Slumming in Utopia:
Protest Construction and the Iconography of Urban America

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This article examines the use of construction as a means of protest, particularly as it relates to the established symbolic imagery of traditional civic architecture and urbanism. The iconography of cities is divided. While the idealized image of official America symbolizes the aspirations of society, the image of the ghetto represents the failure of society. This article studies two projects which manipulate these images. The projects were built not by architects but by activists for various causes who coopted architecture as a tool for political demonstration. Their position outside of conventional architectural practice allowed them to challenge the habits of that practice. While the constructions were intended to protest specific social issues, they may also be viewed as general indictments of conventional urbanism and architectural representation.

It was a strange city of poverty.

—John Henry Bartlett

IN THE SUMMER OF 1932, 25,000 WORLD WAR I VETERANS AND THEIR families marched into Washington, D.C., to petition the government for relief from the Depression. They called themselves the Bonus Army, and they demanded the early release of payments promised to veterans but not due until 1945. Throughout the city, they built crude shelters out of scrap material and camped for eight weeks. A reporter described the structures as "a conglomeration of tented huts made of tattered cloth fixed up on old boards with packing boxes serving as props." The main camp, at Anacostia Flats, within sight of the Capitol building, was "a jumble of packing crates, fruit crates, chicken coops, burlap-and-tarpaper shacks, tents, lean-tos, wrecked touring cars, and dun-colored, tepee-like shelters." The camps had a conspicuous presence in the city, with hundreds of veterans taking shelter within three blocks of the Capitol. Downtown merchants complained that the sight was depressing, and the Hoover administration called the camps an eyesore and a humiliation. The president, whose policies denied federal aid to the poor, barricaded himself in the White House, closed off the surrounding streets, and refused to meet with the marchers. Vowing to end "defiance of civil authority," he ordered the removal of the marchers.[1]

Early on July 28, an initial attempt by police to oust the squatters on Pennsylvania Avenue resulted in a small altercation in which two of the veterans died. General MacArthur, the Army Chief of Staff, called in the military. Late in the afternoon, Major Patton led a cavalry brigade down Pennsylvania Avenue, brandishing sabers. Behind them was a machine gun detachment, infantry troops, and six tanks. They fired tear gas on the veterans and beat them. That evening, led by MacArthur, the soldiers marched into the Anacostia camp, tear-gassed the families sheltered there and set fire to the compound (Figure 1). One soldier ran his bayonet through the leg of a fleeing boy, and two infants died from exposure to the gas. MacArthur, who was hailed by the Secretary of Defense as a hero, called the veterans "insurrectionists" and told the press that had the president delayed in dispersing them, "the institutions of our government would have been severely threatened."[2]

John Henry Bartlett, a former state governor, later wrote an eyewitness account that described the event as "the most powerful government in the world shooting its starving veterans out of worthless huts." Unarmed, the Bonus Army presented no physical threat, for they merely sat and waited. Their real effect was psychological; they were an embarrassment to the city and to the administration. Bartlett attributed the incident to a conflict of aesthetics: the rough shacks created a visual disturbance, spoiling the monumental capital's grand atmosphere. He wrote, "these ragged people with . . . their hovel dwellings" were "an offensive sight to such persons as see the aesthetic before the humane."[3] The immediate contrast of poverty and wealth that the shelters created in Washington symbolized a distressing national problem, namely the widespread poverty exacerbated by Hoover's policies.[4] The banishment of the veterans was not about public safety but about politics. In the nation's pristine capital, a city on the verge of a massive building campaign, the disorderly camps were a blunt reminder of the administration's failures.

The Bonus Army account raises certain issues related to American urbanism, specifically the problem of representation. If architecture, like the rest of culture, may be understood as communication, the problem lies in the source and content of this communication. Urban form illustrates values; how cities are shaped and maintained inevitably reflects the beliefs of their makers. In his *Ideology and Modern Culture,* John B. Thompson discusses how ideology is supported by the distribution of what he calls "symbolic forms," such as linguistic expressions, gestures, actions, works of art, and so on. He defines ideology as "meaning in the service of power," and in the public sphere meaning is created by symbolic forms in order to establish and sustain relations of domination.[5] Buildings are just such symbolic forms, employed to uphold the values of governing institutions. Historically, civic architecture has provided not simply material evidence of values but a symbolic narrative that promotes a desired image of society.

Yet, traditionally this image is confined to the showpiece spaces of official America, and it disclaims the actual socioeconomic conditions of the community at large in favor of an idealized representation. American cities are segmented demographically as the
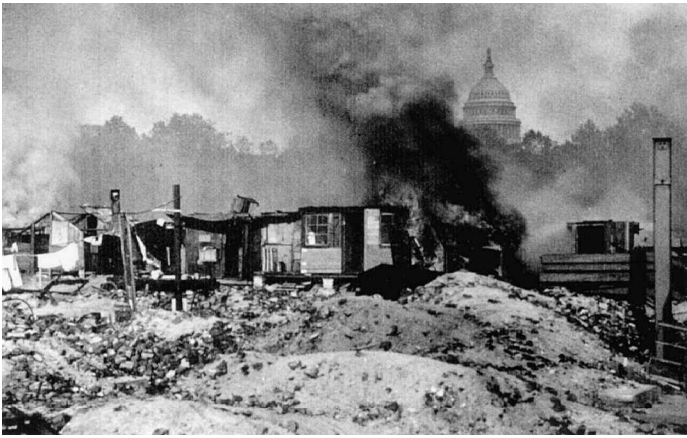
1. Bonus Army camp. (Photograph courtesy of M. A. Donohue & Company.)

2. Plan of New Haven. (Courtesy of New Haven Colony Historical Society.)

result of a fundamental class conflict, in which democracy's claims of equal opportunity battle with capitalism's unequal financial distribution. Cities reveal this conflict visually through the split between images of wealth and power in civic space and images of poverty and neglect in ghettos and slums. These images constitute an urban iconography that has been exploited dramatically both by official America and by protest groups, who usurp public space in order to broadcast a polemical message. This article examines two such projects, one in New Haven, Connecticut, and the other in Washington, D.C., which used construction as a means of protest. Each of these projects brought together images of the extremes of urban conditions in order to dramatize their differences and underscore a problem that contributes to those differences. They were built not by professional architects but by activists who coopted architecture as a tool for political demonstration. The activists' position outside of conventional architectural practice allowed them to forego the customs and habits of that practice. While the constructions were intended to protest specific social issues, they may also be viewed more generally as indictments of conventional urbanism and architectural representation. They challenge the symbolic imagery of official space.

Ideals

Idealism is a fundamental aspect of American culture. While speculations about the ideal society had been popular in Europe since antiquity, interest in the topic increased after the discovery of America. Even before colonization, Europe envisioned the New World as an earthly paradise, and explorers' accounts only heightened this expectation. Columbus wrote that the natural amenities he had encountered "surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen it."[6] The seemingly virgin continent appeared to be the perfect setting for a perfect society, a utopia. It is no coincidence that Thomas More, who coined the word in his *Utopia* (1516), set his story in the New World. Settlers saw the new land as the fulfillment of a divine promise. As one historian has put it,
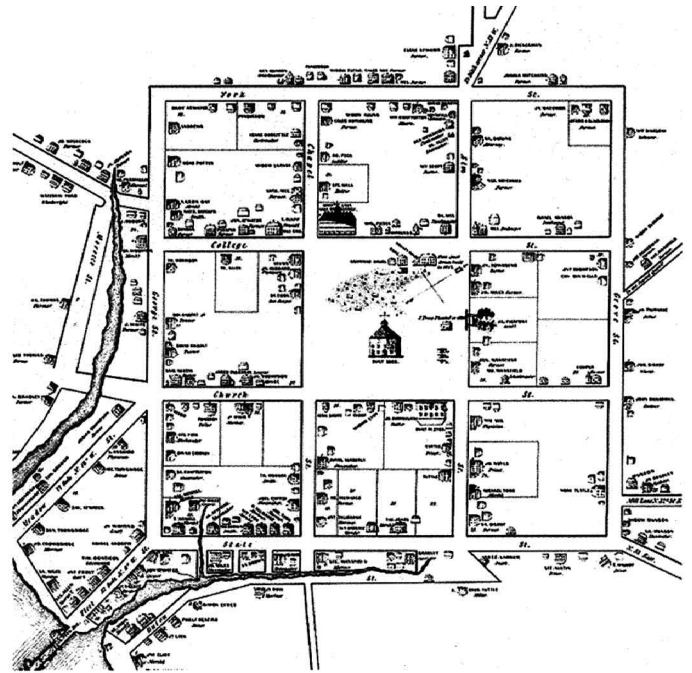
"The vision of America as a place of rebirth, a New Eden freed from the historic sins of the Old World, still colors the self-image of the American people."[7]

The Puritans transported the dream of utopia to the American colonies, shaping their community after the biblical image of the "city upon a hill."[8] This vision had both moral and material dimensions, for the city was conceived as a molder of character. When the communal role of the church declined, civic architecture and urbanism redefined its function in secular terms, expressing a unanimity of values in an attempt to strengthen the community. In utopian designs, the idea of social unity generally is exhibited by a very simple, often symmetrical plan with a dominant center. The unity of the plan is thought to encourage a unified community, as proper design is seen to promote proper behavior: "the good man is a reflection of a decent and healthy environment."[9] The city is a demonstration of values, an edification in a double sense of the word, both to build and to lift up.

An early example of the idealized community form is the plan of New Haven, Connecticut. In the original plan of 1641, a simple square is subdivided into nine, with the central square reserved as an open green space (Figure 2). Primary geometry, equated with ideal beauty, is meant to express perfection. The plan is a vast Platonic figure inscribed in the land, intended to synthesize artificial order and the natural topography. It conjures up Vitruvius' description of man's body perfectly tracing a square and circle, geometry and nature overlaid. The plan's orientation is rotated just slightly off of the north/south axis to adjust to the river and the harbor; otherwise, it aligns with the cardinal points in apparent deference to a greater, divine order. Encircling the central green are the built

representatives of all the institutions that make up society. Along the southern side of the green are mercantile buildings, and to the east is the city government. The north edge was at first exclusively residential, lined with white clapboard colonial houses. To the west is Yale University. In accordance with the college's intended integration with the community, its Georgian brick buildings were once similar in scale and proportion to the town and stood in wide green spaces that opened onto the surrounding streets.

At New Haven's central green are three churches, though initially there was a single meeting house, itself square in plan.[10] Like many colonial towns, the green was the place of congregation, the common, at once the physical and social center of the community. This layout relates less to pragmatic organization than it does to the desire for symbolic order. The plan offered a diagram of communal unity; the individual components of society and the city were balanced around the common space. The cardinal axes mark the divisions of public and private institutions. The places to live and the places to work face one another across the green along the north/south line, and the governing and educational bodies draw the east/west line. At the crossing of the two is the spiritual center. The plan was meant to have cosmic implications, society reflecting the universe.

Such a plan is compelling as a schematic contour, but its reductive, simplistic character, which may or may not have accommodated its founding community, cannot encompass the complexities of modern urban society. Dolores Hayden writes in her analysis of American utopian towns that such plans must evolve from ideologically homogeneous communities, which historically have been founded on shared religious convictions, as with the Puritans. Utopian designs cannot be imposed externally by "an idealistic architect or planner sitting at a drawing board."[11] Yet, the formal abstraction and implicit optimism of utopian schemes has been influential on American urbanism. In his history of idealism in urban planning, Thomas Reiner reports that the study of utopian schemes is a basic part of any city planner's training. However, the execution of such schemes is usually no more than a rough sketch that is appealing perhaps more as a metaphorical gesture than as a proposal for how to live. The philosophy behind these plans is typically vague. As Reiner writes, while the ideal community is based on certain assumptions about "the good life," rarely are these assumptions explicitly stated. Inevitably, the simplicity of these ideal schemes collides with reality: "Utopia is set up as a contrast to the contemporary, inadequate world with its characteristic imperfections."[12] It is a fiction, and the word itself reflects this. Thomas More intended the term as a pun, a combination of *eu-topia,* or "good place," and *ou-topia,* or "no place."[13] Perfection exists nowhere.

The simplistic form of utopian schemes suggests the more general problem in American urbanism of simplistic representation, and the city of New Haven illustrates this. The pure outline of its original plan eventually clashed with the later community's changing demographics and social dynamics. As the community became more ethnically diverse, it was divided into radically different economic spheres, and a proliferation of racial ghettos resulted. While the 1641 plan had been an homage to perfect order and social unity, New Haven became torn by material and racial differences.[14] In the 1960s, New Haven was infamous for civil unrest, the aftermath of which is still felt today.

For most of its history, Yale has been a source or symbol of local tensions. Divisions in the community are embodied by the contrast between the pristine Ivy League campus and the dilapidated conditions of neighboring areas. The evolution of the campus plan itself is a measure of the friction. Following riots during the 1850s, the university's open plan began to turn inward. What had been an airy yard with barnlike dormitories became a series of private cloisters. The openness of the grounds and the domestic scale of the original colonial buildings gave way to a veritable rampart of stone facing the town green. As Yale began to emulate the monastic organization as well as the Gothic style of Oxford and Cambridge, a distinctly medieval face emerged. The university developed a fortresslike exterior, with iron portcullis gateways and even dry moats separating the buildings from the streets. Despite the original city plan's image of unity, Yale presents itself as a refuge, an ostensibly sacred place removed from the common space around it. As the surrounding community became more fractured, the idealism once expressed by the city at large became confined within the university's walls.

Protest

In the late 1980s, a series of protests at Yale underscored its sense of removal from the community. During that time, the university, like many other institutions, had extensive financial investments (nearly $400 million) in South Africa, when that government still practiced apartheid, or legally enforced racial segregation. The divestment campaigns waged by American activists, particularly on university campuses, attracted much attention from the media. A popular form of student protest was the construction of shantytowns as a symbolic reminder of living conditions common to blacks in South Africa. In April, 1986, a group at Yale built a collection of shanties on Beinecke plaza, in front of Woodbridge Hall, the main administration building (Figure 3). Assembled from

3. Anti-apartheid shanties. (Photograph courtesy of Marc Harvey-Watt.) Yale University.

discarded sheets of plywood and fabric, the sheds were said to be patterned loosely after a South African squatter village called "Crossroads."[15] The students intended the construction as an act of civil disobedience and therefore did not obtain the required permit from the university. Consequently, the administration immediately ordered the shanties to be dismantled and threatened the students with suspension.

Several days later, when the shanties were scheduled to be removed, students instead attempted to enlarge them and were stopped by university police while in the process of transporting new materials to the site. A scuffle ensued, some seventy-five people were arrested, and the shanties were torn down. Eventually, the university succumbed to the pressure of the bad press it was receiving and approved the reconstruction of the shanties. Two years later, an alumnus visiting a reunion of the class of 1958 set fire to the reconstructed shanties. He was apprehended by a 1968 graduate and turned over to campus authorities. The perceived disagreement between the values associated with those particular decades brought further media coverage, and the shantytown was later rebuilt with the university's permission.

The anti-apartheid construction reproduced in miniature the environmental consequences of South Africa's discrimination. The word *apartheid* itself is a spatial reference, a combination of *apart-* ("separate") and *-heid* ("hood," condition or state). Understood in contrast to *neighborhood* (roughly "near dwelling"), apartheid is the condition of dwelling apart. The Yale shantytown imitated this space of segregation both politically and aesthetically, through guerrilla construction and through a visual clash with the surrounding campus. The rough hovels fashioned from garbage could not have stood out more clearly against their ornate background. Disapproving alumni called the constructions "an eyesore" and "an architectural outrage on a beautiful campus."[16] One graduate said, "The whole thing was an aesthetic disgrace to one of the most fabulous combinations of buildings anywhere in the world." The arson that destroyed them was compared to the removal of a cancer.[17] This controversy emphasized the shantytown's meaning. The contrast of

iconography symbolized a contrast of ideology. The shanties' aesthetic dissonance with their site expressed the moral irony that the protestors saw in the university's investments.

Academia portrays its cultural position as the sanctuary of enlightenment. Former Yale president Benno Schmidt has cited "reason and order" as "the essence of a university or any civilized community."[18] Robert Stern, the current dean of the Yale school of architecture, has written of American college campuses as "ideal, independent villages," "among the greatest dream places of our civilization."[19] Hence, the university is perceived as a kind of intellectual utopia, a stronghold of progressive ideas and free expression. In actuality, it is an ideological construct like any other institution and as such is driven by prejudices. Communications theorist Neil Postman sees the academy as inherently biased in that the very idea of a curriculum places priority on certain kinds of information over others. A college catalogue defines and categorizes knowledge and in so doing devalues or invalidates some fields of study simply by excluding them. He writes that a school is therefore a mechanism for control: it regulates information by situating itself as the arbiter of legitimate knowledge.[20]

It is this kind of cultural elitism that the Yale shanties attacked. They threatened the authority of the university by underscoring its questionable activities. Yale is operated by a private corporation which, through such ventures as South African investments, may choose profit over ethics, financial over social consequences. Of the university's response to the protest, U.S. Congressman and Yale graduate Bruce Morrison told the media, "We all must redouble our efforts to redeem Yale's soul from those who seem to care only for its money and the neatness of its grounds."[21] The shanties attacked the suggested hypocrisy of the university, which through its rhetoric celebrated "civilized community" and through its financial investments supported racism.

The anti-apartheid constructions revealed a side of the university unseen in its architectural representations. Beinecke plaza is a typical reflection of the university's virtuous image. It resonates with historical allusions to progressive ideals. The plaza's classical colonnade suggests the place as a kind of agora or forum, a site for open communal exchange. Yet, this reference conflicts with the university's activities. A key objection of the anti-apartheid protestors was the lack of a "forum" in the university's decision-making process in that it excluded the majority of opinion in the community, including students, faculty, staff, and local residents. Matthew Countryman, a student organizer of the shanty construction, expresses this conflict in spatial terms, referring to the "split between a view of the university as hallowed ground and as a site for ideological contestation over the meaning of institutional social respon-

sibility."[22] The protest construction challenged the image of the university as "hallowed ground." It rendered the campus as a superficial representation of wealth and privilege by highlighting one of the underlying tactics that create that wealth.

Urban Myths

As the Yale case illustrates, protest challenges the myths of official culture. If the city is a narrative affirmation of values, it is in a sense a type of political myth. Henry Tudor describes the political myth as a story told to promote an ideology. A myth of any kind is a view of the world, a way of making sense of the current state of things, usually through an interpretation of the past. Political myths dramatize historical events for political purposes, namely to strengthen the authority of the status quo. As Tudor writes, they "establish the claim of a certain group to hegemony."[23] This is not necessarily a calculated or conscious deception by a particular party. Such myths are based on real beliefs, though their effectiveness relies not on fact but on faith, and this is precisely their strength, as well as their difficulty. Because a myth does not appeal to logic, it cannot be disproved like a rational argument, so it evades criticism.[24]

A prevalent type of political myth is the foundation myth. Tudor gives the example of the American myth of the founding fathers, which portrays the early political leaders of the United States as motivated only by virtuous humanism, by the desire to create a new nation based solely on the altruistic idea of universal equality. This simplistic depiction ignores the complex socioeconomic forces that led to the Revolution in order to position the United States as the culmination of western progress. The story is told to inspire nationalist pride and faith in the dominant value system.

The city as political myth similarly capitalizes on interpretative history as a persuasive tool, and this is exemplified by Washington, D.C. From its inception, the capital city was intended as a monumental symbol. Even for Thomas Jefferson, the champion of decentralized government and agrarian-based economy, the perfect declaration of the new nation's ideals was a grandiose capital.[25] The iconography of Washington conveys an image of stability and order through references both to powerful civilizations of the past and to classic utopian principles. 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.

In the translation of Jeffersonian ideas into urban form, classicism became the prevailing image in civic America. While the use of such historical imagery is meant to suggest authority and power,[26] it also has an idealized, Edenic quality, conjuring up what James Howard Kunstler calls "the dream of Arcadia," the idyllic region of ancient Greece. As the neoclassical style became popular, the dream materialized in banks, courthouses, schools, waterworks, taverns and farmhouses, "as though Americans explicitly believed that the new nation would become this fabled land of peace and plenty."[27] American idealism had found its language, and Washington was its primary voice.

As with a foundation myth, the city's relationship to the past suggests a cultural inheritance, a continuation of western civilization's advance. The ever-visible dome of the Capitol, the obelisk of the Washington Monument, the villalike White House, and the temple memorials to Jefferson and Lincoln enshrine the institutions and historical figures of American society in what Manfredo Tafuri calls "a timeless, indisputable, completely 'positive' Olympus."[28] The design of Washington the city corresponds perfectly to the image of Washington the man as portrayed in Horatio Greenough's famous sculptural portrait, which transforms the father of the country into a Roman god, a Herculean, toga-clad physique seated on a throne. Lincoln, of course, is similarly situated in his memorial, a colossal effigy like Athena in the Parthenon. This collection of civic idols presents American values and history as an epic, a monumental tableau of political idealism.

Absolutes

Washington's urban design, like its architecture, suggests authority through historical iconography. The baroque configuration of the city plan invites comparisons to European capitals such as Paris and Rome, the Potomac River even standing in for the Seine or the Tiber. Pierre L'Enfant's 1791 plan combined an axial baroque layout with a colonial grid, merging the hierarchy of the one with the infinite extendibility of the other. The arrangement uses the natural topography of the site to place key government buildings at the most commanding positions, such as the Capitol on its hilltop. This strategy in itself makes clear what the dominant institutions are.[29] Wide avenues radiate between these landmarks so that they are at the terminus of every major vista as the focal points of the city (Figure 4).

L'Enfant's design had not been fully executed by 1900, when the McMillan Commission initiated a restructuring campaign that expanded the 1791 plan. The 1892 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, dubbed "White City," had initiated the City Beautiful movement and set an example that was to be copied in America's civic architecture over the next few decades. Pompous classicism
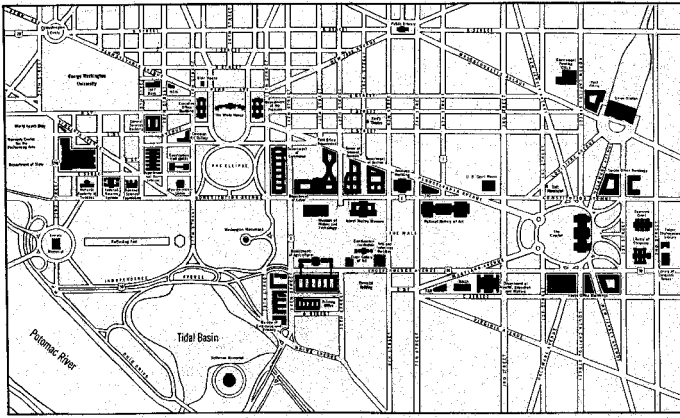
4. Plan of Washington, D.C. (Courtesy of George Washington University.)

and formality in planning appeared an apt expression of the country's growing wealth and perceived stability, a neobaroque celebration of affluence. Like Versailles, which was scarcely a century old in L'Enfant's native land when he drew his plan, the city is a theatrical spectacle, intended to display the strength of the government.[30] Ironically, in the case of historic Paris and Rome, the governments were authoritarian: the French Empire and the Roman Catholic Church.

The historian Mel Scott describes Washington as the "supreme paradox among cities" because of the conflict between its political system and its aesthetic agenda, which expressed American ideals through the "legacies of autocrats and nobles, from all these seemingly timeless survivals of departed or decayed societies."[31] The apparent irony stems from two simultaneous strains in American architecture and urbanism—idealism and authoritarianism—which represent the ambivalence of a new culture caught between looking ahead and looking backward.[32] The capital of the American democracy simulates the capitals of European absolutism in order to evoke the cultural strength and political power associated with those models. Like myth and like propaganda, it is a narrative of instruction, and it appeals to a presumed commonality of values. Tafuri recounts that the impulse behind the foundation of the American capital "presupposed great optimism and was thoroughly opposed to any polemical doubt."[33] Through regal exhibition, the city as political myth persuades through emotion, not through reason.

Washington's primary role as a symbolic showpiece made its function as a working city purely incidental. Its grandiose planning schemes were relatively easy to implement in that they did not have to accommodate industry and infrastructure, unlike Haussmann's Paris. Because of its lack of real commerce, Washington has been characterized as "the least economically necessary city in America."[34] The national capital was at first located in New York, then in Philadelphia, both thriving financial centers, but in Washington, government became the central institution, the community's primary reason for being. The form of the city could be devoted primarily to its representational role. The overblown scale of its public places and avenues is spatial fanfare. In the event that the historical refer-

ences of its architecture and urbanism are not recognized, Washington sufficiently conveys an image of prominence through the sheer size of its civic spaces, through the drama of their dimensions.

In typical baroque fashion, the city sacrifices functionality in favor of monumental space. Lewis Mumford wrote that in L'Enfant's plan the ratio of open space to usable building lots is absurd and that the street system could be justified only by a population some ten times larger than the plan would actually allow.[35] The inflated scale relates again to Versailles, where the axial vistas are meant to project views beyond the immediate space and suggest endless continuation. Classic French landscape design used rigorous Cartesian geometry to reduce the land virtually to pure line and shape: the *parterres* convert the ground to seemingly depthless planes that appear to hover above the water of the *bassins*. Vincent Scully writes that this practice relies on the theory of *pourtraiture,* which conceives the landscape as a portrait of the universe. Geometry is intended to transform the environment into an abstraction that "releases us from the normal scale of the earth to something vast and grand," to the universe itself but also to the political state.[36]

The Garden

The historical traditions that inform Washington's overall plan reappear in the design of the National Mall, which in itself acts as a microcosm of the culture and as a political allegory. Charles McKim restored L'Enfant's vision of a great *alleé* extending eastward from the Capitol to the Potomac, but he shifted the axis a little in order to center on the Washington Monument. At the end of that space now stands the Lincoln Memorial, which visually connects via the Memorial Bridge to Arlington National Cemetery across the river. The buildings along the perimeter of the Mall are monuments to government (the Capitol, the White House, and so on), the arts and sciences (the 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, their measure; this lawn is to the Mall what the land, the expansive continent, is to the nation. It is like a French *parterre,* with the reflecting pool forming a *bassin* at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial.

The Mall signifies the congruence of nature and culture, the individual and the community, an idealistic vision that America is purported to fulfill, as the philosopher Charles Griswold describes: "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 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."[37] In other words, the Mall is a form of political myth, glamorizing past events to strengthen current authority. Place becomes an apology for the order of things, a portrait in the tradition of the French garden. Like political myth, the narrative is meant to inspire nationalism and the sacrifice of the self for the common good. Yet, in reality, the overwhelming scale of the Mall, rather than reinforcing a connection between the individual and society, is simply alienating. Tafuri writes of Washington's monuments and public spaces, "In their enormous scale these works simply do not attempt to relate to the individual. The only thing of interest here is the public, social, world dimension."[38] Charles Dickens found the capital to be a psychologically empty space, a city of "public buildings that need only a public to be complete."[39] The condition of these civic places suggests that the symbolism outweighs any need for actual inhabitation, as if society's population were irrelevant to society's dreams.
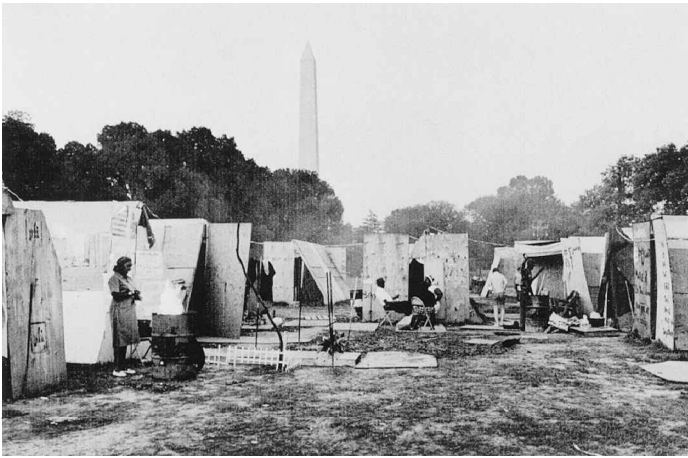
Protest

The symbolism of the Mall and of Washington in general was not the intention of a single party; it evolved over time and therefore represents the ongoing will and values of dominant society. As the nation's capital, its preeminent civic place and the spatial center of the American political myth, the city has been the site of innumerable protests and demonstrations. One project in particular, built temporarily on the Mall in 1968, was an especially clear challenge to Washington's urban iconography. In the spring of that year, the Poor People's Campaign was organized to underscore poverty and denounce the diversion of funding from Great Society programs to the Vietnam War. Martin Luther King, who was assassinated that April, had intended to shift the focus of activism from civil rights to economic issues, specifically the distribution of wealth and power in America. At midcentury, the living conditions of minorities in urban areas were bleak. Poverty and racial discrimination confined the majority of blacks to slum areas. Through 1950, the Federal Housing Administration advised outright that neighborhoods "preserve the same social and racial classes in order to assure stability."[40] As the increased mechanization of agriculture eliminated jobs in the South, many blacks migrated to Northern cities in the 1960s, and the ghettos became grossly overcrowded.

In 1960, nearly half of all black families lived below the federally defined poverty line, and the employment rate for blacks was half that of whites.[41] At that time, however, the national economy was exceptionally prosperous. Cut off from that prosperity, the ghettos were marginalized space, referred to as the "Other America." Set apart from society, the ghettos became like a place of exile, a foreign land. Martin Luther King had spoken of the millions of Americans living "on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of prosperity."[42] The critic Camilo José Vergara recently wrote of the effects of ghettos: "Ghettos, as intrinsic to the identity of the United States as New England villages, vast national parks, and leafy suburbs, nevertheless remain unique in their social and physical isolations from the nation's mainstream. Discarded and dangerous places, they are rarely visited by outsiders, becoming familiar to the larger population only through television and movies. Ghettos are pervaded by abandonment and ruin; they openly display crude defenses and abound in institutions and facilities that are rejected by 'normal' neighborhoods."[43] While ghettos are "intrinsic to the identity" of America, their image could not be further from the idealized symbolic language of civic architecture and urbanism. Their form is as removed from institutional space as their populations are from the dominant society.

As a means of highlighting this disparity, the central initiative of the Poor People's Campaign was the construction of a large shantytown in Washington. The encampment was built directly on the Mall, on the long lawn just south of the reflecting pool between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. "Resurrection City," as it was called, consisted of many dozens of A-frame and lean-to shacks which for six weeks housed a multi-ethnic population of hundreds (Figure 5). The residents considered this an alternative community, a makeshift city, with a meeting hall and other facilities, and they gave the sheds addresses and the aisles in between street names. They bivouacked from mid-May until late June, conducting rallies and demonstrations outside government buildings. Attention from the media became embarrassing for local and federal officials, who had only reluctantly allowed the camp to open and who were now under public pressure to close it down. President Johnson was reported to have been "appalled by the prospect of the invisible poor suddenly materializing en masse in his beloved Washington. The thought of an encampment of the nation's underclass sprawled out within the shadow of the Washington Monument . . . deeply hurt him."[44] Congressmen on Capitol Hill were said to be "averting their gaze from the shanties."[45] By the end of June, the government was ready to reclaim the Mall. Close to two thousand police officers in riot gear, armed with shot-

5. Resurrection City. (Photograph courtesy of Jill Freedman.)

guns and tear gas, surrounded the camp and emptied it out, arresting some 100 protestors in the process.

Resurrection City presented a graphic illustration of the squalor that pervaded American cities. Martin Luther King, Jr. had said that the ghettos in themselves "mocked the notion that racial justice was a reality."[46] The sociologist Herbert Gans has defined a slum as an area "which because of the nature of its social environment can be proved to cause problems and pathologies."[47] The very possibility of pathological space ridicules the mythic image of stability and unity which traditional civic space such as the Mall projects. Lee Rainwater wrote that slums cause residents to feel like "moral outcasts": "Their physical world is telling them they are inferior and bad just as effectively perhaps as do their human interactions."[48] This effect is the opposite of the intended role of public space to provide a moral example. Relegation to poverty-torn areas creates a sense of separation from the community, as if the aspirations depicted in official space are not to be shared.

Resurrection City temporarily relocated slum conditions from the wings of urban America to its center stage, the national Mall. It transformed the Mall into a ghetto itself, or, more accurately, it transported the ghetto to the Mall. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* Jane Jacobs discusses the concept of "unslumming," the process of revitalizing deteriorated neighborhoods.[49] Resurrection City in effect reversed that process as a "slumming" of the Mall. The poverty that defined urban space across the country became an exhibition in this space. The camp exposed parts of society not widely documented, "showing the tourists more of America than they'd wanted to see," in the words of one of the occupants.[50] As Resurrection City attracted curious spectators, it became a tourist destination. People "came from all over just to look at us, . . . ogling what they wouldn't see at home." Sightseers were said to be "slumming on the Mall."[51]

In this second sense of the word, "slumming" is defined as "to visit a slum, especially from curiosity or amusement."[52] This idea characterizes protest construction as display: viewers become voyeurs, "ogling" the shanties as a kind of lurid entertainment. The Bonus Army camp had performed a similar role. Reportedly, as it sat on the bank of the Potomac, "well-to-do Washingtonians in yachts cruised close to look at the show."[53] In the context of the Mall, the symbolic center of American idealism, the image of destitution and decay that the shanties present is utterly foreign. What is a common condition elsewhere, even a mile away in Washington itself, becomes a novelty here.

For most onlookers, tourists, those conditions were in fact unfamiliar. In 1968, the same year Resurrection City was built, a study by the federally appointed Kerner Commission concluded that race relations and slum conditions were causing a "polarization of the American community": "Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. What white Americans have never fully understood . . . is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions, maintain it, and white society condones it." The report's frequently quoted summation was, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."[54] In Resurrection City, the urban manifestations of these two societies came together. Iconographically, Washington continues the legacy of the 1893 Chicago Exposition as a permanent "White City." It is the embodiment of the institutions which the Kerner commission blamed for the ghetto. If Washington is the exemplary City Beautiful, the ghetto is an invisible city, neglected by mainstream society. The shantytown on the Mall made the invisible briefly visible. Resurrection City was like an apparition, an ephemeral image of poverty that materialized in the capital's iconic display space. The failures of urban America momentarily coexisted in one space with the monuments of national pride.

The Structure of Protest

The first aim of protest is to draw attention, which it does through provocative action. The shantytowns of Resurrection City, Yale, and the Bonus March are provocative chiefly because of their discordant relation to their context: physical opposition signals political opposition. They command attention through total contrast to the surrounding environment, through disparities of scale, form, function, material, craftsmanship, monetary value, and construction methods and processes. Most significantly, they exploit the iconography of cities by superimposing an image of urban neglect with an image of urban celebration. Overlaying pictures of poverty and wealth, these installations play up class-defined divisions of urban space, the economic segmentation of the city.

This effect is analogous to a series of photographic montages produced by the artist Martha Rosler in the late 1960s, in which

6. Martha Rosler's patio view from "Bringing the War Home: House Beautiful." (Courtesy of Jay Gorney Modern Art, New York.)

House Beautiful illustrations of modern domesticity are combined with scenes of the Vietnam War. The photos take the phrase "living room war" literally: "Patio View" (Figure 6) shows lawn chairs at a picture window with draperies forming a kind of proscenium looking onto a war-torn landscape, as if the backyard were a battleground. 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."[55] Like the photographs, the protest constructions are spatial montage, a combination of two incongruous scenes. Architecturally, what occurs is a kind of typological dislocation, and the physical representative of an otherwise absent social condition appears: the ghetto signifies poverty, the shantytown racism.[56] Transplanted from their normal context, these images become purely symbolic. The city's celebration of material wealth is foiled by unavoidable reminders of society's negligence.[57]

Ideologically, the official representations of public space are similar to Rosler's conception of documentary photography, as recounted by 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."[58] Civic space normally is an ideological shelter which confirms these assumptions about social privilege. With protest, the tragic manifestations of social and political practices invade this protected space. This tac-

tic centralizes a marginal place, narrowing the psychological distance by apparently 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, as 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."[59] Protest foils society's perfect image of itself by exposing it to its actual, imperfect conditions. With the shanties, Foucault's "counter-site" is not simply a figurative condition but a physical construct. In them, political divisions become tangible, and material opposites vie for a single space.

Paradigms

The protest constructions discussed here present a particular challenge to architectural authority in that they turn architectural language against itself. If the urban environment is the materialization of official value, then to *build* protest is to oppose that representation on its own terms, namely through the medium of construction. Yet, while adopting the forms of architecture, the shanties defy its conventional functions. They reject its traditional roles and criteria for judgment, for the characteristic descriptions of architecture do not accurately apply to protest constructions. Under the guise of building, protest questions the definitions of architecture by frustrating the orthodox standards of critical evaluation. Comparing the protest constructions to certain classic, even canonical, ideas from architectural theory illustrates this resistance. The three paradigms below are attempts to classify or define architecture according to aesthetics, symbolic program, and clarity of construction, respectively.

Cathedrals and Sheds

Architecture is customarily defined by an aesthetic standard. Nicholas Pevsner begins his *Outline of European Architecture* with the statement, "A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture. Nearly everything that encloses space on a scale sufficient for a human being to move in is a building; the term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic

appeal."[60] The distinction between buildings and architecture creates a problem of categorization. By Pevsner's definition, the shanties are clearly not architecture. While they incidentally may or may not offer "aesthetic appeal," they are not "designed" with this purpose, but this is part of their effectiveness. The aim of protest constructions is not aesthetics but meaning, and hence they challenge architecture's traditional emphasis on form. Formally, the shanties are no more than Pevsner's bicycle shed, but symbolically they are memorable. They coopt architectural form in order to achieve something quite nonarchitectural, namely a sense of political immediacy.

The economic, bureaucratic, and sociopolitical practices that allow conventional, permanent buildings to come into being—such as land acquisition, programmatic use, code compliance, and communal review—virtually eliminate the likelihood of broadcasting an overt political message that counters official ideology. Temporary and especially unauthorized installations may circumvent these institutional processes as well as the complexity of functions that conventional buildings serve. Further, by reducing architecture to rudimentary construction yet still investing it with social relevance, the shanties effect an unusually concise language. While language in architecture often consists of complex, codified representations, the shacks break down this grammar in order to assert a clear message. In the debate over the Yale shanties, the constructions often were characterized as "free speech" (and thereby legally protected).[61] The idea of construction as "speech" suggests a direct, unmediated communication—building as declaration.

Ducks and Sheds

In their famous study of urban iconography, *Learning from Las Vegas,* Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour divide buildings into two types of symbolic imagery: the so-called "duck" and the "decorated shed." In a "duck," named for a roadside drive-in shaped like a duck, space, structure, and program conform to an overall symbolic shape, a "building-becoming-sculpture." In a "decorated shed," space and structure serve the program, and ornament is applied separately. The distinction between the two is in the relationship between form and symbol. "The duck is the special building that *is* a symbol; the decorated shed is the conventional shelter that *applies* symbols."[62] The protest shanty eludes these classifications, or rather it combines them: it is a conventional shelter that *is* a symbol. It is "decorated shed" without the decoration, a *symbolic* shed, meaningful just by virtue of its being a shed.

The shack as a form is not necessarily symbolic in a political sense; its meaning derives from context rather than form. The Yale shanties may mimic the appearance of Crossroads, the South African shantytown after which they were patterned, but their intent is very different. The original shanties, while dramatic in their tragic conditions, are used first as shelter, not as a symbolic statement. The significance of the shanty as a building type depends on its circumstance. Inserted in the environment of the university, it conjures up its original setting in a unexpected place. Venturi and his coauthors state, "We shall emphasize image—image over process or form—in asserting that architecture depends in its perception and creation on past experience and emotional association."[63] Both the protest constructions and their official surroundings manipulate the emotional associations of architecture in order to persuade viewers. Through viewers' past experience with the iconography of buildings, the image of the shanty connotes poverty and deprivation, just as the images of historicized monuments suggest prosperity and power.

Primitive Huts

The image of the shanty as an elementary shelter recalls the historical theory of the primitive hut, which speculates on the nature of the first human construction. For Laugier, the eighteenth-century French theorist, the simple shed built of four posts and a gable represented all that was essential in architecture, everything else having developed from these components: "The little hut . . . is the type on which all the magnificences of architecture are elaborated. It is by approximating to its simplicity of execution that fundamental defects are avoided and true perfection attained."[64] As this passage shows, Laugier considered the primitive hut not only as an archetype but also as a model, the standard against which all buildings should be gauged.[65] The canon of the primitive hut became a rationale for formal simplicity, structural logic, and economy of means. As the argument goes, trabeated structures are seen to be more rational: the column provides minimal support for maximum load.

The primitive hut became the paradigm for rationality in architecture, particularly as an apology for neoclassicism, the Greek temple being seen as the direct descendant of the primitive hut. A building like the Lincoln Memorial was intended to continue this conceptual lineage as the incarnation of reason and enlightenment. Yet, its refined opulence looked decadent next to the propped-up shacks of Resurrection City. The protest shanties, as actual huts, confront the primitive hut with its literal image. The real huts make the metaphoric hut appear an absurd model for monumental civic buildings, and the paradigm seems an affectation. Hence, the

mythic representation of architecture's origins is appropriated in the criticism of architecture's institutional image.

Theories on the primitive hut are somewhat divided. Laugier's view espouses a reductiveness not only of form but of meaning. Anthony Vidler points out that Laugier saw the hut as innocent construction, untainted by the arcane permutations of architectural styles: "Laugier had eliminated all reference to the traditional symbolic and allegorical meanings of architecture, religious and secular. The geometry of the circle held no cosmological overtones, the verticality of the column no echo of a standing stone erected for primitive worship." For Laugier, architecture was nonrepresentational, "not a language but a construct."[66] The hut, then, was symbolic *tabula rasa,* predating the culturally developed metaphorical programs of architecture. The protest shanty, as a latter-day primitive hut, is an apt tool to question the political agenda of civic space. Its candor undercuts the esoteric languages of official architecture.

Although Laugier considered the archaic hut only for its architectural lessons, many theorists examined it for its social implications, as an allegory of human progress. Musings on the primitive hut commonly distinguish between the cave as *found* shelter and the hut as *built* shelter. The story glamorizes mankind's first attempt to shape the environment and assert human will onto the land. The shanties, while echoing the primitive hut as simple shelter, contrast its meaning. They are constituted of sheets of plywood leaned together in a precarious or cursory way. Their makeshift assembly from crude material is the opposite of the philosophical hut's structural clarity. The shanties are more like a house of cards than like Laugier's four-post temple, and this fragile appearance contributes to their association with poverty or neglect. The protest shanties symbolize not determination but deprivation, presenting the hut not as a tribute to primitive ingenuity but as an attack on primitive living conditions in a technologically advanced society.

If the paradigm of the hut represents man's confident occupation of the land, the shanties' tenuous construction suggests an ambivalence toward their space; they have an uncertain, tentative presence that bespeaks a lack of belonging in that setting. While the archetypal primitive hut harmonizes with nature, the shanties are invaders. The source of their materials further implies an antagonistic role. A recurrent practice with protest constructions is the use of secondhand material, scraps from factories, construction sites, and demolished buildings. In both the Bonus Army shacks and the Yale shanties, discarded doors became walls and ceilings. The theoretical hut draws natural material from the land around it, but the protest shanties are assembled parasitically from pieces of the surrounding city. This use is reminiscent of what John Fitchen calls "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, as in the use of ancient Roman bricks in medieval cathedrals, or the Arabs' use of limestone from the pyramids in their citadel in Cairo.[67] In this historical context, the scavenging of material for protest constructions implies cultural obsolescence, as if society's present incarnation were seen to be ineffectual. Demonstration built from debris suggests the reformation of society from its ruins. The city's waste is recycled in its critique.

As a social metaphor, the primitive hut is ambiguous. For the philosopher Rousseau, the hut was the prehistoric shelter of the family, and therefore it housed the origins of society as the first locus of human interaction. In this argument, the primitive hut implies the most fundamental social bond.[68] Seen in this light, the protest shanties return the scale of the individual to monumental civic space in the image of the proto-house, the archetypal communal dwelling. As contemporary primitive huts, they illustrate a most basic human need, shelter, and therefore they remind us of the most basic task of society, to provide for the needs of its constituents. On the other hand, Rousseau also saw the building of huts as the origin of property and entitlement, from which disputes and warfare arise. So, with the primitive hut comes the best and worst of society: fraternity and the struggle for domination.[69] The protest constructions suggest this friction, questioning the inequities of land division and society's inability to reconcile ideological and material differences. As ersatz cities, the shantytowns do not glorify the origins of community, they protest the breakdown of community, the failure to provide a humane environment.

Conclusion

The story of the primitive hut is a nostalgic one, a longing for some mythic Eden. As a model for building, it represents the desire to imbue the contemporary environment with the character of that lost paradise. In this image, public space is portrayed as idyllic, frozen in time. It memorializes this prehistoric model or any number of historic images through architectural references, always valorizing the past. The issue of time is fundamental to the contest between protest and official America. Civic architecture creates monuments meant to last generations, centuries, millennia. It deals with time on an epochal level. Karsten Harries has written that this is an essential aspect of building. It confronts the human fear of the infinite, sheltering us from "the terror of time" by leaving a lasting mark on the earth. "Inquiry into the origin of architecture leads. . . not only to

the need for shelter, but also to the need to control space through symbols. It is homelessness that lets man build: the terror of space provokes him to creation."[70] Protest competes with official America "to control space through symbols," namely the iconography of cities. If the meaning of these symbols is not directly relevant to personal life, then architecture risks becoming disingenuous and trivial. Rare are those permanent structures, such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which become public touchstones for personal emotions.

The ephemerality of protest construction allows it to address contemporary social and political problems and present itself with an urgency, which most architecture does not. At the same time, by appropriating architectural imagery, the demonstrators give their message a form that rivals the symbolic language of civic institutions. Protest briefly adopts the timeless image of architecture in order to suggest the gravity of its message. A decade after the anti-apartheid shanties and apartheid itself have vanished, Yale's stone halls remain intact. Thirty-six years after the Bonus Army camps disappeared, the Capitol and the Washington Monument presided over Resurrection City when it temporarily occupied the Mall, and they still guard the Mall today, thirty years later. Protest constructions are not monuments and cannot compete with the material longevity of the surroundings they challenge. Like all political demonstration, they are simply a critical tool, but one which may instigate social if not physical change. They are meant to temper the unchecked idealism of official space by dramatizing the conflict between ambition and obligation, between society's possibilities and its basic responsibilities. From this work, architects can learn something about social relevance.

Notes

1. William Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream: A Narrative History of America, 1932–1972* (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), pp. 4–15.

2. Ibid., pp. 16–17.

3. John Henry Bartlett, *The Bonus March and the New Deal* (Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Company, 1937), pp. 10–25.

4. A United States senator called the camps "an outward manifestation of a nation-wide condition." Quoted in John Henry Bartlett, ibid., p. 26.

5. John B. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 7.

6. Quoted in Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *Major Problems in American Colonial History* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993), p. 5.

7. George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 3rd ed., Vol. 1 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), p. 10.

8. Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay colony expressed the Puritans' mission in his "City upon a Hill" sermon of 1630, just eleven years before the original plan of New Haven was drawn up (see Figure 2.) Taking the title phrase from the Beatitudes, he preached that the Christian community was to be a model of brotherhood in which the citizens were to be "as members of the same body" to "keep the unity of the spirit." Quoted in Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *Major Problems in American Colonial History* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993), pp. 124–126.

9. Thomas Reiner, *The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), pp. 19–20.

10. It has been suggested that the multiple churches of different denominations are more democratic than the single meeting house in that they represent a plurality of religion. See Craig Whitaker, *Architecture and the American Dream* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1996), p. 101.

11. Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790–1975* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976), pp. 349–350.

12. Thomas Reiner, *The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning*, pp. 15–17. Manfredo Tafuri makes the same conclusions, stating that the philosophical theorization of architecture "contains no social utopia to support the urban reformism proclaimed at a purely formal level." See *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development,* Barbara Luigia La Penta, trans. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976), p. 12.

13. See Lewis Mumford, "The Foundations of Eutopia," p. 217.

14. Sociologists see the correspondence between racial demographics and the condition of the urban environment as a key factor in the tensions that lead to violence. See, for example, Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Cambridge University Press: 1983), p. xii.

15. *New Haven Register,* Apr. 5, 1986, p. 1.

16. *New York Times,* June 6, 1988, pp. B1, B5.

17. *New Haven Register,* June 6, 1986, p. 8.

18. Quoted in *New Haven Register,* June 6, 1988, p. 8.

19. Robert Stern, *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream,* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1986), p. 41.

20. Neil Postman, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), pp. 74–75.

21. Quoted in *New Haven Register,* Apr. 14, 1986, p. 1.

22. Matthew Countryman, interview with author, Feb., 1999. To illustrate Yale's lack of communal responsibility, and also perhaps to send up the ineffectuality of the students' own efforts, Countryman refers to a political cartoon that appeared in the New Haven *Register* in 1986 and depicted "an ivory tower (Yale) surrounded by a shantytown (New Haven) with a voice coming out of the tower saying, 'I know. Let's build a shanty.'" The cartoon ironically suggests a comparison between the shantytown on campus and the deteriorated condition of New Haven itself.

23. Henry Tudor, *Political Myth* (New York: Praeger, 1972), p. 139.

24. Ibid., pp. 13–17.

25. Jefferson was instrumental in the conception and implementation of the capital, and, as Manfredo Tafuri writes, he evidently abandoned or forgot his anti-urban philosophy in favor of founding "a symbol place in which the idea of the Union could be completely expressed." See Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia,* p. 33.

26. For a discussion of historical imagery as a persuasive medium, see Michael Sorkin's introduction to *Variations on a Theme Park: the New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1992).

27. James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of Amercia's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), p. 42.

28. Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia,* p. 36.

29. Harold D. Lasswell has shown that a city's skyline may be read as an index of the relative power of different institutions. Randomly placed corporate skyscrapers indicate the domination of private business, while a central capitol dome illustrates the domination of government. See *The Signature of Power: Buildings, Communication, and Policy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1979).

30. Historically, the transatlantic influence was reciprocal, in that Versailles influenced Washington in 1791, which influenced Paris, which then again influenced Washington in 1900. A kind of cross-fertilization occurred that tied America to Europe in architecture and planning at least through World War II.

31. Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 51–52. Lewis Mumford concurs: "Despite L'Enfant's firm republican convictions, the design he brought forth for the new capital was in every repect what the architects and servants of despotism had originally conceived. He could only carry over into the new age the static image that had been dictated by centralized coercion and control." See "The Lessons of Washington, D.C.," in *The Lewis Mumford Reader*, p. 149.

32. Dolores Hayden suggests a link between idealism and absolutism, referring to "the authoritarian stance of planners and architects who propose perfect forms (ideal cities. . .) as the expressions of perfectly organized societies." She recounts that throughout history visionary physical designs have often been appropriated to serve the prevailing socioeconomic order. For example, fortified geometric cities suited Renaissance despots, ninteenth-century idealized institutional buildings appealed to organizers of jails, workhouses, corporate towns, and so on. See *Seven American Utopias*, p. 349.

33. Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, p. 30.

34. Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, p. 33.

35. Lewis Mumford, "The Lessons of Washington, D.C.," in *The Lewis Mumford Reader*, Donald L. Miller ed. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), p. 150.

36. Vincent Scully, *Architecture: The Natural and the Manmade* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 272.

37. Charles Griswold, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography," in Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster, eds., *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), p. 74.

38. Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, p. 36.

39. Quoted in Lewis Mumford, "The Lessons of Washington, D.C.," in *The Lewis Mumford Reader*, p. 150.

40. Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound: A History America's Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Plume, 1990), p. 154.

41. The low employment rate was partly due to the fact that many businesses and manufacturing companies followed the movement of whites to the suburbs. Ibid., pp. 155–156.

42. Ibid., pp. 158, 161.

43. Camilo José Vergara, *The New American Ghetto* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), p. 2.

44. Gerald D. McKnight, *The Last Crusade: Martin Luther King, Jr., the FBI, and the Poor People's Campaign* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), p. 110.

45. Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound*, p. 273.

46. Ibid., p. 180.

47. Quoted in Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1961), p. 272.

48. Quoted in Camilo José Vergara, *The New American Ghetto*, p. 7.

49. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, p. 270ff.

50. Jill Freedman, *Old News: Resurrection City* (New York, Grossman Publishers, 1970), p. 34.

51. Ibid., p. 98.

52. *The American Heritage Dictionary*, Second College Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1981).

53. William Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, p. 16.

54. Quoted in Charles Kaiser, *1968 in America: Music, Politics, Chaos, Counterculture, and the Shaping of a Generation* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988), p. 142.

55. Brian Wallis, "Living Room War," in *Art in America*, February 1992, p. 107.

56. 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.

57. This condition is, of course, widespread now in the occupation of public space by the homeless. Today, the construction of the image as demonstration is possibly redundant.

58. Brian Wallis, "Living Room War," p. 107.

59. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, spring 1986, pp. 24–25.

60. Nicholas Pevsner, *Outline of European Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1961), p. 7.

61. As Matthew Countryman recounts, a faculty committee determined that the administration's destruction of the shanties had been a violation of the protestors' free speech rights. Countryman also personally feels that the university continually showed a "disdain for free speech and democratic decision-making." Interview with author, Feb. 1999.

62. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: the Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), p. 87.

63. Ibid.

64. Quoted in Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), p. 44.

65. Joseph Rykwert writes that Laugier offered the primitive hut as "the true examplar [*sic*] for architects." Ibid., p. 44. Similarly, Anthony Vidler recounts that Laugier "turned the narrative of origins into a manifesto for aesthetic judgment" and that "the hut as origin assumed a paradigmatic status for all architecture." See *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), pp. 18–19.

66. Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls*, pp. 20–21.

67. See John Fitchen, *Building Construction Before Mechanization* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 33–35.

68. See Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise*, pp. 44–47. He recalls that "always it is from the family housed in its primitive hut that Rousseau conceives human society developing" (p. 47). Similarly, dictionaries of symbolism list the archaic house as a symbol of humanity.

69. Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls*, p. 16.

70. Karsten Harries, "Building and the Terror of Time," *Perspecta* 19, 1982, p. 59.