

Re-Architecting Practice: Duvall Decker Architects' Addition to Tougaloo College

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Abstract: *This paper is an excerpt from ongoing research, started singly by George Dodds, University of Tennessee, in 2015, and developed jointly by Dodds and Jori Erdman, Louisiana State University beginning in 2016. It is part of a larger monograph and symposium project with a projected end-date during the 2019-20 academic year.*

The practice of Duvall Decker Architects has been taking shape across two decades in the relative remove of Jackson, Mississippi's Fondren neighborhood. Duvall and Decker have embraced paradigms of the urban south, combining program, materiality, and landscape to create projects subtle and complex in a practice that is innovative in its structure and situ. Their work represents a sea change in conventional practice; they are helping to redefine the nature of practice, and the relationship of the individual practice to the collective discipline. The surpluses they provide include regional specificity, socially-charged agendas, and real-time maintenance to ensure a building's salubrity, just-in-time manufacturing facilities, education programs for contractors, and civically-minded project development. To varying degrees, all represent a re-architecting of practice, none of which is explained away by the emergence of digital technology. Our focus is the Bennie G. Thompson Academic & Civil Rights Center at Tougaloo College in Jackson. Along with their innovative re-thinking of public housing (Jackson Housing Authority Mid-City Housing Project), this project highlights themes and strategies common to their oeuvre. For example, Thompson Center is informed by their deep appreciation for a reading of the history of the campus. Varied interpretations of the ubiquitous southern porch, striking site strategies, inventive detailing, and a limited material palette, permeate their work. But it the firm's continued involvement on the site beyond the design and construction of the singular building that bears further study. The work of Duvall Decker represents not simply an expansion of normative practice; it is a re-architecting of practice: a 21st century, multi-valent practice wherein design intersects with clients, culture, and construction, producing works and ways of working that suggest a refiguration of the profession.

In all that gargantuan paradise of the fourth-rate there is not a single picture gallery worth going into, ...or a single public monument that is worth looking at, or a single workshop devoted to the making of beautiful things. ...[W]hen you come to critics, musical composers, painters, sculptors, architects and the like—there is not even a bad one between the Potomac mud flats and the Gulf. ...In all these fields the South is an awe-inspiring blank.... H. L. Mencken, "The Sahara of the Bozart" *New York Evening Mail* (1917)

What is true of the geographical elements in building was even more true of the social conditions. Half the misdemeanors of architecture in every age are the result of an attempt to fit rational structures into an irrational social pattern. ...[I]n its larger applications, the quality of architecture is governed by the conventions and ideals of the community: architects will do things in one way when human values are uppermost.... Hence the international style cannot be a mechanical stereotype: it cannot take a form that was beautifully adapted to the geographic and social environment of Birmingham and apply it, without modification to Bombay; it cannot even take a form that was finely adapted to Birmingham and apply it blindly to Montgomery. Louis Mumford, *The Architecture of the South* (1941)

Architecture as building is always political, because it literally embodies a mixture of state interests and clan interests.... The sliding scale between collective and individual ambitions becomes frozen in structure; architecture is therefore always a snapshot of a political climate." Jack Self, "Does politics have any place in architecture?" *The Architectural Review* (30 September, 2015)

Preface

Medgar Evers, the regional organizer for the NAACP in Jackson, Mississippi, was shot through the back in the carport of his modest home on Margaret Walker Alexander Drive. He died about an hour later – the first African American ever permitted to perish in one of Jackson's whites-only hospitals. His murder marked that

start of what would be a decade of political assassinations and social upheaval in The United States – beginning on a quiet residential Jackson street, and ending in a service corridor of Los Angeles' Ambassador Hotel.

June 05, 2018, marks the 50th anniversary of America's second Kennedy assassination; June 12, the 55th anniversary of the Evers murder. Between the two America lost its 35th president; civil rights volunteers Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman; and the two most influential civil rights thinkers of the post-war years: Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. All but one were murdered in the American South; half in Mississippi. This is not to say the South, or Mississippi for that matter, are alone in this particular criminality. For example, Pennsylvania has long counted a Klu Klux Klan membership far larger than any single southern state, and the countless lynchings of 1919's Red Summer includes sites in Illinois and Indiana as much as southern locales. That said, it would be dishonest to not privilege the role of race in the story of Jackson's Duvall Decker Architects. The matters of color and cultural identity are twin predicates of a worldview onto a regional stage in which their work is a local agency for positive change and engaged criticality.

Unlike Memphis, Tennessee, which has yet to fully recover from, or make restitution for, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s murder,¹ Jackson has memorialized Mr. Evers' murder in several ways; their international airport carries his name and the site of his execution is now the Medgar Evers Home Museum, restored to its 1963-state by Anne Duvall, of Duvall Decker Architects (operated under the aegis of Tougaloo College). More recently, Jackson is now home to the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum. Ironically, the opening of the museum, attended by Congresswoman Bennie G. Thompson, itself was cause for additional civil unrest.²

1.0 Architect, Re-architect, Re-architecting

The terms "architect" and "architecture" have been increasingly nettlesome things to nail down with meaningful specificity at least since The Enlightenment. Yet, they remain among the most useful metaphors in the English language. Although legally protected professional appellations, they are perhaps two of the most plastic and promiscuous words in the contemporary topical press.

Architects and architecture are everywhere. Software has an architecture. Cities have an architecture. Organizations have an architecture. And all of these have "architects" in charge of organizing, designing, and directing production. Even wars have "architects"—not the Albert Speers of the world, but rather the generals and upper echelon who choose the strategies, tactics, and end states of warfare. It's not surprising then to arrive at the verbing of "architect," as in, "to architect" a thing. Nor ought we be surprised to learn that the most common use of this term is not in the practice of architecture, nor is it in the lexicon of most architects; rather, one finds it amidst the opaque landscape of software engineering.

Bloomberg.com describes the UK-based Everware-cbdi International as "a research company, [that] provides service oriented architecture and component-based development services". Their key company slogans are: "*Architecture can drive delivery,*" and "*Agile Provisioning Architecture Results*". They've branded their core service: "Re-architecting". They explain, to "re-architect" a thing is "to provide greater agility." The goal of Re-architecting is to create "fine-grained architecture [that] enables: optimal scalability and performance; wider range of deployment options; and wider range of deployment option."

From their office in Jackson's Fondren neighborhood, the principals of Duvall Decker embrace paradigms particular to this southern site, responding to programmatic, material, tectonic, and landscape strategies. While their work is embedded in specific situations, the manner in which they have worked to re-architect their practice, are not perforce limited to this region alone. Rather, their work is a signpost of sorts, signaling a sea change common to a core group of contemporary practices that rigorously interrogate and challenge the received boundaries of practice, the academy, and the discipline.

The surpluses they provide include: territorial precision owing to long-term cultural studies; socially-charged agendas from work in the local culture and politics; real-time building maintenance to ensure their building's salubrity over time; detailed analysis to control costs and raise production quality; hands-on education programs for local contractors whose inadequate materials and methods disclose a building culture that has never approached contemporary building methods as craft; and financial development and management of projects to better control the nature, direction, and quantity of their workload. While no single one of these is particularly remarkable, the manner in which Duvall Decker combines this multitude represents a watershed moment in the profession, none of which is explained away by the emergence of digital technology or the groundswell in "alternative" practices.

Can practice be re-architectured? Rather than directly answering this question, we aim to explicate through a study of The Bennie G. Thompson Academic & Civil Rights Research Center at Tougaloo College (Fig 1).

This project, the culmination of a series of projects at Tougaloo, highlights fundamental Duvall Decker themes and strategies; it demonstrates ways in which their practice offers new possibilities for architects to expand and question traditional boundaries of the profession. We focus on the specific themes of cultural identity and territorial specificity that are not limited to design tactics and strategies alone; they include architect-client relationships and an almost familial bond with larger cultural and physical geography in which they work. We maintain that the work of Duvall Decker represents not simply an expansion of practice, but rather a re-architecting of practice: a 21st century multivalent practice wherein design intersects with clients, construction and land in new and often unexpected ways, producing works that potentially redefine the roles, responsibilities, and limits of the profession.

2.0 “Carpetbaggers” and “Scalawags”

Duvall Decker Architects’ story is an unlikely tale that’s far from finished. The following describes and unpacks the character and nature of a complex and nuanced position, developed across two decades of practice and half again as many years of study.

Fine designers, yet this is not a story about trend-setting design.³ Their buildings do not look like interstellar birds of prey perched on unwilling hosts. Quite adept at matters of materials and methods, neither is this a story of new or emerging technologies – digital or analog. They do not clad their buildings in skin that follows the sun, nor do their buildings harness desert winds, turning turbines churning out gigawatts of electricity (Fig 2). One must look elsewhere for such things. The recipient of much national press and dozens of design awards, that which is worth learning from Duvall Decker’s work resides only partially in the finely designed objects they produce.



Fig 1 Bennie G Thompson Center at Tougaloo College



Fig 2 The Jackson Housing Authority project is constructed of humble materials and methods, yet challenges preconceptions of what affordable housing can look like.

Detail-oriented critical regionalist practices; architect-as-developer; design-build practitioners; civically minded architecture: there is nothing new about any of these. We have seen them before in varied combinations and see them still. Each has its value. Moreover, one can find the usual suspects of super-sized international firms that offer clients a wide-ranging portfolio of services. Duvall Decker, however, is the inverse of the Genslerized Generation. They have marked out their territory of practice by assembling the aggregate of these topical services, and a few more, while maintaining the twin foci of regional specificity and the a carefully researched mapping of the culturally constructed sites within which they dwell and in which they build. The manner in which they combine the quotidian care of the life of the buildings they design; the manner in which their drawings of details become constructed on site; how the practice of civic and institutional architecture can substantially engage the *praxis* of community building, its many challenges notwithstanding; and how, in some cases, commercial projects begin not with an outside developer, but inside the offices of Duvall and Decker themselves.

They understood from the start that their’s could be neither a boutique practice for academicians, nor a normative practice of RFP sifting and high-end houses for the *Dwell* set. For their practice to survive, let alone succeed, it required of them a new operational model; they could not get there by local contacts nor design alone. This is the core of their story and perhaps the chief lesson to be learned from what they do.

Roy Decker is native to northern New Jersey, educated at Kent State University. He taught at Temple University in Philadelphia before Dean John McRae, FAIA, at Mississippi State University (MSU) hired him to help remake the Starkville program. Anne Marie Duvall, a native of Humbolt, Tennessee, studied at MSU where she and Decker met. Decker took up residency in Jackson, Mississippi in 1993. He became director of MSU's School of Architecture's urban studio, located in Jackson, in 1995. The two formed a partnership not long after. When Decker established his firm with Duvall, he did something else very much out-of-the-mainstream; he surrendered his tenure at the MSU School of Architecture to devote himself more fully to their practice.

Even though Duvall is from northwestern Tennessee, as a couple they arrived as outsiders and de facto "carpetbaggers" – a term with a complex history. Among its many, less pejorative, definitions is: "northern interlopers intent on measures aimed at democratizing and modernizing the South – civil rights legislation, [and] aid to economic development..."⁴ This fits well their intent and what they've achieved to date.

If Duvall Decker assume the role of "northern interlopers," their client's role is that of "Scalawags": a vilification that gained currency during Reconstruction. Among its definitions is "a white Southerner who collaborated with northern Republicans..., often for personal profit..."⁵ The inescapable irony is that roughly 80% of their client base are African American leaders in the community or the presidents of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), many of whom still have direct connections to the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s: hence, the inverted commas. Among the most politically and culturally complex of their HBCU commissions, and perhaps the most successful architecturally and urbanistically, is Bennie G. Thompson Academic & Civil Rights Center at Tougaloo College.

Having finally realized several significant institutional commissions at Medger Evers' alma mater, Alcorn State University and Tougaloo's Thompson Center among them, they soon identified a problem they had not yet encountered; their buildings, while well-detailed and constructed, nonetheless aged rapidly owing to grossly inadequate building maintenance. In *Maintenance Architecture*, Hillary Sample describes a dilemma common to much high-end architecture.

Modernism sought to minimize this spectacle of maintenance through technology. The idea was to create a fixed building image that could be maintained by devices like the squeegee, tilt windows, and window-washing rigs rather than by people. Buildings had to be kept in order to preserve their relationship to the photographs of them distributed in books and magazines, to always retain their immediate post-construction imageability. Such an ambition could be achieved only through limiting dependence on a profusion of technological devices and gadgets to keep the building looking as intended.⁶

Duvall Decker's problems, however, were of a very different sort. While they tend to hire the services of Balthazar Korab's protégé Timothy Hursley to photodocument their work, their concern was not about maintaining the gloss of four-color print journalism. Rather, they confronted the more earthly challenge of repairing the daily insult their buildings suffered from institutional building and landscape maintenance crews, careless students, and the occasional irate employee. Moreover, this advanced weathering was hardly limited to their own buildings; it was endemic to the region. Their maintenance company, Dunn Management, slows these vicissitudes while employing and training the unemployed and underemployed and, at the same time, financially supporting their architectural practice.

Once they became stewards of their own buildings, this new "post-occupancy" station point soon underscored the necessity of developing, and in some cases constructing, their own designs vis-à-vis the third leg of their stool – Eldon Development. Indeed, that which makes Duvall Decker worth further study is that, unlike most architectural firms that, during the past 30 years, have consciously distanced themselves from as much liability as possible, Duvall and Decker has moved aggressively in the opposite direction. Speaking with The New York Times' Michael Kimmelman on the occasion of the firm's recognition by the New York Architectural League, Duvall explained: "Assuming more risk and responsibility has also given us a stronger voice, upfront, in this community, with politicians and businesspeople...because we have skin in the game."⁷

3.0 Urban South | Global South

It's been well chronicled in daily newspapers, topical magazines, government and NGO reports, that for some time now, the gap (financially and culturally) between the top 1% and the rest of the American population, is at its widest since records on such matters have been kept. The unintended consequences reach across the globe and resonate in virtually all aspects of human endeavor: access to influence, education, advancement, housing, wealth, etc. The list is its own lamentation.

In The United States, for example, between 2009 and 2015, American wealth increased (overall) by 60% while child poverty increased by 60%. Of course, virtually all of that wealth production was limited to a tiny

percentage of the 1% income bracket. No less remarkable, “the richest country in the world” has been a world leader in child poverty for far too long, at times alternating that position with Romania. Nowhere in the 48 contiguous states is this more keenly apparent than in the state of Mississippi. Jackson, the state’s capitol, has been until late, more the rule than the exception. While the US poverty rates at 12.7% and Mississippi State poverty at 22%, Jackson falls even further behind with a poverty rate of 31%. With an African American population of 80%, it is easy to extrapolate who is most effected by poverty in this community.

Over the course of the past two decades, the practice of Duvall Decker Architects has emerged in the relative remove of the urban south. Urban geographer Seth Schindler has postulated that cities in the global South have particular characteristics that distinguish them from cities in the north including governance that has focused more on territorial transformation than improving the human condition; dynamic energy flows that are irregular; and the materiality of Southern cities is interrelated to political economy (Schindler 2017). For the purposes of our study, we contend that an argument can be made for including the southern US within the Global South, and Jackson, Mississippi in particular. In order to understand the practice of Duvall Decker, one needs to understand the southern urban context within which their practice has evolved. The characteristics provided by Schindler provide this context and are useful in illuminating some aspects of the Duvall Decker practice as both part of the context and resistant to aspects of the context.

Part of the complexity in understanding the work and practice lies in the difficulty of defining the south itself, as addressed by Lori Ryker in her introduction to the monograph on Mockbee Coker:

The identity of the South builds upon each community’s truths and mythologies which are not easily forgotten, while the future moves ahead. In simultaneous acts the present twists back on itself describing the past and pushes forward, leaving tradition without context. ... The South is a land of mystery with a historical legacy comprehensible to most through its social and cultural traditions. But it is precisely these traditions and their contradictions which makes the life of a Southerner so difficult to grasp objectively. The difficulty of clearly understanding the South can be seen in the inability to reconcile several contradictory traditions.⁸

The trajectory of Duvall Decker is prefaced by other southern architects including Charles Colbert, one of the first great modernists to work in the South, as well as more contemporaneous practices including Scogin Elam & Bray (now Scogin Elam), Mockbee Coker and Clark Menefee. In the work of Duvall Decker these practices are extended and amplified, changing the nature of architectural practice itself.

4.0 Craft in The Technological Society: Diverging Paths

During the past two generations, the education of architects has largely followed practice rather than informed practice. Since Rem Koolhaas’ “research studios” at Harvard’s Graduate School of Design, much has been made of architectural firms that have either created their own in-house research enterprises (Kieran Timberlake Architects, Philadelphia), or otherwise aligned themselves with either industry or the academy. Yet, with few exceptions, these operations are either data-driven or applied research. The former – Koolhaas’ thematic studios on Lagos and Shopping – or the latter, those at the University of Minnesota and at The University of Pennsylvania’s School of Design, represent opposing poles of a spectrum with little in between.⁹ While the former tends towards what Alberto Perez-Gomez characterizes as “decorated information,” the latter is product driven, aligned with user groups, “real world clients,” and industry partners that substantially influence the curriculum. This control comes in two forms: direct – specifying the sorts of projects and/or materials they will sponsor; and indirect – by default – that is by virtue of what they choose to financially support.

Not since the post-war years has the profession so singularly aligned itself with research in the sciences and directly appropriated the techniques and lexicon of industry, including the military industrial complex. At the same time, as practice and the education of architects has become increasingly technocratic, so too has its research and its researchers. Conversely, while the profession and the discipline raise the stakes of technocratic enterprises, in places such as Jackson, Mississippi – at least the one Duvall and Decker found in 1995 – the quotidian culture of construction was of a different sort.

5.0 Architecture Out of the Shadows: Kin

The Bennie G. Thompson Center is informed by their historical knowledge and profound apprehension of the rich and storied campus. From its founding on the site of a former slave plantation by the American Missionary Association, through its role in the Civil Rights movement, Tougaloo is a multi-layered site – physically and temporally. Duvall Decker infuse these severally in the Thompson Center. First, the development of the project began as a small series of projects and the cultivation of a trusting relationship with the administration of Tougaloo, which is part of the kinship nature of business and politics in the south. Physically, cultural

interpretations of the ubiquitous southern porch permeate the Thompson Center, with the porch transformed into a striking, albeit subtle, site strategy with inventive detailing and limited material palette. Finally, their understanding of the project as part of a larger narrative structure of the Civil Rights movement in Jackson informed decisions about space, materials and cladding within and throughout the building.

Southern business relationships often revolve around the oft-cited characteristic of kinship to grow and maintain professional enterprises. Kinship is the anthropological term for a strong tendency to rely on familiarity and sameness and reject those outside of one's group. Strictly speaking, kinship relies on blood relationships, but given the complexity of southern lineages, blood ties are not a delimiting characteristic. Knowing someone, or a business, and feeling comfortable with a common language or shared concerns, as well as affection, create kin-like feelings, which often guide decisions, even business decisions, more than more objective criteria. A strong sense of kinship has been found in both white and black American communities, particularly in the South and throughout the African American diaspora.

It is through patience and a willingness to build trust over time, that Duvall Decker has cultivated relationships with clients that lead to bigger and more significant commissions over time. It is our contention that these relationships grow in part due to the predilection in the deep south for kinship relationship that guides client comfort but is built on the firm's commitment to ethical and conscientious attention to the client in all manner of project. The firm partners work closely with clients and decisions makers to build trust, making them eligible for more work and creating a long list of projects small and large with a committed group of clients, such as the administration at Tougaloo College. Building the trust at Tougaloo has also extended their prospective client base to other HBCU's and minority serving institutions around the state of Mississippi. In fact, Duvall Decker records show that over 90% of their business is from repeat clientele and each client averages at least 6 projects. Their unconventional practice of tapping into kinship relationships is one of the ways in which Duvall Decker taps into and mines the regional culture of the South.

By tracing their relationship with the administration at Tougaloo College, we see a pattern of conscientious attention to the client that is typical of the practice. Initially hired to do facility planning for some historic structures on campus, the firm quickly demonstrated and aptitude and willingness to engage that lead to additional work around the campus including master planning and the design of a student center. The President of Tougaloo, Beverly Wade Hogan, summed it up in an interview with NY Times writer, Michael Kimmelman, "Roy and Anne listen."

Their initial project at Tougaloo was introduced to them through the firm of WFT Architects, where Anne Marie has interned on their renovation of the Medgar Evers House, a property that had been bequeathed to Tougaloo in 1993 by Myrlie Evers. WFT was commissioned to assess and design a renovation to the historic "Mansion," the original plantation house that was part of the property on which Tougaloo was founded in 1869 by the American Missionary Association. As WFT focused primarily on preservation of historic structures, they introduced the nascent firm of Duvall Decker, a committedly modernist firm, to Tougaloo to complete an assessment of the campus library designed by Gunnar Birkerts in late 1960's and constructed in the early 1970's. The library is one of two remaining Birkerts buildings that were part of an ambitious masterplan created by the master architect. Duvall Decker's next project was a reworking of the Birkerts windows in a dormitory that now lies empty. Eventually Duvall Decker worked with WFT to complete an updated master plan for the university that included plans for the Bernie G. Thompson Cultural Center.

6.0 Porch

The porch is well recognized as having specific meaning, resonance and purpose in Southern culture and life. As a mediated (shaded) outdoor space, the porch functioned to raise people out of the dust or mud and bugs and provided a place that was neither intimately private, nor completely exposed, on which to gather. Prior to the develop and widespread distribution of mechanical cooling, one would be hard pressed to find a home anywhere in the south that did not have at least one porch. And the existence and use of a porch was not unique any class or racial distinctions, everyone had one or more. Typically homes incorporated a front porch that was more public for sitting, watching, communing and resting, with a back porch for more of the business of the home. A liminal space, the front porch functioned as a place of gathering for families and communities at large. The porch is so embedded in both the functioning and spirit of the south, that it has become a trope across the narrative and visual arts for the south itself.

At the Thompson Center, Duvall Decker employs the porch trope through the entry sequence. In this case the porch extends well across the front of the building, increasing the opportunities for gathering in the shade and

chance meetings with friends (Fig 3 and 4). The space of the porch both welcomes and protects as well as providing shade and depth across the windows of the entry. The materiality of brick and concrete and the detailing are all modern, but the idea is quite old.



Fig 3 Thompson Center porch as shading device.



Fig 4 Thompson Center porch as gathering space.

7.0 Conclusion

Writing in 1941, in *The Architecture of the South*, Louis Mumford observed severally, a fundamental notion that a generation later would go by such names as “Critical Regionalism,” and “Critical Architecture.” Less than a decade after co-organizing the epoch-making, “Modern Architecture: An International Exhibition,” for the Museum of Modern Art, the social critic purposefully distanced himself from his co-curators Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson: “The international style cannot be a mechanical stereotype: it cannot take a form that was beautifully adapted to the geographic and social environment of Birmingham and apply it, without modification to Bombay; it cannot even take a form that was finely adapted to Birmingham and apply it blindly to Montgomery.”¹⁰ At the close of the 21st-century’s second decade, “criticality” in architectural discourse and among presumptive avant-garde practices, ranks among other walking wounded of post-modern/post-critical/post-Fordist practices. Yet, the agency of Duvall Decker’s architecture, the predicate of their re-architecting practice, resides within its ability to establish a critical distance from their subject based on the architect’s close readings of the cultural objects they apprehend and re-imagine.

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¹ King was shot on the balcony outside Room 360 of the Lorraine Motel. The Lorraine, now the National Civil Rights Museum, recently restored, is virtually the only architectural or civic marker of any import that memorializes that epoch-changing slaughter in the city. In a recent Op Ed piece in *The New York Times*, Wendi C. Thomas chronicled how Memphis’ prominent Loeb family, principally responsible for the need for Dr. King’s final travel to Memphis, continues to profit from the same regressive politics and economic repression that prompted the Garbage Collector’s Strike in the first place. See, Wendi C. Thomas, “How Memphis Gave Up on Dr. King’s Dream,” *The New York Times* (April 01, 2018): p. SR1.

²Michael D. Shear and Ellen Ann Fentress, “Trump, Rejecting Calls to Stay Away, Speaks at Civil Rights Museum,” *The New York Times* (December 10, 2017): p. A 22.

³ “The architect Billie Tsien was a juror for the Architectural League in New York that just gave the Deckers an Emerging Voices award. ‘There’s a lot of fashionable work out there,’ Ms. Tsien said. ‘Anyone who has done public work for nonprofits can appreciate the effort it takes to make even a smidgen of architecture happen.’ Michael Kimmelman, “On a Design Mission in Mississippi,” *The New York Times* (February 21, 2017): p. C1.

⁴ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988): p. 296.

⁵ *New Oxford American Dictionary*.

⁶ Hillary Sample, *Building Maintenance*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2016): p. 31.

⁷ Kimmelman, “On a Design Mission in Mississippi,” *Ibid*.

⁸ *Lori Ryker, editor, Mockbee Coker: Thought and Process*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995) p. 15.

⁹ See, *The Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping: Project on the City 2*, Chung, Chuihua Judy, Jeffrey Inaba Rem Koolhaas, eds. (Taschen: Köln, 2001), *passim*. Also see, *Alluvium: Dhaka, Bangladesh in the Crossroads of Water*, Steven Kieran and James Timberlake, eds. (New York: ORO Editions, 2015): *passim*.

¹⁰ Louis Mumford, *The Architecture of the South* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1941): p. 138.