Certeau, 1984; see also Sartre,

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Beach, 1990; Cumming, 1989; Rookes and Willson, 2000 and Ballesteros, 1993.

2004). Image in this sense, might be defined as the mental picture or idea that one keeps in mind about one thing –being reality or abstract[2].

Basically, the image of a city would be what comes to mind when one hears a city's name. See figure 2.3: I do not know what image the reader may have of those cities, but whatever comes to one's mind when one reads those names, that is the image –i.e. mental representation. This includes the emotions one perceived when reading those names. The image of the city, then, is composed of the sum of beliefs, memories, ideas and impressions

Venice	Baghdad
Rio de Janeiro	Nairobi
New York	Bangkok

Figure 2.3. Just words or mental representations?

that such particular person has got of that city (Pocock and Hudson, 1978; Kotler et al., 1993; and Villafañe, 1990).

The understanding of the city as a mental map helps an individual toward the creation of the image as representation, making the two understandings of the term compatible. However, one does not have to go to a city to have an image of it. This is possible through the information acquired from secondary sources. A place's image is a critical determinant of the way citizens and businesses respond to the place. However, Kotler *et al.* (1993) assert that people's images of a place do not necessarily reveal their attitude toward that place, since "two persons may hold the same image of Sicily's warm climate and yet have different attitudes toward it because they have different attitudes toward warm climates."

Images remain without significant variation for long times, even after they loose their validity, since "people behave according to their memories rather than to their recent impressions" Heude (1989). At other times, a place's image may change more rapidly as the media and word of mouth spread vital news stories about a place, as in the case of

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[2] Ashworth and Voogd (1990) gathered some definitions of images in this sense: "The sum of direct sensory interaction as interpreted through the observer's value predisposition" (Pocock and Hudson); "The sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person has" (Crompton); "An individual's beliefs, impressions, ideas and evaluations" (Burgess); "The learned and stable mental conceptions that summarise an individual's environmental knowledge, evaluation and preferences" (Walmsley).

those places affected by a war or natural disaster (e.g. Iraq after the Second Gulf War or Southeast Asia after the Tsunami).

Psychological access	Over time, successful places come to represent a sense of identity for their users This often results in "a sense of belonging to a place, of feeling involved and taking and interest or perhaps even an active part in its affairs" (e.g. social cohesion and community involvement).
Receptivity	When there is a strong identity, some people belong to the group, whereas many others do not (Sennett, 2000). Thus, the sense of local ownership must allow for tolerance to strangers and visitors.
Knowledgeability	Those places which work well usually have all manners of invisible and informal networks and associations which, by themselves, are already indicators of involvement (such as sport clubs, cultural enterprises, etc.).

Figure 2.4. Attributes of places that facilitate image formulation (Montgomery, 1998).

Montgomery (1998) highlights the necessary attributes for places to succeed in facilitating image formation (see figure 2.4).

The image of the city (as a mental representation) is to a certain extent a social construct: a meaning able to be changed by media and socio-cultural factors. Therefore, despite the fact that the mental processing of information is carried out by a particular individual, this process is subject to be deeply influenced by common *places* developed in the society (see e.g. Avraham, 2000; and Thorne and Munro-Clark, 1989).

2. Identity, image and myth.

"Everywhere, wherever and however we are related to beings of every kind, identity makes its claim upon us" (Heidegger, quoted by Relph, 1976: 45).

In this section, I aim to comment on some of the usual terms used by corporate marketing in relation to the city. I would like to start with the assumption that images are neither fixed, nor universal, nor spontaneously generated by one who comes to think of a particular city for the first time. Hence, it seems that there is some basis upon which a person may build the image of that particular place. This leads to distinguishing the image and the IDENTITY of the city.

The identity of something refers to the persistent property that it presents and this allows us to differentiate it from others. "The qualities that make an individual, or place, capable of being specified or singled out, which make it unique or separate" (Erickson and Roberts, 1997: 36). Lynch (1960: 6) defined the identity of a place simply as that which provides its individuality or distinction from other places and serves as the basis for its recognition as a separable entity.

According to Haynes (1980), people do not have identical images of the world around them because information about the places they visit is subjected to that 'mental processing' (see figure 2.5). This processing is based on the information
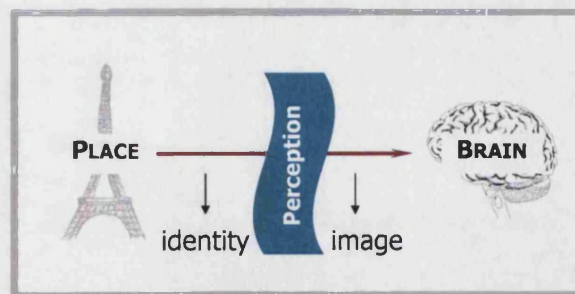
Figure 2.5. Process of image formation.

signals that the *real* world sends out (i.e. the identity) and is received through one individual's senses. As our senses can only take in a small proportion of the total amount of information received, the brain sorts the information and relates it to the knowledge, values, beliefs, ideas and attitudes of the individual through the process of cognition. In

short: there are as many images of a given thing (city) as there are people who have

perceived anything related to it[3].

The image is the accumulative perceptions on the city, which has the characteristic of

being formed by the entire whole of messages that, either voluntarily or involuntarily,

reach the public. Hence, I must stress the point that a city communicates all the time,

and not only when it decides to carry out a communications plan.

So far, attempts to control images are limited to manage identities. Thus city

managers may necessarily choose to present certain aspects of the *essence* of the city

rather than others. This may be understandable, since there are different publics to be

targeted. But identity management cannot be a direct action –i.e. it does not translate

into necessary outcomes; rather, it is still dependable of individuals' mental processing

according to their values, attitudes[4], etc. Therefore, I argue that in order to be able to

control somehow the process of image formulation, one needs to know how that process

occurs (i.e. there is a need for the *typical structure* that I intend to put forward through

topoaletheia).

2.1 **Reality and image.**

The fact that individuals are not able to apprehend what reality actually *is*, but only

what manages to go through the process of perception, makes the relationship between

reality and image controversial and misleading. Individuals may think that the reality

[the city] they are thinking of is identical to the image they have got of it, since that image

is the only thing they have cognition of. But it is not. The reality is much richer and more

varied than that. The relationship between the image and its reality is partial, simplified

(as it is schematic or constructed to psychic or social metrics which are not necessarily

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[3] In the literature it is not difficult to find vocabulary controversies. For instance, Nairn (1965) uses the term 'identity' as the result of the process of cognition. Valls (1992), for instance affirms that there are two different generic meanings of the term 'image': one that conceives of and gathers an external issue that is perceptible (i.e. the image), and a second one that comprises a "representation of the sender" (i.e. the identity).

[4] Attitudes are primarily a cultural stance, a position one takes vis-à-vis the world, in contrast to perception, that is "both the response of the senses to external stimuli and purposeful activity in which certain phenomena are clearly registered while others recede in the shade or are blocked out" (Tuan, 1974).

isomorphic to the objective environment), idiosyncratic (since the environmental stimuli have evoked different responses in each individual), and distorted (Pocock and Hudson, 1978).

In the most extreme cases of simplification, images turn into stereotypes: widely held images that are highly distorted and simplistic and that carry a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward the place –unlike an image, which is a more personal perception of a place (Kotler *et al.*, 1993; and Burgess, 1974). Valls (1992: 106) defines stereotypes as prejudices that distort the difficult relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

People base decisions and their actions on what they think reality is rather than on what the reality actually is (Page, 1995). This is due to the impossibility of gathering all information, the difficulty of learning the reality of things, and the efforts by different agents to shed a certain image over one reality, "disguising" the reality in one way or another.

The concept of 'brand image' [of the city] comprises the image of the city plus a certain [intangible] value added to it, called the brand *equity*, which supplements the individual perception of the city by a set of values and meanings (see Clifton and Maughan, 2000; Hubbard, 2006: 86; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). Those values and meanings to which the city becomes identified can be managed more easily than if the image of the city as a whole were to be modified. Brands thus become a powerful differentiating device, which helps to distinguish between similar "products" (De Chernatony and McDonald, 1998; Aaker, 1990:; Arrese, 1998). Branding thus seeks to promote one particular facet of urban identity so as to develop a niche in global flows of investment and tourism (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005). Therefore, regarding cities as brands is never accepted without controversy, since one may argue that cities are too complex and have too many stakeholders and too little management control to become simplified in such a way. Also, during the branding process it is important to know the supra-brands (e.g. the brand of

the nation, the geographic region, etc.) and sub-brands (e.g. those brands that use the city's in their own).

2.2 **Myths and signs.**

According to semiologist Barthes (2000), a myth is "a message or cultural representation which appears to be 'natural' (*true*) but is, in fact, motivated by ideology." It is a kind of distorted representation, a social construct, a cultural artefact produced by some, since 'ideology' refers to a shared and accepted 'vision of the world' which serves to describe, interpret and justify the place of a particular group or society in the grander scheme of things. In short, a myth confers a social usage meaning to a pure matter.

For Barthes, the function of the mythologists, as opposed to that of the myth-makers, was to counter myths by exposing them as delusions or lies (Ribière, 2002). He wished to open the eyes of the public to the fact that what might appear 'innocent' and 'perfectly natural' was largely the result of distortion and misinterpretation. He thought that demystification would successfully weaken the power of myth and the economic and political interests that it may serve. For this purpose, firstly one has to be aware of the existence of myths (as social constructs) and that no society behaves "naturally." Secondly, it is important to know how myths are formed, in order to be able to 'deconstruct' (i.e. to peel away) its different layers. In order to do this, Barthes uses Saussure's definition of the linguistic sign as formed by a signifier and a meaning – signified. In *Mythologies*, Barthes (2000) explained that the constructed sign (i.e. the inseparable combination of signifier and signified) becomes itself a signifier, denoting a new signified and, thus, creating another sign, which, in turn, may become a new signifier; and so on and so forth (as in figure 2.6). Hence, Barthes differentiates between 'denotated meaning' (or denotation) which is the first-order meaning, and 'connotated-meaning' (or connotation) for second order meaning, based on associations of ideas. The main difference is that denotation is stable; a building is always a building. Whereas connotation depends upon context and, thus, the same building can resemble a "trendy" image of cultural innovation or an example of the oppression of the dominant class,

depending on different times or different situations –hence its importance in the formulation of image of the city.

LANGUAGE	1. Signifier	2. Signified		
MYTH	3. Sign (which becomes...) I. Signifier		II. Signified	
	III. Sign (which becomes...)			
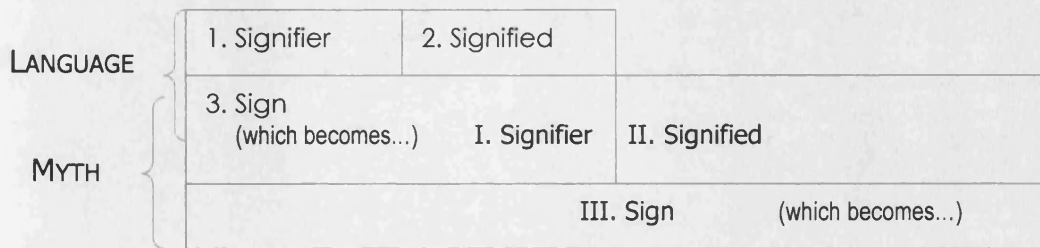
Figure 2.6. Signs and myth-formation (Barthes, 2000).

As an example related to city marketing, in his essay 'The Eiffel Tower' Barthes demythologises the famous Parisian landmark in order to understand why people go visit it. It is not to see such a conjunction or iron beams, "but to participate in a dream which the tower is much more the crystalliser than the true object" (Barthes, 2000). Visitors therefore do have an image of a dream from which there is only iron beams plus the socially constructed meanings attached (which, together, form the identity of the Tower).

3. An alternative approach to the study of images.

In the literature, it is not easy finding out why and how images are formulated. Bergson explained in depth how images are perceived by individuals. I think that through Bergson's thinking one can integrate the image of the city as a mental map (apprehended from physical attributes as described by Lynch) and that of a mental representation.

In *Matter and Memory*, Bergson stressed that memory is as important as perception when it comes to analyse images (2002). Bergson aimed to dispel the false belief –central to realism and materialism- that matter is a thing that possesses a hidden power able to produce representations in us. For him, the image is less than a thing but more than a representation. The *more* and *less* indicate that representation differs from the image by degree –in virtue of which the individual's consciousness plays the major role. It also indicates that perception is continuous with images of matter. Thus, he is re-attaching perception to the real. "The image is everything except a direct product of the imagination" (Bachelard, 1958: xxxiv).

Central to Bergson's thinking is the concept of duration. It is "memory plus the absolutely new" (Lawlor, 2003), and thus he prioritises memory over perception. Perception does not make sense without memory: in perception, the image of a material thing becomes a representation, and there is a transition from the image as being in itself to its being in *me*.

> "If you abolish my consciousness... matter resolves itself into numberless vibrations, all linked together in uninterrupted continuity, all bound up with each other and travelling in every direction like shivers" (MM, 208).

Only in our consciousness can we resolve the images of matter and, thus, overcome the inadequacy of all images of duration. What memory recalls are fragmentations and interpretations or, in other words, multiplicities and singularities, not identities and universals (Lawlor, 2003).

4. The framework of city marketing.

Firstly I shall describe what city marketing actually means for the city and what it does not. City marketing means the utilisation of marketing procedures and tools in order to ultimately improve the relationship between the city and its publics. This approach is very different to that of what is often called "selling cities", which means a rather proactive approach whereby the promotion of the city is determined by the "product" itself –i.e. the public is persuaded that they want or need what one has to sell. On the contrary, in the marketing approach the communication between the product-makers and the consumers modifies (or at least alters) the product itself (i.e. city) according to the publics needs or wants (Hall and Hubbard, 1998).

I think it is worth mentioning that when talking about marketing one mistake is often made in the form of *reductionism*: people often tend to identify marketing as *marketing communications* (i.e. advertising, public relations), whereas it comprises much more than that. Apart from communication (or *promotion*), there are strategies related to price, distribution (place) and the product itself, thus making the popular mnemonic formula of the "4 P's" of the so-called marketing-mix (see Ashworth and Voogd, 1990).

The most important part of the marketing mix is the *product* itself. The product is a number of components that are united in order to be sold as something that might be of any use to the consumer. Hence, Berg (1995: 212) asserts that the associations that city marketing establishes produce a general picture which may be called the image of the town, which in turn influences the attractiveness of separately identifiable urban products, such as office locations, tourists' objects, etc. The components of the urban product tend to be classified in these categories: a) natural components, such as the climate, landscape, environment; b) socio-cultural components, such as traditions, style of architecture, etc; c) infrastructure,; d) local economy; e) recreation; f) style of

governance; g) education and health systems; h) housing. I would also add "the others" (the other citizens).

The [city]-products themselves are the best possible advertising, and may be modified at the "product-manager's" discretion in order to satisfy the consumers. Therefore actions to modify the city-product in order to attract tourists and investors may be justified, but nevertheless create conflicts to the residents –who are part of the product themselves.

Regarding the "P" of communication, Ashworth and Voogd (1990) point out that the tactical questions of transmission of the place images must be considered: "the information must not only be transmitted to reach potential customers so as actually to be received by them, it must also be influential in effecting their behaviour in the way intended." For that purpose, they highlight three main barriers to be overcome: *acceptability, understanding*

credibility | personal experience / experience of friends/relations / independent experts / intermediaries / advertisers | scope
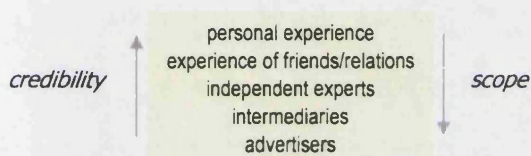
Figure 2.7: A spectrum of credibility (Ashworth, 2001).

and *credibility*. They argue that new information must be fitted in to the existing schematic mental constructs if it is to be accepted, since the creation of new such schemata would be a much longer, more onerous and very risky undertaking. Regarding credibility, the medium strongly determines the barrier of incredulity (see figure 2.7).

Kotler *et al.* (1993; 1999), Ashworth and Voogd (1990) and Hall and Hubbard (1998) seem to agree in assuming that a successful city marketing campaign is potentially able to excite residents, lure tourists, attract businesses and trickle down the benefits to residents –hence leading to social cohesion, which in turn leads to the opportunity of planning under consensus, and higher community involvement, resulting in an enhanced capacity for city planning to become a truly public service. However, this assumption is rarely explored thoroughly.

Hence, due to the different expectations and goals, one may find the problem of deciding which image should be promoted in furtherance of which goal. The number and

variety of possible images is enormous and a wide variety of promotional images may be necessary, while an equally wide variety of projected images from other sources is likely to exist.

4.1 **Some common practices and problems.**

As I aforementioned, it is a common notion among place marketers to believe that marketing a place means promoting a place –whereas promotion is, ironically, one of the least important marketing tasks. Promotion alone does not help a troubled place, and in fact it only helps place-buyers to discover early how troubled the place really is (Kotler *et al.*, 1999; and Ashworth, 2001). Basically, the actions that cities usually undertake can be grouped into three categories, as Kotler *et al.* (1999) summarised: communication, visual symbols and events. I already mentioned communication, which is usual but definitely not enough. It usually results in the utilisation of slogans, themes and positions –e.g. Spain: "Everything under the sun", "Incredible India!"

It is important to point out the two facets of promotional strategies that city marketers have imported from the corporate world: "pull" and "push" strategies (see e.g. Kotler, 1976; or Santesmases, 1992). In a *push* promotional strategy consumers feel attracted to the firm and its products not because of the explicit promotional efforts made by the company, but because of the perceived quality of the products offered or the easiness to acquire the company's products. Therefore, companies opting for a push strategy will probably elevate the quality of the product being sold. Instead, a *pull* selling strategy builds up consumer demand for a product: consumers are persuaded to desire what the company offers; or perhaps the company offers the products that it thinks will be easier to sell to the consumers and let them know about that with explicit promotion efforts.

One may easily differentiate pull and push strategies in cities. Some cities make no particular promotional effort in FDE's that at the end seem to be very successful (e.g. London Marathon) –hence being a push strategy. Images of these cities tend to be more organically grown, rather than centrally planned. In the opposite scenario, one can find

big FDE's such as the Guggenheim Bilbao branch, the quintessence of pull strategies in city promotion. People are attracted to it by its architectural "novelty", rather than by the quality of the paintings. However, once that novelty is no more (due to the postmodernist reproduction across the world), that city will necessarily have to build another FDE if it is to maintain the tourist flux and the economic activity generated.

One problem towards the assessment of city marketing practices is the difficulty of allocating responsibility for different aspects of the place-product production system among the multiplicity of organisations involved in it. A second problem is that the forms of place promotion are rarely limited to advertise the city, but in fact try to reinvent or rewrite the city (see p. 65). The ultimate problem however is about the origins of place marketing: it may come from the needs of place managers, rather than marketing specialists, due to the motivation of the former to foster city pride in order to strengthen their electoral base (see p. 69).

4.2 **Different publics and positioning strategies.**

Despite the fact that Kotler *et al.* (1999) differentiate seven types of publics for the actions of city marketing (see figure 2.8), publics are usually grouped into three main categories: a) RESIDENTS, current and potential; b) TOURISTS and visitors, the latter being those with some kind of familiar or labour linkage to the place; and c) potential INVESTORS. The relationships developed by the external publics of the city are rather different to that maintained by the residents towards their city. Whereas for tourists or investors the city is no more than a means through which to achieve a goal (e.g. have a holiday in a nice surrounding, or maximise profit via cheaper/better factors of production), for the residents the city is the environment from which they must get everything required in order to satisfy their longing for happiness.

The image residents develop about their city depends upon their everyday life experiences, whereas the image held by tourist is more stereotyped and more prone to be brand-driven. Residents, in turn, are able to handle much more information about their

Targeted Public	Reasons
Residents	Most places want to attract new residents who can improve the tax base of the community. I would add also the attraction of specialised residents –e.g. professionals of a certain industry, etc. Also, and most importantly, I consider the need of establishing a more fluid relationship marketing communication with the actual residents of the city.
Visitors	Only a few over-attractive places do not want to increase the number of visitors (e.g. Venice). Benefits brought to the city by visitors are meant to trickle down to the resident base of the city.
Managements	Places want to know what the prospective management target groups know and think about the place.
Investors	Places may want to attract investors such as real estate developers and other financiers.
Entrepreneurs	They can create jobs and lead the city growth with their activity.
Foreign Purchasers	Products and services – even on the global market – can be linked to a specific place. The image of this place can add value for foreign purchasers
Location Specialists	Various location specialists have important roles in the place-buying and place-selling process.

Figure 2.8: Types of publics that place marketing targets. Based on Kotler *et al.* (1999).

city due to their everyday life experiences and therefore they do not need those extra values that a brand can provide in order to save information costs. However, all intentions towards the city from any group end up interconnected, and hence influence each other.

Positioning refers to the place a product or brand occupies within consumers' perceptions, in relation to other competitor products or brands or to an ideal product (Santesmases, 1992). An effective positioning is that which allows the product or brand to occupy a unique and differentiated niche within consumer's mind and which is consistent with the marketing strategy. Positioning is important, since the image that the public of the city holds is what actually drives their action, rather than the identity or the actual characteristics of the city (Morgan and Pritchard (2002).

What is the city, but its people? (W. Shakespeare).

In the market of global competition for mobile capitals and mass tourism, city managers focus on the external publics of the city to try to reap potential benefits. But the city is, at the end of the day, its people.

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5. The implementation of city marketing.

In this part, I summarise and comment on the different aspects that local authorities or agencies usually utilise to modify the image of their city. City marketing is especially hard because it can rarely count on customer loyalty. However, a number of actions seem to be widespread.

5.1 **Urban design.**

Urban design and visual symbols have figured prominently in place marketing, as many landmarks of place are permanently etched in the public's mind (e.g. Red Square, Moscow; Statue of Liberty, New York). Constructing a landmark has been one of the most popular strategies in order to put the city in the tourist's mental map. Landmarks can be planned and built purposefully for the case of city marketing (e.g. Guggenheim Bilbao) or can serve this function as a side-effect (e.g. Pisa Tower, etc.). However, building a landmark does not always work, and one should also take into account the huge opportunity costs they generate, since they are usually expensive to build. Kotler *et al.* (1999) argue that to be successful, a visual image needs to reinforce an image argument, since if the visual is inconsistent, it undermines the place's credibility. According to Crilley (1993), "architecture, as much as expensive city marketing campaigns, is mobilised to transmit a catching, idiosyncratic image of urban vitality", acting as what is he calls 'architecture as advertising.'

Regarding the city as a whole, Lynch (1981) described the qualities that urban design should seek in order to create a sense of place (see figure 2.9). Then, and as Montgomery (1998: 102) puts it, the question is "how can the city form be so designed as to stimulate activity, a positive image and therefore a strong sense of place?" To answer this question, different views put emphasis on different aspects. Cullen (1961), for instance, places greatest emphasis on the physical aspect of the city (i.e. design styles, ornamentation and features, such as landmarks and the like). This is the rational objective classical view of

urban design. Others such as Alexander (1979) or Lynch (1960) stress the psychology of place, bound up in the notion of 'mental maps' –created by relying on the senses on whether a place feels safe, comfortable, vibrant, quiet or threatening. This is the romantic subjective view.

Qualities for greater sense of place	
VITALITY	The city may successfully fulfil the needs if its inhabitants and allow maximum scope for activity.
SENSE	The city must be organised so that residents may perceive and understand its form and functions (legibility).
ACCESSIBILITY	The city must allow people of all ages and backgrounds to gain the activities, resources, services and information that they need.
CONTROL	… "arranged so that citizens have a say in the management of the spaces in which they work and reside"
FIT	A city with good 'fit' provides the buildings, spaces and networks required for its residents to pursue their projects successfully.

Figure 2.9. Qualities of urban design to achieve a sense of place (Lynch, 1981).

Montgomery (1998) put forward a number of attributes that create a sense of place. Similarly to Cullen (1961), he maintains that, rather than visual order and certainty, places which work well also allow for a degree of uncertainty, disorder and even chaos. These bring certain opportunities for a person's development (Sennett, 1970).

Related to the use of visual symbols and landmark architecture, I must point out the increasingly common phenomenon of "brand architecture" (or "architecture of brand names"). Architecture's publicity value is no longer restricted to its impact or aesthetic effect. Buildings designed by culturally consecrated architects also function as 'symbolic capital' signifying the cultural nobility and taste of the patron (Crilley, 1993). Once architects have gained recognition, status for the owners of their buildings resides as much in association with the [brand] name as in the building's appearance. This practice has been put in place by large corporations since long ago. The difference is that now it is the city managers that *foster* it. They do so by hiring big names in architecture (such as N. Foster, Zaha Hadid, R. Piano, F. Gehry, etc.) in order to "show off" their entrepreneurial mentality.

Some authors warn that, ironically, the emphasis on visual and aesthetic appreciation of the urban landscape, may undermine any real relationship residents have with it as place. Instead of creating a mental image as a map, the common practice is to create "sparkles", just visual impulses (Erickson and Roberts, 1997).

5.2 **Cultural policies.**

Novels as well as paintings, sculptures, musical compositions, movies, advertising, fashion and 'street culture' of urban youth are all created out of specific urban contexts and all reflect, to one degree or another, the social, political and economic conditions of the urban cultures that gave birth to them (LeGates and Stout, 1996). At the same time, they also create, modify or refine the identity of the place where they take place. Is it the same for a romantic novel to be set in Venice or in a cottage of the Scottish Highlands? The difference has undoubtedly to do with the image one may have of those places. However, this can be modified along time, since the more romantic stories are written on Venice, the more that city will increase its image as a romantic place.

During the last thirty years, cultural policy has become an increasingly significant component of economic and physical regeneration strategies in many west European cities. Two key factors have been the decline in working time and the increase in the proportion of disposable income, which have led city governments to increase expenditure on culture (Bianchini, 1993). The upshot of this is the mobilisation of culture to the cause of city marketing, which thus legitimates itself. Cultural policies were seen as a valuable tool in diversifying the local economic base and achieving greater social cohesion, as well as constructing a positive image. Expanding economic sectors like leisure, tourism, the media and other 'cultural industries' including fashion and design, were paid new attention in an attempt to compensate for jobs lost in traditional industrial sectors. A lively, cosmopolitan cultural life was increasingly seen as a crucial ingredient of city marketing strategies, designed to attract mobile international capital. The cultural city appeared as to enjoy quality of urban life, an aura of high quality, civility, creativity and sophistication, and to be innovative. Therefore, cultural policies were

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utilised as symbols of modernity and innovation, as well as symbol of rebirth and renewed confidence.

5.3 **The use of flagship developments and events.**

A major part of the controversial practices that city marketers carry out are the so called flagship developments (or "megaprojects") –e.g. prominent landmarks (figure 2.10)- and hallmark events –e.g. international expositions, festivals and the big prize: hosting the Olympic Games, which is actually a combination of both. Smyth (1994) argues that it is not that flagship developments –and events- (FDE's) help to market the

Figure 2.10: Examples of well-known flagship developments.

city, in which case one may be tolerant at its drawbacks. Rather, it is that "a FDE project *is* about marketing the area or the city." They thus represent the major role as a *mean* in the city managers' aim at making the most of the opportunities of the new market conditions.

Assuming a FDE is attracting investment and consumption over and above the level that would be achieved by 'pure' economic mechanisms, it acts as its own advertising as being there (Smyth, 1994). Also, flagship architecture is mobilised to transmit a catching, idiosyncratic image of urban vitality (Crilley, 1993). Moreover, cultural 'flagships' have become powerful symbols of urban renaissance, as I shall describe in chapter seven in the case of Barcelona (e.g. The 2004 *Forum of Cultures*). This approach may incorporate the construction of landmarks too (e.g. Eiffel Tower for the 1889 World's Fair in Paris). Perhaps the first such use of cultural flagship strategies was the Great Exhibition held in London on 1851. Morgan, Pritchard, *et al.* (2002) agree that these events are more effective in keeping a well-known city famous than in establishing a new destination.

Due to their size, symbolic significance and *visibility*, FDE's are at the centre of all controversies on whether or not such marketing actions should be carried out altogether, as they are potentially able to create conflicts and hazards. It is precisely to achieve the visibility they aim that usually very high costs are involved. Thus, and apart from the financial risks involved in such big-budget developments (see Flyvbjerg *et al.*, 2003), the general public may be suspicious of the use of public money to fund FDE's.

Events such as the Olympics are significant in pacifying local peoples whose everyday lives beyond are monotonous and unrewarding. "And the suggestion is that one might see in operation a formula of social control sometimes referred to as that of *bread and circuses*" (Hall and Hubbard, 1998; Eisinger, 2000).

One thing is certain: the creation of FDE's is not an "automatic activity" whereby given some background scenario and building a certain set of landmarks and events a city will get some definite results –especially in the residents' eyes. Hence, reactions to costly (although remarkable) FDE's may be surprising and not always foreseeable (e.g. the case of the Millennium Dome) since they will depend on the value that each individual grants to the image one perceives from such phenomena. And that value will depend on a set of circumstances –both individual and social.

6. Conflicts and hazards of city marketing.

As I mention, despite the potential benefits of city marketing, its actions often come with controversy. It is common that criticism comes from the opportunity costs, due to the costs involved –especially in FDE's. Other criticisms arise from the way city marketers use the city's assets in order to present the city to appeal to the external publics, leaving residents expecting the trickling down of the potential benefits.

Causes of potential hazards	
Re-settling of TRANS-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS (TNC's) and empowerment of their reign	TNC's are becoming ever freer to deliver their manners and conducts from one space to another, hence exceedingly influencing spaces located far away and which belong to different cultures and social realities.
Compression of SPACE and TIME	Due to the improvements in technology and transport, enabling distant places to seem familiar.
Dispersion of MIGRANT communities	Resulting in mixtures of cultures that blur the differences that use to identify each space.
The increasing importance of the culture of LEISURE and TOURISM	Enabled through the economic conditions of post-fordism as well as the improvements in transports and the increasing ease to travel from one country to another.
POSTMODERNIST context	Legitimisation of reproduction of practices in different contexts and cultural backgrounds.

Figure 2.11. Causes of potential hazards of the context of city marketing. Based on Erickson and Roberts (1997).

In figure 2.11 I succinctly summarise the five reasons that are at the heart of the context in which city marketing has evolved and that can potentially become hazardous. In the next few subsections I briefly describe the main conflicts and hazards originated by these phenomena. I begin, though, by describing the context of postmodernism, as this new cultural context seems to be at the heart of most conflicts.

6.1 **Postmodernist momentum and city marketing.**

> "[With postmodernism] *the limit between reality and images becomes blurred – providing it still exists. Lived city, imagined city and wished city tend to blend. We tend towards the disappearance of the limits between reality and imagination, and towards that prevalence of the latter over the former in the name of a greater realism.*
> (Amendola, 2000: 59)

Postmodernism is a difficult word, and I do not aim to enter the debate about its meaning; I just intend to briefly summarise its significance as a hazard in city marketing.

> *"The postmodern is such a multifaceted phenomenon that it is difficult, if not misleading, to ascribe any specific meaning. In fact, to do so would not be postmodern at all. For, according to many authors, the postmodern at its most essential is a celebration of difference and a suspicion of foundation and truth"* (Allmendinger, 2001, 25).

Postmodern thought is "a philosophical and methodological discourse antagonistic to the precepts of Enlightenment thought, most particularly the hegemony of any single intellectual persuasion" (Dear, 2000: 4). Postmodernism thus signifies "an incredulity towards *metanarrative*" (Lyotard, 1984). A metanarrative is a grand theory that offers a total vision of the world (cosmovision) and upon which all other *logos* are based.

In cities, postmodernist planning opposed the modernity's idea of complete faith in reason developed since the Renaissance and, especially, since the Enlightenment. Architecture of modernity consisted of buildings as "machines for living in", aimed at creating an *universal* style. Their ideas of urban living were, to say the least, controversial –e.g. Le Corbusier's "Plan Voisin" to *modernise* Central Paris by bulldozing it and building instead several huge blocks where to accommodate three million inhabitants surrounded by green spaces (figure 2.12). Reacting against modernity's metanarrative,

Figure 2.12. Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin for Paris

postmodern city planning basically centred its efforts on creating utopias in miniature, leading to decentring cities, with disconnected suburbs, gated *privatopias*, retail malls and leisure parks (Dear, 2000; Hubbard, 2006: 47). This resulted in either the hollowing out of city centres and the creation of edge cities (Garreau, 1991), or in continuous cities made of patches –*collage cities*, to use Rowe and Koetter's (1978) term.

In architecture, once reason is no longer trusted, postmodernists offer the vernacular, an emphasis on the local and particular as opposed to modernist universalism, "this
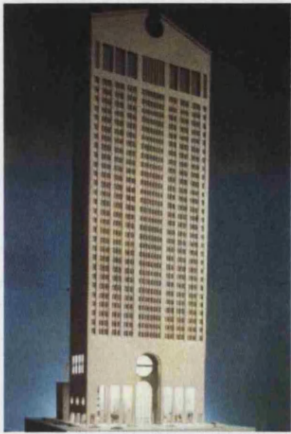
Figure 2.13. AT&T Building, New York. By P. Johnson.

means a return to ornament, with references to the historic past and its symbolism, but in the ironic manner of parody, pastiche and quotation" (Appignanesi, 2003). Hence, authors like Venturi and Johnson proposed a "comicstrip" architecture: eclectic, ambiguous, humorous, unpretentious –e.g. Philip Johnson's AT&T building in New York, with its shape of a grandfather clock topped off with a Chippendale broken pediment (figure 2.13). Las Vegas and theme park architecture are the top examples of postmodernist architecture (figure 2.14).

"Disneyland is nearer to what people want than what architects have ever given them. Disneyland is the symbolic American utopia" (Venturi, 1977).
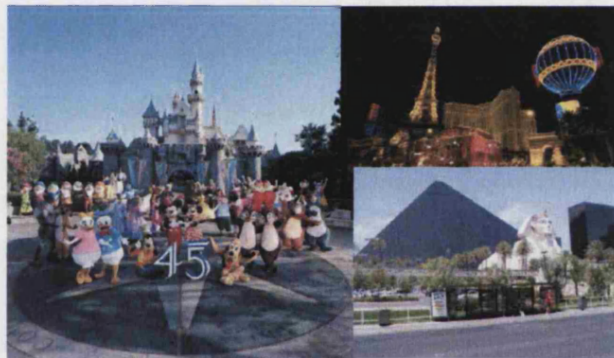
Figure 2.14. Postmodern Disneyland and Las Vegas.

Postmodernist architecture aims to recover the symbolisms of the architectural form, and usually resort to the use of hyper-realities, objects that confer us images already shed. Therefore, we live what has already been lived and reproduced, with no reality anymore but that of the cannibalised image. This inevitably means that reality becomes redundant, as Baudrillard (1994) argues, since the representational image-sign[5] passed from being the reflection of a basic reality to finally bearing no relation to any reality whatever –it became its own pure simulacrum. This means that there is no deeper layer of (or hidden) meanings below that of the hyper-reality itself, rendering very little meaning to the sign altogether –which hence tries to become just "fun", "cool", etc. These sanitised signs offer the advantage of being more attractive to broader segments of the population, hence enhancing the possibility of political persuasion through them. Thus, big hypocrisies may be hidden

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[5] Understood in Barthes's sense, as I explained in page 45.

behind some "light", politically correct, signs –which are widely acceptable but nevertheless widen the gap between the 'reality' of the place and the "places" (*topoi*) used in communicating that reality.

Figure 2.15. Examples of repetition across the world of Frank Gehry's architectural works. Clockwise: Washington D.C., Bilbao, New York City and Los Angeles.
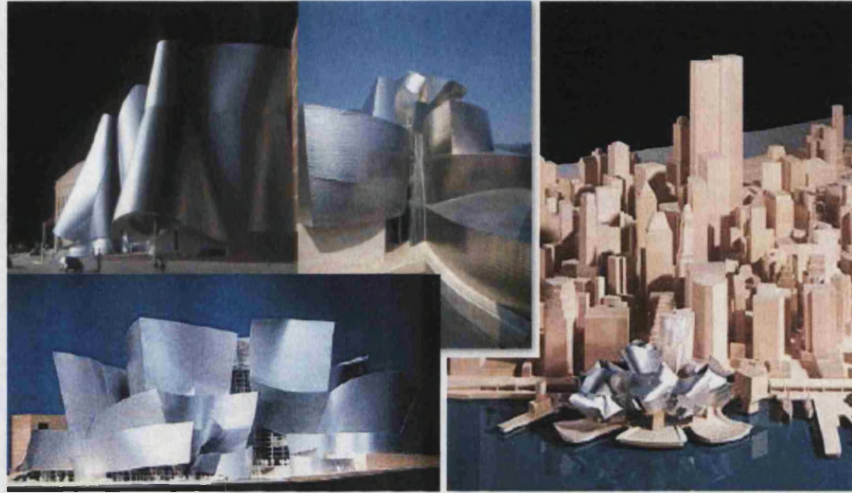
Furthermore, and greatly thanks to electronic simulation, postmodernist works have been replicated anywhere in the world, and that is why one can see the same kind of hyper-real thematic park views of cities in any continent. After art vanished in its high velocity quest for originality, only reproduction was left (Appignanesi, 2003). The same models are reproduced all across the world: architects copy some other architects, cities copy some other cities… resulting in an ever more resemblance between cities (see figures 2.15 and 2.16). Cities thus lose their attractiveness, feeling forced to differentiate themselves again. And when they try to do so, they are already caught up in the trap of hyper-reality, repeating similar signs over and over.
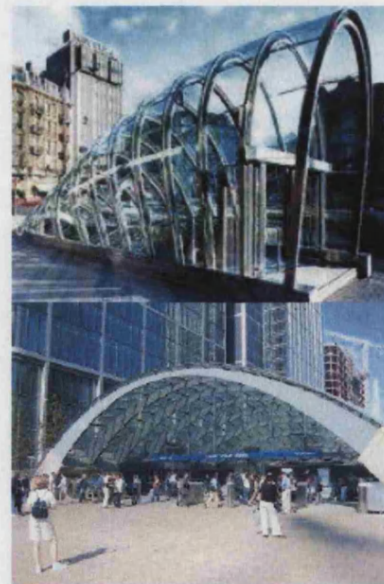
Figure 2.16. Repetition of Foster's tube station entrances: Bilbao and London.

It is a paradox that postmodernists, who were born by fleeing from metanarratives, end up reproducing the same kind of practices all over the world. This is a zero-sum game, for those cities that do get a benefit by recurring to those postmodernist hyper-realities, can only grasp their benefits in the short term, being

forced afterwards to "invest" again in another postmodernist 'megaproject' to keep the pace of innovation.

6.2 **Commodification.**

In the current context of post-modernism, cities are often handled as mere commodities that must be sold to some publics (Kearns and Philo, 1993; Goodwin, 1993). In that process, the cultural and historical heritage of the city becomes no more than the attractive capital which the city counts on to be promoted in the market.

"Selling the city to tourists: A Faustian Bargain?" Holcomb (1999).

One might think that this statement may be exaggerated, but Holcomb asserts that packaging and promoting the city to tourists can destroy its *soul*. The city is commodified, its form and spirit remade to conform to market demands, not residents' dreams –and resources may be diverted from needy neighbourhoods and social services (Holcomb, 1999: 69). A place can be commodified by means of a rigorous selection from its many characteristics; cities are marketed as locations with multiples attributes in order to satisfy different publics, rather than as places with a fixed identity.

In a more positive way, Erickson and Roberts (1997) argue that marketing communication techniques can indeed be used to reactivate the spatial relationship between places and local populations. They cite the example of the 'I♥NY' campaign, aimed at shifting attitudes about the city not only of possible inward investors but especially of local populations, boosting local confidence and pride. These strategies, however, seem to be far more effective when they go alongside interventions in the public realm, such as rejuvenation of streets frontages and other make up actions, which are publicized as a community success.

Besides, it is worth mentioning that city marketers, eager to sell their commodified city to mobile capitalists, offer sanitised office space where international firms can settle down and operate within a safe, 'international' environment, out of the problems of the surrounding (local) community. These developments often create "bubble effects" within

a city: the created 'remnants' of a city within a city (Boddy, 1992) –i.e. 'analogous' cities that accommodate office workers, tourists and conference visitors in an non-geographic hermetic space uncontaminated by traditional street life. London's Canary Wharf, Paris's *La Defènse* and Sydney's Darling Harbour have a lot to do with this idea (figure 2.17).

Figure 2.17. Canary Wharf: example of bubble effect.

Another problem is the so-called *nimbysm*, whereby the residents of the areas adjacent to the new developments perform a fierce resistance to the building of such developments next to their homes. Problems of gentrification also develop with the utilisation of the city as a commodity to be sold to the external publics of the city. This is produced by the steep increase in estate prices due to the increasing demand of space for (and by) the investors that settle in the city or the facilities needed to accommodate tourists. This raises the price of housing for the local population, which has to displace to farther away areas, usually well away from the place where they used to live in the inner areas of the city (see Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999).

6.3 Placelessness.

In a first approach[6] to "place", I could roughly define it as an organised, subjective, particular space with meaning for the individual -in contrast to the more universal, more abstract phenomenon subject to scientific law which is space (Duncan, 2000). A place is a centre of action and intention, it is "a focus where we experience the meaningful events of our existence" (Norberg-Schulz, 1971 as quoted in Relph, 1976: 42). The study of place was popularised in the 1970's by phenomenological geographers, especially Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977), who studied individuals' attachments to particular places and the

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[6] I explore the concept of place in relative depth in chapter four.

symbolic or metonymic quality of popular concepts of place that link events, attitudes, and places to create a fused whole. Therefore, *placelessness* has been defined as "the existence of relatively homogeneous and standardised landscapes which diminish the local specificity and variety of places that characterised pre-industrial societies" (Duncan, 2000).

Relph (1976), drawing upon Heidegger (1962), argued that in the modern world the loss of place diversity is symptomatic of a larger loss of meaning, the 'authentic' attitude which characterised pre-industrial cultures, and produced since the 'sense of place' that some claim has now been largely lost and replaced with an 'inauthentic' attitude, in which one does not accept responsibility for one's own existence. Placelessness thus prevents people from being existential insiders (see Seamon, 1996) –i.e. to belong and identify with the *genius loci* of a place (see Norberg-Shulz, 1979). Examples of placelessness are: shopping malls, airports and hotel clusters around airports, new towns and suburbs and the international style in architecture. All this seem detached from the local environment and tell us nothing of their particular location (Relph, 1976; Augé, 1995; Cresswell, 2004: 43; Yakhlef, 2004; Shields, 1997).

Regarding the causes of this phenomenon, I aforementioned that mass tourism and the increasing mobility of capital are demanding similar amenities in cities across the world. Hence, cities across the world become ever more alike, fostering placelessness. Most cities think they are unique or show themselves as unique because of their heritage, culture, etc. when, at the end of the day, they all are offering similar things (Holcomb, 1999). Moreover, the utilisation of "brand architecture" (p. 54) has also increased the similarities of urban pieces in cities across the world, regardless of their contexts.

Nevertheless, Entrikin (1990) pointed out that while some meanings are indeed lost when places become increasingly homogenised, others are gained (e.g. thousands of foreign workers may be lured into the city bringing with them their own perceptions and sense of place). Likewise, Massey (1994) argues that the notion of sense of place is reactionary and that the persistent identification of place with community is a mistaken

romanticism. According to her view, any single location can be many different places to different people.

6.4 **Re-imagination: just an attractive myth?**

It is becoming increasingly rare, as Hubbard and Hall (1998) point out, that the image formulation of a place restricts itself to extolling the existing virtues of the city. By contrast, it seeks to redefine and re-image the city, weaving specific place 'myths.' "The images of the city incorporated in the promotional brochures, adverts, guidebooks and videos come to define the essence of the city as much as the city itself" (Hubbard and Hall, 1998). One of the main criticisms comes from the fact that image-construction processes involve the appropriation and sanitisation of contested places and social histories and identities, reconstructing them around notions of what constitute an 'official' urban image (T. Hall, 1998) –similarly to Barthes' concept of myth (p. 45), the meaning of the re-image of the city depends on the interests pursued by those who design them.

A common practice is to identify a place over and over again with certain attributes (e.g. Paris is the city of love). After receiving that message many times from different media, it seems very difficult for the individual to deconstruct that image. Recurrent myths are that the city is multicultural (and accepting of difference); that it is environmentally friendly, rich in cultural attractions and supportive of new investors –or, to put it another way, that it is simultaneously a fun city, a green city, a pluralist city and a business city (Short, 1996; Short and Kim 1998). These sanitised myths are definitely more appealing to the new global capitalist demand than the authentic reality of the place and its problems.

In summary, one might see that the big dilemma is how to deal with the authentic existing images, since the promoted messages are not inscribed upon a *tabula rasa*. All places have an existing image however incomplete, partial, inaccurate, outdated and prejudiced these may be (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). Therefore, promotion should be

aware of and accommodate the pre-existing images, derived from a wide variety of sources over which marketing has little control.

6.5 **Whose city is it?**

The question of re-imagination gets even more complicated, for there are several different visions of what the local culture is. "There are as many identities of place as there are people" (Nairn, 1960 as quoted in Relph, 1976: 45). Places do not have single, unique identities, but they have multiple meanings: "A closed steel works means something completely different to a redundant worker that it does to a property developer or to a local politician" (Goodwin, 1993)[7]. Therefore, promoting one image of a city to be attractive to potential consumers is likely to leave citizens' views neglected.

The increasing putatively post-modernisation of cities, with the re-imagination of their values in order to appeal to the external publics whose money is of the city's interest, can be viewed as a manner of selling the city's soul and, therefore, a way for residents to lose the part of their identity that is formed by their place's identity. This produces a hollowing power of authenticity within the city, which led Zukin (1998) to wonder: "Whose city is it anyway?" Nevertheless, one might argue that identity refers to the way individuals or groups feel themselves identified with a place, what emphasizes the equality or resemblance among them. This role identity plays is indeed seated in

Figure 2.18. Examples of chain stores producing *branding of cityscape.*

an important place within the individual's self-identity. Therefore, this may lead to intolerance: when there is an enforced group, counting with a sense of *we-ness*, the members feel satisfied and accompanied, but it also means that there are people who belong and those who do not belong to the group –the outsiders (Sennett, 1970).

6.6 **Branding of cityscape.**

It is hard to become attached to a street full of Gap, McDonald's, WHSmith and the like, while local retailers are kicked out from the High Street: firstly, because those franchises are not native from that specific place; secondly, because of the standardisation they represent –placelessness (see figure 2.18). It is precisely the strong sign-value of these brand what make them successful, becoming easy-to-decipher across the world (Hannigan, 1998), and hence emanating a sense of familiarity when tourists, for instance, travel to far-flung locations. The main criticism found in the literature is that commercial brands take over public space and hence public-identity, which is so important for the formation of self-identity.

Nevertheless, I can mention cases in which it is precisely commercial branding what strengthen the place identity: in certain squares of major cities, it was the gathering of billboards –and especially of those lit up with neon lights- that create the 'place' (or identity pole) of the area: e.g. Piccadilly Circus in London, New York's Times Square, Tokyo's Akihabara and Shibuya (figure 2.19) and Madrid's Plaza de Callao. Nevertheless, one might argue that when there are many of those places in the same city (as it is the case of most Asian major cities nowadays), its value and function as *place* diminishes almost completely.

Figure 2.19: Neon lights. Shibuya, Tokyo

6.7 **Thematic park view of shopping and leisure.**

Post-industrial cities are organised around consumption rather than production (Zukin, 1998). An efficient way that providers have found to bring consumption places near costumers is the proliferation of shopping-malls. Shopping spaces as just that: spaces for consumption –and not eating, skating, dog-walking or hanging out (Hubbard

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[7] E.g. the popular "Glasgow's Miles Better" campaign alienated a big group of the local population, as it meant a denial

2006: 104). Also, spaces of consumption tend to adopt thematic decorations in order to appeal to consumers via hyper-reality of the chosen theme –what is uprooted from the local community, and hence lead to inauthenticity. See figures 2.20 and 2.21: once an individual has spent long time there, where does one think one is? Venice, or the middle of the Nevada desert? This is what Jameson (in Keith & Pile, 1993) called "*Schizo-space.*"

Crilley (1993) states that we are moving towards "a city of *scenographic* enclaves." Hannigan (1998) argues that due to this kind of development, people are not only *forced* to shop in the scenographic view of the developer ("shopertainment"), but also eat in this thematic style ("eatertainment"), and even children in schools are receiving "edutainment." "Our everyday experience is increasingly mediated, vicarious and shaped by mass consumerism" (Harvey, 1993). As Harvey (1993) warns, as traditional values are broken down so new mythologies of power can be established and our search for authenticity is open to exploitation.

Above, figure 2.20: the Venetian Hotel, Las Vegas.
Below, figure 2.21: Venice, Italy.

Another case is that of flagship stores (like NikeTown, Hard Rock Café, etc.). These have got a special *glamour* for the targeted public –up to the point that those publics are usually well aware of which cities are "in" and which are "out" of the circuit. Those that are "in" thus receive a sort of aura of "distinctiveness" –although, paradoxically, it is a distinctiveness in the "sameness" of the franchise chain. Also, managers of those brands

of the city's working class heritage that built the city... in favour of a glossy, post-industrial vision (Hubbard, 2006: 91).

choose very carefully the location of their stores, and by doing so they acknowledge the importance or "glamour" of certain cities for he targeted group. It is a "virtuous" circle.

6.8 **Political manipulation.**

The proliferation of city marketing practices (and especially of costly FDE's) can respond to an increasingly "entrepreneurial" mentality of those city managers who devise them, but they may also provide local authorities with some other "obscure" benefits. Among these, one could think of: a) a POLITICAL ARMOUR (Ashworth, 2000) to protect them from critiques on their management and increase the fidelity of the voters to the leader by strengthening the city's identity and city pride; b) POLITICS OF BREAD AND CIRCUSES, as FDE's have a strong power of re-imagination and a happy citizen is a happy voter; c) a SMOKE SCREEN, to divert the attention from some other more "intrinsic" problems of the city;   or d) simply as CORRUPTED BENEFITS, by charging illegal commissions to the private companies involved in the construction of those flagship developments and/or the organisation of events.

These benefits of the utilisation of city marketing activities by an interested agent may seem too vague. Here I have just enumerated them succinctly in order to frame them within the context of the rest of conflicts and hazards of city marketing. I will go back to them in later chapters, especially chapter seven. The key here is to emphasise that any city marketing action has an agent behind, who sets the goals they expected to achieve by following that strategy. And some of those goals may be to gain political advantage –a goal that obviously is never publicised as such.

7. Conclusions.

Despite the apparent benefits that city marketing seems to be able to achieve in improving a city's image, this chapter has shown that there is a need for a deeper theoretical inquest on city marketing. This is mainly due to three reasons: (1) City marketing is not an "automatic activity", whereby given some background scenario and developing a certain set of strategies one will necessarily get some definite results – especially in the residents' eyes. (2) The conflicts that it creates. (3) The negative influence that this fledging discipline suffers from corporate marketing. The lack of depth in literature specific to city marketing makes this pollution easier. By depth of literature I do not mean quantity, but literature able to explain the *reasons-why* of the propositions that city marketing brings forth, by setting their foundations in a more stable base.

I consider there is a clear gap in the literature, as the value that individuals perceive from the image of the city is granted by the individual's consciousness itself, according to one's attitudes, own values, personal history, social meanings and physical characteristics. Knowing how individuals understand the value of the image of the city they actually perceive is hence crucial in order to devise a way of marketing cities effectively[8].

Therefore, from now on I focus on the individual experience of the image of the city without utilising collective or objective proxies. The way I must follow, then, is to understand how the typical structure of the image of the city is formulated in the individual's mind. Only this way will an aprioristic approach to the study of the subject be possible. In the next chapter I introduce the concepts of value and human fulfilment, in an attempt to emphasise the individual nature of the process of image formulation. That is the first step to draw the typical structure that can be expected in an aprioristic approach to the image of the city (chapter four).

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[8] That analysis should then be put to complement the analysis of benefits and costs of the collective and objective sphere of the city marketing practice.

An Introduction to the Concepts of Value and Human Fulfilment

In this chapter I introduce the concepts of value and human fulfilment; I define these terms and succinctly review the pertinent literature. Together with the state of the question of city marketing established in chapter two, this chapter lays the foundations to justify the new approach to the study of the image of the city that I carry out in chapter four.

Firstly I am going to introduce the concept of value, and its relation to the fulfilment of individual's motivations and needs. Secondly, I will tackle the difference between objective and subjective well-beings. And lastly, I will explore the value of awareness, and how the experience of Being may fit the discussion.

1. Introduction: the concept of value.

As I explained in chapter two, the number of conflicts and hazards that city marketing products may create, together with the high costs involved, usually put these products under the spotlight for scrutiny by the community and the media. The opportunity costs of carrying out FDE's tend to lead the debate in the media alongside the line on whether or not it is worth it to carry them out altogether. For this purpose, I start by introducing the concepts of value and human fulfilment.

Definitions of VALUE can be found in dictionaries as "the importance or worth of something for someone"; or "how useful or important something is" (Cambridge dictionary); "the relative status of a thing, or the esteem in which it is held, according to its real or supposed worth, usefulness, or importance, regarded especially in relation to an individual or group" (Oxford English Dictionary); also as "utility" (Free Dictionary).

The issue of "value" of the city's image is not a simple one, and general answers are unlikely. For instance, one may criticise (i.e. find not worth it) themed shopping malls, and yet support the hyper-real developments of Las Vegas (i.e. find it worth it). Nothing truly "original" has emerged in Las Vegas beyond a fantastic eclecticism, and most of the copies of truly original landmarks (e.g. the Eiffel Tower, the Empire State Building, etc.) are mere kitsch exponents of the ridicule postmodernist obsession for simulacra-creation. However, let us not forget that, thanks to those 'simulacra' and kitsch reproduction, over half a million jobs have been created in the middle of the desert. Furthermore, it would be interesting to measure the satisfaction that Las Vegas has produced to millions and millions of tourists who have been lured to the city over the years, in a location where there was nothing before –a case in which case we cannot talk of conflicts that have destroyed, or commodified, the original (*authentic?*) realm of the city's soul.

It is worth mentioning though that it is one thing to discuss whether a city marketing product is *worth* carrying out or not, and another thing to enquire about its success. To illustrate this point, I could mention the example of the Millenium Dome in London. Six and a half million people visited the exhibition held within it, making it the second most visited attraction in the whole of Europe that year; in addition to that, nine out of ten visitors declared that they were satisfied with their visit. And, still, the Dome is known for having been a tremendous failure, and is merciless criticised in all the media[1].

Of course, I must mention its cost and opportunity cost. The Dome cost £600 million (Baggini, 2002), which was not even enough to make entrance free. That huge amount of money was perceived to be a waste of money for an exhibition that could not be regarded as 'high culture', and which made journalists and other opinion leaders start wondering – rather rhetorically- how many "hospital beds" could have been created with that money. In contrast, the Tate Modern –another of the FDE's carried out by Blair's administration as a commemoration of the year 2000- was considered a success, and it cost £134 million, plus £25 million a year to run and maintains free entry (Baggini, 2002). The Tate Modern was considered a success, and no journalist made special emphasis on how many hospital beds could have been created with £134 million, which is still a vast sum.

Both £600 and £134 million pounds are amounts that are really beyond people's grasp. In fact, the fact that the Tate modern cost significantly less than the Dome must surely be irrelevant to most people's judgements (Baggini, 2002). The most important factor that made people favour the Tate Modern[2] is that it is seen as to be a high-quality gallery, which satisfies the need of the people for high art and culture, as well as the position of London as a referent in the international cultural map; whereas the Dome was

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[1] In order to consider the relative success or failure of such kinds of development, one should focus on a series of issues, some of which lie far away from the concept of value I am exploring. For instance: a) The expectations generated around it (e.g. the organisers of the Dome publicised that they expected a staggering –and hardly able to achieve- twelve million visitors; b) The management of the investment, which obviously will vary in each case. Besides, the Dome failed to integrate with the community, creating a bubble effect. Also, at the time of the exhibition, there was no plan for development once the exhibition terminated.

[2] I mean a factor that made people favour the Tate Modern at that time, when they both were opened. Obviously, the fact that the Dome was to be opened for one year and the Tate Modern remained opened ever since is also to be borne in mind.

seen as a shallow theme park with scientific pretensions, a modern version of the 'circuses' for low-class Romans with which the emperors tried to content (control?) them.

A big issue here is, therefore, how a public manager can assess whether or not the cost of these FDE's is worth incurring. Is "a family's day out" (as the Dome was publicised) well worth £600 million? Is it fair that it costs over four times as expensive as a "high culture" museum? Is it fair to lack NHS hospital beds worth £600 million? For reference, I can mention that the extensive body of literature on cost-benefit analysis (or CBA[3]) gets stuck when facing the problem of having to consider 'non-economic' considerations (Misham, 1988; Schofield, 1987; Layard and Glaister, 2003). How could we ever compare the satisfaction felt by a father when he took his children with him to visit the Dome to the number of hospital beds that could have been created with the money related to that family's visit? Misham (1971) states that there is certainly a repugnance to the idea of attempting to bring humane and perhaps transcendental considerations 'into relation with the measuring rod of money.'

Therefore, once it is agreeable that quantifying worthiness is rather controversial, I turn to a more conceptual approach to study the value of the image of the city.

1.1 **Needs and human fulfillment.**

If value is generally defined as the importance or worth of something for someone, I could argue that, roughly speaking, something has value (i.e. is worth, has utility) for an individual insofar as it satisfies one of one's needs. In this sense, I shall speak of 'human fulfilment' when one or more needs are being satisfied by actions, objects, deeds, etc. that thus turn to be *valuable*.

Maslow, in his classic study on value (1954), identified human motivations and needs as to be organised into a hierarchy of relative *prepotency*, which means that always a lower need is more crucial than the higher ones and attracts one's attention at the first

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[3] CBA is set out to answer whether a number of investment projects should be undertaken taking into account the pros, cons and opportunity costs of such investment (Misham, 1971).

stage. This therefore means that only when one has satisfied a lower need, one will worry about a higher one, which makes the needs placed at the bottom seem to be most important. However, Maslow explains that once a category of needs is satisfied, it automatically becomes underestimated as the individual confronts the next stage of needs, which represent higher ASPIRATIONS for the individual and, hence, they seem more likely to be the most important ones. Maslow (1954) divided these needs into three main groups: subsistence (physiological and security), affection (belongingness, love and esteem) and *Being* needs (need to know, self-actualisation and aesthetic needs)[4].

Bearing in mind Maslow's point of view, and regarding the city, an individual may be able to reach for a better fulfilment of one's needs and motivations through a wide range of issues.
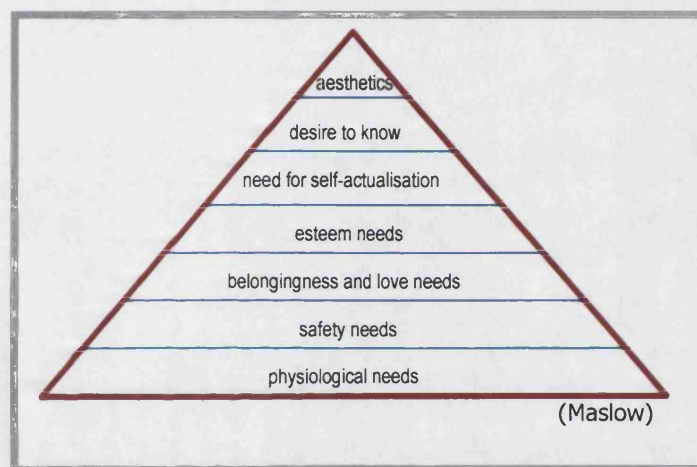
Figure 3.1: Human motivations and needs (Maslow, 1957).

For instance, the physiological needs shall be met by the provision of an adequate health service, enough employment, supply of necessary products, education, housing, etc. In any case, I would like to stress that any potential satisfier must pass along the individual's process of perception, which implies a mental processing that renders different results for each individual –not only according to that mental processing, but also due to the emphasis individuals may put on one or some particular needs.

According to Maslow's hierarchy, it seems that those needs that are satisfied by merely instrumental satisfiers (such as e.g. health system, employment, etc.) tend to be placed at a lower position in the priority of the individual. These issues, however, usually occupy the agenda of all media and political agents, but they do not provide the higher values by themselves. As Baggini (2002) points out, it is too simplistic to say that our material

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needs are more important. "They are more important in the sense that they alone are indispensable, but it is their absence we feel most acutely, not their presence."

Having said this, I must now move on to the value of the *image* of the city, and not of the city itself: i.e. changing the focus to understand the image of the city as a *satisfier* of needs. Only if it proves to satisfy human needs, I can consider the image of the city as a provider of human fulfilment. Obviously, cities' images will not fulfil those "material" needs placed at the bottom of Maslow's hierarchy (a city's image will not provide anyone with shelter, food, security, and so on). Images will tend to focus on higher needs, such as the desire to know, aesthetic needs and sense of belongingness.

As I argued in chapter two, images are created in each receptor's brain and can be very different from one individual to another. Thus, the individual character of the image-satisfier must be stressed. Hence the need for a *typical structure* of experience of the image of the city as provider of fulfilment is justified: a typical structure may be applied to all experiences of the image of the city, regardless of external and personal conditioners.

1.2 **Further understandings of the term 'value.'**

So far I have dealt with the term 'value' meaning the worth of something (i.e. something that satisfies a human motivation and/or need). The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy (1999) identifies different forms by which philosophers have discerned the meaning of that "worth of something": a) INTRINSIC, by which the object that is valued is the source of value itself; b) INSTRUMENTAL, by which something has value if and only if it is a means to, or causally contributes to, something that is intrinsically valuable; c) INHERENT, enjoyed by X if and only if the experience, awareness, or contemplation of X is intrinsically valuable (e.g. if the experience of a beautiful sunset is intrinsically valuable, then the beautiful sunset has inherent value); d) CONTRIBUTORY: if and only if X contributes to the value of some whole; and e) RELATIONAL: if and only if X has value on

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[4] Maslow's theory has had its critics. See, for instance, Wahba and Bridgewell (1976) and Max-Neef (1991).

virtue of bearing some relation to something else. Instrumental, inherent and contributory value may be construed as forms of relational value.

However, there is a second understanding of 'value' that I shall refer to a great deal in the rest of this thesis. It means the value of a specific event (entity) as its INTENSITY as an event itself: i.e. the intensity of the event as a *figure* that stands out [of the ground] of the previous unperturbed calm, or *nothingness.* In the next three chapters I shall demonstrate the linkages between "value as a figure" and "value as worth." I shall argue that the value (worth) of the image of the city is maximised through the typical structures of topoaletheia, which are in fact arrangements of values (figures) along time –this is, having inherent value.

Lastly, I must mention the understanding of the term 'value'; as LUMINOSITY. Value as luminosity is a type of value as a *figure* (lights that stands out of darkness), and it is defined as "that property of a colour by which it is distinguished as bright or dark"; or "That quality of a colour, corresponding to tone or reflectance, which when assigned a numerical value according to its degree of lightness can be used in combination with hue and chroma to identify the colour uniquely" (Oxford Dictionary). "Degree of lightness as conditioned by the presence of white or pale colour, or their opposites" (Free Dictionary).

2. Objective and subjective well-beings.

Instrumental needs, such as health and food provision, and the actions that make them possible (such as funding of public health services or provision of employment), seem to capitalise the agenda-setting in media and interest groups. However, and as I discussed above, although those practical needs are indeed indispensable, they alone do not fulfil human aspirations, which are solely satisfied as one moves forward in the pyramid of needs that are fulfilled (Baggini, 2002; and Bruton, 1997).

As regards to their ability to fulfil human aspirations, potential satisfiers have been traditionally divided in the literature into different groups, establishing a kind of ranking on the *'quality of wants'* (Bruton, 1997). The "better wants" are those that address the uppermost side of Maslow's pyramid, and they are ruled by what John Rawls (1971) calls the *Aristotelian Principle*: "Other things being equal, human beings enjoy the exercise of their realised capacities (their innate or trained abilities), and this enjoyment increases the more the capacity is realised, or the greater its complexity" (1971: 426). In other words, humans enjoy the use of the unique qualities of their *humanness*.

According to Bruton (1997: 24), this enjoyment is qualitatively different from simple fun and pleasure –i.e. hedonism. The fulfilment of the *better wants* provides the individual with the possibility of making use of one's *humanness*, as through them one is able to shape one's whole life in order to realise what one really *is* (see Waterman, 1993; Argyle, 1996). This is what Aristotle called *eudaimonia* -more than mere happiness, it is *human flourishing*. For this, not only material satisfiers are required (economic provision, etc.), but also those that aim at the intangible needs of the individual, such as aesthetic and moral feelings –what J. S. Mill called "the utility in the larger sense" in *On Liberty*.

Despite terms such as 'satisfaction', 'subjective well-being' and 'happiness' usually seem to be synonyms in the literature, I find it critical to grasp their differences. In broad

terms, WELL-BEING refers to a well-lived life, a life rich in meaning and personal growth (Bruton, 1997). In the last ten years the visibility of the literature on HAPPINESS and its translation to economic matters has experimented an exponential growth, making some best-sellers among non-academic publics. The most popular and influential title has been Layard, 2005; but also Persaud, 2005; Ricard, 2006; Van Praag and Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2004; Bruni and Porta, 2005; Klein, 2006; and Gilbert, 2006. Lastly, earlier this year appeared Weiner, 2008; and Wilson, 2008. Happiness can be defined by two factors (Argyle, 1996): a) it is a state of joy or positive emotion; b) it is satisfaction with life as a whole, or with work, leisure, and other parts of it.

No matter the term used, it is common that the satisfaction of motivations and needs necessarily leads to 'happiness.' "While happiness itself is sought for its own sake, every other goal –health, beauty, money or power- is valued only because we expect that it will make us happy" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992: 1).

In the 18th century, Bentham proposed that the object of public policy should be to maximise the sum of happiness in the society. Nevertheless, and as Persaud (2005) warns, attempts to manufacture happiness through policy directives in the past have been doomed to failure, because of a fundamental failure to appreciate the elusive and personal nature of sustained long term well-being. According to the utilitarian tradition, happiness is something objective, equal for everyone, and able to be measured scientifically[5]. This opens up the complicated topic of the role of the state in providing happiness.

It is very common to come across the rhetoric argument that full employment (and other economic provisions, such as public health system, state pensions, etc.) should be the main goal of the state in order to provide citizens with the happiness or well-being they demand, leaving to "the elite" their own provision to satisfy their higher needs, which are precisely the ones that do fulfil the individual. Obviously, for supporters of this

materialist view, all actions of city marketing are no more than a waste of money, unless those actions prove to bring economic benefits to the city that do trickle down to the residents.

However, some facts seem to go completely against the view that argues that economic provision (i.e. targeting the needs at the bottom of Maslow's pyramid) is enough to make individuals 'happy' –i.e. to make them enjoy the marginal utilities from economic factors so much that their motivations and needs are fulfilled. In order to relate individual happiness to *objective* indices of well-being, correlations were studied in early researches. More recently, longitudinal analyses have been able to establish the direction of causation as well (Bruton, 1997). In his early study on the subject, Bradburn (1969) did find quite a strong relationship between income and happiness. However, and more recently, although Diener *et al.* (1993) found a clear relationship with income, this was

stronger for lower incomes and levelled off at higher levels. They concluded their extensive study by asserting that there is no evidence that there has been any historical increase in happiness, despite massive increases in economic prosperity (1993: 20).

Income and happiness in the United States

Figure 3.2: Income and happiness levels in the US (Layard, 2003)

Drawing upon this and other investigations, Layard (2005) also affirms that the high levels of economic growth achieved in the West in the past 50 years should have provided citizens with unparallel happiness. People have become much richer; they work much less; they have longer holidays; they travel more; they live longer; and they are healthier. However, when

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[5] Obviously there exists the problem of knowing how to translate subjective measures like happiness to objective indicators. However, as Csikszentmihalyi says, "despite the scientific prejudice, subjective experience is one of the

westerners are asked how happy they are, they report no improvement in the last 50 years. More people suffer from depression nowadays, and crime (another indicator of dissatisfaction) is also much higher. This seems to illustrate blatantly the difference between objective and subjective well-beings.

Figure 3.2 shows income and happiness levels in the US for the second half of the 20th century. It is very easy to grasp the steady increase of GDP per head, whereas happiness stopped following that tendency since the late 1950's and has slightly diminished thereafter. As Layard points out, these findings are all surprising since, at any time within any community, there *is* indeed a clear relation between happiness and income. Inglehart and Klingemann (2000) found out that, counting with 1995 GNP data, once a country's income per head gets over $15,000, its level of happiness appears to be independent of further increases[6]. See figure 3.3. This suggests that, at that level of around $15,000 GDP per head, the provision of sufficient material goods so as to satisfy the 'indispensable' bottom of the pyramid is completed –or at least perceived to be guaranteed. Hence, no further material provision brings more satisfaction. Therefore, other needs further up the pyramid need to be fulfilled with satisfiers other than mere

Income and happiness: Comparing countries

Figure 3.3: GNP/head and happiness (Inglehart and Klingemann, 2000)
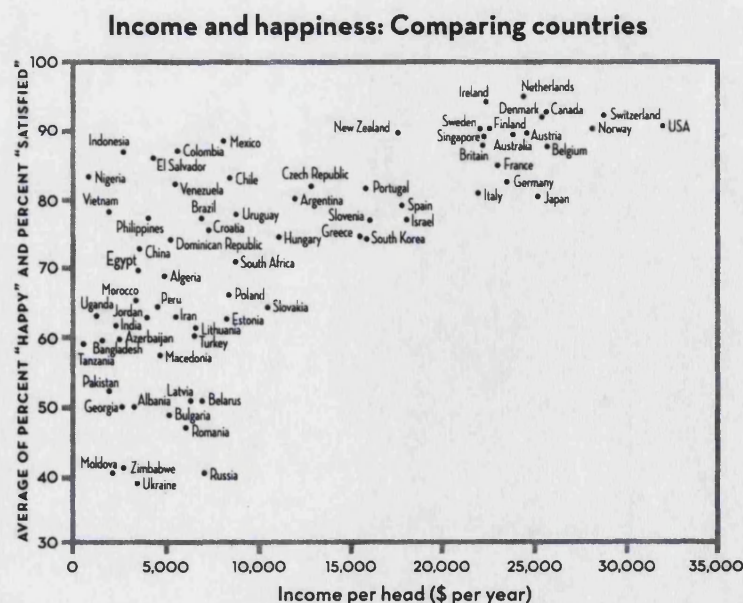
most objective things we can deal with" (as quoted in Gallagher, 1993: 171).

material provisions.

Even though over time advanced societies have not grown happier as they have grown richer, Layard (2005) points out that yet we need to be cautious and not get rid of the income variable when trying to analyse happiness, as his research shows that at any one time rich people are on average happier than poorer ones. This he explains by demonstrating that on the one hand, a given individual in a given country becomes happier if he is richer, which is why most people want to be richer. But, at the same time, when the whole society becomes richer, nobody seems to be any happier. It seems likely that people compare their income with some level of expectation, which must be increasing in line with actual income. That increase is due to three sources: habituation, rivalry and the *Polyanna* effect:

A) HABITUATION. When our living standards increase, we love it at first and then get used to it and consider it as *normal* –taken for granted. Thereafter, we would find it very difficult to go back to where we started from.

B) RIVALRY or SOCIAL COMPARISON. According to Argyle (1996), this is the theory that satisfaction depends on the relative position to other people (e.g. satisfaction on one's pay as related to the pay of others, rather than on actual pay). These findings have an interesting implication that Layard points out: indeed, from 1950 until 1973 there was a golden period of economic growth, but (or rather, 'and') it came accompanied with the widespread of TV sets in almost every single household. Television has made individuals more exposed and able to compare themselves with other individuals that may lie far away, and not just with their neighbours (with whom they may have enjoyed the same or a relatively good position[7]). Precisely, in figure 3.2, one may be able to see that those

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[6] In his most recent publication, Layard (2005) suggests that the threshold is at $20,000 instead of $15,000, according to his updated data.

[7] In this line, and stressing the importance of social comparisons, Karl Marx said (as found in Layard, 2003): "A house may be large or small; as long as the surrounding houses are equally small, it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But if a palace rises beside the little house, the little house shrinks into a hut."

years when GDP per head and happiness levels started departing from each other are precisely the years when TV sets became popular nationwide in the US.

C) THE POLYANNA EFFECT. Argyle (1996) affirms that the majority of people say that they are very satisfied with their life due to 'social desirability bias': the feeling that one ought to give certain answers.

On the contrary, Csikszentmihalyi asserts that regardless of culture, stage of modernisation, social class, age, or gender, the sample of his study described enjoyment in very much the same way: "Optimal experience, and the psychological conditions that make it possible, seems to be the same the world over" (1992: 48). And while humankind collectively has increased its material powers a thousand fold, it has not advanced very far in terms of improving the content of experience (1992: 16).

> "Wondering what life satisfaction or fulfilment is, it was clear to me [...] that the answer was not money or power but, somehow, the ability to control and enjoy one's experience" (Csikszentmihalyi[8], as quoted in Gallagher, 1993).

Therefore, the upshot of all this is that, in order to research whether topoaletheia may fulfil human needs and, thus, have *value* for the individual, in the following chapters I will have to study the ability of topoaletheia to address the 'higher needs' that Maslow placed at the top of his pyramid. These are basically the desire to know and understand, the aesthetic needs, and any other need that may help the individual fulfil his necessity of being himself in his *humanness* –the so-called *"Being needs."*

Whereas Layard, from this diagnosis of the question of happiness, departs towards egalitarian postulates (and therefore towards the public sphere), I shall take a very different perspective. I focus on the individual experience of the world (especially of the image of the city). Therefore, I will have to study how city images may be able to fulfil the higher needs. Images are unable to address the needs at the bottom of the hierarchy, but are definitely able to provide the individual with positive aesthetic stimuli and knowledge

about the world one lives in and Being as such, by referring to images' inherent and relational value. This awareness and knowledge of Being may, in turn, help one reach high levels of self-actualisation in his *humanness*.

2.1 Quality of life and quality of place.

I would like to point out that despite the potential fulfilment experienced by individuals through the image of the city leads one towards improving one's quality of life (QoL), this QoL has very little to do with the QoL that city marketers use in their promotional strategies. This is because QoL and quality of place (QoP) are often mistaken for one another.

QoL has been viewed as part of the profile of a 'competitive city' and used in place marketing, especially by the publication of city rankings according to their QoL rating. That QoL image is partial and selective in nature. Rogerson (1999) argues that such utilisation of city ratings is a 'reductionist view' of places and their living environment, since the disparity between people's perception of QoL is not taken into account: the concept of QoL publicised is placed-based, rather than people based (Burgess and Wood, 1989, as quoted in Rogerson, 1999; also Harvey, 1989).

Andrews (2001) defines QoP as the aggregate measure of the factors in the external environment that contribute to QoL, whereas QoL is the feeling of well-being, fulfilment or satisfaction experienced by residents of (or visitors to) that place. QoP is external and might be measured empirically, whereas QoL is subjective and personal, which makes it difficult as a working tool for planning implications (Myers, 1988; Andrews, 2001; Lloyd and Auld, 2003; also, see Greenberg, 1999).

The utilisation of so-called QoL ranked cities in their promotion strategies is therefore a bit of a nonsense, from my point of view, since the city may be very proud of being able to offer very excellent amenities, infrastructure, etc. but can neither control nor

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[8] Csikszentmihalyi (1992: 49) affirms that happiness is not something that happens: it is not the result of good fortune or random chance. It does not depend on outside events, but, rather, on how we interpret them. "Happiness, in fact, is a

determine the QoL feeling that residents and visitors may experience in that city. In fact, cities such as Zurich, Oslo, Copenhagen or Vancouver usually top the ranks of supposedly QoL rankings. And these cities are neither among the top destinations of tourism, nor among the preferred cities for relocation of residents, which demonstrates in principle that –in spite of people admitting that those cities offer excellent environments- they prefer other places (i.e. they *value* other places).

As a conclusion, I must stress once again that the fulfilment of human needs occurs in the individual realm[9]. The awareness of the being of space (topoaletheia) –that leads to QoL- occurs in one's consciousness, regardless of QoP factors. Therefore, I take on a view focused on the individual, and shall see how personal attributes (physical characteristics, attitudes and personal values) interact with the built environment in order to experience Being through the city.

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condition that must be prepared for, cultivated, and defended privately by each person" (1992: 2).

[9] The individual grants value to those things he considers that can fulfil one's motivations and needs in a better way. The individual is the agent who grants value, not being so the community nor the state nor any other agent. And one may have to take into account the ecological fallacy: an individual is not the same as the average of the aggregation of the population.

3. The value of awareness and experience.

Heil (2001) considers 'awareness' a term usually interchangeable with consciousness, which being a central feature of our lives is yet notoriously difficult to characterise. It includes –he says– one's experiences of the goings-on in the world, as well as, turning inward ("introspecting") one's experience of their experiencing. Thus, objects of awareness can be external or internal. Heil mentions the example of pressing your finger on the edge of the table: you can be aware of the table's edge, and aware of the feeling of pressure (though perhaps not simultaneously).

In this part, I just want to make a brief mention to two different understandings of this term: awareness as *understanding*; and as a *satisfier,* by means of its merging with action.

3.1 **Awareness as understanding.**

As I explained before, one of the 'higher needs' of human beings as described by Maslow (1954) was the 'desire to know and understand.' Only by knowing and understanding, the human being can reach for a higher actualisation of one's *humanness* –i.e. actualising one's potentialities of becoming a full human being, since self-consciousness is a property only enjoyed by humans.

> "We see that by the gift of God there is present in all things a natural desire to exist in the best manner in which the condition of each thing's nature permits this" Nicholas Cusanus, as quoted by Harries (2001: 50).

Harries then infers that, since what lifts us humans above the animals is our intellect, our noblest desire is therefore the intellectual desire to know, as *"would God have implanted such a desire in us only to leave it forever dissatisfied?"* (Harries, 2001: 50).

In this thesis, I try to deepen on the way humans may become fulfilled by means of increasing their awareness of the being of the space in which they live. This increased awareness of the being of space –however small it may be in some cases- will necessarily

lead to human fulfilment, since it supposes the actualisation of one's potentialities *to know and understand* -hence the value of awareness.

'Awareness' –understood as understanding- is more than mere knowledge. The term 'knowledge' carries with itself intentionality –i.e. one knows something. On the contrary, 'awareness' as understanding is self-contained. This difference can be easily seen in the different approaches to the term 'awareness': a) for the main trend of Western philosophy, awareness is not that important by itself and is superseded to its application, to its intentionality (i.e. how to focus that awareness on *something* –on the scientific knowledge of the world); b) for Eastern philosophy, on the contrary, awareness is an end by itself, and a complete 360° awareness of oneself is the culmination of enlightenment, which only one trained consciousness can achieved; c) an intermediate position is the one held by Heidegger, for instance, with his immanent ontology, which seeks to refer to the naked fact and truth of essence, and has no transcendental component (Steiner, 1992).

Awareness-as-understanding is necessarily expansive: one tries to make sense of as much as possible, as one feels the need of actualising one's potentialities as man, and absolute or complete consciousness (God?) is the measure. Contrarily, in the modern Western world, truth comes from the correctness of the proposition in comparison with others (see chapter 4 section 3.2). Since there is no absolute size of things (God is dead, etc.), and we do not even know what absolute size might mean (Harries 2001: 67), things are known only by comparison[10]. Hence, the efforts of Western science focus on one (whatever) narrow point, the narrower the better, in order to be able to explain well at least that point, since the whole makes no sense (there is no centre, no "God", no meaning)[11].

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[10] For comparisons, the natural measuring rod becomes the human body (Harries, 2001: 67; see also Tavernor, 2007).

[11] Since in the modern Western world there is no centre, no absolute meaning, "no God", happiness and fulfilment are no longer based on timeless awareness, reaching out for fulfilling humans' potentialities. Conversely, the modern man corrupts his feeling of satisfaction by seeking hedonistic pleasures, which in their immediate nature corrupt the goals of human existence (see López-Tobajas, 2005: 115).

> *"Truth requires objectivity; objectivity requires freedom from particular points of view. Reality discloses itself to us only in the spirit's more objective reconstructions of what the senses present to us. The reflection on perspective thus leads to an understanding of reality as invisible as it is. In this sense one might also want to speak of the essential absence of reality. If presence is construed in the image of presence to sight, then reality as such remains absent, invisible"* (Harries, 2001: 45 –my underscore).

Due to this invisibility of reality, inextricably related to Being, it is that there is a need for *un-concealment*, for disclosing that reality, that is what topoaletheia is all about. "Our understanding relies on comparisons", says Cusanus (quoted by Harries). It is in these comparisons –in their value as figures that stand out of the ground- whereby Being is known through beings, as I explain in chapter four.

3.2 **Merging action and awareness.**

The consideration of awareness *in action*[12] may lead to the merging of the action and awareness themselves, which may become an end in itself if one considers its properties as a *satisfier*. However, this unreflected consciousness is not something that happens for its own sake, but is the condition of an individual's consciousness when one's actions divert one's awareness away from one's own thinking and on to the activity one is carrying out or the objects one is handling. Thus, the validity of the merging of action and awareness as source of knowledge is on tenterhooks –i.e. if one wants to think about that action-awareness merging, one loses it, as one is back to his self-(reflected) consciousness.

Csikszentmihalyi (1992) focused his research on a specific kind of fulfilment that he calls 'flow', and which refers to an optimum kind of experience: an experience of joy, creativity, fulfilment. He approaches 'flow' as the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter. Csikszentmihalyi explained how anxiety (too much of a challenge for one's skills) and boredom (too little of a challenge) are the frontiers of the experience of 'flow', and how complexity is needed in order to maintain flow levels.

Csikszentmihalyi also described how flow moments can be experienced by the senses. An optimal experience can be very directly induced by the eyes, music, taste, etc. Likewise, he mentions "the flow in thought", which refers to the imagination of thought that creates flow –this is, the ability of images, of thoughts, to incur in a flow activity.

> *"Seeing beauty in nature or in an artwork may well produce a sense of physical well-being, but it is also a forgetfulness of self and a grateful awareness of the pure existence of another"* Tuan (1986: 157).

For Tuan, peak (best) experiences fall under the three broad categories of: personal characteristics, which determine perception; cultural stances, which determine attitudes; and conceptualised experiences, which determine one's world view or values (Tuan, 1974: 4). On regards to the stimulation needed to spark this optimal experience, once again one may not be able to find general rules. As Gallagher points out, "the question really is 'what is the best kind of stimulation, for whom and when?' Our well-being depends on the delicate business of getting just the right amount of stimulation from our surroundings at the right time."

Not helping us to [consciously] know more, the experience of flow could be criticised for not helping us progress in actualising our human potentialities. However, the merging of action and awareness puts a person in contact with the consciousness that transcends one, since one's own self-consciousness is muted (and adapted to one's activity). Besides, in 'flow' one is also able to adapt to that transcendental consciousness by means of one's whole body –by the parts of the body that are in action in the 'flow' activity.

3.3 A first approach to "knowing Being."

In section 1.1, I described the needs and motivations to "know Being" as the ones Maslow placed at the top of his pyramid, and other authors –usually with slight changes in their wording- followed. Here I just want to briefly frame the experience of "knowing

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[12] There is also awareness and non-action: section 3.3.

Being" in its appropriate context within the literature, since the understanding of the experience of Being per se will be defined and explored in the next chapter.

Somewhat contrarily to the merging of action and awareness, "knowing Being" supposes the merging of one's awareness with a bigger continuum of awareness that the individual is not in control of, but that nonetheless provides one with fulfilment, so that the individual's will is reduced –hence leading to a contemplative attitude. Basing on the literature on the topic, I could define this experience as a direct awareness of the wholeness of existence beyond the parameters given by one's self-consciousness[13]. However, the experiences on Being of one individual seem to be somewhat different from those of another. This has led different people in different cultures at different times to devise a wide variety of different terms in their effort to capture or convey a particular aspect of their own particular experiences (Havens, 2007: xiv).

This experience is attained by indirection; through the appreciation (i.e. awareness) of the value of beings –entities- that function as stimuli in one's mind. In the next chapter I develop this point thoroughly and explain how the entities of the image of the city (i.e. the values of the stimuli triggered by the image of the city) may contribute toward "knowing Being."

The literature covering the experience of Being is vast and varied. Here I just cite a few examples in order to frame the *Heideggerian* approach I utilise:

- Since time immemorial the works of mystics have provided different points of view regarding the same holistic experience of "knowing Being" –although named and expressed in different ways according to their cultural and temporal epochs. In

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[13] Bergson (see Zalta, 2008) affirmed that the primary function of the brain and nervous system is in the main eliminative and not productive: to screen out all potential stimuli that are not substantially essential for survival and thus avoid becoming overwhelmed by the perception of the whole of existence. Huxley (1994) developed this point quoting the scientific research that showed how brain enzymes have the function of acting as inhibiters. Thus, when these enzymes are neutralised, the brain perceives far beyond the limits of self-consciousness. "We have gained security and survival, but in the process have sacrificed our sense of wonder" (Huxley, 1994: 7). To illustrate this point, he used Blake's popular sentence: "If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite."

modern times, the most popular works of literature on mysticism might be Underhill, 2005; Dewey, 1960; Huxley, 1972, 1994, 2004; Laski, 1968; and Smith, 2000.

- Pre-Socratic and Neo-Platonist philosophers also focused on studying the *"is-ness"* of things, keeping themselves away from the analytic tradition of philosophy that has reduced Being to mathematical or logical equations that reflect the "probability" of the ideal essence that an entity enjoys.

- In more modern times, neurologists (e.g. Leary, 1995), pharmacologists (e.g. Strassman, 2001; McKenna and McKenna, 1993), and physicists (e.g. Laszlo, 1993; as well as authors like Heisenberg and Bohr) have also tackled the experience of "knowing Being" and its relation to the brain's chemical processes.

- In psychology, the first two main contributions to this subject were made by James (1985) and Bucke (2006). Apart from Maslow, with whom I deal below, also White, J. (1972), Tart (1969), Fromm (1950) and Grof (1990, 1998) deserve special mention, belonging to the school called *transpersonal psychology*, which deals with the metaphysical experiences of living and the peak experiences enjoyed in situations of spiritual self-development.

  - James (1985) called these experiences as mystical, and defined them by four marks: ineffability, being *noetic* (e.g. they are states of knowledge), transient and the passivity of the individual with respect to them.

  - In 1901, Bucke (2006) called this experience "cosmic consciousness", as it goes beyond the simple consciousness of animals and the self-consciousness of men in normal cognitive states. His idea enjoys big similarities to C.G. Jung's theory of the *collective unconscious* and to the idea of the *absolute knowledge* that German idealist philosophers developed –e.g. Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, Schelling's *On Nature's connection to the spirit world* and Goethe's *Theory of Nature*.

- Maslow (1968, 1972, 1994) explored the *peak experiences*[14] an individual experiments when "knowing Being." In his own words (1994), he defined peak experiences as sudden feelings of intense happiness and well-being, possible due to the awareness of an "ultimate truth" and the unity of all things. He observed that the experience of Being was necessarily accompanied by the gaining of what he called "Being values", such as goodness, justice, completion, simplicity and fulfilment, among others. He argues that the attainment of the experience of Being is the ultimate step toward the *humanisation* of individuals –i.e. the total development of a person in his or her *humanness*. Thus, the satisfaction of the highest need (self-actualization) is not just another level, but the purpose of one's whole life.

The last standpoint on the experience of Being, and the most important for this thesis, comes from Heidegger's thinking. He does not define Being, as that would be reducing the ontological nature of Being to the *ontic* realm of beings. However, he speaks of the "truth of Being," as I explain in the next chapter.

Henceforth, and once I have explained the implications of the experience of Being in terms of fulfilment, I shall try to explain the ways these optimum experiences could be attained through the image of the city. For this purpose, I shall use a *Heideggerian* approach to both Being and spatiality. I shall use Heidegger's differentiation between space and place (*ontic* entity) to establish a link to the ontological reality of the being of space (i.e. awareness of Being through space), which –as explained in this chapter- is expected to provide with human fulfilment and self-actualisation.

A sort of contemplative attitude and city marketing seem to be absolutely incompatible ideas. My aim in the next few chapters is then to demonstrate how, bearing in mind the 'ultimate human fulfilment' experienced through knowing Being, some city marketing products could be refined so that individuals may potentially experience Being through the image of a given city.

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[14] The term peak experience is widely used in the drug subculture. I would like to point out that I am using this term in

3.4 **Awareness of the image of the city and human fulfilment.**

In the next three chapters I explore the possibilities of the image of the city to act as a satisfier of an individual's highest needs –the needs to 'know Being.' The *image* of the city and the *city* itself will be different, according to what I explained in chapter two. In the literature, the most prominent example of an attempt to link the image of the city to fulfilment can be found in Lynch (1953), who actually referred to that 'fulfilment' as 'pleasure and delight' when he studied the psychological and sensual effects of the physical form of the city. He excluded the direct functional effects (job security, good housing, etc.) as well as the provision of adequate quantities of the environmental elements (houses, stores, etc.). After carrying out such exclusions, he affirms that the *image* of the city provides several satisfactions: orientation, warmth, stimulus, sensual delight, and interest (see figure 3.4).

He argues that these 'satisfactions' occur because of the following themes: a) THE PROBLEM OF ORDER AND VARIETY, the pleasure of differentiations on an underlying ground. Lynch says that there must be an organised whole holding within it a rich complexity. b) CONTRAST AND RELATION: the delight and tension of two unlike things brought closely and sharply together; the not incompatible delight of seeing the connection hinted between them. Thus arises the tension –and importance- of the boundary. Also involved is the question of the "grain" of the mixture of unlikes. c) INTENSITY; or the concept of optimum, maximum, and minimum; or proportion. There can be too much or too little. d) RHYTHM: periodic fluctuation of intensities or qualities within an optimum range. It is a fundamental satisfaction and a basic means of tackling many apparent dilemmas (open and closed spaces; order and variety; stimulus and relaxation; etc.).

In spite of deeply agreeing with the usefulness of these four themes in order to convert the image of the city into a *satisfier*, I must say that Lynch does not explain the *reasons why* of these themes that lead to satisfaction; he assumes them from the point of view of

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Maslow's sense, independently of other connotations beyond his psychological field.

his intuition, but he does not justify each of those four claims. I do agree with these four claims, but I also believe that topoaletheia and its typical structures may be able to explain the reason why these four themes do indeed provide individuals with satisfaction or fulfilment. That is what I aim to prove in the next few chapters by using a phenomenological methodology.

Lynch's "satisfactions" –as achieved through the image of the city	
ORIENTATION	The sense of clear relation of the observer with the city and its parts, and with the larger world around it. It also means an intuition of the city as a unified whole, with a major structure and a relation to its larger structure. "There is a delight in grasping a complex thing as a unity." Hall (1969: 105) also stressed the importance of orientation: "Man's feeling about being properly oriented in space runs deep. Such knowledge is ultimately linked to survival and sanity."
WARMTH and ATTACHMENT	A feeling of response projected on the physical surroundings. In part it springs automatically from familiarity and sense of history, but it is reinforced by physical forms, such as 1) evidence of human care and adaptation; 2) plentiful distinctive forms; 3) "human scale"; 4) enclosure, providing warmth and protection; 5) intricacy of detail; and 6) "signs of life" –the sight of people and their activity.
STIMULUS and RELAXATION	The proper balance between stimulus of activity and participation, and on the other hand the release of pressure, the freedom for casual "private" activity. As Gallagher (1993: 149) puts it: "The city simply provides too much stimulation of almost every kind, bombarding us so relentlessly that in self-protection, we tune out and turn off."
SENSUAL DELIGHT	All the satisfactions of order, variety, rhythm, contrast, relation: through all the sense. Major impressions: spaces, floor, detail, texture and silhouette, plastic form, smell, sound, and the use of natural elements.
INTEREST	The intellectual pleasures of curiosity requires new experiences and new impressions; "the savouring of distinct character springing from concrete differences of background and function."

Figure 3.4: Satisfactions provided by the image of the city (Lynch, 1953).

4. Summary of the main points of this chapter.

This chapter is important insofar as it establishes linkages between the current discussion on quality of life (and well-being) in cities and the real sources of value –or utility- for the individual. It is in this light that a new approach to the image of the city becomes justified, as there is a gap regarding the linkage of the image of the city to value (i.e. to the utility that satisfies individual's motivations and needs).

The individual grants value to those things one considers can satisfy some of one's needs. But not all needs have the same importance, or worth (i.e. they do not have the same value). The term 'human fulfilment' refers to the better satisfaction of the individual's motivations and needs. Contrary to what one may consider at a first sight, material needs are at the bottom of the hierarchy of needs (however indispensable they are), while the individual significantly grants more value to those things able to satisfy his 'higher needs.' Indeed, Inglehart and Klingemann (2000) showed that in countries with annual rent per head beyond [US$20,000], there is no correlation between a higher average income and a higher feeling of happiness.

The process of value-granting is individual for each person. Nevertheless, cultures, social pressure, etc. influence the individual. This individual process makes it difficult to devise city marketing strategies that may satisfy the whole of the population. However, the structure whereby value is granted is similar for everybody.

From the point of view of city marketing, establishing strategies that bear in mind the individual nature of human fulfilment is very advisable, since by facilitating individuals' ability to tackle their 'higher needs', individuals will self-actualise further, which in turn will help them satisfy other more practical (or applied) needs in a more efficient manner.

Among the 'higher needs' of human beings, is the desire to know and understand. The more a person is aware of the world surrounding one, one's need will be fulfilled (along the value of that awareness experience). There exist different bodies of literature that

have explained the experience of "knowing Being", always stressing its importance – actually as the ultimate human fulfilment.

Nevertheless, hitherto the most direct link between the image of the city and satisfaction is Lynch (1953). Although I support his claims, I believe there is still room to justify them –to explain the reasons why of their existence. I think that these 'reasons why' can be justified if one relates the image of the city to the experience of Being.

In the next chapter, and by using a phenomenological methodology, I resort to Heidegger's understanding of Being, as well as his spatial terms in order to explore the possibilities of attaining the experience of Being through the awareness of space, hence solving some of the lost linkages I showed in this chapter.

TOWARDS THE FORMULATION OF *TOPOALETHEIA*: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL CONCEPTUALISATION

In this chapter, I follow the steps of the phenomenological methodology, as explained by Spiegelberg (1960), in order to come up with the essence of topoaletheia, which I aim to use to study the image of the city. I follow the phenomenological methodology rigorously: firstly, the phenomena of topoaletheia are intuited, analysed and described. Secondly, the essence of topoaletheia is analysed by explaining each of its components separately. These components are: the experience of awareness, the space in one's world, aletheia and the truth of Being, and extensions and variations long internal time consciousness. Thirdly, the essential relationships within topoaletheia are studied. Fourthly, topoaletheia is compared with other concepts, and lastly, the different modes of appearance of topoaletheia are explored.

1. Experiencing of the phenomena of topoaletheia.

Following the steps of the phenomenological method in order to conceptualise topoaletheia results in two different tasks: (a) to realise and investigate certain particular phenomena, in order to (b) be able to define the concept of topoaletheia and analyse its essence. For the founder of phenomenology, Husserl, phenomena are defined as things as they appear in consciousness (1963, 1973). Subsequently, the task is to identify the *Parmenidian identity* of topoaletheia –i.e. that there is such a concept as topoaletheia that is equal to itself and different to any other concept. Therefore, in this chapter emphasis is given to differentiate what topoaletheia is (in case it indeed is something definable, limited and different to everything else) from what it is not. For such an analysis, I follow the steps of the phenomenological methodology.

The first step in the phenomenological method is to realise the particular phenomena one wants to deal with and –through investigation- to intuit them with no assumptions or preconceptions, and to analyse them consequently. But describing and analysing mere phenomena is obviously not enough: by carrying out this step, what one is trying to do is to identify specific instances of the phenomenon, with the hope that these instances, in time, will point toward more general qualities, patterns, structures and characteristics that accurately describe the essential nature of the phenomenon as it has presence and meaning in the concrete lives and experiences of human beings" (Seamon, 1979)[1].

Phenomenology studies "everyday life". Phenomenology is, simply put, a philosophy of experience[2], which helps us describe, analyse and compare phenomena of our everyday lives (Seamon, 2002a). The description and analysis of the phenomena of our everyday life must be carried out free of assumptions and presuppositions, circumventing the *taken-for-grantedness* of the natural attitude and bringing to the lifeworld a directed,

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[1] For a more detailed explanation on this topic, see Seamon (1979, 1982, and 2002a), and Burch (2002a ,2002b).

[2] "Phenomenology is the interpretative study of human experience. The aim is to examine and clarify human situations, events, meanings, and experiences as they spontaneously occur in the course of daily life" (von Eckartsberg, as quoted in Seamon, 2005).

sympathetic attention (Spiegelberg, 1982: 118-123). Phenomenology, tackling everyday life, can investigate phenomena that cannot be measured empirically, yet they do exist. For instance, issues such as "love" or "a bad day" (see an illustration of this in Collins, 2001). To overcome the appalling impoverishment of the range of things able to be studied, Husserl rescued everyday experience by developing phenomenology, a new, rigorous method of establishing knowledge: by describing and analysing the experience or awareness of things without reducing them to scientific data, but from understanding their *meaning*. For Husserl, a person's experience is an experience *of something*. Thus, by focusing his attention on the act of this experiencing of rather than on the thing being experienced or on the person who was having the experiencing, Husserl produced a new kind of knowledge.

Seamon (2002a) explains that in this first descriptive phase of the phenomenological method, it is crucial for the researcher to be open to the phenomenon and "to allow it to show itself in its fullness and complexity through her own direct involvement and understanding[3]". The study must involve the researcher's direct contact with the phenomenon. Thus, he predicates phenomenology as *radical empiricism*, as it focuses on the particular manner in which the connection person-world is to be studied.

The upshot of this is to justify my open, free and unprejudiced account of some personal experiences that started pointing me towards the existence of the phenomena that led me to the essence of topoaletheia. Whereas ethnography looks upon other people's experiences in a qualitative manner, phenomenology carries out qualitative research by dealing with one's own experience of the phenomena in one's consciousness. Thus, descriptions of personal experiences as such can be widely found in phenomenological papers as the starting point of an inquiry into some concept or essence

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[3] For Yi-Fu Tuan (1974: xii), unlike most of his peer geographers, the key words are not only "survival" and "adaptation", which suggest "a rather grim and puritanical attitude to life. People everywhere, I believe, also aspire toward contentment and joy.

aimed to be studied[4]. Thus, I describe my personal intuition of the phenomena I think can be called of topoaletheia.

1.1 **Intuiting the phenomena of topoaletheia.**

First of all, I must state that by studying the phenomena of topoaletheia I am actually tackling phenomena of satisfaction, of fulfilment, even of a sort of joy, experienced by me and, I supposed, by others in a wide array of situations with no apparent relations whatsoever. Since I was young I realised I felt a kind of feeling of fulfilment or satisfaction when in certain landscapes, which could be very different to one another, or experiencing very different spaces: E.g. perhaps when entering a Gothic cathedral, visiting the American Southwest, listening to some kind of music rhythms, in the middle of the skyscrapers of a polluted Chinese city, or at a vantage point from where to devise a vast dry desert valley. However surprising it was for me, I realised that the *feeling* –the experience of those phenomena- was very similar, no matter how different those situations were. More or less intense they might have been, but I realised it was the same experience, the same phenomena, in terms of their effect on my awareness.

A very basic example could be that of a man (as it has been my case so many times) standing on a beach: he stares at the horizon and nothing stands in the way of his sight (figure 4.1). He can see the horizon line, however far it may be, but nothing else beyond there, and he experiences a kind of dizziness or vertigo due to his not knowing whether in case he could be transported to that horizon line he would still stand or, conversely, he would fall down an abyss. Moreover, the sight of one ship that slowly reaches the horizon and, hence, fades away downward reinforces his vertigo, that *angst*. I agree that such an experience is far from "terrifying", as we all know what would actually happen if we were transported to that horizon -and the times when laypeople believed that ugly monsters inhabited the far-reached parts of the seven seas are long forgotten. Besides, he is there on the beach because he is enjoying his leisure time (i.e. in a good mood or state of mind).

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[4] See, for instance, Kim (2002) on the experience of nostalgia; Adnams (2002) on the experience of singing together in

But he is not experiencing the phenomena of topoaletheia either. He feels he is standing in the middle of a void, with an abyss (the horizon line) looming him. He feels somehow exposed, or threatened by this.
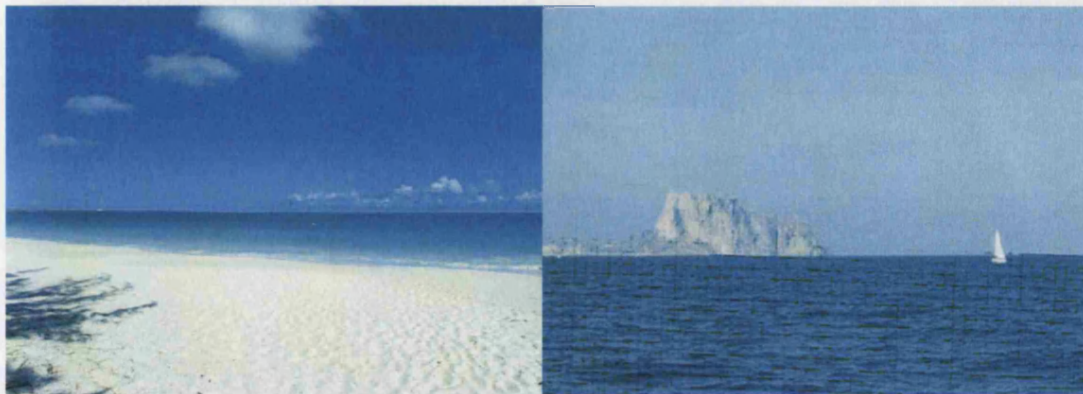
Figures 4.1 and 4.2: Beach without and with point of reference.

In contrast, he does experience phenomena of topoaletheia when he is on a second beach with other characteristics (figure 4.2). In this second beach he also looks at the horizon, but instead of devising a void (the horizon), he can see an island. That island, somehow (and as I explain later), encloses a big chunk of space, making him *become aware* of the volume stretching from his position to the horizon –i.e. to the island or point of reference. Instinctively, he regards his experience as somewhat more satisfactory. He is experiencing a phenomenon of topoaletheia[5].

Thus, it seems that a couple of first elements must be highlighted as playing part of the phenomena: SPACE and VOLUME. Another element my intuition invites me to mention is light, since the experiencing of a vast volume of space flooded with light has traditionally provided me with the experience of topoaletheia. However, it is not light per se what makes for this experience, but its relative importance, which makes for the possibility of awareness: awareness of VALUE in my consciousness. This way, at night I can experience topoaletheia, at least, as much as by day.

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mass; and Wu (2002) on being a foreigner.

[5] A similar phenomenon can be Toperienced by looking at the eroded mountains of Monument Valley, as pictured on Figure 4.3. In this example, those landmarks break the monotony of the vast plateau, which plays the part of the sea water in the example described within the text.
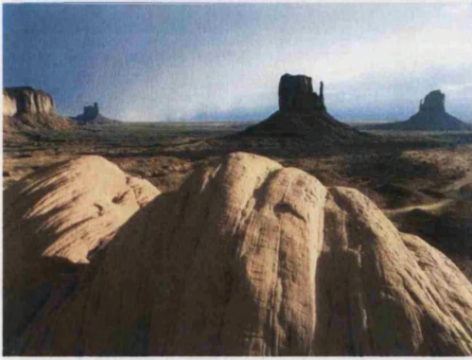
Figure 4.3. A view of Monument Valley, between Utah and Arizona.

Other situations I can mention wherein I became aware of this same fulfilment are, for instance, when I first visited some famous landmarks I had previously seen hundreds of times on TV and magazines. Moreover, I also experienced these phenomena whenever I went to the football stadium of my team –and not because of the teams or the game itself, but because of the effects in my awareness of being part of ninety thousand people confined in an expensively-floodlit huge volume of space and roaring as one.

The main problem I have always found when thinking of this fulfilling experience was being able to *name* it, to describe it in a word of few words. Thus, let me quote a paragraph in which Le Corbusier describes a sort of similar experience in his awareness when he was first confronted with a stimulus that –no matter how common it is for us nowadays, it was a new phenomenon for him: fast traffic.

> "On that first of October 1924, I was assisting in a titanic rebirth of a new phenomenon: traffic. Cars, cars, fast, fast! One is seized, filled with enthusiasm, with joy… they joy of power. The simple and naïve pleasure of being in the midst of power, of strength. One participates in it, one takes part in the society that is just dawning. One has confidence in this new society: it will find a magnificent expression of its power. One believes in it" (Le Corbusier, as quoted in Dear, 2000).

As might notice, it is interesting the way he defines that feeling of fulfilment as 'joy of power', 'enthusiasm' or 'naïve pleasure'. It somehow seems his awareness has been flooded with *energy*.

1.2 Analysing the phenomena of topoaletheia

At this stage I aim to analyse the phenomena in which topoaletheia appears in my consciousness, not topoaletheia itself. The PHENOMENA in question are the feelings of fulfilment and satisfaction experienced by an individual when one's awareness experiences an extension or variation along the manifestation of the *being of space* –

being the ESSENCE of topoaletheia such those variations or extensions of one's awareness themselves[6].

This step I do take of phenomena analysing is rarely distinguished from those of phenomena intuiting and describing (Spiegelberg, 1960). In this step, I must pay special attention to the elements and manifold structural similarities between different phenomena that I intuit to be stemmed out of the same concept. Only this way I will also be able to differentiate phenomena of topoaletheia from those other phenomena of other essences.

In order to undertake this task, I used five main categories of examples in which the phenomena of topoaletheia appeared in my consciousness: large enclosed spaces, landscapes and cityscapes, landmarks, public events and music. In each case, I wondered about the causes of their appearance as phenomena of topoaletheia, trying to analyse which elements are *necessary* (i.e. as contrary to *accidental*). Also, I wondered whether the same topoaletheia phenomena still occurred when retaining such condition in other situations. Those common elements that must be shared by those phenomena cannot be something intrinsic to them, as otherwise would be particular of each of them. Conversely, I found that those properties were something concealed, able to exist in every case while keeping away from been "seen" clearly at first sight.

a) From the case of LARGE ENCLOSED SPACES, I found that it was their ability to extend my awareness up to much bigger volumes of space than the ones experienced in my everyday life what made them provide me with the experience of topoaletheia. The more senses were involved in the perception of that space, the stronger the experience was. Also, I found that the representational characteristics of that space were important. Furthermore, I realised that enclosure was not the key, and I could experience topoaletheia in open spaces, as long as they counted with certain points of reference.

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[6] Being can be roughly defined as the primordial ground or existence from which everything else comes into existence.

b) From cases of LANDSCAPES and CITYSCAPES, I found that habituation to one city makes my experience of topoaletheia decrease in intensity. Also, it was very clear that the beauty of the place and the experience of topoaletheia had nothing to do.

c) Looking at LANDMARKS showed me that city pride, as well as the beauty of the landmark, its fame and its purpose were not the key. Conversely, it was the meaning that the landmark had for me what led to more intense experiences of topoaletheia.

d) PUBLIC EVENTS were powerful in providing me with topoaletheia, especially those in which the *atmosphere* of the event was vibrant –adding something to the volume of the space of the venue. The meaning of the event was also important, as it was my feeling of belongingness (or not) to that meaning.

e) Examples in MUSIC clearly showed me that too much exposure to the variations or extensions of the rhythm (i.e. habituation) eroded the experience of topoaletheia.

From this brief analysis of the phenomena of topoaletheia (and not of topoaletheia itself), I can draw up some preliminary conclusions towards the understanding of this concept:

a) There is indeed an essence of topoaletheia, which must have been kept unvaried in all those cases no matter how different they appear to be. Such an essence will be the focus of the second section of this chapter.

b) That essence must be studied in both the physical and the symbolic spaces of cities.

c) No matter how different the situations, they all seem to have in common a certain extension or variation of the awareness of space.

d) The meaning and value given by myself to places seem to be much more important than places' intrinsic values or their socially accepted "symbolic meaning".

e) Time is an important issue to bear in mind, since habituation diminishes the intensity of the experience of topoaletheia.

f) The apparent beauty of a place, even as subjectively appreciated by myself, has no

significance towards my experiencing of topoaletheia.

1.3 Phenomenological description of topoaletheia.

In this section I aim to describe the phenomena of topoaletheia, not its essence.

Description is a tricky part in the phenomenological process, as one must assume

nothing and, at the same time, one must "name" the phenomena.

> *"Phenomenology begins in silence. Only he who has experienced genuine perplexity and frustration in the face of the phenomena when trying to find the proper description for them knows what phenomenological seeing really means"* (Spiegelberg, 1960: 672).

Spiegelberg suggests that, firstly, an appropriate *genus* or *class* must be found for the

phenomena. In the case of topoaletheia, the phenomena will be dependent on other

factors, in the sense that it is always the fulfilment of something what provides them

(based on Spiegelberg, 1960: 674). Thus, I would affirm that the phenomena of

topoaletheia might be classified within the category of sensations of fulfilment or

satisfaction. Thus at this stage, I could describe a phenomenon of topoaletheia as that

experience of fulfilment (or satisfaction) enjoyed by an individual when one experiences

an extension or variation along time of the volume of the value of one's awareness of

space. As distinguished from its phenomena, the essence of topoaletheia would precisely

be those variations and extensions along time of one's awareness of space. Therefore, the

phenomena of topoaletheia can be experienced when an individual extends one's

awareness of space, regardless of what kind of space it is, and of which objective

characteristics it may have. More loosely, I can also describe the phenomena of

topoaletheia as a kind of joy, of pleasure, that I may experience when I feel that the space

that surrounds me seems to be both expanding and 'alive'[7].

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[7] By "expanding" I mean that the places that delimit it seem to be moving outwardly, making my awareness expand along them. In turn, by "alive" I mean that it is full of value: it is not dim, dark, hollow, but full of value, of things, *beings*, that I value. This expansion and "life" seem to fulfil me.

In order to relate this point to chapter three, I can say that (a) the expansion of the space that circumvents me, and therefore that I am aware of, is a kind of *knowledge*. Thus, the more space the man standing on the beach can perceive and embrace, the more space he *knows*. Also, (b) it seems that the 'life' that I can experience through those places that provide me with the experience of topoaletheia comes from a certain value that they already have for me.

Spiegelberg also suggests other different ways of carrying out the description of the phenomena, such as by metaphor and by analogy. Therefore, I will use the metaphor of light and the analogy of music-space.

1.3.1 APPROACHING THE DESCRIPTION OF TOPOALETHEIA BY METAPHOR.

Using the METAPHOR OF LIGHT, I could describe topoaletheia as the product of the awareness of multiplying the volume (of space) times its luminosity. Hence, the phenomenon of topoaletheia might be described as a satisfactory feeling experienced by an individual who becomes aware of a [big] volume of space filled with light. In the example of the man standing on a beach, the man will experience fulfilment as he is aware of as much light as possible filling in as much volume of space as he could perceive. Too much a volume of space, up to the point that one individual does not reach to perceive its edges, will result in the impossibility of measuring the product of the multiplying volume times light, and therefore the experience of topoaletheia will not be produced (it might actually lead to agoraphobia). It is interesting that, as I explained in chapter three, one of the meanings of the term "value" is luminosity. In fact, one could say that topoaletheia is experienced when an individual is in direct contact with a certain degree of value that fills the volume of space one perceives[8].

A last point worth mentioning is that, the value (i.e. the light) that fills a volume of space appears to have importance in relative terms, not in absolute. Thus, staring at a

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[8] Interestingly, light has always enjoyed a wide array of symbolism in the geography of sacred landscapes in different cultural backgrounds all over the world –see Weightman (1996).

starry sky at night in an open wide space can provide with one of the strongest experiences of topoaletheia. In that situation, the dim light projected by the stars to the landscape is very weak as compared to the sunlight in that same landscape during the day. However, the value (the light) that filled the volume and makes one experience topoaletheia is more or less valuable as related to something else: one's *expectation*, or one's habituation.

1.3.2 APPROACHING THE DESCRIPTION OF TOPOALETHEIA BY ANALOGY.

The other way of tackling the description of the phenomena that Spiegelberg suggests is resorting to an analogy. Hence, I am going to make the ANALOGY OF MUSIC in order to describe the phenomena of topoaletheia. In this sense, the phenomenon of topoaletheia would be described as the feeling of satisfaction, fulfilment or joy that an individual experiences similar to that pleasant feeling one experiences when one is involved within the melody of a music that seems to surround one. In the literature about music there are numerous examples that refer to music as being surrounding the listener (involving with him). In a phenomenological description, Wu (2002) describes the experience of listening to his old homeland's music by referring to this analogy:

> *"In the* [old homeland's] *music the walls that separated me from the outside world seemed to be crumbling, and gradually I emerged into the warmth of the surrounding.* [...] *The music made me feel full and stable. Then I realised what belonging means."*

In chapter three, I described Csikszentmihalyi's concept of 'flow' as those times in which action and awareness merge. These analogies are examples of such a merge. This occurs when music surrounds us, or when reading books whose stories drag us down so much that we get lost and time passes with us not having real consciousness of it (Adnams, 2002).

A type of musical piece through which individuals may find it easier to experiment topoaletheia (or rather *phonoaletheia*) are anthems. Cambridge Dictionary describes the property of being *anthemic* to those musics that have qualities such as a strong tune and seriousness. I would also suggest that anthems share the property of having sequences of

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longer tempos than other musical compositions. Their rhythms seem to open up and expand along time. There are many kinds of anthems, but they all share in common that they have special importance for a particular group of people, as they find it easier to *belong* (see Adnams, 2002).

1.3.3 SUMMARY OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PHENOMENA OF TOPOALETHEIA.

The phenomena of topoaletheia can be then described as joyful, pleasurable, feelings that one experiences when one becomes aware of the space that surrounds one and this seems to be both expanding and full of value. This becoming aware of an expanding space (i.e. one "knowing" more space) is a satisfier of the higher needs that I explain in the previous chapter. Thus, one feels fulfilled when his awareness expands, along the volume of space that one is becoming to 'know'.

But one fulfilment is not only due to the expansion of the volume of space, but the space must also be filled with value. In the optimum case that a huge space is filled with the highest value, one will thus be able to expand his awareness to the whole of the volume itself, feeling fulfilled and experiencing topoaletheia (as the cases of the man standing on the beach or the experience of singing along an anthem in a concert in a stadium). However, habituation decreases the intensity of the experience. Lastly, in order to be able to experience those 'expansions' of space, one needs to be able to perceive the limits of the volume of space that is filled in with value.

2. Investigating the essence of Topoaletheia.

Once I have described and analysed the phenomena of topoaletheia, the following step along the phenomenological methodology, as Spiegelberg (1960) suggests, is the *eidetic intuiting*, or the investigation of general essences. Basing on Heidegger, Burch (2002) defines essence as a fixed, universal, selfsame and univocal quality that informs the thing as such, at once the ground of its being and its being intelligible.

The way to apprehend those general essences previously intuited is through the phenomena they demonstrate. From these phenomena, particulars are distinguished from the essence, by realising what is accidental and what is essential in the way the phenomena may be experienced (based on Spiegelberg, 1960: 677). In time, specific instances of the phenomenon will point toward more general qualities and characteristics that accurately describe the essential nature of the phenomenon (Seamon, 1979).

ONE – WORKING DEFINITION.

In order to carry out the eidetic analysis, I shall assume a working definition for topoaletheia. Topoaletheia might be defined as:

> *"An individual's experience of an extension or variation along time of one's awareness of the manifestation of the being of space in one's world."*

As one may notice, this definition is different to that of the *phenomena* of topoaletheia, which are the experience of fulfilment or satisfaction susceptible to be experimented when an individual experiences topoaletheia.

TWO – MAIN ELEMENTS.

'Topoaletheia' is a neologism that I created from the Greek *topos*, space (or place); and *aletheia*, un-concealment (of truth). Therefore, space and un-concealment shall be the
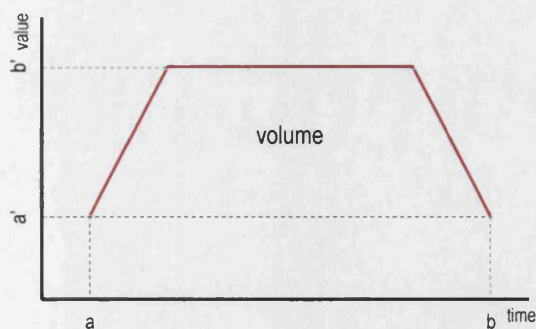
Figure 4.4: Basic diagram of value, volume and time.

two central elements of the essence of this term. Also, three elements seem to function as a 'proxy' to explore topoaletheia: value, volume and time.

Topoaletheia is given by the process of variations and extensions of value along time. Hence, I must figure out how that value is given and perceived (section 2.1), as well as what exactly I refer to as *time* (section 2.4). Volume, for its part, is the area formed between the higher and lower points of the value perceived along time, i.e. the scope opened up by the manifestation of value along time as perceived by the individual (see figure 4.4). One cannot perceive the volume at once, but only after a succession along time of variations and extensions of value. Besides, one only perceives the volume of the area between those higher and lower values perceived, not lower than those. In short, volume is a function of value and time.

Therefore, one of the key points to investigate is how value is given and perceived along time. In order to determine this, I must look upon a range of concepts: lifeworld, events, *noemata* and nothingness.

2.1 **The experience of awareness.**

Husserl (1973) distinguished between the "*natural attitude*", which is our straightforward involvement with things and the world; and the "*phenomenological attitude*", the reflective point of view from which we carry out philosophical analysis of the intentions exercised in the natural attitude and the objective correlates of these intentions (Sokolowsky, 2001). Typically, individuals do not make their experiences in the *lifeworld* an object of conscious awareness. Thus, the lifeworld is concealed as a phenomenon (Seamon, 2002b); it is taken for granted in an individual's everyday life. However, when we enter the phenomenological attitude, we put out of action or suspend all the intentions and convictions of the natural attitude; this obviously does not mean

that we doubt or negate them, only that we take a distance from them and contemplate their structure. Husserl calls this suspension the phenomenological *epoché* (Sokolowsky, 2001). I am going to analyse (from a phenomenological attitude) issues occurred while living in the natural attitude.

2.1.1 INTRODUCING EVENTS.

In trying to analyse all the elements of the definition of topoaletheia, I must focus on finding the true being of space, as well as how an individual can be aware of it. Wondering about the truth of Being leads me to the concept of 'event'. This is because, as I explain below, Being becomes knowable through the event. Therefore, focusing on events is the way to grasp Being.

2.1.2 NOTHINGNESS AND BEING.

If I want to stress the importance of events in our experience of awareness of Being, I must firstly illustrate what it would be like if there were no events –this is, without beings, which ultimately is *nothingness*. In order to do this, one could try to bracket out all beings. For Heidegger, *Being* (always capitalised) is the primordial condition or "ground" which allows everything else to come into existence. He called everything else *beings* (always with a small "b"). These [beings] are the entities that exist in the world. This can be better understood through a comparison of Being with light. Without light, human vision would be impossible. Light (analogy for Being) is a necessary condition for seeing things (i.e. beings). Therefore, one may assume that beings should not be taken for granted and they should be appreciated in their being, in their contingency (in their value as figures –see section 2.1.6), as only thus they can re-direct our attention towards Being. In turn, before an absolute absence of beings, we would presence Nothingness, which thus acts itself as the ground upon which all beings may become. Entities or beings become through the event, and hence their outmost importance towards the understanding of Being.

2.1.3 STIMULI.

From the initial, *resting* (or *ground*) scenario of nothingness, events in consciousness are formed. These can be caused by both external and internal stimuli, as well as by sheer mental activity, like thinking, imagining, remembering (see Casey, 1997, 2000, 2000b). Stimuli are basically anything effectively impinging upon any of the sensory or cognitive apparatuses. Once the stimulus is perceived and the information about it runs from the senses to the consciousness, it becomes an event; once it becomes a new input in consciousness, it makes a difference in the *resting* scenario in which consciousness was previously, and therefore, *awakens* it, making it aware of the newness that occurs.

2.1.4 EVENTS AND NOEMATA.

An event is usually defined as something that takes place; an occurrence and arbitrary point in time (Casati and Varzi, 2008). From the different possible meanings of 'events' that Simons (2005) describes, I take the one that means 'change' –a change over a substratum which exists throughout the change, from beginning to end, pre-existing and surviving it. However, here I am not interested in events in general, but in events in consciousness. These are called *noemata* by Husserl. *Noema* (plural: *noemata*) is the object of thought of the individual mind, and can be defined as non-sensuous data given to the cognitive faculty, which discloses their intelligible meaning as distinguished from their sensible apprehension. We hear a sentence spoke, but it becomes intelligible for us only when the sounds function as a foundation for noetic apprehension (Lombard, 2001). This means that noemata are actual information, as opposed to potential, indefinite information latent in the universal mind. The distinction between noemata and phenomena is right at the core of the origin of phenomenology, since Husserl aimed at isolating the objects and the acts of consciousness and bracket them out so that one could become aware of the remaining consciousness, thus until one reach pure consciousness (or what Husserl called "absolute Being").

It is very important to point out that the object in consciousness (the noema) need have no actual, real existence. Therefore, as a noema, "a fairy" has a similar status to "the Queen of England", since they lie in the same realm. This has a very important consequence for the phenomenologist: images, symbols, myths and fake representations of realities have similar status in an individual's mind to noemata formed from a real apprehension of the actual reality as it *is*.

Husserl, influenced by Brentano, also affirmed the 'intentionality' of all consciousness (i.e. its *referentiality*). This means that all consciousness is consciousness *of something*; all awareness is awareness of something (see Searle, 1983). Hence, no matter the ultimate object noemata may relate to, awareness is awareness of Being –for anything to be revealed, for it to be there, it must *be*.

2.1.5 THE VALUE OF NOEMATA.

In order to understand the formation of noemata in consciousness along time, which will allow the individual to be aware of the being of space, please see figure 4.5. In it, it is represented how the nothingness in consciousness is interrupted by a first event, a, which has a certain value, a'. After a certain time, a second event comes along, b, and so on until we have the four events represented in the figure. Events in consciousness are somehow connected by those imaginary lines I drew: this is due to the prevalence of the internal time consciousness. From the value of the events that the individual gets to know along time, one becomes aware of one's own consciousness –to some extent- hence the shaded area. This consciousness the individual becomes aware of is a sort of "buffer zone" of consciousness enveloping
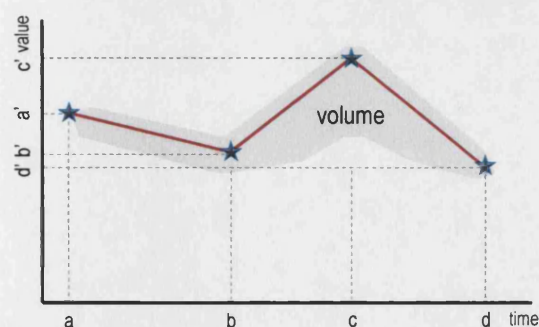
Figure 4.5: The value of noemata along time.

the event, resulting in what I am going to call volume henceforth.

In order to understand the value of events, I must make clear one distinction (as summarised in figure 4.6):

1) One thing is the VALUE that a specific EVENT will have in consciousness (i.e. the value of noemata –its ability to become a *figure* over the ground); and,

2) Another thing is the VALUE that the whole process of KNOWING BEING (through the disposition of noemata along time) will provide the individual with. This is the understanding of value as utility, as what is worth: what can satisfy a motivation and/or need, as dealt with in chapter three. I make some concluding comments on the ability of topoaletheia to provide with this kind of value at the end of this chapter.
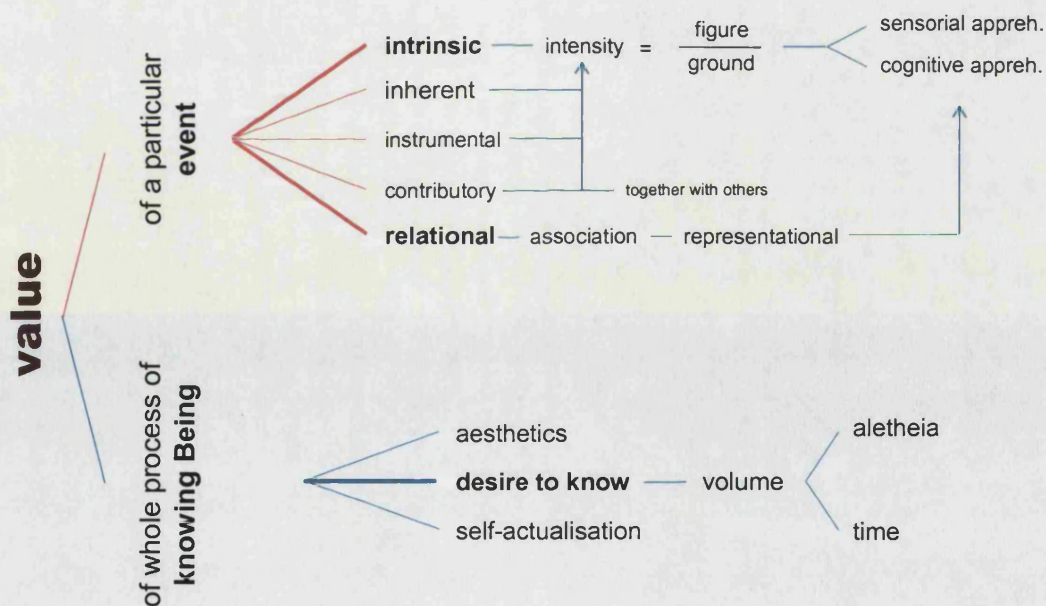
Figure 6: Value of particular events and value of the experience of knowing Being.

2.1.6 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FIGURE AND GROUND.

Central to the awareness of events and noemata is the phenomenological distinction between figure and ground. This distinction lies in the discrimination of an object or figure from the context or background against which it is set (Richardson, 2001). 'Figure' is that feature of the field of perception on which one focuses one's attention (i.e. what

one becomes aware of). 'Ground' is the back drop or foreground to 'figure'[9]. The value of a figure will thus be determined by its ability to stand out of the ground –e.g. by means of
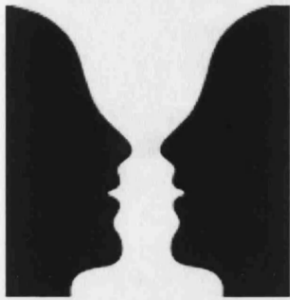
Figure 4.7: Figure – Ground ambigram by Edgar Rubin, 1921.

colour contrast, intensity of sound, etc. The key point here is that nothing is inherently either figure or ground, as one can realise by looking at figure 4.7.

As Tuan (1974) stresses, individual perceptions of stimuli do not work alone when it comes to provide the individual with information from the environment. Perceptions must be regarded alongside one's physical characteristics, attitudes and shared values (figure 4.8). Both one's body -as a natural organism- and society provide the individual with a ground on which to stand when looking at the world. Similarly, Relph stressed that one's perception of a city does not become imprint on a *tabula rasa*. Previous perceptions and ideas also pay an important part in one's posing value on the beings one encounters.
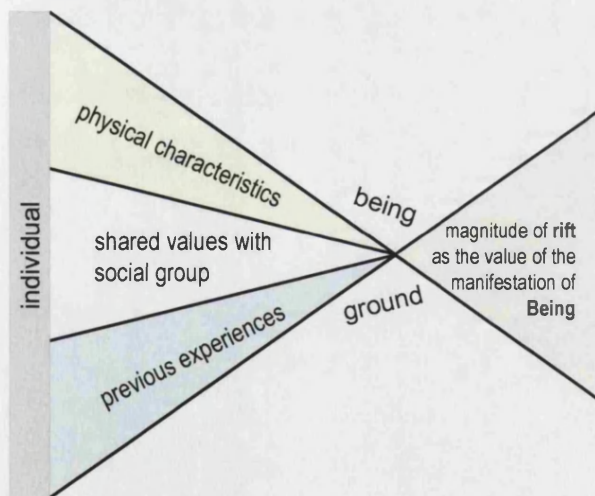
Figure 4.8: The value of the manifestation of Being as the result of the rift created by the interaction of the individual with the entity.

The upshot of this is that value is not only inherent to the object of perception. Conversely, also social characteristics (or apprehended behaviours) affect one's perception of the value of a being as manifestation of Being. People from different ideology, or race, or background will indeed perceive the same 'reality' in different ways, but the STRUCTURE of their awareness of that reality will be the same. That structure is what I am trying to find out with this phenomenological investigation.

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[9] The audial version of the figure-ground phenomenon is often called the "cocktail party effect" (see Arons, 1992).

2.2 **The space in one's world.**

Following the working definition of topoaletheia, I need to explain how I understand the term 'space'. For this purpose, I follow Heidegger's thinking, and hence I must also explain what "one's world" means for Heidegger. It is precisely the experience of an extension or variation of the awareness of the being of this space –the space in one's world- what seems to provide with topoaletheia. What is the difference that "one's world" makes? In order to explain this point, I must refer to Heidegger's conception of an individual as Dasein[10], i.e. as being-in-the-world, as well as to his understanding of space.

Heidegger's conception of space represents a big break with the Cartesian tradition. In that tradition, space is a pure extension of linear directions along x and y axes, able to be measured and calculated in "objective" terms (i.e. magnitudes knowable by, common to, all people). Substances are thus extensions within that pure extension of space. This explanation is due to the Cartesian distinction between *res extensa* and *res cogitans*, in which the object is taken to be something external to the mind of the knowing subject[11].

Contrarily, Heidegger stresses that being and world are inextricably together and hence the human being is already in the world[12]. No one can detach one from the world. The "in-ness" of the individual in the world means that one is bound up in relations of practical concern, in which the individual's states of mind will modify one's stance to one's world (unlike in Cartesian space, whereby one's mind was separated from –an objectified- space). For Heidegger, these relations of practical concern are determined by one's *understanding*, states of mind and being-with-others:

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[10] The German term 'Dasein' literally means "being there", from *Da* (there) and *Sein* (being). It is the term Heidegger used for denoting an individual in all its ways of being (Inwood, 1999). This means that the individual is more than their biological features: their relationships with the surroundings that surround them must also be taken into account. It is the whole of both, the human being and the relationship with other elements –including with other people- that surround one what constitutes Dasein.

[11] Some authors who have called into question the usefulness of the Cartesian conception of space are, among others, Relph, 1976; Gregory, 1978; Gregory and Urry, 1985; Soja, 1989; Miller and Tilley, 1984; Shanks and Tilley, 1987; and Tilley, 1994.

[12] One's world is given by relationships of concern. In Heideggerian thought, an important distinction is made between an individual, understood let us say as an isolated human entity or being, and a person –a Dasein, implying that one is understood as a human entity in the world (Being-in-the-world, with hyphens, emphasising the non-distance existing between that human being "entity" and its world). See Seamon, 2002a, 2002b.

a) *UNDERSTANDING*, explained as the "awareness of entities". This awareness is reached via the interaction with, the practical use or handling of, entities.

Regarding the entities with which Dasein may have relationships of concern, Heidegger makes a distinction between the READY-TO-HAND and the PRESENT-AT-HAND. Things that are ready-to-hand are available for practical use; they are instrumental, utilitarian. However, Dasein understands these things within a network of other entities, of other materials. And it is in that network that ready-to-hand things are understood to have their existence. Secondly, present-at-hand is entered only when people detach themselves from an ongoing practical involvement in a project at hand.

> "['The world'] *as a phenomenon means to let us see what shows itself in 'entities' within the world*" Heidegger (*Being and Time*, §14).

In the case of topoaletheia, and following the example of the beach with the island in the horizon line, this shows us that the island (used as a ready-to-hand *tool* that provides us with a point of reference) is not what shows us Being, but a mere utensil that helps the being of space come to the fore and unconceal itself, including the present-at-hand aspects of its being (see section 2.3 below).

b) STATES OF MIND, emotions, moods, or dispositions, affect one's relationship with the entities which, in turn, constitute the world. Inwood (1999: 247) points out that in certain moods (e.g. anxiety) everyday things lose their significance, as everyday familiarity collapse.

c) BEING-WITH-OTHERS. This refers to the relation between Dasein and "the One", the mass, the "They". There is a struggle between Dasein's individuality and the "dictatorship of the Others".

One upshot of these three points is that, obviously, according to Heidegger's view, there is no one world –i.e. a world that is common and "objective" (i.e. knowable the same by anyone). Rather, each individual will live in one's world, as one will hold different relationships of concern to the entities and people surrounding one. Likewise, one's world will be one's and only one's, as no other entity or human being will share

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exactly the same relationships of concern. A consequence of this is that one's world becomes 'de-geometricised', as practical concern comes before geometrical space: e.g. a caller on a telephone is nearer than a person in the next room, if our attention (our concern, our understanding, our disposition as Dasein) is with the call and not the neighbour. Another obvious example could be a place (e.g. a hotel) where newly-wedded couples spend their honeymoon. In Cartesian 'geometricised' space, the location of the hotel staff and the lodgers is the same. But, is that place the same (i.e. does it have the same *meaning*) for the reception man and for the newly-wed couple? Obviously not. In short, relations of concern can make space stretch or contract and, thus, mathematically calculable space is annulled.

2.2.1 HEIDEGGER'S CONCEPTION OF SPACE

> *"Unless we go back to the world, space cannot be conceived [...] Spatiality is not discoverable at all except on the basis of the world".*
> (Heidegger, BT §24)

Already having explained what "one's world" means, now I move on to explain how space is conceived in it, in order to understand how extensions and variations of that space are possible. For the explanation of how space is conceived in one's world, I shall refer again to Heidegger, and very specially to his magnum opus: *Being and Time* (BT). In order to understand Heidegger's spatiality, one must first refer to other concepts, such as place, region and 'room'.

PLACE is for Heidegger the very scene for Being's disclosure due to its features of gathering and nearness. Place figures as the setting for the postmetaphysical event of "Appropriation" (*Ereignis*), where truth is un-concealed (Casey 1997: 244). This is because place is part of the system of practical engagements, the relations of concern which I aforementioned. Place is where the *event* of awareness (or understanding) really takes *place*. Hence, place becomes apprehended by the Dasein by one's own practical relations with the ready-to-hand. Relations of concern with ready-to-hand beings are crucial then in putting Dasein *in place*. And place in turn becomes "indispensable as the

basis for the locatedness of the ready-to-hand" (Casey, 1997: 248). This is as ready-to-hand things do not truly *belong somewhere* until they have undergone the "implacement" that an individual Dasein's directionality and de-severance (removal-of-distance) bring with them: places are essentially places for such things (Casey, 1997: 251). This is rather different to the infinite Cartesian conception of the world.

Places and regions must always be thought of together, in Heidegger's thought. "With anything encountered as ready-to-hand there is always an involvement in a REGION (see BT, §24). Places are thus indispensable to being-in-the-world as the foci of appearance for regions, which present themselves 'in individual places'. In this capacity, places become 'indicators' of regions even as they are eclipsed by them (Casey, 1997: 251). However, understanding region as simply 'space' itself is a big (though common) mistake. Even in the scenario when one *understands* (i.e. is aware of) the [ready-to-hand] components of a region, that does not mean one has un-concealed space (i.e. its dimensionality), as this is still veiled in the spatiality of the ready-to-hand[13].

Nothing ready-to-hand has a place beforehand the relation of concern with the Dasein –i.e. the event by virtue of which one becomes aware of something. The sheer 'placiality' of those things depends upon that relation. How is, then, the relation between the concepts of place and region to space?

> "Place – that is, with things-as-locations – [...] contains space in potentia. There is no return to place from space, but from place space is (eventually) generated. It is a one-way street" (Casey, 1997: 275).

SPACE actually emerges from the complicated composition of places and regions. Nevertheless, the being of space is still concealed ("the bare space itself is still veiled over" BT, §24) for, according to Heidegger, space has been split up into places. However, space does not derive directly from place, as "particular places (and there are only particular places) obscure space: they are too condensed and focused, and have too little *aroundness* or range, to embrace space" (Casey, 1997: 252). "But this spatiality has its

own unity through that totality-of-involvements in-accordance-with-the-world which belongs to the spatially ready-to-hand" (BT, §24). Therefore, in order for Dasein to ever quest space itself, one will not be able to investigate it outside its involvement with the world.
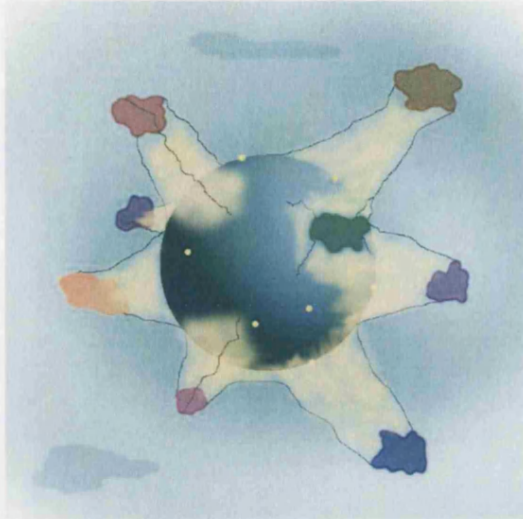
Figure 4.9: A possible representation of Heidegger's spatiality:

- Cloud-shaped environment – context of the presence-at-hand.
- Sphere – individual in one's interconnections to one's World (i.e. Dasein).
- Colour stains – nuclear undividable places of the ready-to-hand beings.
- Areas delimited by the lines that lie between the places (the colour stains) and the individual (the sphere) – regions.
- Peach-colour shaded areas – space, given by room.
- Yellow dots on the sphere – body's *places*.

Casey explains that for Heidegger, space is "in essence that for which room has been made". But this does not mean that the room is the space, but conversely that space can only be achieved by the room made within beings (1997: 274). In other words, space is in the world, and not vice versa (against Cartesianism). Moreover, space is not in the subject (against Kantianism) for this subject is not mental (and thus worldless) but *spatial* (hence in-the-world). Space is 'in' the world, and, furthermore, it can be disclosed: it does not belong to any ideal world self-indulgently created by metaphysicians (against Platonism), but it belongs to our world, and therefore we have the ability to unconceal it.

2.3 Aletheia and the truth of Being.

The definition of topoaletheia established that it is the individual's experience of an extension or variation along time of one's awareness of the value of the manifestation of the being of space in one's world. Hence, and having already dealt with what "space in

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[13] For unveiling the truth of that space that one cannot simply grasp by referring to the (ready-to-hand) components of the regions one understands, we also need to take a step further: the un-concealment of the true being of such space.

one's world" is, what is that "manifestation of the being of space"? In order to answer this question, I will first describe what Being is for Heidegger, and thereafter explain aletheia.

2.3.1 WHAT IS BEING?

> *"A way can be a guide, but not a fixed path;*
> *names can be given, but not permanent labels.*
> *Always passionless, thereby observe the subtle;*
> *ever intent, thereby observe the apparent."*
> Lao Tse, Tao Te Ching §1 (Cleary, 1991: 9).

Heidegger's original contribution to philosophy revolves around his questioning of Being. He distinguishes between Being, with capital 'b', and beings, with small 'b', or entities. Being (German: *das Sein*) is the condition of the possibility of our apprehension of beings (*Seiende*). Being is thus the "ground" in which everything else comes into existence, whereas beings are entities that do exist (Young, 2002: 15).

Heidegger thought that the entire Western philosophical tradition had forgotten about Being to concentrate solely on beings. But precisely his distinction between Being and beings posed a problem when it comes to define Being: defining Being would mean to reduce Being to a being (i.e. the signified being expressed in the definition). In order to overcome this problem, he wonders about the truth of Being.

"A being is. Being becomes" (Heidegger, 2003: §74).

Beings themselves come-to-presence only in and through this 'coming-over' and un-concealing process by Being. The 'coming-over' of Being into beings is, hence, an 'arrival' of beings, as it is also the concealment of Being. Therefore, the un-concealment of beings (German: *un-verborgenheit*) –through Being- results in the concealment of Being (George, 2000: 23). An upshot of this is the necessity to bear in mind that Being is concealed, by which I mean two things: a) Being exists, it can be apprehended; and b) it is concealed, it can only be apprehended by being attentive to the possibilities of its un-concealment.

And we do that via aletheia (section 2.3 of this chapter).

2.3.2 HOW DOES BEING BECOME MANIFESTED?

Being is always the being of beings –Being 'is' in beings- and therefore it will have to be through beings that one reaches to know Being. Every being must be understood in relation to Being. In figure 4.10 I have put in relation beings (at the bottom row) and Being (at the top). The value of particular events –beings- comes from their ability of standing our as figures over the ground (see section 2.1.6 above). The being of that particular event will become present to the individual, allowing him to know Being. While beings are 'ontic', being, i.e. presence, as not a being but rather, in a yet-to-be-explored sense, the underlying 'ground' of beings, is 'ontological' (Young, 2002: 10-11). Thus, the (ontic) awareness of beings leads to the (ontological) awareness of awareness, from which absolute knowledge (or Husserl's "pure consciousness") is achievable.
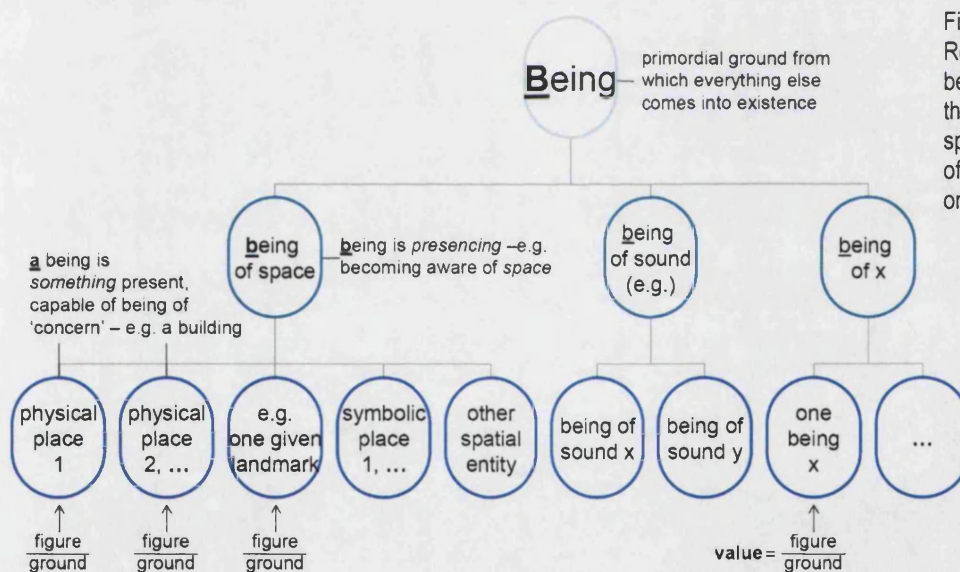
Figure 4.10. Relationship between Being, the being of space and beings of space (based on Young, 2002).

Being manifests itself as a continuous process of presencing and absencing, revealing and concealing, giving and withdrawing.

Let me develop three points I have somehow come across in this explanation of the "presencing" and "absenting" of Being:

a) Being becomes being only through the concealing un-concealment that happens in the event (Heidegger, 2003: §30). This un-concealment is at the same time concealment, as it blocks out all the other possibilities of Being to become.

b) The manifestation of Being has SPATIOTEMPORAL ASPECTS, up to the point that history is "nothing else but the giving of Being in its time-space unity. Being's advent is temporal, and therefore I consider this to be the reason why habituation hindrances the capacity of fulfilment of human beings.

c) Being becomes manifested solely to the DASEIN. Being belongs to Dasein in that only one individual can provide "a place" for Being to become present –i.e. for its revealing in a spatiotemporal manifestation. This is as only an individual, in one's developed consciousness, can become aware of Being through beings. Dasein is understood as the place that Being requires in order to disclose itself (i.e. in virtue of one's relationship of concern within-the-world). Dasein is the place of openness, the "there". Heidegger uses metaphors of light: "clearing" in the sense of clarifying, bringing out of shadow or obscurity, lighting-up, illuminating. The 'clearing' posed by Dasein is thus through what entities in the world can reveal themselves (can 'stand forth'). The clearing is more like an infinitely complex space of possibilities for things and people to be in. In it, some beings appear. But also, some do not appear. And if we neglect this not appearing, then in Heidegger's view we cannot understand the most fundamental events of Being.

2.3.3 ALETHEIA AS UN-CONCEALMENT OF BEING.

Heidegger neglected the possibility of defining Being, as it would reduce Being to beings. In turn, he speaks of the truth of Being. How can one know the truth of Being? In order to answer this, I must mention the two roads that, according to him, lead towards truth: *adequatio* and aletheia.

ADEQUATIO, or correspondence, is related to correctness. Heidegger understands correspondence as the condition of a proposition that is correct insofar as it is successfully directed toward the world –i.e. the statement or judgement matches its object, it is right, or "true" (Dreyfus and Wrathall, 2006). In order for a proposition to be true, there must have been a previous agreement regarding the object susceptibility of

being named by a proposition as such. In other words, social agreement on meaning

creates the possibilities whereby any proposition may be considered true or false. But:

> "Is [the beauty of a flower] agreeable? –somebody asked. Neither
> agreeable nor disagreeable, I answered. It just is'. Istigkeit –wasn't that
> the word Meister Eckhart liked to use? 'Is-ness.' The Being of Platonic
> philosophy – except that Plato seems to have made the enormous, the
> grotesque mistake of separating Being from becoming, and identifying it
> with the mathematical abstraction of the Idea" (A. Huxley, 1994: 7).

Thus, in order to refer to this kind of truth that 'is' beyond any necessity of agreement,

Heidegger used the term aletheia. ALETHEIA was the ancient Greek word for "truth" and,

according to Heidegger, it also meant unconcealment[14]. Therefore, he asserts, when the

Greeks thought of truth, they thought of unveiling, revealing, uncovering, or disclosing.

Truth in this sense means "bringing things out of concealment" (a very different meaning

to matching up statements with objects). Heidegger does not deny that truth is

correspondence. His point is, rather, that beings cannot be encountered or experienced,

and therefore Being cannot be known by them, unless they are unconcealed (disclosed,

unveiled): thus, statements and their objects (which are beings), cannot be "matched up"

unless they are first disclosed as beings. This shows how aletheia, then, must come before

adequatio, being the "first truth", the primordial condition of truth. It is truth as the most

fundamental "coming into being" of beings (Young, 2002; Dreyfus and Wrathall, 2006).

It is Dasein who unconceals the truth of beings. And one does so as much by moods as

by understanding (Inwood, 1999: 13), which leads to two persons possibly unconcealing a

different aspect of Being through the same being they both are presencing at the same

time.

> "When everyone knows beauty is beauty, this is bad. When
> everyone knows good is good, this is not good. So being and non-being
> produce each other: difficulty and ease complement each other; long and
> short shape each other; high and low contrast with each other; voice and
> echoes conform to each other; before and after go along with each other"
> Lao Tse, Tao Te Ching §2 (Cleary, 1991: 9).

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[14] In classical Greek, Lethe literally means "forgetfulness" or "concealment." The Greek word for "truth" is a-lethe-ia, meaning "un-forgetfulness" or "un-concealment." In order to make reading easier, I write "unconcealment", without the hyphen, from now on.

UNCONCEALMENT THAT CONCEALS.

> *"Pure light is all colours. Therefore, it has no hue. Only when singleness is scattered does colour appear"* (Taoist proverb).

Aletheia, understood as unconcealment, has an opposite: concealment –or 'hiddenness.' Beings that are concealed are not disclosed. And yet it is unconcealment that produces this concealment, in the sense that other ways of being were possible in the "field of relatedness", but that particular disclosure, that event, blocked them out – concealed them. Heidegger uses the example of a radio: in tuning to one wavelength, one blocks out all the others. Hence, they cannot be received at the same time, though they remain as unheard possibilities. Disclosing a being in one way covers its other possibilities. Every unconcealment conceals. However, it is important to mention that one is aware of [a number] of other wavelengths one could have chosen but one opted not to –i.e. one can become aware of all the other possibilities of Being, becoming in other forms, in other beings. Both concealment and unconcealment are not two separate things, but the becoming of the same issue, truth itself (Heidegger, 2003: §349). To think of beings as a whole, is to think of concealment and absence. This absence 'is', and is a part of the world.

THE ROLE OF ABSENCES

> *"When the potter's wheel makes a pot, the use of the pot is precisely where there is nothing. When you open doors and windows for a room, it is where there is nothing that they are useful for the room. Therefore being is for benefit, non-being is for usefulness."* Lao Tse, Tao Te Ching §11 (Cleary, 1991: 14).

As I mentioned earlier on, it is not possible to have all beings disclosed at once, due to the concealment they bring along. Therefore, to think of beings as a whole, is to think of concealment and absence. Absence 'is', and is a part of the universe. The universe is, then, like a field of flickering illumination and darkening, rather than one of stable presences. For Heidegger, that is the truth of being: the play of the veiling-unveiling of beings. Lacan said (as quoted in Collins, 2001):

> *"In Heidegger's word aletheia, truth teaches her lovers her secret:*
> *that it is in hiding she offers herself the most truly"*

Particular disclosures, happening in the particular ways they occur, block out the other possibilities within the "field of relatedness." But, can we ever know about those conceal beings, despite being unconcealing some others? In my opinion, an individual is able to know those other possibilities, but only by indirection, not by direct contact.

By direct contact, one presences the beings one is unconcealing, but concealed beings can be known too –by indirection- in the sense that, by presencing the disclosed beings, one can gain awareness of the possibilities in between those disclosed possibilities. In the example of a radio: if one tunes in to frequency 100.5 (i.e. thus disclosing that particular wavelength) and afterwards changes to 103.2 (i.e. disclosing this one too), one may be aware of frequencies in between, say 101.0, 102.5 and so on in spite of remaining concealed all along. This does not mean one 'knows' them, of course, as one has not (yet) unconceal them and listen to them, but one is aware of their existence (i.e. Being).

Importantly, I believe that this indirect way of awareness has the same ability to produce value towards knowing Being as that of the actual unconcealed beings. However, since one does not 'know' them, one cannot perceive their specific value –independently from the process formed by the values of the two events that are actually disclosed.

2.3.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR SPACE: TOPOALETHEIA.

> *"The inner becomes walled-up by the outer"*
> (Kandinsksy, 1979: 25).

> *"What is essential is invisible to the eye"*
> (A.S.Exupery, *The Little Prince*).

In order to move from aletheia to *topoaletheia*, I must look at how this may be related to space. In order to do so, I can substitute the term 'events' –as I was mentioning it when explaining aletheia (i.e. the disclosed beings)- for that of 'places'. Doing so results in an understating of how places (the place-event) will unconceal the volume (i.e. the space contained *in potentia* within the region) of the concealed beings that are circumvented by the disclosed entities.

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Actually, Heidegger already left many clues to discover the process of experiencing topoaletheia. He argued that "space unfolds only from the free reign enjoyed by the places of a region" (as quoted in Casey, 1997: 283), in which places are disclosed by events and form a nuclear unity that cannot be split up into smaller bits, and regions are formed as the *field of relatedness* of places.

Regarding absences, Heidegger pointed out how one misses an absent ready-to-hand thing that one was previously used to having at hand. Something missing shows us its absence in the sense that one is still aware of the place that item occupied and, hence, with its absence, one is able to be aware of the *place of absence*. Such place of absence was concealed to one's consciousness while the thing was in place, but it is its absence (i.e. the concealment of the thing) what unconceals the Being of its space.

As I suggested earlier on, the values of concealed space will thus be a fundamental part of the volume of Being of space made manifested to the individual. Hence, following the definition of topoaletheia, variations and extensions of the manifestation of Being of space must take into account the space that remains concealed in between the disclosed space. In conclusion, the bigger the VOLUME of space comprised in the concealing unconcealment, the more topoaletheia an individual will experience.

How could one possibly pursue the awareness of the being of space in a conscious effort? In order to do so, and following earlier Heidegger's writings, one needs an element to be based upon: limits. A limit is "what first makes a being into a being as differentiated from a non-being. Limit and end are that wherewith a being begins to be" (Heidegger in *Ding und Raum*, as quoted in Casey 1997: 262).

To illustrate this point, let me refer to figure 4.11, which shows the work "Surroundings surrounded" set up by Eliasson in the Tate Modern in 2003. Eliasson utilised different elements in order to unconceal the being of space: elements that constituted the 'surroundings'. To begin with, he made use of the clear limits that surrounded the space of the visitors. These limits were the high ceiling and walls of the

Turbine Hall at the Tate Modern. Besides, he expanded those limits by putting a mirror on the ceiling and, thus, multiplying the perceived VOLUME of the space. "Space is in essence that for which room has been made, that which is let into its bounds" (Heidegger as quoted in Casey, 1997: 281). Eliason made room for our unconcealment of that space making use of those limits. But he did not stop here. There are three more elements that reinforced the manifestation of the being of space inside the Turbine Hall: smoke, light and sound.

Firstly, the whole of the Turbine Hall was filled up by a slight SMOKE, which could be easily perceived by visitors without hindrance of their ability to perceive the limits of the Hall. This us created a sense of 'stuffing' –i.e. of a sort of 'agglomeration' within the space. Agglomeration presents inner places within the limits, hence disclosing regions within the overall region and, thus, fostering the manifestation of the being of space. This means, as well as the making use of the big volume of unconcealed space of the whole Turbine Hall, smoke made the observer realise of the space within those walls –not as a vast, immeasurable space, but as the addition of infinite smaller spaces (i.e. those spaces lying in between the individual and the smoke as it was perceived, and to the next particle of smoke one became aware of, and to the next one, and so on). These smaller spaces are easier to grasp, i.e. their being is easier to presence, as compared to the much bigger space of the whole Hall, and therefore, they help one become aware of the being of space, hence fostering the experience of

Figure 4.11: "Surroundings surrounded", performance at the Tate Modern, by Olafur Eliasson.

topoaletheia. Moreover, smoke, at the same time as splitting the whole of the space into infinite parts, also seemed to create a whole unity of space from floor to ceiling, This means, the smoke filling the 'void' created a continuity of nearness in the whole of the space, hence disclosing the 'truth of the space' of the hall as a jug that becomes disclosed by being filled up. Hence, visitors could feel themselves part of that space, and not just semi-external observers within four walls. Visitors could experienced topoaletheia by being part of the continuity of space, as this was not just represented, but also materialised by a material continuity: smoke. In short, the manifestation of the being of space resulted to be a function of agglomeration multiplied by the total volume of the space unconcealed.

Secondly, there was also a big sun-shaped lamp that filled the hall with LIGHT. The light reinforced the nearness of the smoke –by making the smoke particles visible- as well as the limits (the walls) of the Hall. This was so by highlighting the contrasts of the rough surfaces by the double game it created of brightness and shadows.

Thirdly, there was a constant low-pitched SOUND, which reinforced the manifestation of Being by letting the visitor become aware of the space of the hall by the resonance of that sound within its walls and, hence, by receiving sensorial information of such space by a second sense, which multiplies the awareness (as compared to receiving information just by one sense).

UNCONCEALMENT THAT CONCEALS: REVISITING THE EXAMPLE OF THE BEACH.

There are two actions which seem contradictory, but they are not: on the one hand, unconcealment conceals, as it blocks out the other possibilities; on the other, by disclosing those beings one is *presencing*, one also becomes aware of the beings one is not disclosing, those that are kept concealed still. Applying this to space, I can say that by unconcealing the space I disclose, I also become aware of the space that keeps concealed. How can this occur? This happens since, by disclosing that *place* that I unconceal, I am actually opening a region of space, between myself (my mind) and the *place* that occupies

that thing which I have just disclosed. And therefore, I become aware of the SPACE IN BETWEEN –i.e. by getting to know what becomes unconcealed, I also become aware of that which remains concealed.

Let me illustrate this point with the example I aforementioned of the person on a beach staring at the horizon, where –in a first scenario- they can see nothing in the horizon line and –in a second scenario- there lays an island. In the first scenario, the person staring at the horizon, not finding anything that delimits the space, does not presence the being of the space that surrounds them. Contrarily, in the second scenario there is a small island laying in the horizon line. The sight of it acts as an event that *places* an object (i.e. the island), unconcealing its being, and hence allowing the person to establish a region between that place, that being, and themselves. In turn, such establishment of the region allows the person to become aware of the space in between that island and themselves. They do not 'know' the space between the island and themselves, as they do not count with other intermediate stimuli that may disclose such space. But that person is aware that such space exists; they are aware that that space 'is', that it is a being, and therefore, that there is Being manifesting. How does this individual know that that space 'is', that it is a being? In my opinion, this occurs as one becomes (unconsciously) aware of the potential number of islands (similar to that on the horizon) that could lie in between that island in the horizon and oneself.

THE CASE OF IMAGES.

I affirmed that the unconcealment that conceals means that, getting to know what becomes unconcealed, these disclosures block the other possibilities, and yet however, one –by indirection– can also become aware of that which remains concealed. I believe this also applies to the case of images. One presences the image of one thing (e.g. one city) in a certain way, concealing all the rest of possibilities within that "field of relatedness" that is the presencing –the same way that choosing one radio wavelength blocks out all the others. Hence, images cannot be received at the same time, though they

remain as unperceived possibilities. And yet, however, one may be aware of their existence (their being) by indirection.

2.3.5 THE JOY OF ALETHEIA.

According to Heidegger, the experience of aletheia provides the individual with joy. "Being communicates joyousness and light. With its splendour, Being lights up the disposition of men so that they may open themselves to all that is noble and benign in life" (George, 2000: 25-29). Why is this? Let me explain it in relation to the arguments on human fulfilment that I developed in chapter three.

Following Maslow's theory of human motivation and needs, I argued that the experience of Being would rank right at the top of his popular pyramid, as it accounts for the ultimate satisfaction of the need to know and understand as well as that of self-actualisation, leading to the ultimate fulfilment. This is because by 'knowing Being', one enhances one's awareness of one's world –a world that, as I explained above, is made by one's relationship with one's ready-to-hand beings. Therefore, the experience of Being makes one become more aware of one's world by indirection: by making beings appear in one's consciousness clearly –and not in the blurry states of unconscious circumvention. This coming to the fore of beings in one's consciousness makes the individual be able to expand their awareness along their relationship with those beings, hence 'knowing' those beings and their meaning –their meaning in relation to one. The more one can expand one's awareness this way –or put it other way: the more world one can grab with one's consciousness-, the more one knows and understands, which is one of Maslow's top motivations and needs.

In the case that one could become aware of ever more relationships between oneself and beings, so that one could expand one's relationships of concern to all beings, hence making all beings become part of one's world, that individual would be in direct awareness of Being. This is traditionally called a "MYSTIC EXPERIENCE". In this kind of experience, one is aware of the interconnectedness and meaning of the whole of reality.

For Heidegger, it is THE INDIVIDUAL who alone can respond to the greeting of Being, coming "first and therefore alone"; and one can only tell others afterwards. It is in the individual sphere where a man can fulfilled in the highest sense. Above Inglehart and Klingemann's (2000) threshold (see page 81), the central needs of Maslow's pyramid (need of love, of reputation, etc.) are social; and only the highest needs (to know and understand, to self-actualise) are individual. Indeed, the joy of aletheia is a lonely one. But this in no way means it is less of a joy. The experience of fulfilment by the presence of Being is beyond those able to be experienced by the usage of beings as imposed by the others (i.e. following 'the One' and, hence, living an 'inauthentic' life).

George (2000) affirms that one must "wait passively for the moment in which Being reveals itself." I strongly disagree with that comment, since I think that one can actively go for that experience, by for instance placing oneself in situations in which the concealed may be unconcealed in ways one had not previously learned. Aletheia is a rather special joy, which is able to fulfil one in attaining one's highest needs, but it also comes with opportunity costs: the fulfilment of middle rank needs –e.g. while one is contemplating, one is not doing.

2.4 Extensions and variations along internal time consciousness.

The definition of topoaletheia that I put states that it is "the extensions or variations along time" of the manifestation of the being of space what provides with the experience of topoaletheia, and not a potential complete "fullness" of the manifestation of the being of space. Thus, in a scenario in which the highest possible value were to be filling up a vast volume would lead to habituation and, hence, to no further unconcealment after a certain time. And it is the unconcealment what really produces topoaletheia, not the value per se. Therefore, the importance of looking at the variations and extensions of the manifestation of the being of space. Talking about these variations and extensions necessarily leads to talk about time. But not any conception of time will do: in this section

I will introduce lived time and internal time consciousness and how they affect the experience of topoaletheia.

As well as Heidegger does not tackle space as an abstract, "objective" thing but, rather, as a part of one's world (see section 2.2), phenomenologists regard time in a similar manner: time "is" as experienced by the individual. This view of is usually referred to as *lived time*, and it is opposed to clocked time (i.e. the objectively measured time of watches). In fact, if one applies a phenomenological reduction (or *epoché*) to the experience of time, one discovers that lived time is always experienced as an eternal "now" (Palmer, 1988).

Bergson made some of the most influential advancements in this line of thought when he explained the human experience of time as 'duration' (*durée*). In *Time and free will* he argued that time viewed from a scientific mind (concerned with measurement) is treated 'spatially', as if it were a set of separable, quantifiable geometric units like the spaces marked out on the dial of a clock (hours, minute, seconds). Opposed to this scientific vision of time is the HUMAN EXPERIENCE OF TIME, which is the subject of study of phenomenology. This experience is what Bergson describes as a continuous "flow" (or duration) involving past, present, future, and an experience of awareness existing within that flow. Thus, in duration there is no juxtaposition of events and therefore there is no causality[15].

According to Bergson, "flow" resists objectifying scientific measurement, as it has no fixed norms or standards. As an example of an individualised experienced of one's time, I can say that one can experience a film as 'long' or 'short', independently of (or even perhaps against the) measuring evidence of clocks: one will experience it so, according to, say, if one was enjoying it or not. This is the 'real time' in one's consciousness –the duration able to be captured by intuition.

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[15] Hence Bergson's statement: "It is in the duration that we can speak of the experience of freedom" (Zalta, 2008).

For Bergson, 'real time' is the privileged dimension, since it is the dimension of the new, of expansiveness, of opening up (as quoted in May and Thrift, 2001: 23). In duration, one lives in the eternal now, which has some effects: on the one hand, regarding the past, the actual current 'now' is tempered by a memory of earlier *nows*, which were the *thenness* of the past. Immediate past is semi-experienced through the continuity of thought and action, whereas distant past is semi-experienced through something qualitatively different: memory. On the other hand, regarding the future, the actual current 'now' is always rushing into the semi-experienceable but ultimately non-experienced *thenness* of the future. Thus, the immediate future is semi-experienced through anticipation or projection and the near future is quasi-experienced through expectation or imagination.

To solve the apparent paradox of how an individual can have such a *semi-* or *quasi-* experience of time that one has not previously lived, Husserl explained the "internal time consciousness" (ITC from now on) *phenomenologically*. Husserl was influenced by Bergson's work but his aim was to know how time "appeared" in consciousness. In his phenomenological reduction of time, he realised that in the experience of time there are three simultaneous yet distinctive acts of consciousness: retention, attention and *protention*[16].

Unlike for empiricism, for Husserl intentionality[17] is not temporally *punctiform*. This means that every intention –every object in consciousness- far from being just a primal impression of the *givenness* in its current actuality (i.e. *cinematographic time*), has both a retention [in consciousness] of the object as it was perceived one moment ago, and also a *protention* of the same object as it is expected to be in the forthcoming moment (see Crang, 2001: 197, for examples on this).

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[16] For Augustine and his 'expanded present', the present was also explained by referring to a threefold structure where a person's present disposition can only be made sense of in terms of a future and past, so the present becomes an expanded field (Ricoeur, 1984; as quoted in Crang, 2001: 196).

[17] As I mentioned earlier on, intentionality might be defined as a property of certain mental states by which these are directed to something else.

I find the EXAMPLE OF A MELODY to be the most useful in order to grasp Husserl's ITC, and I will also use it to explain how ITC is helpful towards understanding topoaletheia. A melody is firstly experienced as a unity of discrete tones along a sequence of time, with each tone grasped as a unified enduring object. Secondly, the melody is also thought of as a whole, complete from beginning to end. Husserl's ITC explains how this can happen: one can comprehend the melody only through the simultaneous operation of the acts of retention, attention and *protention* of tones, which Husserl took as his datum (i.e. events).

1) ATTENTION. A "primal impression" of each note, as it sounds, must be gained.

2) RETENTION. More than one tone which are no longer sounding must be retained in the same time flow in consciousness. Otherwise, one would not be listening to a melody, but to unconnected notes (i.e. noise?).

3) PROTENTION. The auditor must "listen ahead", construct expectations of what might or might not follow. Regarding his example of the melody, Husserl says that the note can only be experienced in its melodic quality if some future sequence of notes is at least vaguely anticipated in protention, also named by him as "longitudinal intentionality" (Thompson, 1984).

Crucially, in other to understand the melody, these three acts of consciousness have to occur together, in the 'expanded present' resulting of the gather-together-ness of future, past and present[18]. Retention and *protention* provide us with a consciousness of the past and future phases of the objects that appear in consciousness as part of our lived experience. Thus, it is important to point out that they are not memories or imagination, in which case they would be categorically different to the way the primal impression (i.e. the attention). Thus, and importantly, neither retention should be confused with remembrance, nor protention is to be confused with expectation (see Casey, 1998, 2000a,

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[18] While using the musical metaphor to analyse topoaletheia from a phenomenological standpoint, I find it interesting to mention its opposite: the spatial metaphor in music (see, for instance, Van Stiefel, 2002). Spaces between notes are

2000b). Both remembrance and expectation are intentional acts deliberately directed to non-existing objects, while retention and protention are integral parts of every intentional act. As a consequence, every remembrance has its own retention, its own primal impression, and its own protention; and the same holds for every expectation (Ostalé, 2005). Protention is hence understood by Husserl as the symmetrical *futural* counterpart of retention (Husserl, 1990: 59).

Lastly, this way of analysing ITC explains the formation of HABITUATION, which can be thus explained as a downshift of the *protention* due to repetitions of primal impressions, which lead to retentions. Hence, one becomes used to the [downshifted] values of stimuli of one's retention, and projects those [downshifted] values of stimuli also –which become the new standard when it comes to become aware of a new event.

2.4.1 IMPLICATIONS OF ONE'S INTERNAL TIME CONSCIOUSNESS FOR TOPOALETHEIA.

As I put in its definition, topoaletheia is concerned with the extensions and variations along time of the manifestation of the being of space. I already explained how the being of space manifests itself, and here I tackle how this occurs along the internal time consciousness (ITC).

I already explained how, in order to unconceal the being of space, one needs first to perceive the unity of a *place*, which in turn opens up a region of space that can subsequently become known. Likewise, place is given to one by the *event*, that is where the appropriation of Being is acquired by Dasein. Taking this into account, I want to explain how this happens along time.

Firstly, I must reiterate here that by time, I mean *lived time*. This is because I am speaking about the acts that events perform in one's consciousness, and events in consciousness always happen "now." For instance, one could talk today about the London 2012 Olympics, but the meanings and values of the noemata related to the 2012 Games

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also filled with silent thoughts, and one must understand that those silences are also part of music itself. This is similar to those absences that formed part of the space (i.e. the concealed that became known through the unconcealed).

constitute events that enter one's consciousness now, not in 2012. Therefore, the values of noemata are perceived always in the "expanding present" of ITC.

Secondly, protention, attention and retention are acts that refer to objects in consciousness –i.e. to events that entered consciousness. Therefore, when they are related to space, those objects constitute the *places* one knows along time. Hence, in time, the volume of concealed being [of space] that one becomes aware of by the unconcealed places that surround one will come determined by dissonances (i.e. the distance) between the objects of those three acts of consciousness. In other words, being attention, retention and protention the events one gets to know (the unconcealed places one presences), a dissonance (e.g. a variation, a "surprise") between these three acts will provide the individual with different *places* whereby one can be aware of the space of the region those three places determine and, therefore, be aware of the concealed space in between.

Thirdly, I will make use of the example of the melody. It seems relatively obvious that time is a crucial variable without which a melody could not be understood. However, when talking about space the necessity of time does not seem that obvious. To this I must respond that topoaletheia is not the sense of fullness of space, but it occurs through the variations and extensions along time of the manifestation of the being of space. Thus, it is not that I aim at knowing one vast space (the bigger the better) which may be filled up to the top by the highest value possible. This is not necessarily topoaletheia. Topoaletheia seeks for change, for variations or extensions, since otherwise habituation diminishes the value of the novelty of the event and, hence, even the fullness of a big space would not fulfil the individual, as it would become a sort of routine, with no further unconcealment. Such variations or extensions necessarily require a temporal component, resulting in events being unfolded along internal time consciousness[19].

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[19] In order to show how these variations and extensions occur in time, I have identified a number of rhythms able to open up different shapes of volume of concealed space by the different ways in which places appear in consciousness (see section four of this chapter).
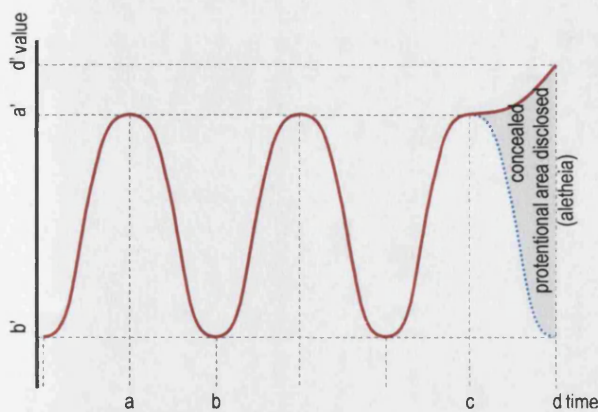
Figure 4.12: Topoaletheia in a representation of internal time consciousness.

I can use a simple example as an illustration. See figure 4.12. Following the musical analogy, I can apply it later on to the unconcealment of space. One is listening to a melody (a very simplified one), that in its first verse (moment *a*) goes from the silent starting point zero up to *a'* and down again to *b'*. This means one's attention has gone up to *a'* and down to *b'* in the time reaching up to *b*. In the second verse, again, the attention has a value that goes up to *a'* and down again to *b'*. These two verses are kept in the *retained* side of one's consciousness (retention). And the third verse starts, going up in moment *c* to value *a'* again. Because one's consciousness keeps the retention of the two previous verses going up to *a'* and down to *b'*, in this third verse –and once one's attention is gone up to *a'* again, one is projecting (i.e. reversing symmetrically the retention into one's future) that the attention line will go down to *b'* once again. Thus, one's protention goes down to *b'* again (dotted blue line in figure 4.12). However, this third moment contains a surprise. In moment *c*, instead of turning and going back to a value of *b'*, the melody (the event; the *place*), as received in one's attention, goes further up the value scale, to value *d'*; and this creates a dissonance between the attention and the protention one has in consciousness[20].

Both protention and attention are known *places* for the individual. One knows those two *places* since both of them entered one's consciousness as events that provided one with information about one's world. Importantly, as those two acts are happening at the same time, one becomes aware of two distant places along the scope of [musical] space. This twofold unconcealment of two places opens up for the individual the possibility of being aware of all the concealed space that remains IN BETWEEN. Therefore, the volume of

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[20] "The possibility of being surprised is exhibited as the main argument for the existence of protentions. It is an observable fact, Husserl says, that we all can be at every moment suddenly surprised; now, in order one to be

space that remained concealed in-between is somewhat known by the individual, who thus becomes able to enjoy the value that fills up that volume. This is aletheia along time. Some further comments could be added from this example:

a) Apart from the area of disclosing –aletheia, there is another volume to be taken into account, that of the event itself. This volume is given by: a) the range of space that the event already occupies by itself as it is happening (i.e. the volume formed by the highest and lowest points of the attention –the red line in figure 4.12); and b) also from the space in between two or more distinct events that may occur simultaneously along time.

b) The gap between protention and [a surprising] attention is not endless. Once one realises of that gap, one's protention adjusts to the new situation (i.e. the retention acquired by the new, surprising, attention adjusts the protention) and, hence, after a certain time, protention tends to match the attention.

c) Single events, as the one exposed in figure 4.12, rarely happen independently from other events that, together with the first ones, form compilations events, and so on.

d) Processes [21] may provide the individual with the same opportunities for unconcealment that events provide, although, due to their slower pace, they are likely to disclose less –since one becomes habituated to the new stimuli along the way.

e) Furthermore, processes and events interact with each other the same way events do with other events, hence opening up other spaces of possible disclosures. There can be linear and cyclical processes (see Lefebvre, 1994). Cyclical processes are, for example, the seasons of the year, etc. Linear processes are those that do not repeat themselves – i.e. those which truly create "history". The importance of the interaction between these two processes is easier to be grasped with examples: when one truly remarkable event occurs (i.e. one event that one has never experienced before, of which there is no

surprised, one must experience an unexpected event; therefore we have at every moment some expectation about the most immediate future. We anticipate the future whenever we are having intentional acts" (Ostalé, 2005).

[21] A process is a change that is slow and continuous.

record in our consciousness), this obviously means a break with the cyclical processes and events of one's routine lives.

ITC shows how the being of those concealed spaces in-between can be manifested. Hence, I want to stress that, one being aware of the structure of these acts along time, it is possible to go purposefully to such encounter: an individual can do things to put oneself in the position where one can presence Being.

Presencing Being, though, is an individual undertaking and, therefore, differences among individuals will make it impossible to create "something" – a pattern, an object, a building- that unconceals the same Being to different individuals. Therefore, I move in the realm of drawing theoretical simplifications that can pass the test of validity through induction. Even in the case that I could create a seemingly "perfect pattern" (i.e. a way of unconcealing certain places able to maximise the presencing of Being), after a certain time it would no longer be valid, due to habituation. As I aforementioned, even a vast volume filled up with the highest value would eventually lose its capacity to provide an individual with the experience of topoaletheia. Therefore, the interactions of spaces that disclose more and less being of space is key.

3. Apprehending essential relationships of topoaletheia.

In the previous section I explained each of the elements that constitute the essence of topoaletheia. Nevertheless, in order for the term "topoaletheia" to enjoy a full sense of identity (i.e. having an essence which is different to the essence of any other concept), the third section of the phenomenological investigation must be carried out. This step, according to Spiegelberg (1960), consists of apprehending essential relationships among essences, and it is tackled in two ways: (a) apprehending the relationships within the essence (i.e. between the different elements that constitute the essence, checking whether its components are or are not essential to it); and (b) the relationships between several essences, checking the subtle differences that distinguish the essence of the object of the investigation from those of similar objects.

3.1 Essential relationships within the essence of topoaletheia.

Firstly, I tackled the relationships within the essence, hence assessing whether the different components of the essence of topoaletheia are essential towards the attaining of the experience of topoaletheia or, on the contrary, one or some of them could be subtracted without affecting the possibility of experiencing topoaletheia. I did so through phenomenological reduction: this is, by "bracketing" each one of them out and analysing whether the remaining elements were still enough to constitute the essence of topoaletheia.

The result I obtained is that all the elements –but one- that I mentioned in the definition of topoaletheia (individual's experience, extensions and variations along time, awareness of value, and manifestation of the being of space) proved to be essential towards the conceptualisation of topoaletheia. However, there is one that I tested –*one's world*- that proved not to be essential, since it is already assumed to be contained in the other elements of the essence of topoaletheia: "awareness" and "manifestation of the

being of space". Therefore, I am deleting "one's world" from the DEFINITION of topoaletheia, which hence becomes:

"The individual experience of an extension or variation along time of one's awareness of the manifestation of the being of space".

The most essential element of the essence of topoaletheia resulted to be "the manifestation of the being of space". Furthermore, it is also worth mentioning that, by investigating the relationship of the element "extensions and variations along time", it resulted necessary to investigate also the essence and components of RHYTHMS. This is because rhythms put the perception of beings and time into relation. The essence of rhythms showed to be in need of three elements: 1) a melody line (i.e. a continuity of perception); 2) repetition (of elements one has already perceived); and 3) contrast (i.e. perception of something new, distinct). A usual fourth one, *in-betweenness*, also comes along –meaning the 'space' in-between two perceived objects (see McCormack, 2002). Rhythms are the ways in which the unconcealment of Being appears along time, and they prove to be crucial when drawing the "typical structures" whereby an individual may experience Being through the image of the city (see section five of this chapter).

3.2 **Essential relationships with other concepts.**

The second part of this section of the phenomenological investigation consists of apprehending essential relationships among several essences. This is done by checking the subtle differences that distinguish the essence of the object of the investigation from those of similar objects or concepts. Hence, I sought to highlight the differences existing between topoaletheia and concepts that, somehow, may seem similar to it in the eye of the reader. Also, I considered situations in which either topoaletheia or a similar concept appears while the other does not, in order to grasp the nuances of the phenomena they create. Besides, I also looked at trying to point out the relation of topoaletheia (or, rather, of some of its components) with other concepts with which it shares some essential

elements (in the same or, even, in opposite ways[22]), thus allowing for an easier understanding by association. This is the sense in which I use the widely known concepts of nostalgia (see Kim, 2002) or the sublime (see Burke, 2005 [1757]; De Botton, 2002).

Figure 4.13 enumerates a few of the examples whereby topoaletheia occurs in conjunction with the sublime and topophilia. See figure 4.14 for a summary of the main similarities and differences I found between topoaletheia and the sublime, nostalgia, topophilia (see Tuan, 1974) and rhythmanalysis (see Lefebvre, 2004). A first conclusion

examples	experience of topoaletheia	no experience of topoaletheia
Experience of the sublime	A city-dweller finding himself in the middle of the desert surrounded by far away mountains.	A person visiting the ruins of an ancient city: one feels at awe, 'small', before such grandeur (sublime), but one may not unconcealing space (topoaletheia).
No experience of the sublime	A child visiting a theme-park.	Likely to occur in the sheer routine of the home-work-home everyday life of a city-dweller.
Experience of topophilia	Tuan's (1974: xi) experience in the Death Valley.	A place which the individual is attached emotionally to and, at the same time, too much habituated: e.g. hometown.
No experience of topophilia	Likely to occur when an individual travels to places that produce topoaletheia: no affective bond (topophilia) has been created yet between place and individual. Also, Le Corbusier's first encounter with traffic (see p. 102).	Likely to occur in a placeless location to which the individual does not have any special bond: e.g. in a big international franchised supermarket located in a neighbour that one does not usually visit.

Figure 4.13: Examples of the experience of the sublime and topophilia with and without topoaletheia.

that I can make after having compared topoaletheia to other essences is that the most valuable innovation the concept of topoaletheia offers is its concern with Being, which tries to approach via the being of space –and hence its usefulness when tackling the image of the city. No other similar concept –among the aforementioned- directly deals with Being and, hence, there lies the true differentiating element of topoaletheia (and thus its 'competitive advantage'). It is precisely in its relation to the experience of Being where the usefulness of topoaletheia as an approach to human fulfilment lies –a relation that, rhythmanalysis lacks, for instance.

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[22] Together with analogy and metaphor, Spiegelberg pointed out that negation can be a useful way of carrying out descriptions of phenomena. "Negation is usually the simplest way to at least indicate the uniqueness and irreducibility of such phenomena" (1960: 673).

	main similarities with topoaletheia	main differences with topoaletheia
The Sublime	• Both terms relate to positive experiences related to space. • The individual awareness of beings (elements in a landscape, etc.) plays an important role in both essences. • Both experiences facilitate the realisation that man is not the measure of all things. • Whereas topoaletheia needs limits to acts as places that surround space, and the volume of space is filled with value, the sublime is also related to vast, empty, massive or apparently infinite landscapes.	• The experience of the sublime is humbling, whereas that of topoaletheia is fulfilling in an 'expansive' way (as one's awareness extends to the whole space that the landscape unconceals). • The meanings one individual associates to a place can enhance or hinder the experience of topoaletheia, whereas the experience of the sublime is more commonly shareable. • Time makes a big difference: habituation greatly hinders the experience of topoaletheia, whereas a sublime landscape (e.g. mountain) is always sublime.
Nostalgia	• It refers to the experience of value along time (i.e. in nostalgia that value comes from memories that one finds valuable due to, for example, meanings associated to it, etc.). • Both terms imply a knowledge of Being, as manifested to the individual through one's events, objects, people, etc. • Both terms are delimited to experiences within "one's world" –as defined in section 2.2.	• Nostalgia is the opposite of topoaletheia, as it refers to the awareness of non-value: i.e. the experience of remembering a (past) time in which one was experiencing a higher value than in the present time (while one is still aware that higher value foregone). Topoaletheia, instead, refers to the becoming aware of a bigger volume [of previously unconcealed being] filled with value in the present moment, by means of an extension/variation of the awareness of Being. • Topoaletheia is specifically concerned with the being of space.
Topophilia	• Both terms refer to individual experiences of space. • Both terms name experiences of a qualitative nature that are lived by the individual as positive or desirable. • The phenomena of both essences refer to an experience of fulfilment or joy. • One's personal characteristics, attitudes and values will greatly determine the experience of the phenomena of both concepts.	• Time makes the biggest difference: one may experience topophilia in a certain environment during all of one's life (e.g. one's hometown). Habituation would make it impossible for topoaletheia. • No affective bond between an individual and a place is required to experience topoaletheia. That bond is the essence of topophilia. • No reference to Being is implied in topophilia: it can be experienced regardless of the being of space that may (or may not) be unconcealed.
Rhythm-analysis	• Both terms study the interaction between spatial phenomena and time. • Both terms regard the rhythm from inside and outside (i.e. living it, while still being able to reflect upon it). • Both terms regard both the physical and representational realities of space.	• Rhythmanalysis is concerned with the external reality, and thus, its rhythms can be empirically observable. Hence, different individuals will experience the same rhythms in a given location, what is difficult to occur in topoaletheia. • Rhythmanalysis bases on "moments", and stresses the importance of measured time (cycles, etc.). Topoaletheia is based upon one's awareness along internal time consciousness. • Rhythmanalysis limits itself to study the rhythms of beings/events that are already unconcealed –i.e. that *happen*. In contrast, the key for the experience of topoaletheia is the unconcealment of the being of space.

Figure 4.14: Main differences and similarities between the essence of topoaletheia and other similar essences.

A second comment is that the special focus that topoaletheia grants to the internal (i.e. related to one's awareness) aspects of the rhythms created by the manifestations of the being of space (via beings) makes it rather distinctive from any other concept, yet difficult to objectify or generalise. Views like that of rhythmanalysis are applicable to a large number of individuals who share their same spatiotemporal context, whereas the rhythms topoaletheia deals with are internal acts of consciousness, hence being different to each individual. In short, the same location might produce different rhythms to the same individual at different times, or to different individuals at the same time –as its stimuli may enjoy different ability to become noemata with value, depending on habituation, previous personal experience, etc.

I find rhythmanalysis and topoaletheia to be complementary, as rhythmanalysis explains the effects of rhythms created by external stimuli, and topoaletheia explains the fulfilment experienced by the individual whose awareness is extended by noemata in one's internal time consciousness. To some extent, I could argue that this complementary nature of the two terms make rhythmanalysis to be one of the possible ways to tackle the analysis of topoaletheia, which, in turn, will expand the scope of the study of rhythms to the concealed space that awareness embraces by indirection.

4. Taxonomy of topoaletheia appearances.

Following the phenomenological methodology as explained by Spiegelberg (1960), the fourth step of a phenomenological inquiry on topoaletheia must consist of watching the modes in which topoaletheia appears. This step can be tackled by many ways, for each of the essential elements of topoaletheia may appear in different ways, each of which should be covered by the phenomenological investigation. However, since it may result a bit inefficient to mention all the ways in which each of the elements may appear, I will mention here the modes of appearance of topoaletheia as related to the essential elements "EXTENSIONS AND VARIATIONS ALONG TIME" and the "AWARENESS OF VALUE". So, what I am describing here is the different ways an individual may experience topoaletheia: this is, the many different ways whereby an individual may experience Being through the extensions or variations of the manifestation of the being of space. In short, the task here is to watch the ways in which Being appears in one's consciousness through its unconcealment in one's awareness along time.

Talking about the modes of appearance of topoaletheia is talking about the rhythms whereby topoaletheia may occur. These rhythms will therefore be what I call the *typical structures* of topoaletheia, which I shall seek in the next chapters in the case of cities' images. I have identified forty typical structures or rhythms in which the awareness of the value of the manifestations of Being may appear. These rhythms are distinct from one another in two ways (according to the two essential elements of topoaletheia that I am watching):

a) The ways in which retention, attention and *protention* relate to each other, hence disclosing the concealed areas of consciousness in different ways.

b) The value that is unconcealed by the event. On the one hand, I have watched carefully the ways in which the value of the noema comes given to consciousness and, on the other hand, I focused my attention on the volumes of the unconcealed areas. E.g.

sometimes, the unconcealed area is filled with values that are higher than those disclosed by the event, whereas the opposite can also be the case.

However, these forty rhythms show many similarities between one another, and I could even say that some rhythms are made up of the combination of some others (e.g. the rhythms I called "harmonium" and "agglomeration" are, at the end of the day, two different concatenations of the rhythm I named "in between lines"). Hence, I find it useful to distinguish the three main types of variation that constitute all the possible rhythms:

a) UP-SHIFTED (figure 4.15), whereby the attention line goes higher up than the *protention* line, disclosing the being in between these two lines. This is done by noemata with an unexpectedly high value.

b) DOWN-SHIFTED, whereby the attention lines goes lower than the *protention* line, hence disclosing the space in between –done by noemata with unexpectedly low value (figure 4.16).
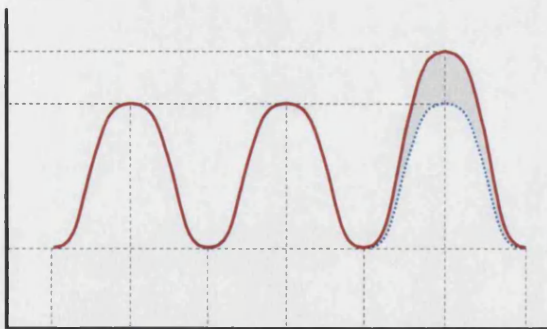
Figure 4.15 (left): Basic diagram of the "up-shifted" rhythm.
Figure 4.16 (bottom): "Down-shifted" rhythm.
Figure 4.17 (bottom left): Rhythm "in between lines".
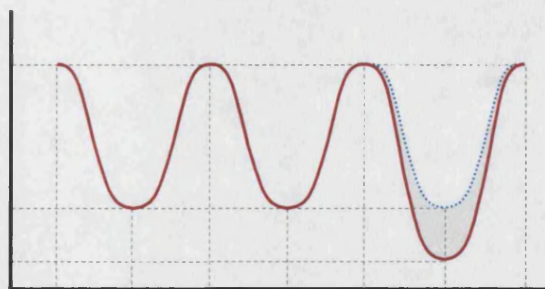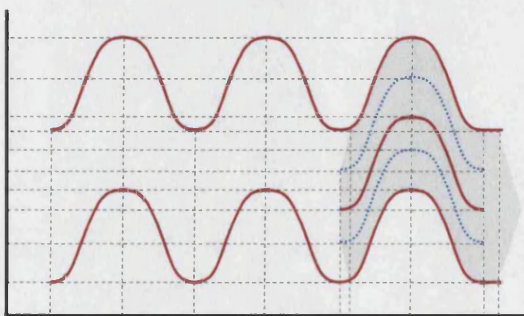
c) IN BETWEEN LINES, whereby a new attention line (i.e. event in consciousness, or noemata) opens up in between two other noemata, hence reinforcing the awareness of the space in between (figure 4.17).
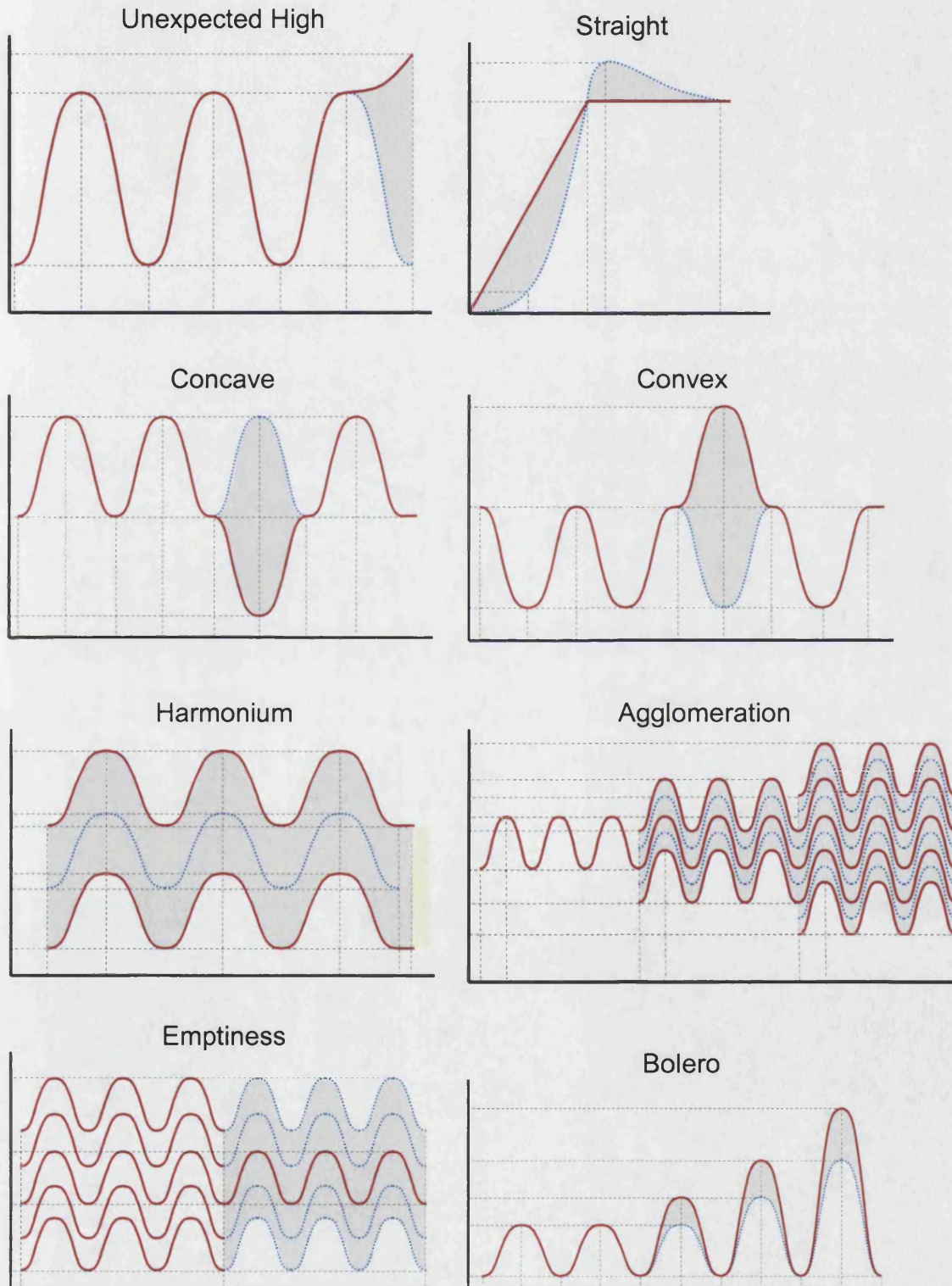
Second tier-up
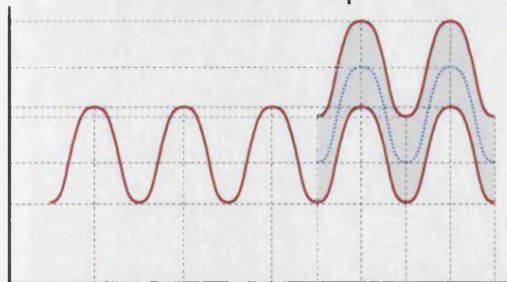
Second tier-down
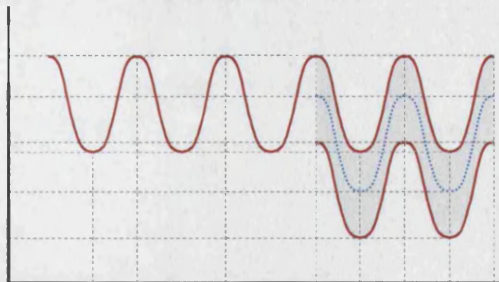
Third tier
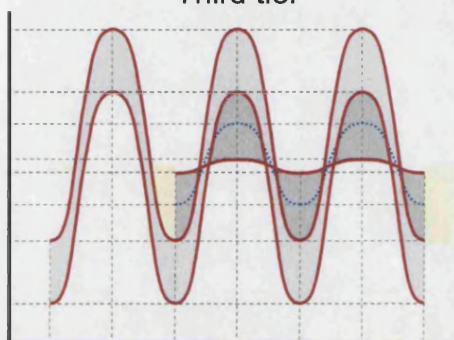
Sea-wave
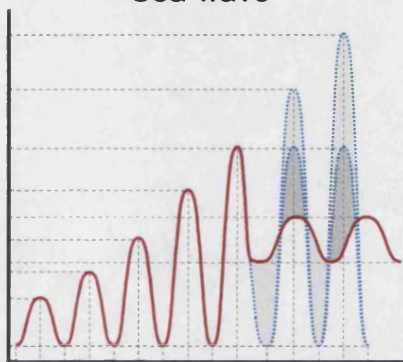
On and on
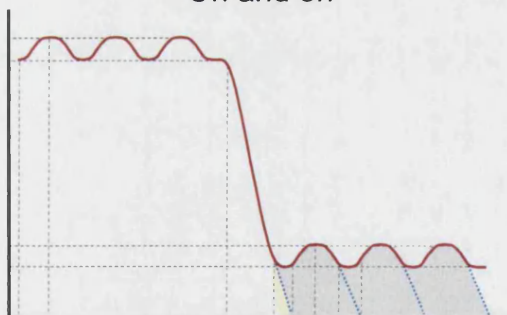
Accentuated
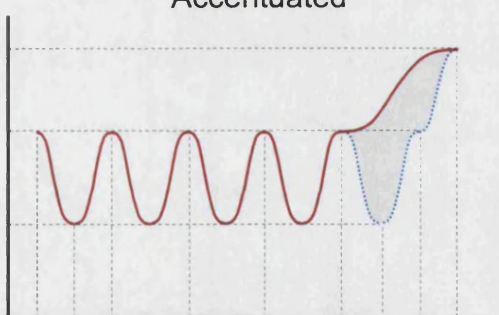
Flowing down
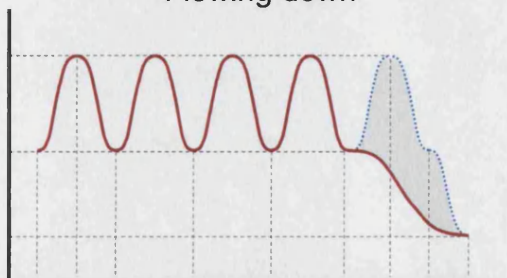
Yielding
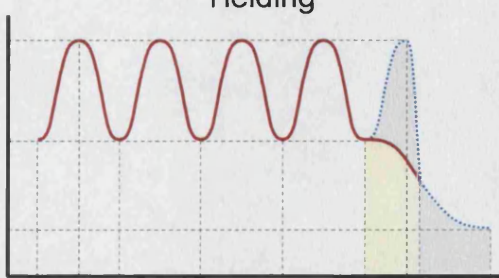
Enjoying the silence
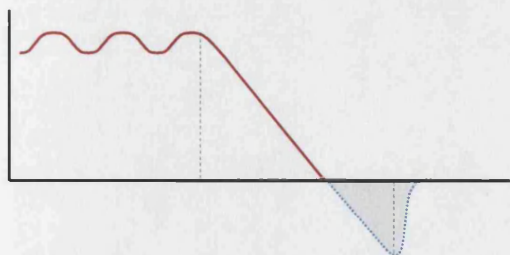
Sudden silence
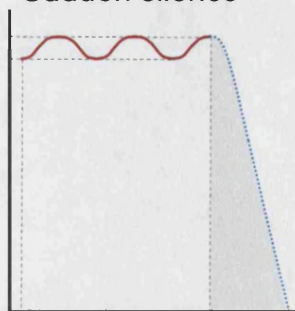
Absence
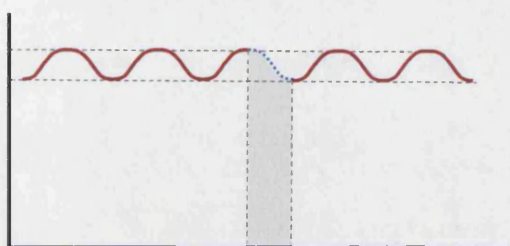
Nostalgia
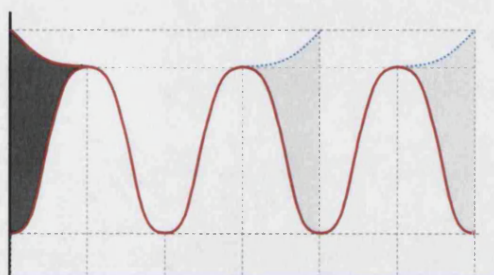
Melancholy

Sharp
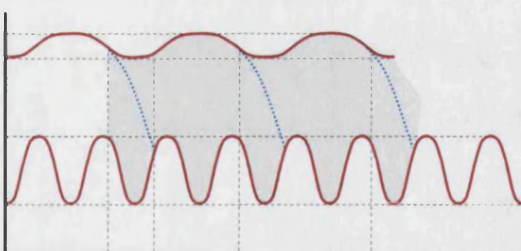
Low base (support)
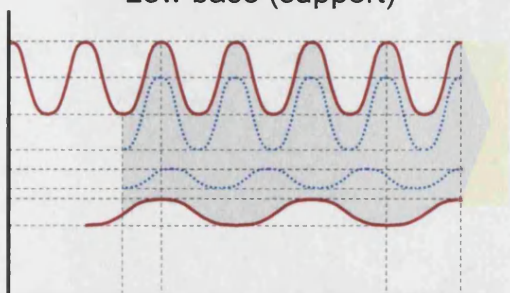
Embracing
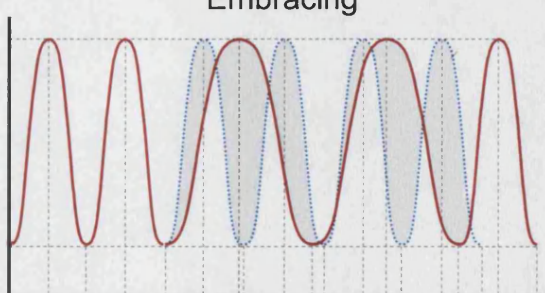
Surly
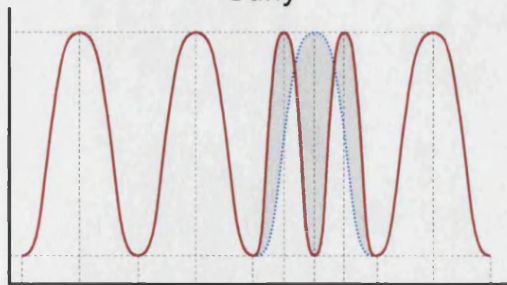
Accelerating
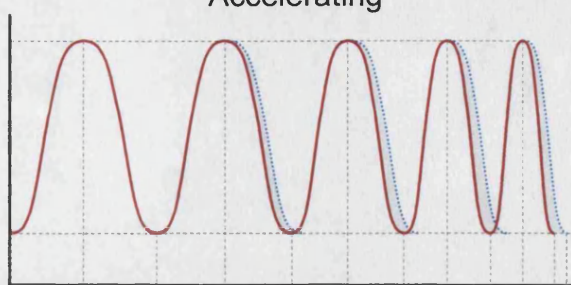
Anthem
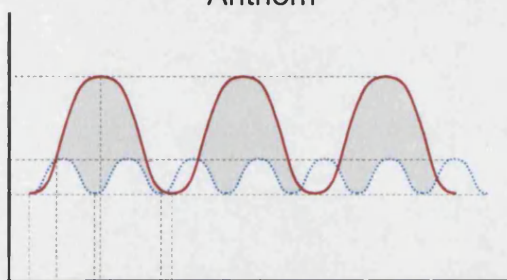
Against mean reversion
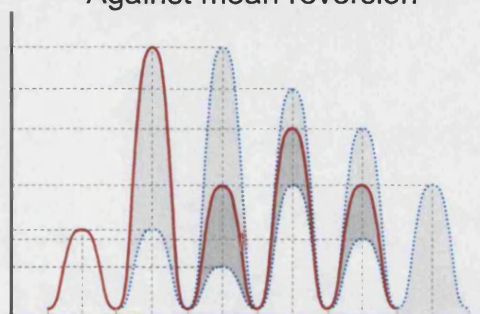
Semitone-positive
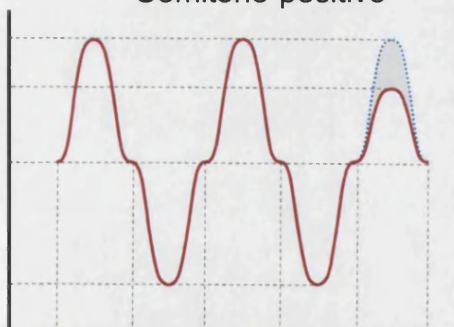
Semitone-negative
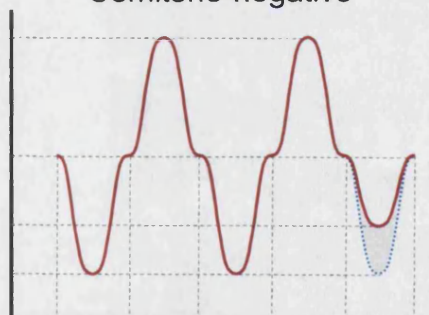
Intense-trekking
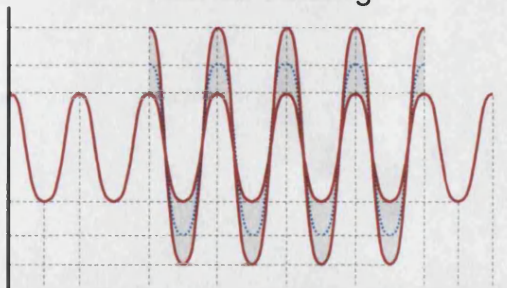
Dramatic
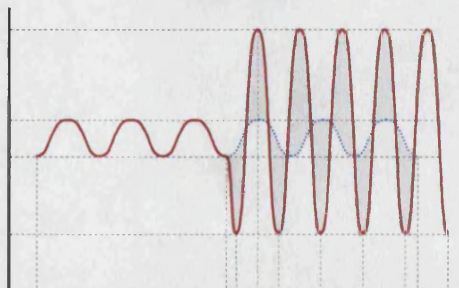
Tragedy
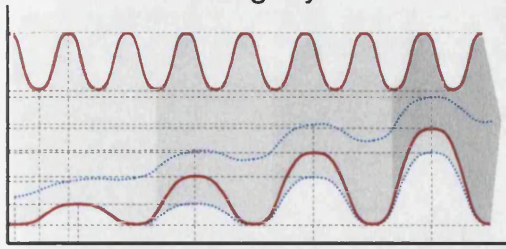
Mood-upward slow
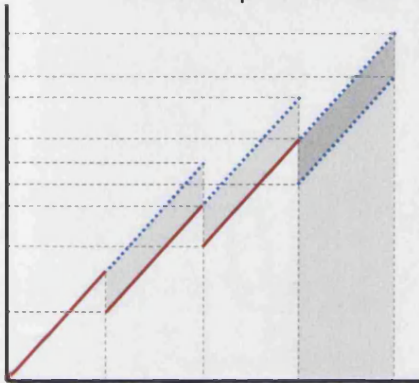
Mood-upward fast
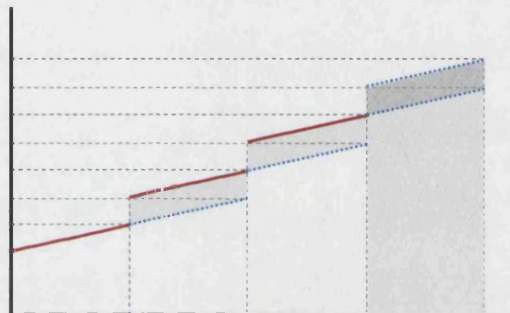
Mood-downward fast
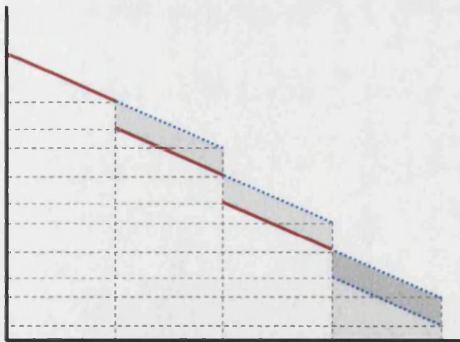
Mood-downward slow
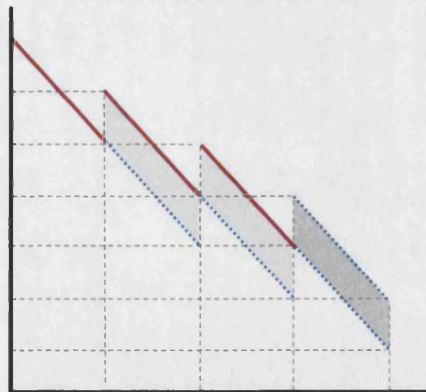
I should stress the fact that, in everyday life, rhythms rarely occur individually, but are composed of two, three or more of the rhythms I distinguished. From now on, I will make reference to these rhythms when dealing with examples in the city.

6. Conclusions.

In this chapter I have carried out a phenomenological investigation on topoaletheia, rigorously following every single step of the methodology as described and explained by Spiegelberg (1960). The upshot of this investigation is that I can assert that topoaletheia does exist: I mean, there is an essence of topoaletheia which is equal to itself and different to every single other essence. Being equal to itself implies that the essence of topoaletheia will always be the essence of topoaletheia, regardless of variations of circumstances. And it also means that all the elements that constitute its essence must be present in order to be dealing with the actual essence of topoaletheia, which I can define as:

> *"The individual experience of an extension or variation along time of one's awareness of the manifestation of the being of space."*

As inferred from the analysis of the relationship of topoaletheia with other essences (the sublime, topophilia), I must say that topoaletheia is not the sole link that may be possible between place and joy/satisfaction. Rather, and in having very few clues on how to manage the image of the city in order to provide individual with fulfilment, I put forward topoaletheia as a concept that may be relevant –for which it is tested in the rest of the thesis. However, in principle I can claim that the image of the city may help providing human fulfilment to individuals, since topoaletheia implies (related to chapter three):

a) A KNOWLEDGE, an awareness of the Being of space. The individual gets to know the Being of space via topoaletheia. This widening knowledge brings one satisfaction.

b) A SELF-ACTUALISATION, as it un-conceals the truth of being of space of one's world, and not someone else's. Besides, the variations and extensions along time of the awareness

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of Being means *real* 'progress' to the individual consciousness, which will not stay static in one's previous habituated scenario.

c) An AESTHETIC experience, as it converts the relationship between the individual and one's world in a play of Being and, as so, makes the individual realise of the aesthetic sense of one's relationship with one's world.

From now on, I take topoaletheia as a concept –an existing concept- and test it in order to assess whether it may be relevant to the study of the image of the city. Hence, I shall explore topoaletheia in:

a) PHYSICAL SPACE –the space that is empirically observable, as it is perceivable by the senses. Places may be modified by physical re-arrangement. The way this is carried out is the subject of study of chapter five.

b) SYMBOLIC SPACE –the space represented in one's consciousness. In this space, images function as noemata, as *places* in consciousness. Thus, extensions and variations of the awareness of symbolic space may occur through aspiration and relation (i.e. associations of meanings). This space is tackled in chapter six.

In the next three chapters, I follow the phenomenological methodology insofar I keep comparing the essence of topoaletheia with that of other concepts (e.g. Lynch's image of the city or Cullen's townscape), and with itself when circumstances change (e.g. physical and symbolic sides, Madrid and Barcelona, etc.).

THE QUEST FOR IDENTIFYING TOPOALETHEIA IN THE PHYSICAL SPACE OF CITIES

In this chapter, I follow the phenomenological methodology to develop the implications of the concept of topoaletheia, the essence of which was dealt with in chapter four. Firstly, I try to identify some specific issues regarding the seeking of topoaletheia in cities. Secondly, I carry out an epoché-like exercise of the image of the city —that is, a phenomenological reduction of the image of the city, in order to realise how it is constituted in one's consciousness. Thirdly, I establish relationships between the concept of topoaletheia and Lynch's theory of the image of the city. Fourthly, I illustrate some of the issues of topoaletheia I dealt with in the previous chapters with some examples of figure-ground maps of cities and the use of colour and light in the city. And lastly, I establish relationships between topoaletheia and the qualities of landscape to attain townscape, as put forward by Cullen (1961, 1971).

1. Introduction: the problem of seeking topoaletheia in cities.

In this chapter, I aim to put the concept of topoaletheia to *work*. In the previous chapter, I have demonstrated the existence of an essence of topoaletheia as a thing *per se* and here in chapter five I identify the phenomena of topoaletheia in cities. Hence, this is a chapter of application of a theory to a reality: the theory being my own phenomenological account of topoaletheia, and the reality, the city. The city, in turn, will be 'dissected' into the different spaces, layers and aspects that constitute it. In this chapter, thus, I will focus on identifying topoaletheia in the physical space of cities, whereas the symbolic space will be dealt with in the next chapter.

This chapter represents another development in the fifth step of the phenomenological methodology, that of "watching modes of appearance" (see p. 146). Furthermore, I also develop the fourth step of the phenomenological methodology: investigating essential relationships with other concepts. Here, I will test the essential elements of topoaletheia against those of Lynch's image of the city and Cullen's townscape. The elements that constitute topoaletheia might be useful in explaining the reason why the ideas of these authors do lead towards the individual's fulfillment through the image of the city. If this proves to be the case, I believe this must be the strongest point for defending the validity of the application of topoaletheia to cities.

In the literature, one can find different kinds of space (see Norberg-Shulz, 1971; Relph, 1976; and Lefebvre, 1991). I will use the terms physical and symbolic space to refer to the two dimensions of space I deal with. Physical space is what Relph (1976) calls perceptual space, and what Lefebvre (1991) would call both *spatial practice* and *conceived space*. This is the space in which I try to identify topoaletheia in this chapter: the space that can be observed empirically. Symbolic space will deal with the meaning of space, and it refers to Relph's existential space or Lefebvre's representational space.

According to Norberg-Shulz (1971: chapter 2) and Relph (1976: 20), there is a horizontal[1] and a vertical structure of geographical space. Let me mention the vertical structure (see figure 5.1, a diagram of these different layers, and –in reddish colour- an example of a certain degree of topoaletheia experienced in each of them).

OBJECT. Objects are ready-to-hand things –they are "there" for the individual, hence creating *room* which, in turn, circumvents the Dasein. Interpersonal space lies in this layer too. The experience of topoaletheia will come from an extension or variation along time of the awareness of the value of the room created between the objects (i.e. places) and oneself.

HOME. The central reference of our human existence.

STREET. The basis of our experience of cities.

LOCAL, neighbourhood or district. This is the layer where Lynch's elements (edges, paths, nodes, etc.) come into play.

URBAN level is the city-wide perspective, taking into account the entire built space created through human effort and purpose (i.e. meaning). It is important to point out that in this urban level, individuals regard the space of the city as a whole, i.e. not differentiating its structural components. It is, in short, the "image of the city", understood as the overall picture or idea that is in one's mind.

LANDSCAPE. The background of man's actions and a reflection of one's interactions with environment on a major scale. Valleys, regions, greater urban areas can be fitted in this description.

GEOGRAPHY level is conformed by the meaning given to nations, continents, or regions beyond our direct experience. It therefore has a cognitive character.

Figure 5.1: Layers of space, as described by Relph (1976).

It is worth mentioning that different layers of space overlap, providing the individual with *one* awareness of space. One does not have different *"awarenesses"* of space (as related to the specific layer it may come from) disconnected from one another. One has *one* awareness of space, which is the potential provider of the experience of topoaletheia to the individual, depending on its variations.

As one can see in figure 5.2, the Dasein in this collage is "there", in their world, perceiving the beings (i.e. the events, places) in the different layers of space that are available to their senses, as well as cognitively intuiting events or places that lie away from their senses' reach, but which are nonetheless within the layers of space of their world. Importantly, all those places the Dasein perceives or intuits are not just neutral

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[1] I tackle the horizontal structure in section 3 of this chapter, when dealing with the links between topoaletheia and Lynch's theories on the image of the city.

places (or events) for them, but they perceive / intuit them as loaded with a meaning, which bestows such places with a symbolism of a certain value created individually. The upshot of this is that I aim in the direction of explaining how topoaletheia is formed through the extensions and variations of space in all layers at the same time (i.e. there is only one awareness of space) –in both physical and symbolic spaces.
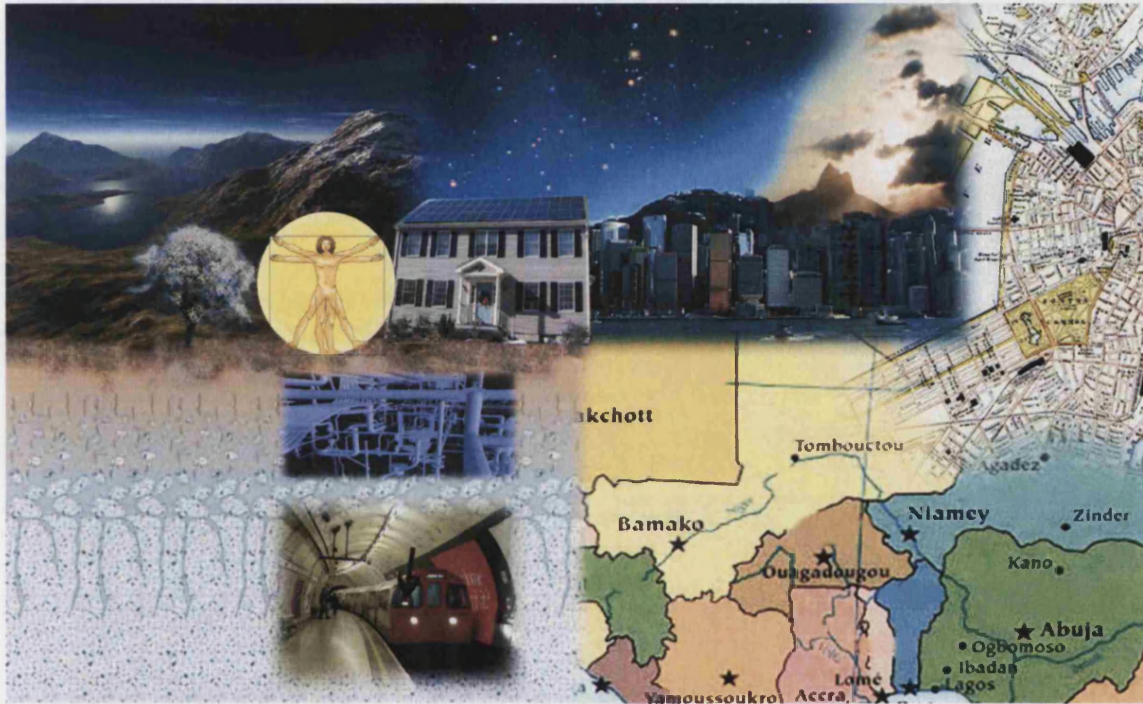
Figure 5.2. An example of a representation of Dasein and the image of one's world they perceive and intuit. At any given moment, a Dasein may be aware of all the layers of space of their world, blending the events they perceptually, intuitively, and cognoscitively knows from all of them in one single awareness of space.

Having clarified the spaces on which I will focus, the next step is to analyse how actual places do show their value. By this I mean, differentiating the meaning of place as 'event' from that of place as 'locality.' Then, I look at how these two meanings of place[2] relate to each other through what I call the "components of place."

Phenomenologist geographer Tuan (1977: 262) regarded place as an 'event' –as figure over the ground, when he defined it as "whatever stable object that catches our attention." Once an object becomes an event, a figure (i.e. a place), it can "make room"

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[2] There is a vast body of geographic literature on place in which this distinction can be grasped. See, among others, Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974 and 1977; Casey, 1996 and 1998; Anderson and Gale, 1992; Entrikin, 1990; Cresswell, 1996 and 2004: Malpas, 1999; Seamon, 1979

for the space in between itself and our consciousness, thus un-concealing those spaces whose extension or variation will produce topoaletheia.

On the one hand, place as 'locality' refers to the territorial aspects of place. That is, places as locations in space with a set of characteristics and meanings. On the other hand, place as 'event' refers to the epistemology of place. According to this understanding, places are inextricably linked to events in consciousness, i.e. noemata, and harbour no ontological difference to those noemata of other events, say attributes, characteristics, meanings, etc. of other stimuli directly linked not only to spatial, but also to temporal beings –hence my interest in analysing, in particular, flagship developments and events.

These two understandings of place are interconnected and cannot be taken apart. On the one hand, a locality is an event in itself, since it is a being –i.e. something that can attract our attention, to function as a figure-, and therefore has a certain value. On the other hand, events will be treated as localities since they create places by differentiating its location from the rest via the value of the event itself.

In chapter two I enumerated the aspects that Montgomery (1998) put forward as necessary for making a city a *place* (p. 41). Relph (1976: 47) had previously suggested a similar scheme, in order to avoid what he called *placelessness* (i.e. indistinctive places, or places with no 'value'). Contrary to what those unfamiliar with phenomenology may think, Relph's approach is proactive, practical, and does not stop at a mere description. For Relph, "improved knowledge of the nature of place can contribute to the maintenance and manipulation of existing places and the creation of new places" (1976: 44). He thus differentiated between physical setting, activities and meanings. Montgomery (1998) took the relay from Relph's triple differentiation, and described how a sense of place comes determined by the conjunction of those three components summarised in figure 5.3. The upshot of this is that I will have to look at these three components of place when seeking the value of a place to emerge as a 'figure' over the ground, so as to be able to unconceal the space in between them. I will do so in the examples I use in this chapter and the two subsequent chapters.

Activity

Diversity, vitality, street life, events and local traditions, opening hours, flow, fine grain economy.

Form

Scale, intensity, permeability, landmark, space to building ratios, stock (adaptability & range), vertical grain, public realm.

PLACE

Image

Simbolism & memory, imageability & legibility, sensory experience & associations, etc.
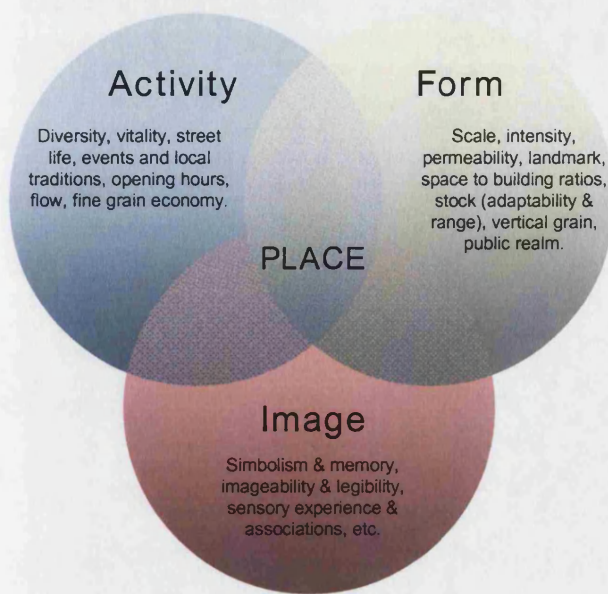
Figure 5.3: The components of place (Montgomery, 1998).

In my quest for identifying topoaletheia in the city, and once I have mentioned the different kinds and the different layers of space, I will look specifically for those 'places' that constitute the image of the city. Since this is quite a broad issue to deal with, I will mainly draw examples of places for each kind of space that facilitate the experience of topoaletheia. Also, I will narrow down the focus even more, by looking at implementable city marketing practices in each space that enable the experience of topoaletheia. In particular, I will focus on urban design issues, cultural policies, communication strategies and the relationship of the individual with the agents that manage the city's image. In terms of city marketing products, I am especially interested in flagship developments and events.

Therefore, for the rest of this chapter I just focus on what I called physical space, which is immediate and empirically observable. It is worth mentioning that, due to their physical nature, features in this space are more likely to last longer in time, as they are not subjected to changes of relations with other beings. Besides, the physical setting itself, with its empirically observable nature, is shared by all individuals who experiences it, unlike the symbolic space.

2. An *epoché* of the experience of the city (part I).

As a starting point to come to terms with the process of becoming aware of being of space in one's world, I propose to undertake the double and symmetrical process of carrying out an *epoché*[3] of the experience of the city (see Husserl, 1973, and 2001). The first step is to successively bracket out all the beings of one's lifeworld in a systematic fashion to the 'nothingness' of what once was the experience of the city. The second step is to bring these beings (i.e. entities) partially back to their place –following the opposite systematic way- up to a certain stage. Through this process one is able to understand the structure of the formulation of the awareness of such world in the individual's consciousness.

The first step in what I call the *epochal* exercise is to prevent excessive attention to mere particulars. I do this systematically in the city (see figure 5.4 as an illustration):

a) In a first move, I can suspend the attention I pay to all moving beings, such as cars, buses, pedestrians and animals that there are in the space of the city. The result is that I am left with what resembles a stage of a movie -a lifeless, still backdrop which I will call "THE EMPTY STAGE."

b) The second step is to bracket out all the distinguishable elements –e.g. decoration- that different generic artefacts have upon. For instance, a building with a McDonald's and a WHSmith store on the ground floor facing the street will be replaced with one that have generic signs, in this case, "shop." Likewise, ornamental properties are also eliminated, with the result that all buildings will have no further meaning or symbolic significance other than being just buildings. However, elements such as street furniture, parks and gardens, roads, etc. are still in place. I shall call the result of this step "THE NEUTRAL BOX", as large chunks of pragmatic space are occupied with beings,

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[3] *Epoché* stands for bracketing, or phenomenological reduction.

but these beings shed neither positive nor negative symbolic meanings to the existential space.

c) In the third move I bracket out all the beings that occupy the empirically verifiable space occupied by those "neutral boxes." Hence, where there was a neutral building standing for n floors, now there is a cognoscible entity (i.e. a noema) that tells me: "building of n floors." The result of this stage is that despite the physical terrain upon which the city was standing is still there, all the rest of elements are only in the form of cognitive stimuli. Hence, I can no longer perceive the city sensorially. I call this stage "THE MAP-CUM-LABEL."

Figure 5.4: Illustration of the epochal stages in Times Square, New York. Top left: normal lifeworld; top right, empty stage; bottom left, neutral boxes; bottom right, map-cum-labels. In each of these stages variations and extensions of the manifestation of the beings of space can be found and, therefore, topoaletheia can be traced in each stage. Obviously, in order to do so, the kinds of stimuli perceived would be different, depending on the case.

d) Fourthly, I bracket out even those noemata regarding the beings that were there beforehand. Hence, the result is that I am left with the terrain upon which there used to be the city, which is now just a blurred memory in my mind. This stage may be called "THE TERRAIN."

e) Subsequently, I could get rid of the noemata of the terrain and, hence, be left with pure abstract space.

The significance of identifying these five stages along a possible deconstruction of the image of the city is that, in any single stage, beings (i.e. figures, events) will compete only with their immediate competitors on equal grounding in calling for one's attention. The result is that, on the one hand, those properties that make one specific 'event' capture one's attention over its rivals are what constitute the value of such an event. On the other hand, the value of the manifestation of the being of space will come determined as the addition of the value of the figures (i.e. the beings of space) of all stages. The being of space is experienced as one sole phenomenon in one's natural attitude.

The implications of this is that I should pay attention to those variations and extensions of the manifestation of the being of space occurring in all different stages of the *epoché* of the city, in order to account for the value of those beings that appear in each stage. Hence;

a) Firstly, I should look at the beings that *appear* in THE TERRAIN level. This will require me to account for how the natural features[4] of cities already provide individuals with some values, and to examine how they affect constitution of value.

b) Secondly, I should look at the "MAP-CUM-LABEL" stage, and see how the products of the *Lefebvrian* conceived space (i.e. the zone-planning and architects' conceived space) become beings with value themselves. Indeed, zoning and planning create events, in a sense that a being in consciousness (with value) is created where hitherto there was only a physical terrain.

c) Thirdly, I will focus my attention on the "NEUTRAL BOX" stage. The main difference from the previous stage is that physical matters come into play, together with the purely conceived plans of the previous stage. Thus, those "boxes" -regardless of their neutrality of meaning- already occupy a certain amount of empirical space, and hence their value intertwine with that of the terrain of the city in creating the spatial practice in which the individual lives in.

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[4] For a clear and explanatory phenomenological analysis of landscape, see Tilley, 1994.

d) Fourthly, the process will lead to analysis of the "EMPTY STAGE." That is to say, the previous stage plus all the representational values of all inert beings of space will be investigated. Representational meanings behave as beings themselves, and therefore have a value.

e) Lastly, in the analysis of the normal lifeworld, I should look upon how the lived space of the city unconceals its value to the Dasein. This stage adds the other people to the empty stage from the previous level. The "others" (or "the They") affect the experience of the space in one's world in a different manner than any inert object.

From now one I will approach the city planning topics covered by different authors such as Lynch, Bofill or Cullen and account for the differences that following the *epochal* deconstruction stages described above make.

3. Topoaletheia and Lynch's image of the city.

As said above, the physical setting is formed by those spatial elements that may be empirically observable. In it, the value of noemata comes determined by the intrinsic value of the stimuli –that is, by their intensity. Firstly I will refer to the terrain upon which cities are set, and then move on to relate topoaletheia with Kevin Lynch's works (1953, 1960) on the horizontal structure of the image of the city.

3.1 **The terrain.**

The stage of "The Terrain" in the *epochal* exercise aims to show how the intrinsic values of the features of the terrain come to the fore, bringing *figures* above the *ground* of the emptiness of the Cartesian coordinates. These values will come determined by the intensity of the properties of those features. Hence:

a) A bigger mountain or higher peak will have relatively more intrinsic value than seemingly smaller mountain or lower peak. This is because (or, rather, the reason why) they have the potential ability of unconcealing a bigger area of space. For illustration, let us suppose there is an endless, featureless flat space and suddenly three peaks arise around us in the distance. We become instantly aware of the space in between those three peaks and ourselves (following the example of the beach, page 100). Not to overlook is that this is a three-dimensional exercise, and therefore if those peaks are higher, we will come to sense a bigger VOLUME OF SPACE than those in the previous position (this means that the initial featureless-flat space allows us to unconceal the least amount of space).

b) Besides, other properties that may constitute value by themselves, such as light, colour or texture should also be kept in mind: in a case of two land features of equal height and size, the one with more perceptually outstanding surfaces, colours and materials will unconceal more space. This is because such features will make us aware of the

SPACE IN BETWEEN those main features by helping us focus our attention in the smaller details within that scope [5]. A different variety of rhythms (such as 'in between lines', 'accelerating', 'surly') can be found in this space in between.

I am not so interested in the physical features themselves, which, being empirically observable, can be left to be studied through the positive sciences. My focus is on the individual's experience of those
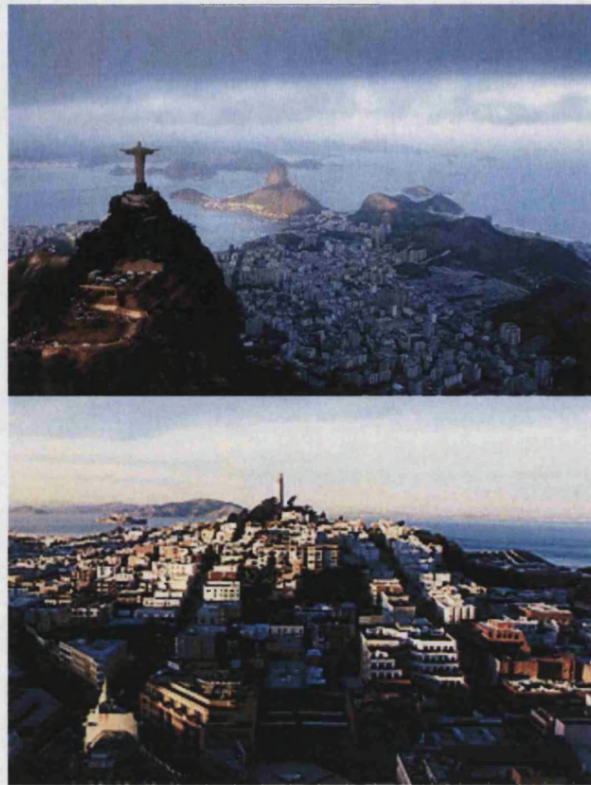
Figure 5.5 (above): Rio de Janeiro.
Figure 5.6 (below): San Francisco's Telegraph Hill

features. If the physical features are able to compete with the values bestowed by the built features, they remain as places that create regions within the Dasein's lifeworld. Thus they can create, extend or vary the space of one's world, thereby helping one to experience topoaletheia.

This point can be made cleared by employing extreme examples. There are cities in which the physical features are so prominent that, despite the built environment being populated or messy, the places holds high value (see figures 5.5 and 5.6). The hills and peaks of San Francisco and Rio act as natural landmarks, helping to achieve legibility[6]: a) these natural landmarks can be seen from afar (becoming places); and b) from the top of these natural landmarks, one can perceive a massive volume of the city space, one is able

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[5] This follows the example of the smoke in the Surroundings Surrounded exhibition by Olafur Eliasson at the Tate Modern (as explained on page 127).
[6] Moreover, in those examples legibility is enhanced further by other natural features coming in to play, such as the shore and the sea (i.e. "edges", to follow Lynch's terms).

to "see" the city, and thus, can easily develop a mental representation of it. This makes one feel "mighty" and "free" —as one loses the 'fear' of the unknown aspects of the city.

Figure 5.7: Downtown Los Angeles with the San Gabriel mountain range behind.
This is a clear example of how natural elements (the mountains) may serve as a landmark in the local layer of space. The mountains are visible from many parts of the city, and by looking at them, one has the necessary stimuli to unconceal the volume of space lying between one's location and those mountains. That is, by becoming aware of the being of those mountains in the edge of the city, the individual can infer the existence of the being of the space that lies in between those mountains and oneself. This is the process of unconcealing the space, unleashing the experience of topoaletheia.

In short, these distinctive natural features can be said to help the place achieve legibility (see Lynch 1960, for example). My opinion is that the prominent physical features are helping the individual to become aware of the being of space. It is ultimately the awareness —however unconscious- that provides the individual with the intuition of the image, i.e. legibility, of the city. Space is in the world of the Dasein, therefore, is created by expanding the awareness of one's world. Such space will be known, and becomes easily legible.

3.2 *Imageability* and topoaletheia.

Lynch (1953, 1960, 1981) examined the images that people had of cities, assuming that these were to a very great extent a function of their experiences, and analysed the features of the townscape that figured most prominently in those images —mainly paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (see p. 38 for Lynch's concepts of *imageability* and legibility, as well as Nassar's *visuality*).

The relationship between imageability and the elements that constitute the essence of topoaletheia is twofold. On the one hand, imageability —as the property of the components of the environment that can make a strong impression on the individual- is akin to the value of those beings (noemata) in topoaletheia, since value is determined by the properties of those beings that highlight them as figures over the ground. On the

other hand, the imageability of the whole city (once the individual has mentally organised the legible components) is akin to the unconcealment of the physical space of the city, as that unconcealment will have another value: that of the whole process of knowing Being (see page 114). At that point, imageability may provide the individual aletheia (i.e. topoaletheia) if one is able to unconceal the being of the space that one cannot perceive by being conscious of the space that one perceives. That is, if the individual can develop an image (or, more broadly, become aware) of the space one is not actually perceiving by basing upon the imageability of the components one is actually perceiving.

For Lynch (1960: 9), imageability comes from "that shape, colour, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment." This means that imageability is that property that bestows a being with value so as to make it stand as a figure out of the nothingness of the ground. That property is an intrinsic value, and can be related to any of the five senses that receive its stimuli. It will be more effective as more senses get involved:

a) Spaces (SIGHT): the basic quality of spaces is determined by the shape and proportion

of the VOLUME. Whereas the play of different volumes and proportions of space can provide the individual with different values, Lynch insists that details of colour, texture, floor or silhouette can be used to emphasise or modify this fundamental shape, as the eye "demands material to work on" (see figure

Figure 5.8: Floor decoration in Macau.

5.8). Hence, spaces in-between are created by bringing up to the fore certain figures that can refine one's perception up to the point of creating different rhythmic perceptual experiences (e.g. rhythms "in between lines", "harmonium", "second tiers", "agglomeration", etc.). "All the techniques which promise more on approach, or give a partial, interrupted view of a known continuity, give PLEASURE" (Lynch, 1953: 145). He continues by saying that "light, or characteristic detail, coming around a corner;

truncated forms; or a space seen spottily thru an arcade, can be enjoyable." Where does that "joy" come from? In my opinion, it is clear that Lynch was inadvertently referring to the fulfilment experienced by knowing Being through space. He is observing the unconcealment of space by the rhythms created by those volumes of space and those details that catch his attention. Those "interruptions" he mentions are directly related to the diversion of one's protention and one's actual noticing of the figures that become unconcealed during the experience of the city.

b) SOUNDS. In the same way that volumes of space and details of ornament appeal to visual senses and become valued-figures that stand out from the ground, sounds does the same to the sense of hearing to help us unconceal the "spaces." Originally there is a perceptual nothingness, and city sounds like bells, hums, traffic, etc. may provide us with the necessary stimuli to unconceal the space in between those certain places that lie within the limits (*peras*) that enclose space.

Figure 5.9: Cobbled street, Zagreb.

c) TEXTURE. Texture deals with the materials of the built environment. Combinations of different materials in a certain space can create awareness of spaces, which would have gone unnoticed otherwise. Cobbled streets or crossing are excellent examples of this; not only do the different textures of pavement create awareness of the space by visual means, they can change the sensation of the feet as one walks along those surfaces (see figure 5.9).

d) SMELLS also play their part, as they can give strong perceptions of an otherwise unremarkable space. The sense of smell is the most closely tied to memory and, therefore, are more prone to have representational values. On the other hand, smells enables differentiation in the physical space such as buildings, streets or even entire urban areas (e.g. the salty and fishy smell of a seaside town) which would be non-

distinct otherwise. As Lynch argues, "the 'fresh air' that lightens everyone is as much a smell as a reaction to temperature and humidity."

3.3 **Paths.**

Paths are "the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. [...] For many people, these are the predominant elements in their image" (Lynch, 1960: 47). Paths are 'figures' meant to be occupied: they are a space already defined by delimiting borders that can be occupied, as well as being a figure (i.e. an element, a being) in itself. This makes them stand out from other beings like objects (e.g. buildings) or other spaces (e.g. squares, parks).

One can experience topoaletheia via paths in two ways: a) from considering both the space within the path and the space one can see from the path as volumes of space (delimited by places that create regions –buildings, mountains, etc.); and b) from intuiting other paths that are connected to, or run along, the path where one is on (i.e. by intuiting the space defined by the path structure that contains one).

Paths link different volumes of space while remaining as a distinctive entity by themselves. This means that while moving along a path, one is able to move from one 'known' volume of space towards another one that becomes unconcealed little by little. For instance, one runs along a road that crosses the pass of

Figure 5.10 (above): Mountain Pass with a train 'discovering' a new valley ahead.
Figure 5.11 (left): Alleyway in the City of London.

the mountain separating two valleys and, at the summit, one can realise of the new valley ahead, while obviously still being conscious of the continuity of the path (see figure 5.10). Another example is that of small alleys in cities that interconnect two very different

volumes of space, while concealing the [much] bigger volumes of such spaces in its narrow walls (see figure 5.11).

The second manner in which we can experience topoaletheia through paths comes, as said above, from the intuition of the structure of paths that surround us as related to the path we are in (i.e. from the consideration of the other paths that we intuit run along or across the path where we are in). This manner has some different implications:

1) One discloses the space whereby other paths are going along. Those other paths must be somehow related to the one wherein the individual is moving along. Such an intuition allows one to unconceal an ever bigger volume of space. That is, when one is aware of a path that is parallel to the one he or she is in, and one is aware of the distance between two such paths, one can actually unconceal the space in between those two paths.

2) Coordinated path structures, such as grid systems have some interesting repercussions. Their ability to unconceal the spaces in between the paths that compose the grid is great and fast. However, it has serious disadvantages towards the provision of topoaletheia in the mid and long term: getting to "know" the space of the city too fast prevents the individual from a further and steady process of unconcealment, and therefore, no new experience of aletheia is achieved.

3.4 **Edges.**

"Edges are the linear elements not used or considered as paths by the observer. Shores, railroad cuts, edges of development, walls, etc." (Lynch, 1960: 47). In other words, edges are those linear elements that bring the limits of the other elements of the urban environment, be it districts or paths, to the fore. Acting as limits of the figure over the ground, the space "beyond" the edge is the ground, or *nothingness*, and hence edges have the capacity to delimit where value gets manifested (i.e. the being of the figure) and where it cannot (i.e. the nothingness beyond the edge). Because edges act as divisions between what it *is* and what it *is not*, they are either starting points or focal points in

which the individual can consciously grasp the value of the manifestation of the being of the space he is in.

The easiest example to start understanding this point is in the case of a coastal city. The shoreline acts as an edge that, by connecting the immense nothingness of the sea to the reality of the urban structure, makes it easy for the individual to come to terms with the value of the space of the city one is in, by realising the "insideness" of one's location within the city –as compared to a city surrounded entirely by endless suburbs or farmland.

As a related point, the obvious consequence of this function of the edge is that it helps achieve legibility. By providing basic foci of attention upon which one can create the mental structure of the elements of urban form, edges can be said to help the individual know how to interpret the map of the city; it will be read from the coastline inwards. The eye of the observer will always move from the coast towards the inland, no matter the direction, unconsciously setting a pattern of legibility (see figure 5.12). A city with clear edges provides the individual with the initial point of consciousness one needs to start identifying places and regions that will make one become aware of the surroundings, along internal time consciousness. Without that initial focal point, one is lost; one cannot anchor consciousness, and therefore cannot establish any structure of relationships with other places that may together create regions.

Figure 5.12: Map of Downtown Miami area (left) and Miami Beach (right), with the clear edges of the shorelines around and in between them.

3.5 **Districts.**

"Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters 'inside of', and which are recognisable as having some common, identifying character" (Lynch, 1960: 47).

Districts (delimited by real, imaginary, "hard", or "soft" boundaries) frame social relations. Hence, within the space delimited by the boundary space emerges, and one may become aware of the being of space. If there were not such boundaries, the awareness of space would be "lost" in the magnitude of the surroundings (nothingness). Therefore, districts come up to the fore of one's awareness as a spatial figure, as beings with a certain value. Let me suggest two examples of topoaletheia rhythms that apply to districts.

The first example deals with SUBURBAN SPRAWL of cities, which is often criticised by advocates of dense cities for reasons that are not of relevance here. However, I find suburbs to be useful in our quest to identify Being through the manifestations of the being of space. As one moves from the centre of a city towards its outskirts, the value of noemata will probably tend to diminish, due to the decrease in density of stimuli –e.g. lower heights of buildings, less noise, less concentration of visual stimuli, and therefore less spaces in-between stimuli. One's awareness is 'attending' the decreasing values of the city noemata, and hence one's protention will indicate a further decline toward the minimum or non value –

Figure 5.13: Murcia, Spain, where the sprawling suburbs have transformed the traditionally densed city into an *urbs* that extends beyond the valley that surrounds the old city, hence changing the awareness that individuals had of the space of their city and its surroundings.

nothingness or "the end of the city." However, when there appears a suburban core, the values of the figures manifested (i.e. the stimuli) stop the downward trend and bounce back somewhat, to reflect the value of the stimuli of the suburb one perceives. The being of space that emerges between the non-value (nothingness) and the actual value is unconcealed, thus allowing the individual to sense Being. In other words, the initial projection of city ending and the later realisation of the suburb makes the individual become particularly aware of the value of the suburb, showing the being of space (see figure 5.13). This is a perfect example of the topoaletheia rhythm "on and on."

The second example is that of the planning of CENTRES AND SUB-CENTRES in compact cities, as suggested by the Urban Task Force in the white paper *Towards and Urban Renaissance* (1999) –see figure 5.14. Planning such district centres and sub-centres facilitates unconcealment of the being of space compared to: 1) a city completely dense
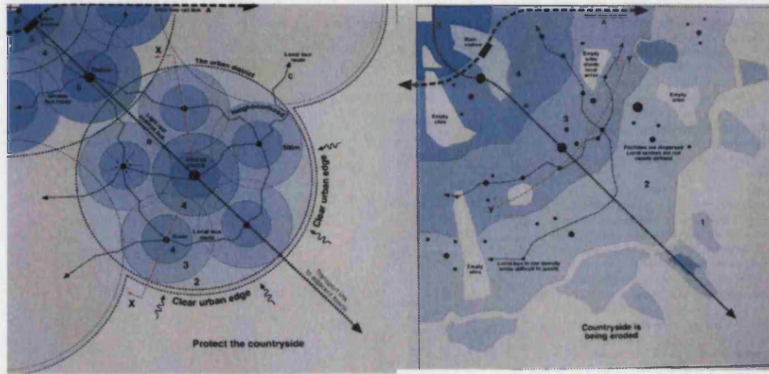
Figure 5.14: District planning (left)– devising district centres, subcentres and neighbourhoods in an structured way, unlike the eroding of densities usually found in British cities(right) (UTF: 1999).

up to its boundary line with agricultural space; and 2) a city that decreases in density (and consequently the stimuli it has) uniformly from its city centre (highest values) to its boundary (zero value). This is because of the interplay between the attention line (of values being perceived) and the protention line (of values expected to perceive). When there is a variation of densities between centres and sub-centres, there is no habituation and hence projections will not match the attended actual values of the urban environment, thus unconcealing the being of space. The topoaletheia rhythm that applies here is "against mean-reversion"; some others may also appear, such as "sea wave", or even "bolero" or "dramatic."

The relationship between districts and topoaletheia regarding CITY MARKETING PRACTICES is easy to spot. It is becoming increasingly common the utilisation of Olympics or FD as a city marketing activity towards the regeneration of a previously derelict area and/or to call the attention to an area that previously had no tourist or business interest. In such cases, the FD sites function as focal points on which one can anchor one's consciousness –in the way that one can become aware of the surrounding space for as long as the buffer zone of one's perception is concerned (see p. 113). Hence, I can mention two effects:

a) Such sites located within areas that used to be a "nothingness", shows the opening up (i.e. the unconcealment) of the surrounding area, which becomes known as a being (of space) -see figure 5.15. This is what I believe was intended by the location of the Sydney 2000 Olympic site in the westernmost edge of the city, so as to help "discovering" the apparently endless space occupied by the suburban sprawl to the west of the older parts of the city.

Figure 5.15: Districts and city marketing: A represents the "known" area of the city (e.g. the area that tourists know and visit. B is the unknown 'nothingness' of the rest. C represents the city marketing action, such as an Olympic site. D is the buffer zone of that site that becomes known as surrounding, unconcealing the space in between the site and the 'known' city indirectly .

b) Creating a number of such sites in a coordinated manner multiplies the effect as their respective buffer zones of awareness get connected to one another and consequently, the whole volume of space in between them becomes unconcealed (as the individual is aware of the focus points that surround him). This maximises the value of this city marketing practice (see figure 5.16). The case of the four Olympic areas in Barcelona, surrounding the city centre, might be the best example of this (see chapter seven).

Figure 5.16: In this case, districts lie in a different way: Actions, such as Olympic sites (B), are placed around the city centre (A), with not one of them actually being placed in the centre. Their buffer zones (C) end up covering up a great deal of the centre of the city, and overlapping their influence.

There is a whole range of examples of city marketing activities where entirely new districts are planned and developed. New business districts are flourishing, marketed as the solution to provide investors with all the facilities (telecom infrastructure, transportation hubs, etc.) needed to do business in the globalised economy. Examples are the Pudong Area in Shanghai, Santa Fe in Mexico City, Canary Wharf in London, etc. Despite the conflicts it may cause[7], this zoning strategy may indeed

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[7] Conflicts and hazards may arise as a result of this kind of city marketing activity. See section six of chapter six to see how these conflicts are related to topoaletheia.

lead to fostering the possibilities for individuals to experience topoaletheia, since a 'valuable' being of space (the district itself) comes to the fore where previously there was a 'nothingness' in noemata.

The effects of districts as focal points and their relation to topoaletheia do not only affect newly devised sites, but also the awareness created by the marketing communication of other districts in the city. One example is the image fostering of one neighbourhood through a placement in film. This promotion will very likely raise the awareness of that neighbourhood that was part of the *nothingness* in the city. A good example is the case of the film "Notting Hill" and the effect it had in West London, creating a "focus" (i.e. a place) in the nothingness as far as the tourists had been concerned.

3.6 **Nodes.**

"Nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter, and which are the intensive foci to and from which he is travelling" (Lynch, 1960: 47). They can be junctions, transportation hubs, convergence of paths or, simply, concentrations. A centre of activity can also be considered a node. Two comments can be made regarding the possibility of experiencing topoaletheia through nodes.

As regards to the NODE AS A JUNCTION, nodes help the being of paths to manifest more clearly: one can realise more clearly that the path one is on to be a path indeed when approaching or leaving a node. In that moment, the being of the path emerges.

When the NODE is considered A CENTRE OF ACTIVITY, topoaletheia may be experienced due to the role of activity as a determinant of place (see figure 5.3 again). The determinants of place via activity include crowds, events, etc. The upshot of this is that indeed nodes will become likely places where topoaletheia may be experienced, since activity confers value to the place.

3.7 **Landmarks.**

"Landmarks are another type of point-reference, but in this case the observer does not enter within them, they are external. They are usually a rather simply defined physical object: building, sign, store, or mountain" (Lynch, 1960: 48). They are isolated objects of peculiar form associated with key locations, and to which observers can be radially oriented by sight[8]. Because of their centrality or clarity of form, remarkable size, exceptional architecture, or unusual natural features, landmarks, whether natural or man-made, tend not only to draw attention to themselves but also to declare themselves as places that in some way stand out from the surrounding area (Relph, 1976: 35 and Lynch, 1960). Hence, I put forward two comments:

a) Landmarks, whether natural or man-made, are 'places' *per se.*

b) Precisely the distinctive *placiality* of landmarks tends to make the space surround them emerge as space[9]. Also, man-made landmarks usually have a strong symbolic value attached, as I will show in chapter six.

All in all, I want to stress the importance of landmarks in the possibility of experiencing topoaletheia. After having one point of consciousness in which we anchor our awareness to create regions from which space may emerge, the first thing we need are places. Landmarks are places per se, and therefore they greatly facilitate the formulation of regions and the making of 'room,' from which we can become aware of the being of space. It is not that they are indispensable, as one may constitute places in consciousness by noemata of other stimuli. But the strength of landmarks in the constitution of topoaletheia is that they are already places, which therefore require no further mental effort on the part of the individual to create regions.

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[8] I am not so interested in the usefulness of landmarks as a help to orientate oneself as I am of their ability to unconceal space, as I explain.

[9] Norberg-Schulz (1971) stresses the importance of central places as "anchor of reference" and the centre of human existence. He states that the idea had such strength that since ancient times mankind believed that world was "centred" (and hence the names of "Middle Kingdom" to China, "Only Universe" to the Aztec Empire, etc.). The centre places of human existence represent the 'known world', in contrast to the unknown and threatening surrounding world – the use of obelisks and totems as axes around which the world turned indicates such understanding. In this context, Norberg-

Landmarks have another distinctive characteristic: since they are already 'placial' in essence, the noemata are more likely to have higher value (i.e. higher intensity, more *strength*) than that of other places with lesser stimuli. Therefore, the topoaletheia rhythms experienced through landmarks are those with unexpected stepwise values.

Landmarks in the bigger layers of space, such as landscape or geography, tend to apply solely to the symbolic space. For example the Eiffel Tower represents France, and the Pyramids of Giza represent Egypt. These examples also function as landmarks in the physical space, but their value can only reach the local layer and not beyond.

Since landmarks facilitate the process of experiencing topoaletheia for the individual, they become truly important in my quest for identifying topoaletheia in city marketing practices and for specific city marketing policies that may maximise the attainment of topoaletheia by as many people as possible. Man-made landmarks are built purposefully as places per se in people's consciousness and thus easily become the places that delimit the regions within which space emerges. The use of such landmarks enhances the experience of topoaletheia to a great extent.

An example of a very well known man-made landmark in the local layer of space is the Eiffel Tower. The disclosed entity of the tower helps the individual to mentally unconceal the space in between the tower and oneself. in addition, if the space between the landmark and the individual is filled with stimuli (in this case physical, not representational), the effect of unconcealment is increased, as those "in-between" noemata expand the awareness of the being of space. The result is more

Figure 5.17: The Eiffel Tower in the background and other stimuli give value to the space in-between. Photo by Jorge Tutor (jorgetutor.com).

overall value (i.e. more unconcealment of Being) than if the space in between the

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Schulz defines place as the foci where the most significant events of our lives occur and from which we gain orientation and reach out for our surroundings.

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Figure 5.18: The Mall in Washington D.C: The dome of the Capitol building and the obelisk at the far end stand out, reinforcing the space in between, which is the centre of the political and cultural life of the American capital,

individual and the landmark was featureless (see figure 5.17). This results in the rhythm "in-between lines." "In-between" rhythms are particularly interesting in these cases (see also figure 5-18), as they reinforce the urban nature (or 'civility') of the awareness of the city, suggesting in a strong manner that what it is unconcealed in-between the landmark and individual is the being of the space of the city –this is, in a sense, "the being of the city."

The aforementioned examples referred to the local layer of space. However, I believe that the STREET LAYER is where most examples of unconcealment through landmarks can
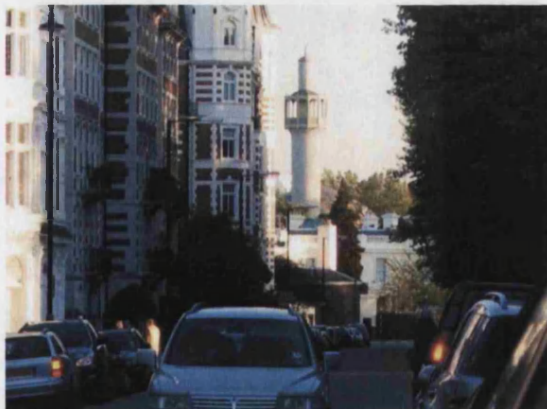
Figure 5.19: St. John's Wood High Street, being "closed" in its southernmost end by the sight of the London Central Mosque.

be found. I refer to those cases where a landmark seems to put an end to the street and "enclose" the space the street seemed to open. In London there are numerous examples of this kind (e.g. St. Peter's church in Notting Hill, Centre Point in Tottenham Court Road, the Central Mosque 'closing' St. John's Wood High Street –figure 5.19). In these cases, the landmarks help unconceal the space in between themselves and the observer by giving unconscious measure of how many of those landmarks could lie in between. Thus they make the observer become aware of the being of space through the realisation of the space in between.

On a smaller level, even traffic lights serve as landmarks –as noemata with the same characteristics of the landmarks. In most cities across the world, traffic light fixtures have the standard dark green colour which is considered "normal." These traffic lights are undifferentiated, and do not qualify as 'figure' that stands out in our consciousness. However, some cities have shiny yellow traffic light fixtures, making them "mini-landmarks" (see figure 5.20).

Figure 5.20: Yellow Traffic light of Calgary, Canada. (Photo by istockphoto.com).

3.7.1 LIGHT AS LANDMARK.

Figure 5.21: Communications Palace, Madrid –the new site for the city government- with traditional lighting (above) and one of the multiple variations of light used nowadays.

In the physical space, light has value in itself since it is comprehended through sense of sight. Light enables the individual to unconceal the being of space by providing visibility to places, gaining the status of 'placiality,' and also of landmarks. In many cases, light can make a building become a place, where it would not be otherwise. For example some buildings are indistinctive by day (and therefore do not act as places), but are transformed into unique places due to their remarkable light decoration[10] by night (see figure 5.21). The buildings lit up to become landmarks are likely to produce the topoaletheia rhythm called "up-shifted"[11].

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[10] An extreme example of such practice is the Christmas lighting and decoration.

[11] N.b. it is not the "convex" rhythm, since the buildings are there in any case, even when there are no light.

Lit up landmarks can also act as places on the local layer of space. They can modify their ability to appear as places from which an extended or varied awareness of the being of space may be experienced:

a) Changes in lighting such as varying colour, intensity, or mode (still vs, twinkling) modify the 'placial' characteristic of the landmark (see figure 5.21). These changes become new noemata (of the same building) –i.e. the new colour is a new *figure*, distinguishable from the previous colours in value)[12].

b) A constant lighting may result in a habituation of the landmark at night, and therefore results in decreasing its value as an outstanding figure over the ground of the rest of similar landmarks.

c) A remarkable landmark by day may lose its status by night if not lit up properly. A perfect example of this is the failure to use light in the broadcasting of the celebrations in Athens of their national football team success in the Euro 2004. See figure 5.22.

Figure 5.22: Panathenaic Stadium and Acropolis, Athens.

Panoramic views of the stadium and adjacent areas could have made the Acropolis visible that night to millions of people. Regrettably this historical and symbolic site was not lit up, and the potentiality to allow for the creation of regions of space was lost. The view of the camera that was broadcasted worldwide is indicated by white shade. Without lighting, only those who already knew the Acropolis could appreciate the landmark. It was a regrettable lost opportunity.

There are numerous other examples of topoaletheia rhythms related to the lighting of landmarks. The topoaletheia rhythm "semitone-positive" regarding some new light decoration in London readily comes to mind. In London, it is becoming increasingly fashionable to light up buildings and landmarks in colours different from the standard yellowish or white light. Let me illustrate this with the example of London Bridge (figure

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[12] I deal with the value of colours in section 3.7.2 below.

5.23) during the time it is lit up in red colour. We all have memories of other bridges being lit up with very clear yellowish light. In fact, the noemata we all have in consciousness of a bridge being lit up is of a bridge being lit up in light yellow or white. In such a case one will 'project' London Bridge to be lit up that way, and when one sees the stimulus of a red London Bridge against one's expectation, one experiences a variation of the noemata of such space. This creates within the observer a "semitone-positive" rhythm. I demonstrate this by resorting to the RGB colour scale[13] (see figure 5.24).
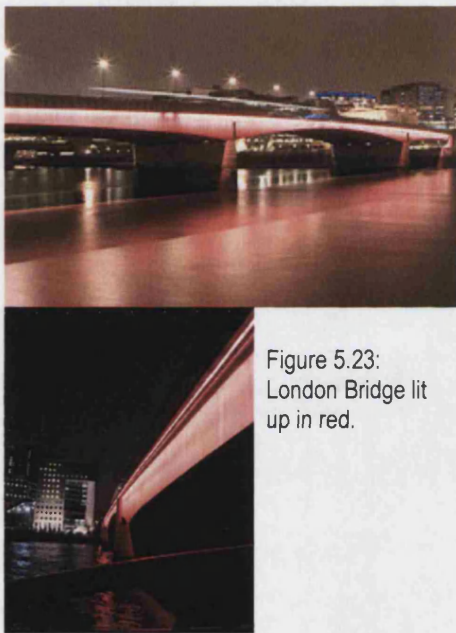
Figure 5.23:
London Bridge lit
up in red.
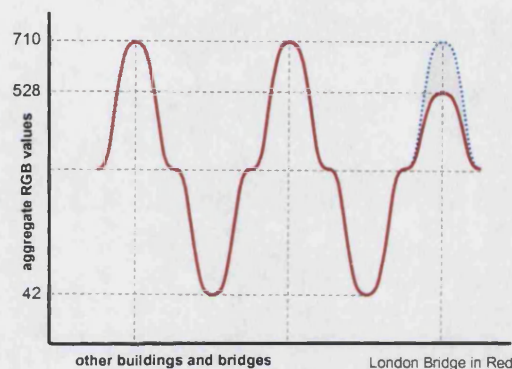
Figure 5.24: Diagram showing the "semitone rhythm"
created by the RGB values of London Bridge –when
lit up in red (528) as compared to the usual retention
of other night lightings (710) or darkness (42).

The last example of light decoration is the neon-light decorated façades along Ocean Drive, Miami (figure 5.25). In order to comprehend the qualitative effect of this light decoration, one must take into account the different values of each primary colour. For instance, instead of the standard yellowish light, Ocean Drive shows a light green colour; instead of red, a pinkish tone, etc. Hence, topoaletheia rhythms arise: e.g. the pinkish tone of a hotel produces a "convex" or "up-shifted" rhythm regarding the 'projected' red.

Obviously there are strong links regarding the possible interrelations between landmarks, topoaletheia and city marketing. However, there are two particular issues that affect this relation:

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[13] The RGB colour scale is an added model in which red, green and blue are combined in various ways to reproduce

1. There is a THRESHOLD OF RETENTION: up to a certain point, an area of unconcealment is disclosed by the attention paid to the high value of the landmark. Beyond that point, retention of the old stimuli gets lost and hence the effect is not maximised.

2. Different effects in DIFFERENT LAYERS must be taken into account, as landmarks will easily transcend layers with their influence. For example, perhaps one landmark has a great unconcealment

Figure 5.25: A view of the neon lit hotels on Ocean Drive in South Beach, Miami.

value in the city layer of space, whereas in the neighbourhood layer it is rather redundant and does not unconceal any space because, for instance, the slope is too steep. This results in the bubble-effect, as in the case of the Millennium Dome or Canary Wharf in London, which suffer from a mismatch of their unconcealing power among the different layers of space they affect.

3.7.2 COLOUR-VALUE OF LANDSCAPE.

Although not a landmark per se, colour[14] scheme can also create 'figures' within a given volume of space; figures that may open up spaces in-between and, hence, making observers likely to feel topoaletheia. In order to assess the ability of a landscape to unconceal the being of space, I have created the formula shown in figure 5.26. The formula requires as input the amount of the red, green and blue values (from 0 to 255) each points in the scene have, and output a quantitative value that can be compared. The formula does this by comparing the hue and lightness of all the points selected (i.e. hue

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other colours.

[14] I could speak of different "categories" of the stimuli of the physical space of the city susceptible to be perceived by sight and measurable empirically: size, volume and colour.

and light are measured in relative terms comparing one point to another) and the absolute values of saturation in each of the points (i.e. primary colours that have highest saturation will give the highest values).

Applying the "colour-value of landscape" formula to the examples suggested in figures 5.27 and 5.28, I obtained a score of 67 out of 100 for Seville and 20 for Murmansk.

$$VCL = \frac{100\sum f(hue)}{400} * \frac{100\sum f(sat)}{480.83} * \frac{100\sum f(light)}{400}$$

$$f(hue) = \begin{cases} f^1(hue) = \sqrt{(100 - \frac{v*100}{63.75})^2} \; \forall 0 \leq v \leq 127.5 \\ f^2(hue) = \sqrt{(100 - \frac{(v-127.5)*100}{63.75})^2} \; \forall 127.5 < v \leq 255 \end{cases}$$

$$f(sat) = \sqrt{\frac{(R-\sigma)^2 + (G-\sigma)^2 + (B-\sigma)^2}{3}}$$

$$f(light) = \begin{cases} f^1(light) = \frac{v*100}{129.5} \; \forall 0 \leq v \leq 127.5 \\ f^2(light) = \frac{100*(255-v)}{127.5} \; \forall 127.5 < v \leq 255 \end{cases}$$
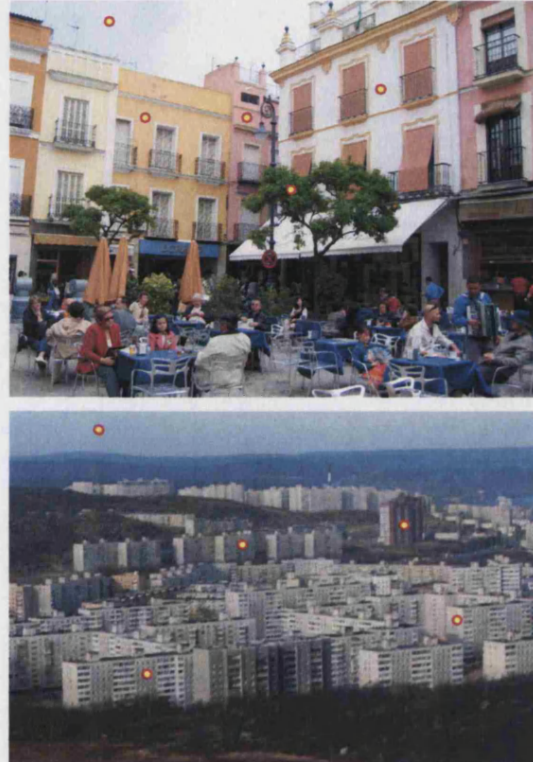
Figure 5.26 (above):
Formula of the colour-value of landscape equation.

Figure 5.27 (right-top): Seville, Spain.
Figure 5.28 (right-bottom): Murmansk, Russia.
The yellow dots in both figures represent the points where I took the colour-values for the RGB analysis using the formula suggested in figure 5.26.

3.8 Further relationships between Lynch's elements and topoaletheia.

In this section I discuss the interrelationships between Lynch's image of the city and topoaletheia in the following order: firstly I discuss the relationship between the elements of the essence of topoaletheia and some abstract themes that Lynch's put forward when discussing the elements of the image of the city. Secondly, I relate what Lynch calls "the psychological and sensual effects of the physical form of the city" to the phenomena and essence of topoaletheia.

There are four general abstract themes that run through all of Lynch's (1953) discussions on the elements of the image of the city are: contrast and relation, intensity,

rhythm, and the issue of order and variety. See table 5.29 for a summary. Topoaletheia is related to them thusly: 1) CONTRAST AND RELATION. In my opinion, this theme can be easily linked to the necessity of counting with a 'figure' that stands out of a ground in topoaletheia. Without a 'figure', there can be no difference, no awareness. This is very similar to the need of "tension and connection" that Lynch points out. 2) INTENSITY, which is

Lynch's themes that interconnect image elements	Elements of the essence of topoaletheia
Contrast and relation	Manifestation of the being of space
Intensity	Value
Rhythm	Awareness along time - Rhythm
Order and variety	Extension or variation

Table 5.29: Relation between Lynch's terms and the elements of the essence of topoaletheia.

directly linked to the element of value in the essence of topoaletheia. 3) RHYTHM, which is easily related to the awareness along time of those intensities contained in the value. 4) THE PROBLEM OF ORDER AND VARIETY, which is directly linked to the extensions and variations that figures (as manifestations of the being of space) create in the individual's awareness along internal time consciousness. Without such extensions and variations, one's consciousness would be aware of just a vast *nothingness*.

The second topic I wanted to tackle is the relationship between topoaletheia and what Lynch (1953) names "the psychological and sensual effects of the physical form[15] of the city." I summarised these effects in chapter three (see figure 3.4 on page 94). Hence, I will briefly connect these effects to the phenomena and essence of topoaletheia. Lynch argues that the city can provide several forms of satisfaction, which he summarises as orientation, warmth, stimulus, sensual delight, and interest.

1. ORIENTATION. In my own terminology, this indicates knowing the being of the space of the city. The delight that there is "in grasping a complex thing as a unity" can be understood as the fulfilment experienced via the knowledge of Being, as manifested via the being of space ('being of the city').

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[15] N.b. that he purposefully excludes the direct functional effects of the city, such as job security, good housing, etc., as well as the provision of adequate quantities of the environmental elements (houses, stores, etc.).

2. WARMTH AND ATTACHMENT. Experiencing an awareness of the volume of space does not depend only on the different layers of space, but also on the context which the individual is in. Lynch also argues that "plentiful distinctive forms" help. Only through contrasts and variations can one experience fulfilment through the physical space of the city. "Human scale" is also important for Lynch. This is due to the impossibility for an individual to become aware of a far too massive volume of space. However, as he also argues, occasional areas of such 'super-human' scale, "with a feeling of power and awe, serve to set off the more intimate areas to magnify men." This would result in the extension and variation represented in the topoaletheia rhythm "straight." Furthermore, intricacy of detail is crucial if we are to experience "in-between" beings that may result in further unconcealment of space. Lynch asserted that these details can be "signs of life", such as interior glimpses, benches, laundry, etc., which is related to the activity component of place.

3. STIMULUS AND RELAXATION is similarly to the emphasis I put on the necessity of becoming aware of the differences between figures and ground (depending on the values of the former). Lynch stresses the delight of contrasts between animated and "cold" forms, or between areas of high and low pressure and concentration. From such contrasts, rhythms are created, producing "pleasure" (Lynch argues). The essence of topoaletheia shows that such a pleasure comes from the extended awareness of Being by the improved knowledge of the being of space, as manifested via the contrasts.

4. SENSUAL DELIGHT; the more senses are involved in the aforementioned satisfactions, the stronger the delight (or pleasure) will be. Spaces (sights), floor, detail, texture and silhouette, plastic form, smell, sound, and the use of natural elements as major impressions are listed as potential sources. This has also been explained by the essence of topoaletheia in the previous chapter (see p. 114).

5. What Lynch called INTEREST is the rational counterpart to the previous point, and will be developed in the chapter dealing with the symbolic space.

The upshot of all this is that Lynch correctly pointed these five "psychological and sensual effects" of the physical form of the city as being able to provide the individual with a sense of "delight" or "pleasure". What I have done in analysing the essence of topoaletheia is explaining how this actually does happen: how and why one individual may feel "pleasure" from a certain physical form of the city. Topoaletheia demonstrates how that "pleasure" or "delight" actually comes from the fulfilment experienced via knowing the being of space by the development of the image of the city in one's awareness and the rhythms created by the noemata of the physical space of the city. Taking this point one step further leads us to knowing Being, through the knowledge of the being of space (as manifested through the beings of the physical space), which is the ultimate source of fulfilment (see figure 5.30).

psychological and sensual effects of the physical form of the city (Lynch)			experience of the phenomena of topoaletheia
Orientation Warmth and attachment Stimulus and relaxation Sensual delight Interest	fulfiment via knowing the being of space by developing an image of the city	→ fulfilment via knowing Being ←	fulfilment via the experience of the awareness of the value of the manifestation of the being of space
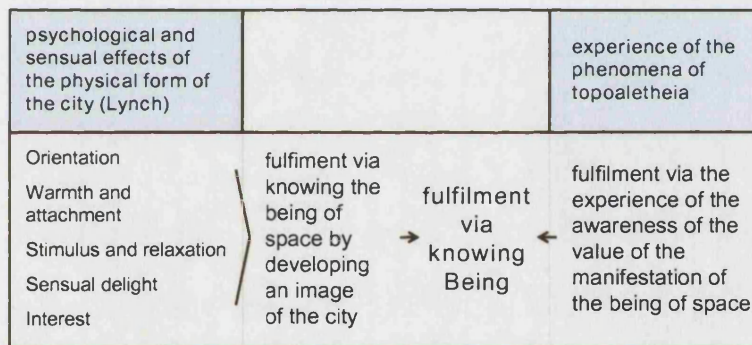
Figure 5.30: Psychological and sensual effects of the physical form of the city and their meaning as based on the topoaletheia hypothesis working as a proxy.

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4. The shape of the city and topoaletheia.

In this section, I aim to keep on exploring the appearances of topoaletheia by looking at more structured (or complex) systems, rather than at specific spatial beings. Firstly, I will put forward a couple of aerial views and figure-ground plans of cities and identify topoaletheia rhythms in them by employing the musical analogy (described in p. 107). Secondly, I will introduce the element of light (or luminosity) and explore the difference it makes towards topoaletheia and, as a related point, the function of skylines to contribute to the overall ability of a city's image to produce topoaletheia.

4.1 **Figure-ground plans and the musical analogy of topoaletheia.**

In this section I introduce the temporal element in the analysis of appearances of topoaletheia. I will show how the stimuli of the physical space of the city are perceived along time. For this purpose, I am putting forward a figure-ground plan and an aerial photo of a city in which I have traced imaginary itineraries of a person walking from one corner to the opposite end. This is intended to explicate the differences of the perceptions of spatial stimuli at different moments[16].

The first example is an aerial picture of New York's East Side (see figure 5.31), in which the grid pattern of streets is clearly recognisable. However, not all streets are the same, as the avenues running north-south (horizontally in the picture) are considerably wider than the streets running east-west (vertically in the picture). I have traced a route along some of those streets. One might expect that, since we have a grid pattern of streets, they will result in a monotonous rhythm, meaning that all the 'notes' (stimuli) are similar in value and length. Hence, no rhythm can possibly disclose the being of space as there is no room for surprise. However, the difference of width between streets and avenues allows the individual to perceive variations in value: less volume of space

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[16] N.b. I am taking into account just a two-dimensional perspective of the city. If I were to include the height of buildings and other stimuli, the volumes of space would vary considerably.

Figure 5.31: Grid street pattern in New York's East Side. The yellow line shows the route of the imaginary walk.

perceived as one moves along a narrow street, and the bigger volume in a wide and long avenue. Nevertheless, the important thing is not the space that is perceived directly, but the space that is known indirectly (by topoaletheia unconcealment), to which the intertwining of perceptions of different volumes is essential.

An approximation of the rhythm that this walk will produce (from the top-left corner of the map to the bottom-right) is illustrated in figure 5.32.
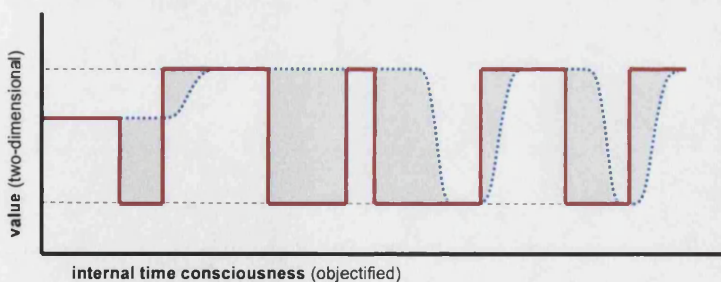
Figure 5.32: Rhythm experienced by walking along the yellow route in New York's grid.

Except the first avenue of the imaginary route, which is slightly narrower than the rest of avenues, there are only two kinds of value, as given by either streets or avenues that have different widths.

This is also because these streets are apparently 'endless' –i.e. no closing element can be perceived at their end, and hence their relative value is not determined by the volume of the enclosed space but by their width. So, there are only two kinds of values —only two musical notes. This diminishes the possibilities of unconcealing space by indirection. Nevertheless, there are unconcealed areas, as shown by the grey shaded areas.

One can see that the unconcealing areas become increasingly smaller as the individual walks along. This is because one becomes habituated to those two values, which are easily kept in one's memory and there are no surprises of new figures. Regarding the pattern of the rhythm itself, it tends to be somewhere in between the "embracing" and "surly"

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rhythms. Nevertheless, it is not a rhythm that can maximise the potentialities for disclosing the being of space that either "embracing" or "surly" could.

Let me now show one example of a different street pattern: a 'messy' layout, as that of Central Rome around the Piazza Navona (figure 5.33). The highlighted route runs from the right-bottom corner of the map up to the top-right corner.

Figure 5.33: A route across narrow alleys and Piazza Navona in Central Rome.

As one can see, every single street, square, crossroads and alley has different length, width and shape. This will surprise the walking observer new to the area, since he cannot expect what will happen when he turns the corner. In other words, all figures into which the being of space becomes manifested have different values, and therefore the retention of stimuli is very varied.

The effect of this is that the protention is not well defined, though it is "encountered" in a very short term (hence making it very easy for the attention to be compared to the retention). These two factors open up widely the possibilities of unconcealment of space.

Figure 5.35 shows an approximation to the rhythmic sequence that this route will produce. The topoaletheia rhythm that resembles this pattern somewhat is the "against mean reversion", in which different beings with different values are kept in retentions through the rapid successions of values, multiplying the effects of unconcealment of those areas held within more than one line (i.e. the darker areas of the graph).

> *"The city is then, as Bachelard noted, the poetics of multiple* durées *coming together not necessarily as unified wholes but as sometimes fragmentary and ragged patterns"* (Crang, 2001).

Figure 5.35: An approximate representation of the rhythm experienced by walking along the route in Central Rome.
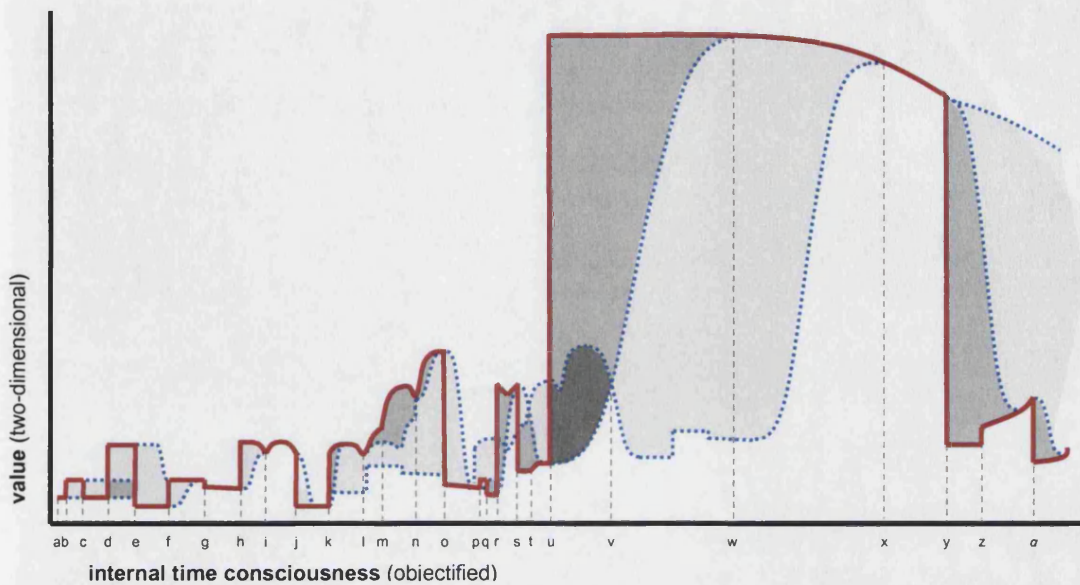
The most remarkable aspect of this sequence is that the rapid succession of different values makes retention very vivid, to the extent that retentions of different values are still held while attending other values.

This is indicated in the graph by the darker shades of grey colour; those darker areas are disclosed by more than one attention-protention "surprise" –i.e. by more than one manifestation of the value of a being of space.

Using the musical metaphor, the melody lines of the very rapid succession of notes that I find along this route are superimposed on other melody lines of notes encountered along the way, creating a sort of 'canon effect', in which different melody lines play along each other, opening up the space in between them.

It is remarkable the vast difference that encountering the Piazza Navona makes along the route, as graphically expressed between times *u* and *y*. At first, between *u* and *v*, one still keeps in memory the rapid succession of values that were manifested previously, while experiencing the sharp rise of the unconcealment line up to where it merges one's attention (time *w*). In a piecemeal fashion, the retention of the past rapid succession of stimuli will also finally end up merging with the attention at point *x*. In other words, even the huge difference that the Piazza makes becomes settled in one's awareness after habituation, producing a 'nostalgic' (unfulfilled) expectation beyond point *y*, where the attention line cannot live up to the projected line.

These illustrations are simplifications for the purpose of conciseness. A three-dimensional analysis of the city will make more 'melody lines' come into play –those stemming from the different volumes of space created by the third dimension. On top of this, if stimuli coming from other senses were introduced, the complexity would greatly vary, as sense data are stimuli with value as noemata. Of course, representational issues also play an important role.

Another point is that of the importance of layers: cities that seemingly do not offer a great range of value-melodies in the street layer may well offer them when perceived from the local layer (figure 5.35). This can be true, for instance, in the case of a city with a messy street pattern that do not allow much unconcealment at the street layer. When

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Figure 5.35: Córdoba, Spain. An alleyway with the Cathedral tower at the back.

perceived at the local layer instead (e.g. from the top of a tower that offers a bird's eye view), the messy background may offer high value, due to the spaces in-between created by its intricate structure.

The last point that should be borne in mind relates to architectural style, since not only does it have representational implications, but also its physical appearance (i.e. its physical characteristics that are positively knowable) will have immediate consequences. Cities that offer surprises in their
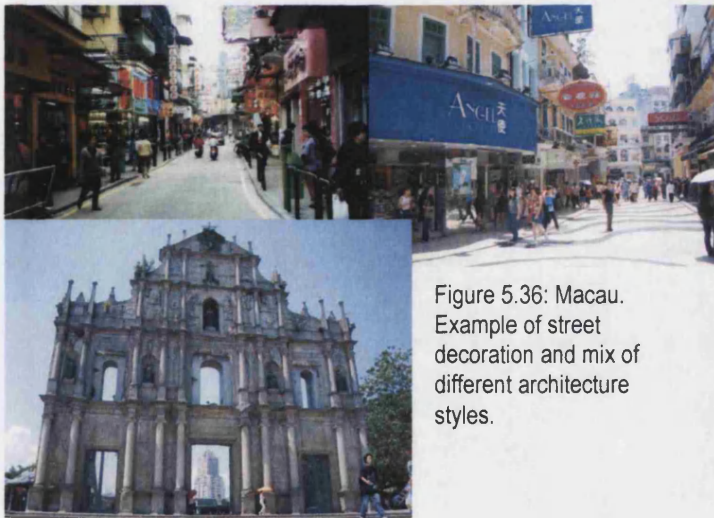
Figure 5.36: Macau. Example of street decoration and mix of different architecture styles.

architecture styles multiply the effects of unconcealing space, as the retention is more likely to be 'lost' with regards to the attention line. A perfect example is Macau (figure 5.36), a city full of "surprises", not only in its messy street pattern but also

because one never knows what she is going to encounter around the next corner –e.g. Colonial architecture? Traditional-Chinese? Communist-Chinese?

4.2 **Light and skylines.**

Architect Ricardo Bofill (1998) affirms that there are two ways of dealing with the issue of the perception of urban space: by looking at the object, which has been the usual practice, or by looking at the empty, the void. Bofil advocated the importance of the empty space, which he considers has been neglected by most contemporary architects. Bofill analyses modern urbanism from the perspective of the interplay between blocks (i.e. the filled volumes) and open space (i.e. the empty volumes). He hence argues that
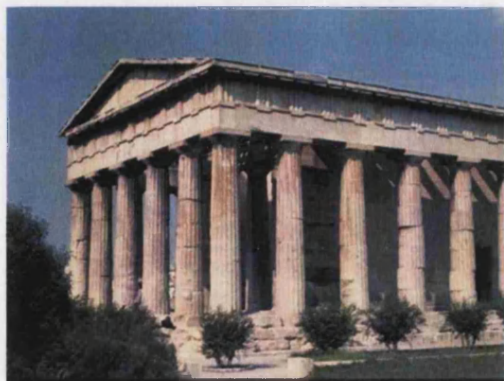
Figure 5.37: Greek temple.

The columns at the front of the temple, together with the shadow they produce, are the realm of the chiaroscuro: a space that is suggested by hiding itself.

One cannot see the actual entrance to the temple, just the shadows produced by the columns (i.e. a non-being), but it is precisely that shadows what seems to call us to enter and discover more directly the space that is concealed. If the façade of the temple were to be flat, one would be able to see it instantly and nothing more will be created. In this case it would not be as appealing nor time-enduring as the inviting shadows.

"it is in hiding that aletheia gives itself the most truly", see page 126.

blocks can only shape a city by repetition, which means that it is not the blocks that make up the city, but the spaces in between – i.e. the spaces that emerge from the interrelation of those blocks.

Blocks –buildings- delimit regions from which space emerges, and thus are indispensable for observers to become aware of the being of the space of the city. Therefore, open spaces and filled volumes never exist by themselves, but are related to one another by a more or less complex dialectical relationship. The upshot of this is that the relationship between the different objects (buildings and others) is more important than the objects themselves[17]. When seeking to provide topoaletheia to the observer, the emphasis must be on the 'interplay' between different objects rather than on the objects themselves (e.g. their height, features), since the objects create volumes of space in between that allow the individual to unconceal the being of space.

As I explained in chapter four, the more volume of space that one gets to 'know', multiplied by the highest value (i.e. intensity, luminosity) possible, the more likely the experience of topoaletheia. This fits Bofill's views on how the intensity of light makes such difference between Mediterranean and northern cities. Mediterranean cities, counting with a highly intense light, a few centimetres of high (or low)-relief in a façade are enough to produce a shadow, leading to a contrast, or in other words, to the awareness of a volume –a being of space, a figure- that catches our attention. From this

we can experience topoaletheia through the spaces in between, or by peering into the space beyond. As an example of how light plays a role in this fashion, Bofill mentions the Greek temple (figure 5.37).

"The brighter the light, the deeper the shadows" (Goethe).

In what Bofill calls "the North', there is not enough light to produce deep contrasts of light and shadows. This is the reason why, according to him, they have resorted to the use of skylines in order to achieve volume. Skylines are made out of a series of objects related to each other. I think that the regions delimited by these blocks create the possibilities for space to emerge, to become unconcealed –in the manner that topoaletheia may occur. The key here is to understand that, with skylines, we are in fact talking about different layers of space, and the advocates of high towers and skylines will appreciate the spaces created in between such towers, which do exist: but they exist in the local and even urban layers, not at the street layer.

American cities may seem 'inhuman' to the eye of the traditional European due to their vast scale and their exaggerated use of both skyscrapers and suburbs. However, this does not mean at all that the American cities will provide with fewer opportunities to experience topoaletheia. On the one hand, American cities, by recurring to skylines and high towers, will be able to unconceal space in higher layers of space. On the other hand, Mediterranean cities will often disclose spaces in the street layers by opposing lights and shadows, etc. If one tries to quantify the volume of space unconcealed, American cities will be shown to unconceal much vaster volumes of space –but obviously one needs to 'presence' those higher layer (e.g. by moving by car, etc.). Mediterranean cities, instead, will probably offer higher contrasts in lower layers. Therefore, both kinds of cities are able to provide topoaletheia. In any case, it is the volume of open space delimited in one way (towers in skyline) or another (intricacy of detail) that unconceals the being of space, and not objects per se.

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[17] This is the conclusion that Cullen (1961, 1971) reaches when he analyses the properties townscape to create a sense of place (section 5).Tavernor (2007) also deals with the importance of this space in between and emphasises the

Let me offer one example that has to do with skylines, and which serves as an illustration of the "enjoying the silence" rhythm of topoaletheia: New York City's skyline before and after the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 and the subsequent falling down of the twin towers (figures 5.38 and 5.39). Figure 5.42 shows the aforementioned topoaletheia rhythm as applied in this case[18].

Figures 5.38 (top left) and 5.39 (top-right): NYC's skyline before and after September 11th, 2001, in which one "misses" something.
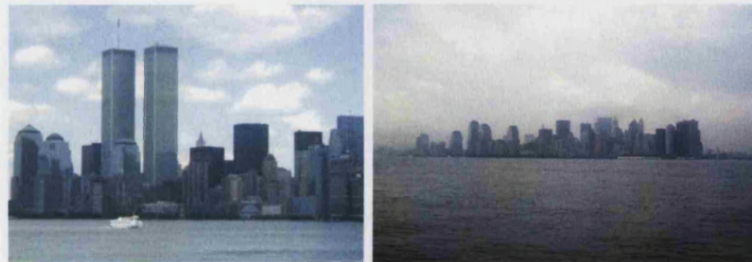
Figure 5.40 (bottom left): light marking the former location of the fallen towers. One can still "see" the towers by their not being there.

Figure 5.41 (bottom right): Overlap of images (source: side-effects.blogspot.com).
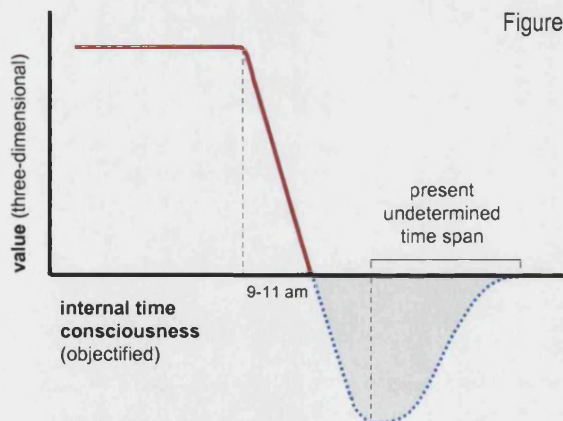
Figure 5.42: The rhythm of the silence left by the gone towers.

The towers had a certain value in our retention (of the physical space). That value fell down on September 11th, and we still feel there is something missing when we look at the New York's skyline. This occurs due to our protention, which still expects what our retention has long harboured: the towers.

The nothingness left by the towers helps realise that space, which otherwise would be just an "empty space" –as there is so much anywhere else. That "empty space" where the towers used to be is different, and we are able to "see" it (i.e. to unconceal it).

Nevertheless, there will be a certain time in which, having become habituated to the towers' absence, we will no longer expect them there, and therefore no value will stand out, no longer letting us unconceal the being of space.

"Heidegger asserts that the readiness-to-hand has the character of inconspicuous familiarity. Regional surroundingness, in which we are always already immersed by virtue of a prior involvement, is usually unremarked by the human subject" (Casey,

necessity to preserve it or to regulate it.

1997: 248). A region becomes visible in a conspicuous manner only when one discovers the ready-to-hand *circumspectively*, and one does so in the deficient modes of concern, in moments of breakdown. It is at those moments that we gain consciousness of a region, primarily when we cannot find something in its usual place. This explains how we miss things when we no longer find them around us (BT, §22).

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[18] Remember that phenomenology does not involve in the analysis of the objects of the real world. Its sole task is to clarify the meaning of this world –the sense in which one experiences it.

5. Topoaletheia and townscape.

In this section, I take a further step in the exploration of topoaletheia appearances by relating its essence and elements to the "qualities of townscape that create a sense of place," as pointed out by Cullen (1961, 1971). I do so rather more succinctly than in the case of relating topoaletheia to Lynch. This is because I find this relationship is easier to understand. In fact, once a few general relationships are established between topoaletheia and townscape, all the detailed relationships are easily understandable.

Cullen defined townscape as "the art of giving visual coherence and organisation to the jumble of buildings, streets and spaces that make up the urban environment." Hence, the purpose of townscape is to take all the elements that create the environment and weave them together in such a way "that drama is released." It is, in other words, "the art of relationship." He is not interested in the particular buildings or other objects individually, but in the relationship between them. From this art of relationship he wants to attain a "sense of place" [19]. For him, "one building standing alone in the countryside is experienced as a work of architecture, but a number of buildings together create [an art of relationship]." This means that the space created between the buildings has a *life* of its own over and above the buildings which create it.

This statement echoes the relationship of the different elements of the essence of topoaletheia: whereas one building standing alone is a 'place' (a nuclear entity that occupies space), a number of buildings interrelated provide us with something different. That "art of relationship" Cullen talks about is the unconcealment of the being of the space comprised by the interrelation of those particular buildings (i.e. places). I do not refer solely to the space in between those buildings-places (as it is the case of the example of the beach with an island in the horizon line), but to the relationship *per se*. The

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[19] Cullen's townscape (1971) is a reactionary text; reacting against the visual qualities of modernist developments that represented a significant departure from the qualities of the context in which they were set. Cullen quoted modernist writers on their goals in redesigning and redeveloping urban areas and reacted against them.

relationship between buildings is spatial in origin[20] and hence, regardless of how one might want to categorise it in terms of beauty, coherence, style, etc., it does provide us with a manifestation of the being of space. That life that the space in between building has is no other than the manifestation of the being of space in its concealment, hence the similarities with the conceptualisation of topoaletheia. Another way to put it is the following: topoaletheia is experienced by any rhythm that presupposes the existence of a change in the manifestation of Being (through space); and I find that the qualities that Cullen argues create a sense of place also mean similar changes in the manifestation of the being of space.

I believe Cullen provides no clear explanation of the reason why those qualities of townscape may create a sense of place and no others, or what it is that those qualities have in common. In order to come up with his list of qualities of townscape, he might have followed his own intuition. Cullen bases his studies on the faculty of sight, since it is almost entirely through vision that the environment is apprehended. He states that this happens in three ways: "optics, place and content." Firstly, by "optics" he means serial vision of the environment; this is, I would say, the attention to something existing (i.e. a 'ground') and something emerging (i.e. an 'event'). This is ultimately related to that "art of relationship" Cullen talks about; to that space that emerges when different buildings are put together. He puts this thus:

> "A city is a dramatic event in the environment all the elements of the environment are weaved together in a way that drama is released"

The specific events that disclose space are defined in his "qualities of townscape", and are basically the feelings experienced when one walks through a collection of buildings, e.g. the surprise or astonishment when turning a corner. This is, from the point of view of topoaletheia, the unconcealment of the space that was hidden –both physically and intuitively (i.e. not projected)- when turning a corner and, hence, one is becoming able to *see* that space (i.e. to attend its value through a physical way).

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[20] Actually, I should say that it is '*placial*.'

Secondly, he mentions "place" as a way in which the environment is apprehended through vision. He says that the feeling of being in/leaving/entering a square/street postulates a *'here'*; and this automatically creates a *'there.'* For him, some of the greatest townscape effects are created by the skilful relationship between the two. I would say that this is closely related to the way I have discussed figure and ground. Also, I must mention how topoaletheia can be identified through Lynch's districts (section 3.5 above).

The "placeness" achieved through the distinctive features of the built environment serve a double purpose for the procurement of topoaletheia, as related to different layers: a) on the one hand, the more "distinct" a place is (or, in other words, the higher the "placeness" of the place), the more it is likely it will stand out as a figure among the rest of places. This applies to the layer of landscape, in which those places with higher visibility will stand out as figures strengthened by higher values over the ground of the rest pf places as well as the "standard" place. b) On the other hand, the distinctive physical features that the qualities of townscape will produce are manifestations of the being of space *per se.* That is to say, those features will direct one's attention towards understanding not only the being of the space that correspond to the actual feature in question, but also to that of the space that, while kept concealed, becomes apprehended by the individual by means of the disclosing of spaces in-between those features, or projected, extended or varied by such features.

The qualities of townscape that Cullen (1971) describes will create a sense of place are: enclosure/outdoor room, gateways, change of level, closed vista, deflection, incident, punctuation, mystery, viscosity, focal point, narrowing, fluctuation (roof-line), and projection/recession (building line). Please see the table in figure 5.43 for a very brief outline of the relationship of each of these qualities of townscape to the essential elements of topoaletheia.

I believe that these reflections result in a twofold outcome: on the one hand, they 'legitimise' the neologism of topoaletheia by putting it to work in conjunction with other well-established town planning theory, such as Cullen's townscape; and, on the other

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hand, they demonstrate how there is a field, a *room*, within this theory (as there was in Lynch's) that can be explained by the understanding of topoaletheia. In other words, some certain theoretical basis common to all the qualities that Cullen explained was *there*, but had not been made explicit. And I think that the essence of topoaletheia, and the understanding of the elements that constitute it, can shed light in this respect.

Figure 5.43: Summary of the relations between each of the qualities of townscape that Cullen (1961, 1971) enumerates as to create a sense of place and the pertinent essential elements of topoaletheia, as explained in section 2 of Chapter Four.

Qualities of townscape	Relation to the essential elements of topoaletheia
Enclosure	Makes the surrounding space become explicit, allowing the individual to become aware of the volume of space.
Enclave	Makes the individual become more aware of the immediate [surrounding] space (within the enclave –volume) while making one also aware of the space beyond, though not completely.
Closure	Allows for an initial perception of a volume of space; but as one moves across, the perceived volume adopts different shapes (and hence values), resulting in a gap between the individual's protention (the volume) and what one actually perceives –and countering the habituation to the value that filled the initial volume of space.
Absences	Make a difference between the expected object (protention) and that which is actually perceived (attention). This difference makes the individual become aware explicitly of that absent object, making it more valuable in one's awareness than if it had been shown.
Closed vistas	Similarly to closures, they allow for the awareness of the volume of surrounding space, as they provide with delimiting places. Although, if the volume is not big enough, the total value might not be significant.
Deflection	Similar to closed vista, but it provides an extra unconcealment of the being of space: that of the gap between the individual's attention and their protention of the new volume of space, which, despite one cannot perceive it in its entirety, one is aware of its existence.
Incident	Like small landmarks, incidents are "figures" that stand out of the "ground". This means their being is the value that manifests the being of space as it breaks with the nothingness of habituation –or, as Cullen says, "they prevent boredom".
Projection / recession	On the one hand, one's expected "placial" events do not correspond to the actual beings of space that one perceives, as these keep changing. On the other hand, this variety of figures opens up multiple spaces in between themselves, expanding the intensity of topoaletheia.
Narrowing	Makes us more aware of the space in which we actually are (it does not unconceal a larger chunk of space that was previously hidden). Ultimately related to the topoaletheia rhythm of "tragedy."
Fluctuation (roof-line)	By moving from the wide to the narrow, fluctuation is a play of concealment and unconcealment of space along the awareness of the changing "placial" events.
Anticipation	Means the act of one's consciousness in projecting what one expects to presence (i.e. protention), which makes a difference in respect to what one is actually presencing (i.e. attention).
Mystery	Similar to anticipation. The difference strives in the fact that in mystery one's awareness is insisting in the unknown (i.e. the awareness of the concealed area), rather than in the relationship between the concealed and what is already unconcealed.

IDENTIFYING TOPOALETHEIA
IN THE SYMBOLIC SPACE OF CITIES

After looking at the physical space in chapter five, in this chapter I tackle the constitution of spatial noemata through the experience of the symbolic space of cities. Hence I look at the way in which topoaletheia can be explained through the representational aspects of cities. I do so in order to test whether topoaletheia may be a relevant concept towards the image of the city and city marketing.

After introducing the idiosyncrasy of the symbolic space of cities, I start by carrying out the remaining *epoché* of the experience of the city –taking over how I developed it in chapter five. Later, I analyse the sources of value of noemata of the symbolic space of cities. Thirdly, I explore the difference that time makes toward the attainment of topoaletheia through beings of symbolic space. Fourthly, I explain the effects that myths and monuments have in the formulation of topoaletheia. Fifthly, I analyse the possibilities of hallmark events as providers of topoaletheia. And lastly, I explore the relationship between topoaletheia and the conflicts of city marketing.

1. Seeking topoaletheia in the symbolic space of cities.

> *"All places and landscapes are individually experienced, for we alone see them through the lens of our attitudes, experiences, and intentions, and from our own unique circumstances"* (Lowenthal, 1961, as quoted in Relph, 1976: 36).

In this chapter I seek topoaletheia in the symbolic space of cities. As I already mentioned, phenomenology investigations deal with the experience of things by the individual, as opposed to the positive sciences, which focus on the properties of the objects of the world. The difference this makes is that phenomenology deals with meaning, as meaning is cognitively apprehended by the individual when one experiences the city.

Although the experience of things, in this case of cities, is an individual task, I am going to identify what makes those practices able to be shared by many. Therefore, in my quest for identifying the value of noemata –as an essential component of topoaletheia- I will explain how meaning, intensity (of meaning) and relation (between meanings) constitute the value of the manifestation of the being of the symbolic space of cities. Conversely to what I explained in the previous chapter, this value will thus come from cognitive data, and not from sense-data.

The being of symbolic space becomes known from the individually perceived set of feelings and impressions about a place (Relph, 1976, quoting Spencer & Dixon, 1983). These intangible attributes of space constitute stimuli by themselves, which must be taken into account as noemata of space. Nevertheless, as Relph (1976) points out, perception is not only filtered according to the individual's values, beliefs and ideas, but also to wider cultural set of values, beliefs and ideas (group and cultural 'personality' constructs or meaning). This opens up room for the possible utilisation of myths, signs and other systems of meaning. I will put a special emphasis on these. The reason is simple: since I aim to tackle those aspects that can be shared by a significant number of people, socially constructed meanings reach for a larger proportion of individuals.

However, these socially constructed meanings, in their departing from the true being of space by means of connotation, seem to cause conflicts and deceits, as I shall discuss in section 6. Besides, the influence of these socially constructed meanings is also more extended along time. Whereas some of the internal determinants for the representation of cities are only applicable in very short term spans (i.e. moods), socially constructed meanings tend to survive in the collective memory for much longer.

Layers of space will make a difference in terms of how its meaning gets a certain value. As Tuan (1975) rightly asserts, the knowledge of small places is more direct and based on the senses, whereas the knowledge of large places (as countries) is indirect, abstract, and hence more dependent on images.

2. An *epoché* of the experience of the city (part II).

I want to supplement the epoché of the physical space of the city with the rest three stages in knowing the city-space: the symbolic ones. In section two of chapter five, by going through the different stages of the epoché of the physical space of the city, I reached the being of space. Subsequently, by adding layers of beings in an ever increasing complexity, I reached up to THE EMPTY STAGE, in which I bracketed all living and moving beings out of the cityscape, leaving the urban landscape as an artefact that resembled an empty stage. Now, I am going to continue increasing the complexity in three more stages, going beyond the boundary between the physical and the symbolic spaces of cities:

a) THE PURELY SENSATIONAL LIVING STAGE is actually still in the physical realm, but it is approaching the boundary of the symbolic, lived, space. In this stage, there are living beings, humans carrying out their activities, moving, shouting, etc. As well all the rest of actors that one could find in the "normal" lifeworld. No-one is missing, but the knowledge we have of all the cityscape and its actors is of "here and now." This is, our knowledge of the city comes solely from perception. One has all the sensations that come from all the actors that there are, but one cannot relate those sense-data to anything else or intuit anything else. This stage would comprise individuals whose knowing would solely come from what Bergson called matter-image (p. 47). In short, no cognitive data are apprehended; just sensations.

b) THE FIELD OF RELATEDNESS. In this next stage, we become able to relate such sense-data to other sense-data we have in our memory. Therefore, the urban landscape seems different, richer, as we can relate beings. Thus, one being does not only count with its intrinsic value, but it also bears the values of the beings it is related to. Relational and contributory values (as summarised in figure 4.6 p. 114) come into play here. The important point in this stage is that from the appreciation of one being of space we can end up appreciating the value of another being. This is actually the stage

of Bergson's *durée* (duration, "the memorised plus the absolutely new").

c) Lastly, THE MEANINGFUL LIFEWORLD is the last stage. It is the lived world. It comprises the space as people actually have it in their minds. The key idea here is that meaning is shed upon all perceptions (sensational or memorised) that the individual has as well as by the interrelations of these. Meaning is both individually and socially created:

- Firstly, meaning is individually created as it depends on the intentionality of the individual. Therefore, one's aspirations upon the urban landscape will greatly modify the meaning it has for one. Secondly, meaning is modified by the individual due to the previous connotations one gathered. Lastly, meaning is deeply influenced by one's moods and predispositions, as following the notion of Heidegger's *understanding*.

- Besides, symbolic meaning is socially constructed, as a result of a connotative process that takes place along time throughout history itself. Layers of connotative signs have continuously overlapped previous connotative layers of signs all along history. Ideally (to know Being), one should be able to peel off all these layers of connotative signs down to the first –primeval- denotative sign, that is where the truest being of space was signified by the purest signifier. This is, where Being and language were inextricably bonded together.

Furthermore, this stage will make a difference regarding the publics of the city: a resident, a visitor and a potential investor will all hold different meanings of the same reality as related to different memories and as modified by their clearly distinctive intentionality. The space that I shall encounter in this stage –a truly symbolic space- is, obviously, not empirically observable, as meaning cannot be reduced to a few indicators, which would definitely leave behind important measures of individual and social connotation. Hence, phenomenology proves to be crucial towards a proper understanding of the value of being in the world.

3. Manifestation of the being of symbolic space.

In the symbolic space, the values of 'places' from which one can clear up 'room' for space do not come from any physical feature –i.e. a bigger, colourful place may show comparatively lower value. Their value will come from their intensity, their relation to other values, and their meaning. From these, also the aspiration (or the will to be associated with a 'place') intervenes.

> *The mind does its perceiving in terms of intensity of existence, profundity of significance, and relationships within a pattern.*
> (A. Huxley, 1994 [1954]: 9)

3.1 **Intensity.**

The first factor to grasp the value of a being of the symbolic space is its intensity: this is its intrinsic value (see p. 76). Intensity is twofold. On the one hand, the physicality (sense-datum) of the symbol-inducing event has its marginal importance. But this aspect has more to do with the physical realm of space. On the other hand, the intrinsic strength of the symbolic event as such (i.e. as a cognitive datum) is crucial.

For instance, two people wear two identical T-shirts bar for the fact that one has a printed message that reads something very commonplace, like the name of the city where they are, and the other has a printed message that reads an obscenity. In the case, for instance, that these two people enter a church on a Sunday with those T-shirts, the second one would offer a higher intrinsic value in terms of symbolism than the first one, as it would make more of a difference –i.e. it would be more of a *figure* over the *ground* (as related to what is expected). Obviously habituation can obliterate this process: e.g. in the case that every Sunday a dozen of people were wearing that T-shirt, after a few weekends, its intrinsic value would diminish considerably.

In order to tackle the issue of how the intrinsic value of symbolic events is related to topoaletheia, I can resort to the analogy of history. Important hallmark historical events are those that have a higher value in terms of their intensity than others. For instance,

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events such as the arrival of the first men on the moon or the September 11th attacks are held in our memory with such intensity that people usually remember what they were doing at that time, recalling otherwise common everyday activities. I.e. these events have more marginal prominence over the rest of more "normal" events, which are less distinctive figures over the ground of "everyday life." Such prominent events function as the valuable 'places' that delimit one's awareness the same way as the island in the horizon delimit the [physical] space that circumvented us on the beach. This facilitates our awareness by allowing us to presence the volume of [symbolic] space existing between extreme values (as corresponds to the figure of places)[1].

3.2 Relation.

The second source of value in the symbolic space of cities comes from its relational nature –from the ways a being associates to other beings. As Tuan (1977) said, there is hardly a *tabula rasa* in the creation of our image of a city. Any event that is perceived regarding a city becomes placed in our consciousness upon the whole series of noemata that we already hold regarding that particular city. Thus, events become manifested in more than their intensity; they have other values adhered to them.

The way a noema of the symbolic space behaves as a 'place', from which space may emerge, follows the same pattern of noemata formed by stimuli of the physical space. This is because what one is in fact doing in this case is to regard those related events as ready-to-hand beings –as what Heidegger called *equipment*. This leads to the appreciation of SIGNS: related events that lead to the appreciation of the being of another [related] event. Signs are, for Heidegger, in the first instance, "items of equipment whose specific character as equipment consists in showing or indicating"[2] (BT §17). Therefore, it is important to appreciate the value of the sign itself –regardless the content, the event, or the meaning they are relating to.

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[1] Actually, these values also help us expand our awareness via facilitating the awareness of the spaces in-between each of those events. This would be the awareness of time.

[2] Anyway, "indicating can be defined as a 'kind' of referring" (Heidegger, BT §17).

In short, the value of a being of symbolic space will come determined not just by its intrinsic value (i.e. its intensity as a 'figure' to stand out of the ground), but also by its value as a sign, which is the value it brings forward by its relation to other figures. In turn, such related value will have an intrinsic value again, plus the value that it brings forward in virtue of its relation to other values. This "chain", as shown in figure 6.1, continues for as long as there are related values (orders of meaning –connotation), until the original point of signification, where Being and language met.
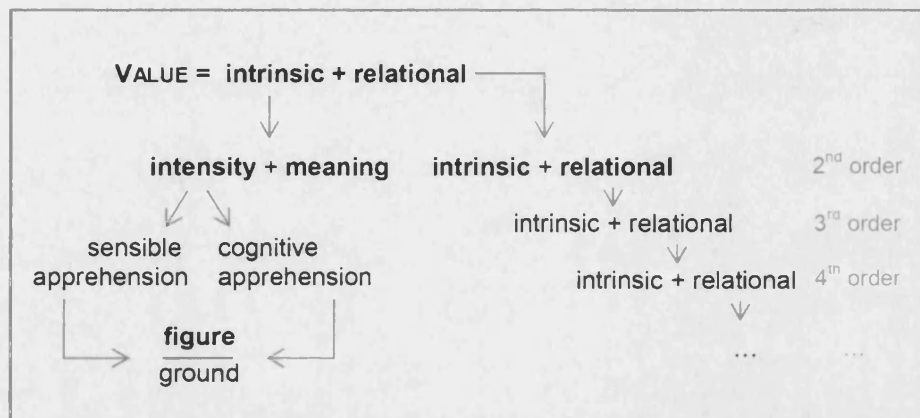
Figure 6.1: Chain of related beings, and summary of different value sources in the symbolic space.

However, it is important to differentiate the being-as-a-sign of the sign from the ready-to-hand nature of the vehicle it uses as a means to express its related meaning/value. Among other implications, not having this distinction clear misleads one to the perception that signs are somewhat 'natural,' which is the main source for the manipulation of people's awareness by manipulating myths (i.e. signs with no real counterpart in the world). Furthermore, Heidegger (BT §17) explains that, in establishing a sign, "one does not necessarily have to produce equipment which is not yet ready-to-hand at all." Signs also arise when one takes as a sign something that is already ready-to-hand.

Once we consider an entity as a being-as-a-sign and therefore it becomes ready-to-hand, the relation of a number of these beings follows the same structure that other ready-to-hand beings observed, and hence, the *worldhood* of Dasein may be formed

within them (see Heidegger, BT §17). Spatially, the regions that are delimited by the places these newly created ready-to-hand beings form are space *in potentia* (i.e. space may emerge from those regions). This leads to the question of meaning: it is on the significance we put on those beings of equipment that their being will be become more or less valuable as places of our *worldhood*.

In summary, in the symbolic space, all the values of the whole chain of relation count as part of the value of the original event that the being of space created. The implication of this is that, whereas in the physical space I could "measure" the effectiveness of a determined event just by assessing its physical characteristics empirically, in the symbolic space I have to be aware (deconstruct?) of the relational meanings it may bring forward as supplementary noemata. All the values of the chain of relationships count towards a proper understanding of the being of [symbolic] space[3].

3.2.1 THE INTRINSIC VALUE OF A RELATED BEING.

Two more points are worth mentioning on the relational nature of the beings of the symbolic space. Firstly, I believe it is important to mention that it is the intrinsic value of an event what lies at the end of the chain of signification.

Secondly, I find it very interesting to bracket some events out of the chain of signification and hence become able to assess their own intrinsic value. By doing this, we can, on the one hand, realise that in many cases one of the intermediate events within the chain of relationship has a very small intrinsic value and yet its position in the chain of relationship is so primordial that, had it been deleted, the whole system would have much lower value[4]. On the other hand, we can also realise that events whose value is perceived (apparently) only as to be manifested towards the completion of the chain of relation do have a much higher intrinsic value than expected when they were just "overlooked" by the "utilitarian eye" who just focused on them as part of the relation.

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[3] The intermediate values in the chain of relationship are what I defined as "contributory values" (see p. 76).

[4] This is since the whole system would be deprived of all the values beyond that event I bracketed out.

Korean and Japanese *Sung* art, for example, with its tendency to focus on small items of nature —such as one bird, one flower- is the best way to illustrate this realisation of the intrinsic value of those small 'events' by themselves. One realises that those small items are "the centre of their own universe" —as Huxley (1954: 118) puts it, without creating any relation between them and the human being. The man-object relation —i.e. the utilitarian human mind putting beings in a chain of relations according to one's perception of their usefulness- is what make items like those seem too small (too useless?). Their low relational value in the utilitarian eyes of man makes us think that they have no value altogether.

"A rose is a rose is a rose", said Meister Eckhart, one thinker in the West who did regard things as they are themselves, beyond their relational value. He famously said that the rose has no reason to exist, it just is.

> "Is it [the beauty of a flower] agreeable?' somebody asked. 'Neither agreeable nor disagreeable,' I answered. 'It just is.' Istigkeit — wasn't that the word Meister Eckhart liked to use? 'Is-ness.' The Being of Platonic philosophy —except that Plato seems to have made the enormous, the grotesque mistake of separating Being from becoming, and identifying it with the mathematical abstraction of the Idea."
>
> (A. Huxley, 1994 [1954]: 7)

3.2.2 THE FIELD OF RELATEDNESS.

By looking at the intrinsic value of a being by itself, as bracketed out of its chain of relations, one can realise how Being (in this case the being of space) truly becomes manifested. But the manifestation of being is a play of concealment and unconcealment, as I explained in section 2.3.3 of chapter four. The understanding of this helps explaining the role of the individual (the *Dasein*) towards the manifestation of the beings unconcealed (in his world).

For Heidegger, the presence of Being occurs in 'the clearing.' This clearing is the "open region" or "field of relatedness." The manifestation of being —i.e. its unconcealment- produces concealment in the sense that one particular disclosure blocks other ways of being within the "field of relatedness" —see p. 125 for the example of a radio shows,

tuning into one wavelength and thus blocking out all the others. All wavelengths can therefore never be received at the same time, though they remain as unheard possibilities. So, disclosing a being in one way, covers over its other possibilities. From this, I find interesting implications for the city image:

a) Once the Dasein *presences* a specific image of the city, all the other possible images he could have got become blocked out. This does not mean that one city has one sole image in the sense of identity. Cities project a myriad of actual and potential beings of their symbolic space that may be received by individuals. But within one category, one blocks the rest out.

b) In the case of a number of identities available and related between one another, it is the individual who *chooses*[5] to disclose one and, thusly, conceal the rest. How can a city then control the process whereby one image is the one disclosed by the individual? Caught in the impossibility of ensuring that their message gets across to the individuals in their targeted publics, city managers have traditionally opted for projecting a whole variety of identities, many times contradictory, aiming at covering as wide a spectrum of possibilities within the field of relatedness as possible. But this strategy is like opening nuts with a hammer. By opening wide the scope of possibilities, cities make explicit for the individual the potential volume of [symbolic] space that they could be aware of. So, unless they actually provide a high value on those images, this will only lead to disappointment.

c) However, those attempts to aim at different images (by projecting different identities) within the field of relatedness also offers an opportunity. One could say that one individual can become aware of different images located in different places along the scope of possibilities (like radio stations that one knows they exist, despite one cannot disclose them at the same time). Of course this requires time, as one individual only presences one image at a time. This awareness of different images functions as the

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[5] According to one's memories and aspirations.

establishing of a region within those places (images). In a second step, if the volume of space created by those image-places is filled with *luminosity* (i.e. value), it will maximise its effectiveness.

How, then, can that volume of [symbolic] space be filled with value? One might argue that the best is to maximise the value of one event. If one place is extremely valuable, it will surely increase the value of the overall volume of space. However, the volume of space is the space in-between the places that constitute the region and the individual, and therefore, no matter how much value one of those places shows, it does not necessarily lead to an increase in the overall value times volume equation.

As the topoaletheia rhythms demonstrate, those rhythms in which several places are marginally higher than others[6] end up resulting in a bigger area of unconcealment overall, as opposed to those with just one very high value but no further continuity[7]. Therefore, in terms of city marketing, I will affirm that a more effective strategy than the traditional contradiction will be that of building up MOMENTUM by a series of events whose values are relatively higher than the ground and count with one with the highest possible value.

The upshot of this is that, when facing the number of possibilities of the field of relatedness in the symbolic space of cities, an individual who becomes aware of a high number of places (i.e. images) will have a higher potential for achieving a higher 'volume times luminosity'.

Whereas an event of the physical space only counts with an intrinsic value, in the symbolic space the whole value of events come from the intrinsic value plus the value of the whole structure of relationship and the value of each of the layers of connotation. If we take into account that values are relative to the rest of the values that are experienced (as the rest of values constitute the ground upon which a new value stands out as a figure), the *presencing* of a value of the symbolic space of cities will very likely have more

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[6] E.g. "Against mean reversion", "agglomeration", "harmonium", "sea-wave", etc.

[7] E.g. "Straight", "up-shifted", "accentuated", etc.

strength in its manifestation than that of a value of the physical space. This is obvious due to the cumulative effect of the chain of relationships: present events become part of the ground from which the next manifestation of space has to 'stand out', if it is going to be a manifestation at all. Let me offer three more points on the related nature of symbolic events:

1) One individual becomes more and more aware of the being of symbolic space via the experience of signs-events. This experience of the variation or extension of one's awareness of space provides one with topoaletheia, with the inherent satisfaction that this comes with. However, those event-signs can have no 'real' counterpart. Therefore, a whole chain of related event-signs with no real counterpart (i.e. chain of myth/s) may be formulated which could provide individuals with the experience of topoaletheia to a similar extent to the experience than a physical event may provide. E.g. the experience of the fantasy land that Disneyland provides to children.

2) Another point in the virtue of which an event of symbolic space is very likely to have more value in its manifestation than an event in the physical space is the comparative *easiness* by which they can be constructed and experienced –as opposed to the cost (in terms of time and money) than building a certain urban landscape will incur.

3) Lastly, symbolic events tend to last longer in time (see section 3.4 below).

In conclusion, if what one is seeking is an immediate (and efficient) alteration of the experience of a great number of individuals' awareness of the value of the being of space, it seems more convenient to manipulate the signs that provide information of such space, although this may lead to the conflict of re-imagination (section six below).

3.3 Meaning.

Finally, the third source of value is meaning, as intrinsic value is the addition of the

$$\text{intrinsic value of being of symbolic space} = intensity + meaning$$

Figure 6.2: Sources of intrinsic value.

intensity of the event itself plus the meaning it has for the individual. To explain where the meaning-value comes from, I shall firstly tackle the issue of memory, and then move on to connotation (both personal and social). Later, in the next section, I shall talk about the role of intentionality and aspirations.

3.3.1 MEMORY.

As a starting point, I can remind here of the melody that I used as an example of unexpected variations (see p. 138). In that case, in which I explained how the unconcealment of the being of sound came to be known by indirection, I actually assumed that there was no symbolic values for either high or low pitch notes.

However, this is rarely the case. In order to be intelligible, events are intuited as chains of durations (*durée*). Duration, according to *Bergsonian* formula, is the memory plus the absolutely new (Lawlor, 2003). This formula gives supreme prominence to memory. Otherwise -in the case of not having a solid memory-image upon which to base the new perceptions- one would just be able to perceive an infinity of disconnected stimuli flowing into one's mind with no apparent order or sense.

The interrelationships between actual events and their related events (and their values), as explained above (see figure 6.1), must be understood as bearing the meaning of the memorised *ground* upon which those events are perceived (from the newest to the oldest related ones). Hence, it is understandable that one values highly an event that brings one good memories of other events one valued highly in the past (i.e. a perfume − smell sense-datum- that brings good memories of an old girlfriend). Therefore, the intrinsic value of the newest event (in that example −the perfume) may be very low as compared to the value of the memorised events that it unleashes, and still unleash so much of a value that the whole makes being become very manifest.

Moods and predispositions, along with Heidegger's term of *understanding* (see p. 155), will modify the individual experience of an event to so much extent that, having that

same event being perceived by the same person in different circumstances, its noemata would be very different.

Nevertheless, the meanings of existential space are not some kind of summation of individualised perception. Apart from personal characteristics and memory, meanings transcend the individual and form a *grounding* for perceptual space (Tilley, 1994). In other words, there is a cultural-constructed meaning (i.e. external connotation), although it is experienced by the individual. The socially constructed meanings also affect the value of the related events (to the new one), hence leading to the fact that it is difficult for the individual to become aware of the foundation of the value of the 'figure' one is perceiving (let alone to modify it).

3.3.2 Implications for topoaletheia of the meaning of symbolic space events.

The consequences of the relational nature of meaning regarding topoaletheia are enormous. If one experiences topoaletheia by extensions or variations of the awareness of values; and those values are —at least- partially based on socially constructed meanings, one is to some extent at the expense of the actors that manage those related images (events)[8]. I can extract some conclusions. Firstly, in altars of true freedom, one should be able to track the agents that create the values of the relational events and, hence, identify their marginal influence on one's [individual] experience of topoaletheia.

Secondly, very high values of some of the relational events can create "landmarks" of awareness so high [in value] that the overall experience of topoaletheia is greatly fostered with no growth of the intrinsic value of the new event alongside —i.e. 'populist' images, full of value. Some may perceive how shallow they really are —becoming aware of the low value of lower layers of meanings, whereas some others will just be aware of how high the superficial value is. An example is the different experience of visiting Disneyland when you are a child and when you are an adult.

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[8] I say "to some extent", meaning to the extent to which the values of those relational events are in fact created by those —external- actors.

Thirdly, once we assumed the experience of topoaletheia to be joyful and desirable, the great influence of socially constructed meanings on one's experience of topoaletheia opens up the possibilities of manipulations and abuse by the actors who create those social meanings. Hence the conflicts caused by this (see section six). In this sense, Tuan (1977: 203) precisely ended *Space and Place* thusly:

> "*We are in the habit of denying or forgetting the real nature of our experiences in favour of the clichés of public speech. And here is the ultimate ambition of this essay, in common with the thrust of humanistic enterprise: to increase the burden of awareness.*"

3.3.3 ASPIRATIONS.

Apart from the importance of memory, meaning can also acquire value by its relation to the individual's *aspirations*. By this, I want to stress the importance of the individual's intentionality in one's perception. One will appreciate more value in an event if one aspires [to be related to] to its content (i.e. meaning). Thus, I could define aspiration here as "the will to be associated with a 'place.'"

Authenticity is an issue here. It is important to realise that a modification of the value of a related event can modify the value of the whole chain of relation and, thus, the ultimate value of the event of space one is perceiving −possibly leading to extensions or variations leading to topoaletheia. In this case, how one individual (n.b. not one city) is going to be authentic or inauthentic for their aspirations or relations to the meaning of an spatial event comes determined by whether that meaning extends that person's world, or replaces it. By extending one's world, I mean that the individual uses the meaning of those events as new 'places' able to extend the region of one's world. However, if one replaces their world with the other world created by the places of those meanings one is trying to embrace, one is behaving in an 'inauthentic' way, as one is not respecting one's own world −i.e. the new 'place' does not connect with one's previous 'places' that created a region from which room was made and space emerged.

3.4 **Time, value and topoaletheia.**

The attainment of the experience of topoaletheia via the symbolic space can be much faster than via the physical space, although there is a twofold aspect of this: on the one hand, if one is willing to put value in a certain event of symbolic space and hence bring it into one's world, one can do that straight away, unlike in the physical space —where one has to look for the right stimuli in different settings, or wait until these are built up. On the other hand, symbolic spaces of cities seem to take a long time to be formulated, since socially constructed meanings evolve along time, as well as personal connotations and memories.

The fact that the period of time along which one *presences* values out of symbolic space events is much longer than the period of time one perceives physical space explains how, in the case of a variation or extension in the shape of topoaletheia occurs, the area (i.e. the volume) of the apparently concealed being of space that becomes unconcealed by indirection is likely to be much bigger, meaning that the individual is becoming aware of a bigger volume of being, and therefore experiencing more of topoaletheia. Likewise, events of symbolic space with lower values than others in physical space can open up a bigger area of experience of topoaletheia, since they shall become manifested along a longer time span.

In the case of the symbolic space, the less one individual knows a city, the more one bases one's awareness of the city on its image —or, in other words, in the related meanings of the symbolism (myths). By contrast, the more time one person stays (or lives) in the city, the more one's existential space grows at the expense of the symbolic aspects —in other words, the intrinsic value of the real entities of the city become ever more important, at the expense of the related meanings of symbolism.

This distinction becomes clearer when looking at the different publics of the city. TOURISTS have a more stereotyped image of the city than residents. To understand how specific events of symbolic space can affect their experience of the being of the space of a

city, the marginal comparison with the residents is out of the point. What actually counts instead is the process of the experience of the events whereby the beings of the space of that city become manifested. And these events will have a certain value as compared to both the 'ground' of the tourist's own city of origin, and the ground formed by the "neutral" destination city (or what one expects to experience in a 'standard' destination – probably as formed after one's previous experiences or the perception of others' experiences). This comparison is allowed by a phenomenological investigation, unlike mainstream city marketing studies.

RESIDENTS, however, have the opportunity to form their experience of the city from actual contact with the city along time. Everyday life makes residents focus their attention on more utilitarian things, and therefore the meaning and intrinsic value of certain events (however prominent they may seem for tourists) seem to be insignificant as compared to a whole network of other 'useful' events, such as the perception of the quality of public services, etc.

From another perspective, I believe residents are truly able to experience topoaletheia via the symbolic space of their own city out of events that are 'useful' for the resident in question. Taking into account the chain of relations of events out of which a resident organises one's everyday life, a variation or extension of the value (intrinsic value, i.e. its intensity or its meaning) of one of those events within the chain will produce a variation or extension of one's experience of one's own city and, therefore, provide one with the experience of topoaletheia. I can put an apparently silly example as an illustration: one Londoner who is able to look at how nice the fabric of the bus seat where he or she is sitting on is –with those shiny colours (high colour-value)- and manages to isolate it (i.e. bracket it out of the whole chain of relations, that link the seat with the bus, the bus with the morning rush, the morning rush with the obligation to go to work, etc.).

In short, if one resident is able to understand the intrinsic value of ONE of the infinity of related values that lie along the whole chain of events one is used to in one's everyday

life, one will automatically produce an extension or variation of one's awareness of the whole continuity of values of that chain, and hence experience topoaletheia –with all the inherent benefits and joy it brings along. Therefore, no matter how much time one has spent in a city, it is up to one to appreciate value through everyday life events, whereby Being can be experienced. This is against the utilitarian gaze of the modern world and in favour of a more, say, "contemplative" view of the world[9].

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[9] "He who is tired of London is tired of life itself." In London, as such a great city as it is, with so many possibilities, no matter how long one has been living in it, one seems to have millions of possibilities in order to find variations of the intrinsic values of his everyday events. But it is solely up to he himself to be willing to make that effort. That is why Pepys said that, if one is not willing to do it out of what London has to offer, probably he will not be able to do it anywhere else either.

4. Myths, monuments and power.

This is a short section on the implications of myths in the awareness of the being of space and, thus, in topoaletheia. Following Barthes (2000), I defined myth as a form of discourse that tries to make cultural norms appear as 'natural', whereas they are actually motivated by ideology. Ideology is a specific vision of the world used to justify, interpret or describe the positions of a specific group of people. Having said this, here I want to make clear that, ontologically, a myth is as valid a noema as a pure denotative signifier. This means that towards the awareness that an individual may form of space, the events of space that one perceives are noemata, regardless of their "veracity" (closeness to truth —either first order meaning or myth). The importance of this is that myths are created by one agent, and therefore the agent's purpose (i.e. ideology) should be explored in order to understand the authentic layers of being of space that the individual will experience. This may also well lead to conflicts.

Some implications are the following. Firstly, since the value of the noemata created by myth are ontologically equal to those of similar true events, the Aristotelian maxim that goes "to achieve the most effective communication, is more desirable the untrue but credible than the truth that is not credible" becomes valid. Secondly, with myths behaving as noemata, one could experience topoaletheia entirely basing on myths of the being of space. Thirdly, since myths' noemata have the same properties as their real counterparts, the more value it is put on the myth, the more value its noemata will present in consciousness (i.e. more figure highlighting from the ground). Therefore, the potentialities of myth creation, if properly used, can be enormous.

Importantly, regardless of its history, way of formulation and life-span, a myth-noema works as protention in the internal time consciousness of the individual. No matter if it is right or wrong, a noema created by a myth will become verified or nullified by subsequent noemata over the same being of space, thus creating surprises, and fulfilling

or disappointing expectations. Furthermore, when a myth is created as belonging to a well-defined system of signs that tend to have some specific values, the noema created by the manifestations of the being of space of a particular city will have those same values. In other words, once one receives the "spectacles" of the myth (to see the 'world' through the myth), one tends to see the rest of stimuli of that place through those same lenses. In a sense the myth functions here as the anchor point upon which all other attention-values come along.

As an upshot, one may argue that the first "arrangement" of reality that the mind sets up (through the available noemata) will determine the later acquisition of knowledge, and hence the earlier provision of myths becomes very relevant. Besides, if memory is indeed more important than perception when it comes to perceive order in the world[10], we shall agree that those noemata stored in humans' memory will have a longer life-span than the actual reality itself to which they referred to (either truly or misleadingly). Therefore, the formulation of myths seems to be a cost-effective means in order to provide the individual with values that may allow one to experience topoaletheia.

The value of the myth-noema comes related to a value-judgement due to their apparent naturalness. The use of negative myths[11] works like the use of positive ones, as I am dealing with the value of awareness (of unconcealment –aletheia), and not the value in terms of correctness in respect of a certain standard of moral practice. The relationship between the value of the myth-noema to a positive or negative value in terms of correctness[12] usually comes attached to the formulation of myth by interested agents, hence the importance of agenda-setting[13].

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[10] This comes from the Bergsonian concept of duration (see p. 132).

[11] By negative myths I mean myths that carry a negative value judgement –e.g. create an image of racism for a place, as it is understood that racism has a negative connotation.

[12] See p. 123 for the difference of truth as correspondence and truth as aletheia.

[13] Basically, agenda-setting theory, as explained by McCombs and Shaw (1972), says that the media (mainly the news media) are not always successful at telling us what to think, but they are quite successful at telling us what to think about, what issues are important (Cohen, 1963). In other words, by creating awareness (i.e. producing noemata) of a certain event, the agents behind media have the initial power to set the attributes that people are going to associate to

A good example of a flagship development whose image has been tremendously affected by the role played by media is The Millenium Dome in London (see Baggini, 2002; Thornley, 2000). Beyond issues of costs, opportunity costs and unrealistic expectations, phenomenology can explain the reason why of its failure. The initial enjoyment (i.e. value) that individuals and families perceived, was modified to a great extent by the opinion published by the media (acting as initial noemata). The media were creating such a low value (of retention), that people's protention values also plummeted (from the high original expectations). This had two effects: a) many potential visitors gave up going to the Dome, as their expectations were too low to pay the entrance fee. b) Those who did visit nonetheless, either were not "brave" enough as to say that they did like it (i.e. positive meaning-value), or they were conditioned by the negative predisposition infused in them by the media to the extent that they actually did not enjoy it. This created a downwards spiral that ultimately led to the failure of the Dome.

4.1 Sanitised images and the illusion of topoaletheia.

Here I just make a few points on what is to be tackled as *event* when trying to analyse (and possibly quantify) the value of noemata of the symbolic space of the city. For this purpose, I would mention Foucault's (1980) idea on power-knowledge. According to his analysis, the agents that ultimately manage the system of signs are likely not to be quite identifiable as actors, as they are not created by individuals (nor even structures), but by discourses[14]. Taking this view into account discourse analysis should be utilised to identify what discourses are shaping what system of myths —and how. This is an issue that is well tackled in the literature, and in which I do not intend to enter. However, I would just mention the case of sanitised images.

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a specific event (i.e. being). From the retained values of these noemata induced by the media, the individual will create his or her protention, thus greatly affecting the possibilities of topoaletheia by having affected one's value perceived since the beginning of the awareness of that entity.

[14] The case he uses as example is the medical discourse, which divides populations into sick and healthy on the basis of particular signs and symptoms.

So called sanitised or "politically correct" images imply an agreement reached by different agents (media, agenda-setters, etc.) to promote a certain view on things as "desirable" or "natural." The decision to choose those images/myths and no others responds to their interests (i.e. ideology, in Barthes's term), and can be changed by a different set of interests in the future or by other new agents. Therefore, the "truth" these myths deal with are primarily "truths" by correspondence, and not by aletheia. Whereas in aletheia the Dasein experiences Being in the event (through all the layers of signification), in correspondence one just experiences the social agreement (which is likely to be just the superficial level of the last order of meaning). In this context, it is true that politically correct images are the broadest possible agreement. But, if taken to the extreme, they can lead to living institutionalised lives, in which an individual does not live [authentically] one's life, but one's life is lived by the institution (i.e. by the agent creating the hyped images).

Hyped-images, being at the end of the day an event per se, do present a certain manifestation of the being [of space], and therefore can lead to aletheia. However, instead of allowing one to expand one's own world, these images perform a levelling down of the possibilities of the Dasein to experience topoaletheia: down to the level where a significant proportion of population can agree (with those hyped-images) and form a "critical mass" that may be [economically/politically] efficient for the agent behind.

A new effect occurs then: what I could call the illusion of aletheia, which happens through the following process. When a Dasein's awareness is levelled down to the point where a critical mass shares the same images/awareness, the individual is likely to experience a certain joy, apart from the obvious sense of belonging and group (e.g. city) pride[15]. This experience of joy is due to the [apparent] expanding awareness that an

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[15] This is based on Heidegger's notion of "averageness", which is the mediocrity or "levelling down" of the individual's awareness to that of "the They" (das Man). Once this situation is reached, every kind of supremacy gets silently suppressed.

individual experiences when one becomes one more part of "the mass." Thus, the bigger

the mass, the individual will feel that one's awareness occupies a bigger volume, making

one feel a sort of aletheia. But this is an illusion of aletheia, as one is not actually

experiencing an extension/variation of one's own awareness, but just accepting someone

else's standards of truth as correspondence. It is in this context that Foucault's idea on

power seems relevant. The agents and consequences of the politically correct are not

clearly identifiable and singularised but, on the contrary, power must be understood in a

context of background institutions, practices and discourses which both create power and

are created by power.

Moreover, there is an essential difference between the phenomena of aletheia and the

satisfaction that joining the mass may provide the individual. Whereas the satisfaction

that aletheia fulfils has to do with the desire to know and understand –as represented at

the top of Maslow's pyramid (see p. 98)-, the satisfaction for joining the mass and feel its

volume is located in the middle of that pyramid, among the so-called "needs to belong."

Therefore the satisfaction experienced by the belonging to the mass, however real it is (i.e.

it is indeed satisfactory), is of a lower nature than that of *presencing* Being.

4.2 Monuments and other contested spaces.

From the phenomenological perspective of topoaletheia, monuments possess two

essential characteristics: a) they are landmarks built purposefully to stand out from the

ground formed by other beings of space; and b) they acquire their characteristic of

landmarks by affecting both the physical and symbolic space, hence their ability to make

space legible.

> "*Monuments* [...] *are places because they can organise space into centres of meaning.* [...] *Public monuments create places by giving prominence and an air of significance to localities. Monument building is a characteristic activity of all high civilisations*" (Tuan, 1974b: 239).

Thus, monuments are noemata created on purpose[16]. An agent creates the monument-

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[16] To some extent, flasghip developments can be said to be the same, although with a higher value in consciousness.

noema forecasting a determined effect in consciousness as related to the monument's physical appearance as well as its meaning.

> *"The essential point is that location, not necessarily remarkable in itself, nonetheless acquires high visibility and meaning because it harbours, or embodies, spirit"* (Tuan, 1974b: 237).

That "spirit" to which Tuan refers is what I have been calling "being of space." Following Tuan's quotation, the being of space becomes manifested through the symbolic significance of the monument, rather than its physical visibility. In a first moment, the being of space via means of symbolism in monuments is created on purpose. Later on, as time goes by, it is modified in the collective imagery as well as in each individual awareness. After a given time, one could find that the meaning that the monument has – and therefore the manifestation of its being of space- has changed to the opposite to the original meaning: e.g. a monument that meant democracy may change to remind of a dictator, by means of years and years of demonstrations of such dictator's followers around the monument. The radical changes of meaning –and therefore of *being*- that monuments have experienced along time is what led Jencks (2002, 2005) to assert that monuments no longer make sense. Conversely, he proposes the utilisation of iconic imagery, whose flexibility can satisfy different publics with different meanings along time.

The manifestation of the being of [the symbolic] space through the monument is a result of the extension/variation of one's awareness produced by the difference between the ground of indistinctive possibilities and the intrinsic value of the monument itself. Therefore, the most desirable outcome when designing a monument and planning its location is to maximise the volume of awareness of being unconcealed via the monument (i.e. an entity of the world) while being authentic in the practice –i.e. not breaking the 'rhythm.'

The agent that produced the monument will play a fundamental part in the image it projects not only in the making of the monument itself, but also in the image individuals will harbour of the monument –i.e. two identical monuments will cast different images

according to people's perception of the agent who commissioned it. This occurs because of the values of the chain of relational meanings that individuals may perceive.

> *"Monuments are not just spaces of the body, subjectivity and language, but are also grids of meaning and power, which are complicit in the control and manipulation of simultaneously real and metaphorical space, where for example chairs become thrones, buildings become monuments and so on* (Pile on Lefebvre, as quoted by Dear 2000: 251).

Lefebvre (1991) famously explained how space is "produced." The power that produces space leaves an imprint of itself on the space produced. I am not going to enter into *Lefebvrian* theory since, by means of its Marxist structuralism, is in many ways intrinsically opposite to the perspective of phenomenology. Nevertheless, I do find it interesting to draw some simple bridges between these two approaches. Hence, I can mention the case of Tiananmen Square, in Beijing. This square has been widely infamous for the brutal repression that the communist army performed against the demonstrators in 1989, popularly illustrated by figure 6.3. That is the retained image most people have

Figure 6.3 (left): the ubiquitous image of Tiananmen Square during the 1989 protests that led to the massacre of demonstrators.

Figures 6.4 and 6.5 (right): Beach-volley –probably the most 'funky' sport of those that take place in the Olympic games.

of this square, the value of which is very low due to the poor image of that repression[17]. But, following Lefebvre, space is produced, and that was the intention of Chinese authorities. Thus, in a first moment, they thought of hosting the beach-volley competition of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games in the middle of the square (figures 6.4

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[17] I must stress that here I am dealing solely with representational space. Thus, in terms of physical setting, this square provides a high value, due to the vast volume of [physical] space it comprises.

and 6.5). What would have been the outcomes of this move in terms of topoaletheia?

a) People's memories/perception of the square would have changed dramatically, due to the repetition of the images of beach-volley players jumping on the shiny sand in the middle of the square.

b) Besides, it is not a coincidence that, among all possible sports, the Beijing Olympics Organising Committee had thought of beach-volley. This sport has, I believe, the most representational role, as it is probably the most "funky" Olympic sport, with its attached memories of Copacabana and California, and smiley faces, short swim-clothes and colourful audiences with sunglasses and sun-protection lotions. Therefore, the "striking effect" to counter-attack the current negative image of the square is strongest.

Figure 6.6: Despite they finally decided to host the beach-volley contest somewhere else, Chinese authorities did undertake some other re-imagining activities. For instance, in May 2007 they had a massive tai-chi demonstration, whose images already went worldwide.

c) In symbolic terms, the retained value of the square is very low at the moment, and therefore, so is its value in protention. However, once the images of beach-volley would have commenced to be broadcasted all over the world, the surprise effect was going to be enormous that people's attention-value line would have sky-rocketed, as compared to the protention line. This would have opened a massive area of unconcealment of the being of space for people around the world. So, it is precisely thanks to very bad memories people have of the square that the surprise unconceals more Being.

d) Furthermore, due to the massive area of unconcealment (from very low to very high), the square would have become a major place in people's imaginary –a place where

'just about anything' can happen[18].
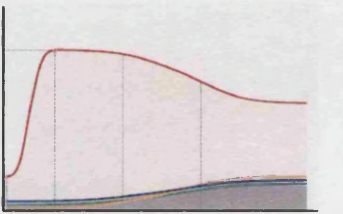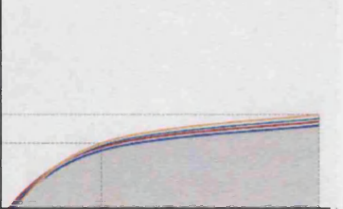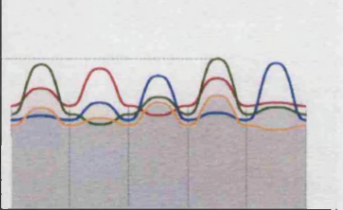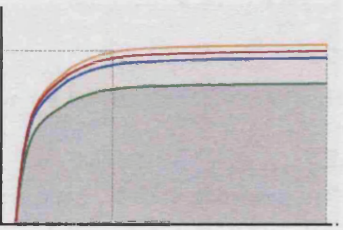
Because of their ability to mask the power that produces them (as well as to make space legible), monuments occupy contested space[19].

> *"Precisely because they are so potent, [monuments] are conflicted sites of identity and power, culture and memory. They incorporate global and national sentiments, just as they find expression in the personal and everyday places"* Dear (2000: 251).

The tension to occupy the most prominent locations in a city refers to the higher relative symbolic importance that some locations enjoy as compared to others. It is precisely the sheer power to make places that monuments possess what makes them become contested spaces. Contestability, in the end, means the different values that a place provides to different people: what for some is a great image, for others is a negative place –a place with strong value, but negative in its associated attributes. So, what are the possibilities left for planning a monument taking into account its effect on awareness? Mainly basing on Jencks (2005), I believe that if our goal is to allow for the maximum unconcealment along the maximum possible time, the possible strategies are what follow: appeasement, neutrality, enigmatic meaning and cosmic reference. Please see figure 6.7 (overleaf) for a summary of each of these possibilities and their potential effect on topoaletheia.

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[18] Similar cases of reformulating images by producing space occur elsewhere. Most commented was the case of the Olympic stadium in Berlin, always linked to the images of the 1936 Games and the Nazi government, until the World Cup Football 2006 re-shaped it into a brilliant modern facility where the most important matches took place.

[19] See Boyer (1990, 1994).

Description and Example (mainly from Jencks, 2005)	Effect in terms of awareness of the being of space	Graphic for dif. people (value of noemata / time)	Stra-tegy
Pleasing all sides partially and no-one side totally. E.g: Plaza de las Tres Culturas (Three-Cultures Square) in Mexico City. The ruins of an Aztec pyramid juxtapose a baroque Roman Catholic church and contemporary buildings in the International Style, "to reveal the elements of the three major cultures which have gone in to making this place" (Massey 1999, as quoted in Amin and Thrift, 2002: 22).	This strategy makes the unconcealed beings of space last long in time, but high values are only experienced by one of the three groups of the cultures represented, as the others may hold negative values that may cancel out the positive effects that their own part of the monument may provide them.		Appeasement
Utilising neutral, abstract monuments that do not refer to any group in particular. E.g: the Egyptian obelisk at the Place de la Concorde, Paris. As Jencks (2005) argues, a neutral monument was set up in the most emblematic square in Paris due to the impossibility of building a French symbolic monument that could please people enough so as to remain standing through different ideological changes.	It lasts long, but its ability to unconceal the being of [symbolic] space is reduced: it unconceals only one meaning (which, in turn, is not that significant –high valuable- in respect of the community).		Neutrality
Suggesting more than what it is openly shown. Expressive and enigmatic. Jencks (2002, 2005) argues that the successful landmark has to suggest much more than it names, and leave the final interpretation." This allows for completion by the viewer, and thus meanings can change along time (due to ideology or paradigm change), while saving the "safety" of the monument.	The new meanings produced along time (due to re-interpretations) mean a change in value of awareness (i.e. new unconcealment of being). By leaving the door open to future possible meanings, the retention and protention lines keep changing (from a system of signs to another), hence producing changes in the volume of unconcealment.		Enigmatic meaning
Symbols that, being common to all human kind, transcend cultures, borders and languages, like nature-related symbols, cosmological signs, etc. E.g: the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, which has the general import of "heavenly dome" and "gate" that transcends American history (Tuan, 1977: 164). Or the Eiffel Tower: "Beyond its strictly Parisian statement, it touches the most general human image-repertoire: its simple, primary shape confers upon it the vocation of an infinite cipher" (Barthes, 2000: 237).	Signs of nature and cosmos are shareable by all humanity, transcending cultures, and hence maximising their success. " In order to reach out to the unconscious roots of a community and our will of transcendence, [the production of space] must refer to the processes of nature, and anchor them in our memory" (Bofill, 1990: 74).		Cosmic reference

Apart from these four possibilities, some others can be found in the literature as soon as one is ready to change the subtleties a bit. Hence, for instance Barthes (2000: 238/9) argues that in order to become "a kind of total monument" -a pure signifier able to mean a series of associated meanings, a monument must "escape reason." If there are "reasons" to put a monument in place, there must be reasons to contest it. Barthes mentions that one of the secrets of the success of the Eiffel Tower is that it is "an utterly useless monument." Undoubtedly the case of the Eiffel Tower is one of the greatest examples of how a referent can be come a place with an immense value just by its associated meanings and symbolism, for its utilitarian advantages do not explain its success at all.

Postmodernism has made a difference in regards to the relationship between myths, meaning and value of noemata. The end of metanarratives opens up a whole new field of possibilities, as well as presents some new threats to the relationships between image and 'reality', and their likely provision of topoaletheia.

5. Duration in time: events

An event could be defined in different ways: as a stimulus (a figure), as an act (festival, concert, football game), and as a 'place in time', that is to say a noema related to a specific range of time. It is this last understanding of event as "place in time" the one I am going to be using in this section. In order to relate these events to the possibilities of experiencing topoaletheia, I shall explore two points: a) the topoaletheia that events may provide in their condition of places along time,; and b) the topoaletheia that may be experienced in those [physical] locations in which events take *place*.

5.1 Topoaletheia via events as places along time.

An event is a 'place' in time. This does not mean that a *spatial* place is built along time, but that the event is a temporal place that, once perceived by one's awareness, becomes a noema related to time that is filled with value. Hence, events make a sort of temporal region that allows for the unconcealment of Being.

5.1.1 Intrinsic value.

The same processes I described towards the attainment of intrinsic value by images occur in the case of events. The difference is that, in the case of events, they also have a "strength" that makes their intensity differ from those of images. That strength comes from the unconcealment of the being of TIME that accompanies that of the being of space —resulting in the individual experiencing "more" Being.

The value of the event as noema comes determined by its ability to stand (as a figure, as a *being*) out of the ground of the awareness of nothingness (a void of event-meaning, or habituation to the existing events). Thus, similarly to the case of spatial places, there will be intrinsic values and relational values. The intrinsic value of events will be defined by its intensity plus its novelty. By NOVELTY I refer to the sheer newness of the event —the opposite to everyday routine. INTENSITY, in turn, is the 'strength' of the event; its ability

to stand out as a figure –e.g. we all can remember what we were doing when we first learnt of the September 11th attacks. This is because it became a very 'strong' place in time (and thus a strong noema in our awareness).

No matter the strength of the value, the STRUCTURE of creation of value in one's awareness is the same. Value is intrinsic plus relational[20]. Intrinsic value is due to its novelty and its intensity. Therefore, in order to account for the whole of an event's value, individuals' awareness could be added up together, resulting in the "collective value" of the event. This collective value is the one that should be taken into account when calculating a new cost-benefit analysis that may include a phenomenological perspective.

5.1.2 SINGULARITY AND PERIODICITY OF EVENTS.

The second important aspect of events, understood as temporal places, is their periodicity or singularity, since this will tell us how likely the habituation to the event will be –and thus its loss of value. This is best described in A. Huxley's words (1994: 76-77):

> *"Familiarity breeds indifference. We have seen too much pure,*
> *bright colour at Woolworth's to find it intrinsically transporting. And*
> *here we may note that, by its amazing capacity to give us too much of the*
> *best things, modern technology has tended to devaluate the traditional*
> *vision-inducing materials. The illumination of a city, for example, was*
> *once a rare event, reserved for victories and national holidays, for the*
> *canonization of saints and the crowning of kings. Now it occurs nightly*
> *and celebrates the virtues of gin, cigarettes and toothpaste."*[21]

The singularity or periodicity of events will also shape the phenomena of topoaletheia that events can provide. SINGULAR events, on the one hand, can only provide the value of their singularity –their being singular already makes them a 'figure.' However, their intrinsic value will be their only tool to allow for the unconcealment of the being of space. Hence, the higher their intrinsic value in respects to the ground (i.e. habituation of the common events), the higher the overall unconcealment. Thus, once-in-a-lifetime events such as the first step on the moon or 9/11 –very prominent figures over the ground of

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[20] The relational characteristics of value follow the same constitution of the rest of symbolic meanings I have been describing in this chapter.

[21] Similar comments could be made from Le Corbusier's account of the first time he confronted the "new phenomenon" of traffic (see p. 102).

everyday events- are left marked as an opening to know the being of time. They are such powerful temporal places, that one is still aware of them.

On the other hand, PERIODICAL events not only provide the unconcealing value of the event itself, but they also open up a region of time between the place-events, which allows for the unconcealment of the being of time. Thus, the value of the awareness of the singular event-place is supplemented by the unconcealment of in-between place-events. This has two new effects: a) an individual is aware of the "nothingness" of the events in between two events (i.e. one is aware of the being of the event even when there is no such an event); and b) it creates anticipation before the forthcoming event (that is to say, protention).

The time span between periodical events is crucial to understand the area of Being unconcealed. The rhythm "anthem" is relevant here. Let us think of events such as the Olympic Games or the World Cup Football. Apart from their intrinsic value (i.e. they do reach a global audience, etc.), their strength lies in their scarcity of appearance. Were they be held annually, their importance would decrease significantly. To unconceal a similar area of Being, annual events would have to posses extraordinarily high values, in order to counteract the effect of habituation. In contrast, by following the rhythm "anthem" and calculating the true [intrinsic] value that the event is going to have, one could plan how often (or scarcely) that event should be place along time in order to maximise the awareness of Being it will induce[22].

5.2 **Topoaletheia via the location of events.**

This second section deals with the topoaletheia that may be experienced in those [physical] locations in which events take *place*, by means of creating a place in a location where there was no value beforehand, and therefore no *place* per se. As I explained in p.

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[22] An example of the effects of the rhythm "anthem" in representational space is the beach. For most people in Europe, going to the beach is an activity that only occurs during one season a year, and it happens to be a highly valued activity due to the relational meanings it has attached to it –like one being on holidays (fishermen hold different attitudes towards the beach).

52, activity is one of the three place components that Montgomery (1998) identified —the other two being form (i.e. physical setting) and image (i.e. symbolism). Relph (1976) had already affirmed that events and actions contribute to the character of the place.

A distinction can be found between 'ephemeral' and 'anchored' events. In the case of an EPHEMERAL event (e.g. a massive rock concert in a park), a space filled with value will be created for as long as the event is going on. This value will be reinforced by the value of the physical space where it occurs (e.g. volume of space filled with the value of music). But the value of the *place* created by the event will follow a steady decline once the event is over. .

The effect on place of non-ephemeral —or ANCHORED- events is different. The repetition, however regular or irregular, of similar or different events in the same location increases the value of the place component of activity of that location, hence increasing its overall place-value. This is because the value of events in the same location create a noema of space (i.e. a place) in our awareness. From this point onwards, the noema behaves in our consciousness as the rest of noemata related to spatial information[23].

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[23] Once a place has a strong value due to the meanings that past events transferred to it, that location will remain valuable, even in the case that it no longer hosts any event of any kind. This kind of 'aura' of place is explained by the lasting effects of the value of the place component of events as activity.

6. Topoaletheia and the conflicts of city marketing.

Images, regardless their source –events, myths, etc.- function as noemata of the being of symbolic space. Many of these noemata will be apprehended by the individual through the spontaneous realisation of places that populate one's lifeworld. However, those noemata specifically designed to be thus are what are most interesting when applying this perspective to city marketing. These are those that an agent creates purposefully to create a specific image of a place –in short, the identity (see p. 54). As Sennett (1970) argues, the problem in encouraging (or strengthening) a particular identity is that it will produce drop-outs. That is to say that, in regards of a specific identity, some people will belong and some will not. Thus, when the public authority –or any other agent- opts for one specific identity, conflicts are likely to arise.

From a phenomenological standpoint, conflicts are dysfunctions of the awareness of the value of the manifestation of a being of space among different individuals. Or, in another perspective: they are dissonances between the awareness of the value of a certain being of space and the objective value it is supposed to achieve. Here I want to summarise how the relationship between the conflicts of city marketing and the essential elements of topoaletheia is. This is actually part of the phenomenological stage that Spiegelberg (1960) named "establishing relationships between different essences." Please see figure 6.8 for a summary of the relationship between the different conflicts I explained in chapter two and the elements of topoaletheia. On the one hand I summarise how phenomenology may explain the meaning of each city marketing conflict and, on the other hand, I argue whether or not carrying out city marketing activities taking into account topoaletheia may help minimise the effects of the conflict.

Conflict	Meaning of the conflict in terms of topoaletheia (TA)	Is it possible to have both the conflict and topoaletheia?	Does topoaletheia help towards overcoming the conflict?
Commodification	The value that one may become aware of through meaning (as part of the intrinsic value) is partially erased. There is an interruption of the different layers of signification –i.e. meaning-values cannot be accounted for beyond a certain related event.	Yes, but only in the short-term, since a commodified place may show an enormous intensity value. However, habituation will likely strike quickly, and the lack of meaningful related values will prevent the provision of topoaletheia in the longer-run.	An understanding of the formulation of topoaletheia (and the fulfilment it brings along) should help to overcome this conflict, as it demonstrates how Being is unconcealed along time, and hence related values need to be complemented with meaning values.
Placelessness	It means the erosion of the meaning-value that made places stand out as 'figures', hindering the possibilities to unconceal the space within regions formed by those 'figures.'	No, as placelessness is the opposite of topoaletheia. However, placeless locations still have intrinsic values.	If topoaletheia is acknowledged to provide the benefits it provides, it will be regarded as much more worth it to plan city marketing products to foster TA, hence reducing placelessness.
Re-imagination	An agent purposefully modifies the related value of the image-places in order to make it most valuable towards a selected goal. This, however, render those images less valuable overall, as their authentic related values are deleted. The "*brilliant*" shadows the "*numinous.*"	Yes, and in fact it is very likely, due to the 'mass' of people who share the new images. However, the same short-term aspects mentioned regarding commodification apply. The "illusion of topoaletheia" will be common.	The explanation of TA shows the structure of value formation –rendering the conflict beatable. However, having clear the benefits of TA actually opens the door to political manipulation through re-imagination in order to gain political advantage (populism?).
Whose city is it?	By promoting (unconcealing) certain identities, the other possibilities remain concealed. Thus a gap appears between attention lines of different publics, leading to different (in)-satisfactions.	Yes, but the dissonances created between different publics will make the provision of TA much less efficient. Problem of knowing how to add the experiences of different individuals together.	Yes. Since TA demonstrates the elements that constitute one's fulfilment through space, it is possible to find the way to maximise the relation of provision of value to different publics.
Branding of cityscape	The meaning-value is dramatically reduced as a related being of space (unless strong aspiration). Also, habituation is a given (place less of a 'figure')	Only in a very short-term (due to intensity values). Not in the mid- and long-term. It creates placelessness, reducing TA.	Knowing how to use the rhythms of TA can help maximise the value of awareness created by the intensity values of brands.
Thematic park view of shopping and leisure	A dissonance is created between the attention-line of the noemata coming from the imagined (thematic) world and those from the "real" world.	The related- (themed) values are likely to be very high. However, the awareness of the dissonance with the "real" world will reduce the overall value.	No, although it can help to arrange the themed relational values in a way to maximise the provision of TA and, hence, the fulfilment.
Political armour	TA leads to the highest fulfilment: the experience of Being. Satisfied individuals may support the agent that facilitate their joy.	Somewhat, similarly to 'bread and circuses' (not "bad" if other needs and motivations are satisfied). But not fully, as aletheia is covered by *adequatio*.	No. Just the opposite. Knowing how to use TA is a 'political weapon.' TA is not a neutral tool.

The most important lesson that a phenomenological stance can provide to the study of conflicts is a specific view on authenticity. Through the use of topoaletheia to understand the conflicts of city marketing, I have learned that authenticity is the maintenance of an essential continuum across different layers of meaning that have been cast upon a location. This continuum connects the being of space (formed through the awareness of 'places' of symbolic space) through to the primeval stage in which Being (in this case the being of the place –its 'essence') and logos (its primeval meaning) met. In other words, if one were to 'deconstruct' the new meanings each layer of signification cast upon the place, one would still be able to reach the first meaning, and not be diverted to systems of signs belonging to other locations, peoples, cultures, etc. So, through authentic places, one can experience Being not only through the widening of temporal scope produced by old meanings, but through reaching the 'ground' from which the place's essence came to the fore[24].

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[24] Let me illustrate this with the metaphor of the onion. If an onion is regarded just from the outside, its appearance resembles quite much that of other similar groceries or fruits –such as an apple's. Nevertheless, if one opens the onion, one can see that the outermost layer can be peeled-off, and that there is another layer, and another, and so on until the core is found. Conversely, if one opens an apple, there is no such a set of layers.

7. Conclusion.

To begin with, I would like to stress that in neither this nor last chapter I have been prescriptive: I have not come up with a fix model on how to plan city marketing activities to achieve topoaletheia. On the contrary, I believe I have opened up the choices that city marketers have, by offering a new approach that maximises the fulfilment that different publics may experience through the image of the city. This new approach is what should be added to traditional cost-benefit analyses in order to have a clear idea on whether or not a city marketing product may be worth carrying out.

Whereas in the physical space value comes from the empirically observable categories of size, colour, texture, noise, etc., in the symbolic space is determined by: a) the intensity of the event itself; b) the relational value of the event; c) the whole chain of related events to the one that just become manifested; d) the meaning of the event; e) the time span along which all this occurs; and f) the kind of *user* of the city one is. The value of the experience of topoaletheia in the symbolic space will be perceived along that of the experience of the physical space of the city at once –i.e. noemata coming from different spaces merge in one's consciousness as noemata coming from the city.

In the next chapter I will look at the specific cases of Madrid and Barcelona. In these cities I expect to find examples of beings of both physical and symbolic space that may show in more practical terms what I have been explaining so theoretically.

SEEKING TOPOALETHEIA IN THE CASES OF MADRID AND BARCELONA

After conceptualising topoaletheia in chapter four, and explaining the ways in which it appears in both the physical space (chapter five) and the symbolic space (chapter six), in this chapter I will explore modes of topoaletheia appearances in Madrid and Barcelona.

It is important to point out that I am not carrying out case studies of these two cities. Doing so would lead me to a thorough investigation of all the topoaletheia appearances that take place there, and to develop a systematic comparison of their structure of appearance. Rather, what I aim to do is to give examples of topoaletheia: examples of small, medium or big opportunities to experience topoaletheia in Madrid and Barcelona. The rationale for this is twofold: on the one hand, giving examples of different topoaletheia opportunities within the same urban framework enables the reader to find it easier to comprehend what the essence of experiencing the being of space is all about. If,

on the contrary, all examples were given about cities of a very different nature, one could think that their specific provision of topoaletheia might be due to the idiosyncrasy of those places. On the other hand, although Madrid and Barcelona are the two biggest cities in Spain, they could hardly be more different in the opportunities they provide individuals to experience topoaletheia. I believe their differences will help me explain the nuances of the experience of the being of space. For those reasons, and due to the vast amount of literature on Barcelona's city planning (generally praising it), I find it useful to test the concept of topoaletheia again in regard to these two cities.

The number of tourists flooding Barcelona has been spectacular in the last fifteen years. Along with them, the perception of the "image" of the city –from academic environments to popular media- has improved significantly, up to the point that one seems to feel 'forced' to like Barcelona. If one does not like it, it seems that something is wrong with the person, rather than the city. In other words, it seems 'natural' to like Barcelona. Why is this? Can topoaletheia explain the *raison d'etre* of this? This is the key question of this chapter.

Moreover, I will approach these questions phenomenologically, thus reinforcing the usefulness of this approach. For instance, if I wanted to explain why people seem to like Barcelona through solely empirical terms –and carry the subsequent surveys, interviews etc. so as to find out some variables for the reasons-, I would already be misled. When answering those surveys, interviewees would have already been based on the system of signs of those who go there because they like it – i.e. their opinions would reinforce the idea of the "*naturalness*" of liking Barcelona. That is bias. Prejudices are not easily removable from empirical surveys planned to answer these questions. And I believe bias can be overcome by the assumption-free approach that phenomenology carries out.

Secondly, if I held the hypothesis that part of the success of Barcelona is due to the fulfilment that individuals experience when they become aware of Being (via means of the being of space), only one methodology that allows for the study of Being and the

experience of Being could properly investigate this hypothesis. This renders the usual empirical approaches useless[1].

In this chapter I shall follow the order of city marketing elements as described in chapter two. This is, I shall firstly focus on urban design issues, putting a special emphasis on the terrain, legibility and Lynch's elements of the image of the city. Secondly, I shall look at cultural policies, especially hallmark events and the conflicts that have come with them. Finally, I shall also speak about the role of media and political agents in creating and managing myths that become powerful symbols and produce intense noemata. I will sometimes give examples that affect / encompass the whole of the city, and other times, just a neighbourhood, or street or even a small street furnishing element. Also, in this chapter I am a bit more proactive than in the rest of this thesis. Whereas hitherto my aim was to explore whether topoaletheia exists as a concept, in this chapter I point towards the ways in which it may be used in city marketing.

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[1] "When you are experiencing Being, the least you are concerned with is statistics", A. Huxley.

1. The terrain and topoaletheia.

The terrains of Madrid and Barcelona already make a difference in terms of the potential *likability* of these cities. I believe this difference can be explained in terms of topoaletheia, thus reinforcing its relevance. Topoaletheia can explain this by means of the fulfilment that its phenomena can provide the individual. Therefore, by demonstrating that a particular terrain can induce the phenomena of topoaletheia, one can infer that it is potentially more *likable* than one that does not. This becomes a competitive advantage, the only one that is truly "*natural.*"

The terrains of Madrid and Barcelona show huge differences in terms of their enabling to individuals to experience the being of space. Barcelona is embedded between the mountain and the sea, creating a very easily recognisable volume of space of a significant size (around 82 km²). Hence, the panoramic view of the city is never lost, likely it was the gaze of a man standing on a beach with no other stimulus (see page 100). Conversely, thanks to the natural landmarks of the terrain, there is a recognisable volume of space that makes the whole area of space emerge –become
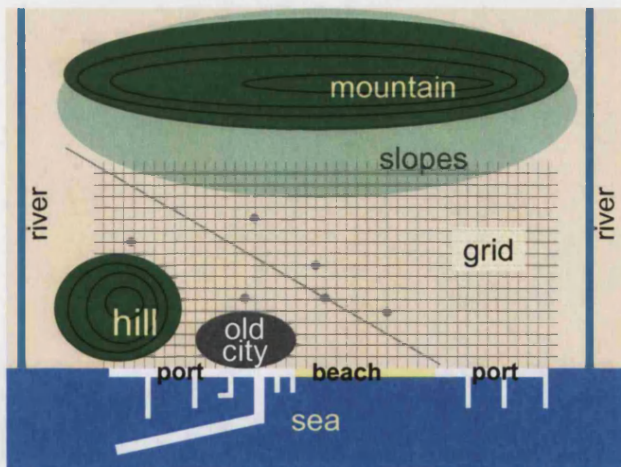
Figure 7.1: Diagram of Barcelona's terrain, highlighting the natural features that envelope the space of the city.

known. It is very easy for an individual admiring a view of the city to become aware of around 82 km² of space[2] (see figures 7.1 and 7.2).

Also, Barcelona counts with a hill within the city, Montjuïc, as well as a prolonged area of slopes between the seashore and the mountains. These features facilitate the opportunities of panoramic views of the city. Besides, the seafront functions as an 'edge'

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[2] Or around 25km³, taking into account the height of the natural landmarks.

–in Lynch's terms- that facilitates the legibility of the city –i.e. one knows how to handle a map of Barcelona, which makes it very easy to develop a mental map. Lastly, the possibility of seeing the city from above also provides you with the capability of feeling "mighty" and "free", as you can see the city downwards in an opened-air view.

Figure 7.2: View of Barcelona from the top of the Tibidabo. A great volume of space is unconcealed immediately.

Whereas in Barcelona the first factor of the *"volume times value"* equation of topoaletheia proves to be very high, in Madrid it could not be lower. In Madrid, there are no natural features; its location in the middle of a featureless plateau makes the awareness of its volume of space become lost. As in the case of the beach with no island in the horizon, infinity plays against the awareness of the being of space.

There is no natural landmark in Madrid[3] from which to devise the city. Nowadays a number of man-made hills are being built in order to serve that function. Also, there are not even edges formed by natural features: Madrid is the only European capital with no seafront, lakeside or prominent river –the Manzanares River is just a stream.

Due to its terrain, it is understandable that the growth of Madrid has traditionally being messy, and that –during periods of great growth (e.g. 1950-1970)- the city spread out formlessly. Therefore, "handling" the city is complicated, what makes it very difficult to create mental maps. In other words, it is almost impossible to become aware of the volume of the city rapidly. This makes all the stimuli that one perceives from Madrid be added in an unorganised pattern thereafter.

The initial impression created by the terrain can lead to glad improvements or great disappointments. The very high initial value in Barcelona could actually be seen as a threat, since it will create high expectations. New potential noemata, in order to prevent disappointment, will necessarily have to be in-between; other noemata would be wasteful. On the contrary, in Madrid the very low value of the terrain makes it impossible to get worse, and therefore all stimuli will become opportunities, as they will surely improve the expectations. Therefore, the key is the way to arrange stimuli. One might argue that the most preferable rhythms would be those that extend the volume in an organised manner (e.g. "concaves", "boleros") rather than those that do not create volume (e.g. "in between lines", "yielding"), or those which do so in a messy way (e.g. "tidal waves", etc.).

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[3] The popularly-called "Sierra de Madrid" (or Madrid Mountains) is some 40 kms. away.

2. Urban design and topoaletheia.

In this section I aim to establish links between the built environment and topoaletheia, so as to make some points that could not be raised without a phenomenological analysis.

2.1 **Legibility and volume awareness.**

Regarding Barcelona's legibility, it is important to point out that whereas some features are 'given' by the terrain, others have been carried out purposefully seeking legibility. Actions in the past (e.g. Cerdá's *Eixample*) and in recent times (e.g. Olympic Village, etc.) show the importance that Barcelona's authorities have given to imageability.

The *Eixample* (figure 7.3) is the popular grid pattern of Barcelona that extends from the old city to the mountain. It occupies an area of 940 hectares, and it is formed by 113.3

Figure 7.3: The Eixample –the 19th century grid that extends to most of Barcelona's city centre.

metre-long axes cut across by 20 metre-long streets (Busquets, 2005). Speaking in terms of topoaletheia, I can say that the *Eixample* provides a very fast awareness of the volume of the space of the city. By maximising the legibility of the volume of space enveloped by the physical features, it also increases the rapidity an individual can become aware of space, helping towards the experience of topoaletheia. Tourists usually experience this rapid awareness via the rapid creation of a mental map of the city, which shows itself very quickly, rendering a sense of 'security' and 'enjoyment' to the tourists. Residents may experience this awareness as a delimited space of their city –leading to a sense of "we-ness" (i.e. a strengthening of the identity of the city). This is due to their ability to "frame" their city, which leads them to 'know' what their city 'is.'

The *Eixample* is formed by long, wide streets, all looking the same. One may well argue that the sameness of almost all the streets in the grid can lead to a sense of placelessness. I think this is not the case. In my opinion the individual's awareness of the whole volume of space is not lost (i.e. placelessness), but contained within the surrounding limits and multiplied by the value of the stimuli one can find within them. This is possible due to the existence of 'anchors' in the grid: I mean the 'places' (full of value) that renew the awareness of the grid space, extending its buffer zone up until another anchor can be found and so on. In other words, the over 900 hectares of the grid are not a nothingness, but they are full of 'places' (figures) that enhance the awareness of the whole.

Examples of places that function as anchors are excellent architectural designs, such as Gaudi's works, Gothic pieces, and modern ornaments function, together with representational places (that I will describe later) that open up the awareness within the volume of space, rendering more value to the whole and thus multiplying the possibilities of experiencing topoaletheia.

Interestingly, in their urban design activities as part of city marketing, Barcelona's authorities have continued to enhance this phenomenon. There are many examples of this sort that I could mention, like the NOVA ICARIA development, which served as Olympic Village for the 1992 Olympic Games (OG from now on). Instead of just extending the *Eixample* to the sea, the streets that come from the slopes of the city were indeed prolonged until the seashore, but the rest of roads were somewhat transformed, becoming rich in personality and use (see figure 7.4). At the end, continuity from the rest of the grid and perfect permeability were obtained, making this new neighbourhood become perfectly integrated in the rest of the city, while giving it a special character that differentiates it from the rest of the grid (i.e. creating a figure over the ground).

A second source of value to fill in this newly created volume of space is the location of landmarks and other figures. From any high part of the city, a major landmark of this area can be seen: two skyscrapers playing the role of "sentries" (Martorell, 1992). They are different, not twins, and designed by different architects[4], playing with their
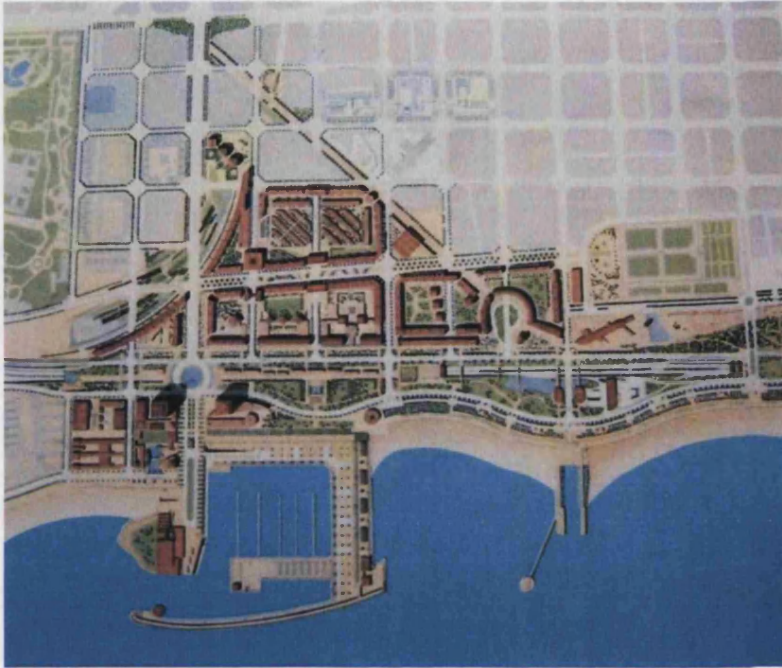
Figure 7.4: The Nova Icaria development that served as the Olympic Village during the 1992 OG.

One can see how the grid was reinterpreted and extended to the seashore. This reinterpretation of the grid provides character to the area, which thus becomes distinct from the rest of the grid.

Also, the new beaches, marina and the two towers that function as "sentries" can be seen.

differences. In the low level extension of the hotel there is an enormous leisurely setting designed by Frank Gehry, with his personal element in the form of a big metal fish-shape structure that reiterates as a landmark the leisure nature of the area. This leisurely essence is also part of the value that fills up the volume of space that is gained to the city by the extension of the grid.

It is important to distinguish between legibility and topoaletheia. Legibility can enable the experience of topoaletheia easily, as it sets up the structure of the volume of space that one perceives. However, topoaletheia needs of extensions and variations of awareness of space. Thus, highly legible places can see their topoaletheia-enhancing ability deteriorated as soon as they are not able to provide extensions or variations of space. Hence, I find Barcelona –with its high levels of imageability- to be very effective in providing volume and value in a first moment. But the transition from the ontic

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[4] A hotel (Arts Hotel) by Graham and an office block (Mapfre Tower) by Ortiz and León.

Figure 7.5: Axes of centrality in Madrid. The yellow colour shows the Castellana Axis. Green shows the Alcalá - Gran Vía axis. Blue shows the location of the river. The overground section of the inner motorway ring –the M30- is shown in red; the undeground section, in pink.

realisation of the city (i.e. the individual's awareness of the city's elements as elements *per se*) to the ontological realisation (i.e. the experience of Being) can occur very rapidly. Thus, the levels of topoaletheia will likely to be very high, but they will not stay that high unless extensions and/or variations of the awareness of space come into place thereafter.

The structure of Madrid is rather different, almost the contrary. Individuals' mental maps of Madrid show a high centrality of the Castellana (north-south) and Alcalá-Gran Vía (east-west) axes, plus the ring roads, leaving the rest, together with the spaces in between those axes, in a blurred –bleaker- state (see figure 7.5. This does not mean that it is impossible to experience topoaletheia via Madrid's layout, but it will have to come from other layers of space and will take longer time.

2.2 **Barcelona's events as pretexts.**

Barcelona has a long tradition of making use of events as a pretext for urban reforms. Apart from the popular case of the 1992 OG, the Universal Exposition of 1888 left the Triumph Arch, Columbus monument, and the renovation of the Ciudadela Park (an old military fortress) among others; the International Exhibition of 1929 left, among other things, the Montjuic-Pl. de España axis; and the 2004 Forum of Cultures (the Forum, from now on) left the renovation of the seafront in the northern edge of the city. While making efforts to modernise the city, these events are utilised to gain a stronger economic base and to set fixed deadlines.

Regarding topoaletheia, two cases need special attention: the 1992 OG and the 2004 Forum.

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> *"The preparation of the Olympic Barcelona was planned as a regeneration of the city and not only as a simple adequacy to the needs of the Games. Every single project was planned for its utility after 1992 [...] Barcelona will amaze the world in 1993 again, when all those infrastructures and sport facilities are fully integrated in the life of this city"* Pasqual Maragall[5] (1992: 18).

The 1992 OG meant a overall cost of 5.1 billion dollars, of which only 9.4% was invested in sport facilities, whereas 12.9% was invested in hotels and services, 15.1% in housing, offices and retailing, and 60.8% in infrastructures, communications, seafronts and environment (Roldán, 1992: 25).

One could think that, if an FDE (such as the 1992 OG) 'is' city marketing (Smyth, 1999), and can provide topoaletheia, its utilisation is legitimised from a phenomenological point of view, as well as its cost has to be adjusted to the benchmark that is set up as to be worthwhile.[6] However, I would rather put it the other way round: topoaletheia (i.e. the experience of Being) makes the practice of city marketing effective. Thus, if topoaletheia is achieved by other means that city marketing, they should be welcome; whereas if an FDE does provide with opportunities to experience topoaletheia, its other aspects (costs, conflicts, etc.) should be taken into account in order to assess its "worth." In short, not just because a FDE proves to provide opportunities for topoaletheia it is legitimised from a phenomenological point of view.

A good example of this is the Forum, which cost 2,5 billion euros of public money and it is regarded as a failure. It was a pretext to develop the last brownfield site by the urban seafront. And it did so brilliantly. Besides, topoaletheia could be achieved by experiencing the variations provided by the huge values that were socially assigned to certain images. But it was a failure, especially considering its cost. I will deal with this later on.

Madrid has traditionally lacked big events that could possibly serve as pretext for urban transformation. Indeed Madrid it could do with a deadline for a landmark project:

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[5] Pasqual Maragall was the mayor of Barcelona from 1982 to 1998.

[6] I mean worthwhile in terms of cost benefit analysis, bearing in mind the benefits of the experience of Being at its appropriate weight, which I will leave for further consideration.

the *Operación Chamartín*, which has been stuck in the middle of the planning process since the late 1990's. Contrarily to the case of the Barcelona OG, Madrid's bid –firstly for the 2012 OG- and now for the 2016 OG is regarded among city managers as the perfect tool to show off the city and all the developments that have been going on and have transformed the city so radically in the last decade. Rather than a pretext for transformation, they would be a window to show what it has already been done.

2.3 **Districts.**

Whereas the space of Barcelona discloses itself very rapidly through the terrain and the legibility of the grid, Madrid presents some advantages in terms of providing topoaletheia via its districts. Differences between areas bring surprises, i.e. changes of attention in respect of one's protention. Time is needed to develop a mental map of the different districts, but the *barrios* of Madrid show so much distinctive character and personality that *Madrileños* traditionally refer to their city as *Los Madriles* (something like "*The Madrids*"). Whereas most of Barcelona is uniform because of the grid (with the exception of the Old Quarter and Sarriá), resulting in a somewhat flat rhythm, Madrid's apparent messiness offers a whole catalogue of townscape features that create 'places.' One can find grid in Salamanca and Chamberí, narrow, curvy streets in Tetuán and Carabanchel; exhaustively planned garden-city in Ciudad Lineal, etc. Interestingly, even in those areas with a grid layout, the local grid was reinterpreted so as to respect the distinct character of the area (figure 7.6). There are also distinct areas identifiable by edges created by social meanings. For instance, Chueca, the gentrified gay area in Central
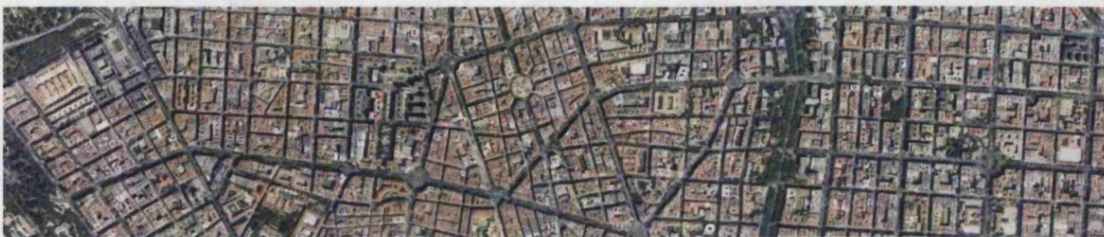
Figure 7.6: Different patterns within the grid structures in Central Madrid, which cover the areas of Argüelles (left), Chamberí (centre), and Salamanca (right). The grid pattern in Madrid covers a surface of 608 hectares.

Madrid presents a very strong identity without clear physical edges.

Suburbs in both cities present a clear topoaletheia rhythm of "on and on." The *nothingness* upon which Madrid is located makes its expansion apparently endless along the radial motorways (A1, A2, etc. and especially the A6, along which the suburbs reach the *Sierra de Madrid* and even beyond). In the Catalan coastline both sides of Barcelona, it is difficult to say when the metropolitan area ends, since there is a continuum of urbanised areas that show a clear "on and on" rhythm. This rhythm has a really high value in the case of Barcelona, since the volume of space is quite big (i.e. mountains on one side, sea in the other –with the premium of the beach and all its connotative messages) and the Mediterranean light.

2.3.1 BROWNFIELD REGENERATION.

When planning and developing the sites for big events, Barcelona has given a special emphasis on the regeneration of brownfields that divided the city, playing the role of edges. This was the case for the 1888 Exposition, and more recently for the 1992 OG: the four Olympic areas were regenerated from brownfields. See figures 7.7 and 7.8. Also, see Maragall, 1992; Boixadós, 1992; and Henry, 1992: 208.

Figure 7.7 (left): The area of the Poblenou before the regeneration prior to 1992. It was an industrial area and the railways represented a sharp edge between the city centre and the waterfront.
Figure 7.8 (right): The same area after the regeneration took place.

In the Olympic Village, once the railway lines were removed, the streets from the *Eixample* were extended up to the seafront. Hence, continuity from the rest of the grid and perfect legibility and permeability from the rest of the city were obtained. As a result,

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and talking in topoaletheia's terms, getting rid of these old edges immediately induces an increase in the volume of the space that the individual embraces in consciousness. And it does so not by creating a new volume, but by extending the previous one. The effect of the latter is more significant. Secondly, values of local noemata from the regenerated area will likely be higher than those stemming from the previous brownfield, resulting in a significantly higher overall manifestation of the being of space. Furthermore, the leisure-related amenities that replaced the industrial area (e.g. sport facilities, beach, marina) provide the individual's awareness with even more valuable stimuli, since leisurely activities have the premium value of their (positive) related meanings. Moreover, by deleting that edge, and opening the city to the sea, the volume of space was extended infinitely, discharging all the tension of the city into an awareness embracing the volume of the sea.

Barcelona has not only regenerated brownfields. The extension of individuals' awareness to volumes of space that previously were black-holes also occurred thanks to the regeneration of old parts of the city that were either derelict or were foci of crime. This was the case of the Ciutat Vella, which was renovated prior to the OG. El Raval and La Ribera followed suit. Interestingly, these three areas are the oldest parts of Barcelona, and however are the newest ones in individual's awareness. This is because individuals previously regarded them as black-holes in the middle of the cityscape, whereas now they are 'places.'

2.3.2 OLYMPIC AREAS.

Until the 1992 Olympics, most of the host cities opted to extend the city in some direction in order to give space for the amenities and buildings required for the Games, what is relatively easy and cheap. By contrast, Barcelona intervened in the existing built area by means of a program of urban regeneration that constituted a huge impact on the city as a whole. The four Olympic areas (Diagonal, Vall d'Hebron, Montjuïc and

Poblenou) were four points deliberately located between the grid and the disarray of the outlying districts (see figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9: Urban interventions carried out in Barcelona with the pretext of hallmark events.
The four Olympic areas are shown in yellow. By "exposing" those four areas –and despite leaving the rest apparently unnoticed, the area in-between became unconcealed by indirection.
The green area on the right side mark the regeneration carried out prior to the Forum 2004. And the blue area on the bottom right side marks the Area 22@.

Moreover, these four areas are surrounding the city centre, so that the influence of the improved zones can be noticed in most of the city (MBMP[7], 1991: 8), leading to the improvement of the overall. In terms of topoaletheia, the influence that these areas cast on the rest of the city, especially on the area they surrounded is due to the "buffer zone effect" I dealt with on p. 172. This is a success in Barcelona, and the authorities who devised it (mainly Oriol Bohigas, then Barcelona's Planning Director) must be acknowledged. This is a good example of how city marketing practices may unconceal the being of space by indirection, and thus expand our awareness –leading us to topoaletheia. These lessons from Barcelona OG were learnt by the team that devised Madrid's bid for the 2012 OG, who plans for three Olympic areas surrounding the inner city.

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[7] Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay and Puigdoménech. I use this abbreviation when quoting their book "The Olympic Village. Barcelona '92. Architecture. Parks. Leisure Port."

The successful story of Barcelona's regeneration of brownfields in order to accommodate tourist developments has led the local authorities to overdo it. The development of the Forum 2004 and the Area 22@ seem not to be carried out for residents' interest, but to achieve the beautification of the city-commodity in order to sell it to the only public that seems to count: the foreign [generally young] tourist, who –after visiting the city- falls in love with Barcelona so much that invests in it (hopefully by relocating its working activity thanks to technology). A series of conflicts seem to have derived from this issue, mainly gentrification, re-imagination, "whose city is it?" Nevertheless, it does provide with topoaletheia. This serves me to stress the importance of taking into account the costs of topoaletheia (I mean social costs –hazards) as well as its benefits (e.g. the fulfilment of its experience, etc.) in a cost-benefit analysis devised adding phenomenological perspectives to the usual equations.

2.3.3 MADRID AND ITS NEW AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT (PAU'S).

Regarding districts, I can suggest a number of opportunities for Madrid. Due to the lack of physical (natural) features in the *nothingness* of Madrid's geographical site, Madrid's districts and neighbourhoods (*Los Madriles*) have proven to be the main ingredient for the configuration of *places* in the city. Different morphology and character have made the barrios easily imaginable in *Madrileños'* minds when dealing with their everyday activities: cultural places, in Centro; fashion shopping, in Salamanca; nightlife, in Chamberí. The opportunity

Figure 7.10: PAU Sanchinarro. Indistinctive empty streets and endless number of indistinctive brown-brick apartment blocks. The PAU's, in spite of being the newest developments, devised to "finish off" the city, lead to placelessness.

here would be to maintain and strengthen the differences by reinforcing the single character and identity of each *barrio*. But this should be done avoiding the hazard of an

over-representation of each neighbourhood by means of developing solely its hyper-reality.

In my opinion, the new areas of expansion of the city –the PAU's– would do well if they could maintain the tradition of becoming distinctive *barrios*. But this is not being the case: the new PAU's, offering housing for over 250,000 people, are incredibly indistinctive (see figure 7.10). Indistinctive streets, full of indistinctive buildings are leading to a sense of placelessness in these areas[8]. Hence, I suggest that the local authorities make an effort in the beautification of the PAU's. The cost is not too high, and the benefits in terms of the provision of phenomena of topoaletheia will make it worth it.

2.4 Paths and centrality.

Using the phenomenological terms I have been using, I could define a centrality area as a node of awareness within the city layer of space. In Barcelona, the grid pattern has shown its ability to allocate the centrality of the city functions throughout the whole city. This has led to the creation of a broad volume of space in between of which one can become aware. By contrast, in Madrid the Castellana-Alcalá axes keep full centrality (see figure 7.5 above). The high concentration of awareness set upon these axes hinders the creation of a volume of awareness of space and thus the phenomena of topoaletheia are not easy to be experienced. According to this, Madrid should decentralise those axis in order to distribute their important functions throughout the city, which would become places and delimit new regions of space

In Barcelona, two projects have also showed the aim of the local authorities to shift the centrality. Firstly, the construction of the *rondas*, i.e. the ring road, within the infrastructure projects prior to the 1992 OG. The rondas are reconciled with the urban fabric and actually they serve as structuring axes for the city –just the opposite to their predictable role as edges (see figure 7.11). They not only help in changing the scale to the

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[8] Interestingly, local authorities (and much of the public) praise the PAU's as models of city planning due to their regular street pattern and provision of green areas. They seem not to care for the lack of vitality, imageability and opportunities for organic growth.

city (and thus restructuring the centrality), but also to connect the areas that were not reconciles with the main fabric of the city.

In terms of specific paths, Madrid shows a long list of boulevards that, in themselves, are extensive volumes of space. In the expansion of the city that took place since the late 18th century, straight and wide boulevards were central: not only as main paths of communication, but also as meeting place, as promenade (e.g. Paseo del Prado –figure 7.12- or Paseo Rosales, etc.). These avenues, with their subsequent expansions (e.g. 20th century Paseo de la Castellana –figure 7.13), provide the individual with a extensive volume of surrounded space. In a city where there is no prominent physical feature, these spaces are the locations where individuals can experience the "volume times luminosity" factor. I would even say that, to some extent, Madrid's tendency to expand its urban

Figure 7.11: The ronda highway. It does not mean an edge, as it was semi-buried and public spaces for pedestrians were built upon it. One of the bridges for pedestrians that connect one of the streets of the grid to the seashore is shown in the picture. Thus, permeability was high between both sides of the highway. (Picture taken from HOLSA, 1992).

Figure 7.12 (above): The Paseo del Prado, in the central-southern side of the Castellana axi. It has always been more than a path in Madrid: a place for strolling around and meeting place. In fact, its original name was Salón del Prado (Hall of el Prado).This picture shows how this boulevard will look like once the pedestrianisation of the central part (currently on its way) is finished.

Figure 7.13 (below): The Paseo de la Castellana, along the same axis. It is the widest boulevard in the city –92 m- and its final straight section extends for 4.5 km, creating a volume of 0.94 km2 that can be seen at once.

motorway network has to do with this. In a moment of changing the scale of the city, those motorways (often times surrounded by high-rise buildings) provide a premium

experience of volume and luminosity: one in which speed multiplies the effect of expanding the awareness of the being of space.

However, focusing on a lower layer of space, I believe that paths in Madrid help significantly less to provide with the experience of topoaletheia. This is due to the existence of edges. The same edges that somehow help districts to maintain their different character are obstacles to the mobility of pedestrians. For instance, the two most popular cultural and commercial areas, Salamanca and Centro, are kept away by the Castellana axis, which makes it unpleasant to walk from one area to the other. The result is the confinement of the awareness of the space of each area within the edges that envelop that area, while other pedestrian-friendly districts are kept outbounds (however nearby they may be)[9]. A special case is that of the river, the banks of which used to host the main ring road, the M30 (northbound side on the eastern bank, southbound on the western one). The *Proyecto Río* has carried out the burial of the motorway that served as an unsurpassable edge between the city centre and south-western the suburbs of the city.

2.5 Plazas and other public spaces: the importance of light.

The role of plazas in Madrid and Barcelona is significant when it comes to explore the possibilities of topoaletheia provision. On the one hand, plazas are circumvented volumes of space, which thus make it easy for the individual to become aware of the being of space, by providing clear limits that can be easily understood as spatial noemata. On the other hand, the activities that take place inside the plaza help the individual to find spaces in-between the volume of space that is enveloped.

In Barcelona, on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, light is especially strong and colourful, and thus it is particularly useful in order to appreciate the space in between the volumes of spaces that become *known* from the use of public space. Not only plazas have always been important as meeting point and stage of civic events (e.g. Pl. St. Jaume), but

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[9] The new renovation of the Paseo del Prado, led by Portuguese architect Alvaro de Siza, aims to weaken that edge – primarily by burying half the lanes of the road and thus providing space to pedestrians.

also the local authorities have been aware of their importance in order to produce a greater imageability of the city. Thus, when preparing for the 1992 OG, and apart from all the landmark projects that occupied all the attention in the media, 157 plazas (see figure 7.9) were either redesigned or built from scratch. In Madrid, similar interventions have been taking place. In the period 1997-2001, over a hundred plazas in the central area of the city have also been redesigned or built from scratch.

Figure 7.14: Reaching the Pl. Reial -in the upper part of the picture- becomes a surprise after walking along the narrow alleys that surround it. The other main road, Las Ramblas, can be seen at the top, covered with trees.

The usefulness of a square in terms of its provision of a volume [of space] filled with value is multiplied when the square is full of activity – e.g. squares with a market. These squares multiply the value of the spaces in-between the physical space by means of the values that are perceivable from different senses: e.g. the roar of pedestrians; the sight of the spaces in between people (–or the maximum realisation of the size of the square due to its filling up with people); the smell of the products being sold in the stands, etc. A good example in Barcelona is the Pl. Reial (figure 7.14). It is a surprisingly extensive and "clean" space in the midst of the narrow, curvy alleys of the old quarter. Furthermore, its square shape allows the individual to maximise one's becoming aware of the contained space, since it makes one see and become aware of the corners, enabling the unconcealment of the space in between. During the weekend, there is a street market for collectors of old coins and stamps, which fills the square with life and makes its value become multiplied by the range of the sense-data that one receives[10].

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[10] Las Ramblas in Barcelona and El Rastro in Madrid present somewhat similar phenomena. Actually El Rastro is the flea market that takes place on Sundays along the Ribera de Curtidores.

The Plaza Mayor (figure 7.15) of Madrid is similar to Barcelona's Pl. Reial, although it has been more important in the history of the city than the latter. It is a typical Castilian Main Square, as can be found in almost all of old Castilian cities[11] -having been extended its concept to Spanish colonial cities in Latin America[12]. Madrid's Plaza Mayor was traditionally the centre of the capital: it hosted from public trials and Inquisition's

Figure 7.15: The Plaza Mayor –a typical Castilian main square. Apart from its physical features (indubitably a surprising volume of space in the middle of the Old City), it is a 'place' by means of its activity. Despite not being so central in the life of the city as it was historically, tourists can be seen everyday sitting on the restaurant tables accommodated in the margins. Also, every weekend there are stands (selling from old coins to portraits) that make the square become full of life and maximise for the individual the experience of the physical space where it takes place. More remarkably, since early December every year until the end of the Christmas period, the Christmas market takes place in the square, which becomes full of people, colours and noise.

executions, to presentations of new kings (to the laypeople) and bullfights. It is rectangular and it is completely delimited by buildings of *Herrerian* style (entrances go through an archway). This confinement and the monumentalisation of façades maximise the awareness of the space contained within the square, although this is not too extensive[13]. Besides, an arcade surrounds the whole perimeter of the square, blending the easily disclosable area of the square to the darker, more surprising area of the solid buildings.

The importance of nodes and public spaces towards the imageability of Barcelona has been acknowledged by the local authorities as shown by the special emphasis they placed upon them when planning for the 1992 OG and the 2004 Forum. These interventions show how the awareness of space that is facilitated by the imageability created by planning is perfectly manageable, and not a random undertaking. The Passeig Maritim

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[11] The most popular one is Salamanca's due to its monumental character. Also those of Valladolid, Cáceres, Riaza and Chinchón deserve credit.

[12] In Latin America, the most important *Plazas Mayores* as built during colonial times are those in: Mexico City (Zócalo), Buenos Aires (Pl. de Mayo), Lima (Pl. Mayor or 'de Armas'), Bogotá (Pl. Bolívar), Guatemala (Pl. Mayor) and Santiago de Chile (Pl. de Armas).

(seafront promenade) was a crucial work, as it runs alongside the beaches and the leisure port built for the 1992 OG. It results in a big public space by the sea –in a city that traditionally turned its back to the sea. The Olympic port is treated as a marine plaza, and invited the location of a new conference centre on one of its sides. The awareness of the being of space is magnificent from there: from one side of this maritime 'plaza', one can see all the beaches to the east, the port to the west and the city with the two new skyscrapers, the Olympic ring of Montjuïc and the mountain of the "Collserola" far behind, topped with Foster's telecom tower. Thus, one becomes aware of a huge volume of space filled up with light, an agglomeration produced by a whole city, and landmark places scattered around -which reinforce the value of the whole. This is one of the locations where topoaletheia can be more easily understood in Barcelona.

Figure 7.16 (left): The new public spaces in the Diagonal Mar area, surrounded by the new hotel towers and up-scale apartment blocks. These public spaces are usually empty.
Figure 7.17 (right): Public space around the Forum Building, also in the same area.

Similarly, when planning for the 2004 Forum, they tried to use the creation of apparently valuable public space in order to justify the investment (figures 7.16 and 7.17). However, since the Forum ended, the public spaces have been largely underused, and only the Diagonal Mar Park is slightly used by the local population.

Undoubtedly much more successful was the creation (or renovation) of the urban beaches in preparation for the 1992 OG. According to a survey quoted by Nello (2004: 40), 42.2% of locals "frequently" go to the beach. Besides, the lure of counting with an

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[13] Its size is one hectare, whereas Pl. Reial's is 0.4 hectares.

urban beach "reachable by underground" –as locals like to say- has become one of the highlights of Barcelona as a tourist hotspot.

Madrid, limited by its very different reality, is also making some conscious efforts in order to provide not just new open public spaces, but also some that can provide more value. In this line, the *Proyecto Río* (River Project –part of which is shown in figure 7.18) is remarkable. After burying the motorway that ran along the river, the banks are being reconverted in a leisure area, where a waterfront promenade is being built as well as a whole range of amenities. This space links the city centre and the south-western suburbs, which had been separated by the double edge motorway-river for over half a century. Other projects currently underway in Madrid show similar attention to the provision of valuable public spaces, such as the *Parque Lineal del Manzanares*, another park along the river –some six kilometres

Figure 7.18: Partial view of what the river banks will look like once the "River Project" ends. The motorway that ran at either side of the river has been buried, allowing for the creation of a gardened walking promenade. The bigger green space that can be seen in the picture in the location where Calderón (Atlético de Madrid) stadium is nowadays. In it, an artificial hill will built from which people will be able to see the city centre from above.

away from the aforementioned. This park offers remarkable vistas of the south side of the city. Nevertheless, I can argue that Madrid still needs to build some anchor places able to open up (extend) the awareness of the public realm by linking the centrality areas with extensive public spaces currently under-used due to their marginal location -e.g. Parque del Oeste, or the former Principe Pío station, etc.

2.6 **Landmarks.**

Visual symbols figure prominently in place marketing. Many landmark sites are permanently etched in the public's minds: Eiffel Tower, Big Ben, etc. They have both a physical and a symbolic side. Both physical and symbolic landmarks are noemata of

space, events in consciousness whereby the individual gets to become aware of the being of space. When used properly, the symbolic side is crucial for image construction and can outstand the importance of its physical value (Kotler *et al.*, 1993).

2.6.1 LANDMARKS OF THE PHYSICAL SPACE IN BARCELONA

The strict urban fabric of Barcelona could easily thwart many possible physical landmarks beyond those monuments located in the intersections of major streets. However, city officials have always found the way to increase the legibility of the city by

creating new physical landmarks in all the major events they have hosted: for the 1889 Exhibition, the *Arc de Triomf*, enhancing the legibility from the Sant Joan boulevard and enveloping the Lluis Companys boulevard; for the 1929 Exhibition, the construction of the Palau Nacional together with the two towers by Plaça Espanya created a significant volume of physical space easily legible.

Taking advantage of the investments that took place for the 1992 OG, a new

Figure 7.19: Colserolla Tower, designed by N. Foster

telecommunications tower -Collserola Tower- was designed by Norman Foster and built on a mountain at 445 m. above sea level (figure 7.19). It is 268 m. high, and it facilitates the legibility of the city, as it can be seen from most part of Barcelona, thus acting as a point of reference and making visible the volume of space in between.

In the way from the city centre to the seafront built for the 1992 OG (i.e. the Olympic Village), two skyscrapers were built to play the role of "sentries" (Martorell, 1992). They are different, and their value towards legibility is important, since they can easily visible
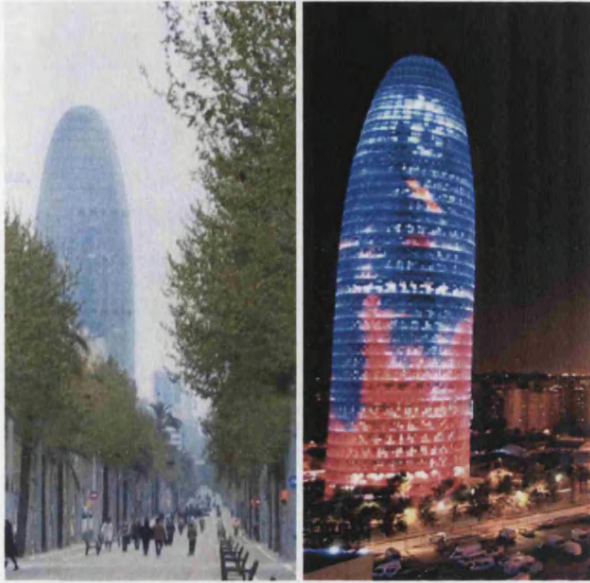
Figures 7.20 and 7.21: The Agbar Tower by day and night. Its value as a 'figure' is high, as its colour is striking during the night and its location allows for legibility during the day

from the inside parts of the city, providing to any individual with an instant visual apprehension of the space in between the sea (by which they are located) and oneself.

The Agbar Tower has become the symbol of the regeneration of the Area 22@ and, in general, all the north-eastern side of the city. Its value as a physical landmark is also significant, and its play of colour lights converts it into a very outstanding noema of space at night (see figures 7.20 and 7.21). However, the proliferation of the high-rise hotels and apartment blocks in the area of Diagonal Mar may reduce the Agbar Tower's ability to stand out as a 'figure.'

2.6.2 LANDMARKS OF THE SYMBOLIC SPACE IN BARCELONA.

If one talks about landmarks known by the external publics of the city, it is clear the importance of the Sagrada Familia and other buildings by Gaudí. On the contrary, if one were to tackle the symbolic landmarks in residents' minds, the situation would be very different. This is so since the different identities of the different groups of people who inhabit Barcelona make the meanings of the symbolic landmarks have very different values from one another. For instance, the Montjuïc Castle may be viewed as a landmark castle with privileged views for many people, whereas for other it may be seen as the symbol of the alleged "*oppression*" that the Spanish monarchy has inflicted upon Catalonia in the last 300 years.

I want to stress the importance of symbolic landmarks as 'places' —as anchors of consciousness regarding space- that allow for the extension and/or variation of the

awareness of the being of space. This phenomenon is manifested in two dimensions: physically and categorically.

a) PHYSICALLY, the symbolic landmarks can be found scattered around the city, so as to expand the awareness of their own foci of consciousness to an expansive overall area. This seems to have been a policy action chased purposefully. Gaudí placed his Sagrada Familia in the working class neighbourhood well away from the centrality of the city at that time. Likewise, the symbolic places built for each of the hallmark events that have taken place in the city have been placed in specific areas so as to extend the reach of awareness of the city's realm.

b) CATEGORICALLY. The different categories that the meanings of the symbols refer to, from Gothic churches to avant-garde sculptures, trigger an extension of the awareness of space. The space created by this broad range of meanings becomes bestowed with the values coming from that wide variety of categories and, thus, a wider area is unconcealed between the protention and the actual attention value-lines.

2.6.3 LANDMARKS IN MADRID.

Despite being the capital of the country and head of numerous organisations, Madrid does not count with many prominent landmarks. On top of the non-legibility of its terrain, the lack of physical landmarks does not help at all towards the legibility of the city nor to the awareness of its volume of space. There are some landmarks, of course, but their value is significantly less than those in Barcelona. For example:

- Monuments that ornament each of the main intersections of the Castellana axis (see figure 7.12) and create self-contained volumes of space within the wide boulevard.

- High-rise buildings, especially those in the CTBA and Azca business areas, highly visible from certain parts of the city (see figure 7.25 below).

- The *Puerta de Europa* buildings (popularly known as *Kio Towers,* after their original developer) are probably the most prominent landmark of Madrid's physical setting. Their leaning shape compensates for the loss of physical prowess.

More important for me is to mention that nowadays Madrid authorities seem to finally realise the importance of physical landmarks in order to compensate for the city's natural illegibility. Hence, they have started including "natural" landmarks ad hoc for some projects. For instance, in the *Parque Lineal del Manzanares*, they are building *La Atalaya* ("The Watchtower"), a double hill made over two landfill heaps that used to cast a really negative visual impact. By treating and covering them with a vegetal shell, they have indeed become two green watchtowers from where to devise the city.

Regarding landmarks of the symbolic space, possibly not a single one has a significant outstanding value in the city-layer in the eyes of non-residents. This is probably the reason why Madrid's image has been so bleak for so long time –since it is the value of singular 'places' what ultimately leads to the unconcealment of the being of space.

Figure 7.22: Model of Calatrava's obelisk for Pl. Castilla, in Madrid. It will be Calatrava's first piece in Madrid, and

The case of a projected work by S. Calatrava is interesting. Madrid has traditionally turned its back to design fashions and, in recent times, to postmodern architecture. This might be due to the belief that there were transcendental meanings to which aspire. This lack of a prominent landmark has always been a hindrance towards the attainment of a high symbolic visibility in the short term. In 2007, the City Council approved the construction of an obelisk designed by Calatrava in Plaza de Castilla, in front of the *Puerta de Europa* leaning towers (figure 7.22). It consists of a 120 metre-high, copper colour, obelisk that spins around, making its irregular rings provide the optical illusion

that it is drilling the sky. This project[14] is obviously very different to any other that has ever been built in Madrid. For the sake of "coherence" and organic growth, Madrid has never given in to this kind of flashy icons. Beyond its long-term implications, I can say that in the short term a place like this would definitely be a valuable event of space, in both physical and especially symbolic space. Like other postmodern projects, after an initial time of high value, its similarity to other landmarks would make its process of habituation occur quickly, diminishing its value. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that its location will make its
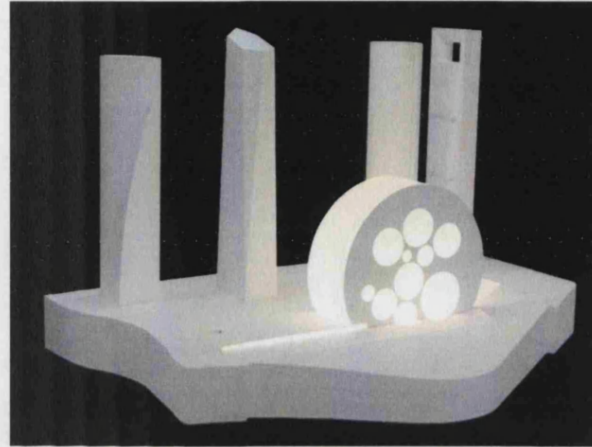
Figure 7.23: A model of the new convention centre that is under construction by the four highest towers in Madrid. The convention centre will be 120 m high, and with its round shape and light, is a clear representation of the sun. Another "cosmic reference."

physicality play with its symbolic value in an interesting way: it will stand in the middle of Plaza Castilla, at the end of the 4.5 km straight boulevard, "closing" the view and hence creating a volume of space. Calatrava's obelisk can be included in the category of "cosmic references" –as I explained in p. 228. Likewise is the new project for a convention centre in the CTBA business district (see figure 7.23).

2.6.4 SKYLINES.

Skylines, i.e. the interrelation of the highest buildings, are the most visible outcome of the planning/architecture of objects, as opposed that of emptiness (see p. 192). Due to their symbolic value, cities all over the world are trying to build their own high-rise buildings, thinking of the skyline they will create as a symbol that will bring a reputation of "progress" to the city.

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[14] This project was stopped to study how to make sure that the 120 m. "drill" can stay standing up, due to the shallowness of the soil underneath, as it can easily touch the tunnel that runs below the Plaza. Finally, in May 2008 they decided to reduce its height to 96m. to secure its future.

One might say that Madrid and Barcelona enjoy enough light so as not to need this kind of objects. However, as I explained on p. 194, the importance of the skyline in the provision of extensions/variations of the awareness of the being of space is more in another –higher- layer of space. Thus, high-rise buildings can play an important role in unconcealing space if they are interrelated in such a way that a rhythm between protention and retention is created. In other words, if high-rise buildings are not interrelated (e.g. if they are so far away that if one perceives one, it is impossible to perceive the other), they will have no ability to unconceal space as such.

In Madrid, high-rise buildings are indeed disconnected. There are two main skyscraper areas, Azca –with some 10 buildings of which only three might be consider high-rise- and *Cuatro Torres Business Area* (CTBA) –with four towers ranging from 230 to 250 metres. Also, the *Puerta de Europa* leaning towers and the telecom tower (232 m) might be considered as part of the skyline, as well as the much older towers of Plaza de España – "Madrid Tower" (142 m) and "Spain Building" (117 m). My point is that the disconnection between these different areas harms their possibility of unconcealing space by their interrelation. In terms of each of those areas by themselves, only the *Azca* area (figure

Figure 7.24: Azca business district in Madrid. The interrelationship of buildings allow for the unconcealment of the being of space, as these towers behave as 'places' from which a region is formed.

7.24) offers valuable space in between the towers, where the being of space is easily unconcealed. By contrast, the CTBA (figure 7.25), despite counting with the highest towers by far, is too isolated from the rest of high-rises; and is surrounded by such small buildings, that does not create any space in between, as it does not interrelate with any other similar element (i.e. no region is formed with those four 'figures').

Figure 7.25: Madrid from the distance, with the four towers of the CTBA area standing out. However, the lack of relationship with any other building of the city decreases their ability to unconceal the being of space.

In Barcelona the situation is different. The high-rise buildings -like the towers of the Olympic Port, or the Agbar Tower- are not very high, although they maintain the architectural properties of landmark skyscrapers. The high rise buildings are disconnected from one another (except for the pair of towers built for the 1992 OG), not creating any cluster. However, they interrelation with the terrain (the mountains) and the grid of the city.

2.6.5 LIGHT AS LANDMARK

As I explained in chapter five, the projection of light can become a spatial landmark *per se*. This is so since rays of light that are projected–if away from one's position- are perceived by the individual's eyes as spatial events, hence forming spatial noemata similar to those formed by distant physical landmarks. In short, being the nothingness of darkness the 'ground', light projections become beings of space ('figures'). Besides, there is a symbolic value in light, as it is traditionally associated with nightlife and events –but I am not going to enter there at this time.

Figure 7.26: Light used as a landmark in the National Palace, Barcelona. Those rays of light can be seen from almost all corners of the city, thus behaving as 'places' from which individuals become aware of the space.

In Barcelona, there are some examples of how to use light as landmark. From the *Palau Nacional* (figure 7.26), situated on the lower slopes of the Montjuïc mountain, nine beams of light are projected into the Barcelona sky. Apart from becoming yet

another landmark of Barcelona per se, the interrelation between those beams and other points of reference, regions are formed from which space is unconcealed. Going to the opposite view: if those beams did not exist, there would be less opportunities for individuals to form regions and, hence, at night the being of space would be lost in the nothingness of the dark sky.

A favourite of mine is the use light was given in the Olympic Port. Prior to the 1992 OG, lighting masts were built on the seafront promenade at the end of each street of the urban grid that reaches the seafront, acting as their closing element (figure 7.27). Each of these masts used to project a beam of light upwards to the sky, which were clearly visible from any point of the *Eixample* (grid). Hence, not only they helped

Figure 7.27: Light used as a landmark. In those places where a street of the grid reached the sea in the Poblenou, lighting masts like this one were place – projecting light upwards, resulting in the possibilities of becoming aware of the whole space of the grid down to the seashore.

orientation, but they also provided the awareness of the space in between one's position throughout the city, and the seaside, thus allowing for the awareness of the being of the space of almost the whole of the city.

2.7 Colour-value of landscape.

Colours make a difference in the creation of place in Madrid and Barcelona. Due to the value of their intensity, colours contribute to the overall value of spatial noemata. In Barcelona, physical features and the strong Mediterranean light maximise colour contrasts and thus the colour-value of landscape (CVL –see page 183) reaches high figures. Barcelona's architectural tradition of *Modernisme* –of which Gaudí was the most popular representative, but not the only one- favoured the use of colour in façades, allowing for more value in their noemata. The use of colourful monuments and other

street decoration has been maintained until now, and was enhanced during the beautification of the city while preparing for its recent events.

The featureless of Madrid's terrain, together with its softer light, would seem to make the Spanish capital more likely to differentiate its buildings –or, at least, its monuments and landmarks- with different hues[15]. However this is not the case. Bare stonework is ubiquitous in Madrid monuments. The stone is generally granite excavated from Madrid mountains, and its grey colour truly does not help to increase the value of the spatial event it constitutes. Interestingly, as one can see in figure 7.28, the oldest part of the city (the *Madrid of the Hapsburgs*) presents a higher CVL than modern districts –let alone than the PAUS with their endless brown-brick developments.

Figure 7.28: Table showing different locations and the colour-value that resulted from using the formula explained in p. 183. Using this tool, it seems evident that the use of colour in Barcelona provides with much more 'figures' than in Madrid –where the new developments are even less distinctive than the older parts of the city.

		Madrid		Barcelona	
		Location	CVL	Location	CVL
Old City		Plaza de la Villa	42	Ciutat Vella	47
		Gran Vía	55	La Ribera	52
		Plaza Mayor	47	Plaça Reial	54
Expansion and Grid		Pl. Chamberí	46	P. de Gracia	53
		Paseo de El Prado	52	Gran Vía	48
Other landmark architecture		Casa Correos	28	Parc Güell	78
		Palacio Real	32	Casa Batlló	56
		Azca	37	New Camp Nou	69
Street sculptures & furnishings		Pl. Cibeles	33	Pl. Espanya	31
		Pl. Neptuno	36	Miró	84
		Pl. Castilla	41	Lichtenstein sculpture	83
Panor. views		From "*Faro Moncloa*"	30	From Tibidabo	43
New developments		PAU Sanchinarro	17	Olympic Village	57
		Mirador Sanchinarro	35	Area 22@	48
		PAU Las Tablas	28	Diagonal Mar	63

In short, the CVL shows the contribution of colours to the constitution of the value of 'place.' The higher the values (i.e. the higher they are as figures), the more likely they will unconceal a bigger area of the being of space. Therefore, I can say that Barcelona shows a higher overall value in terms of colour and, hence, once again it enables the experience of

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[15] Precisely the weakness of their light is what makes northern European cities resort to very different colours in their façades.

topoaletheia to a much bigger extent than Madrid, where the colours of the physical space do not really help to this goal.

Regarding the symbolic space of these cities, through a well-designed research one could determine what colours best represent each city (and each district) in people's imagination. Due to the limitations of this research I have created a table (figure 7.29) by just looking at the number of web pages in which certain colours appear associated to Madrid and Barcelona in the internet.

The three primary colours appear more associated to Barcelona than to Madrid. According to the research conducted by psychologist Heller (2007), blue, red and yellow are also the best-appreciated colours in people's minds, as they are associated to relatively more favourable issues. Besides, primary colours –because of their hue-value, which leads to high intensity (CVL) values- formulate the strongest places insofar as noemata of coloured-places could be concerned. This is so since the contrast they are able to create between one another are the sharpest. Though not by far, Barcelona does have an advantage in its positioning in people's minds in this respect.

	Relative % within Madrid	Relative % within Barna.	Diffrncs. between the two
Brown	5.75	4.26	**14.8**
Turquoise	1.00	0.98	1.2
Blue	10.28	10.32	-0.2
Pink	**13.26**	**13.25**	0.2
Grey	10.53	10.23	1.4
Green	**14.39**	**14.64**	-0.8
White	**11.33**	**11.27**	0.2
Red	10.70	11.09	-1.8
Yellow	9.36	10.68	**-6.6**
Purple	2.90	2.19	**15.8**
Black	10.49	11.18	**-3.2**

Figure 7.29: This table shows the relative importance the representational colours have for the cities of Madrid and Barcelona. The **first two columns** indicate the proportion of each colour in the respective cities. Obviously green appears a lot, due to attributes attached. The **third column** indicates, taking each colour as a hundred, what percentage advantage Madrid has over Barcelona: in most colours the differences are insignificant –the more significant ones marked in bold numbers. Due to its negative symbolic associations, it is very meaningful that brown is so related to Madrid.

By weighted comparison between the two cities, Madrid is –by far- much more associated with brown and purple than Barcelona[16]. According to Heller, brown is the colour that is associated to cosiness, but also to the ordinary and low-profile. This means that, in comparison, and in a twofold

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[16] Not in absolute terms (as Madrid is, for instance, more associated to red than to brown), but in relative terms –i.e. the broadest differences between Madrid's and Barcelona's values are in these colours.

association, Madrid is somewhat represented in people's minds as more ordinary than Barcelona. In its turn, the brown and purple combination is associated to laziness, whereas brown and grey are to old-fashioned and brown and pink (another colour regarding which Madrid has some relative advantage) to the ordinary.

Barcelona is, in its turn, more associated to yellow and black than Madrid. Heller argues that yellow is the most contradictory colour it terms of its associations, as they range from optimism to jealousy; from fun and understanding to betrayal. Interestingly, the combination yellow-black (the two colours Barcelona favours as related to Madrid) are associated to jealousy. Those two colours with red, to hate.

3. Cultural policies and topoaletheia.

During the last thirty years, cultural policy has become increasingly significant in the strategies of economic and physical regeneration in many west European cities. Key reasons for this have been the decline in working time and the increase in the proportion of disposable income for leisure. City governments have thus increased expenditure on a broad concept of "culture" (see Bianchini, 1993), resulting in the mobilisation of culture to the cause of city marketing. Expanding economic sectors like leisure, tourism, the 'new media' and other cultural industries including fashion and design, were paid new attention in an attempt to compensate for the loss of jobs in traditional industrial sectors. A lively, cosmopolitan cultural life was increasingly seen as a crucial ingredient of city marketing designed to attract mobile international capital.

Barcelona immediately comes to mind when thinking of a city where the role of culture has been revisited in order to become a strategic variable in the selling of the city to its [external] potential 'consumers.' However, while Barcelona was positioning its image as a pan-European hub of modern culture, its real cultural weight has been decreasing, and its relative cultural weight in Spain has been in sharp decline in the last thirty years (i.e. since democracy was re-established), in favour of Madrid. Between 1993 and 1997, Madrid's cultural production accounted for 44,4% of the Spanish total, while Barcelona's was 26,1%[17]. Possible reasons for the apparent oxymoron of having a brand image of "cultural capital" abroad while losing weight in Spain's cultural outcome could be: a) the overwhelming emphasis given to satisfy the cultural demands of the external publics (i.e. foreign tourists and potential investors), rather than to fulfil the cultural ("real") needs of the residents; b) the content of the cultural products encouraged/subsidised by the local authorities has not matched the public's needs; c) or perhaps there is simply a mismatch between the efforts carried out by the local

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[17] Data quoted from a research conducted by the Spanish Association of Authors (SGAE) and published in *El País*, February 9th, 2002.

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authorities and the goals achieved –i.e. Barcelona's local authorities have driven themselves in a very entrepreneurial fashion to promote the city abroad, and perhaps the message of their intentions came across as if these were already accomplished deeds – hence its image abroad.

3.1 **Spatial distribution of cultural flagships.**

The sheer spatial distribution of cultural flagships within these cities already provides a first approximation to their relation to topoaletheia. See figure 7.30, which depict the main cultural amenities according to the number of visitors they receive[18]. Taking into account how rhythms are created from one's awareness of spatial noemata and their disposition along individuals' internal time consciousness, I can make some comments. In Barcelona, cultural flagships are more scattered across the whole area of the city. Since they are prominent 'places' in individuals' consciousness, their spatial distribution creates an overall very big volume of space in between those places. Moreover, their

Figure 7.30: Map of Barcelona that shows the spatial distribution of the major cultural sites. In red, I marked the major museums –and their size corresponds to the number of visitors they receive. The most visited amusement parks appear in green. Other landmarks where the public cannot enter are marked in yellow. Their scattered location creates a region that increases the awareness of space, especially when combined with the advantageous terrain.

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[18] I am assuming that the number of visitors is a valid approach to how visible a cultural landmark is. This is not necessarily so, of course –e.g. *El Prado* Museum is considered as infinitely more of a cultural flagship than the *Casa Encendida*, and not just 3.5 times, as the number of their visitors may suggest- but I use it here as an example of how to relate cultural places and topoaletheia.

'buffer zones' (resulting from e.g. the journeys on foot from a transport hub to the entrance of a museum) stretch the realm of their influence extending the volume of space they unconceal.

> "Other Spanish cities such as Madrid (Centro de Arte Reina Sofia), Bilbao (Museo Guggenheim) and Valencia (Institute Valencia d'Art Modern) have had a policy of embodying their 'state' politics in one large cultural centre by a big-name architect, the container being as important as its contents. Barcelona, however, has chosen to disseminate the politico-symbolic meaning projected by the cultural space in multiple architectural interventions" (Balibrea, 2004: 215).

One of the consequences of having all these cultural flagships scattered is that the volume of space in between them becomes 'known' –in other words, individuals become aware of it (unconcealing its being). In some cases, the areas in between are residential areas with no great tourist interest. But, since they are in between those places, they become known and hence their value becomes manifested.

Madrid has been positioning itself as an important hub of 'high' culture, counting with world-class museums as *El Prado*, *Thyssen* and *Reina Sofia*. The supply of 'high' culture is complemented with opera performances and a large amount of theatres, among other facilities. Moreover, counting with six world heritage sites and such historical cities as Toledo or Segovia at the touch of the metropolitan area might reinforce this cultural image, as Madrid can take advantage of their attributes. However, some 'popular' cultural events have been promoted from the local authorities without success. Only those experiences put into practice spontaneously have been successful, like the creation of the *Barrio Arcoiris* (Rainbow Quarter), the gay area that regenerated a derelict area at the very heart of the city.

However, from the point of view of topoaletheia, Madrid's situation is not so promising. Madrid is a city that –as I have shown- counts with neither a favourable terrain nor prominent man-made landmarks. On top of that, most of the main cultural flagships are to be found along the same boulevard[19] (the north-south Castellana axis).

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[19] The newest major museum that opened its doors –the *Caixaforum*- is also located in the same axis, just a few steps away from *El Prado*.

Along that axis, one may experience the topoaletheia rhythm of "agglomeration", or even "intense", "embracing" or "surly." However, as soon as one departs from that axis, there is an almost endless nothingness in terms of cultural flagships. Such a concentration prevents individuals (mainly tourists in this case) to develop an awareness of the space of the city basing on the places created by those cultural flagships, some of which are very valuable –e.g. *El Prado*.

Instead of scattering around the new cultural venues, the policy from the local authorities that I can perceive here is the following: on the one hand the axis of La Castellana is being extended to the south, down to the river, with *Matadero*[20]. On the other hand, the river banks, currently under redevelopment are to host a series of cultural venues, from the Principe Pío Theatre[21] in the north to the *Matadero* in the south –creating a second axis of cultural flagships (see figure 7.31).

In the regeneration of the old part of the city, many buildings have been refurbished so as to become cultural amenities –e.g. the Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions in a *corrala*[22] in Lavapiés. These renovated places come to shed some light into the previously obscure parts of the old part of the city, and are likely to concatenate their 'buffer zones' so as to make the being of the space of the whole area more manifested.

In short, in Madrid, anchor-places are not spatially distributed enough so as to help unconcealing bigger areas of space. Thus, numerous opportunities for providing with valuable places are lost, since there is no awareness of places beyond one's retention/protention[23].

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[20] The Matadero –located in a series of interesting industrial buildings- was the old slaughterhouse, and has now being reconverted into a modern arts centre. It consists of 148.300 sq. m. of land in the city centre dedicated to avant-garde art, where entrance is free. It also hosts open-air shows.

[21] Principe Pío used to be a train station.

[22] A *corrala* is a traditional Madrid block of apartments devised around a central patio to which the corridors in each floor that lead to all flats face.

[23] E.g. is the neighbourhood wherein the Sagrada Familia lies more valuable as a tourist attraction than Madrid's Chamberí? Not at all, but the attraction of Gaudi's temple is so huge that its neighbourhood reaps its influences.

Figure 7.31: Map of Madrid showing the spatial distribution of the major cultural sites and most visited monuments. The colour-code corresponds to that of the previous image. As one can see, most museums and monuments are concentrated along the Castellana (north-south) axis, what does not help to become aware of space. With the regeneration of the river banks (in blue and green), a second axis is being created, by opening cultural amenities (in yellow), such as Matadero ('a'). This was the old slaughter house and now lies in the junction between the two axes.

In the symbolic space, on the contrary, both cities do count with very strong 'anchors' with their famous football teams. According to Kotler *et al.* (1993:44), a professional sports team is a powerful image-generating machine and an economic anchor for a city. These teams are "an extraordinary mechanism for instilling a spirit of civic jingoism regarding the progress of the locality." F.C. Barcelona, Real Madrid and −to a lesser extent- Atlético de Madrid are three of the biggest football teams in the world, and their role in promoting these two cities abroad, as well as their degree of identification with the citizens, are outstanding. The more successful the team is, the more people from all over the world will, to some extent, enhance their awareness of the city it comes from. It is important that the name of the team reflects directly its city, unlike other successful teams such as Turin's *Juventus*, Birmingham's *Aston Villa*, or London's *Arsenal*.

3.2 **Two different approaches to city marketing.**

As I described in chapter two, a *pull strategy* in marketing is one that seeks to "pull" clients to purchase the product [i.e. city?] by heavy promotion, and by modifying the city-product according to the demands of the potential consumers. When embedded in a global market, such demands become global.

A *push strategy*, instead, seeks to build capacities so as to make the potential clients push the distribution channels in order to be able to "buy" (or consume) the product. In other words, a *push strategist* would prefer to improve the product, making it more appealing in the process, leaving the selling and promotional strength "on the consumers' roof." Obviously cities following push strategies will lose out share of the fast globalising market of tourism and mobile capitals. However, they are more likely to retain their 'soul' –or just adapt to the actual residents' demands.

Barcelona has been losing competitive advantages in the past twenty years, when the increasing capital mobilisation led to the creation of agglomerations in national or regional centres. This phenomenon swept away most of its big firms and their satellite companies, most of which relocated to Madrid. Barcelona's authorities opted not to fight back to retain those headquarters, and instead chose to specialise the city (i.e. the *image* of the city) and position it as a nice tourist city[24]. A second phase of this strategy was to lure and attract companies and entrepreneurs related to the IT, telecommunications and software design industries. To follow these promotional goals, I believe that a very strong *pull* marketing strategy was put in place. However, this strategy was disguised as the result of a consensus achieved around the leadership of mayor Maragall.

Within this *pull* strategy, partnerships between business and public sector agencies were devised. Flagship cultural projects were put in place in order to promote the city's image and contribute to its economic development. More aggressively, the political

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[24] Nello (2004:40) states that in 1990, business visits amply surpassed 50% of total visits to Barcelona; while in 2000 only accounted for 36.7% of the total.

leverage of Catalan parties in the national parliament forced the Spanish government to relocate the CMT[25], leading to a great controversy.

With this pull strategy, I believe Barcelona has been hugely successful in terms of accomplishing their goals. The ever increasing number of tourists is there to prove this. The conflicts this strategy caused are there to be assessed against the benefits[26].

Madrid, on the contrary, seems to have been pursuing a very clear *push* marketing strategy –especially during the time José María Álvarez del Manzano was in office as mayor (1991-2003). It seems they focused on building capacities, rather than promoting the city by adapting to the increasing globalised demands of city-products. Thus, while not a clear image of the city was being promoted, infrastructures and amenities were built and the quality of place improved significantly.

A very clear example of Madrid's *push* approach to city marketing is the expansion of *El Prado* Museum. Known to be one of the finest painting museums in the world, *El Prado* lacked space, and it stocked as three times as many paintings in its cellar than what it manages to exhibit. When the public contest for the expansion project opened, several of the most renowned international architects bid for the contract –e.g. Foster, Piano, Rogers, Hadid, etc... These brand-name architects came up with the most outstanding proposals (from covering the museum with a giant crystal glass urn, to erect a 250 metre-high lighthouse "to cast the light of the culture kept within" the museum). The implementation of any of those ideas would have made a truly world-class landmark of *El Prado* –inside and outside. However, Madrid authorities chose the most unnoticeable design. They opted for expanding the museum mostly underground, adding three more floors of exhibiting space under the basement level –plus a new red-brick building of doubtful aesthetic sense. Madrid authorities argued that this is the coherent way of managing the museum, as well as the most functional one.

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[25] *Comisión del Mercado de las Telecomunicaciones* – it is the national regulatory body concerning the telecommunications industry.

Their vision, as Álvarez del Manzano told me (pers. comm. 2000), is to enhance the quality of the city (in this case the quality of the museum), by making it more functional and fit for its purpose (in this case to show the best paintings possible in the best possible circumstances). He told me that a world-class painting museum will be better the better the paintings it contains, as well as the better they are arranged in it, and "not because of any 'pyramid' placed in the front of the museum".

Whereas the overall strategy in Madrid has continued to be more *push* than *pull*, the current mayor, Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón, in office since 2003, has carried out some more proactive promotional strategies, such as the *Japan Plan*[27] and the *Internationalisation Plan*[28]. Nevertheless, these are more about how to adapt the communication between the city agencies and the potential investors, rather than to blindly adapt the city to the demands of the globalising market.

While cultural products in Barcelona were encouraged as a means to show off the creativity and innovative capacity of the city in order to attract inward investment, innovative capacities have been brought to Madrid "naturally" by all those companies that are settling down their headquarters in the city (probably due to globalisation and the concentration process it brings along). Therefore, it is not so necessary for Madrid to *appear* as a creative city.

I think that, intrinsically, pull strategies cannot lead to an organic growth of the city, and the case of Barcelona fits this point perfectly. Due to its *pull* strategy, the imagined-space has been devised and pursued as related to the targeted publics, which have been the foreign tourists and real-estate, technology and cultural industry investors. The strategy in Madrid is just the opposite. By letting the city grow organically, the local

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[26] Nevertheless, there is a very important *push* element in Barcelona: the climate. Although this is obviously intrinsic to the city, and nothing to do with city marketing, it is an attractive attribute.

[27] The Japan Plan was aimed at re-gaining Japanese tourists, after their loss due to their being the target of pickpockets in the past, as well as at attracting Japanese investors and companies.

[28] The Internationalisation Plan was aimed at helping Madrid companies abroad and attracting investors from China, Southeast Asia and the US by creating and projecting the "necessary image for Madrid so as to be able to endorse Madrid companies abroad." Its four strategic lines are: 1) International positioning of the image of Madrid; 2) Activities

authorities have been providing the necessary legislation and infrastructures to aid the sectors that were thriving in the city, without an aprioristic choice on which ones to favour. This is undoubtedly a more long-term approach, and the room for conflicts is reduced significantly. In contrast, the forceful positioning of Barcelona's imagined (and real) space has led to conflicts of re-imagination. It has also created a dangerous gap between Barcelona's image in the rest of Spain and abroad

3.3 Hallmark events as flagships along time.

Hallmark events could be described as temporal cultural flagships, and become powerful symbols of urban renaissance. Barcelona is a city where these flagship cultural projects are commonly utilised in order to maintain and strengthen the image of the city. Apart from the Olympics, less conspicuous but more frequent events, such as festivals, result effecti11ve both in attracting temporary visitors and in gaining media attention. Hence, the reopening of the Liceo Theatre (bringing opera back to Barcelona), "Gaudí's Year" (2002), and the "Universal Forum of Cultures and the Environment" (2004) can be named as flagship cultural projects. With events, there is also the peril of commodifying the city through choosing just one of its many characteristics.

Hallmark events are likely to provide with a higher value than physical landmarks during the time they are taking place. However, their limited time of existence significantly reduces the overall value they provide in aggregate to all individuals. In most occasions, hallmark events come accompanied by one or several landmarks designed to leave a permanent mark in the city, hence projecting their value into the future in the solidified manner of a landmark.

3.3.1 BARCELONA'S FESTIVALS, JUBILEES AND THE 2004 FORUM.

The policy of *festivalisation* of Barcelona's culture continued after the 1992 OG and the Cultural Olympiad that took place alongside. Trying not to let the momentum fade

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leading to the attraction of foreign investment; 3) Gaining the loyalty of foreign companies located in Madrid; and 4)
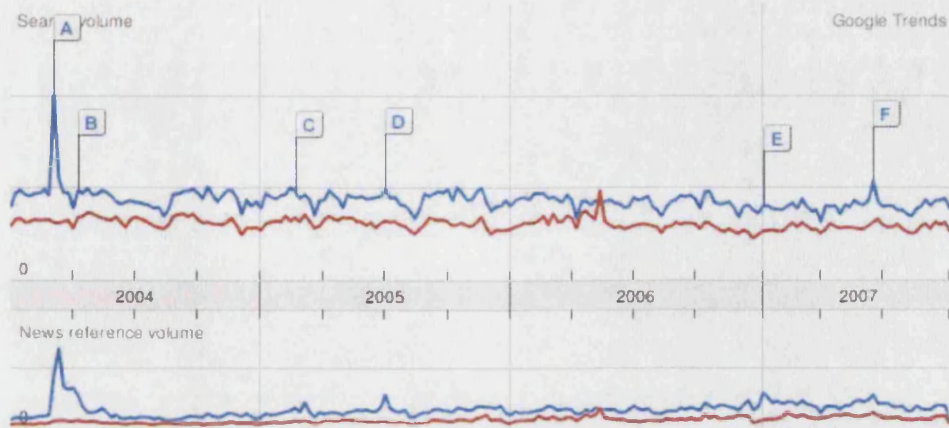
Figure 7.32: Number of web pages in which Madrid (in blue) and Barcelona (in red) appear in web searches (above) and news references (below). Taken from Google trends. This –web use- is a good approach to the representations of these cities that people have in their minds. As one can see, there is a very sharp peak in Madrid in 2001 (point A) –as related to the train bombings of March 11th. The only time in which Barcelona was more visible in the web was in 2006, when FC Barcelona won the Champions League. There are however great variations by country: among British web users, for instance, Barcelona is significantly more visible than Madrid, etc.

away, Catalan authorities designed a series of events of more or less international resonance in order to maintain the position of Barcelona "on the map" and cast new value. Thus, 2002 was *Gaudí's Year*[29]; 2003, the *Year of Design*; 2004, apart from hosting the Forum, was *Dalí's Year*[30]; 2005, the *Year of Books and Reading* as well as the *Year of Tourism*; 2006, the *Year of Commerce*; and 2007 is being the *Year of Sports*. Interestingly, while sharing similar objectives, the public budget to organise *Dalí's Year* was less that a sixth of that of Gaudí's, since the rest was funded by the institutions who hosted events. This is due –in my opinion- to the more popularity that Dalí enjoys, as can be seen in figure 7.33. This popularity makes Dalí's year more of a *push* factor and not so much in need of a pull strategy.

These attempts to keep the momentum of international attention upon the city reminds of the rhythm or "against mean reversion," put in practice in order to maximise the benefits gained through previous events –mainly the values achieved with the 1992 OG. However, in my opinion this strategy collapsed with the ultimate event: the Forum 2004. It was an event created by the local and regional authorities in order to position

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Strengthening of similar promotional activities in the strategic countries and sectors defined.

[29] It was originally planned because 2002 marked 150 years of A. Gaudí's birth.
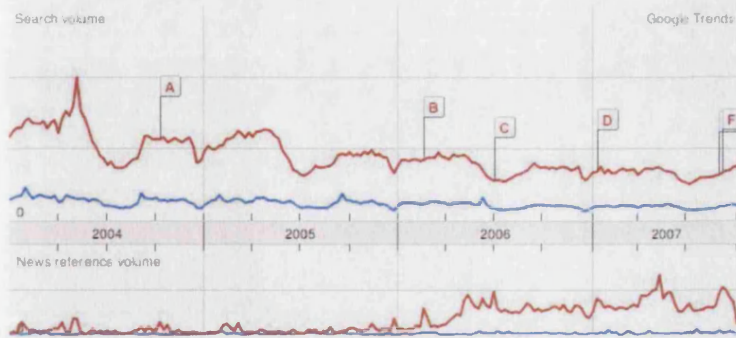
Figure 7.33: Also using Google trends, here I have compared the web visibility of Dalí (in red) and Gaudí (in blue). The significant lower popularity of Gaudí, makes the case for the pull strategy adopted by the local council to promoted the events related to him.

the city in a specific way (i.e. *tolerant, open to new cultures* and *sensitive to the environment*) and devised with the ambition to make it a periodical event, to be hosted every three or four years across the world. The projected outcomes were so high that the final disappointment (and residents negative reaction) left the Forum forming a clear topoaletheia rhythm of melancholy.

According to Barcelona's Council, The 2004 Forum (May 9th to September 26th) was a "call to all world cultures to make their voices heard, in a great shared festival. It tries to respond to the challenge of globalisation of human activism from the action of civil society, to bring together everything favouring solidarity, human rights and sustainable development" (Balibrea, 2004: 219; also see Nello, 2004: 4). Beyond these wide objectives, the reality was that it cost 2,5 billion euros and caused a massive land conversion that led to staggering speculation and gentrification of the Diagonal Mar area. That cost would have been accepted if only the broad –and blurry- objectives of the Forum would have been fulfilled. But this was not the case. The bias in selecting the "world figures" who were invited to take part in the event left half the population disillusioned. Only those foreign celebrities whose ideology is similar to that of the Socialist local and regional governments were invited: what dialogue or debate could it be between people who think the same, while half of the political spectrum is left unrepresented? Nevertheless, the media and political pressure in favour of the event was so strong that critical views were rapidly suppressed. It seemed that criticising the management of the Forum was being against those high ideals the Forum was supposed

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[30] Due to the occasion of the 100th anniversary of S. Dalí's birth –despite Dalí neither was originally from Barcelona nor did any significant advance in his career in that city.

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to be pursuing. This is an essential example of place-making by myth-creation. However, the myth burst out. It finally collapsed when even socialist voters began to oppose the abuses of the Forum (see figure 7.34).
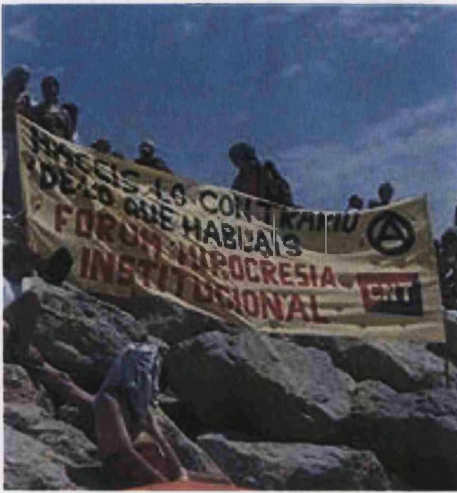
Figure 7.34: Protests organised by the trade union CNT against the Forum in 2004. While the organisers were claiming to be creating a great new public space for the city, they were charging 20 euros per person to enter the area. And no outside food or drinks were allowed. The banner reads: "You do the opposite to what you say. Forum of International Hypocrisy." Public protests were so strong that the local council was forced to remove that entrance fee, although it kept the charge of every particular event.

> *"The use of terms such as dialogue, solidarity, human rights, civil society and sustainable development play a prominent role in defining a fashionable kind of progressive rhetoric which is in fact refuted by the increasing inequalities that the facilitation of this project is generating in the city"* Balibrea (2004: 219).

The myths the local/regional authorities created out of "dialogue", "solidarity", "human rights" and so on were systematically neglected in the reality of their actions and the conflicts they created —e.g. the entrance fee, gentrification, etc. The lessons from the collapse of the Forum's myths are: 1) myths are malleable as place components, but the gap between them and the 'real' interventions in the city should be watched carefully. 2) Barcelona's authorities *cornered* themselves too much. By resorting to a very specific system of signs (i.e. politically correct —bland-messages) they voluntarily disposed of the possibilities of managing other signs, which could have provided high values by resorting to a wider variety of related meaning-values.

After the exhaustion of events, forced to keep that momentum I aforementioned, and the failure of the 2004 Forum, what is the future of Barcelona's events? What line should they follow? In my opinion, they cannot afford to continue cornering themselves, and will have to resort to other system of signs of those they have amply neglected in recent times, although this policy may lead to a few years of minimum value due to the readjustment.
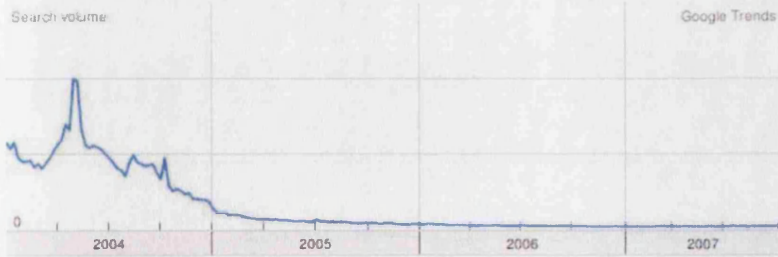
Figure 7.35: Web visibility of the Forum –from Google Trends. It is important to mention that there was another one in 2007, held in Monterrey, México, to take the relay from the 'international' event of Barcelona. However, it was not visible at all in the web.

3.3.2 EVENTS IN MADRID.

Regarding events, Madrid has pursued a similar *push* strategy to that of cultural flagships. This strategy followed by the local and regional governments has prevented the flaws that have occurred in Barcelona, but it has also prevented Madrid from reaping similar successes.

Events in Madrid have generally been born and developed organically, with no or little support from the public bodies (e.g. the amazingly successful gay-pride parades). Those events that did count with public support were more embedded in the neighbourhood level than in the city-wide layer of space (e.g. local festivals of patron saints of neighbourhoods). Hence, Madrid's events seem to be little ambitious and not able to create enough 'value' overall, although in the neighbourhood layer they may have a relatively significant value.

A change in strategic vision arrived with the Olympic bid, firstly for the 2012 OG and now for 2016 OG. The bid was first planned during the Álvarez del Manzano era, and the idea was to show off the city, which was undergoing an intense regeneration. The possible arrival of the Olympics was not seen as a pretext to beautify the city, like in Barcelona, but to have the opportunity (and the international media attention) to expose to the world what Madrid is becoming. During the development of the bid, and already with Ruíz-Gallardón as mayor, the City Council has definitely become more proactive, and it is carrying out more of a *pull* strategy in relation to sports. Thus, Madrid has recently hosted the 2005 European championships in athletics, the world cup of basketball, etc., with the hope that hosting these events will help to success in bringing the Games.

The main "event" that has occurred in Madrid in recent times is undoubtedly the terrorist attack of March 11th 2004 (see figure 7.35). Obviously it is a negative event, and despite the huge coverage in international media, it is clearly not the kind of publicity that any city would want. However, it did happen, and once it did happen it could have been used differently in order to try to take advantage of the publicity it generated. New York will raise a new landmark tower in the site where the twin towers once stood. Madrid, instead, created a memorial monument to the victims that is far from a landmark. This is another lost opportunity to have created a real figure that could have made use of the media attention the bombings generated.

3.4 **Place components via symbolic aspects.**

As Hubbard (2006) explains, cities are polysemous; one same signified (i.e. the city) has a variety of signifiers, and the variety of these should be noted. The creation of place by attaching attributes is related to Heidegger's concealing unconcealment in a twofold manner:

On the one hand, if one attribute (e.g. trendy) is prominent in a given category (e.g. fashion), it conceals the other attributes and becomes the unconcealed (visible) one –as no two conflicting attributes can function as a main signifier in a similar layer of space[31]. This is the USP[32] marketing strategy, which comes with clear hazards when applied to such a polysemous being as a city. The agent who chooses one attribute at the expense of others can create conflicts

On the other hand, in the relationship between Madrid and Barcelona, the concealing unconcealment somehow works in the competition between the two cities (as places within the same –higher- layer of space –i.e. the geography-layer). Being Barcelona the city that gathers a higher relative value of an attribute, that attribute becomes identified with it at the expense of Madrid. Even if the 'reality' as referred to that attribute changes,

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[31] Although they can function in different layers: e.g. a city whose overall image is poor but has a neighbour (i.e. smaller layer) of great wealth.

a certain amount of time is needed to turn the majority of messages regarding it towards one or another city. Thus, the value of these attributes become a sort of entry barrier.

This is the objective of marketing positioning –to immediately identify one city when a certain attribute comes to mind. However, this strategy suffers from the peril of creating an unbalance with the rest of attributes of the same city –especially more so the more re-imagination is needed to position the city firmly enough.

Furthermore, apart from the intrinsic value (i.e. the visibility) of any given attribute, they acquire more or less value also depending on their relational values. As I explained in chapter six, these come to a certain extent from the socially constructed meanings (SCM). In their aim to appeal to the widest possible audiences, Barcelona authorities have been re-imaging their city by recurring to bland, general visions that, on the one hand, left citizens unsatisfied, as their specific visions may not be put in practice; and on the other hand residents who hold other, more marginal visions, have felt attacked and with no much room for reaction.

Regarding the conflicts caused by the re-imagination of Barcelona, in my view the image of Barcelona was not so much 're-imagined' as it was 'over-imagined.' The imagination of the city has been coherent with all its elements, but its over-emphasis – especially since the planning of the Forum 2004- has led to a sense of commodification that citizens tend to react against. The image was 'over-imagined' since, being just a rigorous selection of the many characteristics of the city (i.e. those bland objectives of the Forum), it was reinforced in every single promotional action, despite the conflicts rising along the way (e.g. gentrification, commodification, etc.), some of which were already becoming highly visible. Nevertheless, I must admit that, regardless the possible conflicts they may have arisen, these actions were coherent within themselves.

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[32] USP stands for *Unique Selling Proposition* .

4. Political agents, media and the value of myths.

In this section I aim to explore how the political agents have contributed to the value of the noemata related to Madrid and Barcelona. '

4.1 **Agents in Madrid and Barcelona.**

As compared to Barcelona, Madrid has one important weakness when it comes to its marketing –as well as many other management issues: the overlapping roles of the local and regional administrations. The regional government comprises the city, the suburbs and a small patch of rural land, reaching up to a total of 8.000 sq. km. Within the limits of the city, the regional government is responsible for the underground train system, for instance, whereas the roads are in the hands of the council (and the urban motorways in the national government's). These overlaps make the local and regional governments have confrontations very often and, since there is not one single clear leadership, certain policies may be left un-implemented. Besides, Madrid's recent economic success[33] has made the different administrations pull their names as responsible for the success.

Barcelona shows a very different scenario in this regard. The strong leadership of Maragall[34] was undoubtedly useful in bringing together the many actors that contributed to the organisation of these events, as well as a driving vision to complete all the preparations in time. It is usual to find accounts of the consensus achieved by Maragall regarding the preparations for the major events. However, more critical views tend to see Maragall's leadership as somewhat authoritarian, and those mega-events as the pretext to pull through policies which, under the veil of "leadership", were actually single-handed by Maragall's officials at their discretion with complete disregard for any planning process or community involvement. Nevertheless, due to this strongly proactive style,

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[33] Madrid's GDP is growing at a speed of around 7.8% a year, and has been the big winner in Spain (and probably in the whole of Southern Europe) of the increasing mobility of capital. A massive 79.7% of the total foreign direct investment in Spain goes to Madrid, leaving a mere 20.3% for the rest of Spain.

plus the positive publicity that those mega-events enjoyed (until the failure of the Forum), no critical voices could easily raise to criticise the developments taking place in the city. Marshall (2004: 19) reflects this criticism:

> "At the time of the Olympics, it was argued that the investment style and practice of the council was not so different from that of the Franco years, with authorities and developers working hand in glove in ways that might have been close to corruption."

Meanwhile, in order to create a political armour (see p. 69), the word 'consensus' was continually repeated in official discourses. Hence, by means of a constructed meaning, leadership and consensus easily come up to mind when one thinks of the new-Barcelona. Having most of the media backing their party, Maragall's officials had it easy to create very clear noemata reflecting the kind of image that they wanted for the city regeneration process they carried out. Since the political armour was reinforced easily by the positive image of the mega-events, any critical voice to the style of the city officials was neglected, and branded as "against consensus" or "non-democratic."

4.2 The manipulation of the Catalan and Spanish myths.

With their city marketing actions in particular, and style of governance in general, Barcelona authorities seem to have prioritised the formulation and positioning of a noema of "Catalan identity." The "Catalan difference" has thus become a noema susceptible to be perceived by individuals on top of all the series of noemata of the city, and hence an extra-value to be perceived on top of the stimuli that individuals perceive from the city (i.e. seeing the city "with different eyes").

The stress on their Catalan identity, which often times reaches levels of redundant exaggeration, is at the end of the day a constructed meaning whose value is to be perceived by the individual. Thus, one individual is able to extend or vary one's awareness of the being of space, insofar as this Catalan noema is related to a spatial structure. Therefore, a variety of rhythms can result from this process. The most common

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[34] Pasqual Maragall was Mayor of Barcelona during the preparation of the Olympics and President of Catalonia during the times of the Forum.

one is the "in between lines." Individuals expecting to perceive the value of the attributes related to Spain, can perceive a variation of their awareness via values in between lines: the Catalan imaginary opens way in between the values of Spain of one's protention.

The utilisation of the "Catalan noema" is particularly effective when positioning the city to the external publics of the city, especially tourists. By reinforcing this noema, tourists can perceive an extra value to the spatial events of the city and, thus, unconceal the being of space in a more effective way. The downside of this is that, by reinforcing the formulation of this "Catalan noema", Barcelona authorities have widened the gap between the image and the reality of the city: firstly, through the prioritisation of policies targeted at the external publics of the city (i.e. sanitisation of the image), and secondly via the losing of competitiveness –seen as the price of reinforcing the "Catalan noema." This loss of competitiveness comes, mainly, from the exodus of international companies, warded off from Catalonia due to the fierce linguistic policy of the Catalan government. In a business environment in which Spanish companies are blooming due to their opportunities of business in Latin America, losing the language competitive factor is resulting in a decrease of Barcelona's economic weight as related to the rest of Spain.

The utilisation of the "Catalan noema" has also led residents to perceive an extra value in the vernacular spatial images, which has led to what could be called city pride. This city-pride has two hazards: a) it overshadows problems occurring in the 'reality' of the city; b) it can be used as a political armour by the local authority, by creating the sense of "either us or them."

Interestingly, Barcelona authorities have shown a remarkable ability to deploy the "Catalan noema" in the myths they created purposefully while not losing the value of the "typical Spanish" noemata. A clear example of this practice is what happened during the 1992 OG. For instance, the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics are usually showcases of the culture of the host city. In the case of Barcelona, they did show Barcelona's (or Catalan) culture, but also several of the singers and flamenco dancers who participated were clear representatives of the image of the "typical Spain"

Figure 7.37: Conflicting identities? Who cares! Business is business! This is a photo of one street kiosk in Las Ramblas. It sells Spanish flags (on the left) and Catalan independence supporters' flags (on the right).

stereotypes: these are the "flamenco, bulls and sun" attributes, mainly identified with the south of the country, and highly contested in the north (including Catalonia). This happened, in my opinion, because the local authorities knew how attractive those Spanish elements are among foreigners, and therefore wanted to make use of their values (i.e. meaning-values). This was the outcome of the "war of flags" between supporters of the *'Catalanisation'* of the Games and those supporting their *'Españolisation'*, as Hargreaves (2000) puts it.

Another conflict caused by this profit-maximising identity-building was the widening the gap between the image of the city for Spanish people and for foreigners. In my opinion, this would have not been an issue had the "Catalan noema" not been a recurrent (and fierce) 'place' in the re-imagination of the city. This is especially the case when Barcelona's agents trying to sell the images of them being the victims of oppression during Franco's era, which is far from the truth –specially when compared to the rest of big cities in Spain. But this is something that only Spanish people seem to know, and hence foreigners "buy" that victimisation of Maragall and his people.

The jiggling between the Catalan and Spanish myths was, in any case, mastered superbly by Barcelona's authorities in regards of the external publics of the city, as the figures of tourists and brand image show. However, one might say that it created the conflict of *schizospace*–as explained in p. 68.

5. Conclusions.

This chapter has served as an illustration of how a phenomenological analysis that takes into account the formulation of topoaletheia experiences would be different from, and complement, a more mainstream approach to city marketing. As a conclusion, I would like to point out how topoaletheia can help toward explaining the *likeability* of a city. Barcelona counts with a very favourable terrain towards the attainment of the awareness of the space surrounded by the limits provided by its terrain. On top of this, it has also strongly favoured planning principles that enhance legibility. Thus, the rapid awareness of the volume of space is accelerated. So, on the one hand, it is true that Barcelona had it much easier to provide with *likeability*, but its city officials have also continuously worked on that same line, favouring legibility. On the other hand, Madrid had it much more difficult due to its terrain and natural conditions, but that is no excuse for the so often illegible planning practices carried out.

The more the degree of legibility (clarity) that one city has, the easier it will be for that city to strengthen its image ('mental representation') in one's mind. This is because one
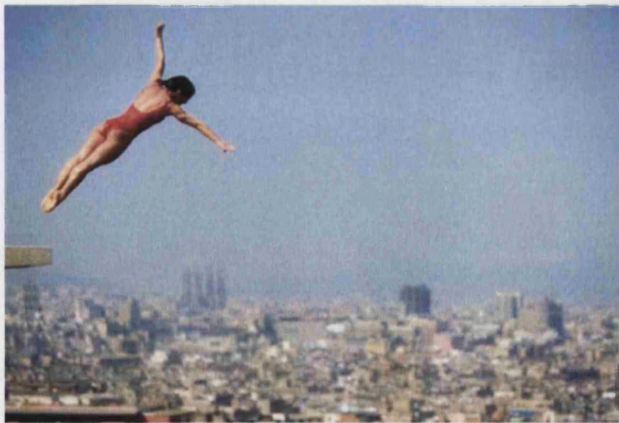
Figure 7.38: Diver during the 1992 OG with Barcelona's skyline as a background. These images, watched worldwide by millions very likely provided topoaletheia to most viewers.

can perceive clearly what the space of the city 'is', what gives emotional security and an involving impression of openness to Being. Non-legible cities, on the contrary, will turn up confusing and their 'mental representation' will be one of muddle, risk or even fear. This will finally mean antipathy towards that

city (i.e. negative image). Those TV images during the 1992 OG of the divers with the city behind them (figure 7.38), as well as other images taken in places from which one can

look out over the whole city, already provided topoaletheia even to those who have never been to Barcelona. The combination of consciousness of the leisurely nature of the sites shown and the perfect legibility given by the terrain, the landmarks and design elements was a perfect combination in order to construct the new Barcelona's image. This reinforces the link between topoaletheia and city marketing. In short, Barcelona has purposefully improved the opportunity to experience topoaletheia –and thus, human fulfilment- through design.

Nevertheless, the issues regarding the conflicts caused by those practices of city marketing, or the corruption of local planning officials lie in another debate. Barcelona's and Catalan authorities over-imagined the city to their own political advantage, and I think this strategy is reverting against them.

Besides, it is remarkable the coherence achieved in Barcelona when developing new spatial noemata. This coherence plays an important role, since the values of the new developments are coordinated and integrated with each other, and do not the 'melody line' of one's attention to them. In other words, it maximises the development of topoaletheia rhythms. When planning for the 1992 OG, every single intervention was perfectly coherent with the elements that made Barcelona be something special beforehand, mainly the design tradition of the city. Regrettably, this behaviour has not been followed thoroughly when planning for the 2004 Forum. Developments far too massive, maximising private floor-space and disregarding the naturalness of the sites, were put in place in the Diagonal Mar area.

Differences regarding TIME also appear to be relevant. Due to the easy exposure of its space, Barcelona seems to be more likely to possess likeability in the short term, whereas it must fight against habituation in the long run. On the contrary, whereas Madrid's physical layout –with districts as main providers of differentiation- struggles in the short term, in the long run does seem to be able to provide the necessary stimuli to experience topoaletheia. It is in the light of this situation that I would agree with the development of one or two flagship developments able to cover that gap that Madrid suffers: the short-

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term impact towards topoaletheia –especially when thinking of 'selling' the city to tourists, who usually do not stay for many nights.

In one way of another, through these illustrations of these two cities topoaletheia proves to be relevant. The main lesson, however tautological it may seem, is that *likeability* does not occur because. It does occur due to some reasons. And the formulation of topoaletheia helps understanding the process whereby spatial events are linked to human fulfilment.

CONCLUSIONS:
ASSESING THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE IMAGE OF THE CITY

This concluding chapter is organised as follows: firstly I recollect the main line of arguments I followed in the previous chapters, so as to establish linkages between the different aspects of the thesis. Secondly, I answer the research questions and revisit the main (or 'grand-tour') question established in chapter one. Lastly, I offer some further reflections on the significance of this thesis. I also make suggestions for further research.

In this thesis I have developed a new analytical framework to the image of the city; a framework able to overcome the shortcomings of current theoretical and practical approaches to city marketing. More specifically, I have studied the value, or utility, that images of cities have for individuals. The novelty of my approach is that I take into account that value is perceived individually. By looking at the value that the experience of the city has for the individual, I have put forward the typical structures whereby an individual may experience Being through the image of the city. This results in an aprioristic approach to city marketing[1]. The experience of Being is the ultimate human fulfilment and thus, the typical structures I have described (the topoaletheia rhythms) show the way an individual may like (or enjoy) a given place. These insights may be very useful for city marketing. The main conclusion is that, unless you take into account the value of one's awareness, you will not have the complete picture of the benefits and costs of a given city marketing product.

Mainly, this thesis has been confined to a theoretical discussion on: 1) the reasons why a new, aprioristic approach is needed (i.e. the gaps and deficiencies of the literature on city marketing). This was covered in the first two chapters. 2) The formulation of the new approach through phenomenological methodology, hinted in chapter three and developed in chapter four. 3) Illustrations of the applications of the new approach to cities. Chapters five and six showed illustrations of the new approach in the physical and symbolic spaces of cities respectively, and chapter seven in Madrid and Barcelona.

The level of discussion has been kept within theoretical grounds because my aim was to improve on the lack of depth in the literature of city marketing. In my opinion, the excessive influence that corporate marketing theory currently has on city marketing has resulted in a neglect of what the actual experience of the city is for the individual who *lives* the city –and who lives the city from certain personal, physical, social and cultural backgrounds.

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[1] These typical structures on the experience of Being can also be applied to everything, not only to space. As long as there are either sensorial or cognitive stimuli, there is value, and therefore Being can be presenced.

It is important to point out that this is one of possible phenomenological approaches to the study of the image of the city –not the only one. Phenomenology has been the vehicle –the methodology- I have been using to come up with my approach, which are topoaletheia and its rhythms. This approach is but one of the possible exercises on how to apply phenomenology methodology to the image of the city. Other approaches, such as those by Relph (1976), Tuan (1974, 1977) and Seamon (1979), offer other perspectives, some of which have served as bases for my investigation.

I would also like to point out that I do not use a large number of terminologies without purpose nor to blur the essence of my arguments. Having conducted a theoretical research, it is in the interrelation of the concepts and ideas I gather where the value and originality of my arguments lie. Besides, I have used a specific series of concepts (e.g. Being, place/space, aletheia, *unconcealment*) that are widely used in the literature I have based upon: mainly Heidegger's thinking, but also phenomenological geographers like Relph and Tuan. It is precisely through the continuous resort to those concepts that a consistent linkage with that body of literature is achieved. Since this thesis is an attempt to bring together phenomenology and city marketing, I found it necessary to maintain the specific vocabulary of the methodology.

1. Recollection of the line of arguments.

This thesis started out by criticising current theory and practices of city marketing. City marketing has been regarded in the literature as useful in bringing benefits through attracting potential investors and tourists. However, the conflicts produced as side-effects of city marketing practices, as well as the costs involved in their implementation, have tended to make residents become ever more suspicious when new projects using public money were to be introduced.

In my view, these conflicts are mainly due to the lack of a comprehensive analytical framework to address the question of city marketing. Current approaches are too embedded within a scientific-technological notion of progress, and too distant from understanding the individual's motivations and needs. For this reason, the way to account for the costs and benefits of city marketing practices needs to be revisited. I argued that there were benefits that had not been previously taken into account, such as experiencing Being through the city. It is at this point that I put forward a new approach based on phenomenology.

Moreover, many city marketing actions seem to be carried out as if they were formulating the image of the city from scratch, regardless of the image that individuals already hold of those cities. That is to say, city marketers modify the *identity* of the city, with little knowledge of the actual *image* of the city at time zero.

Current literature on city's image is not comprehensive, since it has neglected the way an *individual* experiences the city, focusing only on the phenomena that could be shared in a collective way (i.e. on the outcomes for the whole targeted public of a city –either visitors or investors, or sometimes residents). I argued that since the value of the image of the city is perceived individually, researchers need to make sense to any possible individual response. Therefore, an understanding of the TYPICAL STRUCTURE of how this value is perceived individually is essential for a correct assessment of the image of the

city. Admittedly, different individuals will experience different value from the same urban reality. However, knowing the structure of the formulation of that value will provide city planners with a new useful approach in devising marketing strategies; an approach that, combined with the traditional methods of measuring benefits and costs, will enable a truly comprehensive analysis.

I subsequently defined value as the capacity of an entity to satisfy an individual's motivations and needs. Not all motivations and needs have the same relative importance to the individual. I looked at the highest relative needs and motivations, in order to find out what the highest relative satisfiers may look like and, thus, apply them to the study of the image of the city. In psychology literature, the highest needs and motivations have been acknowledged to be those related "to know and understand", or *Being needs* (Maslow, 1954, 1968, 1972, 1994) with the proviso that subsistence needs are secured.

Thus, I argued that the more an individual becomes aware of Being through the reality of the world that surrounds one, the more fulfilled one is expected to become –and therefore the more value one will experience. Thereafter, I aimed at finding out how individuals could experience the highest possible value (Being) via the image of the city, for which I necessarily needed to develop a phenomenological approach.

Phenomenology is a methodology that studies the [individual] experience of the world, rather than the properties of objects by themselves –a study that is left to the positive sciences. My emphasis on finding out the typical structures of the link between Being and the image of the city through phenomenology was due precisely to the possibilities that this methodology offers in studying the individual experience. Hence, I trusted that I could come up with a concept that may be aprioristically applicable to all individual experiences. This was only going to be possible by keeping what is essential to that experience and teasing apart the idiosyncratic individual experience of the city. To do so I needed to create a new concept, and hence I formulated "topoaletheia", carefully following Spiegelberg's (1960) steps of phenomenology. Once formulated, I established

clear distinctions between its essence and that of other similar concepts, such as the experience of the sublime, nostalgia, Tuan's *topophilia* and Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis*.
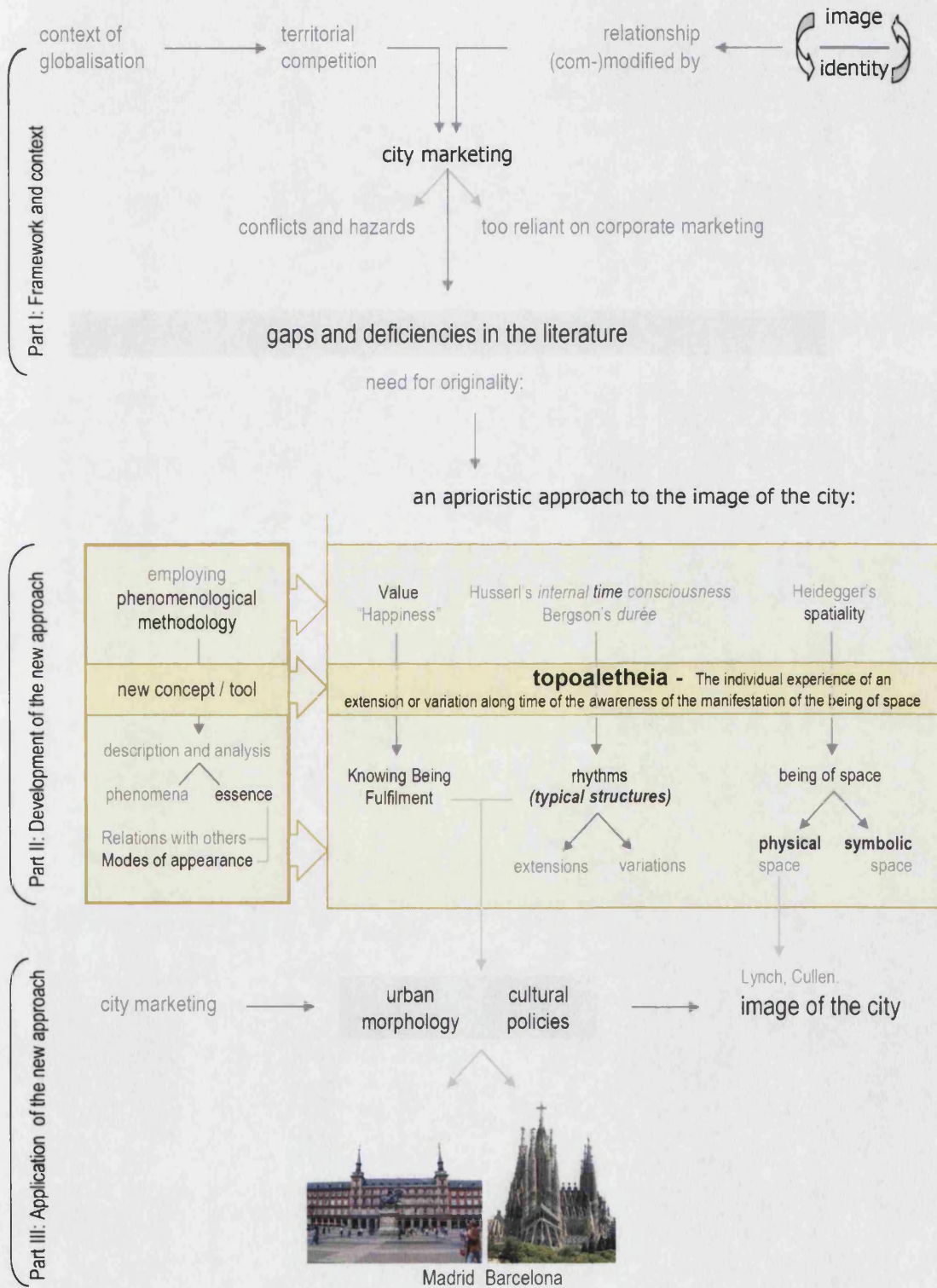
Figure 8.1: The framework of the thesis.

The essence of topoaletheia (from the Greek *topos*, space; and *aletheia, unconcealment* –of truth –i.e. bringing truth out of its *hiddenness*) was defined as "an individual's experience of an extension or variation along time of one's awareness of the manifestation of the being of space." The *phenomena* of topoaletheia will thus be the fulfilment that an individual experiments when experiencing Being through space (i.e. topoaletheia). In formulating the essence of topoaletheia, I largely based on Heidegger's concept of truth and his understanding of space, as developed in his magnum opus *Being and Time*.

Basically topoaletheia explains the fulfilment that can be experienced through extensions and variations of an individual's experience of space along time. Those "extensions and variations" are of *noemata* related to space. This means, of events in consciousness (from the singular *noema*[2]) related to space.

Heidegger thought that "it is in the event that Being is known" (see p. 122). Accordingly, I showed how Being could become known through spatial events. I can explain this through the analogy of light: you do not see light, but see it reflected on something. Likewise, we know Being through beings. Thus, I identified the value of a noema (i.e. the value that a specific event will have in consciousness) as being the sum of intrinsic and relational values of the event. The intrinsic value is the relative preponderance of the event as a 'figure' that stands out from the 'ground', the latter of which comes from either *nothingness* or habituation (e.g. a Venezuelan citizen may be impressed by snowfall whereas a Finnish man may not, due to the habituation of the latter). The intrinsic value will thus be determined by the sum of the intensity and meaning of the event. Intensity values are those related to sensible apprehension of the event, whereas the meaning values come from the intellectual apprehension of the event. For their part, the relational value will be determined by the value of those other events to which a noema is cognitively related.

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[2] A *noema* is an object of thought in the individual mind; a non-sensuous datum given to the cognitive faculty, which discloses its intelligible meaning as distinguished from its apprehension by the senses.

Each person will experience phenomena differently, because of their different physical characteristics, attitudes and values. In spite of this, the usefulness of topoaletheia comes from the fact that the structure of the manifestation of value (through the apprehension of noemata) is necessarily identical, as the human cognitive process must work with these elements.

Nevertheless, the realisation of the being of space is not enough. An individual becomes habituated quickly to [spatial] events, causing them to lose value, hence preventing the individual from experiencing the being of space. Time plays a critical role here, since the being of space is to be sensed through extension or variation along time. Not any time, however, but the lived-time of the internal time consciousness as Husserl (1990) described and developed from Bergson's *durée*, or flow. The interrelation of three acts of consciousness, which are RETENTION (the memory of noemata), ATTENTION (those noemata being apprehended as primal impressions), and PROTENTION (those expected to follow), allows for the *un-concealment* of Being; i.e. the opening up to the realisation of the whole of possibilities of Being that could have existed in between.

I created a list of typical rhythms formed by those three acts consciousness (p. 147). Despite the unconcealment of the spaces between the noemata of protention and attention functions in a similar way, the structure of some rhythms suggests that the unexpected events ('places') possess a much higher value that maximise the area of unconcealment of Being. However, in some other rhythms the case was quite the opposite: it was precisely the lowering of value in the unexpected noema what resulted in the unconcealment of the being of space. Furthermore, in some rhythms, it is the complete absence of stimuli in a context of a series of valuable noemata what leads to such unconcealment.

Having explained theoretically the formulation of topoaletheia in chapter four, I tested it in the city so as to study whether that concept was relevant to the existing body of knowledge: chapter five tested topoaletheia in the physical space of cities; chapter six

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tested it in the symbolic space; and in chapter seven I provided with many illustrations of topoaletheia in both spaces in the cases of Madrid and Barcelona.

By identifying topoaletheia in both physical and symbolic spaces, I achieved the following results. Firstly, I put forward a new approach to the concept of *likeability*, or why it is probable that an individual will enjoy a place. However presumptuous this may sound, I can affirm so by basing on the fulfilment that an individual will experience through the ability of a place to unconceal the being of space. Once the structure of the formulation of such a fulfilling experience is well established (i.e. the topoaletheia rhythms), deducing the probability of a place to be liked is not far off (e.g. the conditions of the terrain in Barcelona, which make it easy to become aware of the being of space, as compared to the *nothingness* of Madrid's).

Secondly, I explained what is behind the assumptions used in the popular theories of Lynch and Cullen, which were previously only established through implicitly resorting to the researchers' intuition. Lynch (1953, 1960, 1972, 1981) dealt with the psychological and sensual effects of the physical form of the city. He explained how the image of the city is a function of the *imageability* of the urban environment, which comes from its legibility and visuality. He famously claimed that legibility comes from the apprehension of five elements: paths, nodes, districts, landmarks and edges. I used his concept of *imageability* and related it to the property that bestows a being with value so as to make it stand as a 'figure' out of the *nothingness* of the ground. Hence I went through each of those five elements, describing their possibilities for making an individual become aware of the being of space and the likely topoaletheia rhythms they may produce. Importantly, Lynch argued that the physical form of the city, through *imageability*, may provide pleasure and delight, but he did not made that connection explicit –he assumed it. In this thesis, and thanks to the essence of topoaletheia, I believe I have shed light on how that connection does exist: how and why one individual may feel pleasure (fulfilment, rather) from a certain physical form of the city. This is due to the possibilities of becoming aware

of the being of space through it, as a result of the rhythm developed in the individual's internal time consciousness through the elements of the city form.

Cullen, with his "qualities of townscape that create a sense of place" (1961, 1971), focused on the interconnections of buildings, emphasising the importance of the space created between them. This space "enjoys a life of its own", he argued. From this standpoint, he described a number of those qualities of townscape, with no further justification beyond his intuition of them being right, aesthetically beautiful or pleasant. My phenomenological analysis has proven the *reason why* those qualities lead to such results. I do not criticise Cullen's approach, but rather provide an explanation of why those qualities are indeed right. The explanation comes from linking the variations of one's awareness of space created by the spaces between buildings.

Thirdly, I proved that one can experience Being in the most everyday aspects of the city –with all the fulfilment it comes with. I am aware that talking about "the experience of Being" may make many readers wary, who might think that such a contemplative experience is characteristic of those undertaking a monastic life. Conversely, I explained how that experience may be attained through the seemingly most trivial spatial events of the city. It only takes a slight disruption in the utilitarian gaze, so characteristic of the modern Western man, to appreciate the value of noemata in the present moment[3].

Another advantage of the phenomenological methodology employed is the ability to relate the value of the places created in the symbolic space of cities to those of the physical space. Whereas the latter are empirically observable to all, the symbolic space comprises the meaning that the city has for the individual, which is different to any material 'reality' of the city. Since meaning is not empirically observable, I once again claim the importance of phenomenology, as it allows for a comparison of the values of both the symbolic and the physical spaces of the city.

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[3] This does not mean that I despise the utilitarian view, which in my perspective may be critical for so many other things. What I have asserted is that the utilitarian view necessarily neglects the fulfilment that an individual may enjoy through the experience of Being. Both approaches are complementary.

2. Revisiting the research questions.

In this section I firstly discuss the scope and limitations of the thesis. Secondly, I revisit the rationale of the study, as stated in the introduction. Lastly, I refer back to the grand-tour question that has guided the whole investigation as well as the rest of research questions.

2.1 Scope and limitations of the thesis.

Rather than focusing on the application of a narrow aspect of a theory to a specific case study, in this thesis I have put together a broad variety of issues, linking fields that had not been previously linked in the literature. I believe that it is in trying to make sense of these linkages where a great part of the value of this thesis resides. The originality of this thesis is threefold:

a. METHODOLOGY. I have put phenomenology to work again, and rigorously followed each of the steps that Spiegelberg (1960) described. Often neglected as a purely theoretical –or even subjective- methodology, I believe I have shown how it can provide with unique insights when it comes to evaluating the image of the city.

b. THEORY FORMULATION. By linking a series of different fields together, I have put forward my own theory –the *typical structure* of the experience of topoaletheia- rather than simply applying an existing theory to a new case study. It is in the formulation of topoaletheia, as well as in its taxonomy (i.e. the topoaletheia rhythms) where the main contribution of this thesis lies.

c. PRACTICAL APPLICATION. By putting topoaletheia *to work* in both the physical and symbolic space of cities, I have demonstrated the usefulness of topoaletheia as an approach to assess the differences of cities' images –as the cases of Madrid and Barcelona show.

The main limitations of this thesis are the following points:

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a. I have not been prescriptive in putting forward a model of utilisation of topoaletheia to devise city marketing practices from scratch. The sheer size of the task of formulating the concept of topoaletheia prevented me from suggesting the additional topic of formulating a workable model. I think the next natural step would be an investigation on how to proactively plan a strategy following topoaletheia. Nevertheless, with all the examples I provided in chapters five (physical space), six (symbolic space) and seven (Madrid and Barcelona), I believe I conveyed a clear idea of what to expect when applying topoaletheia in practice.

b. I may have related different fields in order to develop a new approach to city marketing, but I cannot pretend to master all those other fields (e.g. ontology), and therefore I should not be assessed as if I were, but in terms of how such exploratory exercise makes sense to the image of the city.

2.2 Revisiting the rationale of the study.

The ever increasing amount of city marketing practices involving costly and controversial activities justifies an attempt to develop a new approach to the subject. Hence, I developed a new approach the study of the image of the city in general, and city marketing in particular. The main points of differentiation of this research from other similar studies or approaches are the following:

As I stated in chapter one, I was aiming to find an analytical approach to the study of city marketing that did not suffer so much influence from corporate marketing theories and practices as mainstream approaches currently are. This excessive influence is what I consider to be responsible for the proliferation of the conflicts and hazards of city marketing. On the one hand, the reality of a city is much more complex than that of any product corporate marketing may deal with. On the other hand, corporate marketing theories and practices are ever-fluctuating, whereas *the way* the individual experiences the city is everlasting. It is intertwined with the deeper aspects of the human condition such as cognition and consciousness. The structure of the experience of the city, as

exposed by topoaletheia, has been an attempt to capture this everlasting way of experiencing fulfilment through the spatial events that an individual perceives in everyday life. Furthermore, I have shown how topoaletheia is intrinsically related to city marketing by exposing the link between the fulfilment of the experience of Being and the *likeability* of a place. Having done this while remaining independent from corporate marketing satisfies the primeval rationale of this research.

Secondly, I aimed to develop an approach to the image of the city that took into account the benefits that such an image may exert to the individual. Both the costs and benefit taken into account when assessing city marketing practices have tended only to be collective, thus neglecting the benefits that people experience *individually* when exposed to the image of the city. This thesis complements the collective view, as topoaletheia accounts for the individual experience and establishes the typical structure whereby the individual will experience benefit from the city's image or not, regardless of the external reality (due to issues like, for example, habituation). It is not that planning public spaces is impossible henceforth, but rather the opposite: it is precisely by knowing the true structure of the phenomena of fulfilment that an individual experiences through the city that a proper city marketing action can be implemented without concerns for conflicts and excessive costs.

Thirdly, I aimed to fill the gap found in the literature regarding the individual experience of the city along time. On the one hand, mainstream geographers have focused on the *objectivising* experience of everyday life by putting it in context within clocked-time (e.g. May and Thrift's *timespace* or Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis*). Beyond issues of agency or structure, their approach leans towards positivism, as they do not regard the individual as a complex play of consciousness within which the experience of the same realities of the world can change at any moment due to individual circumstances. On the other hand, phenomenologist geographers (such as Relph, Tuan, Seamon) did study the individual experience of the built environment, but did not establish a clear relationship with time –let alone with city marketing. In order to fill

these gaps, I used Heidegger's way into phenomenology, which allowed me to interpret the experience of any spatial event from the biggest district to the smallest street furnishing, together with Husserl's notion of internal time consciousness (lived-time).

2.3 Revisiting the research questions.

Following Creswell (1994), I opted for establishing a grand tour question, followed by sub-questions that narrow the focus of the study. In this section, I refer back to each of them in order to look at the way this thesis has answered them.

2.3.1 REVISITING THE GRAND-TOUR QUESTION.

The grand tour question of this thesis was whether a phenomenological approach to the image of the city can provide with valuable insights in explaining the relationship between city marketing and human fulfilment. To be concise, I ask whether phenomenology shows potential to be relevant when studying the image of the city and city marketing.

In my opinion, this thesis has strongly validated this hypothesis. I would even dare to say that not only phenomenology has shown potential in studying the image of the city, but also that it is actually difficult to think of a true study of the *image* without the use of a phenomenological methodology. Why is this? Because if one is interested in studying the *image* of the city, and not the *identity*, one must necessarily focus on the individual *experience* of the city; incidentally, phenomenology is the *logos* that studies the individual experience [of the world]. On the other hand, the mainstream studies regarding the efforts of city agents to communicate the meaning they want people to associate with the city are actually dealing with the *identity* of the city. Authors who focus on strategies of identity (see e.g Kotler et. al., 1993) implicitly assume that managing the identity directly leads to managing the image, but this is not necessarily so. A whole range of other determinants (from personal characteristics to highly mobile socially constructed trends) may distort the perception of that identity-/image-meaning.

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On top of that, traditional methods did not shed any light on how to provide individuals with fulfilment through the image of the city. In mainstream (identity-oriented) strategies, either a city-product is intrusively pushed through to the potential consumers, who are *taught* (persuaded) to like it through advertising, etc. –with the potential conflicts; or the city-product is modified at the will of the majority of the potential consumers, leading to an inevitable lowering of the quality standards to accommodate enough people –with the subsequent hazards. Hence, in an identity-based strategy, there is no room for a proactive search for providing possibilities of fulfilment where they did not previously exist. Thus, in my quest for seeking how the image of the city may become most valuable for the individual, I focused on the highest individual fulfilment: the experience of Being (ch.3).

Having identified the limitations of traditional methods, I laid the elements and interconnections of the *typical structure* of the experience of the image of the city, and pointed out the template of how it may produce fulfilment through the experience of Being. This could only be done using phenomenology.

However, there exist arguments that may invalidate phenomenology as an approach to the study of the image of the city: one is general to the methodology, and another is specific to this thesis. The general criticism against the use of phenomenology in geographical studies is in fact threefold: 1) it deals with a personal view of the world; 2) it is open to bias; and 3) it shows neglect from non-subjective basis of social life (Entrikin, 1976). Regarding the first criticism, I would like to quote Bergson who dubbed phenomenology a "radical empiricism." As such phenomenology develops the *logos* of the experience of the world that without preconceptions or assumptions, whereas the empiricist methods base their investigations upon a limited number of indicators arbitrarily chosen.

Spiegelberg (1960: 666) wholly counter-argued the criticism on whether phenomenology covers only subjective phenomena He explains that "Husserl's phenomenology of subjectivity involves the attempt to discover the essential –i.e. the

objective or absolute- structures in what otherwise would be merely subjective phenomena." Those, if the methodology is carried out properly, are objective structures. As such, I have studied the structure of the experience of topoaletheia, regardless of the specific case and of the subjectivity (or objectivity) of the concrete observation of the phenomenon. It should be clear that phenomenology does not neglect the non-subjective. It focuses on the individual experience of the external reality, whereas the positive sciences focus on measuring that external reality –hence the value of the possible cooperation between these methodologies.

The final shortcoming in this specific effort to apply phenomenology may be that, as I stressed previously, I have neither put forward a model of utilisation nor a set of proactive practices that can be carried out *phenomenologically*. Rather, I just laid a "template" of the structure of the experience of the image of the city and its relation to individual's fulfilment. Therefore, further research will be needed in the future to address specific cases (see section 3.1 below).

2.3.2 REVISITING THE SUB-QUESTIONS: THE EXISTENCE OF TOPOALETHEIA.

The concept of topoaletheia does exist, as I demonstrate in chapter four. The *Parmenidian* sense of identity[4] is achieved mainly through the analysis of the essential components of topoaletheia as well as its relationship with the essence of other similar concepts (sections 3.1 and 3.2 of chapter four respectively). Those relationships highlighted the singularity of the essence of topoaletheia, allowing for an easier understanding by association. Since there was no other concept that could achieve a sense of identity through those relationships, the need for naming a new concept arises. "Topoaletheia" is thus born.

It is worth summarising again the two main reasons why topoaletheia -my phenomenological approach to the image of the city- is radically different to the concept

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[4] I.e. being equal to itself (A=A) and different to anything else.

of *rhythmanalysis*, as coined by Lefebvre and developed by other authors like May and Thrift (2001), etc.

On the one hand, *rhythmanalysis* looks at the external reality, i.e. the objects of the environment that are empirically observable, aiming to identify "objective" (i.e. shared?) rhythms via measures of perceptual realities that can be shared easily, like clocked-time[5]. Topoaletheia, on the other hand, focuses on the lived-time of the individual and the rhythms that noemata (spatial events) create in his or her own awareness, independently from the 'objective' properties of the reality that might have triggered them. Hence, a given urban environment will always trigger the same *rhythmanalysis*, whereas it can lead to very different rhythms of topoaletheia –depending on habituation, personal characteristics, etc.

On the other hand, the unconcealment of Being is the most essential component of topoaletheia, and this is what relates this phenomenological approach to human fulfilment. In case of *rhythmanalysis* there is no concern for the grasp of Being, and it only deals with interactions in the ontic realm of the perceptual objects. Hereafter, I can conclude that there is no direct link between the apprehension of *rhythmanalysis* and human fulfilment, unlike in the case of topoaletheia.

Interestingly, the experience of topoaletheia is elusive. This concept refers to something that, if sought after, is even harder to experience. This is due to the reflective and unreflective modes of consciousness: as soon as one "switches" to the reflective mode (in order to rationally "explore" the concept, or "provoke" its phenomena), it becomes nearly impossible to experience topoaletheia, since one's awareness becomes focused on *knowing the recipe, rather than enjoying the dish*. Therefore, following Lacan's words on *aletheia*, one may argue that topoaletheia is "not to be understood; it is to be experienced." The implications of this for city marketing are important, since it seems difficult –even perhaps absurd- to popularise the concept of topoaletheia in order to

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[5] Hence its stress on life cycles, such as moon cycles, etc.

justify a specific action. The role of the city manager should be simply to help the citizens attain the experience of topoaletheia through the city they experience while they remain unconscious of the efforts behind it.

2.3.3 THE RELEVANCE OF TOPOALETHEIA IN CITY MARKETING.

The numerous examples of how topoaletheia explains the apparent success of certain city marketing practices and the failures of others implies that this concept is highly relevant in city marketing. More specifically, the structure of the formulation of topoaletheia indeed seems to explain part of the success achieved in the formulation of Barcelona's image. If the experience of topoaletheia leads to fulfilment, and topoaletheia has been achieved by both natural environment and planned artefacts in Barcelona, it seems obvious that the image of Barcelona does produce a certain sense of fulfilment – despite the conflicts in its formulation, which count as a liability to be balanced against the benefits achieved.

Mainstream theories of city marketing and image formulation measure the benefits and costs of landmarks –of events- and of other constructs to a certain extent. But they do not account for the fulfilment achieved through the experience of Being. Chapter three explained the importance of the experience of Being as the ultimate fulfilment, since it implies the development of one's mindfulness. Therefore, being able to account for the fulfilment through the experience of the being of space makes topoaletheia relevant when accounting for benefits and costs of city marketing practices.

Moreover, the typical structures showed by topoaletheia rhythms help explain, to some extent, the foundations of the conflicts of city marketing practices that may be very appealing at first (see section six of chapter six). I believe that a better understanding of the sources of those conflicts will lead to a decrease in their number and seriousness, and this gives the concept of topoaletheia more relevance.

Some implications arise from the recognition that topoaletheia is relevant to the image of the city: Firstly, that architectural design counts; it is not a trivial, superfluous thing (a

"decorated shed"). However not all design will work. A self-indulging design that solely makes reference to its own system of signs (hyper-reality) will not do. This thesis points towards a design that can unconceal Being by bringing one's awareness along all the different layers of meaning down to the primeval occasion in which the *logos* (in this case the shape, the architectural form) come into existence through the Being experienced and responded to the necessities of this observation[6]. Hence:

a. It is a design that leads to *beauty*, as opposed to *aesthetics*. Aesthetics is set up by correspondence to a public standard (i.e. truth as *adequation* –or correctness, see p. 123); whereas I understand beauty as the channelling that leads one to experience Being through, in this case, design.

b. Thus the international style and its functionalist buildings that have no regard to their specific location or their occupants, for example, cannot be borne from topoaletheia. In turn, decoration and ornaments help create spaces in-between, shadows, and the *presencing* of symbolic beings of space.

c. However, it seems that sometimes "less is more": creating a place with less intensity value than its surrounding ones (hence less cost to build) can also trigger topoaletheia and therefore satisfy the individual more. This is due to the different ways that rhythms unconceal areas. For instance: in a vacant lot in the middle of a row of several 50-storey high skyscrapers, another new 50-storey high tower would not be a 'figure' that stands out (i.e. has no value); however, a 20-storey high one would stand out, precisely because it is smaller. The rationale of this is that the interrelation of buildings is more important than the absolute height of the building, or their being as an isolated object (following Tavernor, 2007). Hence, relating skylines to the experience of Being, the taller buildings are is not necessarily the better –as the case of the four new skyscrapers in Madrid pointed out (p. 267-8). The important point is the ability of the skyscraper to unconceal the being of space that remains concealed

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[6] If, however, the continuum of related beings of space is broken by the inclusion of beings belonging to other systems of signs, the chain of value (that relates meaning to another) breaks up, rendering a significantly lower value.

otherwise, and it does so by interaction with other buildings, creating regions from which space emerges (see p. 119). In this case, the rhythms of topoaletheia become relevant because they can point out the objects of habituations, and 'figures' that stand out. Therefore, an isolated high tower may unconceal an area of the being of space that has no continuity along the rest of the skyline of the city, rendering that unconcealment useless (i.e. the rhythm is broken). On the contrary, a group of different (yet somewhat similar) shorter buildings are likely to extend the *presencing* of Being they facilitate by creating a longer, unbroken rhythm.

d. An extreme case of the previous point is the 'absence' rhythms: they show how it is precisely the absence of [an expected] stimulus that creates the value of place, thus leading to the awareness of space. Similarly, the rhythm 'enjoying the silence' shows how important it is to respect a determined period of 'silence' after e.g. a hallmark event in order not to waste resources by overlap.

Secondly, and as Ashworth (2001) stressed: "In the case of city marketing, either you do it well, or you would better not do it at all!" In other words, if one place is going to be planned, this must reach the necessary benchmark that may maximise the experience of topoaletheia as set by one of its rhythms. It is definitely better not to create a new place - at the expense of diluting the unconcealment of the being of space- than creating one that does not match the value that the rhythm needs.

Even if the pre-existing perception of a certain aspect of the city is negative, it should not be neglected or drowned by other messages but ought to be used, as it is already a *place* (e.g. a meaning) with a certain value (it is a *figure* –however negative) in people's consciousness. From their being settled in one's consciousness, the awareness of that place may be modified to more favourable ones, which is much easier and efficient than creating a new place from scratch.

Besides, USP[7] strategies do not work in city marketing. Apart from creating conflicts of re-imagination, USP strategies have the effect of *cornering* the place-components of a city –i.e. building up the value posed over the same aspect of the city, which necessarily leads to unbalances with the place's other components. In addition, this practice forces subsequent new events to be more valuable than the previous one in order to be highlighted as a 'figure.' In corporate marketing this may be acceptable, as their products are much simpler. But marketing a city, which is an extraordinarily complex entity, requires balancing the value of the different place components.

From the previous point, it is easily deduced that communication strategies alone are not enough. Although perhaps they might be able to raise some awareness, its scope is very limited.

Lastly, it is necessary to distinguish between short- and long-term benefits of city marketing practices in a *qualitative* way. Whereas in the short-term symbolic places tends to provide more benefits (see section 2.3.4), in the long-term it is the 'reality' that counts. Ideally, the best scenario is to be able to harmonise both procedures in a strategy that envelopes the short- and long-term strategy into a coherent, broader rhythm –i.e. without disrupting the 'melody' of the whole.

2.3.4 THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SYMBOLIC IMAGES TOWARDS TOPOALETHEIA.

Images as mental representations of the city (i.e. beings of the symbolic space) seem to be relatively more important than those of the physical space when it comes to providing topoaletheia –and therefore they allow for a faster grasp of the fulfilment provided by the phenomena of topoaletheia. The reason is that noemata developed from stimuli created by either space are ontologically equivalent, as also objects of consciousness with and without 'real' counterparts –e.g. a centaur and the Prime Minister of Britain are equivalent as noemata (p. 113). In order to produce events able to create new 'figures' that stand out of the ground of habituation, the physical space can resort solely to the

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[7] USP stands for *unique selling proposition* .

limited intensity values (i.e. categories such as size, colour, texture, sound, smell). Developing highly valued noemata in this case is more difficult and costly than in the case of symbolic images.

The symbolic space of cities allows for a greater room for development of noema-value due to its relational component: beings of the symbolic space emerge by presenting the value of all the chain of signification to which they are related. Despite making less *intense* noemata (i.e. in terms of sense-data), this phenomenon widely opens the possibilities of creating vast *room* –i.e. allowing for bigger regions in between the places (noemata) created by them –hence potentially disclosing a bigger volume of space. Also, they last longer in one's internal time consciousness.

2.3.5 Topoaletheia and the differences in the image of Madrid and Barcelona.

I attempted to answer the question on whether the concept of topoaletheia has shed light on explaining the images of Madrid and Barcelona. Chapter seven showed how these two cities provide very different opportunities for experiencing topoaletheia. Where does this lead to?

The differences between the way Madrid and Barcelona provide the experiences of topoaletheia could not be greater, despite both cities lie within the same country and socio-cultural context. In fact, those aspects or categories in which one city seems to outstand in terms of topoaletheia provision, the other one lacks. For example, the terrain plays great part in Barcelona whereas Madrid lacks any hint of favourable topology; the constitution of districts in the city is noteworthy in Madrid, whereas Barcelona has not so much to offer in that sense. However I must point out that Barcelona presents a great deal more of both natural and artificial places capable of extending and varying one's awareness of space. The reasons are twofold: on the one hand, it is important to understand the natural benefits that Barcelona's location possesses, with a terrain that - by itself- already forms a contained volume of space that any individual quickly becomes aware of (see p. 242). On the other hand, the vision of local managers over the centuries

must be acknowledged and applauded: they have created 'places' (figures) with value out of any urban intervention that could have been undertaken trivially. Hence the possibilities of individuals to become even more aware of the space are enhanced due to the way those 'places' (both physical and symbolic) anchor space.

Nevertheless, in the previous chapter I argued that, lately, the tendency of the Catalan political class to create 'places' out of symbolic issues is reaching a dangerous zone in which, by means of deepening in the hyper-reality of signs, they may be losing part of their 'authentic' value. The practice so wisely[8] carried out by P. Maragall has proven to be successful in the short-run in terms of number of tourists lured to Barcelona and of positioning the city's image in the global imagination. However, I do not think it is a sustainable policy in the long-run for two reasons: one is that it will tend to assimilate Barcelona ever more to the image that the global trend demands and hence will make it progressively less distinctive, and therefore less attractive, while losing the original authentic value of the city's image. The second reason is that the conflicts that it instigates seem to be growing continuously, and I suspect that a policy of hyper-real imagination will not be tolerated by the residents much longer.

2.3.6 TOPOALETHEIA AND THE CONFLICTS OF CITY MARKETING: A NON-NEUTRAL TOOL.

The last research question dealt with the ability of topoaletheia to terminate the conflicts in city marketing. Although the use of topoaletheia as a relevant tool does not prevent/resolve the conflicts, it has proven to shed insight on the significance of those conflicts and how they are caused. These insights may be useful in diminishing the magnitude of their negative impact, at the least.

Not only would the use of topoaletheia shed light on conflicts created, but also it would prevent the rise of conflict in the first place, if the provision of topoaletheia was set

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[8] I mean "wisely" because, if one chooses to follow that policy, Maragall carried it out very wisely in my opinion –not because I would have opted for such a policy in the first place.

to be the goal. For instance, the conflict of *placelessness* (p. 63 and p. 236) is the complete opposite of topoaletheia.

In other cases, the short-term benefits (i.e. value) of re-imagining the city are shown to be outperformed by the long-term benefits (value) of pursuing topoaletheia. For instance, a flashy imagined-place (e.g. a theme-park) may provide a high intensity value and perhaps also high relational value. This may seem to lead to topoaletheia in the short-term. However, if we are pursuing the experience of Being (because of the fulfilment it brings, etc.), and one can only get to know Being by the interrelation of the beings of space (places) that one becomes aware of, authenticity must be the maintaining force of the space-time continuum of spatial beings in one specific location. The structure of topoaletheia will help one appreciate those developments whose depth of meaning opens up for one the possibility of becoming aware of the whole chain of signification. Flashy images will be very intense (high value) in the short term, but they do not necessarily facilitate becoming aware of the depth of the relationships of meaning.

In a sense, there can be two different types of topoaletheia: the short-term type or *immediate*, which through the "volume times value" formula (p. 110) provides an immediate –yet limited- realisation of the being of space; and the other, long-term one or *authentic*, which shows us Being through the *authentic* beings, no matter how low the value provided individually is. In this latter view, the internal time consciousness of the individual must be patient enough to appreciate the extensions and variations that *authentic* beings provide, which is undoubtedly difficult in the technologically-driven society of the 21st century, where beings of other places are so reachable at the touch of a button of the remote control or a click of the PC mouse[9]. Fashions, trends and other systems of signs have polluted the Being-language continuum, resulting in new events trying to adapt not to the Being/Ground of the specific location, but to the imported system of signs itself in order to *correspond* to the "truth" of that alien system of signs

(see p. 123 for Heidegger's differentiation of truth as *adequation* –or correctness- and as *aletheia*).

I would also like to emphasise another aspect of adopting a phenomenological approach to the image of the city. Despite the potential this new approach has in the analysis of cities' image and topoaletheia helps explaining the likeability of cities, I must say that topoaletheia is not a neutral tool, what becomes apparent in the cases of Barcelona. The hyper-real imagination employed by the Catalan political class has shown that topoaletheia, if taken as a relevant concept and applied subsequently, is not a neutral tool, but it can be used as a political device that is practically subliminal. If topoaletheia is ever used as a "manual" to formulate the city's image by refining the ways the physical and symbolic places are planned, individuals (citizens) would be aware that the value (the value they pose in spatial noemata) creation is largely in their hand. Therefore, if they are exposed to myths and related values coming from an agent with agenda, it would be their responsibility to bestow those images with meaning-value. However, since individuals seem not to be explicitly conscious of the structure of the formulation of their fulfilment via space, topoaletheia may become a useful tool of the authority for political purposes; a reminiscence of the ancient "bread and circuses."

This is not necessarily the case, of course. Even in the case of an authority using topoaletheia as a manual to build cities that maximise value in individual's awareness, this can be pursued in goodwill towards the residents, as it will maximise their fulfilment via the space of their city. The problem lies in that fact that if the local government wants to achieve the highest possible value to the highest number of people in a four year term, it will inevitably lower the standards of the myths and signs employed to the "greatest common denominator" (of culture/expectations), which tends to be quite low.

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9 As I explained in chapter three, the irruption of the TV in US homes in the 1950's is directly linked to the loss of happiness of the individuals, despite the economic boom of the period. (See Layard, 2005 for an explanation of how this phenomenon is due to the possibilities of comparison with people very distant geographically).

3. Further reflections on the scope of the thesis.

In this last section I aim to provide reflections on the direction of how this thesis may shed light on some further issues of city marketing and, in a broader perspective, of its usefulness within city planning as a whole (section 3.1); I also put forward some brief reflections on what this thesis has accomplished in moving academic discussion along (section 3.2); and suggest directions for further studies (section 3.3).

3.1 Further implications for city marketing strategies.

This thesis moves professional discussion forward by demonstrating the need of city marketers to look beyond corporate marketing practices in order to maximise the potential benefits of their actions. By solely measuring financial costs and estimating social benefits, traditional methods to assess benefits and costs of city marketing practices have neglected the fact that the most fulfilling benefits (not only knowing Being, but also aesthetic ones, etc.) are experienced individually. Individual benefits are apparently more difficult to grasp, and this has hindered their inclusion in budget reports. This is why I believe that having shed light on the structure of the formation of these benefits may help. Both approaches must necessarily be complementary.

In this thesis I have explained how the [individual] experience of Being is the ultimate human fulfilment and that it can be approached through the city in certain ways. That fulfilment is not materialistic, and hence the task is to quantify it into economic terms so that it be compared to other economic benefits and costs. Topoaletheia explains the value of events in consciousness as well as the value of the individual fulfilment achieved through them. Therefore I affirm that, by putting to work these values together with the economic costs and benefits, one will achieve a clearer understanding of whether a specific city marketing practice is worth considering.

The total value of the volume of unconcealed being of space multiplied by the number of individuals who 'presence' that volume should be taken as the TOTAL UTILITY OF

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AWARENESS, much like the marginal utility as derived from economic benefits. Similarly, the economic costs (i.e. the marginal cost for the individual) must be completed with the values of spatial events (places) that lie outside the area of being of space that is unconcealed –and that, therefore, are going to cause only either habituation or conflicts and hazards. Obviously, quantifying the value of 'presencing' Being in economic terms will have to be done *ad hoc* –according to the idiosyncrasies of the place.

3.1.1 A REFLECTION ON BROADER IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING.

Although my thesis is only about developing a phenomenological approach to the image of the city, I would like to put a reflection on how it can affect city planning in a broader perspective. First of all, I believe that this thesis offers implications for urban planning as a whole to the extent that the analysis of the image of the city is important for planning: hence, if the image of the city is important for planning, and my phenomenological approach is relevant to the study of the image of the city, this thesis is surely relevant to urban planning as a whole. More interestingly, I believe that the provision of topoaletheia can be achieved proactively. If this can be done, city planners would have found a direct link between city marketing and growth strategies; a link that is not suggested in other literature.

A draft of this link is shown in figure 8.2: due to the need of carrying out territorial competition, a city resorts to city marketing activities, which shape and refine the image of the city. If they do so by taking into account topoaletheia, they will provide the possibilities to experience topoaletheia through that image. The phenomena of topoaletheia –experiencing Being through the image of the city- mean human fulfilment. These activities will have an immediate benefit, which is e.g. an increase number of visitors. Also, residents are likely to be lured into the city, attracted by those phenomena. This growth may have longer-term effects in the shape of economic dynamism and better opportunities for encouraging internal investment. With these advancements, there will
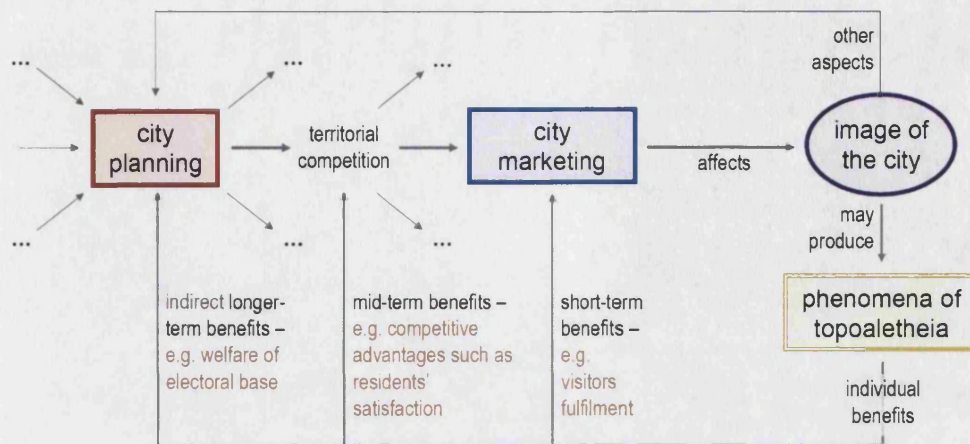
Figure 8.2. Linkages between city planning, image of the city and the phenomena of topoaletheia.

likely be more opportunities for the satisfaction of lower motivations and needs[10]. Also, by increasing the value the residents perceive from the image of the whole process, one might expect that their loyalty to the city will encourage them to get more involved in the public issues. This opens up possibilities for a long-term valuable planning under consensus (a real consensus, and not just a strong leadership disguised with consensus rhetoric, as I believe it has been in the case of Barcelona).

3.2 Further reflections and contributions to the academic discussion.

I can distinguish between three types of academic contributions, which I shall briefly reflect on: 1) contributions related specifically to planning *theory* per se; 2) contributions to the academic discussion on the image of the city and city marketing, and 3) contributions to other fields, especially ontology.

FIRSTLY, and regarding contributions to planning theory, I consider this thesis to have widened the understanding of the phenomenological approach in the field. Whereas phenomenology has been previously utilised in geographical studies (famously in the works of Relph, Tuan, and Seamon), it had not been specifically applied to the study of the image of the city –let alone city marketing. Insofar this thesis has laid the foundations

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[10] This is somewhat similar to the virtuous circle stressed in the literature on creative cities (see e.g. Florida, 2002).

[12] The experience of Being is equivalent to the *cosmic consciousness* that Bucke (2006) described so thoroughly –or the *religious experiences* that William James (1985) and Maslow (1968, 1972, 1994) dealt with.

of the *typical structure* of the experience of the image of the city in the individual's consciousness and the image of the city is part of the concerns of urban planning, I can conclude it has contributed to planning theory.

SECONDLY, regarding the image of the city and city marketing, I consider this thesis to have contributed to the academic discussion by bringing up the following arguments and tools:

1. The concept of topoaletheia and the differentiation between its phenomena and its essence.

2. The main new tools are undoubtedly the rhythms of topoaletheia, which I have described thoroughly but put to use only to a very limited extent due to the limits of this thesis. Apart from their usefulness regarding spatial analysis, I consider they allow for the understanding of the experience of Being in other areas.

3. Another new tool is the equation of the "colour-value of landscape" (CVL) (see p. 183), which allows the quantitative assessment of the *quality* of a given landscape –quality understood as the ability of its colours to create 'figures' (i.e. to stand out as valuable noemata). Hitherto, one could find theories of colour that assessed the ability of one specific colour to create a certain effect. The concept of CVL, in contrast, enables the assessment of the quality of the interrelation of the different colours that play parts in a scene of a landscape or cityscape.

4. The city is not 'goods' or commodity as those that corporate marketing deals with, and hence I have strongly criticised the way scholars who approach the field of study in such a way.

5. The different stages of the *epoché* of the experience of the city (p. 161 and 204), which allow for different insights on the possibility of experiencing Being according to the stage one focuses on.

| SYMBOLIC SPACE | MEANINGFUL LIFE-WORLD FIELD OF RELATEDNESS SENSATIONAL LIVING STAGE |
| PHYSICAL SPACE | EMPTY STAGE NEUTRAL BOX MAP-CUM-LABEL TERRAIN |

Figure 8.3: Stages of the *epoché* of the experience of the city

In a *Husserlian* way, I bracketed out all the beings of one's lifeworld in

a systematic fashion down until reaching the *nothingness* from what used to be the experience of the city. In the second step, I brought those beings back to their place in order to understand the structure of the formulation of their noemata in one's awareness at each stage.

In any case, tools are just tools, not the ends of this research. Their value is thus restricted to the help they have provided to understand the essence of topoaletheia, as well as complements for further phenomenological analyses on other fields (e.g. I can imagine the concept of CVL used in phenomenological accounts of other, very different, experiences).

THIRDLY, and regarding the contributions to other fields, I must highlight the claim I have made of ontology, rendering it not just as a speculative discipline, but as a necessary approach in order to tackle very specific aspects of other fields –in this case of cities' image (urban planning). I have put ontology 'to work' in order to recognise the benefits it brings to city planning and marketing in terms of the fulfilment that the experience of Being provides.

Moreover, and in the field of psychology, I should point out the contribution of this thesis along the stream of thought advocated by Bucke (2006 [1901])), James (1985) and Maslow (1968, 1972, 1994), which could be roughly called "transpersonal psychology." Bucke (2006) explained the development from the simple consciousness of animals to the self-consciousness of humanity, and on to cosmic consciousness. In a similar manner as the way he explains the development achieved by humanity within self-consciousness (e.g. the perception of ever more hues of colour), I put forward that the [conscious] awareness of the being of space is a step in the development of consciousness. This development has passed, for instance, from the inability to perceive perspective, to the perception and representation of perspective in the Renaissance (see Harrries, 2001). Likewise, once a vast majority of people become conscious of the experience of the being of space, I believe the next stage will be to be constantly aware of Being[12].

3.3 Suggestions for further research.

This research has thrown several questions in need of further investigation. The current study has only examined the theoretical framework in which a new – phenomenological- approach to the city could be developed, as well as the exploration of one of the aspects that stems out of it: topoaletheia. The challenge presented in this thesis can thus be carried on through the development of practical applications that may narrow the focus of this research.

As I aforementioned, further research is needed to explore the match between economic benefits and costs of city marketing practices and the value of the experience of the being of space attained by those practices. There are also new paths for future research, such as the possibility of developing a model of city planning based in phenomenological methodology. More specifically, a model of managing the image of the city through topoaletheia could be drafted: that is, enhancing the experience of Being through the experience of the space of the city.

I would also recommend undertaking further research in the following areas:

- EXPERIENCE OF BEING AND THE CITY. This research can be further fine-tuned by including in the study of the city other approaches that tackle the experience of Being, such as those of different mystical schools, transpersonal psychology, and so on. In my opinion, there is a clear need to link spirituality and built environment. Mystical schools (or what A. Huxley, 2004, called *perennial philosophy*) have been studying the experience of Being (usually called differently), developing vast body of knowledge that multiple insights that can be imported to the study of the city. Through utilisation of the knowledge, researchers can devise effective ways to implement practices that will lead to the experience of Being (and therefore to fulfilment).

- EXPERIENCE THE BEING OF OTHER CATEGORIES. By utilising the tools developed by this thesis (e.g. structure of the formulation of topoaletheia and, especially, topoaletheia

rhythms), other issues can be studied by linking them to the experience of Being attainable by their practice. One clear example is music.

- INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH GROUP ON ALETHEIA. It would be most interesting to create an interdisciplinary study group to investigate the experience of Being using different approaches, such as philosophy (ontology), semiotics, psychology, anthropology, neurology and physics.

More generally speaking, I strongly suggest the widening of the scope of future research in the image of the city and city marketing. In this thesis I adopted one of the possible ways of approaching the field in an innovative manner; namely phenomenology. I am sure there must be some other ways that will provide interesting insights that cannot be achieved through the use of the mainstream positivist approaches, and under the excessive influence of corporate marketing in this field.

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