THESE ARE NOT THE STORES YOU'RE LOOKING FOR: AN ANAYLSIS OF

TARGET CANADA AS A RHETORICAL SITUATION AND FAILED MEMORY

PLACE

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to explore the complexities surrounding organizations during the process of becoming multinational. Particularly, I look at complications that can arise and lead to the ultimate failure of a multinational venture. My analysis is two-fold. First, I looked at Target Corporation's expansion into Canada as a rhetorical situation—full of exigencies audiences and constraints. Ultimately, I argue the biggest constraining factor was Target's own rhetoric, which created expectations that they did not fulfill. The second way I approach Target's unsuccessful entrance is through the lens of collective memory studies. Places inherently house memories and memory that, if for an entire collective, is co-produced. Target Canada did not become a solidified memory place because the experiential landscape was inconsistent. The way that consumers experienced Target during one visit was not consistent from one visit to another and from stores in the U.S. to stores in Canada. Thus, for Canadians, I ultimately argue, these aren't the stores you're looking for.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In January 2011, Target Corporation announced its first venture across northern U.S. borders when they announced their acquisition of 220 Zeller department store locations in Canada (Austen, 2011). Interestingly, observers predicted that the venture would be a low-risk transnational move. David Soberman, a marketing professor at the University of Toronto, was quoted saying "When I go into Zellers, I don't find in any way the experience to be similar to Target . . . Zellers looks like a store from the last century" (Austen, 2011, para. 13). It was estimated that 70 percent of Canadians were aware of the Target brand and had shopped in a Target store in the United States (Austen, 2011). Zellers, which functioned similarly to Target as a retailing store, was known for being a place that was cluttered with serious replenishment problems. From a marketing perspective, the transition between Zellers to Target should have been seamless from both an operational perspective and from an image/reputation management perspective. At the time, Target's reputational identity was better than that of Zeller's. Target stores were considered to be a "better" shopping experience. Essentially, all Target Canada needed to do to succeed was be better than Zellers in the mind of the consumer, and that was a very low bar.

In January 2015, four years after announcing its entrance into Canada, and after operating in Canada for less than two years, Target announced its intention to exit the Canadian market (Ziobro and Trichur, 2015). This exit was not surprising at the time of the announcement, because Target Canada was not predicted by analysts to be profitable until 2021 at the earliest (Ziobro and Trichur, 2015). But, from an organizational communication

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perspective, what is interesting is why they were not profitable and how this organization can further inform the field of organizational rhetoric. Particularly, how studies that pertain to issues surrounding multinational organizations, issue management, and audience expectations can be informed. The question that arises is: Why, in such a short time, did Target have to withdraw from a country that should have had a welcoming audience? To answer this question, I will explore Target Corporation's move into Canada, as well as the complexities that Target faced. My analysis will be two-fold. First, I will focus on the organizational image/reputation management issues that arose and eventually forced them to exit the transnational marketing sphere. Second, I will examine the role that memory played in the creation and maintenance of the organization's identity and reputation.

Despite Target Corporation's failures, or perhaps because of them, this multinational case study begs for attention, particularly in regard to issues surrounding multiple publics and how they can inform reputation and image management. An audience becomes more complex when it is not a single audience, as is the case with multinational organizations (organizations that operate in more than one country). Instead, their audience is fragmented in nature and spans multiple cultures. Thus, the multiple publics involved are very different than one another and can serve as a distinctive case study that lends itself to continue the conversations surrounding multiple publics, competing memories and organizational reputation.

Relevance and Justification to the Field

At a multinational level, the term "globalization" is a very important one. According to Cheney et al (2011) "Global forces are complex, and it's now becoming clear just how many types of fragmentation and conflict (social, political, religious, economic, environment,

etc.) exist in the world" (p. 394). These factors, such as multiple audiences and multiple cultures, can create conflict and cause fragmentation and destabilization of organizational identity, as well as reputation management. Thus, it is an area that needs to be researched. The world is only becoming more global. Multinational organizations are becoming more common, and analyzing the steps taken to ensure that the globalization of an organization is successful, or understanding why it is not, is important in the field of public relations and communication as a whole. Particularly unique in this case study is that, while much research has been done on reputation management from the field of communication studies, little has been done on what happens when an organization makes the step to become transnational. In an organization's infancy in another country, image management issues arise and there is no reputation or historicity to lean on. This topic will continue to be important to the field of communication as our world continues to become more globalize.

Image management is essential for organizational studies focusing on organization reputation, identity, and legitimacy. An organization's identity is comprised of the enduring characteristics that are distinctive of a particular organization (Conrad, 2011, p. 171). Conrad (2011) defines an organization image as "the impressions about an organization that operate in a particular rhetorical situation" (p. 173). Identity informs the organizations image and vice-versa. Conrad also makes the distinction of during what time period images and reputations operate. He argues "images [are] constructed and enacted in the present; and its 'reputation' is composed of memories—the symbolic recreations of relevant past experiences that audiences bring with them to their encounters with the organization and its rhetoric" (p. 174). Images, then, are influenced from the past and must be managed in the present, in order to be remembered in the future in a positive way. Images become complex when

multiple cultures are involved, because these multiple cultures have the potential to construct different organizational images. Conrad (2011) asserts, "for multinational corporations operating in multiple cultures…simultaneously maintaining a coherent central enduring character (an identity) while strategically adapting their images to the demands of local audiences can be challenging" (p. 174). These images, constructed by different groups of peoples, have the ability to de-center an organizational reputation, as different memories could potentially inform varying organizational reputations for the same organization.

Closely linked to the notion of a successful globalized organization is the memory that societies have pertaining to the organization. Essentially, memory is linked to reputation. Pierre Nora (1989), defines a site of memory as being comprised of something material, symbolic and functional (p. 19). Collective memory can serve as a lens in which organizational studies can be furthered in their understanding of the complex workings of organizational communication, particularly in reference to multiple audiences. I analyze three audiences within Canada—the consumer, the opinion leader, and the potential Target Canada employee. While many memory studies have been conducted on monuments and memorials, this essay seeks to explore organizational space (spaces housing an organization) as a site of collective memory. That is, a physical space with a particular memory that is consistent, for the most part, across the collective. Memories are a complicated element in framing rhetorical messages because they are interpreted and reinterpreted or made-sense of in a variety of ways by the individual and/or collective body. To remember is "the ability to recount something that has happened in the past" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 214). Individual memory, or personal memory as Zelizer (1995) asserts, is "an individual's ability to conserve information" (p. 215.) However, collective memory, is much more complex than merely

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remembering or having a personal memory. For Zelizer (1995) collective memory is comprised of "recollections of the past that are determined and shaped by the group" (p. 215). These recollections are relationships that individuals have with past events, and these recollections, once blended with other recollections through active conversation, create a space for understanding and negotiating the past (Zelizer, 1995). Furthermore, Zelizer (1995) asserts, "often, the link between memory and identity disrupts group goals of cohesion, such as continuity or stability" (p. 228). Collective memory is active and a way of making sense not only of past events, but also how they have shaped us, which can inform our own individual and collective identities. This linkage between memory and identity is something I will further explore later in this project, and can importantly contribute to a more robust and richer way of analyzing organizational communication surrounding questions of identity and audiences. Therefore, organizational spaces can and should be analyzed through a public memory studies lens.

Collective memory studies and organizational communication studies have similarities in what they seek to address, particularly regarding the ability to predict audience expectations and behaviors. An organization's rhetoric generally informs both personal and collective memories pertaining to that organization. Organizational communication scholarship often views an audience as a group of people that need to be addressed rhetorically for the maintenance of good public relations, ensuring organizational legitimacy, as well as stabilization. For collective memory studies, much consideration is given to what the audiences' predicted reaction will be to a particular event (such as touring a memorial). More concern is given to why something is happening and less concern to how to manage/manipulate that event. This is important because memories create and inform

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expectations for the future. Addressing organizational complexities through the combined lens of public memory and organizational communication allows for a richer understanding of the role of memory in organizational image management.

Blending the two fields of study allows audience members, such as the Canadian consumer for this analysis, to play a more active role in organizational research. By using the rhetorical situation to better understand the moving parts that happen within organizational rhetoric, the active role stakeholders' play can inform reputational management studies. Bridging these two fields allows for the consideration that there are multiple audiences and there is an organization (with memories associated with it). The public voice often gets silenced in organizational rhetoric but with the combination of these two fields, can be given a voice in research. This allows for a better understanding of the complex relationship between organizational communication and the audience that receives the rhetorical messages.

In summary, organizational identity is a complex area of research. In modern society, one must take globalization into account when researching organizational identity, as our world is very globally interconnected in ways that is has never been before. This is intriguing, and what I will analyze is Target Corporation and their recent move to become a transnational organization. This case study seeks to explore complexities surrounding organizational identity, legitimacy, and issue management. While much research has been done on already stabilized multinational organizations, very little research has been done on an organization's shift to becoming a multinational organization. Particularly unique in the case of Target Corporation is that the identity and legitimacy that could be found in its home country, the United States, did not follow to its host country, Canada. This project seeks to

analyze the communicative strategies that Target Corporation used in their failed invasion of Canada and to further the current research done on the birth of multinational corporations and the particular complexities that can arise within the organization.

Historical Context

The history of Target Corporation is important because it informs Target's identity as an organization today. As stated by Cheney, Christen, and Dailey (2014), "Organizations enact their identities through the stories they tell, directly or indirectly, about themselves, their past, their ambitions and their perceptions of the environment" (p. 6). Thus, organizational history is essential in better understanding organizational identity. Target tells its story in multiple venues, but develops it in the greatest detail on its website. Their corporate history is constraining in two ways: 1.) It is not objective in that they themselves created what they call their own "history," which means it is carefully crafted in a way that puts their organization in a positive light for their consumers. Therefore, their self-promoted "history" is very specific and thus not reflective perhaps of their actual entirety of their history. 2.) Their corporate rhetoric surrounding their organizational history constraints the organization as well, because their history, if audiences buy into it, then the organization is expected to act in a way that is consistent with their history. These constraints regarding their organizational history play largely into my analysis.

In 1902, George Dayton purchased a department store named "Goodfellow's Dry Goods Company" in Minneapolis, Minnesota ("Target Through the Years"). Mr. Dayton believed that his customers deserved "dependable merchandise, fair business practices and a generous spirit of giving" ("Target Through the Years"). While the store did not officially become Target Corporation until the 1960's, many of Dayton's intentions and the rhetoric he

used to promote his organization are echoed in Target's corporate rhetoric today. Specifically the rhetorical themes that shifted from Mr. Dayton to Target Corporation are: promoting the welfare of mankind, care for the consumer through innovative practices, and focus on the value-oriented consumer while promoting a high-quality shopping experience ("Target Through the Years"). These three themes are essential in understanding Target's success in the United States and demise in Canada.

Concern for the welfare of mankind could be seen as early as 1918, when Dayton created the Dayton Foundation with an endowment of $1 million dollars, and a goal of improving the welfare of mankind across the world ("Target Through the Years"). This foundation echoed George Dayton's desire for making the world a better place through his deep interest in humanity efforts. Dayton states:

> Success is making ourselves useful in the world, valuable to society, helping in lifting in the level of humanity, so conducting ourselves that when we go the world will be somewhat better of our having lived the brief span of our lives.

This foundation would later be re-named the Dayton-Hudson Foundation (1969) and eventually become the Target Foundation in 2000 ("Target Through the Years").

Dayton's care for the consumer was seen most clearly in 1920, when there was a freight strike. Instead of allowing his shelves to become empty, Dayton innovatively decided to fly his merchandise in to keep his customers satisfied ("Target Through the Years"). In 1938, after his father's death, George Dayton, Jr. became the President of Dayton Company ("Target Through the Years"). In 1946, the executive board decided to continue with George Dayton's legacy for the consumer and society by giving 5 percent of gross profits back to the community, something that, at the time, was very rare ("Target Through the Years"). Dayton

Company also became more innovative and adapted to the consumers' needs by becoming more versatile and expanding its reach into different markets. Essentially, Dayton's interest in providing value to the consumer allowed expanded to account for more consumers. Some of these markets included a radio station called WBAH, which made Dayton the first department store in Minneapolis to own its own radio broadcast station (1922). In 1953, Dayton Company also expanded and challenged what products were offered in a retail store when they opened an interiors department within their store, which offered furnishings and decorations for businesses and other commercial entities ("Target Through the Years"). It can come as little surprise that in 1954, the organization opened its first branch store in Rochester, Minnesota ("Target Through the Years"). Dayton Company expanded even further in 1956, when the Southdale Mall opened in the suburbs of Minneapolis, which was the first fully enclosed mall in the nation. Their store thrived, allowing for more expansion in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area throughout the 1960's-1970's.

In 1960, Dayton Company leadership began looking for innovative ways to strengthen relationships with their consumers. The opportunity they found was transforming a family-run department store into a national retailer, which still focused on finding new and innovative ways to shop and providing a discount store that focuses on the value-oriented shopper—this echoed George Dayton's initial desires for a high-quality shopping experience ("Target Through the Years"). The transformation to national retailer came into fruition in the 1960's. At the same time, Dayton Company officially announced a change in its identity: to become a discount chain store that retained the character of a department store. President Douglas Dayton stated that the goal of the new store was to "combine the best of the fashion world with the best of the discount world, a quality store with quality merchandise at

discount prices, and a discount supermarket" ("Target Through the Years"). To ensure that the high-quality shopping experience was maintained for the consumer, the store was promoted to include three characteristics: 1.) Wide aisles, making shopping more assessable 2.) Easy-to-shop displays 3.) Fast checkout services ("Target Through the Years"). These three store goals are ones that have stayed with the organization, even today. This detailed history of Mr. Dayton's earlier store initiatives are ones that are made public to the Target consumer (via their company website), thus they help in constructing the image of Target Corporation. Many of Dayton's earlier aims inform the corporate rhetoric that Target Corporation uses even from its early days.

The Birth of Target

In 1962, Target Corporation was born. Careful consideration was taken in the re-naming of Dayton Company to Target Corporation. The name, the publicity team hoped, would define the organization to the consumer. Over 200 names were suggested within the publicity team, but eventually Target was the name the organization settled on ("Target Through the Years"). The rationale behind this decision, the organizational website suggests, was "as a marksman's goal is to hit the center bulls-eye, the new store would be much the same in terms of retail goods, services, commitment to the community, price, value, and overall experience" ("Target Through the Years"). This is the beginning of Target's brand promise to its guest—'Expect more. Pay Less.' On May 1, 1962, the first Target store opened in Roseville, Minn. ("Target Through the Years"). Target as a retail store wished to differentiate itself from other retailers by ensuring that their stores had key components that the best department stores had—quality, fashion and service ("Target Through the Years"). Target was to be a "a store you can be proud to shop in, a store you can have confidence in, a

store that is fun to shop and exciting to visit" ("Target Through the Years"). The elements of

fun to shop in and exciting to visit are ones that Target celebrates even today.

In the mid-to-late 1960s, Target Corporation became a national organization, when it

opened stores in Denver, St. Louis, Dallas, and Houston ("Target Through the Years"). With

the expansion, the Bullseye brand logo, which had been with Target since its birth, was

revamped with the intention of making it more memorable for consumers ("Target Through

the Years"). This move of branding was an attempt to begin the process of ensuring that there

was consistency on the part of Target Corporation for their guests. This goal of shopping

experience consistency, perhaps rooted in Mr. Dayton's original plans of building a

relationship with the value-oriented consumer while giving them a high-quality shopping

experience, can be further seen in 1974, when Target introduces its first "planograms" to

their stores ("Target Through the Years"). Planograms, also known as POGS, are plans that

offer detailed instruction on where merchandise should be shelved within a specific area or

aisle in the store ("Target Through the Years"). By creating POGS for their stores, a

consistency in the layout of a store was achieved, as well as assurance that the store was

uncluttered and ripe for a confident and fun shopping experience. This allowed for stores to

have structural consistency for their consumer. However, it also helped with logistics of the

replenishment process, as there was a consistency of where a product was kept and when that

product needed replenishment. Also using the POG's allowed for easier organizational

expansion, as new stores already had merchandising-placement instructions.

In 1969, Dayton Corporation, owner of Target, merged with the J.L. Hudson

Company of Detroit and they become Dayton-Hudson Corporation ("Target Through the

Years"). This merger ensured that the corporation, and Target, was one of the biggest

powerhouses in the nation ("Target Through the Years"). From there, Target became a looming presence in the U.S. retail world. In 1975 Target became the biggest revenue producer for Dayton-Hudson Corporation and introduced their weekly newspaper advertisement to the public. In 1979, Target hit the celebratory marker of $1 billion in annual sales ("Target Through the Years"). Before 1980, Target had grown to 74 stores and was operating in 11 states ("Target Through the Years").

In 1990, in Apple Valley, Minnesota, Target unveiled the store layout that consumers are familiar with today ("Target Through the Years"). These store changes were made to ensure that as times were changing, Target was continuing with their innovative practices and adapting to the times. The new store layout was consistent with original store aims, such as wider store aisles and a greater customer experience by the familiar additions such as Food Avenue, a larger pharmacy, and expanded photo services, as well as price check electronic information stations allowing guests to price scan items ("Target Through the Years"). Four years later, Target's "Expect More. Pay Less." officially became their brand promise. It was consistent with their history with the emphasis being put on the guest experience, as well as the affordable pricing for their consumers. In 1999, Target began offering gift cards and Bullseye, the dog that is now associated with the Target brand, made his TV debut ("Target Through the Years").

Community involvement and concern for humanity is also a large part of Target's history, as it was with Mr. Dayton's earlier efforts. In 1983, Target reached the public national stage, when President Ronald Reagan awarded the Dayton-Hudson Foundation the "Arts of Humanities Medal of Honor" because of their continued support to the community, particularly in the arts and social welfare ("Target Through the Years"). In 1997, Bill Clinton

recognized Target when they were awarded "The President's Service Award" for their

Target's Good Neighbor volunteer program, known now as Target Volunteers ("Target

Through the Years"). In 1997, Target started an education initiative, dubbed Target Supports

Education, giving one percent of their credit card, the REDcard, purchases back to public

schools ("Target Through the Years"). In 1999, partnering with St. Jude Children's Research

Hospital, Target built the Target House, a place for families to stay while their child is

undergoing cancer treatment ("Target Through the Years").

      In 2001, Target was officially operating in 47 states throughout the U.S. ("Target

Through the Years"). Their innovativeness continues as they created "Target & BLUE"

which focuses on the role of technology, sharing technology, and security by partnering with

law enforcement ("Target Through the Years"). Target also created "pop-up Target," which

debuted in New York City, promoting limited time and mobile shopping in 2002, and then a

fashion show in 2005 that had famous models and athletes modeling the Target clothes

collection ("Target Through the Years"). In the early part of the 21st century, Target moved

to Alaska (2008) and Hawaii (2009) and then, in 2011, Target officially announced its plans

to cross international borders into Canada ("Target Through the Years").

Target's Move to Become a Transnational Organization

      Target Corporation acquired 189 Zeller stores in Canada with plans to renovate about

two thirds of them ("Target Through the Years"). The other third of the stores were sold

and/or leased to other organizations. On March 5, 2013, Target Canada store doors opened,

marking the beginning of 124 stores that would open within the year ("Target Through the

Years"). This was a monumental feat and the largest number of stores that Target had ever

opened in one year ("Target Through the Years"). In comparison, when Wal-mart expanded

to Canada in 1994 it bought 122 Woolco stores, but opened them over a multi-year period. Target's Canadian venture was accomplished by "thousands of team members collaborating around the world" ("Target Through the Years"). Target Canada was a new and different audience than the U.S. consumer. The difference in audience members and their active role in organizational reputation plays heavily into my analysis of Target Corporation.

Preview

With these considerations in mind, this essay seeks to explore Target Corporation's recent entrance (and, shortly after, exit) into Canada, thus becoming a multi-national organization. I analyze the discourse surrounding Target's move into Canada and the complexities surrounding a shift into a multinational organization, I argue the Target Corporation serves as a distinctive case study because the affected publics, U.S. and Canada, have varying views of Target's organizational reputation. These differing views add another complex and unique factor into the analysis of transnational organizational identity and reputation management. I further argue, that Target did not give due consideration to its multiple audiences within its Canadian market, the consumer, the opinion leader, and the potential employee, which ultimately let their eventual demise.

In chapter II, I will analyze Target Canada from before their entrance into Canada and until their exit from Canada. I break their duration in the Canadian market into three sections, or specific transitions that occurred, and argue why they were unsuccessful by analyzing this particular case study as a rhetorical situation. This chapter seeks to explore the exigencies, audience and constraints surrounding Target Canada's four-year span. Bitzer (1968), defines a rhetorical situation as:

A complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence (p. 6).

The rhetorical situation of Target Canada can help inform scholars of the complex globalized issues of an organization's decision to become a transnational corporation and how it develops over time. Unique to Target Canada, was that Target Corporation was already a known entity to Canadian consumers. It was estimated that 70 percent of Canadians were aware of the Target brand (Austen, 2011). With this awareness of the Target brand, Canadian consumers were also aware of their branding strategies that I highlighted in the history section: promoting the welfare of mankind, care for the consumer through innovative practices and focus on the value-oriented consumer while promoting a high-quality shopping experience. These "historical" corporate values informed the Canadian consumer of what they should expect Target Corporation to care about; however, Target Canada violated all three of these branding expectations.

Bitzer (1968) argues that not every situation is rhetorical, but every rhetorical situation is comprised of exigencies, audiences, and constraints. An exigence is "imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be" (Bitzer, 1968, p. 6). A move towards becoming a transnational organization, as will be pointed out in this essay, is full of exigencies. While predictions can be made about how an organization, such as Target, will fair once entering into a new market, how the audience will perceive the new organization cannot be guaranteed or known. An audience is central to Bitzer's notion of a rhetorical situation, and

he asserts an audience "must be distinguished from a body of mere hearers or readers: properly speaking, a rhetorical audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change" (p. 7). Lastly, the rhetorical situation has constraints, which Bitzer (1968) states, "standard sources of constraints include beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives and the like" (p. 8). Expectations then, are constraints, and Target Canada's eventual failure was largely due to the fact they could not live up to the many expectations/beliefs that the Canadian audiences had. Using the rhetorical situation to better understand how Target Canada became problematic for its audiences can help scholars better understand the complexities surrounding image management when a reputation differs greatly within the same organization from country to country.

Chapter II particularly seeks to explore audience expectations and understand how an organization that Canadians were ecstatic to hear was coming to their country could become so disliked in such a short period of time. In the first section of chapter II, I analyze Target's announcement that they would be entering the Canadian market and the audience expectation prior to Target Canada opening its first store. Secondly, I explore the multiple audiences that were involved in Target's Canadian expansion, the potential employee, the consumer and the opinion leader, and how these audience expectations were violated through problematic rhetorical choices made by the organization. Lastly, I explore how these multiple audiences informed one another, creating an all-around disenchantment of Target Canada for the Canadian public, eventually resulting in Target's withdrawal from the Canadian market.

In chapter III, I explore Target Corporation as a site of collective memory. Nora (1989) asserts that memory attaches itself to sites. I argue that the physical location of Target in the United States and the physical location of Target Canada had competing memories, which became apparent during Target's exit from its Canadian venture. I explore organizational spaces as potential sites of collective memory. I will provide a literature review that expounds on key collective memory terms such as: collective memory, competing memories, the relationship between memory and place, and also offer a concept I term brand memory, which I define as the specific memories individuals recall or memories they create and then associate with an organizational brand. I assert that sites of memory are rhetorical in and of themselves. Hasian (2004) states, "'Sites of memory' contain traces of key rhetorical structures and fragments" (p. 67). My central argument is that Target U.S. serves as a memory place that did not become reified in their Canadian spaces. I will analyze Target in the U.S. first, both as a collective memory and as touristic experience. Then, I will analyze Target Canada as an experiential landscape, which proved to be unpredictable, and conclude chapter III with Target Canada as a failed memory place.

Methodology

For a project such as this, which analyzes a singular organization, while considering the different aspects of a rhetorical situation (the movement to become multinational), I will be analyzing different artifacts. In chapter II, I will analyze newspaper articles pertaining to Target Canada. Journalists are often seen as the framers of a story, thus I will be analyzing newspaper articles to better understand Target's shortcomings in relationship to its multiple audiences and their expectations in Canada. Journalism can be defined as "the business of regularly producing and disseminating information about contemporary affairs of public

interest and importance" (Schudson, 2011, p. 3). Mathew Nisbet (2011) asserts, "Framing is an unavoidable reality of the public communication process. The choice as a journalist, expert, or advocate is not whether to employ framing, but rather how to effectively frame a message for your audience" (p. 44). Schudson (2011) asserts that journalists "not only report reality but also create it. To say that journalist construct the news is not to say they do so without constraints" (p. xiv). This means that when organizations expand, the image of their success is largely created not only by their own organization's rhetoric, but also by journalist's descriptions of them. Journalists then at the very least have the potential to frame an organization as successful or not and, therefore, inform the reality of such.

The time period of the newspaper articles span from January 1, 2011 (the month that Target announced their intended venture into the Canadian Market), to May 1, 2015 (shortly after the last Target Canada store shut its doors). To narrow my search, I used the LexisNexis database, searching one year at a time (ex: 01/01/11-12/31/11) and focusing only on newspaper articles (both US and Canadian newspaper articles were represented). I used the sorting option to read through them from earliest to latest within that year. The search terms that I used were "Target Corporation" AND "Target Canada." In 2011, there were 93 articles present in the database, and in 2012 there were 124, in 2013 there were 264, and in 2014, there were 268. From January 1 to May 1, 2015 there were 499 articles. In total, I read through all 1,248 articles, focusing heavily on the ones that were relevant to Target's move into Canada. I read for saturation, specifically looking for events as they occurred, rhetorical strategies that were used to explain the move, and audience responses (which came in the form of consumer responses and opinion leader/expert responses). Newspapers are unique in

that the three of the audiences I analyze all are given voices. Particularly important is the voice of the consumer.

Target as a Site of Collective Memory

For my third chapter, I build off of Zelizer's eight characteristics of collective memory, which function as tools in better understanding how collective memory works, and apply these characteristics to Target as a site of collective memory in order to further explore the complex relationship that memory plays in the creation and maintenance of organizational identity and reputation management. I particularly look at the relationship between individual memory and collective memory and how they inform one another. The artifact that I analyze is the physical organizational space that is Target, both in the United States and in Canada, and compare how they differ and compete with one another in regard to collective memory. This differentiation and contrast between the two physical spaces can be measured through newspaper articles where consumers point out the vast differences in comparison to their expectations. I also build off of Dickinson, Blair, and Ott's (2010) conceptualization of memory spaces. The last central piece of theoretical framework that drives my methodology in chapter three is Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki's (2006) notion of experiential landscapes, which acknowledges that visiting a space is not only experiential in nature, but part of a larger landscape that does not start merely at the entrance of the space. Sites of memory are rhetorical in nature. My central argument is that the rhetorical branding strategies invoked in the U.S. to create a positive memory place, which was not reified in the Target Canada spaces because the branding strategies used in the United States did not successfully transfer to Target Canada. Thus, a collective memory space was not attained in Canada for Target.

CHAPTER II

TARGET CANADA AS A RHETORICAL SITUATION

In January 2011, Target Corporation announced its plan to buy Zeller's stores in Canada and thus began their first multinational expansion. The move was considered by analysts to be an easy and logical move for Target Corporation. After this announcement, speculations were made about the high profitability Target Canada would bring with its venture in Canada. Target was projected to be more successful than Zeller's because of its unique branding strategy. This strategy, according to analysts across the board, included Target's intentional partnering with higher-end retail firms, its careful consideration of aisle width which made it not only easier to shop, the aesthetically pleasing style of the store itself, the bullseye brand logo itself, and an overall "wooing" of wealthier consumers (Shaw, 2011). Target was also described as being a "step up" from the previous Zeller's Corporation. Karen Finlay, expert in consumer behavior, asserted "Target just has it . . . Their appeal is broad, and it's something that just hasn't been met by Canadian retailers like Zellers" (O'Flanagan, par. 15-16, 2011). Further, Finlay explained, "With Target, I think it is merchandise, low prices, the store layout and the feeling that's created. It is a lot more inviting" (O'Flanagan, par. 15-16, 2011). Thus, Target's acquisition into Canada was one that was highly anticipated and welcomed by marketing analysts and Canadian consumers alike.

Target was believed to have another advantage in branching out to Canada: Canadian consumers were well aware of and favorably disposed toward the Target brand. Canadian Vice President of Colliers International, a commercial real estate firm, stated, "The advantage they have coming to Canada is that as Canadians travel so much to the States this is not a new brand to us. A lot of Canadians have shopped there" (Toneguzzi, par. 6, 2011).

In 2011, at the announcement of their plans to move into Canada, it was estimated that 70% of Canadian consumers had some sort of recognition or relationship with Target Corporation ((Toneguzzi, par. 13, 2011). In June 2011, much of Canadian news surrounding the entrance of Target suggests that Target would make other stores in their market niche (such as Canadian Tire and Wal-mart) more competitive or suffer greatly. Target's innovativeness through partnering with high-end designers was just one of the ways Target tried to set itself apart and above similar retailing stores. As Flavelle (2011) stated, "With its powerful marketing muscle and reputation for cheap-chic, reinforced by high-profile designer events, such as the Missoni collection that crashed its website last week, Target is expected to take a big bite out of the Canadian retail landscape" (par. 4). And with this statement, as well as similar statements, Target was poised as a retailing force to be reckoned with.

With all the glowing predictions, voices of doubt about Target Canada were not heard, at least, not in the beginning. But, a mere four years after their announcement that they were buying Zeller's stores, and after a short two years of Canadian operations, Target announced that it was leaving the Canadian market. Their exit was a speedy one. Target, it would seem, did not shine in Canada as expected, in fact "In future years, Target Canada will serve as a gold standard case study in what retailers should not do when they enter a new market" (Shaw, par. 1, 2015). I argue, the biggest problems that Target Canada faced were those surrounding issue management, which informed their organizational image and identity.

Literature Review

While much research has been done on strategic communication and issues management within organizations, not much attention has been given to Bitzer's notion of the rhetorical situation. While Bitzer's model is simplistic in nature, for public relations and

strategic communication research, the rhetorical situation can be revised, adapted and built on in valuable ways. Exigencies found within organizations, whether large or small, make it important that organizations speak to audiences (if an organization hopes to maintain a positive identity) and constraints exists that both guide strategic communication and have the ability to limit an organization's rhetoric as well. Thus, the rhetorical situation can be further expounded to better understand the complexities that organizations face when trying to maintain their identity, when issues arise, and when their image is potentially in jeopardy.

The Rhetorical Situation

The movement of an organization to become multinational has the potential to become a rhetorical situation, with multiple groups of people, events that occur leading up to and even during the transition, and, often times, complex relations within organizations. This is particularly true during a period of transition (an organization becoming multinational) or change such as this essay is seeking to explore. Situations are not necessarily rhetorical in nature. However, a movement to become multinational is almost inevitably a rhetorical situation. Organizations must use rhetoric to address their audiences in a timely fashion and in a way that audiences deem appropriate as issues arise. Lloyd Bitzer (1968) defines a rhetorical situation as:

> A complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence (p. 6).

Bitzer (1968) argues every rhetorical situation is comprised of exigencies, audiences, and constraints. An exigence is "imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle,

something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be" (Bitzer, 1968, p. 6). In that way, an exigence or issue exists in the world, waiting for rhetoric to respond. There are multiple audiences that I found while researching Target Canada—the Canadian Target/Zeller employees, Canadian consumers, and the Canadian marketing opinion leaders—all three of these audiences had the ability to be influenced and the ability to create change (particularly when discourse was remiss within the Target Corporation).

Lastly, the rhetorical situation has constraints, which Bitzer (1968) states, "include beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives and the like" (p. 8). Expectations and beliefs about how an organization should act serve as a constraint for their strategic communication. Constraints were a big factor in Target Canada's eventual failure, as Target Canada did not live up to many of the expectations/beliefs that the Canadian audiences had of Target in the United States. Using the rhetorical situation to better understand how Target Canada became problematic for audiences can help scholars better understand the complexities surrounding image management, particularly when a single organization has two varying reputations in two geographical locations (in this case, countries).

While the rhetorical situation is helpful in guiding my analysis, it is also important to discuss Richard Vatz's (1973) critique on the rhetorical situation. While Bitzer (1968) argues that situations call the need for discourse into existence, Vatz (1973) argues that discourse calls situations and situational responses into being. Vatz (1973) counters Bitzer's notion of the rhetorical situation when he states, "situations obtain their character from the rhetoric which surrounds them or creates them" (p. 159). While one may learn of a situation or an event through communication (as Vatz asserts), Bitzer's assertion that context should

determine the rhetorical response is one that proves to be true in the case of Target Canada. Context is key in understanding organizational communication and its complexities. In the case of Target Canada, situations arose, which due to the way Canadian consumer understood how American Targets, functioned, led to a highly complex rhetorical situation with many exigencies, such as replenishment issues, store pricing being higher than U.S. stores, labor relation issues, etc. The situation cried for a rhetorical response, and while rhetorical discourse at times only worsened the situation, it did not create the problematic nature of Target Canada on its own. The violation of audience expectations played a large role in the demise of Target Canada. Thus, this essay follows Bitzer's understanding of the rhetorical situation as being comprised of exigencies, audiences, and constraints.

Organizational Identity and Reputation

Conrad (2011) defines organizational identity as the "central, enduring, and distinctive character" of an organization (p. 171). Organizational identity is informed by the organization's past, present, and future characteristics that are distinct within an organization. Trust is a key element of a positive organizational identity (Conrad, 2011). An organization's reputation is based on audience' memories of its organizational past, so, in a way, the past is most significant to an organization's reputation (Conrad, 2011). Organizational identity, Cheney and Christensen point out, "has indeed become a standing and very complex issue for the organization" (p. 241)

Organizational identity and reputation management becomes further problematized because "it is not quite clear exactly where an organization begins and where it ends; organizational identity is difficult to pinpoint" (Cheney, Christensen, Zorn and Ganesh, 2011, p. 122). But identity is important, as Cheney, Christensen, Zorn and Ganesh (2011) assert,

"identity is what makes it possible for us to recognize an individual or an organization as distinct" (p. 108). These distinctions that audiences and stakeholders identify with organizations, lead to expectations for that organization. In today's corporate landscape, Cheney and Christensen (2001) assert, "key communication elements of source, message, and receiver are all much more complicated and less easily distinguished than in prior periods" (p. 241). This blurring of communication elements creates a complex relationship between the organization and its audiences. When organizations make the choice to enter into a new international market, identity is key to their organization's success and consumer "buy-in," particularly when issues arise that need rhetoric to address them. Identity is used as a rhetorical tool of what audiences can and should expect from a particular organization, and, "for this reason, organizations are especially keen to assert their identity after a merger" (Cheney, Christensen, Zorn and Ganesh, 2011, p. 122).

Moreover, flexibility is central to organizational identity management in order to maneuver the challenges and be viewed as successful. Cheney and Christensen (2011) suggest the importance of flexibility when they state, "both disciplines (public relations and marketing) have realized the value of organizational flexibility and the important of being responsive to changes in opinions and preferences of target audiences" (p. 237). However, in the event that an organization's image management goes awry, and consumers are alienated, when flexibility and adaptation are not given center stage, stabilization becomes nearly impossible to attain. This paper focuses on how Target Corporation complicated their image management beyond the point of recovery. Organizational management has to focus on creating a consumer base that accounts for the long term; this is something that Target Corporation "missed the mark" on through their faulty issue management. They did not

address their audiences in a way that allowed for the corporation to effectively work through issue management, thus tarnishing their image.

Image and Issue Management

An organizations image is the impressions about an organization that operate in a particular rhetorical situation. An organizational image is a part of an organization's identity, but their image can be one particular element of the organization's overall identity (Conrad, 2011). Conrad (2011) asserts that "because images are located in the 'here and now' they are directly influenced by the conscious, strategic manipulation of symbols" (p. 174). Issues that arise for an organization must be addressed effectively for organizations who wish to create or maintain a positive organizational image. Issue management, according to Cheney and Christensen (2001), are when an "organization attempts to both 'read' the premises and attitudes of its audience and work to shape them, often in advance of any specific crisis or well-defined debate) (p. 239, see also Heath, 1980). An important element of an organization's image is branding.

A brand is a label that is associated with a particular organization. A brand, Percy (2003) asserts, "is meant to embody information about something, information that represents an added value, differentiating it in a way marked by alternatives . . . A brand name represents everything a person knows about a particular product and what it means" (p. 13). Cramer, Neijens and Smit (2003) assert:

> The corporate brand has becoming increasingly important in today's markets and society. No only do corporate brands provide companies with competitive advantages, they also represent the ways in which companies behave towards society. Products and brands have been fulfilling consumers' needs for quite some time, but

now, as markets are full of interchangeable products and brands, consumers

increasingly look for distinguishable companies (p. 111)

Corporate branding, corporate image, and image/issue management are all interrelated and

inform the success of a corporation's identity and reputation. Thus, promoting a brand is a

top priority for organizations, as it creates a competitive advantage over other similar

organizations. This competitive advantage is that an organization that is seen as being

"distinct" or "superior" is more likely to attract customers, or maintain loyal consumers, than

one that does not stick out as having a particularly memorable brand. Creating a strong brand

also creates unique expectations for that particular organization. Cramer, Neijens and Smit

(2003) suggest, "companies use a corporate branding strategy—that is, a strategy in which

corporate brand plays a central role—to radiate reliability, innovativeness, or social

responsibility, for example" (p. 111). This branding strategy is, in many ways, a rhetorical

strategy that organizations create in hopes of creating a positive organizational identity.

Preview

The rhetorical situation is particularly useful when considering Target Canada's

almost certain success and its quick demise. The capacity to identify the exigencies, audience

and constraints of today's globalized world is increasingly complex, as they are evolving and

changing at a much higher rate. This essay seeks to look at the exigencies, audience, and

constraints surrounding Target Canada's four-year span in order to better understand how the

rhetorical situation, in its simplistic nature, can help inform scholars of the complex

globalized issues of an organization's decision to become a multinational corporation and

how it develops over time. Bitzer's rhetorical situation can be further developed and used to

frame strategic communication studies, which is what I will be doing in this analysis to create

a richer understanding of Target Corporation's failed multinational expansion. At the heart of a successful movement to become a multinational organization is a positive organizational identity, which has to be communicated, reified within the audience, and followed through with.

This essay will first explore the expectations that were created before Target Canada opened its stores through their corporate branding strategies, which later will act as a constraining factor in their success. Secondly, this paper will explore the multiple audiences involved in Target's expansion to Canada and how these audience expectations were violated when they were unable to deliver on their corporate branding strategies. While audiences are different, the expectations that Target's three audiences had were actually very similar in nature. Lastly, this analysis will explore the ways in which disenchanted audiences (the employee, the consumer, and the business professional) informed each other, birthing dissatisfied audiences all around, which eventually led to the retreat Target made from the Canadian market.   Ultimately, I argue that Target Corporation has strategically used their organizational history as a rhetorical tool to further their corporate branding strategy. This self-promoted glowing history of their organization ultimately serves as a constraining factor for Target Canada. When Target Canada was not able to live up to the expectations they themselves created through the organizational rhetoric, Target Corporation fell on its own sword, it was unable to live up to the brand that it promised its consumers. It takes time to for an organization to stabilize and normalize in a society. With that, organizations are aware they have to be prepared for change if they are to be successful.

For organizational rhetoric, there will always be a competition and struggle over who gets to "frame" a message to a particular audience. Framing, according to Reese (2010) is the

"interaction between the incoming message structure and the psychological characteristics of the receiver" (p. 22). Frames can be defined, according to Hertog and McLeod (2001), as "structures of meaning made up of a number of concepts and the relations among concepts (p. 140). Frames then, can help audiences articulate a way of reasoning through a public issue (Reese, 2010). If framing can offer an audience a particular way of sense-making, then analyzing framing and frames produced by the an organization's rhetorical team can give better insight on the rhetorical discourse that is deployed when a rhetorical situation comes to be. In a perfect world, Target Corporation would have recognized that and developed messages that were framed for their multiple audiences, modified their corporate messaging as needed. As it was, much of the framing of Target Canada was left up to the journalist and media and the Canadian audience.

Methodology

The journalist framing of Target Canada started out positive, but as time accrued turned more negative. Target Canada's reputation to the public at large was largely based on the historical organizational rhetoric and journalist's framing. Most framing studies focus on journalism and cast journalists as the framers of a story. Journalists act as disseminator of information regarding public issues, such as organizational expansions.

According to Michael Schudson (2011) journalists "not only report reality but also create it. To say that journalists construct the news is not to say they do so without constraints" (p. xiv). Organizational reputation managers have these same constraints, which include prior perceptions of the organization's reputation, which they carry with them. Important for framing studies is the concept of saliency, which Entman (1993) defines as "making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to audiences" (p.

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53). In the case of journalists covering the Target Canada expansion, some problematic areas of the expansion were highlighted and became salient in the consumer/audiences mind.

Framing theory, Kuypers (2010) asserts, is useful for rhetorical criticism analysis in that "persons who are interested in influencing how their messages are received will…think ahead to the potential impact of their words" (p. 288). While there is no exact formula for this kind of approach, as is the case with most social science studies, the theoretical foundation for this project must lie outside the realm of social science methodology and in the realm of the rhetorical and humanistic. This approach focuses on judgment and choice and lies in "an area where understanding, imagination, knowledge of alternatives, and a sense of purpose to operate" reside (p. 7). For the purpose of this study, I use framing to better understand the complexities of the rhetorical situation that was Target's expansion into Canada. The questions that guide this chapter are: How does the journalistic framing of Target's expansion into Canada describe the exigencies, audiences and constraints that this organization face? Does the rhetorical situation of Target Corporation, framed by the journalist, come to inform the eventual failure of Target Canada?

Corporate identity is partially formed by the journalist who creates interpretive frames—these frames may reinforce, contradict, or even be irrelevant to one another. For this study I conducted a rhetorical framing analysis on Target Canada's expansion, viewing it as a rhetorical situation by looking for exigencies, audiences, and constraints that journalists highlighted in the newspaper articles they wrote. I looked for events as they occurred, rhetorical strategies that were used to explain the move and audience responses (which came in the form of future employee responses, consumer responses, and opinion leader/expert

responses). The responses that I use to support my argument are quotes made by the individuals that comprise my three audiences that appear in the newspapers that I analyzed.

Creating a Marketing Monster

In January 2011, Target announced their plan to buy Zeller's stores and merge into Canada (Shaw, 2011). As previously mentioned, there were high expectations from Canadian consumers. There are three specific reasons why the expectations were high for Target Canada: 1.) Many Canadians already had a relationship with Target (70% of Canadians recognized Target's brand). 2.) Target was looked at more favorably than its predecessor, Zellers. 3.) Target's strong reputation in the US made their audiences in Canada believe their organizational promises, which turned out to be larger than life. Combined together, these constructed a larger than life reputation that Target was not able to live up to.

Much of the Canadian public had already shopped at Target. This meant many Canadians were already familiar with the corporate brand and Target experience. Thus, "The advantage they [had] coming to Canada is that, as Canadians travel so much to the States, this is not a new brand to us. A lot of Canadians have shopped there" (Toneguzzi, par. 6, 2011). This familiarity with the brand meant that consumers had expectations of the Target stores that were to open in Canada, not only of the products that would be made available, but also what the store would look and feel like as well. This familiarity to Target was two-dimensional for the consumer, as the familiarity was both symbolic, and practical (a lived experience). The corporate branding strategies that Target borrowed from its predecessor, the Dayton Corporation, were tri-fold as I outlined in my history section of chapter I. To reiterate, they were: 1.) Promoting the welfare of mankind 2.) Care for the consumer through innovative practices 3.) Focus on the value-oriented consumer while promoting a high-

quality shopping experience. In this way, Target Corporation used their history as a rhetorical tool to help create characteristics of their identity.

When an organization creates a distinct and rhetorical history for themselves, it constrains them as well. Janssen (2013) asserts that Corporate Historical Responsibility, "extends the scope of social responsibilities toward responsibilities in relation to corporate history" (p. 69). Corporate history, then, informs audience expectations of how an organization should act responsibly based on their organization history, which informs the "obligation of responsible action in the present and the future" (Janssen, 2013, p. 73). The organizational history that Target's rhetoric produced for itself promoted specific branding strategies, which informed audience expectations of responsible action for the consumer, for innovation, and for the general welfare of humankind. Also among these expectations of Target was that Target would be fundamentally better than Zellers because the Target brand was known and expected to carry over into the Canadian stores.

Because organizational identity is sometimes hard to pinpoint or characterize, one way that organizations do this is by comparison to other organizations. Target was similar to Zellers as far as its functionality to the consumer. Both organizations were discount retail chains, offering similar sorts of products. However, from the very first announcement that Zellers was selling its store sites to Target, it became clear that Canadian consumers saw Zellers and Target as distinct and that Target was the preferable brand of the two. Zeller's was known for being antiquated in nature, not fashion-forward, and cluttered. Target was seen as a "step up" from the more archaic retailer, "while Zellers is cheap, it is not cheap chic like Target" (Luymes, par. 13, 2013). This is consistent with Target's third branding strategy.

In an attempt to increase customer satisfaction, Target also announced that their stores would employ up to 50% more employees than previous Zeller's stores. This move is consistent with the second corporate branding strategy about caring for the consumer through innovative practices, such as increasing the amount of employees at each store. Bryan Berg, Target Corporation's Senior Vice President of Stores, stated "I think this is an important distinction: I wouldn't confuse what you see with Zellers with what you're going to see with Target" (Mah, par. 17, 2012). Furthermore, a marketing analyst, Stephen Hoch, stated, "Target is known as Targét for good reason. The classy design esthetic associated with Target does not exist at Zellers and never has existed" (Luymes, par. 111, 2013). Thus, the clear distinction of branding made by consumers and analyst alike was Target would not be like Zellers. Rather, consumers should expect more.

While Target was cast as being different than Zellers, Target Canada's rhetoric portrayed that the expectation is that it would be similar to U.S. Target stores. Bryan Berg, Target Exective, stated "What you can expect is the same clean, clutter-free, bright stores that we have in the United States" (Mah, par. 16, 2012). Shortly before the stores opened, Target promoted via commercial that "In addition to 'brighter lights, wide aisles, design, and deals in the same red basket'…customers can 'expect help around every corner,' and crucially, 'Expect when your list is all done, a short line ... every time'" (Shaw, par. 5, 2013). This promoted physical sameness of the store is consistent with Cheney and Christensen's (2001) argument that "People become accustomed to an organization's 'look'" (p. 245). Thus, Target Canada not only contrasted itself to Zellers by saying it would be different in particular ways consistent with its branding strategy of caring for their value-oriented consumer, but also created distinction by highlighting the sameness of their U.S.

stores. Thus, Canadian consumers' expectations were that they would have a similar

shopping experience physically as they had when they went to the states (without needing a

passport). This was their Canadian brand promise. However, what did not seem to be taken

into account, and I will flesh out in more detail in my third chapter, is that when Target stores

came to Canada, it also eliminated the fun and adventurous element of shopping at Target

that Canadians had previously experienced.

Because Target was already well-known to Canadian consumers, because they were

described as being better than Zellers, and because they made reputational promises to the

Canadian public, Target Canada was working to birth a very reputable and distinct

organizational image. The problem, as Conrad (2011) suggests, is that organizations with a

better reputation are vulnerable in distinctive ways when expectations are violated. When

comparing and creating sameness of Target U.S. to Target Canada, Target Corporation was

attempting to transplant an already stable organizational branding strategy, and its accrued

reputation, onto a newly formed organization. Because Target Canada had no history of its

own to fall back on, the only history that could be looked to was that of Target U.S., a history

that they, themselves, created. Megill and McCloskey (2013), assert "The resurrected

histories produce public relations dilemmas for a broad range of corporations" (p. 65). This

proved to be true for Target Canada. David Gray, a Canadian retail analyst, stated "the

double-edged sword is that Target has created a marketing monster where every mistake it

makes will now get highlighted and every critic comes out of the woodwork" (Shaw, par. 11,

2013). These expectations, combined with the events that followed for Target Canada,

created a rhetorical situation that was very convoluted and problematic in nature. Target

Canada did not fail in one swoop, they did not make a giant issue management misstep,

rather, there was a series of small missteps, accompanied by a few larger ones that ultimately led to Target's image management woes.

Phase Two: The Violation of Audience Expectations

Part of the struggle that Target Canada had that was more apparent was their need (and disregard) for their multiple audiences. Cheney and Christensen (2001) argue that the communication environment has intensified and "with that intensification comes the need to integrate more fully the communication efforts directed to the various publics and organizations (p. 234). These communication efforts, I argue, were not made apparent to Targets multiple audiences. Particularly, the multiple audiences I am referring to here are: the future employee, the consumer, and the opinion leader audiences. Since one of their corporate branding strategies was care for the consumer, this was a Target Canada audience expectation, and when they did not provide that, they violated their own brand promise and ended up with issues to manage.

Addressing audiences is key in identity management, but uniquely in the case of Target Canada, addressing multiple audiences was necessary not for maintaining but for creating an organizational identity that was consistent with the identity of Target U.S. Cheney, Christensen, Zorn and Ganesh (2011) describe identity "as something every living system is doing—and in fact must do—in order to maintain itself" (p. 107). If an audience cannot conjure up a consistent notion of organizational identity in their head, particularly within a new market, then it is hard for that organization to stabilize and become legitimate. Cheney and Christensen (2001) argue that central to organizational identity is the notion that communication endeavors "are integrated for the organization to communicate at least somewhat consistently to its many different audiences. Without such consistency, the

organizations of today will have difficulties sustaining and confirming a coherent sense of 'self' necessary to maintain credibility and legitimacy in and outside the organization" (p. 232). It is important then, for organizations to build a relationship with its multiple audiences and to promote brand consistency within this process.

When rhetorical situations arise, organizations cannot hope to manage interpretations of an event if they have not done the groundwork of creating some sort of unifying/consistent organizational identity and relationship with those audiences. Audiences need to be address if organizations wish to work through the exigencies successfully. Corporate messaging in rhetorical situations are imperative to organizational success. Cheney, Christensen, Zorn, and Ganesh (2011) state, "Corporate identity management is a matter of precise handling and controlling of corporate messages and their interpretations" (p. 129). This precision of corporate messaging was one of the more explicit problems that Target Corporation struggled with in Canada.

Target had multiple audiences that it needed to be addressing in Canada, one of which was its future employees. Cheney and Christensen (2001) assert, "realizing that affairs inside the organization have shaping implications for outside communications, a growing number of organizations have begun to think of their employees as customers, who, in accordance with the marketing orientation, also need to be satisfied" (p. 248). In August 2012, about seven months prior to the opening of the first Target Canada store, Zeller's employees become the first prominent voices to show displeasure towards Target Canada. The Zeller's employees held a protest because they were not automatically transferred as employees from Zeller's to Target (Stewart, 2012). The expectation from the future employee was that, if they were already doing the job, they should not have to go through the interview process again just to

change status from "Zellers" employee to "Target" employee (Ferguson, 2012). By making the Zellers employees go through the interview process, Target was creating job uncertainty for the Zellers employees, as well as making them jump through bureaucratic hoops. Ultimately, this violated the future employees' expectations; it took away what the Zellers employees felt were their rights. Target was described as unethical, and the protestors stated:

> By refusing to respect the rights of Zellers workers, Target is telling Alberta that it's not interested in being a positive force for our province and the future of our economy. We need to send a strong message to Target and that starts with taking a stand, and that is why we are calling on all our friends and neighbours to join us at the protests on Saturday (Ferguson, par. 12, 2012).

The problem, in the eyes of the employees, was that they were being made to reapply for jobs that they were already performing. Target responded to this by stating that they bought the locations, not the employees within the locations (Stewart, 2012). Thus, one of Target Canada's first errors was that they were not acting to control worker expectations from the outset.

All Zeller's employees were offered the opportunity to interview with Target, but for the Zeller's employees, this was not enough, "Promoting itself as the new friendly neighbour in Canada, Target has clearly failed to include the more than 25,000 Canadian workers who they threw out of work," said Kevin Shim-min, a UFCW Canada national representative (Hall, par. 2, 2013). Thus, the labor relations struggle for Target Canada was born. This was clearly inconsistent of Mr. Dayton's earlier notions of an organization acting in a way that helped the welfare of mankind. Target's organizational website highlights this as one of their values, as they quote George Dayton stating: "Success is making ourselves useful in the

world, valuable to society, helping in lifting in the level of humanity, so conducting ourselves that when we go the world will be somewhat better having lived the brief span of our lives" (Target Through the Years). With this struggle, Target Canada was framed as being inconsistent with its first branding strategy of caring for the welfare of mankind, for if they could not care for their own future employees, how much care could be expected for the rest of Canada. Thus, "neighborly" was not a characteristic of Target Canada from the very beginning.

Another component of the welfare of mankind, or labor relation struggles, which Target faced in its Canadian venture was one that had to be settled in court. On May 1, 2013, just shortly after the first Canadian stores opened, it was announced "the U.S. National Labor Relations Board supported a previous administrative law judge's decision stating Target was guilty of unfair labour practices when it interfered in Target Canada employees voting on whether to join United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1500. Its violations involved coercive interrogation, a threat of unspecified reprisals and the distribution to employees of a leaflet that unlawfully implied a threat to close the store if employees selected the union" (Paillard, par. 40-41, 2013). Just as important as the court decision of unfair labor practices was the media's attention on Target not living up to it's self-promotion of being a friendly, Canadian neighbor.

While there was perhaps little that could be done to disassociate Target's name with unfair labor practices, Target did choose to work on their image and promotion of welfare for mankind within the community. They did this in a variety of ways. In June 2013, Target donated $50,000 to assist with flood relief efforts in Alberta ("Target Canada Donates", 2013). They also began partnering with Canadian designers, such as Beaver Canoe (a

Canadian company with a home décor and clothing line) (Larson, 2013), and celebrating

Canadian holidays such as Boxing Day. However, this sense of community and humanity

initiatives did not appear to be legitimate to the public.

Stemming off of labor relation problems were cultural problems, which were perhaps

the most complex problem that Target faced in Canada. It was an exigency that continued

throughout their stay in Canada. Wiseman and Shuter (1994) argue, "Not only are

organizations struggling to adapt their communication to a world customer base, but

communication within and between multinational organizations is confounded by cultural

issues" (p. 3). Beginning with not seeing Target as "neighborly," more problems arose as

Target made distinct cultural decisions within its management selection. Tony Fisher was

announced as the President of Target Canada in 2011, after which he announced *"The Target

Canada team is made up entirely of executives of its U.S. operations but it expects to hire

tens of thousands of qualified Canadians"* (Flavelle, par. 13, 2011). As Target Canada was

already struggling with cultural issues, this move to only have U.S. management certainly

was not going to help with some of their already existing exigencies (such as welfare for

mankind being seen as illegitimate). Knowing ones audience, and being aware of multiple

audiences, is important when trying to create a strong brand and reputation within an

organization. This is closely linked to identity rhetoric. With that, it is imperative that

cultural aspects are accounted for within organizational decisions. Michael McLarney,

president of the North American Retail Hardware Association and editor of industry

magazine Hardlines, stated "Target is suffering from self-inflicted wounds…To bring a U.S.

guy in here and say 'Yeah, I put my kids in hockey. I have a cottage now. I understand

Canada' just doesn't do it" (Kopun, par. 18-19, 2014).

This surface-level attempt at accounting for cultural aspects became further problematized when Target dealt with their consumer audience. In regard to the consumer audience that Target encountered in Canada, the issue management missteps taken were not large ones that ended up in court like their unfair labor practice woes. Instead, the Canadian consumer audience issue management problems were a dozen small missteps (particularly through inconsistencies with their corporate branding strategies), which, when compiled together, resulted in a blaringly obvious big misstep in the end. From a communication perspective, "if we accept the idea that organizational communication is essentially a process through which meaning is created, negotiated, and managed, we should expect to find identity as an issue in most organizing processes, especially in those explicitly concerned with addressing external audiences" (Cheney and Christensen, 2001, p. 241). With this in mind, it would follow that in order for Target Corporation to exude a positive and sustainable identity in the Canadian market, they would show explicit concern for their external audiences (such as their consumers). Perhaps one of these smaller mistakes made regarding the Canadian audience could have been amended, perhaps even several of them. But together, all of the problematic organizational moments, or exigencies, pertaining to the consumer became insurmountable. I argue that the dissatisfaction of the consumer audience led to the eventual demise of Target Canada.

To best understand the problematic relationship between the Canadian consumer and Target Canada, I will further focus on some of the events that occurred to create the complex relationship between Target and its Canadian audience. First, as explained previously in this essay, audience expectations were higher for multiple reasons. However, I will also explore events that I believe if explained chronologically, can help describe how confusion in the

rhetorical situation built into a larger problem. An issue, as defined by Cheney and

Christensen (2001) is "often thought of as an unresolved or contestable matter 'ready for

decision'" (p. 239). Target Canada had many issues that required resolution through careful

decision-making processes—decisions that never seemed to be made or, at the very least, did

not satisfy their external audiences and resulted in a negative feeling surrounding Target

Corporation lingering in Canada. As Zellers locations started being remodeled into Target

locations, Target announced that they did not want Zellers consumers list, because their

target consumer was different (Kopun, 2012). They quickly added that all Canadians were

welcome. But the problem with an organizational statement such as this is that it alienates the

Zellers consumer. They were literally told that they were not the consumer Target

Corporation was interested in maintaining. The alienation of the consumer is a theme that

Target Corporation continued to struggle with as their stores opened in the Canadian market.

Perhaps one of the more prevalent and continuing struggles that Target Canada faced

with its consumer was that of pricing woes. The corporate branding strategy of focusing on

the value-oriented consumer came into question. Consumers who were used to going south of

the border quickly noticed price variations between the same products, "The cross-border

price gap that exists on many consumer goods is about 14 percent on average" (Strauss, par.

6, 2012). Tony Fisher, President of Target Canada, stated that taxes were a large part of why

products were priced higher in Canadian stores than in U.S. stores. "Transportation costs are

higher, distribution costs are higher, fuel costs are higher, wage rates vary across the country,

the tax rates are different, cost of goods are different, the duties - I think the scale we have

here in Canada is quite different from the incredibly different, densely populated U.S.

marketplace," Fisher rationalized (Shaw, par. 6, 2013). One month after stores opened in

Canada, Fisher announced that, as was consistent with their U.S. stores, Target Canada would offer a price-match guarantee on products that were the same and had lower prices elsewhere (Sherlock, 2013). Fisher's statement directly contradicted his earlier statement about prices already being comparable. Between his contradictory statement and the framing of the price-discrepancy through news articles, which continued, this pricing issue became salient in the consumer mind.

The second, larger exigency that Target Canada faced was their trouble with replenishment and understanding of the Canadian consumer demand. When the first stores opened in March 2013, a Canadian consumer, Evelina Sheppard, wrote on Target Canada's Facebook page, "Was not impressed - visited the Milton store yesterday, 80 percent of the racks were empty and hooks in the change rooms were already ripped out of the wall" (Shaw, par. 8, 2013). In August 2013, "There was a lot of hype before Target entered the country," Forum president Lorne Bozinoff said. "Now that people have shopped there, I think there is a bit of a letdown" (Strauss, par. 4, 2013). This "let down" is because of consumer expectations for the corporate branding strategy of a high quality shopping experience. This rhetorical strategy became unrealistic and unattainable for Target in the Canadian market. After the second quarter in Target Canada, reports showed that a mere 27% of Target customers were "very satisfied" (Friend, par. 14, 2013).

Another, smaller misstep made with the Canadian consumer came by the hand of Target's CEO, Greg Steinhafel, who in October 2013, after seven months of Canadian operations, cast the blame about lower-than-expected sales on the Canadian consumer when he explained the problem lay in the fact that Canadians were not used to the "one-stop shopping" experience (Friend, 2013). This one-stop shopping experience, as he refers to, is

the idea that a consumer can stop at only one store and get everything on their list—toilet paper, groceries, clothes, cosmetics, electronics, etc. This shift in blame to the Canadian consumer caused further alienation between the Target organization and its customer. This also was inconsistent with the branding strategy of care for the consumer.

In December 2013, Target Corporation was faced with what is now being called one of the largest cyber security breaches in history (Ziobro, 2014). While the Canadian stores were not impacted, cross-border Canadian shoppers were (Nguyen, 2014). Target spoke very specifically to their U.S. audience, but seemed to ignore the potentially 700,000 Canadians who were impacted (Nguyen, 2014). This was the beginning of the end for Target Canada. A mere five months after the security breach occurred, it was announced that CEO Gregg Steinhafel was resigning and, within weeks, Tony Fisher was fired as well. Shortly after, Target's executive vice president of property development, John Griffith, announced his retirement (Webb, 2014). Within one month, Target lost big parts of its executive team and with that came the opportunity for change.

Executive Mark Schindele announced shortly after Fisher's swift exit from the Canadian market, "After 30 days, we want to have an aggressive road map towards improvement" ("Target's 30 Day Guarentee, par. 1, 2014). In an effort to change the path Target Canada was going, Target made an apology video, saying they knew that they had made mistakes. Emma Hancock, partner at Heroes and Villains advertising agency in Toronto, argues that this video was released prematurely:

> This video doesn't tell a story Target has earned the right to tell, not yet…If Target
> recognizes there has been a serious problem with its rollout into Canada, then it
> should fix it and then come out and do the 'We are sorry we messed up' story. This

video just reinforces the fact that I should stay away until it has been fixed. It also

makes me wonder what they think of Canadians in general and why they opened

before they were ready - they seem to know that we were already aware of their

American store experience.

This quote highlights not only the problematic nature of Target's public relations attempts in

Canada, but also the disgruntled feeling of the Canadian consumer. It created even more

unfulfilled expectations.

The third audience whose expectations were violated by Target was the opinion

leader audience. This audience is comprised of the Target executive team, marketing

analysts, and media, such as journalists, who spoke about Target Canada and offered

predictions and promises to the consumer. In this way, the opinion leaders are the ones who

initially offered the expectations to the consumer. The opinion leader audience, however,

soon became de-centered and inconsistent in nature. While Target Corporation's voice still

promoted expectations audiences should have of their store, market analysts' voices become

fundamentally different. They became critical and wary in nature, which is a difference that I

argue impacted Target's need to exit the Canadian market.

In 2011, as Target announced their intentions to penetrate the Canadian market,

market predictions were quick to follow. Target was to be more successful than Zeller's

because of their "unique branding strategy", which included things like having higher-end

partners, aisles easier on the eyes, branding bullseye, wooing designers (who partner with

TGT for clothes) and wealthier consumers (Shaw, 2011). In this way, these external opinion

leaders, those outside of Target Corporation, were Target's biggest supporters and promoters.

In 2012, months before the first store opening, Target was seen as the "game-changer" in

Canadian retail, for the better ("Target Sets Sights", 2012). Bryn Berg suggested in the summer of 2012 that market research showed Canadians wanted the same Target stores they visit in the United States (Mah, 2012), and made the distinction that Zeller's stores were distinctly different than what audiences could expect from Target Canada. While the opinion leader was creating expectations of the Canadian consumer, they were also portraying their own audience expectations of Target Canada as well. These expectations included a store with the same unique branding strategy known in the U.S., as well as a store that was seen as a level above Zeller's.

Marketing analysts, once they announced their expectations, expected those predictions to not be violated. However, the small missteps that alienated the consumer audience perhaps created an even larger gap with their opinion leader audience. The consumer infers and makes its expectations from what they are told, as well as base those expectations on their previous relationship with Target as a retailer. For the opinion leader, their expectations and predictions consisted of knowledge they had of Target's performance, Canada's awareness of the Targets brand, marketing research done on the Canadian market, predicted growth potential, etc. Thus their predictions were educated and logical ones. Not only this, but as opinion leaders, this particular audience served to inform other audiences of what they should think about Target, Target's decisions made in regards to issue management, and even, I argue, impacted Target's success (or lack there of) in Canada.

These initial well-researched opinion leader predictions were not ones that Target met. Early analyst predictions in 2012 suggested that the future of other retailers in Canada were seen as "grim" once Target made its entrance into Canada. Early research also reflected "the pressure that Target faces in its first foray outside of its U.S. home base, as incumbent

retailers ramp up their own operations to take on their daunting new competitor" (Strauss, par. 5, 2013). As expectation continued to be violated, opinion leader predictions for Target Canada quickly became negative in nature. The shift from positive opinion leader predictions to negative could be seen a year before Target exited the Canadian market. In May 2014, Michael McLarney, president of the North American Retail Hardware Association and editor of industry magazine Hardlines, showed that the business professional had also become as disillusioned as the consumer had, when he stated that "They (Target) could never live up to the expectations Canadians had of them. First of all, when you're on vacation, you're always in a better mood and everything seems like a better deal" (Kopun, par. 20, 2014). This disillusionment solidified in a way that was insurmountable and led to the eventual termination of Target in the Canadian market.

Target Canada's audience expectations were violated—for the employee, for the consumer, and for the opinion leader. All three of these audiences were very different in nature, with varying expectations, and due to Target's inability to meet the expectations that each audience had, while creating a consistent organizational identity with strong issue management, the expectations did not come to fruition. Thus, Target Canada was unable to create a positive organizational image/reputation. With all of this in consideration, Target Canada's rhetorical situation became on that was problematic and shorter than desired.

Phase Three: The Necessary Exit

In January 2015, in the wake of Target's weak reputational identity and poor sales, they announce their intention to exit the Canadian market. With this announcement, the employee audience is dissatisfied again because once again, a mere few years later, Target is creating employment uncertainty for thousands of Canadians (Friend, 2015). The consumer

audience was excited about liquidation sales, but once again were disappointed when the price reductions were not as much as the consumer expected them to be ("Bargain Hunters Say", 2015). The marketing audience, who just a few years before were spouting praising predictions, were comparing Target's hastened exit to an obituary (Olive, 2015).

With the violation of audience expectations, Target's identity in Canada transformed from a potentially shining example of retail, to a disaster:

> In future years, Target Canada will serve as a gold standard case study in what
> retailers should not do when they enter a new market . . . From opening too many
> stores at once to a lack of a sales website, Target took multiple missteps - some of
> them operational, some strategic - in order to flop as spectacularly as it did in Canada,
> all of which resulted in a group of highly disenchanted consumers (Shaw, par. 1-2,
> 2015).

Targets entrance into Canada serves as an excellent case study of the need to create a realistic reputation and a sustainable identity that can be delivered on. When an organization creates and molds its history to create organizational rhetoric that informs their branding strategies, these branding strategies become expectations and, in that way, constraints during a rhetorical situation. Central to this, is the realization that organizations must pay attention and speak to their multiple audiences. Not only must each audience be acknowledged and spoken to but as Bitzer (1968) suggests, the responses to rhetorical situations should be fitting to the issue at hand.

Cheney, Christensen, and Dailey (2015) assert, "identity and identification cannot be divorced from historical and cultural contexts" (p. 4). As Target Canada was newly formed, the identity had zero-history, thus, Canadians created their expectations, as I previously

argued, off of the history of the United States Target stores. This became problematic, as an exact Target U.S. experience was not an attainable goal, nor even feasible in their Canadian stores. Running Target Canada with only American executive management also became problematic and detrimental to Target Canada, as they alienated Canadians with their lack of understanding of Canadian consumer wants and needs. On April 12, 2015, the doors of the last Target Canada shut ("Target Canada to Close", 2015). It is important that organizations learn from this organizational rhetorical situation. Target Canada did not make one move that signed their fate, but rather, different issues/exigencies arose and were handled poorly by Target Corporation, who was operating through their own organizational constraints (their branding strategies). These became nails in the coffin that was Target Canada as a rhetorical situation.

Conclusion

While the rhetorical situation has not been used to explain organizational complexities, such as when organizations venture into a new, multinational market, building off Bitzer's notion of the rhetorical situation can help further inform the field of public relations and organizational communication. When an organization makes a large change, like becoming multinational, exigencies will follow. If an organization does not speak to those exigencies, and remedy them, then those imperfections are written about in newspapers and audiences frame their opinions accordingly. In the case of Target Canada, the exigencies that were encountered—big and small, were not adequately (if at all) spoken to, thus audiences informed their opinions from newspaper articles, which highlighted the organizational exigencies that Target Canada faced.

The audiences in organizational communication must be given consideration in times when issue management is needed. For Target Canada, their self-promoted organizational history informed their corporate branding strategies, which once they were not able to deliver on in Target Canada, transformed into problematic constraining factors. The three corporate branding strategies regarding welfare of mankind, consumer care and innovative processes, and focus on value-oriented consumers and high-quality shopping experiences informed audience expectations of what Target Canada would deliver on. Target Canada was not able to successfully implement any of these three strategies, thus they disenchanted their three main Canadian audiences: the employee with which they had labor relation issues with, the consumer who felt the product was not "value-oriented" nor was it a "high-quality shopping experience," and the opinion leader audience, who perhaps more closely than any other audience watched Target Canada fall on its own sword. In this case its organizational rhetoric was the constraining factor which ultimately was the demise of Target Canada.

Bitzer's notion of the rhetorical situation does not account for the evolving process of organizational identity, issue management, and image management in a globalized society. However, it can be built upon and furthered in order to study these issues, among others in organizations. In a globalized world, these exigencies, audience, and constraints become more complex, as they are constantly evolving and changing. One such constraint that organizations can face is their own organizational rhetoric. It is important, then, for the rhetorical situation to be considered when trying to understand urgent issues within organizations that arise (exigencies), audiences that need to be spoken to (multiple audiences), and constraining factors such as organizational rhetoric and audience expectations about corporate branding and organizational reputation.

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CHAPTER III

TARGET CANADA AS A FAILED MEMORY PLACE

In January 2015, Target's exit from Canada was not surprising. What is interesting is why they were not profitable; why, in such a short time, did Target feel the need to withdraw from a country that should have been a welcoming market? This is the question this chapter seeks to answer. In my analysis I will explore Target Corporation's move into Canada, the complexities that Target faced, and the role that memory plays in the creation and maintenance of organizational reputation. I argue that, in addition to making a number of functional and marketing errors, Target Canada also activated competing memories in the process undermining the good will that accompanied their move across the border. The depth of this failure became clear during Target's exit from its Canadian venture.

Forms of Memory: Individual and Collective

Memory studies are very complex in nature, and largely scholars have defined three different types of memory that I will briefly summarize here: individual memory, public memory and collective memory. Memories are formed through a relationship that an individual has with a past event. Zelizer (1995) asserts, "to remember is defined as the ability the recount something that happened in the past" (p. 214). Memories are recalled or articulated at the individual level first. Memory is also inherent in individuals. According to Angeli (2015), "Individual memory refers to memory instilled in a person, what classical rhetoricians call "natural memory," humans' innate ability to remember information" (p. 10). Casey (2004) offers that individual memory as a "person who is engaged in memory on any given occasion…We remember by way of being reminded, by recognizing something, and by

reminiscing with others" (p. 20-21). While individuals hold memories, they are often shared

with others. In this way, the individual actively reconstructs memory. It is through this

interactional process that "individual" memories become collective memories. Armstrong

(2000) asserts "memory is rarely private; it links an individual to the group, to events

involving other people, and to a group consciousness" (p. 593). However, which memories

are shared is up to the individual, some memories are suppressed and, in that way, memories

do have the ability to be kept private and not linked a person to a group. When one person

shares a story about his or her day, an individual memory, others are generally quick to share

a similar memory, and thus individual memories can become linked to one another.

Therefore, individual memory is created through individuals' recollections of a past event.

There has to be a level of engagement between the individual (through perhaps being

reminded) and the memory. Lastly, individual memory has the ability to link the individual to

a larger group or collective, thus individual memory is interactional, which is also the case

for collective memory.

Scholars writing in the field of memory studies have proposed three definitions of

collective memory. First, Kimble and Olson (2007) explain that collectives try to create

similar individual's memories for each member of that particular collective. These similar

memories do not have to be exactly the same, and, I would argue, memory of an event is

never exactly the same for each member of the collective. But they must be largely the same

in order for the memory to be a collective one. Casey (2004) asserts that people can be linked

to a group by having what is essentially a similar memory of an event. However, the

"collective" in memory, does not have to have a clear link to one another geographically—

collective memory is not bound spatially.

The second definition of Collective memory, by Casey (2004) is: "the circumstance in which different persons, not necessarily known to each other at all, nevertheless recall the same event—again, each in her own way" (p. 23). This implies that interpersonal interaction is necessary for a memory to become "collective." For example, anyone who lived in the United States, and was old enough to retain memories at the time, has a particular memory of 9/11. This is an event that people, even if not bound to one another, can remember and recall in their own way, but it can be viewed as a collective memory if the individual memories are similar to one another and these memories are discussed interactively (the experience of shock, the memory of exactly where you were, the sudden urge to call the people you love, etc.). What one collective sees as a sorrowful event might be a cause for celebration for another collective. Memories can be symbolic and the interaction that solidifies them may be wholly symbolic as well. Casey (2004) also offers a further explanation of the relationship between individual and collective memory:

> Remembrances are neither individually or in isolation from others nor in the company of others with whom one is acquainted by severally. 'Severally' signifies plural remembering that has no basis in overlapping historicities or shared places but is brought together only in and by conjoint remembrance of a certain event, no matter where those who remember are located or how otherwise unrelated they are to each other" (p. 23).

It follows that collective memory can be held by a collective that only have the memory of that event in common, but it can involve interaction as well.

A third definition of collective memory was developed by Barbie Zelizer, who views it as being comprised of individual recollections, which then inform and help shape collective

memory. For Zelizer (1995), a recollection is, "the act of establishing a relationship with some event, issue, or entity of the past (p. 219). Thus, it is a relationship an individual has with his/her memory regarding an event. Collective memory is composed of "recollections that are instantiated beyond the individual by and for the collective…comprises recollections of the past that are determined and shaped by the group" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 214). Collective memory can inform a group of people on how they should interpret events (both past and current). Collective memory then serves as an interpretive frame, in which to be effective individuals must be willing to subject themselves to. Because individual memories are often shared, memories can be shaped by an entire collective memory that can move from being housed in an individual's mind, to being housed in a collectives' culture and the minds of those within the collective. This latter definition of collective memory, in particular, lends itself to organizational rhetoric and organizational studies, which I will explore further in my next section.

All three perspectives on collective memory depict it as both individualistic and social. Collective memory is deployed through individuals listening to each other's memories and creating an over-arching "collective" memory that unifies and binds them. By experiencing and articulating their own memories in the collective, individuals are ensuring they have a voice in collective remembering. A collective is broad in definition as it can be anyone who has a memory of the same event that can then be shared and built upon. With this, individuals with fundamentally different memories, or memories that compete with the "collectives" memory, might not be able to fit within the bounds of a particular collective memory and thus there is an element of exclusivity to collective remembering. Moreover, collective memory is inherently active, it is experiential in nature, and it is socially

constructed. This means that collective memory can also be viewed as a symbolic act in that, "It is socially constructed and refers to a group's identity. A social class, family, neighborhood—any group—creates its identity through their shared memories" (Angeli, 2015, p. 10). Collective memory, Casey (2004) suggests, is symbolic in nature as what is important for collective memory, more so than individual or social remembering, is that by creating a collective memory, those who are actors in the remembering, remember largely the same thing, which informs the group's identity. This formation of group identity, which is not really discussed by Kimble and Olson or Zelizer's notion's of collective memory, is important when analyzing the co-production of creating a collective memory. At the heart of collective memory is the notion of building a cohesive narrative through coproduction within a particular group—a memory that becomes the groups', lodged in each individual's mind.[i]

For a project such as this that blends memory studies and organizational rhetoric, it is essential to clearly define terms I will use throughout my analysis. I will first expand my explanation of the components of collective memory. Then, I will define the linkage that can be seen between organizational reputation and memory. Thirdly, I will explore the complexity surrounding memory studies, particularly regarding competing memories and the relationship between memory and space. Lastly, I offer a definition of what I am calling "brand memory" and how it applies to organizational sites as public memory sites. They will be later used during my analysis of Target Canada.

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Characteristics of Collective Memory

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Collective memory is powerful, in part because it is "filled with reused and reusable material that at the heart offers resources for making sense of the past" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 217). Collective memories are flexible, and can be expanded over time through repetition and

modification. Through these processes scope, power, and complexity increase as they take on new dimensions and interests (Zelizer, 1995, p. 217).[ii] Organization texts are formed from "reusable memories" that can be activated by events and discourse. As the interest of the organization changes, organizational rhetors then can try to appropriate these "reusable memories" to potentially help their audience make sense of their organizational choices. This process becomes complex because collective memory is a co-production; audience members get to play an active role in the creation and maintenance of an organization's collective memory.

In the field of memory studies, the term collective memory may be viewed as ambiguous in nature, what does one look at and mean when they say they study collective memory? In sum,

1.   Collective memory is processual in nature, not static: This means that remembering is not a finite activity (with a beginning and a clear end), but rather "Remembering . . . is seen as a process that is constantly unfolding, changing and transforming" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 218). These changes and transformations are made through a collective's co-production and re-production of their memories.

2.   Collective memory is unpredictable: "Collective memory is not necessarily linear, logical or rational…memory's unpredictability appears to have significantly restricted our inquiry, for we are unable to predict many of those circumstances in which memory can take new footholds" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 221). Zelizer (1995) also argues that collective memory has an element of unpredictability in that collective memory is not necessarily logical, rational, or linear. Memories, then, are free to be retrieved at any moment and perhaps when they are least expected (Zelizer, 1995). Also important, Zelizer (1995) asserts

that, "often, the link between memory and identity disrupts group goals of cohesion, such as continuity or stability" (p. 228). Collective memory can create contestation within a collective, as there can be multiple individual memories, which compete with one another instead of creating a co-produced "collective" memory.

3.   Collective memory and time: "The study of collective memory has had little to do with the passage of time in the expected form…Time becomes a social construction… Collective memory allows the group to use time in a fruitful way at the same time as it allows time to function to the group's benefit" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 222).

4.   Collective memory and its relationship to space: "From a house to a neighborhood to a nation, space has always helped define the boundaries of memory…Moreover, the relationship to space often reconfigures remembering in distinctly unanticipated ways" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 223-4).

5.   Collective memory is partial: "No single memory contains all that we know, or could know about any given event, personality, or issue" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 224). The "we" that Zelizer refers to here is the collective in which the memory is being produced.

6.   Collective memory is usable: "Collective memory is always a means to something else…collective memory is evaluated for the ways in which it helps us to make connections—to each other over time and space, and to ourselves. . . usability, is invocation as a tool to defend different aims and agendas" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 226). In this way, the usability of collective memory makes it a rhetorical tool.

7.   Collective memory is both universal and particular: "the same memory can act as a particular representation of the past for certain groups while taking a universal significance for others" (Zelizer, 1995, p. 230)

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8.   Collective memory is material: "one of the most marked characteristics of collective memory is that it has texture." (Zelizer, 1995, p. 232). The "texture" or "material" that collective memory studies have generally explored are physical sites, or statues, as is consistent with my analysis of Target's physical site.

Together, these eight characteristics of collective memory function as tools, which allow scholars to uncover how collective memory works within a particular culture

The Relationship between History, Sites/spaces, and Collective Memory

Nora (1989) argues that the concepts of memory and history used to have a closer relationship to one another, but the concept of t memory has been transformed so that it is no longer solely historical, but rather has shifted to being psychological as well. Consequently, memory now is treated as being more subjective than in earlier accounts. Psychological views of memory locate it in the minds and/or discourse of each individual member of the particular culture, as well being housed in a material site (a place). Memory is located in an individual's mind, but memory can be triggered or activated by images and practices related to the material site themselves. As the shift from individual memory to collective action has occurred, how communication scholars' study memory, historians' views of the landscape, issues, and actors of public memory and what "remembering" looks like has dramatically changed (Zelizer, 1995, p. 214). [iii]

Part of these revised views is a focus on material (physical) spaces. For example, Nora (1989) asserts that memory attaches itself to sites. When we retrieve memories, we remember a material space in which that memory occurred. Because members of a collective come to attach shared memories to sites and material spaces, when one retrieve memories the relationship between space and memory can be seen. When individuals or collectives

remember something, they also remember where something happened. An example of this would be when someone experiences a shocking moment, such as the collapse of the World Trade Center, they know exactly where they were, and what they were doing. Thus, memory is closely linked both to physical spaces and to visual images of those spaces. While many memory studies have been conducted on monuments and memorials, this essay seeks to explore organizational space (spaces housing an organization) as a site of collective memory. For organizational studies, I argue that collective memories of an organization are housed in both physical spaces, as well as in stakeholders' minds. What one culture collectively remembers will not necessarily hold true to another culture, especially as the physical sites themselves alter. Collective memory can serve as a lens in which organizational studies can be furthered in their understanding of the complex workings of organizational communication

Literature Review of Memory Studies Concepts

Zelizer (1995) asserts, "to remember is defined as the ability the recount something that happened in the past" (p. 214). According to Ekaterina Haskins (2007), a remembrance culture is the way that a specific culture chooses to remember, particularly through mediums or forms of memorialization (p. 401). It is collective in nature because it is interactional. Cultures choose how to remember events, or if they want to remember events, and thus cultural remembering is intentional and is guided by the power of the many within that culture. Intentional remembering is significant for organizational/public relation scholars interested in understanding how cultures choose to remember particular organizational events, especially ones regarding issues of legitimacy. Feldman and Feldman (2006) define organizational remembering as "a collective, historically and culturally situated practice,

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enacted by socially constituted persons in order to establish meaning" (p. 880). Globalization is relevant to these processes in that media allows audience members to consume more messages and images. Thus, this experiential remembering impacts the way a culture or group of people reconstruct an event, such as the BP oil spill or Nikes use of sweatshops workers to make their product. The consumer now has agency, meaning that the way people "remember" is now more of a coproduction than ever before.

Memory is inconsistent and ambiguous at times, resulting in the opportunity for memories to compete and conflict with one another. Noon (2004) argues, "Whereas individual memory is notoriously fallible, collective memory is even more so, and with potentially more troublesome consequences" (p. 343). Collective memory, then, can be more inaccurate and problematic in nature than individual memory. With this, a distortion of memory has the potential to solidify into an entire collective.

While sites of memory have contestations surrounding them, equally interesting is the idea that sites of memory are also rhetorical in and of themselves. Hasian (2004) states, "'Sites of memory' contain traces of key rhetorical structures and fragments" (p. 67). When memory is co-produced, particularly in sites and what is expected in those sites, that material space has the potential to be rhetorical in nature. Contested sites of memory are "a space that is used for a number of contentious public issues" (Hasian, 2004, p. 65). This contestation can be created through competing memories and the space itself can be used for groups of people's own goals, whether politically charged (or political use of space), or simply inconsistent with other people's use of the space. Since collective memory is usable (Zelizer, 1995), there will always be people fighting over the ownership of a collective memory, people with different rationales for how they want memory to work within their society.

David Blight (1989) asserts, "the struggle over memory was always, in part, a debate over the present" (p. 1176). While the space might have physically changed over the years, the linkage between Target's organizational rhetoric and memory place has been processual in nature, changing slightly, transforming and adapting as needed by the society. And thus memory of the past, when informs the present, also potentially informs a collectives future.

Because memory informs the present, for contested sites of memory, there is an assumption that the link between emotions and memory is one that should not be severed because it amputates one's experience from the present moment. Hasian (2004), asserts, "Enforcing the emotional connection is really the only way of keeping the memory alive" (p. 78). This is consistent with Zelizer's notion that individuals need to have a relationship with memory. Thus, emotions play an important role in the debate and struggle of memory as competing and contested.

Relationship Between Memory and Space

The relationship between collective memory and space within a culture can be seen through the particular example of Marshall Fields in Chicago. On September 9, 2006, the Marshall Fields on State Street in Chicago was officially re-named Macy's, and standing outside the building on the day the transition occurred were 200 protestors (Lavin, 2009). Lavin (2009) argues that this space and the use of the name "Marshall Fields" was a part of the Chicago Natives sense of identity as well as civic pride, both of which were lost when the space was changed ever so slightly, and re-named Macy's. On the one-year anniversary of the official re-branding of the Marshall Fields off State Street, protestors gathered again, arguing for the return of what they considered an icon of Chicago. For this audience, Lavin (2009) asserts that "the flagship store on the Loop was more than a retail outlet; it was a

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place intimately tied to the history of their city. For them, the loss of the brand diminished their hometown's identity" (p. 1004).

Pierre Nora (1989) defines a site of memory as being comprised of something material, symbolic, and functional (p. 19). While many sites of memory are monuments, memorials, or historical markers, his definition allows for what a site of memory "looks like" to differ greatly. Dickinson, Blair, and Ott (2010) discuss the notion that memory places are not necessarily similar in nature, "Memory places, of course, are not all the same; in fact, they differ from one another in significant ways. A battlefield is not very much like a house museum" (p. 25). Memory places as thus defined, could be used in the study of organizations, specifically organizational sites as memory places. For Nora, Dickinson, Blair, and Ott, what "counts" as a memory place or a site of memory, has the potential to look very different physically from one memory place to another.

Places and spaces are very important concepts in memory studies. According to Dickinson, Blair, and Ott (2010), "The signifier—the place—is itself an object of attention and desire. It is an object of attention because of its status as a place, recognizable and set apart from undifferentiated space" (p. 25). The link between place and memory—between space and place—can be built off of to potentially include organizational spaces as sites of memory. I am not arguing that all organizational spaces should be viewed as sites of memory or memory places. What I am arguing is that, if there is a relationship between the organizational space and a collective, then the established relationship is consistent with Zelizer's definition outline previously between a person and an entity.

Like collective memories, memory places are not static in nature. As Zelizer (1995) argues that collective memory is processual in nature, Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) argue

that "the 'production' of memory places is ongoing. Their rhetorical invention is not limited to simply their initial construction. We must attend as well to the intervening uses, deployments, circulations, and re-articulations in the time between the establishment of a place and our current practices in and of the place" (p. 31). Target has been building and deploying its organizational spaces as memory places for more than 50 years and, while some things have changed, as is suggested in my context section, many of their organizational goals for the consumer have stayed the same. While the space might have physically changed over the years, the linkage between Target's organizational rhetoric and memory place has been processual in nature, changing slightly, transforming and adapting as needed by the society. There is cultural significance that can be found in places of memory, and they are also places of material local (Blair, Dickinson and Ott, 2010, p. 32). The cultural significance is a complex factor in the creation of memory spaces, and one that I argue Target did not account for in their attempt to transplant Target's memory spaces from the U.S. to Target Canada stores.

Target served as a memory place for Canadians in their U.S. stores before their entrance into Canada. Memory places, according to Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010), are "destinations: they typically require visitors to travel to them. Thus, is created a unique context for understanding the past, one that is rooted in touristic practices" (p. 26). This idea of touristic practices and travel plays into my analysis of organizational memory as a site. According to Marita Sturken (2007), there is a strong link between memory, tourism, and consumption. Tourists, Sturken (2007) asserts, "visit sites where they do not live, they are outsiders to the daily practices of life in tourist destinations…tourists typically remain distant to the sites they visit" (p. 10). This distance allows for tourists to not feel responsible for the

place they are visiting, but rather to merely consume what is presented to them. A tourist is also someone who "stands outside of a culture, looking at it from a position that demands no responsibility" (Sturken, 2007, p. 13). This lack of responsibility links touristic and consumptive practices together in a cohesive and strong fashion. Therefore, organizational spaces, such as a shopping space, can and should be analyzed through a public memory studies lens. Touristic practices do not only include traditional monuments and memorials, but also visits to well-known stores and organizations within a particular country, which, for the sake of this analysis, is Target Corporation in America. With the novelty that vacations tend to induce, Target Corporation becomes a destination for many non-American tourists willing to consume Target products they otherwise cannot get in their respective countries.

Brand Memory

Brand memory is the specific memories individuals recall or memories they create and then associate with an organizational brand. Brand memory is similar to what Conrad (2011) defines as organizational reputation. Brand memory relies on past and present memories, as is consistent with organization reputation; however, it more heavily relies on past experiences of the audience. Although organizational rhetoric may be contained in individual and collective memory, brand memory focuses less on organization's external rhetoric and allows for current perceptions or the creation of memory to be analyzed as well, thus distinct from the definition of organization reputation. Brand memory can be used to explore past experiences which audiences recall of the organization's reputation and image, and these memories directly impact the current state of the organization itself. While brand memory is connected to past memories, which inform current organizational reputation, there is also a link to a material, which can be a physical space, a symbol, a website, etc.

Consequently, when a site of memory, such as an organizational space, is taken over by another organization, traces of the first organization remain in that space. This "carry over" effect adds complexity to the physical site itself and its competing memories, a site where two memories are lodged together in contestation with one another in the same physical space. This essay seeks to analyze two organizational spaces of Target Corporation and the contestations it faced. With these definitions of terms, I will analyze, through the lens of public memory, the organizational space of Target and Target Canada, focusing more closely on Target Canada and the contestations it faced with Canadian consumers. I will analyze Target's United States website to see the rhetorical choices they use to create a collective memory which they hoped would transfer to their Canada public. I will then analyze newspaper articles from Target Canada, specifically looking at the public perceptions of Target Canada in contrast to Target in the United States. Some guiding questions for my essay are: what role does touristic practices play in organizational memory? How does space that has been used functionally the same, but by two organizations, become a site of contestation and complexity? And in what ways does brand memory inform reputation management for organizational scholars? My central thesis is that Target U.S. serves as a memory place that did not become reified in their Canadian spaces.

Analysis

Since my focus is on the difference of Target's brand memory in the U.S. and in Canada, how their organizational spaces are used differently, and the role differing collective memories plays, I will analyze Target in the United States, followed by Target Canada. I will analyze Target in the U.S. first—both as a collective memory, and as touristic experience.

Then, I will analyze Target Canada as an experiential landscape, which proved to be unpredictable, and then conclude my analysis with Target Canada as a failed memory place.

The Collective Memory of Target

Target has become a preferred shopping destination for many American consumers. According to their corporate website, Target's mission is to: "make Target your preferred shopping destination in all channels by delivering outstanding value, continuous innovation and exceptional guest experiences by consistently fulfilling our Expect More. Pay Less. Brand promise" ("About Target"). This organizational brand promise is Target's intentional framing of themselves, which serves as a stepping-stone for the creation of their own memory place (Nisbet, 2011). Target's brand promises serve as an interpretive frame for which the Target consumer collective can use to interpret their current and future organizational choices. Thus, Target had the opportunity to frame their messages in a way that shapes their collective memory.

Target is fairly transparent as to what the organization's values are, or at the very least what they claim to be. In the website partition entitled "about us—mission and values," there is a section titled "what we believe in." There are five things that Target asserts are their core values—design for all, diversity and inclusion, great guest service, more for your money and a legacy of giving and service ("About Target"). These espoused values are designed to frame and help shape the collective memory of Target. Particularly, these values can be used to create recollections for the Target consumer, as Zelizer (1995) would argue, which then create collective remembering of Target. These recollections are the relationship the consumer has with Target stores—it is the memory that they carry with them. Thus

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consumer recollections, once combined with other individuals within the collective, can create a strong collective memory.

Of particular prominence for collective memory is Target's desire to frame themselves as having great guest service and giving consumers more for their money, as these are two of the general things that one might hear discussed about Target in its customers' collective memory. Target says on their website, in their "about" section, that:

In stores or online, we work hard to ensure your Target trip is always enjoyable and exciting. How do we do it? Friendly service from team members ready to assist with your list, fully stocked shelves and a speedy checkout process—and that's just the start. Shop with us and see for yourself…We think a lot about your budget and how to give you the best value every time you shop with us. In addition to our already low prices, we offer other ways to save with you money, including price matching in our stores and an additional 5% savings when you shop using your REDcard.

For many organizations, their values attempt to inform a society's collective memory of them as a preferred organization. This is consistent with Zelizer's (1995) notion that memory can be usable and reusable, with different aims and agendas. By promoting itself as an affordable exciting place to shop, Target is trying to create collective memories, or at least similar (and positive) expectations. Consumers who share their Target shopping experiences with one another and co-produce a brand memory of the organization, which then encourages shoppers to stay loyal, can create these collective memories.

Target particularly uses its website to highlight the different aims and agendas that it wishes to be remembered by its audience. Target promotes its organizational values in a way that is consistent with memories/recollections most people in the United States might have

with the organization, thus their collective memory is co-produced with consumers. Thus, while consumers could potentially undermine Target's rhetoric, as is the case with the joint-production of collective memory, Target's rhetoric is actually reinforced by the United States consumer. Target's collective memory and the values they exude started long before the organization was re-named Target, so the memory of Target has been processual in nature and evolved into the collective memory it is today. Target, then, can be remembered as being an affordable option for consumers, as well as providing a great guest experience.

Target as a Touristic Experience

As people travel to the United States for their Target-shopping holidays, they become tourists who participate in Target's version of American culture itself—clothing, food, music, etc. Memory places then, "are destinations; they typically require visitors to travel to them. Thus is created a unique context for understand the past, one that is rooted in touristic practices" (Blair, Dickinson and Ott, 2010, p. 26). One of these memory places for many tourists, particularly Canadian tourists, is Target. The touristic experience is not limited to people traveling across a national border. In fact, the experience Target hopes to project to the collective is an experience U.S. consumers can have as well. They craft Target as a signifier, set apart from other similarly functioning stores such as Wal-mart, and highlight their strengths in order to promote themselves as unique and recognizable to the public.

Target intentionally uses the word "experience" to describe a shopping trip to their store. According to their website, "your shopping experience extends beyond the walls of our stores—to our Target mobile apps and Target.com—offering personal, easy and convenient options whenever and however you choose to shop" ("The Shopping Experience"). Blair, Dickinson and Ott (2010) assert, "the primary action the rhetoric of memory place invites is

the performance of traveling and traversing it" (p. 26). The experience that Target wishes to invoke for its audience members is a performative one. In the "shopping experience" section of their website, they also state the wish to ensure an enjoyable and exciting shopping experience. This experiential element is important in understanding Target as a place of memory, particularly through the lens of Target shopping as a touristic experience, a symbolic tourism of sorts.

Target states that experiences are not housed solely in their organizational spaces, just as "The experience of museums and memorials does not begin at their entrances" (Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki, 2006, p. 29). There is a larger landscape in which Target visitors live, and that landscape must be taken into consideration as well—this includes traveling to the store. Target is not the only place that individuals visit, it is just one of the many parts of the landscape. Thus, there is a "Need to investigate spaces of memory as intersections of both physical and cognitive landscapes, or what we term experiential landscape" (Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki, 2006, p. 30). Collective memory and tourism, then, do not begin at the doors of a memorial, they do not end when a visitor has seen the main landmark they desired to see, collective remembering and place narratives, is encompassing of the larger landscape History and culture sites are a part of a larger landscape, and thus should not be analyzed in and of themselves (Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki, 2006, p. 29). The organization's rhetoric creates the expectation that the Target "experience" is convenient one-stop-shopping, affordable pricing, wider aisles, and well-stocked merchandise, with faster check out lanes.

People not only carry memories of traditional memory places, but also of the places they eat, or, the places they shop—all of which are tied into their touristic experience (Poirot and Watson, 2015). A good friend of mine from Germany makes an annual trip to the United

States. On the list of things to do while being here are traditional memorials to see, as well as a trip to Target—a place that she values for its trendy clothes and affordable pricing. This value of fashionable clothes, as discussed in chapter two, is one of Target's own corporate rhetoric. The reasons that Americans like Target are the same as my European friend, but for those who do not have access to a Target regularly, there is an added excitement for the touristic element to the Target shopping experience.

Target Canada as an Unpredictable Experiential Landscape

70 percent of Canadians already had some sort of expectations/recollections of Target before the first Canadian store ever opened. With that, Canadian consumers had expectations of the memory place they had already interacted with, symbolically or physically. Canadian audiences expected Target Canada to be the same kind of experiential landscape and memory place as the Target stores they were familiar with from visits to the United States and/or from Target's rhetoric. However, what they experienced was that the stores that were opened in Canada were abrasively different than audience expectations, due to the unpredictability of the shopping experience in Target Canada.

While Target in the United States stays out of the news for the most part, aside from times of crisis (such as the 2011 credit card breach), Target Canada gained much media attention in Canada. That media attention helped create a salient set of expectations of Target Canada for its consumers. As previously stated, Michael Schudson (2011) asserts that journalists "not only report reality but also create it" (p. xiv). Journalists in Canada played a large role in the construction of collective memory surround Target Canada, and by doing so, put constraints on the organization itself, constraints that Target Corporation was unable to free itself from effectively.

The biggest challenge to Target's collective memory was that Target Canada violated visitor expectations to such an extent that it made the experience unpredictable. When one goes to a memory place, they expect to view it in a similar way as people who have visited the place before them and visitors who experience the place after them. However, Target faced large replenishment problems in its Canadian stores, leaving visitors unsure of what they might find during their next visit. According to Bertrand Marotte (2013), Target Canada had difficulties with stocking merchandise, in some places there were empty shelves because of either a high demand or simply replenishment problems related to their POS (point-of-sales) system, or there was excess inventory (par. 4). The unpredictable nature of what the next store experience might "look" like for the Canadian consumer violated the experiential landscape that Canadians familiar with Target in the United States expected. Target Canada's managers were unable to foresee that the organization would have replenishment problems. Tessa Schmitz, 33, and the mother of two, stated: "The bareness of the shelves is the problem…There are huge holes" (Strauss, 2014, para. 11). Furthermore, "Consumers were too often met with long empty shelves as the retailer struggled with delivering product across a vast area. Savvy Target U.S. shoppers complained that Canadian stores did not carry the same breadth of products found in stores south of the border" (Kopun, 2014, para 13).While they did their best to correct the problem, that collective memory of replenishment problems had already become salient in the Canadian consumer's mind. Journalist Michael Babad asserts "Target just doesn't feel the same here as it does there" (Babad, 2013, par. 1).

In addition to violating customer expectations regarding product availability, Target Canada also violated expectations regarding product pricing**.** Canadians expected the United States Target pricing; however, they were "less than receptive when they found out that

prices in the newly opened Target Canada outlets were higher than in the U.S. Target

Management says prices at Canadian locations are in line with those of rivals like Wal-Mart

Canada Corp" (Marotte, 2013, par. 2). While this rationale may have made financial sense, it

violated the expectations of Canadian customers. Babad (2013) goes further and explains

"many Canadian shoppers who enjoy Target south of the border were expecting the same

prices and fashions when the discount retailer burst onto the scene with such hype, with 124

stores" (par. 5). And, speaking of a particular guest's experiential visit to Target Canada, he

states "What was in Target's shiny new aisles, however, left her underwhelmed. Indeed, like

many shoppers, she still longed for Zellers because she said it offered better bargains"

(Babad, 2013, par. 14). Thus, the affordable pricing valued in Target U.S. was not the exact

same in Canada stores, which meant that Target being categorized as "affordable" was not a

reified memory in the Canadian consumer's minds. Target's management might have tried to

"communicate that Target Canada is its own experience and that while it is not the same as

the U.S. experience, it is still special" ("Target Sets Sights", 2012, para. 10). But their

rhetoric had solidified a set of expectations that made it almost impossible to successfully

make that argument. In the end, they did not even try to influence Canadian shoppers'

collective memory.

Brand Memory and the Violation of Consumer Expectations in Target Canada

Brand memory, as I defined earlier, has to do with specific memories individuals can

recall, which then inform their recollection of the organizational brand. The Canadian

consumer memories for Target Canada were in contestation with one another. The brand

memory that they carried with them from the United States shopping experience was

distinctly different than the brand memory that they carried with them about the Canadian

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shopping experience. The physical brand memory that consumers had was that "Target stores are clean, clutter-free and easy to navigate" (Luymes, 2013, para 9). However, the cool/chic Target in the U.S. was not reified in their Canadian stores: "That's the reputation they had before they came here. They kind of lost it or it got diluted." (Luymes, 2013, para 15). Furthermore, "The recent bumpy entry of Target into Canada reflects, in part, such an error. They appear to have poorly considered what their brand meant to Canadians before they arrived…they expected the identical Target bargains and style when they opened here. It didn't happen" (Cunningham, 2014, para. 9). For Target U.S., the recollection and relationship Canadians' had with Target's brand was a strong one, salient in the collective memory of Canadians. However, the brand memory they had with Target Canada was an unpredictable one, changing from excitement, to disappointment, to finally a complete violation of expectations. This change did not occur in a way that allowed for any stability or assurance, not in a way that reified/solidified Target's brand memory into one unified collective memory (of the U.S. and Target Canada stores). While one shopping experience at Target in Canada might have been a good experience, it was entirely possible the next shopping experience would not be, thus, the lack of stability created an uncertainty that did not allow for a unified brand memory to exist. With the conflicting brand memories, came the need for one to win out over the other—as the brand itself was the same in Target and Canada, but the brand memory was fundamentally in opposition.

Target Canada as a Failed Memory Place

There is a touristic element to memory places. A memory place must act as a signifier, there usually is an experiential element, and memory places are not static in nature, but rather processual. Target Canada did not become a solidified or reified memory place,

because it was unable to capitalize on these four components of memory places that Target in the United States did. The touristic element of memory places did not ring true for the Canadian consumer shopping in a Canadian store in the same or similar way that it did when they ventured to United States Target stores. Babad (2013) argues:

> Canadians who shop at Target in the United States tend to be on a family driving vacation, which, of course, means a different experience. Target isn't alone here. I'd say the same of some of the other U.S. retailers that have made the jump . . . there's a bigger selection in the U.S. and you're probably more vulnerable to buying treats while on vacation. And "it's just regular shopping here - not part of an adventure (par. 1-2).

An organization cannot pick up a site of memory, transplant it into a space that crosses a transnational border, and expect to have the same results without any regard the cultural differences of the new collective group during the expansion. Derek Alderman (2003) asserts, "By expanding the scale of memory or increasing the geographic extent of commemoration, social actors and groups hope to make images of the past retrievable or available to a larger array of publics" (p. 165). This was Target's hope—to expand the cultural identity of Target to Canada, making it a retrievable memory for Canadian consumers and thus a cultural practice. But my larger argument is Target failed to expand geographically because of Canadians' recollections of Target's U.S. brand memory and, thus, Target as a memory place in Canada failed.

Collective memory is processual, and while the constantly changing nature of Target's collective memory in the United States can and has been traced in this essay, Target Canada was not a processual memory. Rather, the memory of Target Canada was a static

one, filled with disappointment by Canadian consumers for various reasons, "There was a lot of hype before Target entered the country," Forum president Lorne Bozinoff said. "Now that people have shopped there, I think there is a bit of a letdown" (Strauss, 2013, para. 4). And a static memory, without the ability to change, cannot become a collective memory. Target Canada became a negative/bad memory place with the violation of Canadian expectations, competing with the memory of the positive Target U.S. memory place. Because of the Canadian disappointment with Target Canada, Target chose to leave the Canadian market and their failed memory place. A collective can hold collective memory that only has the memory of that event in common—nothing else. Thus, who can be a part of a "collective" encompasses a larger potential group of people for Casey than for Kimble and Olson's definition of collective memory, which focuses on collective who share many memories.

Conclusion

For organizational and management scholars, the organizational reputation is largely dependent on the past, as well as the present. Moreover, the memory/relationship a stakeholder holds in relation to an organization is also dependent on the organization's reputation. Organizational reputation is anchored to the past, to memories, to what Conrad (2011) describes as "the symbolic recreations of relevant past experiences that audiences bring with them to their encounters with the organization and its rhetoric" (p. 174). Memory, then, plays an important role in reputational management.

Forms of Memory: Individual Collective and Public

From a purely economic perspective, Target's entrance in Canada could have been predicted to be successful, a corporate strategy that involved minimal risk to the company. But, instead, it serves as both "one of the greatest supply chain disasters of Canadian history"

(Wulfraat, cited in Martel, Ho, and Taylor, 2014) and an excellent case study about the importance of public memory and brand memory in organizational communication and management studies. Corporations should be more aware of public memory and of memory places. Memory and organizational images/identities are highly interconnected, and underestimating the important role memory can play is detrimental to the organization. Target in the United States was well loved and public memories were created, but when other (Canadian) memories were forged, the organizational brand memories competed and hugely impacted the organization itself. An organization with a good reputation is constantly shifting, but using public memory and memory brand as lenses to better understand how organizational reputation falters, especially in a shifting transnational global market, allows for organizational scholars to better understand aspects that impact organizations. Instability is natural in organizations, but as this analysis suggests—there is good stability and negative instability.

Memories are a complicated element in framing rhetorical messages because they are interpreted and framed in a variety of ways. Messages, from a reputation management perspective, are designed to frame/activate memories in particular, strategic ways. Waymer and Street (2015) assert memory is not tied to one research field in particular, but rather "it has much broader organizational and societal applicability when also viewed via a communicative lens to understand how messages about societal-level 'memory' are created, adapted, and then pushed in ways designed to influence the public policy process" (p. 159). Memory, then, has broad implications and from an organizational perspective can inform and influence organizational audiences individually and collectively, which have obvious elements of unpredictability, which is relevant for my analysis.

Memory and Reputation Management

As previously stated in chapter three, individual memory is created through individuals' recollections of a past event, it relies on humans' innate ability to remember. Individual memory has the ability to link the individual to a larger group or collective, and in that way individual memory is interactional, which is also the case for collective memory.

> Neither individually nor in isolation from others nor in the company of others with whom one is acquainted by severally. 'Severally' signifies plural remembering that has no basis in overlapping historicities or shared places but is brought together only in and by conjoint remembrance of a certain event, no matter where those who remember are located or how otherwise unrelated they are to each other (Zelizer, 1996, p. 23).

Scholars writing in the field of memory studies have proposed various definitions of collective memory. First, Kimble and Olson (2007) explain that collectives try to create similar individual's memories for members within that particular collective. Casey (2004) asserts that people can be linked to a group by having what is essentially the "same" memory of an event. However, the "collective" in memory, does not have to have a clear link to one another geographically—collective memory is not bound spatially.

Target Canada also was unable to maintain their United States status as a signifier, or in becoming a place of attention, because Target did not stand out as something unique or desirable in the Canadian market. Their brand informed the experiential element of shopping for Canadians more than Target was aware or had accounted for. Thus, with all of these changes in the way Target was remembered, there was an inconsistent nature in which Target was not able to stabilize Target Canada as a memory place in the Canadian collective

memory. Target's physical space is pointed out as being the issue, "I don't think the locations are the issue - it's what's in the box, I think, that is the issue in terms of Target's performance to date" (Strauss, 2014, par. 20). Thus, it was the physical space itself, the inconsistency in the shopping experience that led to Target Canada resulting in a failed memory place.

Thus, the touristic element, routed in travel and experience within the store, was not the case for Target Canada—thus, the experiential landscape was not replicated in Canada.

While my analysis focused on Target specifically, further research could be done on what happens when an organization that functions similarly, such as Zeller's, is replaced by an organization such as Target, and the role of brand memory on memory places when this transition occurs. Particularly of interest, is the idea that one site of memory, might house competing memories of two different entities—such as the case with Zeller's and Target. In conclusion, while Target's transition to the Canadian market was projected to be an easy one, due to collective memory of Target's brand, that brand memory was not reified with Canadian consumers. Thus, Target stores in Canada were not the stores Canadians were looking for.

Notes

[1] Public Memory Theory, as one would expect, adds a third level to the analysis. Because that element of the model is problematic in a number of ways and the concept of collective memory is sufficient for the analysis that I will present, I have chosen to omit it from the analysis. However, I have provided a summary in this note for interested readers. Public memory is "co-remembering without co-reminiscing and for the massive convergence of those who remember the same thing without knowing each other personally" (Casey, 2004, p. 25). The public memory, then, is not altered by the influence of others it is not reminiscent in nature as collective memory has the potential to be. Public memory also must refer to an event that is public, and in that way, excludes private matters, it must be a memory of something that has occurred out in the open—in society (Casey, 2004, p. 25). Public memory does not allow for alternate "readings" of past events.

Public memory can be accessed and used, particularly research has focused on public memory being evoked during times of national crisis, to remind the public of a particular attribute that Americans hold. Public memory then, does not give a voice to individuals the way that collective memory does, it is not a coproduction of all individuals, its invoked by the few to guide the many:

> Often we cannot count on invoking anything like a constant public memory, despite its rhetorical appeal . . . public memory is subject to two forms of revision on the part of the public itself: first, a discovery of a glaringly false part of its content; second, a reassessment of its primary significance as a wider or simply different ethical or historical context arises (Casey, 2004, p. 29).

Public memory then, can be contested by the individual who sees it as inaccurate, or as a remembering of something that is no longer significant given the context and thus in this way, public memory if contested, can be rejected by individuals. The key differences between collective and public memory are thus: 1.) Public memory is not-co produced, but rather co-remembered. 2.) Public memory is not reminiscent in nature, and not dependant upon individuals' interactions within a collective, and in that way the individuals do not play an active role in public memory, public memory then is more passive than collective memory. 3.) Public memory must be in regards to a public, and, usually, political event, whereas collective memory can refer to the social. Collective memory and public memory focus on different aspects of groups of people.

[ii] Because they are emergent and interactional, collective memories are not predictable. This makes them difficult to study, especially over long periods of time. According to Zelizer (1995), "Memory's unpredictability appears to have significantly restricted our inquiry, for we are unable to predict many of those circumstances in when memory takes new footholds" (p. 221). It is important and relevant, then, for the field of organizational rhetoric to study collective memory in order to better understand some of memories unpredictability and be able to account for the role that memory plays in regards to issue and reputation management.

[iii] Articulating a perspective that is consistent with both history and communication, Feldman & Feldman (2006) assert, "organizational remembering emerges as a complex, culturally and historically situated process and practice, enacted by socially defined and emotionally charged persons" (p. 868).

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis sought to address complex issues around an organization's move to become transnational organization. Historicity is important in reputation management. If an organization has not previously operated within a particular society, as was the case with Target Canada, potential customers' expectations are grounded in the organization's reputation. If those customers have had first-hand experience with the organization in its home culture, reputation-management is even more complex. As the world becomes more global, and more organizations continue take the step to becoming multinational, learning from the failures of organizations such as Target Corporation in Canada is especially important.

In chapter two, I expanded and extended Bitzer's early, simplified notion of the rhetorical situation. Target Corporation faced many exigencies, audiences, and constraints in their multinational move. Central to my analysis, is the importance that all three components of the rhetorical situation—imperfections marked by urgency, audiences and an understanding of the multiplicity of them, and values or beliefs individuals take with them to a given situation—are all of pivotal importance to scholars interested in studying organizational reputation management. Some of the urgencies that Target Canada faced were: problems with poor replenishment of stock, unequal pricing in comparison to Target stores in the United States, and multiple violations of consumer expectations. The three urgencies this thesis focused on as larger violations were: not living up to their concern for mankind, care for the consumer through innovative practices, and focus on the value-oriented

consumer while promoting a high-quality shopping experience. Target needed to respond both appropriately and quickly to each of these exigencies, among others, but failed to do so. The rhetorical situation framework can and should be further built upon in order to better explain how an organization can fail (as was the case in my analysis), but also how then an organization can be successful. Bitzer's rhetorical situation can be built upon to include matters of globalization and how an organization faced with a rhetorical situation can be explained in reference to public relations.

The expectations of Canadian consumers played a crucial role in the demise of Target Canada. Target's own corporate branding rhetoric included: 1.) Promoting the welfare of mankind 2.) Caring for the consumer through innovative practices, and 3.) Focusing on the value-oriented consumer while promoting a high-quality shopping experience. These branding strategies became problematic when the expectations that they created were violated. For example, Target Canada's multiple unfair labor practices complaints and lawsuits violated the commitment to humanity. In addition, their practices were not seen as especially innovative. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, Target Canada's pricing was not seen as comparable to their United States pricing, even when corrected for exchange rates. Finally, the Canadian shopping experience was not "high-quality" by any means. The values and expectations of Canadian consumers played a crucial role in the demise of Target Canada.

In chapter III, I used the concept of collective memory to further the understanding of audience expectations and, particularly, how collective memory is a co-production of memory place, which can encompass organizational spaces. Applying the concept of collective memory to cross-national expansions of existing organizations can enrich the

concept by exploring in richer detail the complex relationship collectives have with physical space and memory. In particular reference to organizational spaces, and the importance of not violating those expectation in a negative regard. This study highlights the importance of organizational rhetoric studies in a globalized 21st century. Conversely, using concepts of collective memory to examine complications involved in cross-border moves give audiences a more active role in the dynamics of organizational reputation management. Furthermore, it helps explain the role that audience experiences and expectations play in the success or failure of those ventures. The perspectives of collective memory and organizational reputation management can be used simultaneously to better understand the movement, or interactive actions, that occur with an organization and its stakeholders. Delving into the notions and theoretical frameworks of memory studies, could allow for a more developed and robust perspective of organizational reputation to emerge.

In conclusion, Target Corporation made multiple missteps in their multinational transition. It was not one single mistake, but rather the entire series of mistakes that led to the ultimate failure of the venture. Other organizations can derive three lessons from Target's experience:

1.) An organization can "fall" on its own corporate rhetoric and branding strategies, as was the case with Target Canada. More research should be conducted on what happens when organizations violate the audience/consumer expectations that the organization themselves created.

 2.) Organizations with good reputations generally are able to come back and get a handle on their issue management. However, Target Canada was not able to do so, which is rather unusual, especially since they had a fairly good reputation before becoming multinational.

More research should be done on repetitive mistakes or violations organizations face with their stakeholders.

3.) Lastly, for organizations that have great brand awareness within a country before their entrance into the market, there needs to be much consideration regarding how much the organization is going to try to remain physically the same. This consideration needs to be intentionally given to creating a sustainable brand and reputation within the newly entered country's market, along with an awareness that a multinational venture is a complex rhetorical situation with a plethora of exigencies, audiences, and constraints that all must be addressed if an organization hopes to be deemed legitimate and successful. As for Target Canada, these were not the stores Canadians were looking for.

Conflict of Interest

I worked for Target Corporation as Human Resource manager for more than a year and helped train some store managers for the Canadian expansion. I left the organization on good terms when I decided to pursue graduate school. Consequently, there is no potential conflict of interest involving this project. No internal organizational information was used during this project; the thesis was based wholly on information that is in the public domain.

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