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A New Man in Northern Nevada's Consolidation Discourse

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a rhetorical analysis that explores the discourse of the consolidation of local government services in Northern Nevada for adaptations of ancient rhetorical theories of ethos. I argue that the ancient *novus homo* ethos topos (NHET)—emphasizing place and community—is a manifestation of the recent Reinvigoration of ethos and that by employing the NHET in the consolidation discourse, Reno Mayor Bob Cashell separates himself from his opponents in terms of goodwill established with the community and influences his opponents to take drastic actions. Cashell's NHET adaptation elucidates how ancient rhetors may have used place and community to develop their ethoi.

DEDICATION

For Mom, Dad, and Caylin. This project would not have been possible without you.

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INTRODUCTION

Origin of Project

This dissertation emerged from a combination of experience, observation, scholarship, and significant discussions. The major happenings include a 2009 internship completed with the City of Sparks Administrative Services Department,¹ questions raised from classical readings about discourse in public assemblies, the lack of current rhetorical research concerning local political persuaders in deliberative assemblies, and gaps in the scholarship of ethos theory. Consolidation of services has been discussed in Northern Nevada for several decades at all levels of government. Recently, the 2009 Nevada State Legislature's Committee on Government Affairs passed Assembly Bill 494, requiring certain local Nevada governing bodies to submit consolidation reports, indicating state administrative interest. Based upon my observations, reactions to the state's demand are demonstrative of how present city council members and county board members use the consolidation platforms as rhetorical opportunities to construct political ethos. I found it interesting that the City of Sparks composed Resolution No. 2776² to collectively address the push for area consolidation; the resolution had a rhetorical impact for all parties involved, relating to group ethos and metaphorical space for argumentation about the issue.

¹ I interned with the City of Sparks Administrative Services Department in the fall of 2009. I noticed how consolidation was constantly a topic of interest and was connected to several other facets of city operations. I also noticed how participants in the consolidation discourse used conceptions of classical rhetorical theory, most likely without even noticing it. This observation led me to consider how local politics differs from national politics and how classical theories of ethos and deliberation have been adapted for modern use.

² See Appendix A for a copy of City of Sparks Resolution No. 2776.

Recent Northern Nevada Consolidation Activity

The topic of consolidation is nothing new in Northern Nevada. As Susan Voyles claims in her 2009 *Reno Gazette-Journal* article "Talks Under Way to Merge Reno, Washoe Administrations," "Consolidating local governments to save money has been talked about for years and been the mantra of almost all candidates." Figure 1, below, indicates the most relevant and recent consolidation events.

Figure 1: Relevant and Recent Northern Nevada Consolidation Events		
1998	Countywide discussions begin in Washoe County to consolidate Fire Services	
2000	Reno & Washoe County Fire Services Consolidation	
2002	Sparks decides not to join Reno & Washoe County Fire Services Consolidation	
2002	Sparks Resolution No. 2776	
2006	Cashell requests to put consolidation on a countywide ballot	
2008	Sparks Report: Perspective on Consolidation	
2008	Shared Services Elected Officials Committee established in Washoe County	
2009	75 th Nevada State Legislature issues Assembly Bill 494 (AB494)	
2010	Reno & Washoe County Consolidation Report for AB494	
2010	Sparks Consolidation Report for AB494	
2011	Washoe County decides to dissolve Fire Services Consolidation	
2012	Reno & Washoe County Fire Services Deconsolidation	

Perhaps one of the biggest recent consolidation-issue events came in the spring of 2009, when the 75th session of the Nevada State Legislature introduced and passed Assembly Bill 494 (AB494), requiring certain local governing bodies to submit consolidation reports for the following session.³ The exact motive of AB494 is uncertain, but probing budgetary (de)efficiency seems a likely origin for the request, considering the ongoing financial shortfalls in Nevada's state government. In the bill, the Committee on Government Affairs specifically asked the governing entities to submit reports "concerning the consolidation or reorganization of certain functions performed by those local governments" (Nevada State Legislature). The verbiage in the bill demonstrates the state assembly's seriousness and a commitment to researching the issue from the perspective of administrators at the local level. All of the local governments in Clark County collaborated to create a 187-page report. Washoe County and the City of Reno chose to combine efforts and submit a joint copy of 33 pages. The City of Sparks submitted its own 700-page independent report.

The reports are representative of decades of debate as to the viability of consolidation and current snapshots of each party's collective perspective and standpoint.⁴ This dissertation concerns only the municipalities in Washoe County. Reno and Washoe County more aggressively expressed interest in countywide consolidation; while completely avoiding the financial aspects, Reno and Washoe County pursued the possibilities of consolidation based upon mutual benefits for stakeholders and service users, an accessible governance model, and more effective service quality. Sparks

³ See Appendix B for AB494 and a more detailed analysis of the reports.

⁴ Brief commentary about the consolidation reports is given here for introductory purposes. The reports are examined in detail in chapters 2 and 3.

wished not to consolidate based upon a city-council resolution established nine years ago, sound research and internal-departmental financial analyses, and the idea that the city would lose its autonomy.

U.S. Municipal Consolidations: Popular Topic, Inconclusive Results

The available research on U.S. municipal consolidations cannot speak to guaranteed results, in terms of whether consolidating constituent services is effective, but it can speak to consolidation as a steady topic of interest in city planning.⁵ Consolidation scholarship provides mixed reviews about the success of consolidating local/regional government services. The stable interest of consolidation combined with the inconclusive results of its effectiveness make consolidation discourse a prime area for rhetorical study.

Plenty of U.S. municipalities discuss consolidation,⁶ but few consolidations actually take place. Suzanne M. Leland and Kurt Thurmaier sum up the state of consolidation research clearly in their *Case Studies of City-County Consolidation: Reshaping the Local Government Landscape*. Leland and Thurmaier highlight the apparent colossal failure of consolidation efforts across the United States: "Only thirty-

⁵ Historically, consolidation has been an issue since the creation of city-states in ancient Greece; the term was *synoecism*, and it was practiced when the Greeks wanted to join two or more villages to make one *polis* (Fleming, "Thurii," 6).

⁶ Especially during times of economic recession, the notion of consolidating public services is appealing to government leaders in order to save money and provide better, more efficient service (Benton and Gamble 190), as local municipalities are continually asked to "do more with less" (Ihrke, Proctor, and Gabris 80).⁶ Jacqueline Byers, Research Director for the National Association of Counties, claims, "More and more governments are looking at mergers," and "It's about economy of scale and efficiency more than anything else" (Gentile 18). "Economies of scale" refers to cost advantages that a business obtains due to expansion.

two [of consolidations] have been successfully implemented since the first in 1805 in New Orleans," which represents only fifteen percent of the attempts (3).

The results of consolidations are inconclusive. Edward Jepson, a political-science professor at the University of Tennessee, argues that the answer to whether or not citycounty consolidation is beneficial is unsettled because there is a full range of proclamations on the issue, and success or failure is difficult to measure without an agreed-upon criteria of measurement (147). He also claims absolute consolidation is a misnomer and never has happened: many or most services can come under one government, but jurisdictional fragmentation continues, as "few are inclined to vote themselves out of existence" and yield power to another larger jurisdiction (148). Jepson's research found for the most part consolidation does not lead to better planning and delivery of services (158); however, public participation, public-transit ridership, and ethnic-group poverty rates were affected for the better in consolidated areas (159). Edwin Benton and Darwin Gamble, political-science professors who examined the Jacksonville-Duval County merger, agree with Jepson. Benton and Gamble declare that, according to the literature, there is no definite answer to the cost effectiveness of consolidation—yet there is no shortage of advocates making claims. Their research found that from the consolidation of Jacksonville and Duval County, both taxes and expenditures increased, a finding completely opposite of what they expected due to previous research (196).

The Louisville-Jefferson county alliance of 1999 is the largest and most studied consolidation project in the United States. And, as Annie Gentile claims in her review of the Louisville-Jefferson County consolidation, the merger has inspired other municipalities across America. Gentile confirms the statements above that cities and counties have long discussed consolidation but few actually do it. The deputy Mayor of Louisville Metro said the consolidation was good for them, "but it's not the answer for every community" (Gentile 18). Hank Savitch, a consultant during the Louisville-Jefferson County Consolidation, said the merger in many ways fell short of its promises (19).

Synopsis and Chapter Summaries

Although the results are clearly inconclusive, consolidation of services continues to be debated by local and regional political leaders across the U.S. The debates are a rhetorically rich area to study because heavy-duty persuasive strategies must be used by proponents to overcome the naysayers who often rely on the research. The persuasive strategies (that I have personally seen) in the Washoe County consolidation discourse rely heavily upon universal ethos theories that can be traced back to classical times. The perpetual Washoe County consolidation debating is excellent discourse to help understand classical ethos, elucidate under-researched classical ethos theory, and illustrate the workings of the elements of the most recent scholarship about ancient ethos.

Synopsis of Main Argument

By tracing ethos back to its original inception, the recent rhetorical-theoretical Reinvigoration⁷ of the concept and term ethos has taken ethos from its mostly

⁷ The term Reinvigoration was first coined by Judy Holiday in 2009 in "In[ter]vention: Locating Rhetoric's Ethos" while describing the recent scholarship activity examining the origin of ethos in ancient literature

Aristotelian meaning of "perceived speaker character" to "one's rhetorical nature in a habitual dwelling space." The scholarly recuperation of ethos brings to prominence the role of one's habitual behavior in the community and the participation of the community, redefining ethos as a social construction associated with deliberation. The classical rhetorical theorists from the Periclean era through to Aristotle bridge the thread of locality and community in ethos and deliberation from the inception of ethos (Homer and Hesiod) to the Romans, who integrated the elements of the now-understood Reinvigoration in their rhetoric. Cicero, the most acclaimed Roman rhetor/rhetorician, in his theory and application of ethos, illustrates the interdependence of the features of the Reinvigoration. Cicero's famed yet under-researched NHET,⁸ also employed successfully by Gaius Marius, shows how the elements of the Reinvigoration manifest in an actual rhetorical strategy.

The consolidation issue of Washoe County in Northern Nevada—due to its local deliberative and community contexts and political leaders with ethoi that are the antitheses to present mainstream political ethoi—is ideal for a case study because it is ongoing public discourse in which to examine current ethos constructions and deliberation effects, as compared to the practices of ancient rhetorical theorists. Specifically, Reno Mayor Bob Cashell's rhetorical moves during the consolidation discussions reveal how a modern practitioner of the NHET uses the elements of the Reinvigoration and show why those elements are essential and interconnected.

that focuses upon a rhetor's dwelling. For the remainder of this dissertation, *Reinvigoration* refers to the recently uncovered theoretical understanding of ethos.

⁸ To my knowledge, the acronym *NHET* was never used in ancient rhetorical theory by practitioners or by those commenting about practitioners. Although NHET is a term I created, it fits appropriately in usage, which leads me to believe it easily could have been used in ancient times.

Cashell's employment of the NHET in the consolidation issue(s) of Northern Nevada reveals the rhetorical nature of consolidation in local politics and how ethos and deliberation may have functioned together in ancient times. Like Cashell, Cicero and Marius used the NHET to operate with transparency, inform the public of contradictions within the political system, and give back to the community in their commentary.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical framework for the dissertation. This chapter connects several sectional arguments and is best presented in the separate sections. The first group of sections sets up the NHET as a manifestation of the recent Reinvigoration. The remaining sections outline what will be examined and analyzed in the consolidation discourse to learn more about the NHET and the Reinvigoration. The subsequent chapters build from, elucidate, and advance the presented theories from Chapter 1. The sectional arguments follow:

- The theoretical retrieval of ethos from its earliest inception (Reinvigoration) provides a more communal explanation to the shaping of ethos than the Aristotelian version. The Reinvigoration of ethos posits that locality and community were more influential in the social constructing of ethos than previously thought.
- Tracing ethos through ancient rhetorical theory—with the recently reinvigorated understanding of ethos—reveals that locality and community were constant shapers of ethos and deliberation.

- Roman rhetoric during the Republic is a prime example of a practice that incorporated elements of the Reinvigoration, much more than the Greeks, from whom the Romans adapted their rhetoric. And Ciceronian rhetorical theory is the epitome of Roman rhetoric.
- The NHET, successfully employed by Cicero and Gaius Marius, is a clear manifestation of the elements of the Reinvigoration.
- The consolidation discourse of Northern Nevada—in contrast to national, *mediated* political discourse—is ideal for exploring the uses of ancient concepts of ethos and deliberation. Reno Mayor Bob Cashell's adaptation of the NHET, specifically, can show how the elements of the Reinvigoration are currently used and can speak to how those elements were essentially interconnected.
- A methodology built primarily from Rosa A. Eberly's topoi approach and Cheryl Glenn's theoretical-grounding/conceptual-apparatus model is the best approach to examine and analyze the discourse of the consolidation of Northern Nevada and then re-envision the Reinvigoration and the NHET. The research questions for the project are: 1) How did Cashell build and utilize his adaptation of the NHET in the consolidation discourse, and what was the impact on deliberation; and 2) How does the new knowledge from this research elucidate the ancient NHET and the Reinvigoration?

The remaining chapters analyze how Cashell built and utilized his adaptation of the NHET in the consolidation discourse, how the opposing parties competed with his effective ethos, and how the new knowledge from this research elucidates the ancient NHET and the Reinvigoration.

Chapter 2

This chapter further articulates the features of the NHET and argues that Reno Mayor Bob Cashell not only is a current practitioner of the NHET, but also is extremely effective in regional politics because of it.⁹ The chapter begins with detailing Cashell's pro-consolidation agenda, his unmatched accomplishments in area-business endeavors, and his philanthropic contributions to the community; Cashell dwells successfully in the community as a proven problem solver. The chapter then argues, by examining comments from Cicero and Gaius Marius, that ancient practitioners of the NHET rose on their own merits of visible, proven industry from a single-handed work ethic that brings good to the community. As the point man for the pro-consolidation side, Cashell is constantly speaking in the media about the need to consolidate, and when he does, his comments are similar to Cicero's and Marius', drawing from an established ethos that highlights past successes and brings good to the community by solving problems. Cashell is known as a fixer who improves places in the community. Furthermore, the data reveal that Cashell uses his NHET to keep the consolidation discussion "on the table," maintaining deliberative space for the issue while others are trying to remove it.

⁹ Cashell should still be considered effective, even though his immediate agendas in the consolidation debates are always not successful. Cashell's involvement in the consolidation discourse does several things: he keeps the topic relevant, extends the discussions, forces opponents to take drastic measures, and showcases his abilities as an NHET practitioner.

Chapter 3

This chapter discusses how the City of Sparks, Cashell's main opponent in the consolidation discussions, reacted to the persistence to consolidate area services. Applying a contemporary version of synoecism, the ancient Greek practice of consolidating area villages to form a polis, Cashell constructed the consolidation as an *imagined community*. Sparks, however, resisted the pressure to be driven into the bigger municipal entity, rejecting Cashell, the outside influencer. Cashell's vision of the imagined community came from his overplaying of the community good of everyone (the larger Washoe County municipalities) coming together as a single sovereignty that will benefit all parties and the community.

Sparks used a contrasting topos approach (the future/past topos) to revamp its ethos: Cashell used his NHET to get everyone to look ahead to his imagined community, a quasi-utopian vision; meanwhile, Sparks called upon its traditional values of community and place to encourage its constituents to remember the foundational pillars of its city. In order to contest the industrious Cashell, Sparks had to create industry as well. Sparks used acts of perceivable industry as accomplishments demonstrative of effective politicians and a successful political system. Sparks used the consolidation documents to maintain its ethos as a quintessential Nevada city cognizant of protecting traditions, achievements, and outstanding public services. Sparks council members, acting more as agents than deliberators, altered the political environment of the region and within their own city by shrinking the space to deliberate consolidation.

Chapter 4

This chapter focuses on Cashell in a rhetorical episode with Washoe County during the highly publicized deconsolidation of the Reno-Washoe County fire-service agreement. The arguments in this chapter build from previous chapters to illustrate how an NHET practitioner includes the public and gives them something new. During the debate, Cashell lost the contest but connected with the local community by habitually calling for focused deliberation and then qualifying and explaining his requests to the public. Cashell was the one person consistently asking for deliberative process because he saw the good it could create as a procedure, and he expressed outrage when others did not operate with the same transparency to arrive at decisions.

Cashell, more than any other rhetor in the deconsolidation debate, clued-in the public with his comments and responses. These clue-ins came largely from a letter to the Caughlin Ranch Home Owners Association¹⁰ and in the form of secondary/follow-up responses and, more specifically, if/then topos constructions; the clue-ins were designed to inform the public and create goodwill. The clue-ins clearly qualified Cashell's calls to deliberate, expose the system and practices of others, and maintain a conversation or negotiation with the public—all of which publicly and politically separate Cashell from his opponents.

¹⁰ See Appendix B.

Conclusion

The conclusion looks back at my research process and findings and then looks ahead to future research opportunities. I first review what my approach and findings offer to the field of rhetoric in terms of new arguments and advancements in the latest research about ancient ethos theory. I argue that my approach provides rich details of modern inventional techniques and connects current adaptations of ancient theory to the most recent research, whereas other approaches do not. After positing the contributions, I examine the limitations and challenges in my research model. Subsequently, I revisit the research questions to draw new claims about the role of the public. Revisiting each of the chapter arguments, with a focus on the public, exposes the previously undetected interactivity and participatory nature of the public, as well as the relational personality traits necessary in the rhetor to interact with them. Finally, I examine future research and teaching implications. I argue that my project exposes in the field the need for more case-study research exploring the current application tendencies of Ciceronian and ancient rhetoric. I close with a pedagogical suggestion that applies my findings.

CHAPTER 1: THE NOVUS HOMO ETHOS TOPOS: LOCALITY, COMMUNITY, AND THE REINVIGORATION

Chapter Introduction

This chapter makes several sectional arguments and serves as the framework for the entire dissertation. The first group of sections in this chapter builds from the recent Reinvigoration of ethos, arguing that the NHET is a manifestation of the Reinvigoration. The second half of the chapter reasons that the consolidation discourse of Northern Nevada and Reno Mayor Bob Cashell's responses during the discourse are ideal for exploring the uses of ancient concepts of ethos and deliberation and how to best approach researching them.

The Reinvigoration of Ethos

Researchers have recently revisited and revised (reinvigorated) the meaning of ethos, releasing it from its overly Aristotelian influence, by returning to the primordial uses of ethos in some of the earliest writings known to humankind. Ethos originally had more to do with the spaces where the public gathered, exchanged ideas, and revealed who they were rhetorically through repeated interaction. The recent Reinvigoration of ethos brings to prominence the role of habituation in community settings and the involvement of the community.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is the earliest comprehensive codification of rhetorical theory, and he is one from whom much is learned of ancient ethos; in fact, until recently, Aristotle's version of ethos was the most widely held definition. Modern and postmodern conceptions of the rhetorical term *ethos* are most commonly associated with the

Aristotelian description, a speaker's perceived character. However, recently, researchers have reinvigorated the meaning of ethos, by returning to its earliest uses in the writings of Homer and Hesiod, which predate Aristotle by a few centuries. Ethos originally meant "habitual dwelling place," and ethos was not a rhetorical term until Aristotle linked it to character in Chapter 2 of his *Rhetoric*. The link to character, according to Michael S. Halloran, is easy to deduce, as habitual dwelling spaces were where the public gathered, exchanged ideas, and revealed who they were rhetorically through repeated interaction. Prior to Isocrates, ethos was not a term in rhetorical theory-after Aristotle, ethos would forever be inseparable from rhetoric. In "Aristotle's Concept of Ethos, or If Not His Somebody Else's," Halloran concurs with the Reinvigoration theorists and connects the original meaning to Aristotle's, stating, "The most concrete meaning given for the term in the Greek lexicon is 'a habitual dwelling place,' and I suspect it is upon this image of people gathering together in a public place, sharing experiences and ideas, that its meaning as character rests" (60). Halloran's essay emphasizes habituation in community areas as a key to reputation and character. Isocrates, in *Antidosis*, is one of the first to mention ethos as a matter of character and reputation and outline its description in terms of how it works with rhetoric. Aristotle builds upon Isocrates' description, yet his notion of ethos is far from that of a dwelling place, although, according to Craig R. Smith, "Aristotle assumes the knowledge of the Athenian fore-structure of ethos as a dwelling place and then reformulates the notion of dwelling place to present a rhetorical understanding of ethos" (2).

The recent, scholarly Reinvigoration emphasizes place and habituation. The introduction to Michael J. Hyde's edited collection *The Ethos of Rhetoric* is appropriately

titled "Rhetorically, We Dwell" because in it Hyde hints at place in ancient conceptions of the rhetorical term ethos. Hyde focuses on "dwelling place" as the earliest meaning for ethos from Martin Heidegger's "Letter on Humanism" in Basic Writings. Heidegger draws from Homer's and Hesiod's original use of ethos; Hyde claims, "...writes Heidegger, 'Ethos means dwelling place. The word names the open region in which man dwells" (xix). In agreement with Hyde via Heidegger, Todd F. Frobish notes Homer's *Iliad* as the origin of ethos in contrast to the widely popular Aristotelian version: "In the Iliad the word ethos does not refer to some quality of character but to a haunt or an accustomed place of activity" (19). Within the concept of physical location is physical and metaphorical context. Judy Holiday adds plainly, "All rhetors and all rhetorical activity are located" (389), meaning place and space too are shapers of the rhetorical situation(s); the context where discussants exchange the discourse is part of the rhetorical production. The reclamation of ethos as a location and not just character takes ethos from just a component of rhetoric to a foundational feature—in fact, *the* foundational feature: Holiday observes from Hyde, "Ethos, then, is not merely a component of rhetoric but intrinsic to it—'foundational to all else that can be said about the art'" (Hyde xiv)" (Holiday 390). Taking Holiday a step further, ethos is an encompassing concept, embodying the essence of ancient rhetorical theory.

The Reinvigoration also emphasizes community and deliberation. Hyde's comment here builds upon ethos as a "haunt or an accustomed place of activity" (Frobish), "dwelling place" (Hyde), or "a habitual gathering place" (Halloran) to indicate how habituality and locality can shape the individual:

Abiding by this more "primordial" meaning of the term, one can understand the phrase "ethos of rhetoric" to refer to the way discourse is used to transform space and time into "dwelling places" (ethos; pl. ethea) where people can deliberate about and "know together" (con-scientia) some matter of interest. Such dwelling places define the grounds, the abodes or habits, where a person's ethics and moral character take form and develop. (xiii)

Hyde's theoretical retrieval of ethos in terms of rhetoric—and connection of ethos as a dwelling place to ethos as character—places new emphasis on one's communal existence and the exchange of ideas. A habitual rhetorical context evokes community, negotiation, and deliberation. Holiday further claims that the reinvigoration of ethos as a dwelling means ethos was originally more of a social act than modernists thought (389). Hyde indicates habitual deliberative interaction with others leads to character development; character here would mean one's reccurring nature in the dwelling place, and the reccurring nature would depend upon habitual influences. Ethos as character, then, necessitates audience and the habitual negotiation that takes place for development; the interaction situates the rhetor in response to the community. Jimmie M. Killingsworth, in "Rhetorical Appeals: A Revision," demonstrates the relationship of ethos and audience by situating ethos on a rhetorical triangle that is an adaptation of Kinneavy's "communication triangle." Killingsworth says:

The position of the author draws upon Aristotle's concept of ethos, or character, as well as the modern understanding of ethos as a cultural outlook or worldview that characterizes a community. The author's position is not simply a personal account of himself or herself. The author is a complex individual who selectively reveals (or invents) aspects of character pertinent to the rhetorical work required at the moment. The author's position represents a particular communal outlook that points toward agreed-upon values and invites the audience to join (or return to) the community. (252)

The rhetor, in essence, "characterizes a community" in perpetual negotiation, as the parties shape the "communal outlook" and the "agreed-upon values." The rhetor creates agency through revealing or inventing "aspects of character" in relation to the "communal outlook" or "agreed-upon values." Holiday argues that "invention is agency," and invention is intervention into sociality (394); the very act of inventing aspects of character within the community-developed values becomes one's agency in a rhetorical situation.

Community and Locality in Ancient Greek Rhetorical Theory

In classical rhetorical theory,¹¹ ethos and deliberation were local and communitydriven, continuing the Reinvigoration threads mentioned previously and evolving in

¹¹ The framework for this project draws principally from translations and secondary sources pertaining to the works of the ancient classical rhetoricians. *Classical rhetorical theory*, for the purposes of this project, refers to the works of ancient rhetoricians roughly from the time of the reign of Pericles up to Quintilian's *On the Teaching of Speaking and Writing*. Heraclitus references *ethos*, and so do Homer and Hesiod (Hyde; Smith), both of whom predate Pericles, but it is during the flourishing of Athens under Pericles' sovereignty that *ethos*—via the systematizing of rhetoric as theory—was actually developed by theorists in terms of how it fits into political deliberation. The theoretical work of Quintilian is the other bookend for *classical rhetorical theory* because it was written when the early creation of the theories of rhetoric ends. Saint Augustine is the next notable rhetorical figure to follow Quintilian, but his work with rhetoric is applicative but not constructive in a developmental sense. The time of Pericles to Quintilian,

connection with local value systems. Classical rhetorical theorists demonstrate a range of ethos uses, show how ethos and deliberation were context dependent and rooted in local values, and bridge the inception of ethos (and the Reinvigoration elements) to the rhetoric of the Romans. Slowly emerging is the theme of the rhetor expressing community good while connecting with community members.

Ethos and deliberation in Greco-Roman times were initially construed as situated contextually, when actual grassroots community deliberation was given substantial space for the purpose of arriving at the best possible decisions (Hogan 83). Rhetors did not have to convince others of their local-ness because the local constituents already would have seen their behavior in the community. This was ancient ethos: rhetors were known to the public by their local actions. The rhetors and politicians of this era functioned in communities that practiced genuine deliberation, viewing it as essential to democracy because of what it produced. In a funeral oration, Pericles said, "Discussion is an indispensable preliminary to decision" (Fleming 10). In Rhetoric and Democracy, McDorman and Timmerman argue, "One of the persistent claims that is made about this live, unmediated public communication is that the decisions that the assembly and the juries made were enhanced, beyond those that would be made by individuals themselves or even smaller groups of individuals" (xv). Classical rhetors made spaces for "live, unmediated" deliberation in their decision-making processes. They valued ethos in deliberative activity, due to the necessity of individual speaker agency; McDorman and

coincidentally, is also when rhetorical theory had a strong application and purpose in deliberative assemblies.

Timmerman add, "Perhaps the central characteristic of classical Athenian democracy was the prominence of the citizen as the chief political agent" (xiii).

Plato plays a role in the continuation of ethos having a connection to locality and community, but he is not a source himself for ethos theory.¹² Ethos-related concepts can be extrapolated from his dialogues that contained embedded rhetorical principles, but he never mentions *ethos* as a rhetorical concept per se, mostly because he was refuting the practice of rhetoric. That is not to suggest Plato disregarded ethos in discourse or deliberation. Speaker authority—which most scholars would claim as Aristotle's description of ethos—for Plato comes via subject knowledge that he viewed was actually transcendental knowledge of truth. The transcendental knowledge of truth, in Plato's opinion, is what separated his dialogic from rhetoric and therefore from his foes, the Sophists. Rhetoric, argues Plato in his dialogues, is not an art but rather "a sham counterpart to justice" because its motive is to imitate truth via persuasion through deceit, and its practitioners were charlatans claiming ultimate truth could not be known. Opposing Plato were the Sophists—individual, mostly *metics* (non-Athenian men), whom Plato lumped together and vilified in his dialogues. The Sophists are a direct source of

¹² Although Plato's "ethos" is not as communally connected to the public as that of the other classical rhetoric theorists, it is valuable to discuss his ethos because through an understanding of Platonic ethos comes a clearer picture of the Sophists' ethos, which had noticeable connections to community life. Plato's version of ethos is authority through ultimate knowledge, and his ethos directly influenced Aristotle's ethos description of speaker persona. Plato's ethos was shaped by his theories of transcendental truth and elitism, both of which surfaced as he delineated himself from the Sophists, whom he accused as being overly emotion reliant. By the time of the Periclean democracy, systematic rhetorical education was ostensibly in operation—that is, the use of and educational training specifically with rhetorical theory. Sophistic rhetorical theory then spilled over into the period of the Peloponnesian Wars, the reign of Philip of Macedon, and the reign of Alexander the Great; the main reasons for the continuation of education in rhetorical theory were the advantage the theories held, the Athenian citizens' passion for politics, and the Sophists who capitalized on their own abilities to prepare the impassioned citizenry.

ethos theory. Plato's depictions of the Sophists in his dialogues were inaccurately slanted; one example is in the *Gorgias* when Gorgias is only allowed to give brief answers to Socrates' questions, when in reality Gorgias was renowned for long extemporaneous speech (Bizzell and Herzberg 82). The Sophists surfaced during an exciting political time¹³ and are best described in the context of the socio/political history of ancient Athens during the reign of Periclean democracy.

The Periclean political arrangement exposed the need for ethos to be connected to the Athenian group-value system. Periclean "pure democracy" required an occasional speech in an assembly from the citizens; an extension of the Solon system was that there were no representatives—thus citizens had to represent themselves in the various courts. The citizens wishing to participate in the assemblies did not have the time or desire to quest after Plato's ultimate enlightenment or gain complete knowledge of a subject. They just wanted to immediately persuade their hearers to act in their favor, and the rhetorical theory the Sophists developed offered their clients methods for just that; Murphy contends that Plato's idealistic rhetoric was inaccessible to most non-aristocratic citizens. The Sophists refined rhetorical theories that enabled better political navigation, by controlling the situational view of the audience and leaning upon the Athenian value system still intact from Solon's principles of justice. The elements of Solon's democracy

¹³ Greek city-states were at intermittent war with the Persians until roughly 479 B.C.E. After the Persian Wars, the Delian League was formed for continued protection from Persia until Pericles, an esteemed Athenian general, brought stability to the region and mainly Athens by establishing peace with Persia in 449 (Murphy; Bizzell and Herzberg). During the Delian League era, Athens grew extremely rich from the taxes Pericles imposed on the city-states surrounding Athens for the protection the Athenians continued to provide. Pericles promoted a purer democracy for Athenian citizens, and Athens saw an unparalleled blossoming of expressive culture and governmental procedure (Murphy; Bizzell and Herzberg).

continued through the reign of Pericles because Solon's revisions reinforced the group values (*ethe*) of Athenian citizenship superiority (*timos*). These qualities and behaviors were pervasive in Athenian citizenry when Aristotle wrote *Rhetoric*.

Isocrates and Lysias, though practicing post-Pericles, had a profound impact on the bridging of Periclean Sophistry to Aristotle and used the concept of ethos in their rhetoric. Lysias studied under Protagoras and thoroughly understood the occasion of the court voting schedule. He embraced a plain speaking style for his clients but was never dull. Lysias focused on the speech giver, using ethopoeia to practically situate his clients with a fitting speech for a specific situation (Kennedy 91-92; Murphy 50; Trevett 377). Lysias was said to have written 233 speeches (Trevett 377). Isocrates, a post-Periclean logographer and school teacher who denounced Sophistry in his later years, defined rhetoric as an "artificer of persuasion" (Kennedy 72), used ethos in terms of character and reputation, and is more in line with the Periclean Sophists, maintaining that only the probable can be known (17), which contrasts sharply with Plato, his contemporary; William L. Benoit argues that Isocrates is best understood in contrast to Plato. Terry Papillion claims that Isocrates taught a hybrid combination of epideictic and deliberative rhetorics that better enabled rhetors to argue political and moral points (158). Isocrates included reputation and civic duty in his description of ethos, claiming in Antidosis that the argument made from the actions of a man's life is worth more than his argument from words. Reputation via one's actions, especially civic actions, points to habitual behavior that comes from the way one acts in the community.

Locality and community in ancient Greek rhetorical theory are perhaps best realized in Pericles's vision of democracy, which incorporated a local physical space for deliberation that not only championed local values but also granted superiority to the leaders of the communities. David Fleming, while speaking to Pericles' involvement in planning the model city of Thurii, claims Pericles was an "*apparent* democrat" (9). He adds, "It is Pericles (and his associates) who reduce the power of the aristocratic Areopagus, instituted pay for jurors, and built up the public spaces of Athens (thereby providing work for ordinary Athenians)" (9). Pericles also worked on special projects with the Sophists; one major undertaking was the planning and design of the ancient city of Thurii—that probably did not advance passed the envisioning stage—which, according to Fleming, reveals how ancient Periclean Athenians viewed ideal deliberation and the space for it. In "The Streets of Thurii: Discourse, Democracy, and Design in the Classical Polis," Fleming claims Pericles, along with Protagoras and Hippodamus, sought to design a model city in southern Italy that would foster true Periclean Athenian democracy, which exercised open debate among its citizens. The writings of the three demonstrate a shared vision. Fleming says:

All [three city planners] shared the goal of building a community that combine quality among citizens (and multivocality implied therein) with respect for local notions of good and right. This combination can be seen in the Periclean formula of wide participation plus elite leadership, the Hippodamian plan of an open public sphere surrounded by a grid of intersecting straight streets, and the Protagorean hope that two-sided argumentation would produce sound decision-making. (22-23)

Fleming argues that the Pericles' version of democracy illustrated in the design of Thurii was a *bounded democracy*, "that combination of mass participation (with its validation of

ordinary human experience) and elite leadership (with its self-serving reverence for tradition)" (21). In this bounded democracy and in the actual place designed for practicing it, citizens could deliberate about issues openly and as a community; the city design and the societal infrastructure were to be built with the same ideology in mind: equality, transparency, and a community-minded Athenian sense of rightness.¹⁴ But the equality referred to access and balance in the functionality of the whole, not individual portion. Superior citizens played a larger role in maintaining the political sphere, a building block instilled by Solon. Fleming claims the planned, provided space for deliberation in Thurii would have been in the *agora*, or marketplace, "that flat, open, empty square which served, among many other things, as the central gathering place in town" (Fleming 25), because that was the place for Greek political activity. Fleming draws from Hansen and Fischer-Hansen's work on Greek democratic architecture to show the political structures associated with the agora: "the prytaneon (executive chamber), bouleuterion (council hall), ekkleiasterion (assembly ground), dikasterion (courts), and *stoa* (arcades for informal talk but also rooms for the magistracies, boards for public messages, etc.)" (26). In other words, a town is not a polis without an agora (25). Aristotle in *Politics* concurs that the agora was the site for deliberative discourse among citizens, and Fleming notes from Paul Zucker that "the agora developed with democracy and is the key spatial manifestation of it" (25). The essential features of the ancient agora are the openness and the accessibility and physical transparency of the space.

¹⁴ These same ideals resurfaced when the Athenians sought to incorporate neighboring villages.

Like the Sophists and Pericles, Aristotle's ethos is rooted in Athenian deliberative practices¹⁵ and is the backbone of his description and function of rhetoric—Aristotle initially viewed ethos as the dominant inventional strategy during persuasive speaking. His monumental contribution to ethos and rhetorical theory came from his *Rhetoric*, a synthesis of Plato's and the Sophists' rhetoric. The basic tenet of Aristotle's rhetoric is that persuasive elements are situational and most effective when methodically produced. He found that rhetors persuasively appealed to their audience in three ways: through logos, ethos, and pathos. He labeled them as proofs the rhetor provides to an audience during a speech; he said they were *artistic*, invented during the discourse. Aristotle's rhetorical theory was influenced by Platonic and Sophistic rhetorical theory, but it is not the same rhetoric as theirs, or even the handbook authors', whose rhetoric Aristotle fervently denounces. Aristotle claims rhetoric is the counterpart to dialectic and defines rhetoric in terms of its function: seeing the available means of persuasion in a situation. Seeing the available means is a matter of perspective, a feature the Sophists made famous. Killingsworth challenges the Aristotelian framework of the appeals because it fails "to cover the variety of uses and the full suggestiveness of the concept" (249) of appeal as it is currently used by contemporary rhetorical theorists. Furthermore, "The exclusive use of Aristotle's scheme often reduces the possibilities for understanding and interpreting the rhetorical strategies that could fall under the rubric of 'appeal," argues Killingsworth (249). Aristotle's logos, ethos, and pathos are in the artistic subcategory of the appeals (*pisteis*); Killingsworth adds, "They are 'artistic' in a sense that while rhetors

¹⁵ Aristotle witnessed the public assemblies of the Athenian democracy and used examples taken from the assemblies in his *Rhetoric*.

'use' the inartistic pisteis, they 'invent' or 'discover' or 'provide' the artistic" (250). Some scholars label them "means of persuasion," "modes of persuasion," or "proofs" (250). Killingsworth's revised model for interpreting appeals borrows from James Kinneavy's "communication triangle" and views the appeals "more like positions with a metaphorically spatial relationship to one another" (251). The three points of Killingsworth's triangle for his revision are "the position of the author, audience, and value" (251). His revision of Kinneavy's triangle seems to marry both the recently reinvigorated interpretation of ethos as an "habitual meeting place" (Halloran; Holiday; Hyde)—that incorporates social epistemic construction—and the original Aristotelian model. More than an elementary persuasive appeal, ethos, not logos or pathos, was a foundational element in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as well as in the remainder of ancient rhetorical theory. Aristotle repeatedly comes back to ethos throughout his book, but originally he says:

> [There is persuasion] through character whenever the speech is spoken in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence; for we believe fairminded people to a greater extent and more quickly [than we do others] on all subjects in general and completely so in cases where there is not exact knowledge but room for doubt. And this should result from the speech, not from a previous opinion that the speaker is a certain kind of person. (Kennedy 38)

He then comments on the value of ethos, over logos and pathos, by declaring "character is almost, so to speak, the controlling factor in persuasion" (38). One reason ethos could

be considered a "controlling factor" is because it draws upon the source of the persuasion, the persuader, whereas logos and pathos do not.

By the end of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the meaning of ethos changes to be more connected to an audience's sense of the speaker's reputation or the way one habitually dwells. However, Aristotle initially saw ethos as perceived character authority demonstrated by the rhetor. Craig R. Smith, as noted previously, argues that Aristotle never states ethos is a *dwelling place*, yet he presupposes the dwelling-place notion and builds upon it when he applies ethos to rhetoric. In Book Two of *Rhetoric*, Aristotle expands on ethos: "There are three reasons why speakers themselves are persuasive; for there are three things we trust other than logical demonstrations. These are practical wisdom [phronesis] and virtue [arete] and goodwill [eunoia]; for speakers make mistakes in what they say or advise through [failure to exhibit] either all or one of these" (Kennedy 120-121). So here, Aristotle sees ethos primarily as a theme in the rhetoric of the rhetor and not necessarily an applied proof or tactic, which differs from how he originally construed the term. Smith claims the *Rhetoric* is inconsistent¹⁶—as "it is a compilation of lectures written over a twenty-six-year period during which Aristotle changed his thinking on the subject" (2)—but Aristotle's meaning of ethos is consistent with the characteristics of dwelling-place activity: attitude, credibility, character, authority, wisdom, virtue, and goodwill all pertain to the way one habitually dwells. Halloran claims Aristotle views ethos as an "argument from authority, the argument that says in

¹⁶ McAdon also notes that the text *Rhetoric* is internally inconsistent; he problematizes "any attempt to ascribe any purpose or intent to Aristotle for the *Rhetoric*" (231) based on the reasoning that it was reorganized, reinterpreted, and rewritten so many times that it is too difficult to ascertain Aristotle's original input as the author.

effect, Believe me because I am the sort of person whose word you can believe" (60). Halloran also suggests that ethos becomes crucial for epideictic speeches.¹⁷

Aristotle's subdivision of rhetoric into three species draws attention to the necessity of a speaker to connect with the values of a community, most apparently with his notion of deliberative rhetoric.¹⁸ One of the many methods Aristotle used to delineate rhetoric from Sophistry and dialectic was to separate rhetoric into three occasions or *species*, as he called them: epideictic, deliberative, and judicial. The Aristotelian three species of rhetoric were already in performance by the time Aristotle wrote them for his students to learn in *Rhetoric*, as his examples come from his observations of the assemblies (Kennedy 47).¹⁹ The three species are separated by the type of hearer who is

¹⁷ Contrary to Kennedy's assertion that Aristotelian ethos is only developed during the discourse, Halloran claims reputation is a factor, which exists outside the speaking occasion. Halloran's extended ethos definition seems closer to Todd S. Frobish's, which Frobish draws from parallel traits in the Homeric war heroes. In "An Origin of Theory: A Comparison of Ethos in the Homeric Iliad with that Found in Aristotle's Rhetoric," Frobish claims the *Iliad* was a possible origin of Aristotle's concept of ethos (17); however, there are issues concerning his hypothesis. One is the sociopolitical environment: Frobish claims Aristotle's theory of ethos was portrayed during the speaking of a rhetor, "Therefore external factors such as one's authority or prestige were typically nonexistent or inconsequential" (18), whereas the characters in Homer's Iliad gained their trustworthiness through reputation, mainly success on the battlefield or connection to royalty or both (18). Identities in the Iliad were forged through action, not speech (19). Clearly Frobish is not talking about Aristotle's description of ethos in Book Two. Kennedy notes that Homeric rhetoric placed an emphasis on the orator (39) and used ethos and pathos overwhelmingly. He claims, "There are two ways to achieve the heroic ideal: to be a doer of deeds or a speaker of words," and characters who could do both, such as Achilles and Odysseus, became the greatest heroes (39). ¹⁸ The earliest description of deliberative rhetoric comes from Aristotle, as he is the source of most rhetoric classifications. He was a great categorizer but not necessarily the originator of all he wrote. ¹⁹ J. C. Trevett argues that all of Aristotle's examples are taken from epideictic speeches, and Aristotle never quotes from deliberative or judicial speeches, even when he is specifically discussing one of the two (371 and 376). Trevett's reasoning is linked to orality, writing, and publication at the time: whereas "deliberative speeches were generally not written down" and judicial speeches were written down but not circulated, epideictic speeches were much more appreciated and widely circulated (377). Travett also explores Aristotle's lack of enthusiasm for Athenian democracy, which Trevett calls "the one form of constitution under which deliberative and forensic oratory flourished." Aristotle labels deliberative and judicial audience members as simpletons and remarks on democracy as a governing in the interest of one's self (378-379). Aristotle's loathing of Athenian democracy is perhaps rooted in the fact that he could not participate in the courts, as he was a *metic* or non-Athenian.

targeted, either a spectator or a judge (Kennedy; Garver) and are therefore linked to political values or value systems, for the spectator or judge will render a decision based upon what is heard.²⁰ Epideictic rhetoric occurs when the rhetor is praising or blaming someone or something, such as in a eulogy or tribute; the hearer is a spectator and one concerned with the ability of the speaker (Kennedy 152). Deliberative rhetoric pertains to the advisement of what to do, and a hearer of deliberative rhetoric acts as a judge who must make a decision, such as with legislating laws. Judicial rhetoric is similar to deliberative rhetoric, except it focuses on what has been done, and judges must also make a decision as to what they believe happened, such as juries deciding matters in a criminal court and the penalty or outcome should be.²¹Aristotle further develops the deliberative classification in *Rhetoric* in terms of what a rhetor needs to do to be persuasive. A successful deliberator connects with the values of an audience in an effort to decide and act on what is good for the community. Kennedy states, "The deliberative orator, in his effort to demonstrate that a course of action is in the best interest of the audience, needs an understanding of the objectives and values of human life, which may provide additional premises for arguing" (56). To this end Aristotle lists and describes values and useful topics for deliberation. He adds that the five most discussed areas of deliberative

²⁰ An interesting issue Garver points out is that not only is Aristotle's three types of rhetoric classification not exhaustive for the present time, it is not exhaustive for Aristotle's time either (3). He argues, "Most instances of rhetoric do not fall under the three kinds" (7). Aristotle's classification, however, did demonstrate three "ways in which argument leads to judgment" (5), meaning the audience must make a decision—and rendering a decision depends upon one's worldview, or value system (*ethe*), or perhaps a situational view; it includes perceptions, beliefs, and ideas. From Kennedy, it is learned that Aristotle's three kinds of rhetoric insist upon values: "In all three settings speakers seek to persuade or influence action or belief and thus to impose their own ideas or values on others" (7).

²¹ Aristotle does make note that deliberative and judicial rhetorics can, and do, use elements of each other (47-48).

rhetoric are finances, war and peace, national defense, imports and exports, and the framing of laws (53), and he argues that it is imperative for a rhetor to have knowledge in politics and know aims of each form of constitution (76). In *Nichomachean Ethics,* Aristotle claims that as a group we deliberate about not the ends but rather the process, about matters that hold good, and about things that can be done through our own agency (60-61). The individual act of deliberating he equates to "investigating and calculating something" (162); he adds that good deliberation takes a long time—it's not shrewd guessing, which takes no reasoning—and remarks, "As the saying goes, the action which follows deliberation should be quick, but deliberation itself should be slow" (162). Lastly, he comes back to reinforcing that deliberation involves value judgment. Aristotle claims, "Excellence in deliberation is correctness in accessing what is beneficial" (163).

Roman Rhetoric and Cicero

The Romans systematized rhetorical theory for navigation within the Republic,²² and although ethos had a more administrative purpose, the later communal elements of the scholarly Reinvigoration are more visible at this time than with the Greeks. Ethos became the premier rhetorical device by the time of Quintilian, when rhetoric and ethos were synonymous. Cicero is considered the archetypal Roman rhetorician. Cicero

²² The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 300 B.C.-A.D. 300, by George Kennedy, depicts the Romans as imitators and administrators but not necessarily creators. The Romans first heard Greek orations in Latin when large numbers of embassies presented to the Senate "on all manner of issues rising out of Rome's new role in the world's affairs since she had defeated Carthage and begun to intervene in Greece and Asia" (37). The Roman aristocrats became fixated on the skill and persuasiveness the Greek orators possessed with the use of language. Kennedy quotes Cicero as saying, "When they had heard Greek orators, they became familiar with their writings, and studied with teachers, our countrymen burned with an unbelievable desire to speak" (37).

incorporated the (recently revealed to us) Reinvigoration elements in his ethos by using a combination of mild emotions, keen audience awareness, and Aristotelian theory to "win the favor" of his hearers.

Roman notions of ethos and deliberation were much different than those of the Periclean Greeks, and Roman rhetoric functionally exhibits more clearly the elements of the Reinvigoration, due to the Romans' deliberate use of emotions. Kennedy claims Roman rhetoric was overly emotion reliant, "almost from the very start" (101). The Romans used rhetoric and deliberation within the confines of the Republic's purpose and incorporated elements of goodwill in the speaker, more explicitly influencing the emotions of the audience and drawing up the speaker's ability to morally align with the audience and build credibility. Kennedy argues that the Romans called upon their own sense of character differently than the Greeks: "The [Roman] orator brings into play all of his ancestry, his service to the state, his Roman virtues" (100). Kennedy also notes that although the upper class was prepared to speak in court, they often turned to a pleader, one trained in eloquence; the Greeks would purchase a speech and memorize it for court, but the Romans would have someone better at speaking speak for them. For major cases, Roman aristocrats turned to a professional orator called a *patron* (13).

One of the foremost indications that the Romans were using the (recently discovered) Reinvigorated conception of ethos rises in the *progymnasmata*. As the Roman curriculum for rhetoric,²³ the progymnasmata hammered the skill of constructing ethos in terms of culturally-agreed-upon, local values, mainly morals shared with the

²³ Roman rhetorical education was for preparation in speaking in the assemblies (Kennedy *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* 116).

audience. The Romans systematized the exercises of the progymnasmata²⁴ explicitly for ethos training to be utilized in politics. Most progymnasmata exercises had an inner structure that began with the *proomion* and ended with the epilogue; a similar structure was used for entire speeches. The purpose of the proomion, according to Nicolaus, an original progymnasmata author, "is to create attention and receptivity and goodwill" (132-33). Kennedy's Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and *Rhetoric* examines the first four authors who wrote progymnasmata handbooks—though there certainly were several other handbooks that have not survived—and finishes with a commentary by John of Sardis, who says "Progymnasmata are miniature rhetoric" (176). All the handbooks were written during the Roman era but speak of Greek concepts. There are ten to fourteen exercises depending on the author; some exercises were joined or omitted—for instance, Aelius Theon has narration, refutation, and confirmation under the single exercise of narration. They were taught in a similar order with a little variation. Theon's version is the oldest progymnasmata book extant, and in it he wrote a pedagogical section addressed to teachers.²⁵ He suggested that students write about their own experiences (x), and his examples included morals. His description of *khreia* created good character in the speaker and used moral sayings (4), and his narrative had several variations and opportunities for creative modification.

²⁴ The progymnasmata was Greek in origin, written by Romans, and studied throughout the Byzantine period (Kennedy *Progymnasmata* ix). It was a set of preliminary exercises used in declamation and not expected to be speeches in themselves (2).

²⁵ In accord with Quintilian, Kennedy claims that in progymnasmata activities the teacher's role was critical to the student fully learning and utilizing the potential of the exercises, as was replication of worthy examples. Imitation was a key component, and teachers often drew upon significant people and events from the past, especially Greek mythology or famous regional rhetors, drawing from and reinforcing community ideals regarding morality. It was the teacher's job to collect and present quality prose works to the students (*Progymnasmata* 9).

Ethos, according to Theon, is intrinsic in each exercise. He claims, "[The teacher] must make clear the moral character (ethos) inherent in the assignment (problema)" (13), which signifies that each exercise situated the young speaker *ethotically* to his hearers. Other areas of ethos include how the *khreia* of Theon "not only creates a certain faculty of speech but also good character while we are being exercised in the moral sayings of the wise" (4) and draws in general on the character of another; the narrative allows for style and creativity, displaying ability on the part of the speaker, and must be credible and suitable to the aim of the speaker in order to be effective (33); characterization is employed to depict other speakers in a certain light in encomiums, invectives, comparisons, and *ethopoeian*; Nicolaus' description of ethopoia includes a heavy emphasis on ethos paired with pathos; John of Sardis claims that in a narration, character and emotion of the speaker create credibility, which is an impression of truth (187); an explanation of moral implication is attached to a good fable; and, finally, how the exercises insist upon highlighting morality and moral choices in the examples enables speakers to situate themselves moralistically with the audience. Not only do these early authors interpret ethos as character, but also they see morality as integral to it, and the morals are culturally/communally linked.

The emotional qualities of morality and civic good are seen in Quintilian's rhetoric toward the end of the Republic.²⁶ Quintilian viewed ethos as a synthesis of one's

²⁶ I am purposely discussing Quintilian before Cicero, even though they will be chronologically out of order. The bulk of this dissertation focuses on Cicero, and the smoothest way to present my argument is to detail Cicero last in this section.

community. Quintilian's rhetoric and ethos²⁷ are inseparable and can be described as the bolstering of personal morality in the civic realm, or adhering to the shared values of the community. Quintilian's legendary line regarding the description of rhetoric is "A good man speaking well" (Murphy *Quintilian* xviii), and it mimics Isocrates' insistence that civic duty be part of one's ethos; Quintilian stresses moral character as crucial for success as an orator. Quintilian's role in the history of rhetoric comes from his On the Teaching of Speaking and Writing, a book-length work that argues largely for an educational system that builds ideal citizen orators who are of good character, and it is primarily a guidebook for teachers of writing because, as Murphy argues, the Roman standardization of law and education "increased the emphasis placed on written documents" and therefore the act of writing (Synoptic History 231).²⁸ Quintilian favored imitation and building upon the thoughts and works of prior successful rhetors.²⁹ Quintilian's writing process is indicative of the ancient Romans as appropriators and not innovators (Logie 385) and is a larger model for how he viewed ethos and imitation—inspiration derived externally from the author. Quintilian says, "Copy what has been invented with success"

²⁷ Quintilian's rhetoric and conception of ethos mirrors that of Cicero and Isocrates, although he did adapt his tone to fit within the confines of the nature of a Roman dictatorship—gone was the Republic Cicero maintained and hailed.

²⁸ Murphy also claims that Quintilian's version of the Roman school system would dominate European education for the next two-thousand years (202).

²⁹ Murphy claims that Quintilian mainly pulled from the theories of prior greats because he was writing at a time when Rome was ruled by an emperor and the free exchange of ideas was not encouraged (*Synoptic History* 203). Logie notes that Quintilian contradicts himself (actually, a couple of times) when he claims in the introduction that he will not "tread on others' footsteps" but then later, in Book Twelve says that "he can no longer imitate Cicero, or any other author" (369). Modern commentators label Quintilian *dependent* at best and a *compiler* at worst (Logie 369), though *synthesizer* might be the most accurate label. Bizzell and Herzberg and others claim that even his "good man speaking well" can be traced back to the *Phaedrus, Antidosis*, and *De Oretore* (358). John Logie claims nearly Quintilian's entire book is unoriginal and plagiarized. Logie contends Quintilian depended upon famous preceding rhetors—mainly Cicero, Plato, and Gorgias—for the first eleven books of *Institutio Oratoria* but made original contributions in Book Twelve.

(Murphy *Quintilian* 132), showing that he saw a link between imitation and invention and possibly because he did not use any contemporary examples himself, as Murphy claims. Imitating successful rhetors also led to memorizing moral maxims that would be important in the building of a moral character, a component of ethos as he saw it. Morality was not just integrated but also included as an integral piece of the curriculum. Quintilian argues that the quality of a potential student in terms of talent and teachability can best be assessed by analyzing his memory (25). Second to memory is imitation, "which is an indication of teachable disposition" (25). Teachers are of equal importance; they must have propriety, skill, and dedication to imparting good morals to students (20).³⁰

Marcus Tullius Cicero is commonly viewed as the epitome of Roman rhetoric and is the primary source by which much of Roman rhetoric is understood. Cicero's rhetorical theory and application shaped Roman rhetoric. Cicero is considered the ideal Roman orator during the Republic,³¹ and his theory and application of ethos illustrate clearly the communal elements of the Reinvigoration. Cicero was a lawyer, politician, aristocrat, educator, and prolific letter writer. He espoused the Five Canons of Rhetoric (invention, arrangement, memory, style, and delivery), the three styles of rhetoric (plain, middle, and grand), knowledge of speaking topics and the law, rigorous training and preparation, eloquence, and matching the fitting style of speech for each occasion. Cicero focused his theory on judicial rhetoric, and his contributions can best be seen in

³⁰ The locality factor of the Reinvigorated theme of ethos is apparent in Quintilian's emphasis of morality because the morals derive from the culture and community in gathering places where morals get developed.

³¹ Quintilian and Renaissance rhetoricians considered Cicero the ideal orator, period.

De Inventione and *De Oratore* as well as in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, a Roman rhetorical manual written anonymously but thought to be his work. According to James M. May, Cicero adapted the concept of ethos from Aristotle to mean character and action, "the winning of our hearer's favor" (4). In Book Two of *De Oratore* Cicero says, "Feelings are won over by a man's merits, achievements or reputable life" (Bizzell and Herzberg 329). May argues, similar to Kennedy's assertion, stated previously, that the Romans valued character so much that they used it as a source of proof (9), even seeing character as inherent and generational, thus the significance of family lines (6); representation in the law courts added a new dimension to character, as advocacy multiplied it when representatives would speak to their client's character or draw upon their own (10-11). May also contends that ethos was subsumed in the Five Canons. May reminds his readers that Quintilian used the term ethos, but this classical rhetorician tells his readers there is no Latin equivalent. May adds:

Both [Quintilian] and Cicero before him (cf. *Orator* 128) connect the word with Latin *mores* and *natura*, but Quintilian is quick to point out, perhaps referring to Cicero's *modus operandi*, that "more cautious writers have preferred to render the sense of the word rather than to translate it into Latin" (6.2.9). In his rhetorical works Cicero most commonly uses the words *conciliare* and *delectare*, as noted above, in connection with his discussion of the "three duties (*officia*) of the orator" to convey the concept of rhetorical ethos, its role in the speech, and the orator's duty to employ it. (5)

May further argues that Cicero's conception of ethos is broader than Aristotle's, for Cicero turned Aristotle's proof into a method (5). Partially in accord with May's assertions, Richard Leo Enos claims that Cicero's practice with ethos was informed by Aristotle's theory; however, Cicero's ethos was not all Greek. Enos declares that, while Aristotle is known for his rhetorical theory, Cicero is known for his rhetorical practice. Therefore, Cicero's ethos may have stemmed from Aristotle's theoretical grounding for ethos, but it differed due to application. Enos argues that Cicero's ethos was more Latinized and Hellenized, involving a connection with the audience through an expression of "*conciliare*, or the securing of goodwill" (136). Enos agrees with May that Cicero rarely spoke of ethos as a tool; instead, he saw it as more of an audience-speaker negotiation of speaker character traits—*ingenium* (a natural capacity for eloquence), *prudentia* (moral prudence or sagacity with moral issues), and *diligentia* (a synthesis of passion, industry, and sense of duty; a willingness to act)—that composed *dignitas* (129-132). Enos adds:

It is through the audience's identification of such traits that the rhetor's ethos is created within the discourse and establishes the basis for its own sustained effect over time. As the audience comes to view the rhetor as a person of capacity and sagacity, they have, with the rhetor, co-created the meaning of these qualities and (in a sense) validated these attributes as proof of the rhetor's credibility. (137)

Compared to Aristotle, who initially saw ethos as a rhetorical tool, Ciceronian ethos is much more in tune with the audience and aware of their qualities and ability to accept influences. May and Jakob Wisse, in *Cicero: On the Ideal Orator*, note that Cicero's

ethos concerns "mild emotions," whereas Aristotle's ethos "has nothing to do with emotions, but concerns the audience's nonemotional evaluation of the reliability of the speaker, with the aim of evaluating the reliability of what he says" (35); Cicero's ethos, according to May and Wisse, is therefore concerned with the perception of the speakers' character as a whole and creating a sense of goodwill, and "it therefore includes the arousal of certain mild emotions" (35)—meaning that pathos was a factor. Maybe that is why Cicero wrote extensively about character traits, features, and benefits with such variety and complexity (Enos 128). Without actually using the term ethos, one could argue Cicero was obsessed with it—the Ciceronian version of ethos, that is. Moreover, Cicero seized every opportunity to build and convey ethos, even in his legendary practice of letter writing.³²

The NHET as a Manifestation of the Reinvigoration

Cicero's use of the Novus Homo Ethos Topos (NHET) best illustrates how the elements of the Reinvigoration manifest in an actual rhetorical strategy. The rhetor at this time in Rome is judged and possibly rewarded based upon how he dwells. The active role of the community is slowly emerging in the creating and developing of the novus homo as a political rhetor.

The early Romans were extremely xenophobic and status conscious, which protected the machinery of their brainchild, the Roman Republic, from external and internal pollutants. The events of the Republic were entertainment for the era, and the

³² In "Administrative Slavery in the Ancient Roman Republic: The Value of Marcus Tullius Tiro in Ciceronian Rhetoric," I argue that the opportunist Cicero used his correspondence and his most-valued slave, Tiro, to express and maintain an ethos of having hierarchical order and superiority.

leading roles were reserved for the members of the elite classes only. Participation in the continual shaping and maintenance of the Republic was the pinnacle of the Roman system; participants were national celebrities. A demonstration of fairness within the system—and yet another reason that made the system the best in the world in the opinion of Romans—was the notion that a Roman citizen could rise up within the system and partake in the affairs of the state, as part of the system. The term for such a man was *novus homo*, or new man.³³

The description of a novus homo appeal is telling of the Roman political system and how locality and community manifest in the novus-homo sociopolitical label. The class structure in ancient Rome was rigid, specified, and absolutely for public consumption. Yet, as historians argue, the levels of class framework were subjective, especially in the latter years of the Republic. D. R. Shackleton Bailey reminds readers that ancient Roman class terminology is "governed by usage, not legal definition" (260). At the top of the hierarchy were the *patricians* or the aristocracy with traceable family lineage of wealth and prestige to Rome's earliest times.³⁴ With a few exceptions, a *nobilis* was a citizen who was a direct ancestor of a consul (Burckhardt 81); the term *nobiles* literally means "the known" (78-79). The *equites* or "knight" class consisted of the commerce-oriented families, and they were the upper middle class (Enos 44); Butler notes that since the equites class had property rights, they were entitled to own horses (80). This class had financial means gained from business, unlike the patricians who had

³³ The novus homo concept seems, at first, quite out of place in a rigid, status-conscious, xenophobic class system—but on further reflection, it strengthens that very system by introducing some small elements of meritocracy, which provides a sense of fairness and ensures virtuosity will be part of the system.
³⁴ The general idea with the patricians might be that they were considered the purest Romans.

generational wealth. The senatorial class "belonged to anyone admitted to the senate by the censors" Burckhardt (78). Both the senatorial and equestrian class had wealth requirements. Enos argues that due to the financial and military success of the Punic Wars, "*Equites* became close in social status to the patrician senators, and their joint sharing of property and commerce created a plutocracy" (44-46).

Broadly, a novus homo was a non-nobilis who advanced from the equites class to a high political position, especially to consul, which was exceedingly rare—and yet there was a special term for such a person. Accordingly, descendants of the novus homo would then be ennobled and part of a new line of nobiles. Theorists are not in accord as to exactly how far a member of the equites class had to advance to be considered a conventional novus homo; Burchhardt comments that "the concept of homo novus is inherently vague" (82), as there were many types of newcomers to the political scene. T. P. Wiseman claims the usage of the term novus homo in the late Republic was ambiguous (1). What is known is that a novus homo advanced politically from the equites class, creating a class upgrade as well. The advancement in classes for novi homines does not close as big of a social gap between the upper classes as one would think Burckhardt claims, "Viewed socially, the difference between the *homines novi* and the well established was significantly smaller than the difference between the class eligible to rule and the simple plebeians" (87). This tells of where the gap really was-from plebian to the equites, or the lower class to the upper-middle class. A novus homo was not a plebian; therefore the transition a novus homo made was not a rags-to-riches fairytale. Burckhardt goes on to argue that the integration of a novus homo into the political system faced fewer obstacles than one would think because the nobility could easily deal with the newcomer, as his class was similar to that of the nobles.

Novi homines were both rare and special. Therefore, a novus homo was celebrated in a way that the other politicians were not. Novi homines were unique political cogs in the Republic, illustrations of (Roman) fairness within the system, protection for the political system, and provisions of hope for others wishing to improve their class status. The novus homo concept ensured Rome would have the best of the best participating and contributing to the Republic while validating the elite classes because the novi homines showed the lower classes that the majority of them did not have what it took to be in the company of the politically exclusive. Furthermore, the novi homines overcame the status in which/from which they were born, a major tenet in the novus homo ethos. Through their own merits, they beat the odds, outworked an unforgiving system, and thus earned the right to join the elite. It seemed just and fitting to Romans that a man should be given the chance to rise through the ranks of the system via his virtue, within the confines of the system, but knowing full well that their system was not "designed" for advancement but rather for cementing roles for functioning within the Republic. A little edginess from the new man was appropriate (and appreciated as new or fresh), not to defeat the system but to bend it to his favor; after all, the system was designed to keep him at the level from which he came.

The ethos topos of novus homo began in ancient Roman times but continued through the Renaissance. The term novus homo died out, but the concept continued through to modern times. Like any societal term, the meaning of novus homo did vary with the culture; that said, novi homines always maintained a characterization of rising

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socio-politically based on their own merits. In his work to examine the novus homo tradition of the character Lázaro de Tormes, R. W. Truman mentions that writing on the subject of "how the low-born but worthy man may properly rise in society" is a theme found in letters and literature up through the 1600s that speaks to the nature of nobility and virtue. Truman writes:

This evidence, and much more, suggests that, running through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries into the seventeenth, there was a continuous and by no means negligible tradition of writing which argued that a man born into humble circumstances could properly rise to eminence in the world by the exercise of virtue and ability, and deserved general acclaim when he had done so. (63)

Truman further adds that the novus homo concept exposes that "nobility is essentially an interior thing and does not depend on accidents of fortune, such as being born into an old-established, eminent, and wealthy family"; to sum up, he says, "For nobility follows from one's own personal virtue and excellence" (63) and is within reach to everyone (64). Truman's version of the novus homo concept is not exactly how the Romans construed it, due to the fact that they did not count the plebeians as able to advance.³⁵

The novus homo reveals how locality and community were extremely necessary in ethos construction. Novus homo had a cultural label and a more technical political label, both of which revealed to the community the man's status and role in the community. The novus homo tag revealed to the community how a man dwelled—the

³⁵ There are always exceptions, which reemphasizes Baily's comment that ancient Roman class terminology is "governed by usage, not legal definition" (260); a prime example is Cato the Elder, a plebian who later held the consul position.

tag told the community the man's story—and in order to discover and declare how a man dwelled, he needed to be seen habitually in the community. From the tag that they carried, novi homines were displayed and known in the community, not to mention that they were probably already widely known due to the various social groupings from the ranks from which they rose. Also, novi homines reminded the community members emotionally what their location and community were all about. Rome was a place where the full range of nobility was realized: nobility could be earned as well as transferred.

Novus homo as a label is a cultural construct, and the NHET is an individual's rhetorical strategy. In practice the NHET relies on the Ciceronian ethos elements of *conciliare* and *dignitas*, as explained previously (Enos); to advance politically, the NHET practitioners had to secure goodwill and demonstrate a natural capacity for eloquence, moral prudence or sagacity with moral issues, and a willingness to act, which was a synthesis of passion, industry, and sense of duty (Enos). These elements work noticeably on emotional levels, in order to express to the public what the man can do. Cicero and Gaius Marius are the best known examples of Roman rhetors who used the NHET, and the intentional passion infused in the language of their speeches is evident and clearly used to form connections with the community members (Cicero's and Marius' speeches, where they individually refer to themselves as novi homines, are analyzed extensively in the following chapter). The theories of locality and community, as espoused in the Reinvigoration, are manifested as the basis of Cicero's and Marius's ethoi as they seek to utilize Cicero's own stated understanding of ethos, that "feelings are won over by a man's merits, achievements, or reputable life" (Bizzell and Herzberg 329).

Local Consolidation, Not Mainstream Political Issues

The closest present-day resemblance to ancient ethos and deliberation is found in local politics, not national/mainstream politics, which focuses on the public's reactions to national "mediated" political events. An antithesis to national, mediated ethos and deliberation, local political ethos and deliberation are closer conceptions to what the ancients envisioned. One example of local deliberation, the debate over consolidation in Northern Nevada, deals with what to do within the community and requires community-backing impetus—it exhibits the Reinvigorated sense of ethos.

Only recently has a sliver of work in the field of rhetoric begun to examine local political interaction in local governing and political assemblies, and this small body of scholarship points toward the necessity of the theories of the Reinvigoration, as practiced in classical deliberative assemblies. Samuel McCormick's 2011 "Neighbors and Citizens: Local Speakers in the Now of Their Recognizability" offers brief insight into some deliberative practices at local political assemblies. McCormick argues that personal public introduction sequences advance and "awaken" (441) participants from neighbors to citizens in the sphere of *ordinary democracy* (427). Borrowing *ordinary democracy* from Karen Tracy, McCormick says, "As a concept, ordinary democracy refers to 'what people actually say and do in representative, local governance groups,' specifically 'public meetings where officials listen, or at least act like they are listening, to citizens' (2007 8,6)" (427). McCormick notes that ordinary democracy is a valuable and underresearched nexus (425-27); he claims:

School board meetings, city council meetings, town hall meetings—the same meetings that Levine, Fung, and Gastil position "below the threshold

of proper deliberation"—all are sites of sociopolitical discourse, allowing informal social networks to intersect with and within formal political institutions, resulting in awkward and often stunning articulations of embodied social conventions and abstract political norms. (427)

In sites of ordinary democracy, argues McCormick, introduction sequences give local speakers public authority to act upon a "contraction of social and political identity" (428). The sense of authority rooted in the experiences of a local citizen and the notion of ordinary discussion is closer to what the classical theorists envisioned as deliberation than what takes place at the national level. J. Michael Hogan insists, in "Rhetorical Pedagogy and Democratic Citizenship: Reviving the Traditions of Civic Engagement and Public Deliberation," that current Americans have been reduced to spectators in terms of their roles in the political processes of the nation. He argues that although we "acknowledge forums and forms of public discourse," the current state of political participation is not what the ancients envisioned (83) due to the absence of public deliberation. He declares, "No longer are we a nation of citizens deliberating among ourselves, committed to discovering the common good through the process of collective deliberation" (80). He is speaking to deliberative practices in reaction to government at all levels. His charge is that in order for America to return to a deliberative society, educators must "teach young people about responsible public advocacy and democratic deliberation, with a renewed emphasis on character, civic virtue, and the larger 'public good'" and teach them how to participate in civic life (85).

Rhetorical-theory scholarship does not speak to the effect(s) of local deliberation, but rather to public reaction to national political events. The larger body of publications in rhetoric concerning political discourse focuses mainly on analyses of reactions to political events at the national level—such as campaign and presidential speeches, policy deliberations, senatorial speeches, famous national-impact rhetorical events, and the general public's reaction/reception to the aforementioned events—and these analyses are telling of current political processes that position the public as receivers to national epideictic rhetoric. Even while claiming to study deliberation at the local level, rhetorical theory has examined assemblies/gatherings of political nature mostly in terms of public response/reception to national events. Habermasian scholars have examined public spheres as public places for reactionary discourse. Rosa A. Eberly's *Citizen Critic* focuses on citizen interpretive acts in literary spheres; her other works argue for sustaining participatory democracy in academics, be it with classroom instruction that returns to a classic rhetoric curriculum based on participatory praxis or with spaces for public scholarship and deliberation. Jenny Edbauer's work reframes rhetorical "publicness" by focusing more on rhetorical ecologies than rhetorical situations, emphasizing history and interaction of place over artificial rhetorical frameworks. These theories focusing on public spheres examine gatherings in terms of rational persuasion in response to national issues, but they do not speak to the emotional effect of face-to-face deliberation. Their reactionary discourse reveals that our current rhetorical practices in political situations tend to be more national and *mediated*, meaning the process is filtered through mass media while disseminating *down* to the public. In this model, citizen audience members are passive consumers as differentiated from the persuaders who are national (political and celebrity-like) figures, which shifts the rhetoric from deliberative to epideictic.

The national and mediated discourse reveals how modern political ethos is less concerned with interaction with the public and more concerned with influencing perceptions. National political ethos is currently configured through an administrator's perceived persona, which is not how ethos originated or originally functioned. National political ethos has become more about expertise, credentials, and ideological alignment, lists that mediated entities can quantify and digest for the public; this iteration of ethos neglects place and habit, two concepts that were formerly base level to ethos and used in deliberation.³⁶ Hogan labels this phenomenon the "Dale Carnegie approach to public speaking" (84) and claims it is part of an educational movement that trains politicians to be ideologues (84). Hogan is of course referring to a Carnegie-based public-speaking curriculum, but it does shed some light on how national political figures' ethoi possibly have morphed into a-contextual products. Hogan says:

Upholding the molding of consumer preferences or the manipulation of public opinion as the measure of "success," the Dale Carnegie approach teaches public speaking not as a liberal art, but as a tool of professional advancement—a skill that one needs to "beat the competition." Needless to say, this view of public speaking encourages rather than checks some of

³⁶ Example: In the national-party conventions for the 2012 presidential election, both President Barack Obama and Republican candidate Mitt Romney listed accomplishments to demonstrate expertise and illustrate their resumes. In addition, both their wives gave speeches designed to show how human their husbands were and their everyday qualities. In Ann Romney's speech it was particularly obvious she was trying to relate her husband to the common man. During Michelle Obama's speech, the screen flashed to the President and his daughters sitting on a couch watching the speech on television just like all the other Americans watching the speech in their own homes. These examples indicate how distant national political figures are from local settings where their behavior would be recognized and also how they attempt to give impressions of their character to the voters. Rather than knowing them from their actions, voters know of national political figures based upon how the speakers present their own actions, giving the speakers more control in framing their actions for the voters.

the worst tendencies in our already degraded public discourse. It barely acknowledges the importance of personal character, much less some larger conception of "civic virtue" or the "common good." (84)

The Dale Carnegie approach transforms the speaker's ethos into a product to be branded, disregarding place and habit, distorting deliberation from a group process to a collection of individual moves of ideological alignment and persona brand extensions. Ethos is then a calculated reaction to public demand, far from its original connection to habitual character in a local place, the chief feature of the Reinvigoration.

Contrary to national political ethos and deliberation, regional consolidation of territory and/or services is local, directly involves the community, and requires a conception of ethos and deliberation model that more closely resembles what the ancient classical rhetoricians envisioned. Municipal and regional consolidation discourse relies upon actual local deliberation and draws upon ethoi situated in habit and community contexts. Consolidation issues are practical, local for constituents, and likely to be personally experienced by everyone within the region(s) in question. The issue of consolidation issues directly affect all area constituents because they involve services, procedures, taxes, funding, administrative arrangements, and district lines, just to name a few. The local councils that discuss consolidation are the most accessible form of governmental deliberation to citizens—citizens are more likely to interact with and influence local governing assemblies than governing assemblies at the state or national level. In addition to its nationally ubiquitous nature, consolidation is a quintessential,

ongoing, local, deliberative issue that intrinsically involves value and value systems, a core matter in deliberative rhetoric.

Consolidation stances need local impetus from local contexts for constituency support. In contrast to other national, more universal issues—same-sex marriage, health care, education, tax plans, and so forth—municipal consolidation projects are unique to every region. Federally administered blanket plans will not work for consolidation like they will for many other issues; population, city size, services, employees, funding, and geographically specific elements create a distinctly unique circumstance for every region. Local politicians have to construct the mergers, and these persuaders in the local governing assemblies must draw upon a reinvigorated ethos rooted in local contexts, unlike national political figures who deal with issues administratively without public participation. Local political persuaders have an ethos grounded in place; they are seen at grocery stores, the bank, school events, *in the community*. This sense of ethos—drawing from one's community dwelling place and the habits thereof—is an authentic conception of the Reinvigoration.

Northern Nevada consolidation discourse is one of the closest modern conceptions of governing via actual deliberative rhetoric, and the discourse illustrates the community components of the Reinvigoration because the issue deals with what to do within the community and requires community backing from the ground up for impetus. As stated in "Recent Northern Nevada Consolidation Activity & History Background" of the introduction, the three municipalities considering consolidation in Northern Nevada are Sparks, Reno, and Washoe County. And within the discourse are various ethos platforms, topoi, and techniques for the politicians as well as the municipalities as a whole. While universal ethos techniques are employed at any given time, Reno Mayor Bob Cashell unmistakably utilizes an adaptation of the NHET,³⁷ and he seems to do it successfully. Cashell's employment of the NHET can reveal how a modern practitioner uses the elements of the Reinvigoration and show in practice why those elements were essential and interconnected.

Methodology: Ethos Topoi as a Conceptual Apparatus

The most effective methodology to examine the consolidation issue(s) and the effects of Cashell's employment of the NHET is a rhetorical analysis that borrows from similar approaches designed to uncover inventional strategies. Examining ethos inventional strategies gets to the core of the relationships with the reinvigorated features within the discourse.³⁸

The consolidation issue(s) of Northern Nevada provide a prime ground for examining the moving parts of the Reinvigoration because they surface so easily in local discourse where the objective is to figure out what is best for the local community. Reno Mayor Bob Cashell's adaptation of the NHET, specifically, can show how the elements of the Reinvigoration are currently used and can speak back to how those elements were essentially interconnected. What remains unknown with Cashell's adaptation of the NHET are the specific details of how the elements of the Reinvigoration work together in application. This dissertation contributes to a further theoretical understanding of local

³⁷ Cashell knowingly emphasizes major themes from the NHET, but he does not claim to use an NHET by name or any other ancient ethos topos.

³⁸ Using perceived character, the Aristotelian version of ethos, will not provide as much explanatory power as the reinvigorated version when uncovering how a rhetor connects with the community and what the ramifications will be in the deliberation.

ethos by providing example illustrations to the reinvigoration and the NHET. The reinvigoration and the NHET have no modern cases that illustrate or advance the theories or address the following: What does the reinvigoration or NHET look like in modern contexts? What is the community's exact role as a shaper of a rhetor's ethos? And what makes the NHET so effective?

Research Questions

- How did Cashell build and utilize his adaptation of the NHET in the consolidation discourse? And what was the e/affect on deliberation?
- How does the new knowledge from this research elucidate the ancient NHET and the Reinvigoration?

The particular methodological approach to examine the consolidation discourse will be case-study/textual analyses that draws from the methodologies listed below. The point of the project is to seek to answer the research questions by conducting focused rhetorical analyses with the following consolidation-discourse texts:

- Articles and editorial responses in the *Reno Gazette-Journal*, the *Nevada Appeal*, and the *Sparks Tribune*;
- Letters written to and from the mayors and council members;
- Public documents from the websites of Northern Nevada municipalities;
- Consolidation reports submitted in adherence to Nevada State Legislature Assembly Bill 494;
- Books and articles written for or by local politicians that can speak to the research questions.

Prominent case-study/textual analyses and qualitative researchers influence my methodology. Thomas Huckin's "Context-Sensitive Text Analysis" procedure is similar to my research plan, although a situation will be analyzed, rather than a classroom, composing process, writer, or group of writers. Huckin's research procedure emphasizes context-specific inventional aspects, assumes dimensions of social epistemology, and seeks to reconstruct an argument from patterns drawn out from the analysis. Robert J. Connors' "Dreams and Play: Historical Method and Methodology" and Stephen M. North's chapter "The Historians" in his *The Making of Knowledge in Composition:* Portrait of an Emerging Field deal with ancient rhetoric texts—but in a sense of focusing attention only on the ancient archives. Both Connors and North have similar steps to Huckin's procedure. Connors, North, and Huckin all champion beginning with a problem, over theory-reliance, and identifying an appropriate corpus. The last phases of Connors and North's procedure are to create a new narrative and compare it to existing narratives, while Huckin's is to construct a *functional-rhetorical analysis* that seeks to explain the patterns revealed in the corpus. Huckin notes that during the exploration stage(s) the steps are recursive, due to the fact that the procedure is not so much a discovery as much as it is "a process of constructing an interpretation," and interpretation takes place throughout the procedure (90). Connors and North label the interpretation a *narrative*. Huckin mentions that it is acceptable to select the sources based on a hunch that they will be interesting (90).

Rosa A. Eberly's methodology is a much more appropriate approach to the research questions. In *Citizen Critic*, Eberly uses a topoi (inventional structures)³⁹ approach to examine the receptive and interpretative acts of citizens in response to four publications. The topoi Eberly studied were certain comments about banning books within literary groups or spheres. She claims that a topical method privileges function and invention, whereas a thematic or topic method would not. She says, "What I want to emphasize using the concept of topoi is that even within an enterprise that is critical or analytical, topoi allow the focus of the analysis to remain on rhetoric as an art concerned centrally with the production—invention and judgment—of discourse" (5). Eberly goes on to argue that "rhetorical topoi are bioregions of discourse" (6). A topoi approach to ethos construction will allow me to locate and interpret how persuaders situate themselves in local political discourse.

Alexis Ramsey et al.'s *Working in the Archives: Practical Research Methods for Rhetoric and Composition* is a recent edited collection that addresses archival research methods. Lynee Lewis Gaillet describes an archive as an irreplaceable collection that has some historic value (30); in other words, the artifacts can tell us something about rhetoric or composition. Glenn and Enoch note that "lower-case-a" archives can be smaller, more local repositories that "don't immediately promise insights into the practices or histories of our field" (17). In "Invigorating Historiographic Practices in Rhetoric and Composition Studies," Glenn and Enoch discuss the archival research of their own projects that looked to reframe historical events through the view of feminist theory that

³⁹ *Topoi* is a complex term coined by Aristotle in *Rhetoric*; Aristotle defines topoi as argument "places" and contrasts them with *idia*, which are specific topics (Kennedy 45-47 and 190-204).

served as the *theoretical grounding*. Glenn and Enoch's chapter is of particular importance to my project, though their methodology is a reversal of what I am doing. Glenn uses feminist theory as a *conceptual apparatus* to examine the ancient writings about Aspasia (22), thus reframing her subject. The conceptual apparatus for my project is built from the ancient writings regarding ethos and speeches from Cicero and Marius; stemming from the ancient writings, theories considered to be *classical* will be projected onto current discourse regarding consolidation in Northern Nevada. I am not reframing discourse from the past in light of current theory; I am framing current discourse in light of theory from the past. Other differences to my project are that my archives are digital and the discourse under examination is still ongoing, which may be part of its rhetorical significance.

Examining ethos topoi as conceptual apparatuses is the most appropriate approach to analyzing the consolidation discourse because the method gets to the core of the various ethos-inventional structures taking place within the discourse. An examination of ethos involves relationships of multiple rhetorical factors—such as the audience, the rhetor, the discussion topic, the physical setting, and the *kairos*, or situational timing—which account for and lead to deliberative practices. An ethos framework is ideal to analyze the rhetorical issues of local political assembly activity.

The remaining chapters and conclusion serve as an in-depth analysis of how Cashell built and utilized his adaptation of the NHET in the consolidation discourse, how the opposing parties competed with his effective ethos, and how the new knowledge from this research elucidates the ancient NHET and the recent Reinvigoration of ethos. The subsequent chapters uncover how the parties seek to frame themselves within the community and then draw from those frames during deliberation, as well as strengthen them. The Reinvigoration points to stronger connections to community members and community-values systems; these ethos theoretical components are evident in the Northern Nevada consolidation discourse, and they impact deliberation processes. Political persuaders in the current consolidation discourse of Northern Nevada utilize modified versions of classic ethos conceptions, none more impacting than Cashell's adaptation of the NHET.⁴⁰ But how the persuaders adapt the conceptions and how those conceptions affect deliberation are still in question.

Chapter Conclusions

By reinforcing that ethos was a social construction from its first inception, the recent Reinvigoration of ethos features the role of habituation in community settings and the involvement of the community. Ethos and deliberation were local and involved a negotiation with members of the community. Moreover, a rhetor characterized the values of the community while he developed his ethos. A rhetor's connectivity to a place was represented by what he did there habitually.

Rhetorical theorists from the Periclean era to Aristotle continued the thread of ethos' community and context dependence in their rhetorical theory, and ethos evolved in connection with local value systems. One's ethos in classical rhetorical theory always had a connection to local community life and the values that surfaced during repeated

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⁴⁰ Cashell's *success* is viewed more in terms of effectively impacting the ongoing debates, not in terms of getting the immediate agenda passed and implemented.

deliberation. A key theme soon became expressing community good while connecting with community members.

The Roman bureaucratic use of rhetoric emphasizes and delineates the parts of rhetoric—most notably, the purpose of ethos. Cicero's conception of ethos demonstrates key Reinvigoration themes: reputation that comes from habituation in a locality and community that comes from the negotiation that takes place with the audience through "securing goodwill." Securing goodwill was purposeful interaction initiated and carried out by the rhetor. The NHET secured goodwill with the community because it exposed clearly how a man dwelled; the community had direct knowledge of an NHET practitioner's sociopolitical track. An NHET practitioner is set up for a transparent relationship with the public.

The Northern Nevada consolidation issue is the ideal discourse to examine NHET interaction and will reveal the Reinvigoration element's interactivity, showing how locality and community shape a rhetor. Built into the situation is the requirement of the rhetor to demonstrate to the community that he/she is doing what is best for the community (aka securing goodwill). The most effective methodology to examine the consolidation issue(s) and the effects of Cashell's employment of the NHET is a rhetorical analysis composed of borrowings from Rosa A. Eberly's topoi approach, Thomas Huckin's "Context-Sensitive Text Analysis," and Cheryl Glenn's theoreticalgrounding/conceptual-apparatus model that she constructed to examine the ancient writings about Aspasia. Examining ethos topoi conceptions gets to the core of the relationships among the various ethos-inventional structures and the reinvigorated features within the discourse. The topoi approach will reveal the application method(s) of the NHET practitioners, showing how they negotiate locality and community.

The following chapter more closely examines the NHET used by Cicero and Marius and the ethos practices of Cashell while he is mayor of Reno. Although the NHET does reveal how one dwells in the community, the topos has more to do with industry and displays of community-good connections than simply ascending sociopolitically. The chapter shows how Cashell proves to the community that he dwells successfully as a deliverer of community good, further constructing the NHET as a manifestation of the Reinvigoration.

CHAPTER 2: RENO MAYOR BOB CASHELL'S NHET PRACTICE: BATTLEFIELD SUCCESS, INDUSTRY, AND IMPROVING THE COMMUNITY

Chapter Introduction

Reno Mayor Bob Cashell has enjoyed local and regional political influence due to his adaptation of the NHET, and his adaptation demonstrates how experience from battlefield success and industry are utilized and valued in local politics, as they were with Cicero and Marius. In the consolidation discourse, Cashell is the point man and loudest figure for pro-consolidation. In the community, he habitually dwells successfully as a proven problem solver, due to his currently unmatched accomplishments in area business endeavors and his philanthropic contributions to the community. Cashell frequently comments in the media about the need to consolidate, and when he does, his comments are similar to Cicero's and Marius', drawing from an established ethos that highlights past habitual successes and proven industry from a single-handed work ethic that brings good to the community. The data reveal, furthermore, that during the consolidation discourse Cashell uses the NHET to keep the discussion "on the table," maintaining deliberative space.

Argued in this chapter is how Cashell, a modern NHET practitioner, connects with the public by drawing upon his merits in the community. His actions emphasize locality, place, habit, and community—he visibly and consistently progresses places in the community. He provides an illustration of how a rhetor negotiates the Reinvigoration elements of locality and community: Cashell is known for improving places in the region.

Reno's Consolidation Point Man

Consolidation of area services is a serious and expensive matter in Northern Nevada, with plenty of formal research and independent studies going into it. The positions are clearly drawn, and Cashell has taken direct approaches to consolidate services in the region. From the very beginning, Cashell's position and intent are clear to the public and his opponents—others can clearly label him and his objectives.

In response to AB494 from the 2009 Nevada State Assembly, Reno and Washoe County submitted a joint report in August of 2010, as noted in the introduction, and the report was overwhelmingly in favor of seeking consolidation solutions. Similar to Sparks' report, Reno and Washoe County highlight services already consolidated and mention the 2008 establishment of the Shared Services Elected Officials Committee (SSEOC), which "meets monthly to analyze potential shared service projects" (Reno and Washoe County Report 2). Differing from the Sparks report, however, the Reno and Washoe County report demonstrates a willingness to further pursue consolidation exploration—holistically and categorically—and lists specific ways the state legislature can further assist consolidation efforts.⁴¹ Reno and Washoe County, showing an openness to the idea of consolidation, indicated in the Work Plan section of their report that an independent company, Matrix Consulting, would be conducting a review of

⁴¹ Reno and Washoe County's report used significantly less research than Sparks' report: whereas Sparks used the research to back their position—choosing to cite sources indicating no evidence supports the benefits of consolidation in general—Reno and Washoe County acknowledged there is no way to determine the results specific to the area, as they stated in the introduction, "At this time, we have not yet reached any conclusions on the costs associated with consolidating or sharing the services identified by this report, or the potential long-term savings that any such activity may be able to realize" (3).

consolidating the departments of purchasing, information technology, and human resources (24).

Reno Mayor Bob Cashell's personal involvement in the formulation of the report is unknown, but it can be assumed he played a role along with the Reno city council members. Mentioned in the opening cover letter from the city manager of Reno and the county manager of Washoe County is: "We are exceptionally proud of the collaborative effort between the elected officials and staff members of the City of Reno and Washoe County both in terms of the preparation of this report and also regarding the ongoing spirit of collaboration..." The report is aligned with Cashell's viewpoint of consolidation, as indicated in his personal comments in the local media outlets (see bottom section). Harry Spencer's May 25, 2009 opinion piece in the *Daily Sparks Tribune*, "Rewane: Consolidation of Local Services," adequately recaps previous events and positions Cashell's role in the issue as the front man for the push to consolidate:

> The announcement that Reno and Washoe County will actively engage in consolidation talks has come to the forefront due to economic conditions in Northern Nevada. Merging of the city and county has long been the dream of many politicians since it would obviously result in money savings if various jobs, which now duplicate one another, could be replaced by a single position. As for Sparks, city officials long ago decided that they love their autonomy. One only has to go back to the long-ago unsuccessful campaign to have the city of Sparks renamed East Reno to see this.

Point man for the city of Reno in consolidation talks will be Mayor Bob Cashell. During his two-and-a-half or so terms in office, Cashell has been highly successful in establishing new and more cordial relations with the Sparks mayors, the late Tony Armstrong and the current Geno Martini. Political pundits, however, see little hope of Sparks ever joining in the consolidation talks. Nonetheless, should the merger between the cities and county prove successful, there are certain countywide services that could enable the city of Sparks to participate in something that might help the currently strained Rail City budget.

Regarded as one of the most persuasive and effective politicians in the history of the Silver State, Cashell will have his work cut out for him in attempting to achieve a seamless joining of the city and county. (Spencer) At the time Spencer wrote the article, Reno and Washoe were considering consolidation of several services, but Sparks' position was to vehemently oppose it. Spencer's passage clearly pits Sparks against Reno Mayor Bob Cashell, who might be currently one of the biggest political personalities in Northern Nevada.

Dwelling as a Successful Problem Solver

The events and narratives from Cashell's life and earlier careers become part of his political ethos and indicate how he is known in the community. These lifelong themes illustrate his character and describe the way he consistently interacts with others. Cashell connects well with the community by working with others on projects in the region that benefit the region. Overcoming odds and including others are early themes in his life and thematic of a novus homo, as well as simply dwelling transparently. Cashell incorporates the full classical range of ethos descriptions and completely understands the value of ethos in rhetorical occasions.

Cashell's community philanthropy and accomplishments are foregrounded in his campaigns and cyclically contribute to his ethos as well as reveal what he values when portraying himself to the public. Specific information about Cashell, or just about any other Northern Nevada politician, is difficult to obtain simply because outside of newspaper articles, not much is available in print. Substantial information about Cashell comes from the Reno City website, his campaign website, and a few books, one of which is authored and copyrighted by Cashell. The Reno City website, www.reno.gov, contains a brief bio of Mayor Cashell. The non-exhaustive list of his recent professional positions includes being elected to the NSHE Board of Regents in 1979 and immediately elected chairman shortly thereafter, being elected lieutenant governor of Nevada in 1982, and serving as the chairman of the Nevada Commission on Economic Development and the Nevada Commission on Tourism. Currently, Mayor Cashell serves as the chairman of the board of Cashell Enterprises, a management company for hotels, casinos, and resorts. Under the "Appointments" subheading on www.reno.gov, the list reads:

> Bob has accepted a number of appointments and some of his involvements include White House Fellowship Commission (appointed by President Ronald Reagan), past Chairman National Lt. Governor's Conference, past Chairman Nevada Comprehensive Health Planning Board, past Chairman Nevada State Higher Education, past Chairman Reno/Tahoe Olympic

Organizing Committee for the Winter Olympic Games, past Chairman Nevada Museum of Art, Founder YMCA Youth Soccer, Reno.

The 2006 "Bob Cashell for Mayor" website, www.bobcashell.com,⁴² echoes similar sentiments but in greater detail, in an effort to re-elect him as Mayor of Reno. The site documents briefly his successes in business, highlighting his involvement with "Boomtown" as a major achievement, and notes his standing in the community concerning gaming-property management: "When gaming properties have management problems, they call upon Bob Cashell's management team for advice and counsel" (www.bobcashell.com). Under the "Community Leader" subheading, the site has a similar list of appointments as the city's website in addition to leadership involvement with a few new programs developed by his wife; at the bottom of the page is a lengthy list of area citizenship awards. The link "What Does He Stand For?" describes a few of Cashell's ongoing political initiatives in Reno and ends with him declaring Reno a "maturing city."

Cashell is labeled as a *fixer* based upon his area-business innovations and overall success. Dwayne Kling's *The Rise of the Biggest Little City: An Encyclopedic History of Reno Gaming, 1931-1981*, an encyclopedia about historic Reno-area casino happenings and the profiteers who shaped them, further details Mayor Cashell as a fixer in his business endeavors and a general philanthropist in the community. While noting his ongoing business activities, Kling declares, "During his long gaming career, Cashell has often been the man whom the gaming industry has called to fix its problems" (19),

⁴² The slogan at the top of Cashell's mayoral website reads "Proven leadership. Real accomplishments."

concurring with the website about Cashell's persona as a fixer. Cashell has been part of numerous casino and hotel projects mostly in northern Nevada, including the Alamo Truck Stop in Sparks. Specifically concerning Boomtown, Kling states it was Cashell who arranged the purchases of Bill and Effie's Cafe and Truck Stop in 1967 for roughly one million, became the major shareholder, transformed the property to what is now known as Boomtown via calculated expansive site developments, and later sold it in 1988 for fifty million. Kling notes of Cashell's unique business genius with the Boomtown project:

> In September 1972, Bob Cashell initiated one of his greatest marketing ploys. To publicize his truck stop and casino, he offered all truckers in the United States a free full-course barbecue buffet with steaks, ribs, and beans. The only thing the truckers had to do was stop in, pick up a plate, and get in line. This was something unheard of at the time, and it resulted in Boomtown becoming one of the most popular truck stops in the country. (15)

With innovation and unconventional strategy, Cashell put his business on the map and grew it from a truck stop to a hotel casino in competition with the larger established hotel casinos in the Reno-Sparks area. In 1989 Cashell tried to resurrect the once popular Horseshoe Club but closed it in 1995, blaming the deterioration of the surrounding area for the casino and the restaurant's lack of success (85-86). In addition to Cashell's business activities, Kling cites that due to his tenure on the NSHE Board of Regents and his financial assistance to many students, the field house at UNR was named in his honor; Cashell was also a lead factor in bringing youth soccer to Reno (19).

The best source for details about Mayor Cashell, however, comes from Mayor Cashell, and he provides insights to the kernels of the themes that would later become part of his political ethos. His autobiography, *Call Me Mayor, or Anything You Like: My Life as a Lone Star Son in the Silver State*, is an 838-page collection of personal experiences and candid stories about his time in the region of Northern Nevadan and the values he acquired along the way. He states the book is primarily written for his family. He documents family history, growing up in Texas, and the principles he learned from his father, as well as business endeavors, business relationships, and political interactions.

An early theme in Cashell's autobiography is his insistence on the value of a good reputation, mainly through honest dealings. In the introduction he states emphatically, "You want to have a good reputation in life period" (xii), and "Maintaining a clean, good reputation is paramount to success" (xiv). Roughly, he claims one's professional reputation originates from how others view one's business actions as well one's work ethic. Cashell generally attributes his work ethic to early lessons learned from his father; he recalls one interaction with him: "You *must* work for what you want. You can't watch the clock. My daddy drummed this into my head when I was old enough to start working part time as a teenager. 'Don't look at your watch,' he said. 'Don't even wear a watch, dammit. Get rid of it. Just work. Work until you're pooped'" (xvi). Cashell carried this mentality while he ran Boomtown, working long hours. Cashell's civic participation further adds to his maintenance of a solid reputation. He claims he would rather be known for making the community a better place "than to be thought of as a successful businessman" (435).

Cashell's memoir is filled with quotes and quips that not only label Cashell as a civic benefactor mindful of public image, but also feature him as a project leader, arranging and completing large projects from start to finish. Cashell claims he receives satisfaction in making projects and deals come together by overcoming the odds; he says, "I love working on deals; I don't care about the hours" (xvii). The arrangement of these deals requires vision and people skills—or cockeyed optimism and horse sense, as he calls them (xv-xviii). As mentioned previously, Boomtown was the single business venture that boosted him to the business elite of Northern Nevada, and Cashell speaks extensively of it in his book, putting his heart and soul into the enterprise that has become an area legend. Cashell's biggest political positions and moments are also documented in his book; most important are his current tenure as the mayor of Reno and the term he spent as lieutenant governor of Nevada from 1983 to 1987. While lieutenant governor in 1983, Cashell switched political parties, from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party, arguing that the Democrats had gone too far to the left (423). Cashell speaks of his interaction with the charismatic President Reagan who closed the deal for the party switch (423-27). That section of the book also includes Cashell's comments about the voting power of Nevadan moderates. Cashell's account of these events is corroborated in Michael Archer's book about William J. Raggio. Archer's book is not about Cashell, but it does include a few select snippets of Cashell that lend to his political/business savvy. In A Man of His Word: The Life and Times of Nevada's Senator William J. Raggio, Archer refers to Cashell's switching of political parties as largely due to the role of business in his sense of politics and a Democratic Party that was becoming increasingly

talking with President Reagan regarding his party switch and Cashell's keen insight into state politics, as noted by his statement about moderate Nevadans' voting tendencies in recent elections (325-326).

Cashell's perception of reputation undoubtedly frames him as an ongoing illustration of one who embodies the full range of classical rhetorical ethos versions. Reputation, civic duty, and public image were major, overlapping factors with the ancient rhetorical theorists' notions of ethos, and Cashell reaches them easily. Cashell's endless civic participation aligns him with the ethos descriptions of Isocrates and Quintilian, who firmly valued positive civic life and image as indispensable to a rhetor's ethos. Cashell has a solid Aristotelian ethos as well. Aristotle expands on ethos when he claims in Book Two of *Rhetoric*, "There are three reasons why speakers themselves are persuasive; for there are three things we trust other than logical demonstrations. These are practical wisdom [phronēsis] and virtue [aretē] and goodwill [eunoia]; for speakers make mistakes in what they say or advise through [failure to exhibit] either all or one of these" (Kennedy 120-21). Cashell's practical wisdom comes from a wealth of experiences, some of which were at a stage above the city level. His virtuous behavior comes from a reputation of fixing things to make them better, in terms of profitability. His goodwill is exhibited in a lengthy resume of civic participation that spans several decades. Mayor Bob Cashell is the manifestation of Aristotelian ethos in the context of Reno area politics/business. Cashell seems to understand Aristotle's declaration that character is a controlling factor in rhetoric (Kennedy 38) when he states that reputation is essential to success.

An obvious contributor to Cashell's authority is his list of accomplishments, which in terms of basic ethos theory is more Ciceronian than ancient Greek. Cashell's accomplishments sparkle all the more when compared to those of other local politicians in Northern Nevada who do not have a similarly dense resume. His political standing in the county is tough—if not impossible—to match⁴³ because he is a mid-level, regional politician currently functioning in local-level politics from an ethos of an experienced achiever backed with area recognition from his civic contributions. In short, Cashell is currently the biggest political personality in Northern Nevada. Other city-level politicians might consider themselves "city leaders," but Cashell is definitely a politician with a plethora of political experiences and a notable regional political persona.⁴⁴ It is accurate to call him a "successful regional politician." In terms of sheer ethos, Mayor Cashell habitually dwells successfully.

Novus Homo Ethos Topos: An Ethos of Industry and Community Good

Cicero and Marius use the NHET to call out their adversaries, differing somewhat from Cashell's use of it. The NHET separates them from their adversaries and showcases their qualities in comparison, mainly by emphasizing their backgrounds. The ancient novi homines literally ask to be compared to their opponents because they know they will be favored, indicating that they know their opponents as well as how both they and their opponents will be received by the audience. Cashell embraces a role (and title) that provides community benefits—he fixes places—and the role serves perfectly to separate him from political opponents and to continually secure goodwill with the public.

 ⁴³ Erik Holland was Cashell's opponent in the 2006 Reno mayoral election. Holland said the following about the race a week before the election: "I'm going to get my butt kicked royally" (Voyles).
 ⁴⁴ In addition to his notoriety and resume is the simple fact that he has been in business and politics for longer than several of his colleagues have been alive.

While Cashell has an unbeatable Aristotelian ethos—his perceived character does more for him than the perceived character of any other local politician in Northern Nevada—his use of the NHET is the technique that dominates his participation in the consolidation discourse. As noted in Chapter 1, the novus homo label was a sociopolitical and cultural term for an up-and-coming political agent who used his habituation to "secure goodwill" with the community, exhibiting the Reinvigoration theories. A novus homo was known in the community for ascending the political ranks and migrating up the social hierarchy. With that knowledge, the concept of a novus homo can be viewed a few ways: it can be a bolster to the individual as a prevailing accomplisher, an obstacle overcomer, a true "pure" talent, and a creator of new things. If anything, the novus homo is a rhetor as an individual, fresh to the scene compared to others, who gets done what others cannot. Cashell clearly exemplifies those qualities in a modern, local context. In application, however, so much more can be said of the ancient topos, and a further examination of how Cicero and Gaius Marius methodically used the NHET is telling of how they brought to life the Reinvigorated elements. Roman examples of the NHET in practice are hard to find; Romans spoke of others as novi homines fairly often, but utilizing the term novus homo in self-reference is much rarer. The speeches from Cicero and Marius zero in on the technicalities of an NHET practitioner and illustrate how the topos was used in ancient Rome.

The extant speeches from Cicero and Marius reveal that ancient practitioners of the NHET rose on their own merits of visible, proven industry from a singlehanded work ethic that brings good to the community. The most frequently cited novus homo is the Roman general Gaius Marius, probably because his transition range was the most extreme and his brilliant military achievements were easily evident. Truman claims Marius "is portrayed as one who, having been born into the meanest possible circumstances, nevertheless because of his devotion to the Republic and his feats of war on its behalf was chosen Consul of Rome no less than seven times" (64). Marius' novus homo speech comes from Sallust's⁴⁵ account of the war against Jugurtha. The purpose of Marius' speech is to enroll more Romans to fight in Numidia, Africa. In the speech Marius uses his novus homo label to deliberately draw attention to his accomplishments that have benefited the community. Marius refers to himself as a new man (literally using the term novus homo), who has earned his new lot through service to the community and battlefield successes; he calls these acts "manly deeds" and claims that because of those manly deeds he has the right to speak and be heard over others who have been given nobility through family lines (Comber and Balmaceda 149). Marius begins his speech by saying, "The good and just favour [sic] me because my services benefit the state" (147), but he soon focuses on comparing himself to certain nobles, whom Marius contrasts as the ignorant spoiled sons of other novi homines. He says, "What they have learned in books I have learned in the field of battle" (149). The contrast highlights their life of privilege but even more his life of toil and physical accomplishments. He declares:

> I cannot, to inspire confidence, display the portraits, triumphs or consulships of my ancestors, but, if the occasion demands, I can show spears, a banner, trappings, and other military honours, not to mention

⁴⁵ Sallust was a Roman historian, general, and politician in the first century BC.

scars on the front of my body. These are my family portraits, these are my nobility, not bequeathed to me in an inheritance, as theirs were to them,

but won by dint of countless toils and perils on my part. (151)

Marius is arguing his battlefield successes and experiences are worth more than family ties to nobility. He later reveals where he received his work ethic from and that the fame from his battle victories is worth more than objects of wealth. He says, "For I have learned from my father and other upright men that elegance suits a woman, toil a man, that every good man should have more glory than money, and that the only real ornaments are weapons, not furnishings" (151). This statement delineates him again from the idler nobles-through-birth, and it shows where he received his direction and that the process of becoming noble is the worthiest. In a matter of speaking, Marius is saying, "I am famous due to what I have been through and accomplished." What stands out in the speech is how direct Marius is to clearly foreground his attributes to his audience; Marius overkills the battlefield experiences and virtues that came from his industry. In addition, his accomplishments supposedly reveal his manliness—over his adversaries'— and emphasize his beneficial service to the community.

Second to Marius is Cicero, who was recognized as a genuine novus homo and is a source from whom much is learned about the concept. Cicero spoke of the topic a few times in court speeches; his tone to his adversaries is as gruff as Marius'. The true might of Cicero's novus homo ethos is best seen in his speeches during the Verres trial, as he seeks acceptance with the nobles and equites class simultaneously. May argues Cicero was working from the awkward position of a newer novus homo during the trial, based upon Cicero's undelivered, post-trial notes. Here Cicero mentions how hard it was to join them and win them over. Cicero wrote:

I have not the same privileges as men of noble birth, who while sleeping still see the honors of our people laid at their feet; in this state I must live under far different conditions and according to a very different law. . . . We see with what jealousy, with what hatred, the virtue and industry of "new men" are regarded by certain nobles; that we have only to close our eyes for a moment to find ourselves caught in some trap; that if we leave them the smallest opening for any suspicion or charge, we suffer the wound immediately; we see that we must never relax our vigilance, that we must always labor. . . . There is hardly anyone of the nobles who looks kindly on our industry; by no services that we render them can we capture their goodwill; they withhold from us their interest and sympathy as completely as if we and they were different breeds of men. (*In Ver*. 2.5.180-82) (May 41)

Cicero's theatrical claims not only served a purpose in court—to reveal Verres' villainy and galvanize the equestrian class—but also revealed the difficulties associated with rising as a novus homo against the current of nobility.⁴⁶ Cicero draws attention to the

⁴⁶ A few times in *In Verrine Orations* Cicero highlighted Verres' disdain for the novi homines. Cicero did this not only to distance himself from the accused, but also to indicate how Verres was a super breed of criminal who was protected by wealth. Like Cicero, Verres was a novus homo but instead chose an identity with the nobility over his new-man status. Novi homines were praised by the people, and by claiming that Verres hated novi homines, Cicero illustrated how Verres was especially evil in the public eye.

labor and industry one must perform versus the easier route of nobility through birth,⁴⁷ as did Marius in his speech. Butler claims Cicero was siding with the equestrian order, some of whom were quite rich, because they were heavily involved in the investigation and part of his political powerbase (80). Butler also notices that in *In Verrines* Cicero switches between the equistes and senators with the use of "we." Butler attributes the choice to "the genuine ambivalence and divided loyalties of a novus homo"; Anthony Everitt calls it a "dual nationality," (21) and Marcia Kmetz labels it a "dual identity" (38). From these two vantage points, Cicero could play any role necessary as well as speak with more persuasion to each group by identifying himself as one of them. He was a natural-born equestrian from Arpinum—his family operated a clothes-cleaning business, had several acres of prime real estate, and owned plenty of domestic slaves who ran the business—and he was in the senate, wearing the *latus clavus*, the purple stripe on his tunic that set him apart from others (Butler 80-81).

From Marius' and Cicero's employment and commentary of novus homo, one thing is certain: proof of virtue came through industry. Robert A Kaster, in *Cicero: Speech on Behalf of Publius Sestius*, claims that for a new man like Cicero, it was an article of faith that his upward mobility was proof of personal manliness and a capacity for 'voracious activity' (*industria*) that benefited the community'' (379). Novi homines were valued because they produced results, accomplishments that contributed to the public good (Truman 63-64). In addition, these men were self-made, relying very little

⁴⁷ Cicero would again draw a comparison between men of noble birth and novi homines while defending Publius Sestius. Cicero claims novi homines can achieve notability and success through "manly talent" (Kaster 101).

on others, instead building from their virtues to generate noticeable industry in the community for the common good.

Cashell's modern version of the NHET heavily draws from accomplishments and action, which is the *diligentia* third of Enos' Ciceronian ethos theory: the passion for industry and the willingness to act. Less like Marius and more like Cicero, Cashell did not begin from poverty. According to his autobiography, he came from a middle-class family. He arrived in Reno in 1964 as a salesman for the Humble Oil and Refinery Company of Houston, which would later become Exxon. Cashell's big step to the upper echelon of the Northern Nevada wealth crowd came when he built up and eventually sold Boomtown. He was known by many while he owned and operated Boomtown, but the headlined sale of the casino for fifty million gave him more local distinction among Washoe County citizens and more state prominence as a big-time businessman. Cashell's manly deeds and proof of virtue arise from his fixer persona, as he sought to fix places and then community problems. In Chapter 17 of his autobiography, appropriately titled "Mr. Fixit," Cashell embraces the fixer persona; he also claims he receives satisfaction in fixing things (xvii). Cashell is simply driven by a straightforward sense of believing all things are possible when using his formula. Cashell wins others not only by creating, fixing, and completing projects, but also by viewing and speaking of politics in practical business-like terms. Cashell also was familiar with unique events as a politician; similar to Marius and Cicero it demonstrated he was different from other politicians. While lieutenant governor he did two things that probably have not been done in the history of U.S. politics: he switched parties and attempted to eliminate his

own position. As Cashell states, "I believe I was the highest elected official in the country who'd ever changed parties mid-term" (425).

Expertise from Battle

In confirmation with the above sources on Cashell's political ethos, the regional news articles showcase him as a practitioner of an adapted version of the NHET. Cashell's use of the NHET demonstrates that 1) personal generative industry is valued in local politics and demonstrative of one's consistency as referenced to past successful experiences; and 2) expertise has a place in local politics: proven, battlefield-tested experiences can be used to position the rhetor as a knowledgeable figure to inform others.

While the sources for the data on Sparks' ethos development in the consolidation discourse are few, mainly coming from their AB494 report and Resolution No. 2776, the sources to analyze Cashell's ethos come from a variety of places and are pieced together over his time as Reno's mayor. Cashell's ethos in the consolidation debate is revealed in news articles and governmental memos. The articles derive from the *Reno Gazette-Journal*, the *Sparks Tribune*, the *Nevada Appeal*, the *Reno News & Review*, and a few local-news-channel reports published for their websites. Excluding the *Reno News & Review*, the newspaper articles often briefly summarize the speakers' stance and add a pithy statement or two. However brief these sections, they still offer better glimpses of individual ethos in the consolidation issue than the AB494 reports.

The data reveal several details about Cashell's use of ethos to set himself apart from other area local politicians. Paramount is his tendency to work from an established ethos, meaning he operates *from* his ethos while his colleagues and adversaries are still in a constant developmental stage. The others are using ethos-development inventional structures, while he draws from what has already worked for him, extending his ethos as that of a fixer of places in the community. By making moves from his ethos, Cashell can better focus his efforts on functioning within the issue. Due to his having an already cemented ethos, his statements and actions in the consolidation issue will not drastically change his ethos, meaning his overall ethos and political career are not dependent on his current behavior. This phenomenon could come from his established ethos from his already successful regional political and business habits. He is a local politician with state-level experience and influence. He also works from a dual ethos of businessman and politician (nothing new for Nevada politics but still advantageous). Lastly, he has a regional celebrity-like status: Cashell has a biography and a somewhat substantial Wikipedia entry under his name; no other local Northern Nevada politician has either. From a well-established ethos, he can be more casual in responses (as indicated in the data), further proving his image is not subject to each speaking opportunity. For his colleagues and adversaries, their agency comes through invention (Holiday), requiring more audience considerations. Cashell's agency comes from a longer-standing reputation, requiring little audience consideration because there is less at stake in terms of the impact on ethos from each single rhetorical act.

The data specifically detail that Cashell draws from past experiences (battlefield successes) in his commentary about consolidation. Comments drawn from his experiences position him as a knowledgeable figure within the issues and one with prior successes, and they enable him to explain the situation to the public. Cashell does mention his successes from Boomtown, but more often than not he uses his experience to

warn others, to summarize the state of the talks, to make general (and often times humorous) comments about the current negotiation process, and to call out stupidity (as he sees it), further positioning him as a single voice of knowledge in the situation. Cashell's warnings are done in an effort to accelerate the process. He often warns other participants to push them to act. In the spring and summer of 2009, according to Susan Voyles' Reno Gazette-Journal articles, during the consolidation discourse Cashell warned the other parties that the Nevada state legislature could act, taking "the matter out of local officials' hands" if decisions are not made soon ("Talks Under Way"). These warnings illustrate Cashell's regional connections and experience in that he seems to know and convey to others how the situation will unfold. He also uses his experience to make statements summarizing the deliberative scene, almost reporting the events for the reporters. This tactic not only takes an interpretive license but also allows him to add his colorful personality to the framing of the discourse. Notable summative commentary includes "the foot-dragging bothers me a bit" (Voyles "Reno Council") and "I'm tired of creating governments, extra layers of government" (Myers "Flood Plan"). Other local politicians might take a less casual approach and probably would not highlight as much how the events affect themselves. The notion that Cashell emphasizes his personal feelings indicates how much he values his own reactions as an expert in the talks. As well as summarizing the consolidation discourse, Cashell often remarks on the general process of negotiation. In February of 2006, Cashell said, "We are working on better planning because you can't plan with the word 'no" (Dela Vega). Lastly, Cashell uses his experience to blatantly object to the statements and actions of others, no matter the other person's political, indicating he is not a knee-jerk consolidation advocate and

recognizes blanket policies cannot always be made in consolidation considerations. An extreme case is when Cashell commented on Rory Reid's proposed plan to combine the state departments of the Commission on Economic Development and the Department of Business and Industry under the governor's authority. In Ray Hagar's "Reid Says Tourism Responsibilities Should Return to the Governor's Office," Cashell states, "To put those offices under the governor would be asinine," and "The governor doesn't have time to supervise them. That would be one of the worst things he (Reid) can do. To combine those and have the governor run it, all you are doing is making a scrambled-egg mess." This comment indicates Cashell does not stand by his consolidation advocacy as a controlling influence shaping his identity and that his time spent at the state level factors into his present decision-making process.

"Sitting Down Together" for the Good of the Community: Maintaining Deliberative Space

Cashell's fixer background surfaces in his calls for deliberation. As well, with his persistent declarations to "sit down together," he shows that his deliberative process is inclusive and transparent. He understands that the deliberation would yield what is best for the community.

Reno Mayor Bob Cashell uses his nuanced NHET in the consolidation issue of Northern Nevada to maintain deliberation, despite the efforts of others to remove the "space." Diametrically opposing Cashell are the city-council members of Sparks, who have focused their efforts on ending consolidation deliberation (see Chapter 3). Cashell keeps the issue "on the table" by clutching to his novus homo ideals of his belief in himself that all things are possible—and even more, his belief that his personal process can accomplish the unachievable if only he could set it in motion—and his track record of proven industry and goodwill. Cashell's personal process hinges upon getting everyone to "sit down together," with the belief that a plan will arise from the process. The orchestration of getting everyone to sit down together further showcases his fixer ethos. The fixer ethos lends to his industry. With cleaning up and fixing situations, Cashell often mentions a harmony-like concept of everyone sitting down together. This concept of bringing everyone together was a major focal point in Cashell's 2002 mayoral campaign. Susan Skorupa writes:

> Getting Reno and Washoe County officials working together and broadening economic diversification efforts are the top two issues facing the community, [Cashell] said. "I personally think it's a shame that the city and county are feuding like this," Cashell said. "If I were elected mayor, I'd get everyone to sit down and start doing what's best for this community."

This comment implies that he can encourage others to physically come together, to sit down with a purpose of coming to a decision via deliberation, and that the process will yield what is best for the community. In orchestrating a sit-down, Cashell would be generating action and taking steps toward doing what others have not been able to do, more evidence of his novus homo ethos. University of Nevada, Reno political science professor Eric Herzik concurs; after mentioning that Cashell's name recognition is higher than that of U.S. House candidates at the time, Dr. Herzik claims, "Cashell's good at what he does. He brings everyone to the table" (Voyles "Mayoral Candidates"). Cashell's staunch confidence in his personal-process ability stems from his successes as a fixer in the business sector. He firmly believes he can work out a plan if given the opportunity. In "Reno Council Looking at All Options," Teri Russell of KOLO 8 News comments on how Cashell and team approach the budget issues with the police and fire departments. Russell quotes Cashell: "We will work something out. We aren't going to leave them uncovered, and we are going to look at the fire situation. Like I say, maybe it would be partially manned, maybe it will be partially manned with REMSA. Cashell was referencing the Sierra Canyon fire station and the pending city-county deconsolidation issue with the fire department. What stands out is Cashell's insistence that a plan can be reached, even if it involves unconventional strategy.

The topos of everyone sitting down together implies a sense of unity despite differences, which promotes goodwill and positions Cashell morally on the side of the good. Those opposing the sit-down automatically position themselves in negative light and must now justify why they wish not to "sit down at the table" with other area negotiators. Objectors impede progress and hinder the process; they stand in the way of a system promoting unity and harmony; they appear unwilling to join in group efforts to accomplish a goal. Furthermore, the deliberation that would ostensibly take place during a sit-down is seen as reasonably part of a democratic tradition that is fundamentally American. The idea is that something good will be accomplished by everyone's effort to come together. If anything, Cashell's sit-down topos divides the negotiators into two camps: those who will sit down and those who will not. And what can be said about someone who will not even sit down with others? Cashell continually advances himself on the morally good side of the negotiations. Amid the thick of consolidation efforts in August 2008, a year before the Nevada state legislators handed down AB494, Cashell overplayed an apology to the Sparks city-council members in an effort to create goodwill. He showed up at a Sparks city-council meeting and spoke candidly about what he labeled as rumors that he was trying to undermine Sparks. David Jacobs captured the unique event:

Mayor Bob Cashell wants to get something off his chest. Reno, he says, is not trying to hurt its eastern neighbor. "I've heard this for a long time … that the City of Reno has undermined the City of Sparks with Cabela's and the baseball team,"⁴⁸ Cashell said while visiting with Sparks City Council members earlier this week. Cashell said that the current "rumor" is that he undermined Sparks' effort to land a Triple-A professional team that's headed to Reno. When both the Cabela's sporting goods and pro-baseball opportunities surfaced for Reno, Cashell said he was in contact with then-Sparks mayor Tony Armstrong and current mayor Geno Martini. "I just want to clear up the rumor," Cashell said. "I haven't or nobody else has ever done anything to undermine the city of Sparks." Cashell told Sparks' leaders that "if somebody (in Reno) is doing it, I expect a phone call from you and tell me what's happening." (Jacobs)

Cashell finished the unorthodox speaking occasion with "Thank you for letting me get that off my chest." The event publicly showed Cashell as a team player who expects

⁴⁸ For a politician, this is an unorthodox way of addressing a concern. Cashell could have put a comment on the website or addressed it at the next joint meeting.

others to demonstrate the same open goodwill that he extends.⁴⁹ The occasion was seemingly meant by Cashell to position himself as one who shows up at the table, willing to work with others. Included in his expectations is the idea that in working together the two neighboring municipalities should communicate well and look out for each other's general welfare.

Chapter Conclusions

Cashell represents pro-consolidation in Northern Nevada, a side willing to collaborate. His comments about reputation indicate that he understands the importance of how others view him, recognizing the role of audience in rhetorical situations. Cashell is an achiever, a fixer, and a competitor. The community gains something new when he gets involved, even if that means a new area business, such as a casino. Community members benefit too from his philanthropy. Cashell can tangibly show the community goodwill he has created and the places he has improved. The community has learned to expect industry from Cashell, and Cashell has formed the habit of delivering.

The key to the ancient NHET is evident industry from merits accomplished in the community. Community merits are clearly used to show value over others and to connect to community members by listing what has been accomplished. The merits are also

⁴⁹ Though unorthodox and sometimes even awkward, Cashell goes to the extreme to demonstrate a collaborative spirit. He expects a similar process from other decision makers. Cashell's operating habits and behavioral expectations are exposed; his comments are consistent with his past successes and industry, and they reinforce to the public how he views political process. Operationally, he has a habit of clarity in how he relates to others. He is unaffected by the medium of communication, even if it is an unconventional speech at an opposing city's council meeting. If they didn't before, the community members can now definitely expect clarity from Cashell in all communication media.

reminders about the work ethic necessary to achieve them—Marius labels the merits "manly deeds," and they indicate what the community can expect to receive.

Battlefield success is a trump card and a further method for separation from colleagues/opponents. The self-references to former successes are links to the past that are designed to establish a know-how in the issue. The know-how attribute allows the rhetor to easily gravitate toward the role of an informant to the public. Cashell's more colorful remarks only serve to enhance the relationship he has with the public because the comments show how comfortable and transparent he is.

Cashell's everyone-sitting-down-together topos promotes him as a seeker of goodwill and a visionary in the area. Deliberation, purportedly, should yield what is best for the community, and Cashell knows it, arguing that anything and everything can get worked out in a deliberative process—deliberation is the first step to fixing the problem, in his view. The deliberation process keeps open the space to discuss the issue, which another entity, Sparks, wishes to restrict. The following chapter explores why and how Sparks limits the space to talk about consolidation and argues that Sparks leaders must employ similar methods as Cashell (and in similar amounts) to match the influence and productivity of his NHET.

CHAPTER 3: CONTESTING CASHELL'S IMAGINED COMMUNITY: SPARKS RE-ENVISIONS PLACE AND COMMUNITY TO REVISE ITS ETHOS

Chapter Introduction

Cashell's use of the NHET showcased his industriousness and past achievements. But, as this chapter argues, Cashell's NHET practices also influenced his opponents to take equally drastic action. Acting as a synoikistes, Cashell called everyone to look ahead to his utopian *imagined community* in a projected merger, similar to what has been taking place for centuries. In contrast to Cashell, Sparks called for its residents remember the foundational features that make their city unique. Sparks, using as many appeals to industry and locality as Cashell, revised its ethos during the consolidation discussions with their consolidation report and Resolution No. 2776, two momentous documents that jelled their leadership and community. They used the documents as anchors in their staunch position against Cashell's pressure to consolidate and to revitalize their ethos as a quintessential Nevada city cognizant of protecting traditions, achievements, and elite public services. Concerning deliberation, Sparks' revamped ethos had the opposite effect as Cashell's NHET and is most clearly realized in terms of the Athenian agora. Sparks council members acted more as agents than deliberators and altered the political environment of the region and within their own city by reducing the space to deliberate about the consolidation.

In addition to demonstrating how much of an impact one person can make using the NHET, this chapter makes an argument for how significant place and community can be when a local politician uses the NHET. In their revision to their group ethos, Sparks leaders, just as Cashell did, emphasized (actually, re-envisioned) place and community to combat the pressure to consolidate.

Sparks' Ethos before the Recent Regional Consolidation Efforts

Communities have group identities, and therefore, as ethos scholars argue, communities or groups of people can also have a collective ethos. Michael S. Halloran suggests ethos can be applied to groups. Halloran claims, "The word ethos has both an individual and collective meaning. It makes sense to speak of the ethos of this or that person, but it equally makes good sense to speak of the ethos of a particular type of person, of a professional group, or a culture, or an era in history" (62). Prior to Cashell's push to consolidate the region, the collective ethos of Sparks as a city governing unit was more strongly tied to the City of Reno, which is more than twice the size of Sparks in terms of population and geographic area, and indicative of the historical political nature of Northern Nevada. Sparks shares its western border with Reno, along with the Truckee River, which cuts through both cities, taking water from Lake Tahoe to Pyramid Lake. Reno is the larger municipality and carries more national notoriety; Reno contains the state's largest public university; is closer to Lake Tahoe, allowing it to better associate and benefit financially from the events of the lake area; and takes advantage of a smaller-Las Vegas reputation in terms of being a vacation destination. Sparks and Reno are the only two incorporated cities in the county. Washoe County is also a municipality and serves the inhabitants not within the Sparks or Reno city limits. Sparks prides itself on providing services for its constituents and business opportunities for those wishing to contribute to its commerce, dovetailing appropriately with the conservative politics

historically associated with Nevada. Unlike Reno, Sparks has little to no smaller-Vegas notoriety and fewer associative connections with Lake Tahoe—Sparks is the archetypal, Nevada conservative city, more than Las Vegas, Reno, Henderson, or Carson City.

Synoecism: Creating Something New from Existing Parts

A synoecism is a historical process of calling everyone together in a diplomatic and transparent fashion. Synoecism theory offers a lens for analyzing what is taking place in the consolidation discourse of Northern Nevada. The role of the *synoikistes*, the one who receives the credit for orchestrating the synoecism, is fitting for an NHET practitioner, as he will provide something new that benefits the community. The synoikistes is tasked with getting everyone to look ahead. The central entity grows from the incoming gains, while the smaller entities lose autonomy while merging. Without using the language of synoecism theory, Sparks appears to clearly understand the ramifications inherent in a synoecism.

Municipal consolidations have been taking place for at least a few millennia, and the issues that rose during the mergers were not unlike the issues Northern Nevada faced. The ancient Greeks had several terms for the merging of people. The ancient concept of synoecism was when villages morphed; synoecism has multiple meanings, spellings, and varieties. Anthony Snodgrass claims that the term synoecism "is an irritatingly ambiguous one in Greek usage" (34). Details of the ancient Greek synoecisms come from the writings of Plutarch and Thucydides, which historians regard as accurate. Political synoecism refers to the reformation of the state (fitting with the modern term *incorporation*), while physical synoecism refers to migration to form cities. Essentially, synoecism equated to reforming a city, either physically, politically, or both. Snodgrass adds that "political unification" was crucial and evident in all synoecism activity (34). Nancy H. Demand, in *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation*, claims:

> When more than one settlement moved together, ancient writers often used the term *synoikism* (although Diodorus uses *metoikesis* for the synoikism of Ialysus, Lindus, and Camirus that formed Rhodes). Synoikism, however, was also used simply as a synonym for *oikizein*, to denote a polis founded by colonization, as well as for a purely political "living together," as in the famous case of the synoikism of Athens. (9)

According to Valerij Goušchin, synoecism also can mean "the building of the city's walls" (173). Synoecism did bring together various people groups and promoted a "flourishing of intellectual life" (Demand 3), and famines and droughts definitely drove small villagers into the cities, but the main purpose of the physical synoecism was for protection against warfare. Demand argues that the movement occurs simply for protective purposes:

...Greeks moved cities not for any of the assumed reasons but only in the face of an overwhelming external threat to their continued existence as autonomous entities. ...such moves usually took the form of physical escape to a distant site; later... most cities abandoned the escape relocation and resorted to moving together (synoikism) to form a large and powerful city that could resist the threat. (7-8)

Notable Greek synoecisms include the cities of Rhodes, Syracuse, and Athens. James Fredal argues that politics played a significant role in the original synoecism of Athens, and prior to the time of Solon, "individual settlements had their own local governing bodies and did not consider themselves to be part of a larger political unit" (36); the smaller settlements were known as *demes*. Simon Hornblower notes that Attica had 139 demes in the middle of the fifth century B.C. (1). At that time, Attica was more of a "loose federation of small communities than a polis" (Fredal 37).

King Theseus is the most famous early synoikistes. A synoikistes could transcend to godhood for the accomplishment, as monuments would be built and dedicated in the consolidated city in his honor. Thesus is hailed as creating the first synoecism of record, although Snodgrass recognizes that both Thucydides and Livy, ancient historians, mention synoecisms sometime around the eighth and ninth centuries BC that designated Athens as a political center for the Attic region (34). A few regard Theseus as mythical because he is tied to several Greek mythological stories including Hercules; Steven Diamant in "Theseus and the Unification of Attica," argues there is no substantial evidence to treat Theseus as a true historical figure at a definite time period. Theseus surfaced ceremonially during the reign of a genuine historical figure and another synoikistes, Pericles. During what Goušchin argues was an ongoing Athenian synoecism—roughly the time of Xerxes' invasion through the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians celebrated Theseus as a legendary synoikistes godlike figure as they reclaimed and rebuilt Athens. Athens, as it turns out, initially could not sustain the new refugees during the wars with the Persians and had to evacuate immigrants before returning to

Athens to rebuild and fortify the city prior to the war with Sparta. Goušchin claims the victories were accredited to honoring Theseus (173). Fredal explains Theseus' impact:

The Athenians themselves later came to believe that it was the legendary founder Theseus who united the villages of Attica around the Athenian Acropolis in what was called *sunoikismos*—or synoecism—when he called all men together "on equal terms" and for united defense into a common area—the agora—with the herald's proclamation, "Come hither, all ye people" (Plutarch *Theseus* 25.1). This synoecism was thought to have been the origin of the Synoikia, or Feast of Union. Theseus allegedly built one town hall (*prytaneion*: the meeting and dining hall of the tribe, or prytany, that ruled the city for a time) and council house (*bouleutērion*) to replace the village structures, instituted a Panathenaic festival, and called the city *Athens* after its patron goddess. (36-37)

Theseus allegedly called everyone to the common space and formed a new governing power with new spaces dedicated to political activities. Fredal argues Theseus was probably a mythical character. Historian J. E. Skydsgaard, however, considers him a polis creator, saying, "Theseus abolished the separate councils and governments of the cities and created one *polis* with one bouleterion and one prytaneion. The synoecism was, accordingly, a political act and not a physical one…" (229). In order to be unified under a single governing entity, the other smaller political entities had to be eliminated, but out of the eliminations came something greater in the eyes of Theseus, a polis.

The single governing body and the space delineated for deliberative assemblies is an illustration of what a polis can do, but it is not what defines a polis, at least according to Thucydides and Aristotle. While Demand claims "there was no general consensus on the criteria of a polis even in antiquity" (7) and some historians argue a polis is not even bound to a place. Thucydides and Aristotle declare a polis to be an unbound group of citizens meshed together: Aristotle in *Politics* says a polis is "composed of several villages" existing for the purpose of living well (9), and Demand writes, "When Thucydides describes the departure of the defeated Athenian army from Syracuse as a polis in flight, he implies that, as a community of citizens, a polis was moveable" (7). Athens again underwent a process of synoecism when Pericles in 431 B.C. convinced the countryside inhabitants, via two persuasive speeches, to relocate to Athens in anticipation of the Peloponnesian War (Goušchin). At that time two-thirds of the population of Attica lived in the countryside (Goušchin 178), and Pericles persuaded them to move to the city, elevating himself to a synoikistes. Fredal notes that "unlike the Spartans, who acquired their territory through conquests and enslavement, Athenians prided themselves on establishing their polis and its outlying regions peacefully, through persuasion" (37). Goušchin claims Pericles convinced the rural dwellers to evacuate their homes and find refuge in the city, which they also would help defend against the pending Spartan invasion.

Synoecism is a synthesis—something new created from existing parts. The modern term of synthesis can imply a relinquishing of directional control so the synthesis process can take place to form a new thing. Relinquishing control was not as much a part of the Greco-Roman governing mentality as winning was. Fredal highlights the notion that rhetorical efforts—cultural, with festivals, and material, with the civic area and buildings—were presupposed by the vision of an "imagined community" (36-37),

propelled by the synoecism advocates. In Theseus' and Pericles' imagined community, Athens grew stronger by swallowing smaller villages and their manpower. There was a synthesis, the "flourishing of intellectual life," but the process was more of a strategic administrative move to create a desired outcome than a pure, hands-free synthesis. The movement worked one way, into the larger city, Athens, and the advocates, the Athenians, were the ones giving up the least. The literature is non-descriptive as to the smaller entities' resistance to the synoecisms, and truth be told, they had no chance against the invaders. Their only shot at survival was to migrate to the city.

The city of Sparks is not facing a threat from invaders, and there is no pending annihilation if they do not consolidate. Theoretically the Nevada state legislature could revoke or revise Sparks' charter, but that is not a realistic scenario. The only real threat is one of a loss of identity and autonomy if they do consolidate. Propelled by Reno mayor Bob Cashell, Reno and Washoe County want Sparks to evacuate their services and identity for the benefits offered by the bigger city, the imagined community of the possible serviceable options from a newly agglomerated governmental mass that would consist of the three main current municipalities within Washoe County. The governing services, however, migrate in one direction—Reno, as the biggest entity, loses nothing and only gets stronger, along with the politicians who are advocating the consolidation.⁵⁰ The synoecism, or consolidation in this case, is closer to a pure political synthesis than what the ancient Greeks did, but Reno still stands to win, as the smaller entities will conform to their standards, processes, wage grades, technology-licensure agreements, and

⁵⁰ Sparks has already estimated the upfront cost is more than six-million dollars just to consolidate the police department (City of Sparks).

so forth. For these reasons, Sparks views the consolidations as a loss. Unlike the Athenian synoecism, where all consolidated peoples became Athenians, Sparks residents will not necessarily become Renoites if a consolidation of services were to take place, but the City of Sparks would be a city in name only; the administrators would also lose the power to legislate.

Resisting the Call to Merge

Synoecism theory can be seen in the reconstruction of Sparks' ethos. As previously stated, Cashell can be seen as the apparent synoikistes in the merger talks, the celebrity-like person of power using his influences to persuade others to consolidate. As a self-declared and publicly successful fixer, Cashell has a vision for an imagined community, one consolidated under one entity or the closest to it. To combat the imagined-community vision, the City of Sparks rallied behind two documents—at two different times—that clearly present their stance and set themselves apart from Reno, Washoe County, and anyone advocating comprehensive consolidation in the region. The documents would play a major role in the redefinition of Sparks' ethos.

The first document is a formal resolution created by the 2002 Sparks city council. The resolution undoubtedly guarantees Sparks will not consolidate on the grounds that consolidation limits its autonomy and ability to provide services, which the council members consider to be the best in the area, to their constituents. Resolution No. 2776, from 2002, states:

> "NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Sparks city council will join regional efforts to improve the quality and fiscal efficiencies of

city services for the citizens of the City of Sparks and fiscal equity for the region, without participating in or supporting any regional government consolidation which would change the form of government of the City of Sparks." (City of Sparks, 6-5)

The resolution closes the door to synthesis possibilities—it shuts down the progressive notions of what could happen in the new imagined community because it stops the deliberations before they can gain momentum. Resolution No. 2776 had significant meaning at the time of its creation, and it became a mainstay in the council during consolidation discussions. Zamma Avila captures the continuing presence of the document and its meaning in her May 2006 Reno Gazette-Journal article, "Sparks City Council Rejects Government Consolidation." The specific rhetorical occasion of the article was to recount and relate Sparks' reaction to Cashell's request to place on an upcoming countywide ballot the question of consolidating services. After professing disapproval on the grounds that the phrasing of the question would manipulate the public's response, Sparks Assistant City Manager Steve Driscoll declared, "The city of Sparks has proven that we can do more with fewer resources,"⁵¹ a claim to be a better local government than Reno (Avila). Councilwoman Judy Moss added, "May we conclude a comment in the letter that we have not changed our (2002) [sic] position in any shape or form? I'm not happy to be on anybody's ballot. I think we should say, 'No,' we don't want this countywide" (Avila). And lastly, Sparks Mayor Geno Martini said, "I don't think this will ever go away. I think we should make it as strong a message

⁵¹ This is an example of the topos of more/less.

as we can" (Avila). These statements echo the group sentiment of not wanting any part of Cashell's imagined community that conflicts with Sparks' current view of its autonomous community produced by rallying around the monumental resolution.

The second influential document, Sparks' lengthy consolidation report, built upon Resolution No. 2776 and further redefined Sparks' ethos. As outlined in my introduction, with the passing of AB494, the 2009 Nevada state legislature requested consolidation reports from all municipalities in Nevada. Sparks' report was the only independent report submitted; all other Nevada municipal governing entities teamed with surrounding cities and/or counties. Throughout its report, Sparks continually refers to Resolution No. 2772, and it becomes clear the resolution was created to philosophically provide a unified stance that answers external efforts to consolidate with others in the region. Furthermore, Sparks cites the results of annual public-attitude surveys that "overwhelmingly reject the idea of regional government consolidation" (*City of Sparks* 46). One important aspect is that Sparks did say in the report that for certain functions they would review the findings of Matrix Consulting and make decisions utilizing shared savings opportunities.

It seems consolidation in the region has been on Sparks' radar for quite some time: in November of 2008, the City of Sparks created a report detailing their perspectives on consolidation. The AB494 response report includes some of the information from their 2008 report, which contains information about Resolution No. 2776; commentary about how if the Sparks fire department merged with Reno and the Truckee Meadows Fire Protection District, the cost would rise while providing the same service currently provided; a section from the City of Las Vegas' *Fundamental Service Review: Companion Study Synopsis Consolidation Study;* department-analysis findings; and several appendix items and popular academic sources outlining the various challenges associated with consolidation.

Sparks council members used the consolidation report and resolution to solidify their ethos of independent, business-like action against the backdrop of indecisiveness and ongoing discussions from Washoe County and Reno. The report was thoroughly backed by research, analytic-statistical data, and highlighted with knockout-punch statements, such this one taken from the City of Las Vegas consolidation Study Synopsis: "Consolidation is not a common occurrence and results in more failed attempts than successful efforts" (*City of Sparks 5*). As alluded to my introduction, the massive 700page report made the statement to everyone in the state of Nevada that Sparks was serious about its position on consolidation, unwavering to external political pressures. The report maintained the position Sparks has held during the ongoing consolidation conversation—continually referencing Resolution No. 2776 further signified their maintained position. In addition, the report offered research-supported details missed in Reno and Washoe County's report.

Redefinition by Contrast: The Past/Future Topos

The consolidation documents made a rhetorical impact during their creation and immediately after. But the documents' true influence was the way they helped redefine Sparks' ethos over time in opposition to outside influencers, such as Cashell acting as a synokistes. Cashell's vision of the imagined community came from his overplaying of the community good of everyone (all Washoe County municipalities) coming together as a single sovereignty that will benefit all parties and especially the community. Cashell used his NHET to get everyone to look ahead to his imagined community, a quasiutopian vision. Acting in antithesis and using just as much focus on place and community as Cashell, Sparks called upon traditional values to get its constituents to remember the foundational pillars of its city. Sparks used the consolidation documents to reinforce its ethos as a quintessential Nevada city cognizant of protecting traditions, achievements, and exceptional public services.

Sparks used a heavy emphasis on community character to revise its ethos in antithesis to Cashell's established ethos. The full resolution (see Appendix A: Sparks City Council Resolution No. 2776) is a cornerstone document representing a line of traditionally conservative political points of view. Before the actual resolution statement, the document makes six "whereas" statements that not only put into writing a selfdeclared political image of the city, but also argue from its identity as a city at inception up to the governing principles that give them the reasoning to state the resolution. The "whereas" statements use language evoking loyalty, protection, duty, defense, guard, and fiscal constraint. The statements call upon the collective values of the community. Moreover, the verbiage contains a tone of "best practices" and commitment, meaning the city will stay on course until something much better comes along, at which time they will be bound to accept it because it is the best or at least better than what they were previously doing. The resolution protects the image-against changes and changers-Sparks has worked so hard to maintain and preserves the character of the city in the wake of Reno and Washoe County's wish to modify and reshape it.

For Sparks constituents, the resolution showed the council can coalesce to become an active local government of accomplishers—and to do it with a Ciceronian emphasis on industry, a major component of Cashell's ethos. They do not waste time or money pursuing talks not benefiting their constituents. They "completed" the challenge, resolving the "problem" with a definitive resolution that will stand as a marker in the consolidation discussions. The completed nature of the impact of the resolution also calls attention to what the other municipalities have not "done." The ethos topos used by Sparks is akin to the concept of *diligentia*—the willingness to get things done—often found in Cicero's behavior; however, Sparks' adaption takes the concept a step further and uses acts of perceivable industry as accomplishments demonstrative of effective politicians and a successful political system. The actions can be utilized later to build ethos and/or used as reminders: ethos can be constructed from drawing out these points in the past. Furthermore, the ethos topos is built upon expressions of *conciliare*, or the securing of goodwill and *prudencia*, moral prudence, both of which involve mild emotional arousals and emotional connections (Enos). James M. May, as stated previously, in Chapter 1, argues that Cicero's sense of ethos was one that knew full well how to influence the feelings of his audience. Cicero's concept of ethos was "the winning of our hearer's favor" (May 4), and in De Oretore Cicero says "feelings are won over by a man's merits, achievements or reputable life" (Bizzell and Herzberg 329). In short, one way to win favor from an audience is to show them things that have been accomplished, things that are morally upright. Sparks does this with the "whereas" list and even with the resolution; they are the proof or evidence the council members can point out for the audience as an achievement morally aligned with the values of the city and its inhabitants. In a cyclical fashion, the achievements reinforce the group values,

show constituents the city government is working, and reinforce the process from which it derived, strengthening the significance of the achievements.

In Cicero's era, ethos was strongly tied to the machine of the Republic and the values therein. Sparks city-council members called upon the foundational values of the city in the same way Cicero referred his hearers to the foundational elements of Rome and the Republic. Ancient Roman representatives not only represented the people but also were representative of the moving parts of the governing system, which the Romans believed was the best institute the world had ever seen. The Romans had faith in their governing process, for discounting the representative or his action too much would discount the system—even if the individual constituents did not vote for the council member, they are part of a system that did. Furthermore, how can constituents discount a politician—or a group of politicians in the case of Sparks—who completely uses previously agreed-upon principles that are the foundation of the city's ethos?

The smaller building blocks of the report and the resolution, similar to the progymnasmata, function to bolster the ethos of Sparks. Unlike the ancient progymnasmata "mini rhetorics," the smaller components of the report and resolution did not call upon fables and proverbs but did refer readers to core principles; like the progymnasmata, however, the components of the report and resolution called attention to the core principles, reminded the audience of their shared past and time-honored goals, and aligned the presenters (the council members) morally and ethotically. Readers could see these documents as continuations of the city's behavior, revealing their aim was not to invent an identity but rather to maintain it and demonstrate how the new action taking place is in character with their identity. The report, more than anything, referenced

internal cost-analysis data and the consolidation projects of other municipalities in America. Using the works of others is what is behind more than half the progymnasmata exercises. The resolution provided a design, in itself and as a collective arrangement, from which to build and withdraw rhetorical inventions.

Certain "whereas" statements (topoi) in the Resolution⁵² can be compared with the progymnasmata exercises to extrapolate further ethos details. Analogous with how the progymnasmata exercises were used in ancient Rome, the "whereas" statements help to construct ethos by calling upon self-declared corporate attributes: they are containers to point out character qualities, such as loyalty, dedication, protection, acting in the best interest of constituents, and preserving the signature traditions associated with the identity of the city. The first "whereas" statement invokes ethos qualities on a few levels and is worth mentioning in full: "Whereas, the City of Sparks is proud of its individuality, its ninety-seven-year history as the rail city of Nevada, and its identity as a family community with the best quality of life in the Truckee Meadows" (City of Sparks Perspective on Consolidation 5). This brief description speaks to established ethos of the city as if the declarations are known facts and not opinions; Sparks does not begin by trying to convince readers of its individuality, nearly one-hundred-year existence, or "identity as a family community with the best quality of life in the Truckee Meadows" it uses those claims as a platform from which to build. The individuality invokes a sense of independence and self-reliance in the people of the city. The century reference

⁵² Not all the "whereas" statements in the Resolution are fitting to be compared with the progymnasmata because some are "we believe" statements. The first "whereas" statement is a narrative and the last statement that is a mini declamation.

reminds readers there is a history at stake and a tradition to uphold. The ethos traits referenced in the passage can only be maintained if they are protected.

Deliberation: The Boundaries and Removal of Deliberative Space

Sparks altered the space to deliberate about the consolidation issues, within their own assemblies and the county's assemblies as well. The city leaders acted upon their granted agency to create two key documents that enabled them to take a firm, resistant position to comprehensive consolidation pursuits. Since Sparks already had a decision, there was no reason to keep open the deliberation process. For the ancient Greeks, the literal space made for deliberation was the agora, and the best ideas, competitors, and politicians came from the agora via open interaction. Considering Sparks' rhetorical decisions, in terms of what the agora was and represented, provides further insight and explanation regarding their deliberative practices. The key documents, Resolution No. 2776 and the consolidation report, enabled Sparks leaders to solidify a shared heritage and a corporate ethos.

In terms of deliberative practice to make decisions as a city, Sparks used its city ethos to side step public deliberation in the consolidation issue, possibly indicating how other American local-governing assemblies currently function. The public-opinion polls they used are not deliberation (and neither are Reno's polls); similar to the national political polling, the polls merely judge reactions and have no space for discussion.⁵³ The resolution re-categorized the city's rhetoric to epideictic, moving the citizens from

⁵³ Reno used similar polls to argue their constituents wanted the consolidation.

participants to spectators. While the process was not *deliberative*, in an ancient Greco-Roman sense—the Sparks city-council members did not deliberate with the local citizens to arrive at the best solution under the circumstances—it also was not *mediated*, as with the national political realm described in Chapter 1. Rather, the council members performed more as agents, acting on behalf of the constituents. This model equates the city-council member to more of a classic Roman patron, or professional orator: the citycouncil members are agents, seeking to protect the interests of their constituency that are being threatened by outside forces. This agency or representation is a key element to what makes the current decision practice of Sparks different from ancient Greek deliberation. As noted by McDorman and Timmerman, in the previous chapter, the citizen was the primary political agent in ancient Greek deliberative assemblies; the citizens could receive oratory training or purchase a speech, but the citizen had to speak for himself. Unlike the national mediated politics that filter down to the audience from the celebrity politicians who build their ethos without connections to habit and place, current local politics work *across* to the audience using habit and place yet still position the public as spectators. Acting upon agency fully granted to them by constituents via non-participation or disinterest, the Sparks city-council members used the opportunity of the consolidation dilemma to maintain their ethos of identifying with local place and habit. In acting upon their granted agency, the City of Sparks removed the space to publicly deliberate about the issue.

The designed, open space for deliberation in ancient Athens was the agora—the space Theseus while calling the countryside villagers of Attica together to form Athens—and through competition and negotiation in the agora, the best competitors an ideas

surfaced. The essential qualities of the ancient agora were the openness, the accessibility, and the physical transparency of the space, all of which transferred to the political practices therein. More than for politics, the agora was the center, literally, for most of the interaction for the dwellers of the polis, and these activities linked the people as community. In *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations*, archaeologists Mabel Lang and C.W.J. Eliot describe the site of the agora in terms of what happened there:

In Athens, as in other city-states of ancient Greece, the agora was the focal point of community life: the seat of the administrative and judicial bodies, the chief place for marketing and business, in early days the scene of dramatic competitions and athletic displays, at all times the most favored resort for social and intellectual intercourse and, in its buildings and other monuments, a cumulative display of past history and achievements. (11)

Of note is the expected action that took place in the agora—the agora was the space reserved for community open action. Fredal argues that in the agora was the opportunity for male citizens to distinguish themselves through performance in contests. He claims, "Men performatively claimed and enhanced their masculinity and negotiated their political and social status through public contests for honor and influence by voluntarily participating in 'games,' including especially rhetorical contests" (23). From the contests, competitors could expect to gain "cultural capital" and followers (23); in other words, a competitor could single-handedly shape his own ethos and win the favor of others by performing victoriously. Drawing an ethos from live competition is aligned with what Todd S. Frobish claims about how Homeric heroes would build from their honor and reputation from battlefield victories. Frobish argues that the Aristotlepredating Homeric theory of ethos was forged through the reputation of action, honor, and virtue deriving from battlefield accomplishments, and Illiadic men drew upon them in their speeches. This conception of ethos definitely surfaces in the agora competitions among the participants, as action and winning were such a large part of the ancient Greco-Roman culture. Fredal adds that the Athenian political climate derived from the competition (23): competitors could position themselves and win over others through competitions, but the spectacles also brought forth political leaders in the entertainment: "Contests were all about negotiating social hierarchy, but they did so in forums that entertained and served the community as well, providing popular spectacles that legitimated civic leaders" (23-24).

The agora represented process and progress, and by altering the agora, Sparks was positioned to influence the outcome as much as possible. With the contests in the agora also came the chance of risk and unknown results.⁵⁴ The process of the contest, however, would yield the best competitor. The Athenians had to believe in the process of the competition to bring forth the best contestant. Within the process was the notion of withstanding the competition and proving to be the best, which became an early trait in the ancient Greek deliberative practices, for the best ideas come from deliberation—they beat out the other ideas. Sparks already claimed to have the best services and quality of life in Northern Nevada;⁵⁵ therefore they saw no reason to alter those things, or even

⁵⁴ Who will have the best performance and who will beat the others? The opportunity for all to win was considered democratic. Was it likely that anyone could prove a winner in the agora? No. But was it *possible*? Yes.

⁵⁵ And claimed to have accomplished the feat with less resources: "We do more with less," they thated.

worse, take the chance of losing them completely in a countywide merger. In addition, the research they conducted supported their claims, whereas all Reno had was a vision.

Shared heritage and group ethos were associated with the agora and visual representations of a progressing people group. The sacred monuments served as reminders to the achievements, community heritage, and generational traditions. The shared heritage hints at metaphysical boundaries: where their heritage begins and ends and what it is and is not. The visual artifacts can still be somewhat interpreted, but the physicality can remain imprinted and are part of the literal space. The comments and quotations from honored heroes and sacred gods are part of the space, and the action taking place therein was a continual development of the culture. The centralized space, a ten-acre plot in the middle of the polis with buildings and monuments, was reserved for action; there was an expectation among the common dwellers that something should be done there.

The space allowed for all participants and agora dwellers to see and hear speakers in front of everyone (of perceived value) in the community, the very community in which the speakers/competitors played a societal role. All citizens were supposedly there on equal terms (Fredal 38) and could physically see each other (Theseus called forth the people of the Attic *demes* "on equal terms"). The openness also allowed for seeing who was not in attendance or attending but not participating. Fredal notes that citizens who took no part in the deliberations were deemed not unambitious but useless (47) because, analogous to the deliberations, the citizen-participants served a purpose.

While the space in the agora was democratic, it certainly had specified limitations, marked off by boundary markers, because it was valued as sacred. Lang and Eliot claim, "The open square of the agora was dedicated to the community life and, as such, was as sacred as any temple precinct. It was marked off by boundary stones, and the laws forbade any entry to those who might bring harm to the community" (14). And those boundary stones served several purposes. One marker stone actually reads: "I am the boundary stone of the agora" (31). Even the boundaries are made transparent, for the description is clearly explicit to all (who could read). The personification of the agora objects is of interest, perhaps lending to the life of the agora or the continual sacred presence of the structures.

Action and participation in the agora were reserved for the citizens; non-citizens had no share in the community property, physically or intellectually. Fredal borrows from Lysias, noting, "To be a citizen was to 'share in the polis' (Lysias 6.48)" (47). Non-citizens, therefore, could not be part of creating the future or interpreting the past, in consideration of the visible shared heritage. In fact they were thought of as pollutants to the development of the culture and physically barred from the space. From Lang and Eliot's remark that the boundaries served to keep out "any entry to those who might bring harm to the community," it can be construed that the agora was seen as a sacred place where positive movements happened, in accordance with the community, and those good actions needed to be protected. Herein is the connection between ethos and affect in persuasion and how the agora was used: the procedural action within the space of the agora was considered good for the community.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ And who should be leading the good activities in the agora? Good men, men who contribute to the shared heritage by coming out on top in the competitions. I believe Isocrates' and Quintilian's concepts of ethos are built from the notion that activities within the agora were good for the community, so competitors therein should demonstrate how they contribute to that end.

Although Sparks avoided the deliberation in the agora, they maintained a shared heritage and group ethos with the documents. Similar to the Athenians, Sparks sought to protect what it had from outside pollutants, but the shared-heritage interpretation was not continually open for interpretation. The documents not only defined—or rather, maintained—the city image but also closed off the openness of the deliberative space. Concerning the in-town deliberation, the resolution removed the spaced completely. It resolved the issue. But the result was the removal of governmental time and energy devoted to maintain the space for the associated tasks, which equates to the removal of public access to the space. With the issue *resolved*, there is no reason to give it agenda minutes at council meetings. Future citizen commentary on the issue of consolidation has been downgraded to take place in the time designated for general public comment and must be forwarded completely by the citizenry. In other words, the citizens now have to create a space on their own.⁵⁷

In the larger regional discussion, the documents communicate louder than any verbal statement that Sparks is not interested in wholesale regional consolidations. The resolution serves as a marker to protect Sparks' deliberative space within the council by demonstrating to others the council has the skill to resolve issues as a group; implied is that the skill can be replicated and accomplished again when needed. The documents do,

⁵⁷ There is ethos opportunity for the public on the ground level of a movement to make the issue relevant again, but it would be an uphill battle, considering the council already has made a solidified joint decision. In this sense, a cyclical argument could be made that a smaller grassroots space was created by removing the larger public space: citizens wanting to breathe life into the consolidation issue more locally would have to do a considerable amount of work but would, in the end, have a strong ethos in the discussion due to the effort. Using Holiday's notion that invention is intervention, local citizens wishing to revive the consolidation issue would have to reinvent it for the public and gain some community-backed momentum to intervene politically with the council, who views the issue as already resolved.

however, limit the delegates' capacity in the regional assembly talks to even partake in discussions, as the council's point of view is so clear. Removed is the Sparks representatives' bargaining power due to the lack of city resources allotted to the issue because they consider the issue resolved. By not participating in the regional talks, or participating minimally, by sending a representative with limited power to attend the meeting, Sparks is influencing the regional deliberative space.

Chapter Conclusions

The synoikistes, the consolidation ringleader, calls everyone together under the impression that the merger is the best option available at the time. The synoikistes works with transparency. Cashell can be seen as the synoikistes, especially with his vision of the imagined community, but Sparks can see what will happen to its governmental autonomy in a proposed merger because the outcome seems to be very clear to them. Sparks views the consolidation as a loss. To combat the persistence to merge and the synoikistes, Sparks matched Cashell's efforts in achievements and productivity. Sparks' course of action is drastic and message-sending, showing how far reaching the industry factor is for an NHET practitioner. Sparks past/future topos asked residents to look back to shared heritage (and implied it could be lost), not ahead to an imagined community.

Sparks' ethos is in supporting and protecting what they consider is already the best, not continually applying a process to arrive at what is best. They had to alter their agora because an open agora with no deliberation would point toward inactivity when they are a local government of swift action. The agora represents several things—transparency, democracy, progress—but perhaps most important here the agora

represents *uncontrolled* process, the "live, unmediated public communication" McDorman and Timmerman reference. Sparks could not open themselves to the results of an agora-like process for fear of surrendering their autonomy.

The following chapter showcases the dramatic events with an NHET practitioner and an entity that wishes to depart from a consolidation in order to make a return to its autonomy. The chapter focuses on scenes from the Reno-Washoe County Fire Services Deconsolidation and reveals how Cashell, a fully extended NHET practitioner in this case, interacts with the public and what Washoe County must do to break away from him. Examining the issue reveals that Cashell's NHET practice improves the public's experience of the events while he continues to progress places and force opponents to make drastic decisions.

CHAPTER 4: FROM TRANSPARENCY TO SOMETHING NEW: AN NHET PRACTITONER IMPROVES THE PUBLIC'S EXPERIENCE

Chapter Introduction

This chapter examines Bob Cashell—an established, local NHET practitioner—in a rhetorical conflict with Washoe County leaders during the highly publicized deconsolidation of the Reno-Washoe County fire-service agreement that was established in 2000. During the debating Cashell fails to get the agreement renewed but connects with the local public by drawing upon how he habitually dwells in the community. Cashell's ethotic actions in the Reno-Washoe County fire services deconsolidation illustrate the rhetorical impact of an NHET practitioner and how he can use locality and community, the premier components to the Reinvigoration, to create separation from his opponents in terms of goodwill established with the community. In a similar fashion to Cicero and Marius's NHET practices, Cashell uses the separation to give something new to the community.

Building from the arguments in Chapters 2 and 3, this chapter provides new details to the NHET practice that the examples from Cicero and Marius cannot. In the fire deconsolidation debating, Cashell drew from his NHET—promoting the use of other topoi and idia, for both him and Washoe County—modifying the deliberative space. In addition, he called for agora-like deliberation, open to the public and open ended in process, to yield what is best for the community. Extending the earlier arguments, this chapter illustrates in rich detail how a modern NHET practitioner goes beyond exposing the inner scenes of the political system in order to directly include the public and provide

them with something original—Cashell creates intimate conversation with the public.⁵⁸ While conversing unlike any other politician in the debate, Cashell, in his own manner, qualifies his calls for authentic deliberation, aligning himself with how the ancients viewed deliberation and elucidating how the elements of the Reinvigoration work together.

Cicero's and Marius's NHET: Goodwill and Giving Back to the Public

Cicero and Marius (and Cashell), as argued in Chapter 2, rose socio-politically by their merits, which the community saw and deemed of goodwill. The ancient novi homines were rare and unique, and their storylines were representative of fairness, opportunity, and even hope in society. They connected with the community based on how they (the NHET practitioners) dwelled, habitually transparent,⁵⁹ which worked to separate them from their opponents in terms of goodwill with the community. A closer examination of Cicero's and Marius' NHET passages reveals Cicero and Marius extended their transparency theme to their rhetorical practice to expose the political process and inform the public of contradictions that otherwise would have been undetected by the public. They advance and/or improve the viewpoint of the public.

Cicero and Marius use the NHET to set themselves apart from their opponents; the same can be said of Cashell. Cicero and Marius both directly compare themselves to their opponents, and Marius even literally asks to be compared, saying, "Now compare

⁵⁸ From their NHET passages, Cicero and Marius expose to the public details of the political system, but they don't include the community as does Cashell when he converses with the public.

⁵⁹ The use of the term *transparency* in this chapter does not indicate absolute transparency. The NHET practitioners were not *fully transparent*, but they *operated with transparency* compared to their opponents.

me, my fellow citizens, the new man that I am..." (Comber and Balmaceda 149). Not only is the NHET a transparency method to illustrate separation from others, but also the separation is almost a topos in itself because so much can be done with it rhetorically. (If nothing else, the practitioners used the NHET to reference their resumes.) Emphasizing the distance from their opponents was extremely advantageous for generating public support. The industry and goodwill, the merits, gave the novi homines the credibility to converse with the public—all of these virtues are positive and community building, and sparkle when compared to their colleagues they claim attained office through nepotistic or villainous means.

In addition to drawing simple comparisons to highlight their own virtues, the ancient novi homines used their transparency to draw attention to the practices of others,⁶⁰ providing an alternative perspective to the public. In comparison, Cicero's and Marius' opponents noticeably did not have the industry and community goodwill the novi homines had constructed. Instead they had generational and deceitful business connections. Marius talks about the nepotism of the political elite and Cicero talks about the *fides* or connections of his colleagues.⁶¹ The novi homines used the separation to align themselves with the public and community values. When Cicero argues that his opponents hat his industry and hate him, he is really saying that his opponents hat

⁶⁰ One way to examine the transparency issue is to consider that the novi homines were simply more transparent than their adversaries in certain ways, which they understood and used to their advantage. Perhaps, the novi homines were only moderately transparent or strategically transparent.⁶⁰ What is never disclosed are the novi homines' own agendas and interests—they amplify and label the actions, agendas, and interests of others without revealing their own. Essentially all they say is "I'm not like them because I did not arrive to my position the same way they did."

⁶¹ Practitioners used the NHET as a topos to introduce the criminal and nepotistic resumes of their opponents. The NHET framed/portrayed opponents for the public in light of the novi homines, who were good for the community.

the public—his overplay emphasizes that he is transparent more so than his opponents. The opponents are connected to each other, while novi homines are connected to the public. The novi homines emphasize connectivity to the public to further maintain their original relationship with the public.

The revelations of the harmful political practices, the nepotism and the fides, do more than expose those involved—they express dissatisfaction with their opponents' process. The revelations show how others were not using the best deliberative process and would not, therefore, yield the best results. Cicero's and Marius' opponents' decisions were based on their fides or familial relations, personal gain, and bribes. The public knew the nobles were cushioned by wealth, but they may not have known—or had their attention drawn to—the degree to which the wealthy connections influenced the deliberation. The novi homines opened those narratives to the public while distancing themselves from the shameful practices without facing return accusations of similar practices. In effect, the novi homines reported the inner happenings of the political system to the public; the public had no other means of discovering those happenings in detail. The value of the novi homines, in the public's eyes, is that they provided a unique, intimate viewpoint that improved their (the public's) understanding.

The revelations of the nepotism and the fides exposed weaknesses in the political processes and the Republic. Cicero revealed the corruption the political fides produced. Cicero's colleagues practiced corrupt industry (again, in comparison to his genuine industry) to maintain greedy business connections and profit. And Marius showed how political promotion via family lineage produced untested politicians; through nepotistic means, the sons of nobles were given an unobstructed pathway to elite political positions

and were weak politicians because of it, further weakening the whole Republic. The nepotism and fides needed to be concealed from the public in order to endure.

The Fire Services Divorce

Cashell's passion and ability to speak frankly with the public are visible in the fire-services deconsolidation. His opponents make clear declarations, although their decision-making process is not transparent to the public; they are selectively transparent, while Cashell appears more transparent, comparatively, just as Cicero and Marius did in their NHET passages. Continuing to dwell as a community problem solver aiming to improve the community, Cashell operated with transparency to expose to the public the political system and process and provide a unique viewpoint to the public. The County's decisions are portrayed as drastic and reactive, utilizing a "bottom-line" topos to counter Cashell's accusations. The County stands by their claims as much as Cashell does—without echoing them as often as he does—despite Cashell's efforts to explore several options.

Reno and Washoe County leaders consolidated their fire-services departments in 2000 but ended the pact on July 1, 2012.⁶² In 2011, prior to the city-county fire-pact renewal date, Washoe County, which was apparently on board for more global consolidation efforts, decided it wanted its own fire service without Reno, against the wishes of Reno and especially its mayor. In the months leading up to the contract-

⁶² The recent debates for the Reno-Washoe County fire-services pact is a perfect illustration of the fluid nature of issues concerning consolidation: the results are not conclusive enough to guarantee future participation, and the debating is continuous because service decisions can always be revisited come contract-renewal time.

renewal deadline, Cashell did everything he possibly could to keep the consolidation intact, but the County was determined to deconsolidate (Myers "Playing with Fire"). Many local media outlets labeled the fire-services deconsolidation a "divorce."

Immediately, Cashell operated with transparency, making the entire debate clearer for those following it. After expressing their desire to end the agreement through a few clear comments, the County did not want to discuss the matter any further. On June 28, 2011, the County Commission privately voted to break away from the 2000 fire-services pact with Reno, citing that a continued long-term agreement would simply be too expensive to maintain. Reno and Cashell took offense to the county's private meeting and quick decision.⁶³ After expressing disappointment in the lack of transparency concerning the way Washoe County arrived at its decision (more on this below), Cashell claimed, "They just decided no" (Myers "Labor Intensive").⁶⁴ Although Cashell argued the problems were more about pride than anything else—saying, "This has come down to a control factor or egos or whatever it is" (Potter), and "This is no more than a pure power struggle" (Duvall)—the County stressed the breakaway was only about money. Reacting to Cashell's strong accusations, the County employed a bottom-line topos: in a December 2011 Washoe County Commission meeting John Breternitz, the Washoe County commissioner chairman at that time, said plainly, "There is absolutely no way we can afford the proposal given to us by the City of Reno" (Duvall). The topos is clear and apparently well intentioned.

⁶³ While Cashell harps on the County for their lack of process, the County never comments on Cashell's process or his actions during the debates, only how his solution is infeasible.

⁶⁴ Cashell can be one-hundred percent transparent here because he was willing to talk, and Washoe County was not. Cashell has nothing to lose in this specific case.

In an effort to expose the happenings of the political process, Cashell influenced the county to take a firm position against his accusations—their response was a steady topos that highlights the impasse in process. Cashell and other Reno assembly members heavily contested Washoe County's financial claims, but the County maintained that a solution would only have lasted a year before the County ran out of money. Breternitz argued, "... [A new contract] would have worked for less than a year and then we would have gone in the red. You know our goal is sustainability, and we can't maintain a long-term fire service under the terms of the Reno fire contract. There was not a deal" (Myers "Labor Intensive").⁶⁵ This bottom-line topos⁶⁶ established a clear viewpoint, aligned with their philosophy, and exposes Cashell's plan as a limited answer. The County's bottom-line topos unearths the impasse at work, illuminating why the two sides talk back each other.

Cashell's NHET allows him to respond to the counter claims, as he seeks to outline how local citizens will be affected. Cashell responded that a deal could be reached and that the county reserves would have actually gone up by \$1.7 million (Myers "Labor Intensive"). Cashell claimed that because of the deconsolidation the County would have to raise taxes on unincorporated areas; he said, "They're going to raise taxes in their unincorporated area to make theirs work. ...And they didn't have to before" (Myers "Labor Intensive"). Cashell's counter response to the County's bottom-line topos seems to be an effective response because he strikes back at the financial costs when that

 ⁶⁵ Breternitz's statement is about as detailed a reason as Reno would get. The County did not want to enter into focused discussions about continuing the consolidated fire service. They did not even want to discuss why they would not meet to deliberate. In the County's view, there was nothing to discuss.
 ⁶⁶ The bottom-line topos might be fairly common in local politics—perhaps it is closer to the idia of which Aristotle spoke, the specific inventional strategies of a particular field.

was the main reason for objecting. Cashell's counter could be seen as an attempt to break the impasse.

Cashell opened up the process and debatable options to the public, whereas his opponents did not. The details he provides improve the public's understanding and experience of the events—the public gains something from Cashell's involvement. A pure, all-in consolidation was not the only option for a continued partnership. Various versions of aid agreements were available. In a candid letter to the Caughlin Ranch Homeowners Association, which encompasses twenty six developments and is an enormous county tax base affected by the fire-service deconsolidation, Cashell explains the two best aid-agreement options:

> There are two very different types of "aid agreements" we should be talking about. A "Mutual Aid" agreement is typical between two neighboring jurisdictions. Under such an agreement if one jurisdiction needs help from another, they simply request it and the aid is sent if resources are available. After a certain threshold of equipment and manpower there would be financial consequences for the agency asking for help. Those details would all be worked out in the agreement.

A second type of aid agreement is for "Automatic Aid," under which both agencies are automatically alerted at the first call to dispatch. Whichever agency has resources closer would respond first, regardless of jurisdiction. That agency would be the "primary responder": first on the scene and responsible for incident command. This is the way it works now with a consolidated fire department, with the City of Reno crews providing the primary response to all of Caughlin Ranch, regardless of jurisdiction. The County Commission has decided to terminate that and will not discuss how they will provide primary response to your non-city residents. Reno of course will continue to provide primary response, within the city limits, but without an agreement, the City of Reno can't legally provide primary response to another jurisdiction. This also includes EMS first response. (Reno.gov)

Cashell's letter is obviously heavily biased, but it does reach out and inform a populated area affected by the deconsolidation. Breternitz claims they have repeatedly tried to reach an accord with Reno regarding aid tradeoffs, but since no such agreements have been reached the County has looked into creative alternatives, including having the sheriff set up a fire dispatch system (Myers "Labor Intensive").⁶⁷

Continuing to expose to the public the (lack of) political process, Cashell further separates himself from his opponents by demonstrating how the deconsolidation will affect the public and what he is willing to do about it. These efforts support his ethos in the long term: he wins with the public and demonstrates his reach and revision (progressive) mentality. At the heart of debate are the union labor contracts and the matter of three-person crews versus four-person crews.⁶⁸ By union regulation, a home

⁶⁷ Retired firefighter Steve Perez provides an interesting perspective about Reno's annexation history. In the Meyers article, Perez says, "I find it ironic that the City of Reno is upset because they are being asked to provide fire/medical coverage in a couple of areas they are not receiving taxes in. Sierra Fire provided fire and paramedic coverage to both Reno and Truckee Meadows areas without compensation for some seven years due to Reno's 'cherry picking' annexation policy."

⁶⁸ Breternitz said the union contract-wages were a main reason for the fire-service split, but Cashell argued that the labor contracts could be figured out if the two sides would continue working together (Myers "Labor Intensive"). Out of frustration, Washoe County refused to discuss the topic any longer: in

cannot be entered with any fewer than four firefighters present.⁶⁹ After the deconsolidation, several county areas—areas that utilize volunteer firefighters—will have to convert to three-person crews, raising the homeowners' insurance rates. Russell Earl, an Oakland fire lieutenant and Washoe County resident, commented on the property-tax and insurance-rate hikes:

What you have also not addressed is the ISO rating [fire suppression standards]. When we go to three-person engine companies, we'll become higher, which means every single household in this county will see a significant increase in their homeowners insurance. That hasn't been factored in. ...I can see between a 400 and 800 dollar per year increase to get a lower standard of service. (Myers "Playing with Fire")

With the looming renewal deadline approaching, Cashell was still working on keeping the consolidation together; but in order to make sure the City of Reno would not be negatively affected by the deconsolidation and could maintain four-person crews, Cashell went to Washington, D.C., to secure a federal grant. Journalist Dennis Myers provides the details:

> When it became clear that the county was immovable on deconsolidation, Cashell hastened to Washington, D.C., where he met with U.S. Sen. Harry Reid, who set him up a [sic] meeting at the White House with the president liaison with the Federal Emergency Management Agency. When Cashell returned to Reno, he had what he needed to make sure the

the April 2012 joint meeting, County Commissioner David Humke remarked, "With all due respect, I want nothing to do with your labor agreement" (Myers "Playing with Fire").

⁶⁹ Unless it is known a person's life is at risk in the structure.

city was not injured, financially at least, by deconsolidation—a \$14 million grant that would take care of all of Reno's needs in the transition from consolidated services. (Meyers "Labor Intensive")

The federal grant ensured all of Reno's fire-service stations would be operated by at least four-person crews. The grant created further complications to the deconsolidation talks because it was allocated only for the city, but Cashell was willing to go back to the capitol to retool it for a consolidated system (Myers "Labor Intensive").

Calling for Deliberative Process: Inclusion and New Perspectives

During the deconsolidation discourse, Cashell was the one person consistently asking for deliberative process. He posited the good in deliberation and believed all the problems could be worked out in process. In seeing the future good, Cashell aligns himself with the ancients who viewed deliberation—the open-access process that provided new beneficial things and included the community—as the ideal method for arriving at the best solution in public matters. Cashell's go-to topoi was the topos of "everyone sitting down together" (a call-to-deliberate topos, actually), and although it helped him connect locally with community members, he employed the topos to declare his thoughts in the matter, to show the next step of the process, and to provide a visual of what the transparent process of deliberation could look like. Cashell extended the topos to express frustration with Washoe County's purportedly non-deliberative approach. The public leader with the most at stake in the Washoe County-Reno fire (de)consolidation issue is Mayor Cashell,⁷⁰ and he extends his transparency in his efforts to get everyone to a deliberation process. The fire-services pact is a step toward Cashell's vision of his imagined community, where the municipalities in the region all come together; even when the debate was slipping from his hands, Cashell still made a plug for his vision, saying, "If we set up [the consolidation] right I'm pretty sure Sparks would come..." (Myers "Labor Intensive"). Included in the value that the fire pact shows is also the demonstration of political process, mainly the deliberation, or lack thereof in this case. The city-county fire pact could have been a perfect example of how to overcome regionally unique obstacles in the consolidation process, and to do it in a deliberative fashion. Cashell had that vision early on and pushed for focused deliberation every chance he had.

Cashell connected locally with the public in the fire services (de)consolidation issue by making a habit of calling for deliberation; he was *known* in this issue as a person frequently calling for everyone to come together and work out a fitting arrangement, together. Cashell continuously asks for deliberation because he, like the ancients, sees deliberative process as a necessary practice for arriving at a reasonable solution befitting the community under the circumstances. As previously argued, political deliberation took place early in ancient Greece, and the ancients saw it as a practice that benefited the community. Pericles labeled deliberation "an indispensable preliminary to decision"

⁷⁰ Cashell desperately needs to keep the Washoe County-Reno fire consolidation because it can continue to be used to illustrate value to the community concerning the consolidation of area services. The fire-services consolidation is also vital to Cashell in several other ways, but mainly it could show the public a benefit that comes from his involvement and the political process he espouses, both of which are key concepts to his ethos.

(Fleming 10), and McDorman and Timmerman claim that ancient deliberative practices produced "enhanced" decisions, "beyond those that would be made by individuals themselves or even smaller groups of individuals" (xv). Not only was the physical act of deliberation crucial in ancient Greece, but also the space to do it in was essential. As is argued by David Fleming, Pericles, in his planning for the ideal city Thurii, allocated a space designed specifically for public deliberation—the space was open, accessible, and to be used often, meaning deliberation was a common practice. Aristotle later adds that deliberation should be purposeful and methodical and claims, "Excellence in deliberation is correctness in accessing what is beneficial" (163). Aristotle is the first to connect deliberation and "good," although pre-Aristotelian theorist also would call it good because it produced the best results. Rhetors who promote deliberative practice enhance their ethos in the public eye, as they are on the side of what's good for the community, because deliberation will produce what is best. In practicing an ethos of pro-deliberation, the rhetor secures a sense of goodwill (Enos 136) and connects with the public through "mild emotions" (May and Wisse 35) because he/she publicly calls for an inclusive process that benefits the public.

During the (de)consolidation debates, the public often heard Cashell call for deliberation—in fact, his responses to the public during the debates were, more often than not, a call to deliberate.⁷¹ Cashell's common reference was for everyone (meaning all parties involved) to "sit down together," and he used various other closely related

⁷¹ Cashell may never use the word *deliberation*, but deliberation is exactly what he means when he references "everyone sitting down together." The coming together of all parties for the purpose of discussing and arriving at the best possible solution through idea exchange and synthesis is what Cashell means and exactly what the ancient theorists envisioned.

versions of sitting-down-together wording. The following list represents some of Cashell's calls for deliberation using the phrasing of "everyone sitting down together."⁷² The list is only from a few local media outlets who concentrated on the issue, and it only concerns the recent Reno-Washoe County fire-services deconsolidation:

From Cassandra Duvall's "Mayor Wants Fire Services Talks":

• "Why can't you sit down and try to negotiate what we need to do."

From Dennis Myers' "Labor Intensive: With Just Hours to Go, Cashell Still Tries to Stop Fire Deconsolidation":

- "If we went to a joint-powers agreement negotiation, they would all sit down at the table with us."
- "...everybody would have set [sic] down and negotiated with the union."
- "And I think that we should sit down, because really the thing for this region is to have it consolidated."
- "We'll sit down and meet with anybody and talk about seeing if we can [stop it]."

From John Potter's "City-County Fire Services Agreement Coming to End:"

• "I'm hoping the county will sit down with us."

The emphases on "sitting down," being "together" and at a "table" evoke family, harmony, and getting along, but above all, they reinforce the purposefulness of a meeting—the reason for the meeting and the value in the process that will be used. If

⁷² Cashell makes other similar references in his calls for deliberation, but the phrasing is not in reference to his metaphor of "sitting down together," such as in his letter to the Caughlin Ranch Homeowners Association when he says, "We have repeatedly asked for public meetings to discuss service agreements to the islands, but County officials have refused to hold those meetings" (Cashell).

anything, the repeated use of "sitting down" indicates Cashell's commitment to a political, businesslike procedure that is deemed to yield the best results for the community. In essence, Cashell is repeatedly saying "I want what's best for the community." Washoe County would also argue that it was doing what was best for their community by not overspending, as indicated in its bottom-line topos, but it cannot claim to have arrived at that decision in a fashion as transparently beneficial as the procedure Cashell wanted. Cashell's process simply *appears* to have a higher degree of good—purposely gathering in an open-to-the-public meeting with the goal of reaching a decision together seems better than other available processes.⁷³

In fact, Cashell expressed outrage for the (lack of) process in which Washoe County arrived at their decision not to deliberate with Reno and not to renew the consolidation contracts, and his disappointment is primarily in the secrecy and lack of transparency of their process. Speaking about their June, 2011, closed-door discussion of union contracts and the consolidation renewal, Cashell stated, "And then they [county officials] had a meeting, a closed-door meeting, and agreed they weren't going to do it and so they never discussed it—to the best of my knowledge—publicly or anything. They just decided no" (Myers "Labor Intensive"). Cashell is obviously disappointed in Washoe County's decision not to renew the contract, but he is also annoyed with how they arrived at that decision. Cashell's use of the phrases "closed door" and "never discussed it [] publicly" highlights how he positions his procedure as the antithesis to

⁷³ No one can say if the proposed meetings would be as harmonious as advertised. The deliberative meetings could very well end up being a showcase of strong arming by Cashell and Reno. But the call to deliberate has the appearance of democratic idea sharing, and that process (and those leaders calling for it) is better and a higher degree of good than the decisions arrived at through other means. By staking claims to the best procedure, Cashell can always argue his intentions over the oppositions' actions.

theirs—Cashell is arguing Washoe County had no open-ended discussion and no transparency in their decision-making process.⁷⁴ Commissioner Breternitz' comment about the meeting confirms some of Cashell's suspicions: Breternitz remarked, "It was one commissioner had had [sic] discussions and brought it to the county commission in a closed labor session, and we decided that we couldn't afford the contract with that union" (Myers "Labor Intensive").⁷⁵ A closed-door meeting allows the candidates to speak candidly but denies the public a view of the process, and it also denies the opposition an opportunity to observe, which may have been the primary reason. In cutting Cashell and Reno from their process, Washoe County also cut their own constituency.

Shortly thereafter, Cashell found a new way to connect with Washoe County's constituents, publicly, and he used it to his advantage. In an effort to connect with the public and detail his willingness to deliberate, Cashell responded to a letter from the Caughlin Ranch Home Owners Association (HOA). The short letter from Cashell is formal, inclusive, favors Cashell's viewpoint, and mentions thrice the county's refusal to meet and discuss the issue. On the surface, the letter supports the consolidation and expresses concerns for the unknowns in how the Caughlin Ranch area will be affected without even an aid agreement in place. The letter was addressed to the HOA, but it was a public document, open for everyone to view.⁷⁶ The clarity is the key to the letter for Cashell, and it echoes the transparent sentiments of the ancients in their envisioned

⁷⁴ Cashell also gets disappointed when other individuals are closed to debating an issue in general. In Myers' article "Labor Intensive: With Hours to Go, Cashell Still Tries to stop Fire Deconsolidation," Cashell comments on County Commissioner David Humke's attitude toward focused discussion: "You could tell by the way Humke acted that day that there was no room for negotiations" (Meyers).

⁷⁵ A note of interest here is that Commissioner Breternitz responds to Cashell's complaint rather than opting to accuse Cashell of unilateral decision making.

⁷⁶ The letter to the Caughlin Ranch HOA is on Reno City's website.

deliberative practices.⁷⁷ Cashell's letter to the HOA reopened the issue to the public when Washoe County was trying to close it. The lack of transparency of the Washoe County Commission's meeting worked for them because the officials got what they wanted, a nearly unified decision to break away from the consolidation, but the transparency of Cashell's letter worked to his advantage in terms of political ethos. The openness of the letter set Cashell apart from Washoe County, cementing his position of willing to discuss the issue in the public eye, which is very similar to the attributes of deliberation. He connects with Washoe County's constituents better than the County does, and he clues in a large voter base more clearly than its elected officials. Cashell does not get what he wants, but he wins with the public due to his congenial outreach effort with the letter. The letter was an opportunity for disclosure.

Qualifying the Deliberation to the Public

Cashell used the reply letter to the Caughlin Ranch HOA to voice his position and frame the issue for the public, and the letter produced more goodwill with the public because in it he connected with constituents personably and informed them of process details they otherwise would not have known. The letter clearly improved the public's understanding of events. Cashell, more than any other rhetor in the deconsolidation debate, clued in the public with his comments and responses. These clue-ins came not

⁷⁷ Transparency was equally important to Pericles when he devised the open-air deliberation area of his envisioned city of Thurii; the discussions were to be "open," for everyone to literally see. Everyone could access the deliberating and form their own viewpoints. McDorman and Timmerman add that the deliberation at that point in history was "live, unmediated public communication" (xv), meaning there was no pre-digested, mediated comments prepared for the public. The public could witness for itself the presentations, counter-statements, and exchanges of ideas. The transparency allowed for live debate— and the public's access to it.

only from the HOA letter, but also in the form of secondary/follow-up responses. The clue-ins qualify Cashell's calls to deliberate and lead the community members through an explanation, fully engaging him in a conversation or negotiation with the public.⁷⁸ The clue-ins are spoken specifically for the local public and give community members fresh insights from Cashell's involvement—the sound bites are quick disclosures with explanations that show how an NHET practitioner maintains a progressing relationship with the public. The clue-ins set up the expectations, revealing Cashell's intentions and calling on the audience to place continued assurance in him and his practices. The clue-ins improve the experience for the public.

The hallmark of Cashell's letter to the Caughlin Ranch HOA, as argued in the previous section, was the transparency—he opened, or reopened, the issue for Caughlin Ranch area residents when the County was trying to close it. But additionally the letter points the audience to the necessity of deliberation and shows them what deliberation could do. The letter uses emotion-evoking language to vilify the County and illustrate the hypothetical chaos that can ensue without a deliberative process, a process that could bring unity and safety back to their region; the letter uses fear of the unknown to demonstrate what happens when one side (the county) will not consolidate or enter into aid agreements. An example is when Cashell says, "With the county's refusal to meet, I am concerned about the consolidation agreement terminating July 1, with no Mutual Aid agreement in place" (Reno.gov). At the same time, the rhetoric paints Reno as reasonable and looking out for the safety of area residents.

⁷⁸ Cashell's clue-ins were not a *conversation* with the public in a face-to-face discussion sense. I am constructing his rhetorical moves as conversational, as a scholar, to emphasize what he is doing.

No doubt there are partisan overtones. Biases aside, Cashell, in the letter, converses with constituents to directly support and qualify his calls for deliberation. Cashell explains to Caughlin Ranch residents why deliberation needs to happen in paragraph four, while explaining the options for "aid agreements": "This is the way it works now with a consolidated fire department, with the City of Reno crews providing the primary response to all of Caughlin Ranch, regardless of jurisdiction. The County Commission has decided to terminate that and will not discuss how they will provide primary response to your non-city residents" (Reno.gov). Cashell is indicating to residents that the discussions, deliberation, would lead to "primary response,"⁷⁹ which is one of the components to their "seamless service" provided under the then-current consolidation. The deliberating would lead back to the safety and protection they once enjoyed—the deliberating would lead to a better community than what happens without deliberating. Cashell finishes his letter by indirectly reiterating that he is the one making the effort to transparently converse with the public and that because the County has not communicated with the public there is marginal fear of what will happen; Cashell says:

Since the County has decided to walk away from the agreement, I can't tell you how your unincorporated residents will be protected. Should you have further questions, I advise you to direct your concerns to the Washoe County Board of Fire Commissioners (County Commissioners) directly as to how the new Truckee Meadows system will provide service to your area. (Reno.gov)

⁷⁹ Cashell actually defines "primary responder" as "first on the scene and responsible for incident command" (Cashell).

The comment is sort of a snarky way to say that since the County has not made an effort to communicate with them, they have to make the effort to contact the County in order to be clued in as to what will happen. Conversely, it is Cashell, the county's opposition, who is informing them of how to communicate with their elected leaders.

In addition to overtly calling for deliberation, Cashell often used follow-up or secondary-commentary responses to qualify his requests for deliberations, which revealed his intentions and assured the public of his process. Continuing with Cashell's consistency, the secondary remarks reiterate the procedure and purpose for deliberating, open up the process to the public, and emphasize group mentality and community good. These remarks connect with the public and inform them as to what the deliberation is intended to do. They might indicate that Cashell's call for deliberation really is about inclusive idea exchange and reaching a beneficial agreement.⁸⁰

Part of Cashell's communication pattern is to use business jargon and analogies, stemming from his ethos from industry. Several times in the media, not just in the deconsolidation debates, Cashell mentions phrases such as "we'll put people on it," meant to convey that action is being taken. In the deconsolidation debates, however, that same phrase has a different meaning in terms of deliberative process: talk of "we'll put people on it" now relates to multiple perspectives, negotiating all angles, and public officials fixing a problem. In early 2011, before the Washoe County Commission voted to break away from the pact, Cashell spoke in terms of regionalizing the firefighters'

⁸⁰ Again, Cashell's real intentions could very well be to dominate the talks by cornering others during the proposed meetings. No one can actually say. But these follow-up comments point to the inclusive benefits of group discussion and the possibility of addressing and progressing through each and every problem.

union contracts, saying, "I would like to put council people on a committee and work it out" (Voyles "Reno Mayor"), reiterating that the perceived outcome of the committee's work would be to resolve the problems. The "we'll-put-people-on-it" comments fit with "sitting down at the table" because it is about methodically working together to bring the best results. In June of 2012, Cashell said:

If we went to a joint powers negotiation, they would all sit down at the table with us, and we would negotiate every contract we have with the fire union. And we'd have county commissioners on it, city council on it, staffs, legal—everybody would have set (*sic*) down and negotiated with the union. ... Then every station in Washoe County except for Sparks would have been open with four-man crews, with it set up the way it was.

There would have been no tax increase, none. (Myers "Labor Intensive") This comment shows the public what will happen during the deliberation; it explains, openly, what will take place and what the effects will be—granted, it is a positive spin, but nonetheless the follow-up commentary opens the process to the public and attempts to include them. The follow-up commentary sets up the expectations; Cashell's intentions are revealed, and a perceived result is provided. As well, the commentary details the steps of the deliberative process in how they can address problematic issues, such as the union contracts—through applying the process, those problems can be overcome. The wording of "they would have negotiated" (the missed-opportunity topos) implies that the purposeful discussion would yield a beneficial result, for as a group the deliberators could have progressed through the problems. And the phrases "would have been open with four-man crews" and "would have been no tax increase" point to his

process of comprehensive deliberation being better than other procedures and being able to accomplish what other procedures cannot.

More than anything, the follow-up commentary assures the public of Cashell's commitment to continuous industry that contributes to the community good. Cashell believes in the power of his process—just as with his personal belief that he can accomplish anything, deliberation as a procedure can accomplish anything. In his follow-up commentary remarks, Cashell constantly says statements such as "all those things will get worked out." It is a general phrase that covers very technical problems, but it does assure the public that a solution can be achieved if everyone will commit to the process. Even when his opposition already decides not to renew the consolidation and not to deliberate about it, Cashell still argues that his deliberative process could have worked and could have maintained the consolidated service, which would have been good for the community.

Cashell's comments are a reminder to his opponents that in his opinion their reasons for deconsolidating really are not reasons at all. After a strong objection, really a rejection, Cashell squeezes in a comment about his process in his response: while discussing the financial aspects of the union, "Washoe County Commissioner chair John Breternitz said that [*sic*] solution would have lasted only a year and then taken the county into the red. Cashell responded that it would have given the two entities a year to work on the problem" (Myers "Labor Intensive"). It is clear that for the County the solution is what comes from the deliberating, but for Cashell the deliberating process is the solution. Continuing with the same topic, Cashell said, ""[I]f we'd stayed in negotiations, we could have negotiated those contracts" (Myers "Labor Intensive"). What Cashell also meant was that if they would have stayed with the process, good results would have come from it.

A closer, more technical examination of Cashell's clue-in responses indicates that he relies heavily on the if/then topos to confirm to the public the benefits of deliberation and maintain his imagined-community vision-the contingency in the *if* clause, the vision in the main clause. In employing the if/then construction, he uses the first part to qualify the second part, and often enough in the deconsolidation debates, the first part was a call to deliberate. In other consolidation articles not specifically related to the deconsolidation of the fire services, Cashell employs the if/then structure to act as one with familiarity with the events of the issue. The "if" was a hypothetical condition based on others conforming to his imagined community, such as "if we could legally merge the two boards and have a city-county commission, then we should explore that,' Mayor Bob Cashell said. 'If we can get them to agree to it, we can make this happen'" (Damon). For the deconsolidation issue, however, Cashell uses the two-part format as a go-to, quick structure to infuse mild emotion and connect with the audience by creating a brief vision narrative; the if/then construction can create a sense of urgency, frame the issue, interject humor with a brash main point, set up a hypothetical narrative and then answer it, and allow Cashell to comment about the issue without getting specific.⁸¹ Mainly Cashell uses the if/then construction to support his process that could have happened. Dennis Myers' "Labor Intensive" presents a few of the cases: 1) "If we went to a joint-powers agreement

⁸¹ Cashell's most humorous if/then dichotomy has to be "if we're wrong, slap me" (Duvall "Mayor Wants Fire Service Talks"). The structure creates an opportunity for a brief explanative narrative, allowing him to connect emotionally with the audience by adding some humor and showing how passionately he believes he is right.

negotiation, they would all sit down at the table with us" 2) "[I]f we'd stayed in negotiations, we could have negotiated those contracts" 3) "If they would have agreed to do what we talked about back in January or February, whenever it was, we could have solved all of it." In these cases, Cashell uses the dichotomous structuring to build a hypothetical situation that points to his self-acclaimed process of deliberation. They are comments after the fact, but they do have explanatory power, however limited they may be; the two-part comments give an explanation to the public about the process and reinforce Cashell's belief that the objections could have been overcome.

Chapter Conclusions

Similar to the ancient NHET practitioners, Cashell opened the political system to the public, granting access to the ongoing political dialogues previously unknown to the public. Cashell, like Cicero and Marius, informed the public of contradictions from a unique perspective, which only he could provide, and that perspective enhanced the public's experience of the events. The new insight the NHET practitioners provided to the public was fitting to their role in society and what they represented—freshness, newness, fairness, and opportunity.

More than the ancient NHET practitioners, however, Cashell addressed the community directly and interactively, seeking to improve the community. He conversed with the public, and in doing so, the separation from his opponents is even more evident because he clearly gives the public what his non-novus homo contemporaries cannot: new inclusion opportunities and steady, unique glimpses of the political system in process.⁸² Cashell's opponents gradually become more transparent as he pressures them about their process, and he exposes their processes if they will not. The public gains overall clarity in the issue by having an NHET practitioner involved.

Cashell's clue-ins are invitations that create expectations and reinforce to the public that good will come from the deliberating. Via the conversational engagement with the public, Cashell leans upon the universal outcomes of deliberation—to arrive at the best possible solution for the community by incorporating the most perspectives of the community, with the entirety of the process (supposedly) open to the community. Cashell's remarks that certain details still needed to be worked out but that all would be fine if only deliberation could take place indicates that his ideas are not fixed, guaranteed solutions. His solution is the inclusive deliberative process similar to what the ancients practiced in the agora.

Cashell's rhetorical agency during the Reno-Washoe County fire services deconsolidation continually secured him goodwill as he gave new things to the public to progress their understanding and experience. His NHET practice stresses the necessity of locality and community, the foregrounded components of the recent Reinvigoration, by drawing from his habit of dwelling locally as a fresh-perspective provider who pushes for the community value in legitimate deliberation.

The following conclusion completes this dissertation by reviewing my approach and findings in terms of impact to the field and future research opportunities. I examine

⁸² There is no way the public would have known about Washoe County's (non)deliberative practices if Cashell had not told them.

my new contributions to rhetoric theory, revisit the research questions to draw new claims about the role of the public, and review future research and teaching implications based upon my findings.

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This conclusion to my dissertation looks at how my research process and findings impact the scholarship of rhetoric and then looks ahead for future research opportunities. I first examine what my approach and findings offer to the field of rhetoric, arguing that my study provides new narratives that reveal ethos-inventive techniques while advancing the latest research about ancient ethos theory. I then acknowledge the limitations of my research model by examining inherent problems in the approach and how others could challenge my approach and findings. Next, I revisit the research questions to draw conclusions about the role of the public and the type of personality traits necessary in the NHET practitioner to interact with the public. Finally, I examine how the scholarly world is different based upon my approach and findings and what is left to be done in terms of research similar to the type conducted in this dissertation, closing with a pedagogical suggestion that applies my findings.

Getting at The How

My innovative research approach and novel findings indicate the value of studying inventive and generative aspects in rhetoric and allow for detailed descriptions of the application of theory, as this dissertation offers new understandings in ancient rhetoric, local politics, and the issue of consolidation. I discover and posit new theories about the ways ancient and modern practitioners adapt the NHET and how those theories impact rhetorical situations. In the field of rhetoric, my findings offer new understandings of ancient rhetorical theories while advancing the latest theoretical research about ancient ethos. In addition, my findings offer snapshots of the universality and adaptability of rhetorical theory in local politics.

My research model allowed me to construct theoretical connections based upon the ethos-invention features in the discourse. My approach focuses on the creation and generative stages of ethos construction to string together possible process-narratives that speak to how the universal rhetorical theory is adapted and what the impact is. My approach stands out among others because it allows for the connecting of the various threads of previous research to current adaptations of ancient theory.⁸³ The arguments are original and offer new interpretive angles to current discourse as well as to theories that are over two centuries old. My research model serves to bridge current practice to ancient theory. Another approach would not have allowed me as the researcher the freedom to pursue theoretical connections and descriptive explanations.

My approach provides to the field of rhetoric original inventional insights in the discourse. More than simply elucidating the understudied NHET, my findings reveal *how* practitioners adapt the NHET for ethotic gain—in the short and long term. I discovered first that ancient novi homines built ethos through their industry and beneficial contributions to the community; this was accomplished over time and with visibility to the community. I then applied that knowledge while analyzing Reno Mayor Bob Cashell's ethotic behavior in the consolidation discourse and found that he utilized a thematic label, *fixer*, that stemmed from his industry and community contributions, to

⁸³ I was looking for *intersections* or *arrival points* with the Reinvigoration theory as I was writing. The recent ethos theory was a foundation, guiding principle, and target point as I was researching and writing. I knew the theories of locality and community were imbedded in the ethos constructing. I just had to make the connections.

connect with the public and demonstrate value. Exploring the fixer identity began to uncover the communal undercurrents at work in his ethos development: Cashell was extremely clear with communicated objectives and worked to provide new things for the community.

The new findings regarding the locality and social nature of Cashell's ethos support and advance the Reinvigoration, a term I have used in this dissertation to capture the recent scholarly recuperation of ethos. Cashell improved places in the community while locally, as a rhetor, including community members in process—an action that revealed, over time, how he consistently "dwelled." As well, via transparency, he sought to improve the public's experience of local events. These findings support the theoretical claims made in the Reinvigoration: that ethos is a social construct and that locality and community are indeed co-shapers in an individual's ethos development. My approach not only allowed for the groundbreaking Reinvigoration theory to be incorporated, but also searched for the theory to surface during the research. My research and findings boost the Reinvigoration to a more prominent position in ethos theory and shape the claims of the Reinvigoration to be more foundational than supportive.

Inventive and generative aspects also can be seen in the uncovering of how ethos is developed in connection to formal political deliberative practices and/or the way one views and uses the deliberation. A secondary claim made in the Reinvigoration is the relationship between ethos and deliberation.⁸⁴ Cashell's ethos is directly tied to his

⁸⁴ The Reinvigoration made claims to the connection between ethos and deliberation, as the ancients gathered to exchange ideas and reveal who they were rhetorically through repeated interaction. Hyde argues that the public dwelling places were "where people can deliberate about and 'know together' (con-scientia) some matter of interest" (xiii).

deliberative views: he continually calls for deliberation and qualifies to the public as to why he wants deliberative process. These actions work toward the public good, include the community, and invite the public into a conversation. These actions, collectively, also separate him from opponents. Sparks' and Washoe County's ethos construction was created out of a reaction to Cashell's persistence in calling for deliberation. My approach allowed for the revealing of Sparks' and Washoe County's ethos inventional strategies to be drawn out of the inherent ethos-deliberation connection.

Lastly, my approach and findings in my research speak to the value of rhetorical research/studies at the local level and offer narratives that connect the success of current local politicians to ancient rhetorical theory. Discourse exchanges in local issues should be studied because they are solid snapshots of ancient adapted theory in application, illustrated in my research. This rich rhetorical activity is further confirmation of the universality, timelessness and flexibility of Ciceronian rhetoric, advancing the knowledge of one of the greatest known contributors to rhetorical theory and practice. Local politicians may not know by name the theories they use, but they understand what gets them the desired results they want in the circumstances they are in, and the patterns they use reveal the universal nature and adaptability of rhetorical theory.

Limitations

While my research model allows me to examine under-researched areas of rhetoric and connect recent theory and ancient practices to current application, my approach does have identifiable limitations. The limitations reveal my expectations as a researcher and challenge the extendibility of my model. In addition, there is the problem

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that novus homo is not a current sociopolitical label recognized by the public. These limitations may restrict the impact of my findings is some regards, but they do not negate the contributions to the field or the need for research like mine.

Since I was constructing the chapters to build theoretical arguments, a case could be made that "I found what I wanted to find." While that statement might at first appear reasonable, historical-research theory in rhetoric overwhelmingly supports my practice. Every historical-research theorist claims that hunches, intuitions, and expectations were not only excusable in my type of research but also necessary, as no one would go to an archive without some idea or hope of what they would find. While I did find what I thought I would find in general terms, I did not know about the specific details I eventually found, and the details of this project provide the significance.

Another problem with my model could be that when I extend my model to other cases and situations, the classical-theory use may not be as prevalent and the documents and articles may not be as revealing. In other words, is my research approach only usable within the parameters I created? In a similar project, would I need to take more of a license to draw comparisons to the ancients? And if I did, what would that say about the approach and therefore the findings? More research using my approach would answer those questions, testing the durability of my model.

An issue in my approach that diminishes the significance of my findings is the fact that Bob Cashell was not practicing the NHET by name. Cicero and Marius used the novus homo concept as a public label. Cashell utilized similar themes and terms but obviously never identified himself as a modern novus homo. While Cashell appeared to use a similar topoi as the ancients, an argument could be made that similar themes are simply pervasive in all politics.

Despite the limitations of my model, my research is necessary because, as my findings indicate, local use of the topoi can certainly be studied at the local level where political rhetoric is the least professionally mediated. And my approach allows for a flexible model to examine the inventional techniques in the political rhetoric at the ground, non-national level where the practices of local rhetors are the least mediated in comparison to the other levels of government.

Drawing Conclusions: The Surfacing Role of the Public

Revisiting the chapters in light of the research questions (RQs), with an emphasis on the role of the public, allows me to draw conclusions and say more about what the public does and wants in local politics. Reconsidering the chapters with a focus on the public reveals the previously undetected role of the public: the public is interactive and participatory. The public wants reliability and relateability from their local leaders as well as to be in conversation with them. A local political leader who can accommodate the public's desires must have certain personality traits.

The RQs guided the dissertation project but have not been directly reconsidered since Chapter 1. The RQs, as they were originally stated in Chapter 1:

- How did Cashell build and utilize his adaptation of the NHET in the consolidation discourse? And what was the impact on deliberation?
- How does the new knowledge from this research elucidate the ancient NHET and the Reinvigoration?

The first RQ was ultimately addressed, answered, and developed in the previous chapters as each chapter sought to illustrate it, while the second RQ requires more of an interpretation of the findings. The second RQ was answered in part in Chapter 4 when I argued in detail that Cicero and Marius extended their transparency to create separation and expose to the public the inner political processes. More, however, can be concluded about the role of the public based upon Cicero's, Marius', and Cashell's interaction with the public while developing their ethe.

In addition to structuring the framework for the dissertation, Chapter 1 threaded the reinvigorated theories—the affecting presence of locality and community as original, developmental shapers of ethos—throughout ancient rhetorical theory to uncover that public and places were consistent shapers of individual ethos. The first chapter additionally showed how the novi homines drew from their habitual behavior in the community, with the community members.

Chapter 2 found that the major tenets of a practicing novus homo had less to do with one's up-and-coming nature or class ascension and more to do with the production of visible, consistent industry beneficial to the public. Novi homines, both modern and ancient, brought attention to their merits, work ethics, and accomplishments as reminders of their habitual role and relationship to the community; they reminded the public of their own established ethe. Cashell spoke from the position of a prosperous problem solver; Cicero, from one whose diligence is constantly contested by his contemporaries; and Marius, from a war hero. In their commentary in speeches and media responses, the novi homines gave the public confirmation that a reliable habitual community dweller was maintaining his record of beneficial service to the community, which additionally sustained the novi homines' separation from opponents in terms of goodwill.

The findings in Chapter 3 point more to the influence and effectiveness of an NHET practitioner—in terms of what an opponent did to combat Cashell's ethos—than to further developing the role of the public, but some details about the public can be discovered in regards to the public getting something. Sparks generated and stood behind documents that gave them reasons to reject Cashell's "imagined community." The documents used locality and community to remind and demonstrate to the public Sparks' corporate ethos. Sparks' ethotic approach, though effective in galvanizing the public and staving off Cashell, did not converse with the public as did Cashell's because the city leaders acted as agents. The public did not "participate" with Sparks city leaders, but they did receive more clarity from their leaders than they normally would have had an NHET practitioner not been involved.

Chapter 4's findings reveal that the public is participating considerably more than originally thought, albeit unconventionally. Cashell's employment of the NHET during the Reno-Washoe County fire services deconsolidation indicates he used it to create transparency that allowed him to expose the system and to tell the public about the deliberation process. With the transparency, Cashell gave the public internal glimpses of local politics in process and qualified his responses supporting his requests, which clued in the public further. The public trusted Cashell due to his established ethos with the community and his comments during the issue that stressed community good. The transparency and established relationship allowed for a continued negotiation and vice versa. Cashell's sustained connection with the public invited the public into a

conversation—the invitation somewhat moves the public from observers to participants. Cashell earned the right to converse with the public by continuing his transparency that began when he first entered the community and produced (new) industry that benefited the community (in new ways).

The results of my research specify that the community desires clarity from and participation with the NHET practitioner. In order to reach the community members clearly and participate with them, I'm led to believe an ancient novus homo must have had a relational personality—another reason is that Cashell is relational. My research indicates that Cashell has a personality predisposition of understanding relationships that allowed him to flourish with the NHET. A comment from Harry Spenser adequately sums up Cashell's nature: "During his two-and-a-half or so terms in office, Cashell has been highly successful in establishing new and more cordial relations with the Sparks mayors, the late Tony Armstrong, and the current Geno Martini." (The word that stands out here is *new*.) The main point from Spenser's comment is that Cashell can revive and strengthen relationships—he can *fix* relationships. More technically speaking, Cashell wins relationally by including others and listening to them. The Reno Gazette Journal editors remarked in an article advocating for Cashell's re-election that "[Cashell] helped ease so much of the contentiousness that has marked relations on the council and with other governments in the Truckee Meadows, and he's done it not by shutting off dissent but by listening to what other people have to say." Later in the article, the editors note that he planned to do what Erik Holland, his opponent in the second election, suggested during the campaign; this shows Cashell is willing to incorporate the ideas of others, even when the ideas come from opponents. Cashell wins the hearers' favor by listening to

others and including them. He secures goodwill, the backbone of Ciceronian ethos, by listening and seeking collaboration in his processes.

Implications for Research and Teaching

The findings in this dissertation speak to the ubiquity and timelessness of ancient rhetorical theory in political discourse as well as the impact and place of my project in the field.

The same rhetorical theory that was practiced and codified over two centuries ago is still in use today and should be more of a focused area of study. Current practitioners may claim they are unknowingly practicing the theory, but they make rhetorical moves for a reason because they know what works. The NHET is a topos still in practice, as well as spinoff variations of it. Other topoi can easily be seen in local rhetorical discourse. Because we know topoi are universal and still employed in local politics, more work is to be done in terms of research.

The scholarly world now looks to be more in need of projects like mine, based upon my research. I now see the imbalance and incompleteness in the scholarship of classical rhetoric even more than when I first began the project. There simply are not enough case studies examining current application. The scholarly interest in Cicero is evident⁸⁵—but as Cicero is known in classical scholarship for application, more studies of him should involve current adaptations of his practice because of what they can provide to the field and education.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Ciceronian rhetoric is still a popular topic for researchers, but the focus is theory not application.

⁸⁶ More application-based research would speak to the universality of ancient theory and strengthen the argument(s) of the necessity of rhetorical education.

In addition, more research should be conducted from a Ciceronian inventive standpoint because the approach I have used has been so fruitful in exploring and furthering the understanding of Ciceronian rhetoric. Current Ciceronian research does not seek to explore the current generative application of Cicero's theories.⁸⁷ The field of rhetoric needs more research projects aimed at understanding the invention techniques of Cicero's theories and applications, in real-life, local scenarios.

As my research focuses on just one topos, more examples are needed in order to explore the full breadth of the theory application. More studies, like mine, need to be conducted, not only for the purposes of contrastive analysis, but also to describe and interpret what is there. Perhaps the NHET practice is just a small slice of what is actually getting used. Perhaps some topoi are much more popular than others. Perhaps some have faded and are no longer used. More studies looking for and at topoi use in local politics would be able to tell us more about the rhetorical tendencies in local political discourse.

The findings of my research are tremendously valuable for people who will be interacting with local politicians in the future. As my research uncovers invention-al techniques for employing effective rhetorical theory in local political situations, it is perfect for teaching to students planning careers that will involve local political discourse. It would serve these students well to study the topoi and how to effectively utilize them because students need to understand how local politicians communicate and

⁸⁷ Gesine Manuwald's recent *Rhetorica* piece "The Speeches to the People in Cicero's Oratorical Corpora," and scholarship similar to hers, does indicate an interest in the field in expanding the knowledge of Cicero's application of theory. But Manuwald's work examines only Cicero's ancient speeches, not current adaptations.

deliberate in order to be rhetorically effective in those settings. A curriculum based upon my findings in this dissertation would be beneficial for students (at UNR) because:

- Rhetorical occasions of and with local governments are the most likely governmental settings with which students will engage as activists or advocates who want to implement change.
- Local politics is more easily digestible for students than national politics.
 National politics tend to be overly complicated, mediated, overcooked, and lacking a local, everyday connection.
- Local politics have a greater chance of directly affecting students and could therefore cause them to take an interest in the discourse and pursue the opportunity to be an agent of change.
- Access to local politicians, assemblies, and issues allows for visibility and direct interaction with the discourse and the politicians. As stated previously, students are much more likely to come into contact with local political leaders than state or national politicians.
- Local politics allow the students to see the most complete version of politics in process.
- Most students are from Nevada and may already have a personal connection or backstory to the issues.
- Students from out of town can compare what they see in Northern Nevada to their own town.
- The political discourse is taking place in the students' community. They can learn how to have an effective direct impact in the area in which they live.

David J. Fleming, whose work is heavily cited in this dissertation, argues for a curriculum that could meet the needs of students who desire a future career involving local politics. Fleming's curriculum is not perfect, but it most closely matches how I would construct a course seeking similar objectives. Fleming presents a call to instructors to teach an "Ethical Approach" to students to develop their ethoi and rhetorical agency.⁸⁸ Fleming's "The Very Idea of a 'Progymnasmata'" promotes the progymnasmata as more than a set of structured exercises; rather, he takes a holistic look at the ancient curricula and claims that it enables students to "become rhetorical" (106), which is actually what current students need and where current pedagogical paradigms fall short. Fleming writes, "...the target of instruction is neither a general skill of writing nor a diverse repertoire of situated writing practices but rather the student's very character (Gk. *êthos*) as a writer, that collection of traits derived in part from 'nature' but developed mainly through training and habit, which makes someone the sort of discursive agent he or she is" (106). Fleming appropriately counteracts progymnasmata naysayers—who say "the program was clearly too rigid, too conservative, and too time consuming" (117)—to argue that his Ethical Approach develops ethos and rhetorical capacity, making rhetorical skill and agency second nature to students. But that is not the only reason why I believe his proposal has merit.

Fleming's claims have more value concerning my dissertation assertions because of the Greco-Roman purpose behind the progymnasmata curricula: the original aim of the

⁸⁸ Fleming's suggested curricula should not replace first-year composition courses, and it might not be for every student. However, the theoretical reasoning behind Fleming's Ethical Approach is appropriate for preparing students to have rhetorical agency in local civic rhetorical occasions, as that was the original purpose for the ancient progymnasmata curricula.

progymnasmata was to develop one's rhetorical aptitude for civic use and for direct application in the assembly courts.⁸⁹ The progymnasmata exercises were designed to enhance one's ability in the public forums; the program culminates with exercises deemed for direct civic use, and the subsequent educational step after the progymnasmata was to study declamation for specific use in public deliberation. "Becoming rhetorical," argues Fleming, has three parts to it: nature, art, and practice (107). And the practice part has three further subparts: imitation, exercise, and composition (107). Fleming claims that the composition subpart of practice happens when students applied their skills to mock real-life civic situations. He details:

> In the third and final component of rhetorical "practice," students further developed their discursive habits and dispositions by composing, on their own, full scale speeches and themes on mock judicial cases and political questions. The Romans called this part of rhetorical training *declamatio*. Though still an academic activity, involving as much artificiality as the exercises of the *progymnasmata*, declamation—what we might call "composition" proper—served as the capstone of classical rhetorical education, helping students make a smooth transition from the "play" of the classroom to the "business" of real-world civic action. (109)

Through the very practice of becoming rhetorical, students will prepare for the settings they likely will be in by playing out the theories they learn in the lessons.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁹ Above all, students should know how to use the progymnasmata and topoi because, as my research in this dissertation shows, local political leaders are using them with success.

⁹⁰ Fleming's Becoming Rhetorical concept also answers J. Michael Hogan's call to teach students how to participate in civic life (see Chapter 2 of this dissertation).

declamation phase necessitates direct application of learned theories, provides students with real-life practice, and brings together all the pieces of rhetorical occasions they will likely see in civic areas.⁹¹

I believe Fleming has the right idea for curriculum change, and students do need to develop their ethotic agency in general. However, a much more specialized curriculum should be implemented in response to my research.⁹² Fleming's curriculum culminates with a civically applicable exercise, but the link and application to local use should be a core objective. Based upon my findings, I would extend Fleming's Ethical Approach to have an explicit connection to local civic political discourse throughout the term: make the curriculum about the application. As my research supports the need for topos know-how in local political environments, I would introduce the real-world application of the material at the very beginning of the term. Examples for the imitation section would directly come from local political discourse, giving the students a local illustration. (There would be no need for examples from presidential speeches when students could use mayoral or city assembly-member speeches.) The exercises as well should be set up in context of local political discourse. The last additions I would make are to include plenty of analyses of current theory application and push for students to engage internship-like experiences (something like a mini internship during the term). The analyses could include observations and interviews, and the mini internships would give the students real opportunities to apply the theory.

⁹¹ The beauty of the practice/declamation phase, in my opinion, is the inclusion of an actual audience.
⁹² I believe taking Fleming's proposal a step further would still be aligned with his actual purpose behind the curriculum.

An Ethical Approach curriculum with a heavier focus on local civic application is a step in the direction of exploring the full breadth of the ancient theory application at the local level.

Feedback from the students—and even patterns observed form the examples used for imitation and exercise purposes—could be precursors for more formal research.

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Appendix A: Sparks Resolution No. 2776

RESOLUTION NO. 2776 INTRODUCED BY COUNCILA RESOLUTION ON REGIONAL GOVERNMENT CONSOLIDATION

WHEREAS, the City of Sparks is proud of its individuality, its ninety-seven year history as the rail city of Nevada, and its identity as a family community with the best quality of life in the Truckee Meadows; and

WHEREAS, the Sparks city council is dedicated and duty bound to represent the

best interests of all citizens of the city; and

WHEREAS, the Sparks city council believes those interests and those citizens are best served by council members elected from and by the citizens of the City of Sparks; and

WHEREAS, the Sparks city council believes perpetuating and improving the current form of government in the City of Sparks is in the best interests of all citizens of

the city; and

WHEREAS, the Sparks city council believes proven efficiencies in city services are in the best interests of the citizens, and

WHEREAS, the Sparks city council believes fiscal constraint by city government and regional fiscal equity for all citizens in the region is in the best interests of the citizens of Sparks.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Sparks city council will join regional efforts to improve the quality and fiscal efficiencies of city services for the citizens of the City of Sparks and fiscal equity for the region, without participating in or supporting any regional government consolidation which would change the form of government of the City of Sparks.

PASSED AND ADOPTED this <u>28th</u> day of <u>January</u> 2002, by the following vote of the city council.

AYES: MAYER, SALERNO, MARTINI, CARRIGAN, SCHMITT

NAYS:	NONE

ABSENT: NONE

APPROVED this <u>28th</u> day of <u>January</u> 2002, by: /Armstrong, Mayor

The City of Sparks' Perspective on Consolidation

Appendix B: Nevada State Legislature AB494 and Brief Analyses of the Reports

AB494 reads:

On or before September 1, 2010, the Board of County Commissioners of Clark County, the Board of County Commissioners of Washoe County and the governing body of each city in those counties shall each submit a report to the Director of the Legislative Counsel Bureau for transmission to the 76th Session of the Nevada State Legislature that, with respect to the functions of public safety, public works and general government performed by those entities:

- 1. Identifies the aspects of those functions that are currently consolidated in whole or in part.
- 2. Identifies the aspects of those functions that have been or are being considered for consolidation or reorganization.
- 3. Identifies the aspects of those functions that are not consolidated and whether those aspects may be appropriate for consolidation or reorganization in the future.
- 4. Analyzes and makes recommendations regarding the consolidation or reorganization of one or more aspects of those functions.
- 5. Provides estimates of the costs of consolidation or reorganization of one or more aspects of those functions and a projection of any long-term cost savings, to the extent feasible.
- Analyses the benefits of the creation of a permanent committee of affected entities that would meet periodically to discuss and coordinate future efforts at consolidation or reorganization of those functions. (Nevada State Legislature)

The Clark County, or Southern Nevada, report was compiled under the direction and approval of the Southern Nevada Regional Planning Coalition (SNRPC), which sought to mainly examine seven functions of government for the report: Animal control; business licensing; cultural programming; information technology—shared infrastructure; multi species habitat conservation plan; purchasing; and television stations—productions and functions. Southern Nevada identified some elements of the seven functions listed that could be considered for consolidation but found that most would be inappropriate to consolidate "due to geography, loss of critical revenue stream, the uniqueness of the program to the jurisdiction and other factors" (187). Included in the report was a description of fifteen functions already consolidated.

Whereas Southern Nevada's report had the tone of wanting further consolidation research considering the various service functions they offer, Washoe County and the City of Reno's report could be considered pro-consolidation. The City of Reno noted that their citizens already voted in favor of consolidating areas that were cost or service-effective. Reno and Washoe County mention about sixty services already consolidated (13-15). They highlighted the role that the State Legislature plays in supporting the process. The report does not list any conclusions related to costs or cost analysis. Similar to the governments in Southern Nevada, Washoe County, Reno, and Sparks participate in a county-wide committee, the Shared Services Elected Officials Committee (SSEOC), whose objective is to continually analyze shared services opportunities.

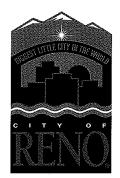
SSEOC has categorized a range of five terms for interagency cooperation that increase in terms of the degree of commitment: 1.) Co-op; 2.) Contract Service; 3.) Shared Service; 4.) Joint Venture; 5.) Consolidation. In addition to the SSEOC, Reno and Washoe County have hired Matrix Consulting to assess the feasibility of consolidating several services.

The City of Sparks' report has a much different tone to its fulfillment of AB494. After listing over sixty functions already consolidated, their report considers the pros and cons of consolidating each department. Though each department listed specific reasons for which parts could be consolidated, as a whole, Sparks objects to major consolidation in the region on the grounds that it would alter their form of governing, meaning the city would essentially forfeit powers to govern itself; there would be a loss of local identity of each service and the city as a whole (Sparks refers to itself as "a full service city") (46); and consolidation requires too much money in upfront costs.

Appendix C: Caughlin Ranch Home Owners Association Letter

Robert A. Cashell, Sr. *Mayor*

(775) 334-2001 (775) 334-2097 Fax <u>cashellr@reno.gov</u> Web site: Reno.gov



"The most livable of Nevada cities; the focus of culture, commerce and tourism in northern Nevada."

March 8, 2012

Mr. Michael Heffner, President Caughlin Ranch Homeowners Association 1100 Caughlin Crossing, Suite 60 Reno, NV 89519

Thank you for your letter dated February 2, 2012.

As you are aware from our presentation to your group, the Washoe County Board of Fire Commissioners (comprised of the members of the County Commission) decided to terminate the consolidated fire service agreement.

This agreement provided seamless service to both City of Reno and Truckee Meadows residents. Without it, we at the City of Reno do not know how service will be delivered to the unincorporated areas, including the county "islands", like the one where 1/3 of your association residents live. We have repeatedly asked for public meetings to discuss service agreements to the islands, but County officials have refused to hold these meetings. Our most recent request is to hold a Joint Session with Washoe County March 19 and the County has declined to participate in a preparatory meeting to set that agenda.

There are two very different types of "aid agreements" we should be talking about. A "Mutual Aid" agreement is typical between two neighboring jurisdictions. Under such an agreement if one jurisdiction needs help from another, they simply request it and the aid is sent if resources are available. After a certain threshold of equipment and manpower there would be financial consequences for the agency asking for the help. Those details would all be worked out in the agreement.

A second type of aid agreement is for "Automatic Aid", under which both agencies are automatically alerted at the first call to dispatch. Whichever agency has resources closer would respond first, regardless of jurisdiction. That agency would be the "primary responder": first on the scene and responsible for incident command. This is the way it works now with a consolidated fire department, with City of Reno crews providing the primary response to all of Caughlin Ranch, regardless of jurisdiction. The County Commission has decided to terminate that, and will not discuss how they will provide primary response to your non-city residents. Reno will of course continue to provide primary response within the city limits, but without an agreement, the City of Reno can't legally provide primary response to another jurisdiction. This also includes EMS first response.

1 East First Street, 15th Floor, P.O. Box 1900, Reno, NV 89505

Mr. Michael Heffner, President Caughlin Ranch Homeowners Association March 8, 2012 Page 2

With the County's refusal to meet, I am very concerned about the consolidation agreement terminating July 1, with no Mutual Aid agreement in place.

The consolidated fire department works. Over ten years it saved \$45 million and today all of your residents can take comfort in the primary response you receive from the City of Reno. Since the County has decided to walk away from the agreement, I can't tell you how your unincorporated residents will be protected.

Should you have further questions, I advise you to direct your concerns to the Washoe County Board of Fire Commissioners (County Commissioners) directly as to how the new Truckee Meadows system will provide service to your area.

Sincerely

Reptor l. lachere

Robert A. Cashell, Sr. Mayor