Fig. 1: Trojan Horse; Illustration by Steele Savage.

"The city was destined to be destroyed when it had inside it the great horse made of wood."

Homer, *Odyssey* 8: 511-12

In the familiar Greco-Roman myth, ancient Troy falls to a colossal wooden horse. Following years of war, the Greek ships feign departure after delivering the horse as an apparent trophy, though hidden inside is a war party. Omens suggest that the Trojans must accept the gift, yet the horse is too large to fit through the city gates, so the walls have to be breached in order to bring it in. The Trojans tear open their own city, rendering it defenseless.

The significance of the Trojan horse is in its duplicity, the gift which is a threat; the ambiguity of the object bespeaks an ambivalence toward war, which brings both glory and destruction. [1] The horse is a fabrication in the double sense of the word, a construction and a lie. In itself, it presents no real danger; instead, the uncertainty of its function causes Troy to undermine itself. As a study in the politics of form, the story makes a provocative architectural paradigm: one construction passively subverts another. If we substitute the modern city for the citadel of Troy, what would be the urban equivalent of the Trojan horse? The proposed model is not an object which physically threatens the city, but rather one which rhetorically attacks the conventions which the city represents, an architecture which challenges existing power structures. The city embodies those structures, and architec-

ture typically is their servant, not their critic. Urban form reveals and reinforces the various social, political and commercial institutions which comprise culture. The Trojan horse metaphor posits architecture as an opponent of these conditions. [2] It taps the subversive potential of construction and implies an ability for buildings to engage actively in political debate, not just as a setting, but as a participant, an agitator.

If activism serves a function in architecture, it is commonly not as a determinant of form. The discussion of social awareness in the profession has included many positive strategies: energy efficiency, sustainability of building - materials, housing for the disadvantaged and the homeless, strategic urban design, and critical regionalism. [3] Yet, despite references to an "architecture of resistance", [4] little effort has been made to visualize such a project in any substantive way. An abundant history of civil disobedience exists in the other arts: theater and performance art, graphic design, painting, sculpture, literature. Is architecture able to express dissent, to *construct* protest? Can a building serve the role of a picket sign? This is not a battle cry. It is not a call for architects to become social critics and produce insurgent buildings. Instead, my interest is in the capacity for architecture to communicate. Traditionally, the language of architecture has been generalized and vague, not easily understood. [5] Buildings do not often illustrate particular opinions about subjects of current import. Protest,

on the other hand, is a simple form of expression, communication reduced to a concise message. Construction used as protest is architectural narrative at its purest: building as statement. To examine the use of architectural objects in demonstrations is to further an understanding of architecture's narrative ability.

Protest occurs in many forms. The Supreme Court has listed three categories through which the "right to dissent" is exercised: by speech, by mass assembly, and by acts "which are sometimes referred to as 'symbolic speech' because they are means of communicating ideas and of reaching the mind and consciousness of others."[6] In the first two, the approach is to be as direct as possible: verbalize the message and support it with a show of force. Each of these activities gives priority to the clarity of the message. The idea of "symbolic speech", however, foregoes such transparency in favor of the indirect conveyance of metaphor. Nonverbal demonstration employs analogy, in which the act is meant to be compared to something else. It is a process of transference, of removal. What might be stated outright is instead suggested, implied. The act or object of the demonstration is a stand-in for the issue, and this presumes that what is lost in directness is gained in the evocative power of the image. For instance, a symbolic object which has been used in various demonstrations is the cage. Anti-war activists during the Vietnam era sometimes appeared in public inside bamboo cages, in order to bring attention

to prisoners of war, and animal rights activists have more recently used steel cages to simulate the laboratory conditions of test animals. In these mock incarcerations, the demonstrators take the place of the victims, reproducing their physical circumstances in public. The aim is visibility, to highlight an issue or viewpoint and bring greater awareness. The extreme method of ensuring attention is shock, which upsets expectations by injecting the familiar with the unfamiliar, the pleasant with the unpleasant.

Activism confronts people in their routine, diverting them from the everyday with an urgent demand. The immediacy of the issue interrupts the complacency of habit. Invariably, the locus of this activity is the city, where people reside in mass numbers and dense concentration, so the potential audience is large. The city commonly houses the institutions which are the target of protest, whether governmental, corporate, or academic, and these official buildings typically occupy the places of greatest significance in the city. In the urban landscape, it is the open areas that become sites for protest. The space in between buildings - streets, squares and plazas, parks, pedestrian malls - become arenas for demonstration, cultural battlefields. Some of the most momentous political events occur here, outdoors, not inside official buildings: Tiananmen Square, site of the student uprising in China, has become a spatial symbol of the human rights movement. During such events, communal space becomes the site

of resistance, where the private and the public merge. In democratic society, an ironic conflict exists in the relationship between public space and public demonstration. Democracy encourages the exercise of free expression, yet any society must maintain certain restrictions. Kevin Lynch defined "open" space by this struggle:

"Open space, like an open society, must be free and yet controlled. Freedom of action in public spaces is defined and re-defined in each shift of power and custom .... [O]pen space has been the opposite complement of the committed uses of any settlement, and ... it may have explosive consequences.... The line constantly shifts between freedom and riot, and the strug-gle for control has sharpened as cities have grown larger and more diverse."[7]

There are socially and legally prescribed limits to public activity, and open space is marked by an ongoing contest between autonomy and restraint, independence and repression. Protest tests the limits of this clash, appropriating common space for uncommon acts and views. It lays claim to communal territory to broadcast views which are not necessarily shared by the community. It privatizes public space and publicizes private values.

The connection between public space and demonstration varies. With any site of protest, the space itself relates to the event, directly or indirectly, in at least one of four ways. First, the place may serve merely as

a setting, providing space and an audience but nothing more. Shopping malls and random street corners might afford viewers but may not be relevant to the issue. Second, the site may be chosen as a symbolic context which makes the event particularly meaningful, i.e., the 1963 March on Washington culminated on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, which became a dramatic stage for the promotion of civil rights. Third, the site itself may be the target of physical attack. When protest directly engages the urban landscape, it is frequently destructive, ranging from vandalism, as with the Los Angeles riots following the Rodney King verdict, to terrorism, as with the bombing of the federal office building in Oklahoma City.[8] Fourth, the site may be a symbolic target, metaphorically besieged as the representative of an institution or political agenda. This strategy turns "symbolic speech" into symbolic assault. A candid variation on this tactic was a series of events performed by the British "street theater" company Welfare State Interna-tional. This troupe put on various carnival-like productions throughout England in the 1970's, one of which was entitled "Parliament in Flames" and enacted three or four times in different locations, typically empty fields. A large makeshift reproduc-tion of the Houses of Parliament, the famous seat of government on the Thames in London which features the "Big Ben" clock tower, would be erected as the backdrop for day-long demonstrations.[9] Scrap material would be improvised from around the area, and the structure would

take on a crude, exaggerated appearance, like a caricature. This dislocated building was a kind of architectural mannequin, a dummy. At the end of the day, it would be burned down. If the burning in effigy of a political figure is a faux assassination, "Parliament in Flames" constitutes symbolic terrorism. The performers intended the act as a general critique of materialist society, targeting the center of Government in a primitive bacchanalia. A similar act of architectural reproduction, yet with opposite motivation, was carried out annually for a number of years by a community in Milwaukee. The neighborhood church and most of the surrounding area was torn down to make room for a new freeway, and each year the residents carted a plywood model of the church to the site as an act of commemoration.[10] The contrast between the miniature temple and the overshadowing on-ramps dramatized the loss of the community's emotional center.

In each of these examples, the instrument of protest is a building, or rather the replica of one. The significance of the site differs in each case. The open fields of "Parliament in Flames" are meaningless for the act, unless perhaps they represent a general avoidance of cities.[11] The resurrection of a church under a freeway conjures up issues of the unchecked expansion of infrastructure and the resulting devaluation of space. Nonetheless, these sites in themselves are not representational. Protest construction is perhaps most effective in a highly symbolic

context, in which the narrative agendas of the object and its surroundings contest one another. One of the most symbolically charged places in this country is the National Mall. If urban form projects society's intended image of itself, the exemplary public space is the Mall. The city of Washington, D.C., as the nation's capital, embodies American ambition, resonating with the same historical models which influenced the design of government. The dominant image is classical, a visual association with powerful cultures of the past,[12] and the Baroque-influenced urban plan, with its radial avenues, provides a sense of cohesion, in the manner of Paris and Rome. At the heart of this is the Mall, the green which extends from the Capitol building to the Lincoln Memorial. This space alone is a microcosm of the culture. The buildings along the perimeter are monuments of government (the Capitol, the White House, etc.), the arts and sciences (museums and libraries), and great leaders and momentous events (the memorials). The green on which they center stretches out to give the buildings their scale; it is to the Mall what the land, the continental expanse, is to the nation. The Mall has come to signify the harmony of civilization and nature, an idealistic vision which America is purporting to fulfill, as the philosopher Charles Griswold makes clear:

"On the Mall ... matter is put to rhetorical use. It is made to educate and edify the citizens of the present as well as form those of the future by persuading them to live out
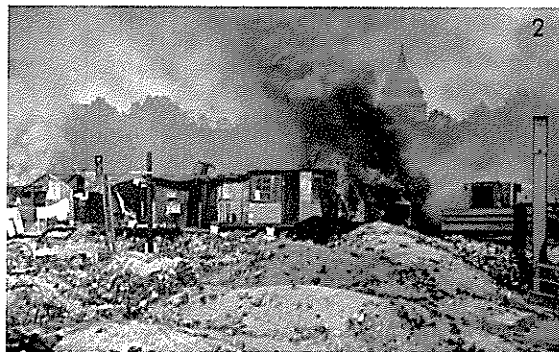
Fig. 2: Bonus Army Camp.
Fig. 3: Resurrection City; photograph by Jill Freedman.

the virtues of the past. It is memory in stone, earth, and water, a patrimony articulated by measured expanses and the interplay of symmetrically arranged symbols.... [T]he Mall says a great deal, in what it portrays and in what it omits to portray, about how Americans wish to think of themselves.... [T]he Mall is a sort of political mandala expressing our communal aspirations toward wholeness."[13]

The political iconography of the Mall, like many civic spaces, is defined by a paradox. It is a vision of unity, yet it is a selective representation. It presents a generic picture of society, not a comprehensive documentation. It glorifies the community's strengths but disregards its weaknesses. Inevitably and understandably, such civic images depict the ideology of the political center, the cultural hegemony, and not the radical extremes. Yet, while aspiring toward unity, it fails to describe the varied beliefs and divergent values within the culture. It is this failure of representation which protest construction accentuates, and the Mall also participates in this phenomenon. As the nation's preeminent civic space, it has been the site for innumerable demonstrations. In the summer of 1932, during the height of the Depression, a force of 10,000 World War I veterans, who called themselves the "Bonus Army," descended on the capital for eight weeks to petition Congress for the early release of promised payments to former soldiers. They built crude shelters out of scrap material and squatted for eight weeks until they were forcibly

removed and the camp was burned. The violent evacuation by the police resulted in the death of two veterans and a child. A nearly identical project was undertaken thirty-six years later. In 1968, the Poor People's Campaign was organized to underscore poverty and denounce the diversion of funding from Great Society programs to the Vietnam War. The central initiative of the campaign was the construction of a large encampment on the Mall, in front of the Lincoln Memorial, on the long lawn just south of the reflecting pool. "Resurrection City," as it was called, consisted of many dozens of crude A-frame and lean-to shacks which housed a multiethnic gathering of hundreds of people for several weeks until the police arrested the last remaining residents. The aim was to transform the Mall into a ghetto, or, more accurately, to transpose the ghetto to the Mall. The kind of squalor which defined urban conditions across the country became an exhibition in this space; sightseers were said to be "slumming on the Mall."[14] The encampment exposed parts of society not widely documented, "showing the tourists more of America than they'd wanted to see."[15] The residents considered this an alternative community, a makeshift city, giving the sheds addresses and the aisles in between names like "Poor Avenue." If Washington was the City Beautiful, this was the invisible city, a ghost town. "Resurrection City" was like an apparition, an emblem of urban poverty which briefly materialized in the capital. The underbelly of urban America momentarily coexisted in one space with
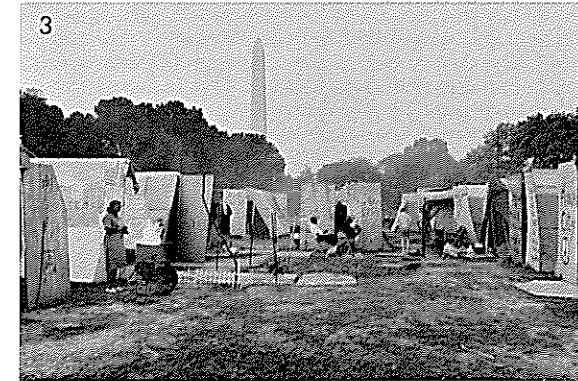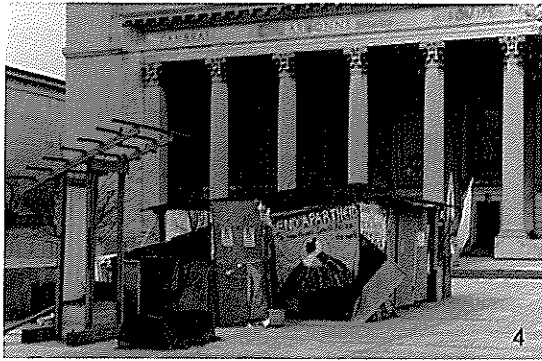
the iconic monuments of national pride.

In the late 1980's, student activists around the country adopted a tactic which was very similar to these cases. Many universities then had extensive investments in South Africa, which at the time was still under apartheid rule. As part of a widespread divestment campaign, demonstrators built shantytowns on college campuses as a portrayal of the results of South Africa's racial segregation policies, each construction conceived as a miniature Soweto. At Yale, the shanties were installed in Beinecke plaza, one of many open public spaces on that campus. The visual contrast of the rough hovels to the ornate surroundings conveys the moral irony which the protestors saw in the university's investments. Academia projects its role in the culture as the sanctuary of enlightenment, and Beinecke plaza is a typical reflection of this. It resonates with historical allusions, yet it is a conflicted image. Woolsey Hall's classical colonnade suggests the place as a kind of agora, the site of progressive communal exchange, yet its frieze inscriptions commemorate World War I battle sites. The shanties attack the conception of the university as a place which would memorialize war through its buildings and support the atrocities of racism through its financial investments. As with the installations on the Mall, the anti-apartheid constructions reveal an aspect of society which goes unrecognized in the representations of public space. The official depictions of culture in civic space omit the failings of

society and therefore relegate neglected communities to a position as outcasts, spatial or representational exiles. The Yale shanties, like the Bonus Army camp, were eventually burned down, in this case by a disapproving alumnus.

These cases are provocative chiefly because of their discordant relation to their context. They superimpose an image of urban decay on an image of urban triumph. By overlaying pictures of poverty upon those of wealth, these installations temporarily erase visible class-defined divisions of urban space, the economic segmentation of the city. The effect is analogous to a series of photographic montages produced by Martha Rosler in the late 1960's, in which *House Beautiful* illustrations of modem domesticity are populated by refugees of the Vietnam War. "Vacation Getaway" depicts a conventional living room looking onto a scene of soldiers ravaging a barren, war-torn landscape. The coexistence of the two seemingly irreconcilable environments creates an eerie imbalance, as Brian Wallis writes: "These figures rise up like ghosts in architectural settings rich in the trappings of consumer society."[16] Similar to the photographs, the constructions are an act of spatial montage: in each instance, a familiar, prettified scene is overlaid with an incongruous image, in one case, scenes of war, in the other, of poverty. A kind of typological displacement occurs which gives a physical presence to a materially elusive social condition, i.e., the ghetto signifies poverty,

Fig. 4: Anti-apartheid shanties - Yale University; photograph courtesy of Marc Harvey-Watt.
Fig. 5: Photomontage by Martha Rosler.

the shantytown represents racism, etc.[17] Architecture's celebration of material wealth is foiled by reminders of society's neglect; the shanties threaten the domestication of civic space with images of suffering.[18] The tragic manifestations of social and political practices invade the normally insulated shelter of civic space and remove the safety of distance. This tactic centralizes an otherwise marginal place, narrowing the psychological distance by briefly eliminating the physical or visible distance. In this sense, demonstration sites become what Michel Foucault called "heterotopias." Traditional civic spaces, represented in these cases by the institutions of government and the university, are utopian, in the sense Foucault described: "They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces." Protest constructions convert these places into "counter-sites" or "heterotopias," which are "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible." [19] Protest space contests society's perfect image of itself by exposing it to its antithesis, the more troubling state of actuality. The ideal and the real come together in rough tension and vie for a single space.[20]

These examples play on certain characteristics of demonstration in general and in particular on the traits of protest construction. The properties of context, form, material, and temporality are all crucial to

the transmission of meaning in these projects.[21] As discussed, the relationship of the demonstration to its site is potentially powerful; in some cases, the meaning of the act is irrelevant without the context. The shanties are provocative because they are unexpected in that setting. With so much of the meaning in the setting, that much less is dependent on form. Much of this work suceeds because of its formal simplicity. In most non-protest architecture, codified languages are complex, and a particular message is not the aim, but for a demonstration, the simpler the form, the clearer the allegory. A shed is rudimentary construction, an open vessel, free of meaning if not applied to a particular use or context. [22] A proto-building, stripped of the conventional uses of architecture, it falls outside the standards of critical evaluation. Used as protest, the shanty is the primitive hut co-opted to make a political statement. Even its basic function as shelter is incidental to its symbolic agenda. Similarly, the materials of such structures suggest an archaic, pre-industrial image. A recurrent practice with protest constructions is the use of second-hand material, scraps from factories, construction sites, and demolished buildings. In the Bonus Army shacks, discarded doors became walls and ceilings. This use is reminiscent of what John Fitchen has called "architectural cannibalism," the ancient habit of removing materials from older buildings for use in new construction. Usually this was perpetrated by one civilization on an extinct one: for instance, the use of ancient Roman bricks in

Fig. 6: Tadashi Kawamata - Toronto Project 1989. photograph by Peter McCallum.

medieval cathedrals, or the Arabs' use of limestone from the pyramids in their citadel in Cairo.[23] In this context, the scavenging of material for protest constructions implies a form of cultural succession, creating a new vision of society from its ruins. The city's waste is recycled in its critique. On the subject of temporality, the crude construction of these projects conveys a makeshift, transient quality. Such installations are necessarily ephemeral, as they depend on shock, which eventually wears off. Furthermore, the economic, bureaucratic and sociopolitical practices which allow conventional, permanent buildings to come into being, such as land acquisition, code compliance, communal review, and programmatic use, essentially prevent the possibility of broadcasting an overt and specific political message, especially one which counters communal values. Buildings serve a variety of purposes, and the ability of architectural objects to aid demonstrations is likely to be compromised by a complexity of functions.

The previous examples are of constructions produced outside of the design profession: activists producing architecture, rather than architects engaging in activism. Protest is likely to occur only outside of conventional architectural practice because of the standard requirements of buildings and the nature of patronage; however, some architects and artists build work that is didactic . One example is Tadashi Kawamata, whose projects are not intended to protest a
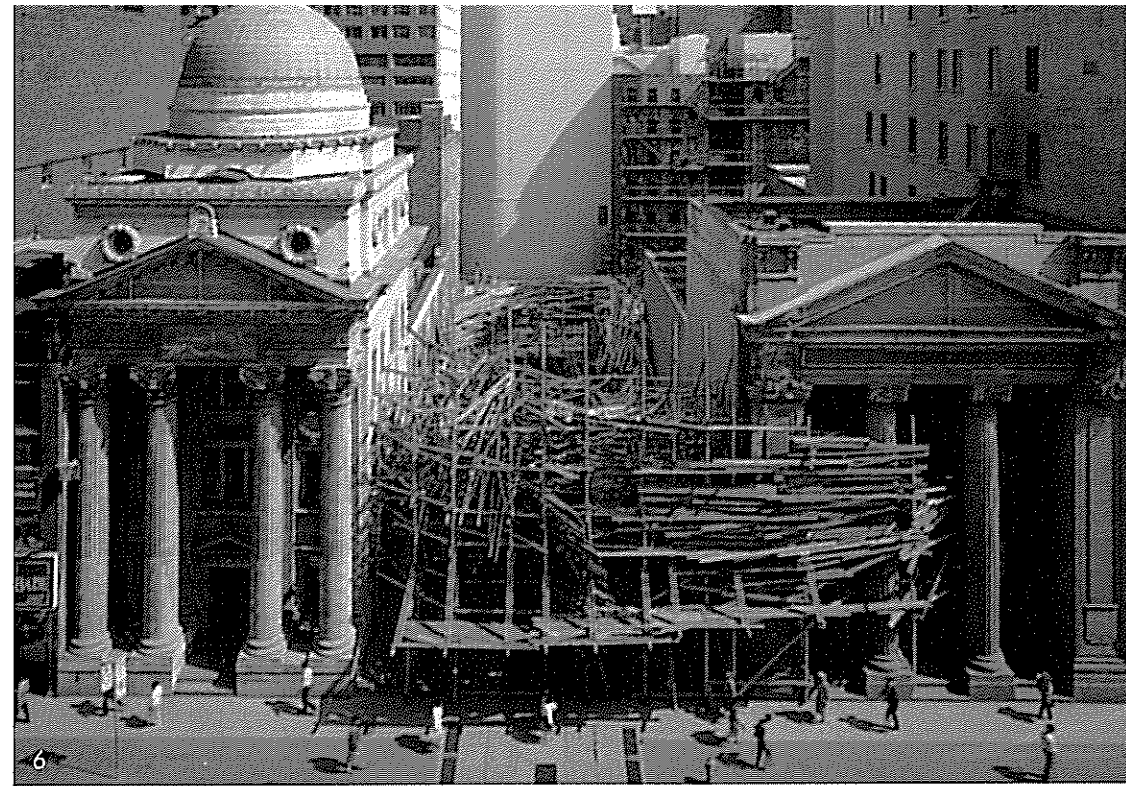

specific event or policy but which incorporate many of the characteristics of protest constructions. In several locations over the last ten or fifteen years, Kawamata has built temporary installations which consist almost solely of rough wooden framing and scraps, pieced together in indefinite shapes. For example, his 1992 project on Roosevelt Island in New York's East River comprised discarded material collected from the vicinity of the site, as if the work were to rise phoenix-like from the debris of the city. Seen mostly from Manhattan and Brooklyn, it appeared like a garbage scow in the river, moored to the tip of the island. In 1989, he installed a similar work in a completely different site in Toronto. The demolition of a building on that site

had left a void in the urban fabric, and this space was sparsely landscaped to make an alley-like park. Here, between two neoclassical banks, Kawamata inserted a blur of carpentry. The piece appears restless, spilling out of its space, crossing the facade of the adjacent building and into the zone of the sidewalk. It seems to resist the conditions of urbanism, questioning such divisions as property lines, streets, and walls, and challenging the conception of buildings as distinct objects, complete forms confined to single sites. The installations are put together piecemeal, with no discernible gestalt. Kawamata compares them to parasites, as if they eat away at their hosts, subsisting harmfully off of the city. The word "parasite" suggests the double meaning of being "near" or "beside" a site without actually being *in* a site, as if not bound to a definite place. The analogy implies a defiance of spatial separatism, of conventional urban form. Kawamata has also referred to the work as "visual terrorism," meant to attack the "tight structure" of society and cities.[24] It rejects the constraints of programmed use, governing codes, and containment. The concerns of Kawamata's work are the role of the urban environment, the conventions of its use, and habits of perception. It is this critical agenda which distinguishes this work from the protest constructions cited above. In those examples, any issues regarding the urban landscape were mostly incidental, secondary to the real reasons for protest. The purpose of those structures was not to reflect and comment on the nature of

cities; Kawamata's work, on the other hand, achieves this commentary, and this task is perhaps how architects may best contribute to activism.

Given this conclusion, an example which summarizes these principles is a hypothetical project which I exhibited in Washington recently. In the summer of 1995, the two-block segment of Pennsylvania Avenue which runs in front of the White House, alongside Lafayette Park, was closed to vehicular traffic as a heightened security measure. A maze of jersey barriers lay at either end until a permanent guard booth and steel drop gate were installed. My proposal would place a tower at each end of this area, in front of the Treasury Building and the Old Executive Office Building. Like the Trojan Horse, the towers would have an equivocal relation to the city: they would both benefit and critique the urban landscape. In the plan of Washington, the White House occupies a key position. It sits on the north side of the Mall and completes the compass points marked by the Capitol and the Jefferson and Lincoln Memorials, with the Washington Monument at approximate center. Yet, the landscape, siting, and relatively diminutive scale of the White House make it virtually invisible from New York and Pennsylvania Avenues, which radiate from the site. From these avenues, the building only comes into view where the two streets merge, at the edge of the White House lawn - the area now closed. Traffic is now diverted at 15th and 17th Streets, and the expected culmination of the movement

Fig. 7: White House Project 1995. Image by author.
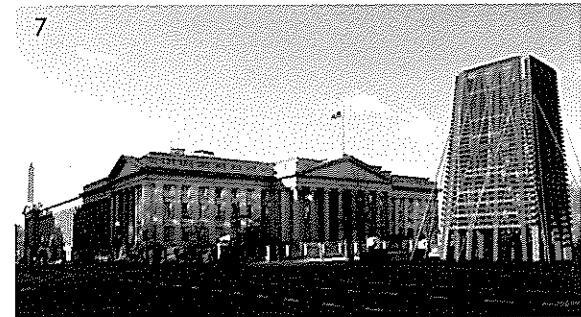
toward the White House is thwarted. Even before the closing, the White House's focal position in the city was purely symbolic, not observable on an urban scale.[25] A potential sense of alienation results: the city plan remains merely figurative, becoming fully coherent only in maps, as an abstract diagram. The proposed towers would provide a visual terminus to the radial avenues and fulfill the urban design on a perceptual level. Their shape is a truncated obelisk, mimicking the Washington monument and its models, including the obelisks of Rome, which operate similarly as markers in that city.[26] The closing of Pennsylvania Avenue furthers the White House's aura of protected removal and its tentative connection to the city. The implications for public-space-as-democratic are ironic: the street is a closed open space, a no man's land, paved but untraveled. The towers would emphasize this irony, assisting while criticizing the closure of the space. They would act as gigantic bollards, defensive obstructions preventing passage, while simultaneously drawing attention to the impasse. Consistent with this function, their form and construction - open wood slats and tension cables - evoke an archaic military image, like a medieval siege tower. This reference participates in the site's ambivalence toward its urban role by imitating what is today an ineffectual defensive structure; it caricatures the psychological condition of the space: fear of attack. Similarly, their configuration does not resemble stone obelisks so much as the type of apparatus

used to erect them in pre-mechanized eras: capstans and rope lines would be run through a scaffolding-like formwork to raise the column manually.[27] The association with this model gives the impression of incomplete, unformed monument. Like the Trojan Horse, it is a hollow icon, an eviscerated emblem of power.[28] In the tradition of demonstration, it enters a deceptively subversive relationship with the urban landscape, simultaneously challenging and participating in its conditions.

The above phrase, "deceptively subversive," is intended to suggest the ironic role of protest construction; while its meanings are typically simple, its position in the urban landscape is ambiguous. Protest construction confronts the city by emulating its form while resisting its representations. It acts against architecture by using the grammar of architecture. Demonstrations usually center on the activists themselves, the human participants. Their presence is needed to convey the message: picketing requires someone to hold up the signs. Protest construction needs not entail actual habitation. Like any other symbolic act, it gives form to the message; it stands alone. The image may not last physically, but it may be mentally and culturally ingrained, and this is how architectural objects are most effective. Building is humanity's attempt towards immortality. Protest construction is impermanent, yet its configuration is architectural and thus suggestive of endurance, like a fragment of timelessness. While people may try to avoid crowds shouting slogans, they are likely to

be drawn to built objects. E. G. Crichton has written, "Art is too often peripheral to our society, seen as superfluous fluff. Political activism, on the other hand, is often perceived as uncreative and separate from culture."[29] The combination of architecture and activism may reconcile these two enterprises and diminish their shortcomings.

Notes:

[1] The equivocation surrounding the reception of the horse is clear in this passage from Virgil's Aeneid:

"... some were astonished to see the
  deadly gift ...
they marveled at the massive horse,
  and first ...
began to urge us to bring it within the
  city's walls....
But ... others who were of wiser counsel
  bade us throw the dangerous gift
  into the sea, or build a fire beneath it
  and utterly destroy it,
or pierce its flanks with spears and
  explore the cavity.
The uncertain crowd is torn by
  their divergent opinions.
... in our blind folly we plant the
  ill-omened monster in our citadel."
Aeneid 2: 31-39, 244-245, translated by James H. Mantinband (New York: Continuum, 1988), 26ff. For a thorough analysis of this episode in classical

literature, see Michael J. Anderson, The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 18-26.

[2] Lucy Lippard similarly applied the metaphor of the Trojan horse to activism in her 1984 essay, "Trojan Horses: Activist Art and Power," in Brian Wallis, ed., Art after Modernism: Rethinking Representation (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984), 340-358. Beyond the title reference, however, the only mention of the image is in the first two lines: "Maybe the Trojan Horse was the first activist artwork. Based in subversion on the one hand and empowerment on the other, activist art operates both within and beyond the beleaguered fortress that is high culture or the 'art world'"(341). She does not elaborate further on the metaphor, and, as this quotation makes clear, her concern is primarily with the distinction between gallery-centered art and art as public demonstration. The examples she cites are almost exclusively performance art and graphic design. My thoughts here precede my familiarity with her essay, and the conceptual model of the Trojan Horse would seem to apply more overtly to built objects, particularly their relationship to the city, to urban form.

[3] Kenneth Frampton, among others, has argued for the development of localized building practices, materials, and techniques as a form of resistance to the leveling tendencies of capitalism. See "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in

Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983), 16-30.

4 Frampton's essay carries this subtitle. See also Tony Schuman, "Forms of Resistance: Politics, Culture and Architecture," in Thomas A. Dutton, ed., *Voices in Architectural Education: Cultural Politics and Pedagogy* (New York: Bergin & Gravey, 1991), 3-27. Schuman acknowledges the "few attempts to codify the parameters for an architecture of resistance in formal terms" (14).

5 Christian Norberg-Schulz, with debts to Heidegger, has written that the ancient concern of building is with broad symbolism: Architecture translates "existential meanings ... derived from natural, human and spiritual phenomena... into spatial forms." *(Meaning in Western Architecture* [New York: Rizzoli, 1974], 5.) In modem architecture, the primacy of function arguably almost eliminated symbolic meaning. Umberto Eco has written that architecture presents a particularly difficult challenge to semiotics because "most architectural objects do not *communicate* ... *but function*," and when they do communicate, it is to communicate that function. See "Semiotics and Architecture," *Via* 2, 1973, 131-152.

6 Justice Abe Fortas, quoted in Haig A. Bosmajian, introduction to *The Rhetoric of Nonverbal Communication* (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Company, 1971), ix-x.

7 "Open Space: Freedom and Control," in *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch,* ed. Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 413. Lynch describes how on "common ground" tensions inevitably arise between propriety and "deviance," between tolerance and "inappropriate" behavior, between authority and protest.

8 Historically, violence toward the physical environment is often seen as a positive, progressive event, as with the storming of the Bastille in the French Revolution, the razing of the Berlin Wall and the destruction of Soviet statuary at the end of the Cold War.

9 See Tony Coult & Baz Kershaw, eds., *Engineers of the Imagination: The Welfare State Handbook* (London: Metheun Drama, 1983), 91ff.

10 See Ronald Lee Fleming & Renata von Tschamer, *Placemakers: Creating Public Art That Tells You Where You Are* (N.Y.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), 5.

11 Welfare State International believed that "imagination, original art and spontaneous creative energy are being systematically destroyed by the current educational processes, materialism and bureaucratic decision-making of western large-scale industrial society." Cities embody material culture. See Catherine Itzin, *Stages in the Revolution: Political Theatre in Britain Since 1968* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), 69.

[12] Classicism is, of course, the prevalent civic image in this country, with obvious associations. Just as the social models are Greek democracy and the Roman republic, the physical models for public space are the Greek agora and the Roman forum. With the reference there is an implicit idealism regarding the use and perception of such places, as if they are to reaffirm a presupposed national pride. Michael Sorkin has discussed the use of such historical imagery as means of instantly conveying authority and power. See his introduction to *Variations on a Theme Park: the New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1992).

[13] "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography," in Harriet F. Senie & Sally Webster, ed., *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 74. Griswold is careful to point out that the present state of the Mall evolved over time. Its shape and symbolic content were not planned in advance but instead represent the nation's changing impression of itself.

[14] Jill Freedman, *Old News: Resurrection City* (New York, Grossman Publishers, 1970), 98.

[15] Ibid, 34.

[16] "Living Room War," in *Art in America,* February 1992, 107.

[17] Barricades built by student protestors in 1968 achieved a similar effect. In Paris, they carried overt associations with the French Revolution, particularly with the barricades of the 1848 revolt, and were meant to convert campuses into symbolic battlefields. The militarization of university space conveyed the seriousness of intent.

[18] This condition is of course widespread now in the occupation of public space by the homeless. The construction of the image as demonstration would be virtually redundant today.

[19] "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics,* Spring 1986, 24-25.

[20] The ideological representations of public space are comparable to Martha Rosler's conception of documentary photography, as recounted by Brian Wallis, who states that it is "a class-based genre, operating from a position of social and moral privilege and always inscribing into its practices certain shared assumptions about audience, objectivity, otherness and the construction of meaning." "Living Room War," 107.

[21] A close connection exists between the characteristics of protest constructions and the propaganda-oriented work of the Russian avant-garde in the 1920's. Agitprop kiosks installed in public space were necessarily demountable and mobile, in order to be moved to different sites and

reach a wide audience. Primary geometry was the preferred formal language, and El Lissitzky called for "economic construction with revalued materials." Ironically, while the Soviet work served the governing ideology, protest constructions criticize it. Like buildings in general, these practices are only tools, and their results depend on their use. For relevant discussions of the Russian avant-garde, see Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 167-177, and Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 193-196.

[22] Nicholas Pevsner begins his *Outline of European Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1961) with the statement: "A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture". The distinction given is "design with a view to aesthetic appeal." This leads to a question of categorization: mere construction versus art and design. The rubric "art" is problematic and perhaps irrelevant to the current discussion. However, in the discourse on art in public space, the subject of community reception is controversial. Often the public resents art because its meaning seems impenetrable, and they suspect intellectual elitism. Writing on the disastrous consequences of Richard Serra's *Tilted* Arc, Harriet Senie states that the relevance of the work is the pivotal question: "'How does it relate to my known world, me, my life?... The public distrusts "strange objects that have in-

vaded a familiar space.'" While art may be the unwitting victim of these reactions, protest structures intentionally manipulate them. The message is not unclear, but it is also not reassuring. For Senie's comments, see "Baboons, Pet Rocks, and Bomb Threats: Public Art and Public Perception," in Harriet F, Senie & Sally Webster, ed., *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 243.

[23] See John Fitchen, *Building Construction Before Mechanization* (Cambridge: MIT Press. 1992). 33-35.

[24] Interview with Linda Genereux, in *Kawamata: Toronto Project 1989* (Toronto: Mercer Union, 1989), 31.

[25] From the south side, on the Mall, the famous view of the back of the White House and the rose garden appears. Yet, this view is singular in the White House's position in the city and thus becomes scenographic, a backdrop behind the Mall. It fails to provide the kind of three-dimensional orientation which monuments lend to Baroque urban plans.

[26] Obelisks became a ubiquitous urban planning device in Rome during the 16th and 17th centuries. They mark the foci of Bernini's elliptical piazza at St. Peter's and line the avenue leading up to it, for instance. The undulating movement up the Spanish Steps leads to an obelisk as well. Baroque architectural and urban design strove for spatial fluidity, and these

reach a wide audience. Primary geometry was the preferred formal language, and El Lissitzky called for "economic construction with revalued materials." Ironically, while the Soviet work served the governing ideology, protest constructions criticize it. Like buildings in general, these practices are only tools, and their results depend on their use. For relevant discussions of the Russian avant-garde, see Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 167-177, and Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 193-196.

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artifacts were used as fixed reference points, a balance of stasis and flux.

27 Such mechanisms were a popular subject for illustration in early 19th Century prints: see, for example, the famous renderings of the erection of the obelisk at the piazza of St. Peter's (Carlo Fontana, 1824) or of the Alexander Column in St. Petersburg (Bichebois and Bayot, 1836).

28 The *Dictionary of Symbolism* lists the horse as an ancient symbol of power. The obelisk was originally an Egyptian form, an abstraction of a ray of sunlight, an homage to the sun god, used to celebrate the pharoahs' power. In the modern era, it became a common monument to success in battle, a war trophy, similar to Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square.

29 Crichton wrote this in his discussion of the NAMES quilt, the highly publicized project which memorializes AIDS victims by devoting each of them a square in the vast quilt. See "Is the NAMES Quilt Art?" in Harriet F. Senie & Sally Webster, ed., *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 292. The exhibition of the quilt in public sites, particularly the

National Mall, constitutes a kind of constructed demonstration. The floor of the most public of spaces becomes veiled with the most private of sorrows, and as the epidemic goes on, the quilt threatens to expand and fill the space.

Illustrations:

1 Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: Little, Brown, & Co., 1942), 281.

2 John Henry Bartlett, *The Bonus March and the New Deal* (New York: B.A. Donohue & Company, 1937), 67.

3 Jill Freedman, *Old News: Resurrection City* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970),17. Photo by Jill Freedman.

4 Courtesy Marc Harvey-Watt.

5 From "Bringing the War Home: House Beautiful". Courtesy Jay Gorney Modern Art, New York.

6 Kawamata: Toronto Project 1989. (Toronto: Mercer Union, 1989), 2.