Constructing a Common-Place for the Generic City

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INTRODUCTION

As a case study on the status of urban space and culture in the contemporary American city, a small civic monument recently constructed in Atlanta, Georgia, USA will illuminate some of the challenges to the realization of a vital public realm within the latecapitalist milieu.¹ This paper details the multiple contexts shaping the project, including: the programmatic impetus for the project growing out of Atlanta's efforts to prepare for the 1996 Olympic Games; the psycho-cultural context of Atlanta as a relatively young, booming metropolis, especially as interpreted in the theoretical writings of Rem Koolhaas; and the public antipathies encountered in the course of the project toward the value of civic space. The project itself is described in terms of the physical and historical characteristics of the particular project site; a critical design stance toward the blurring of the boundaries of art, architecture, and landscape in the constitution of a non-traditional monument; and the dynamics of representation and construction in the evocation of collective memory. Finally, the paper submits what conclusions may be drawn from this particular example and speculate about the spatio-temporal role of the civic monument in the expanse of the technological landscape.

LET THE GAMES BEGIN

As part of the preparation for the 1996 Centennial Olympics, the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta (CODA) commissioned a series of design proposals for public space and urban design improvements around the city. The Fox Triangle Monument, a tiny postage stamp of a project, was proposed at one of Atlanta's most prestigious intersections (fig. 1). Despite its size, however, the project nonetheless raised a host of "monumental" questions pertaining to issues of urban infrastructure, pedestrian accessibility, homelessness, history, representation, materiality, and memory. Programmatically, the project required, at its most basic level, the expansion of an existing traffic triangle and provisions for both pedestrian and vehicular traffic. At another level, however, the project brief demanded what seemed impossible, the creation of a kind of urban monument that, amidst all the fragmentation, could "start to weave the city back together again."²

Atlanta's unlikely quest for the 1996 Olympic Games began in the late 1980's with the dreams and persistence of a small group of privately financed and committed individuals who, once legitimized by the winning bid in Fall 1990, formed the nexus for the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG). ACOG, a mostly autonomous entity responsible for staging the Games, won early public support for its efforts by pledging that the Games would be privately financed through its sponsorship program, without the incursion of public debt. Atlanta's Olympics bid was from the outset

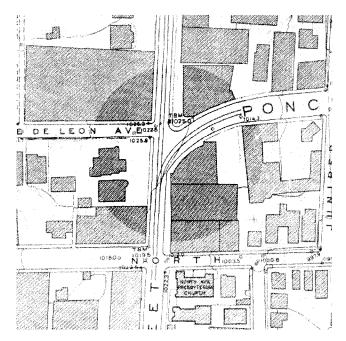


Fig. 1. Area plan for the Fox Triangle Monument. This circa 1924 map clearly shows the path of the Peachtree to Ponce de Leon Springs trolley line.

a masterful feat of image engineering, drawing upon a local talent for boosterism that was able to mask inadequacies with the sheen of high gloss.³ This Atlanta tendency is historical and has been an essential dimension of the city's collective character from its founding, through the period of reconstruction after the Civil War, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, until the present period of explosive economic and physical growth. Insecure in its genuine accomplishments, the city instead gravitates toward slogans as a salve for its sores. Perhaps there is something quintessentially Southern in all of this—not letting-on to the neighbors, keeping up a good face, not airing the dirty laundry in public, and so on. But in painting a picture for the Olympics, the illusion was at first too good for even the city's promoters to disbelieve. Hubris proved over time, however, to be a poor substitute for true civitas.

From the outset, therefore, ACOG limited its responsibility in staging the Games to the provision of sports venues, housing, and the host of associated temporary supporting and logistical facilities. Even these efforts were ultimately compromised, however, by the un-daring, economic myopia that guided the parceling of architectural commissions to competent but mostly uninspired local design firms. Given its initial pledges about financing, ACOG had no intention, nor any latitude, for turning the Olympics into a public works program. In contrast to its earlier image-making virtuosity, ACOG's piecemeal approach to the orchestration of the public character of the Games (and to cushioning their gargantuan urban impacts) left a gaping void that begged to be filled.

Attempting to fill that void, City and local business leaders established the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta in 1992. CODA was formed as a quasi-public, non-profit corporation intended to focus upon issues of infrastructure, public space, and neighborhood development growing out of Atlanta's efforts to prepare for the 1996 Olympic Games. Despite the urgency of the matter, however, CODA struggled in order to assemble funding for its ambitious program of urban design initiatives and neighborhood redevelopment efforts. This job was even further complicated in late-1993 when ACOG, nervous that Atlanta's presence would be embarrassingly overshadowed by the cosmopolitan standard established by Barcelona in 1992, proposed the construction of a huge new urban park within a blighted area of downtown in order to serve as the focal point for festivities within the "Olympic Ring." Bypassing the Atlanta City Government and CODA altogether and appealing directly to the Governor of the state, ACOG effectively blocked all citizen participation in this planning process. Besides showing its contempt for CODA's and the City's efforts, this late decision even further stretched the limited dollars for which CODA could hope to appeal.4

Ultimately, CODA was able to assemble about \$78 million for its projects from both public and private sources in addition to the approximately \$150 million approved through a bond issue referendum for the upgrade of public infrastructure.⁵ These amounts, when combined with the \$1.7 billion expenditures budgeted by ACOG, still pale against the reported \$8.1 billion dollar investment in housing and infrastructure made by Barcelona in its revitalization efforts.⁶ Nor did this situation go unnoticed as architecture and planning journals both at home and abroad posted critiques with titles such as: "Lost Opportunity in Atlanta?"7; "No Frills, No Thrills: Atlanta's Pragmatic Olympics"⁸; "Dropping the Baton"⁹; "Atlanta Sprawls into Oblivion"10; and "Atlanta's Urbanism Falls Short of Plans."" Commented one reviewer of Atlanta's Olympics effort, "...the games chief organizers, the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG), had only the dimmest views toward urban design: To ACOG, ... urban design translated into a banner, literally, on every lamppost."12

ATLANTA: THE GENERIC CITY?

Despite almost universally negative reviews for ACOG's civic vision, and in spite of that organization's urban (gorilla) development tactics, CODA — by contrast — succeeded nonetheless in stimulating a healthy and spirited local debate among concerned design professionals and the public at-large about the character of Atlanta's urbanity. CODA's public space initiatives were focused in four basic areas: 1) urban design enhancements to twelve pedestrian corridors linking public transportation with major Olympic venues; 2) civic spaces, parks, and plazas, including projects that integrated and enabled a variety of uses; 3) public art, historic monuments, and other project enhancements; and 4) neighborhood street improvements intended to stimulate economic development.¹³ In addition, an international design competition co-sponsored with the Architecture Society of Atlanta was devoted to the theme of "Public Space in the New American City." These efforts, along with other public symposia and design charettes, focused not only upon Atlanta's pre-Olympic potential but also upon a more general set of questions pertaining to the status of public space in the late-twentieth century city. In this regard, Atlanta seemed to exemplify a whole new category of urban phenomena, characterized by its amalgam of youth, explosive growth, and a lack of physical boundary. Seizing upon this novelty, Rem Koolhaas had already described Atlanta in the late 1980's as "a city which is almost in itself an argument about the development of the contemporary city."¹⁴ Koolhaas's urban thesis about bigness, developed over the decades since his *Delirious New York*¹⁵, had been significantly inspired by his

since his *Delurious New York*¹⁷, had been significantly inspired by his visits to Atlanta, first in the early 1970's with an initial trip to the United States, and then again in the late 1980's when he lectured on several occasions at the Georgia Institute of Technology. On those visits, on his own or with others, madly navigating the city in a rental car, Koolhaas was able to extract — through his own amazing brand of outsider's insight — principles of urban order out of the apparent chaos there. These were not, however, the rules of a familiar urbanity, in either of the European traditions — ancient or modern. Rather, Koolhaas sensed that the complicity of scale and pace of development in Atlanta, along with a virtually unquestioned commercial imperative, was yielding something quite startling. In a series of jectures and essays, in tones at first incredulous and then increasingly enthusiastic¹⁶ — in the hyberbolic rhetoric so reminiscent of Le Corbusier — Koolhaas extolled Atlanta as a paradigm of post-urban reality.

Here, in his own words, Koolhaas paints his portrait of Atlanta:

Atlahta does not have the classic symptoms of city; it's not dense; it's a sparse, thin carpet of habitation, a kind of suprematist composition of little fields. Its strongest contextual givens are vegetal and infrastructural: forests and roads. Atlahta is not a city, it is a landscape.¹⁷

Atlanta's zoning law is very interesting; its first line tells you what to do if you want to propose an exception to the regulations. The regulations are so weak that the exception is the norm.¹⁸

There is no center, therefore no periphery. Atlanta is now a center ess city, or a city with a potentially infinite number of centers. In that way Atlanta is like L.A., but L.A. is always urbah, Atlanta sometimes posturban.¹⁹

Millions of fragments landed in primeval forests sometimes connected to highways, sometimes to nothing at all. Infrastructure seemed almost irrelevant — some splinters flourished in complete isolation-or even counter productive: in the middle-class imagination, not being connected to MARTA, the subway system, meant protection from downtown's unspeakable problems.²⁰

Atlanta is a creative experiment, but it is not intellectual or critical: it has taken place without argument. It represents current conditions — without any impositions of program, manifesto, ideology.²¹

Atlar_hta's is a convulsive architecture that will eventually acquire beauty.²²

Imagine Atlanta as a new imperial Rome — large urban figures no longer held together by small-scale urban cement but by forest, fragments floating in trees.²³

It did not come as a surprise. Atlanta is a realized prophesy.²⁴

Koolhaas's observations on Atlanta, combined with the experiences of his own expanding international practice — and inevitable comparisons with cities like Singapore, Tokyo, Seoul, or even the *villes nouvelles* surrounding Paris²⁵ — were eventually crystallized in his treatise on "The Generic City."²⁶ Koolhaas's Generic City

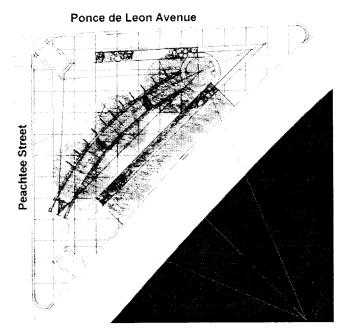


Fig. 2. Schematic plan for the Fox Triangle Monument.

resembles nothing so much as the ubiquitous airports that they append, "all the same," he suggests, but providing an important register of difference, nonetheless, in the continuous flow of generic space. The Generic City is characterized by — among other things — the erosion of identity and magnification of scale, the autonomy of infrastructures, the commodification of history, the generalization of memory, "the evacuation of the public realm," and the death of the street.²⁷ At first ambivalent in his observations of Atlanta, Koolhaas comes to embrace and extol the ethic of the postmodern profession wherein "...architects have aligned themselves with the uncontrollable, have become its official agents, instruments of the unpredictable: from imposing to yielding in one generation.²⁸

Koolhaas's keen analytical insights, his potent rhetoric, and his surrealist sense of irony together form a convincing, compelling, and seductive argument about the trajectory of contemporary urban development. Another retroactive manifesto, "The Generic City" is founded upon concrete examples like Atlanta, clings to the certainty of what is, and extrapolates as an estheticized inevitability "the architecture of the flight forward."29 Against this immanent reality is pitted only the nostalgic shadow of the street, of the pedestrian realm, of haptic experience, of collective memory. All attempts at resuscitation, Koolhaas maintains, are more evidence of their certain demise. (Thus, by implication, Koolhaas parodies the proponents of the New Urbanism and skewers their weak-point, their revivalist bent.) What remains troubling, however, is that while Koolhaas seems to inevitably win the rhetorical debate --- for he must, having himself framed the terms of engagement - his ideas present in practice some monumental ethical dilemmas. Or to his credit, they force a stark recognition. For example, by complicity with the conventions of sprawl, do we not magnify our environmental jeopardy? Or in short, by extolling the virtues of a generic bigness, do we not confuse the symptom with the cure?

THE FOX TRIANGLE: PROGRAMS AND SPECS

Within the light (or the shadows) of these embroiled contexts, of Olympic aspirations and urban intentions, I would now like to shift this discussion to an examination of the small urban design project with which my partner and I were engaged. Frankly, it is only now, with just about two years of hindsight and with this act of reflection that I can even begin to sort through all that we were attempting and

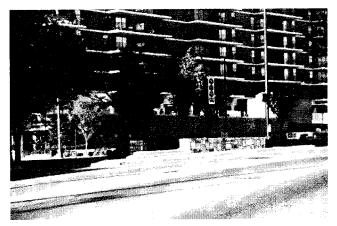


Fig. 3. The eastern "point" of the Fox Triangle revealing the leveling of the site.

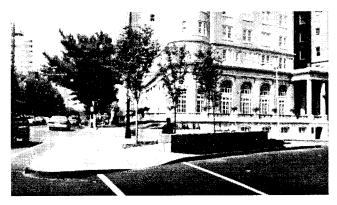


Fig. 4. Fox Triangle with view along Peachtree Street.

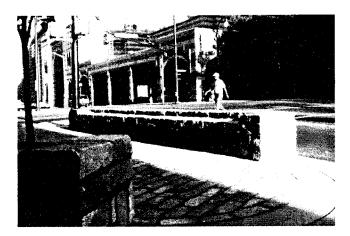


Fig. 5. The granite seating walls and cobblestone threshold.

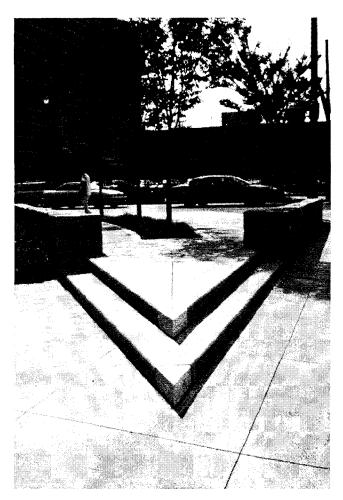


Fig. 6. Ponce de Leon entry with view toward Peachtree Street.

The Fox Triangle Monument was proposed at one of Atlanta's most urban intersections as an attempt to reconcile the dual motives of infrastructural improvement and historical recollection.³¹ Programmatically, the project required the expansion of an existing traffic triangle, provisions for pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and a "monument" dedicated to and recalling the trolley line which had once traversed the site. CODA's Director of Planning and Design Randy Roark established that the purpose of this and similar projects was "...to tell a collective story in the collective realm."³² The proposed project presented, therefore, certain ironies. How could a traffic island on a busy street become an enhancement to the pedestrian domain? How could an obsolete technology become the subject of civic commemoration? How could a free-standing object such as a monument contribute to the spatial cohesion of the street? What was the definition of the "collective" in a climate of rampant individualism? Or how in the age of commodified images was it possible to represent *anything*?

In her seminal essay, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field,"³³ Rosalind Krauss outlines an approach to the problems confronting contemporary concepts of "sculpture," especially in its traditional monumentalizing role. The issue of *monument* as *sculpture* was broached early by CODA, for there were certain operative assumptions that they held about the form that the project might take. Though we were architects, we had been commissioned as *artists* to devise a monument, presumably in the form of a sculpture. Even the preliminary budget dichotomized the categories of *site preparation* and monument to suggest a normative figure/ground disposition. Krauss's essay helps to relativize this traditional concept of sculpture with several other phenomenal categories emanating from the

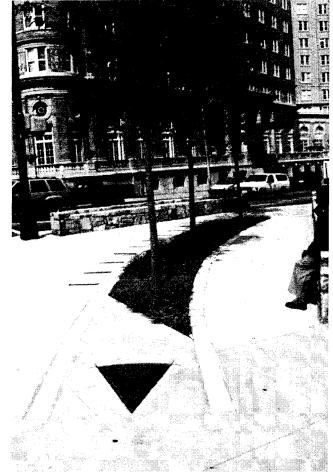


Fig. 7. The memorial plaque and the concrete rails traversing the site.

oppositional pairings of architecture and landscape, not-architecture and not-landscape. As a schema for conceptualizing the expanded field of contemporary art production beyond traditional notions of sculpture, she introduces the additional categories of marked site, site-construction, and axiomatic structures — in which "there is some kind of intervention into the real space of architecture."³⁴ Thus, a combination of Krauss's speculative, cross-categorical fusions of architecture, landscape, and their respective negations, emerged for us as viable alternatives to a figuratively representational monument.

First of all, the marked site became a reflection on the surface of all those historical markings transacted on the site (fig. 2). Period maps reveal the marking of the trolley line on the streetscape, physically manifest in the steel rails of the trolley now embedded in the strata of the site and in the overhead electrical lines which once traced the trolley's aerial trajectory. The triangular site is itself a result of this marking and platting and partitioning of flows around and over the site resulting in an island, both remote and connected. The constructed site is another projection of these markings into the third dimension. The plane of the earth is itself subtly elevated, its mass retained and terraced in order to give it a presence and identity within the continuous slope (fig. 3). These few moves instigate a series of phenomenal shifts. The project is both an object in the middle of the intersection and a room carved out that void. Early versions of the project did in fact include a "monument" in the form of a stretched-cable catenary marking in the air the trajectory of the turning streetcars. However, when the inevitable rounds of budget discipline and value engineering forced a Solomonic choice between either the site or the monument, my partner and I were quite composed



Fig. 8. Formwork during construction of the concrete rails.

in our determination that the site itself was the monument. Thus were the expanded notions of the marked site, the constructed site, and the phenomenal site applied to the negotiation of fertile exchanges between architecture and landscape and their creative inversions.

What follows herewith is a recollection of the project. It is presented not as an account of theory becoming practice, or even of practice begetting theory, but rather as practice — in all its associational richness and meaning and pleasure — being reflected, both intentionally and accidentally, in our consciousness of the acts of design and construction.

More than a monument, therefore, this project for the Fox Triangle suggests a commemorative marking and reconstruction of the site as a evocation of the historical circumstances that have coincided to create this little left-over island of Atlanta. Historically, the primary shaping-factor of the site was the curving eastward sweep of the Peachtree trolley line where it branched along Ponce de Leon Avenue toward Ponce de Leon Springs and the suburb of Decatur. This imposition of infrastructure established the strong urban geometry at this intersection which is formally embedded in the site and surrounding buildings today. The still-remaining Georgian Terrace and Ponce de Leon Condominiums are evidence of this physical fact. But other sorts of resonances reside here as well. The adjacency of the historic Fox Theater, the frontage on Peachtree Street, and the more distant site of the fabled Ponce de Leon Springs establish a cross section of Atlanta mythologies coinciding on the axis of the site.

The elements of the project are intended as experiential clues to this rich cultural genealogy as well as urban enhancements to the life of the street. The site is conceived as an urban room along the

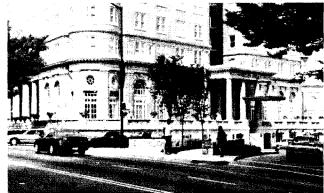


Fig. 9. The Fox Triangle Monument with view along Peachtree Street.

pedestrian corridor with a range of both solid and ephemeral enclosures (Fig. 4). The granite rubble walls along the northern and southeastern edges of the site provide a boundary for the outdoor room and are shaped and dimensioned to provide seating for passersby (Fig. 5). The walls are constructed in a manner that recalls the ubiquitous stone foundation walls which once structured Atlanta's landscape in all its topographic variations. In this setting, the stone walls establish a datum at the street edges and a plinth at the prow of the triangle, thus registering the mere twelve inches topographic change and elevating the park-like space to the level of the pedestrian corridor along Peachtree Street. Where the walls converge toward the point, a cobblestone circle marks a threshold between Ponce de Leon Avenue and Peachtree Street, a Janus-like connection amidst the urban expanse (Fig. 6).

Across the center of the site, two concrete curbs embedded in the pavement mark the curving path of the trolley line tracks that once crossed the site at the edge of the city (Fig. 7). Pre-design research suggested the possibility that the original tracks were still in-place underneath the pavement — a fact later confirmed during excavation - though the project budget did not allow the benefit of archaeological survey. Through the course of design and construction, a series of shifts between the phenomenal categories of form and formwork imbued the common concrete curbs with the charge of memory, to re-present them as both curbs and as rails (Fig. 8). At the outset, the formwork for the concrete curbs bore an uncanny resemblance to the vintage construction photographs of the original trolley line. Once complete, the curbs themselves served as the formwork for the adjacent concrete paving. Even a construction error which necessitated the subsequent removal and replacement of the concrete curbs resulted in an amazing deja vu and an ironic reminder of the cyclical nature of all urban constructions. In-between the two concrete rails, a single subterranean steel rail was severed to provide root space for three specimen trees, rising as it were from the remains of the gnarled tree trunks found beneath the three-foot strata of the road bed.

The stone walls, the concrete curbs, and the three trees together establish a dynamic spatial trajectory, capturing some of the kinetic energy of the corner that so many Atlantans have traversed. A series of small, radiating commemorative plaques record the names of the streetcar stops once rhythmically chanted by the voices of the motormen. One triangular plaque in the form of a surveyor's marker—across which pedestrians must pass without avoidance bears the following inscription: "This site marks the turning point of the Peachtree — Ponce de Leon Springs trolley line and is dedicated to its memory, and to that of all the riders who passed along its tracks."

Two years after the project's completion, the public cautiously embraces the possibility of urban engagement that this little pedestrian island presents. While the design process was driven by urban, symbolic, and technical concerns along with questions of memory, monumentality, and material, the most challenging (and, for us,

unanticipated) questions arose in the form of public anxiety and ambivalence toward public space in general, and specifically in terms of whether the seating walls would be magnets for vagrants. The peace-of-mind of adjacent property owners was ultimately fixated upon a single detail and the question of whether the top of the stone wall could be designed to repel loiterers (a neologism for the public), to inhibit them from lingering. Unfortunately, fear of the unknown, especially of the homeless, infects public sentiments about the viability of public space and, by extension, the possibility of civic existence. But even while Rem Koolhaas's characterizations of the Generic City would appear to be confirmed by this experience, we cannot capitulate to his surmise that what is should therefore constitute the program for what *ought* to be. Rather, against the inexorable logic that justifies sprawl as the manifestation of the zeitgeist, of a mediatized and consumptive culture, would I pose the counterpoint of lived experience as a specification - both speculative and concrete - for the reclamation of the public domain. Our experience suggests that even details have ethical implications. Michel de Certeau, in his reflections upon The Practice of the Everyday, has suggested that "To practice space is thus to repeat the joyful and silent experience of childhood; it is, in a place, to be other and to move toward the other."35 Perhaps the value of this modest project lies in the quiet, beckoning gesture that the stone walls make to all those who pass on foot or by car: to come and sit, to practice the possibility of public place (Fig. 9).

NOTES

- ¹ "...it (late capitalism's) features include the new international division of labor, a vertiginous new dynamic in international banking and the stock exchanges (including the enormous Second and Third World debt), new forms of media interrelationship (very much including transportation systems such as containerization), computers and automation, the flight of production to advanced Third World areas, along with all the more familiar social consequences, including the crisis of traditional labor, the emergence of yuppies, and gentrification on a now-global scale." Frederick Jameson, *POSTMODERNISM or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), xix.
- ² Randy Roark, Director of Planning and Design for the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta, quoted in Aaron Betsky, "Atlanta Sprawls into Oblivion," *Blueprint* 128 (May 1996): 6.
- ³ Charles Rutheiser, *Imagineering Atlanta: The Politics of Place in the City of Dreams* (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 227-288.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Leon Eplan, former Atlanta commissioner of planning and development, quoted in Ruth Eckdish Knack, "What the Olympics Leave Atlanta," *Planning* 62, no. 11 (November 1996): 19.
- ⁶ Steven P. French and Mike E. Disher, "Atlanta and the Olympics: A One-Year Retrospective," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 63, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 379.
- ⁷ Ken Friedlein, "Lost Opportunity in Atlanta?," Architectural Record 182, no. 8 (August 1994): 70-73.
- ⁸ John Morris Dixon, "No Frills, No Thrills: Atlanta's Pragmatic Olympics," *Progressive Architecture* 76, no. 7 (July 1995): 51-59.
- ⁹ Merrill Elam, "Dropping the Baton," *RIBA Journal* 103, no. 7 (July 1996): 86.
- ¹⁰ Betsky, "Atlanta Sprawls," pp. 3-6.
- ¹¹ Bradford McKee, "Atlanta's Urbanism Falls Shorts of Plans," Architecture 85, no. 9 (September 1996): 40-41.
- ¹² Ibid., p. 40.

- ¹³ Randy Roark, "Public Space, the Olympics, and the Inner City," *CODA: The Civic Trust* (Atlanta: Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta, 1996), un-numbered.
- ¹⁴ Rem Koolhaas, "Atlanta," Quaderns D'Architectura i Urbanisme 184 (1990): 104.
- ¹⁵ Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- ¹⁶ Koolhaas's "Atlanta" essay, cited above, should be compared for tone with the later revision, Rem Koolhaas, "Atlanta," in Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large*, ed. Jennifer Sigler (New York: Monacelli Press, 1995), pp. 833-859.
- ¹⁷ Koolhaas, "Atlanta," *S,M,L,X-L*, p. 835.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 836.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 843.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 850.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 855.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 856.
- ²⁵ Koolhaas, Quaderns, 104.
- ²⁶ Rem Koolhaas, "The Generic City," in Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large*, ed. Jennifer Sigler (New York: Monacelli Press, 1995), pp. 1238-1264.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Koolhaas, "Atlanta," *S,M,L,X-L*, p. 848.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Henri Lefebvre, "The Right to the City," in Architecture Culture 1943-1968, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation: Rizzoli, 1993), p. 429.
- 31 The Fox Triangle Monument was commissioned by CODA in November 1995 as one of the public space / public art projects sited along significant pedestrian corridors in the city, this one being along Peachtree Street, Atlanta's very own sacred way. Design responsibility for the project resided with the artists / architects in collaboration with the landscape architects for the overall Peachtree corridor project who provided technical assistance. CODA served as the client for the project, guiding the decision-making process through the schematic design and development process; reviews by the public works department, CODA's own art advisory board, as well as Atlanta's Urban Design Commission; and budgetary deliberations with contractors. In addition, private financial and in-kind maintenance support was sought from adjacent property owners, whose input was also a factor for consideration in design development. Coming quite late in the schedule building up to the July 1996 Olympics, the project was one of CODA's many attempts to squeeze and to leverage every last ounce of funding potential available from both public and private sources. The frenzy of activity, including the apparent impossibility of all scheduling deadlines and budgetary targets, was CODA's modus operandi during that period. And though the majority of the projects were completed on schedule, The Fox Triangle Project was ultimately deferred until after the Olympics and finally completed a year later in June 1997.
- ³² Betsky, "Atlanta Sprawls," p. 6.
- ³³ Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field," *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1985), pp. 276-290.
- ³⁴ Ibid., p. 287.
- ³⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 110.